

THE
LIVES
OF
THE PURITANS:

CONTAINING

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THOSE DIVINES WHO
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE

OF

Religious Liberty,

FROM THE REFORMATION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH,
TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY,
IN 1662.

BY BENJAMIN BROOK.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

~~~~~  
VOL. I.

—◆—  
The memory of the just is blessed.—SOLOMON.

The precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the PURITANS ALONE; and it was to this Sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution.—HUME.

—◆—  
London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,

YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

—◆—  
1813.

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by Benjamin Brooke

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# DEDICATION.

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TO THE

RISING GENERATION

AMONG THE VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF

PROTESTANTS.

---

MY YOUNG FRIENDS,

**T**HE formation of your principles, the instruction of your minds, and the salvation of your souls, are, unquestionably, objects of high importance to yourselves, to your connexions, and to the protestant interest at large. When your fathers are translated from the church militant to the church triumphant, you will inherit their property, and will occupy their stations. On you it will devolve to manage the affairs of religion, to be zealous for its interests, and active for its prosperity.

But, if you be ignorant of its principles and destitute of its blessings, this zeal and activity cannot be expected. By enlightening your understandings with truth, and by impressing your hearts with the power of religion, we hope to secure your attachment to the cause of God, and to engage your talents and your future influence in its service.

Of all books which can be put into your hands, those which relate the labours and sufferings of good men are the most interesting and instructive. In them you see orthodox principles, christian tempers, and holy duties, in lovely union and in vigorous operation. In them you see religion shining forth in real life, subduing the corruptions of human nature, and inspiring a zeal for every good work. In them you see the reproaches and persecutions which the servants of God have endured ; those gracious principles which have supported their minds ; and the course they have pursued in their progress to the

kingdom of heaven. Such books are well calculated to engage your attention, to affect your feelings, to deepen your best impressions, and to invigorate your noblest resolutions. They are well calculated to fortify you against the allurements of a vain world; to assimilate your characters to those of the excellent of the earth; to conform your lives to the standard of holiness; and to educate your souls for the mansions of glory.

The Puritans were a race of men of whom the world was not worthy. They devoted their days and nights to hard study; they cherished devotional feelings; and they enjoyed intimate communion with God. The stores of their minds were expended, and the energy of their souls was exerted, to separate the truths of the gospel from the heresies of the times in which they lived; to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power; to purify the church from secularity and corruption; and to promote the power of religion among the people. They persevered in this course

amidst a host of difficulties, and in defiance of the most powerful opposition. The rulers of those times persecuted them with wanton cruelty, in total contempt of every sacred law, of every just principle, and of every humane feeling.

From these volumes you will learn, that the glorious cause of Nonconformity has been adorned by the holy lives of a multitude of good men; has been consecrated by the blood of martyrs; and has been sanctioned by the approbation and protection of heaven.

For their exalted attainments in piety, their assiduous researches in literature and divinity, and their unwearied exertions in the cause of God and their country, the Puritan divines are entitled to the admiration and reverence of every succeeding age. Our political freedom, our religious liberty, and our christian privileges, are to be ascribed to them more than to any other body of men that England ever produced. When you learn

by what struggles these blessings have been acquired, and at what price they have been obtained, you will know how to estimate their value; and you will regard the men to whom we are indebted for them as distinguished benefactors to the English nation and the church of God.

For the sacred cause of religion, the Puritan divines laboured and prayed, wrote and preached, suffered and died; and they have transmitted it to us to support it, or to let it sink. With what feelings will you receive this precious inheritance? Will you lightly esteem what they so highly valued? Will you stand aloof from the cause which they watched with jealous vigilance, and defended with invincible courage? If the blood of these men run in your veins, if the principles of these men exist in your souls, most assuredly you will not.

That you may learn the wisdom, and imbibe the spirit of the Puritans;—that you may take them as patterns, imitate them as

examples, and follow them as guides, so far as they followed Christ;—that you may adhere to the cause of religion with the same firmness, adorn it with the same holiness, and propagate it with the same zeal, is the fervent prayer of

Yours respectfully

and affectionately,

BENJAMIN BROOK.

TUTBURY,

October 6, 1813.

## PREFACE.

---

**A**T no period has biographical history been so much esteemed and promoted as in these days of christian freedom. The memoirs of wise and good men, especially such as have suffered for the testimony of a good conscience, afford interesting entertainment and valuable instruction. To rescue from oblivion impartial accounts of their holy actions, their painful sufferings, and their triumphant deaths, will confer a deserved honour upon their memory: and there is, perhaps, no class of men whose history better deserves to be transmitted to posterity than that of the persons stigmatized by the name of Puritans.

The cruelties exercised upon them were indeed very great. **THEY SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF A GOOD CONSCIENCE, and an AVOWED ATTACHMENT TO THE CAUSE OF CHRIST.** The proofs which they gave of their zeal, their fortitude, and their integrity, were certainly as great as could be given. They denied themselves those honours, prefer-

ments, and worldly advantages by which they were allured to conformity. They suffered reproach, deprivation, and imprisonment; yea, the loss of all things, rather than comply with those inventions and impositions of men, which to them appeared extremely derogatory to the gospel, which would have robbed them of liberty of conscience, and which tended to lead back to the darkness and superstitions of popery. Many of them, being persons of great ability, loyalty, and interest, had the fairest prospect of high promotion; yet they sacrificed all for their nonconformity. Some modestly refused preferment when offered them: while others, already preferred, were prevented from obtaining higher promotion, because they could not, with a good conscience, comply with the ecclesiastical impositions. Nor was it the least afflictive circumstance to the Puritan divines, that they were driven from their flocks, whom they loved as their own souls; and, instead of being allowed to labour for their spiritual and eternal advantage, were obliged to spend the best of their days in silence, imprisonment, or a state of exile in a foreign land.

The contents of these volumes tend to expose the evil of bigotry and persecution. When professed Protestants oppress and persecute their brethren of the same faith, and of the same communion, it is indeed marvellous. The faithful page of history details the fact with the most glaring evidence, or we could scarcely have

believed it. A spirit of intolerance and oppression ever deserves to be held up to universal abhorrence. In allusion to this tragic scene, Sir William Blackstone very justly observes, "That our ancestors were mistaken in their plans of compulsion and intolerance. The sin of schism, as such, is by no means the object of coercion and punishment. All persecution for diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom. The names and subordination of the clergy, the posture of devotion, the materials and colour of the minister's garment, the joining in a known or unknown form of prayer, and other matters of the same kind, must be left to the opinion of every man's private judgment. For, undoubtedly, all persecution and oppression of weak consciences, on the score of religious persuasions, are highly unjustifiable upon every principle of natural reason, civil liberty, or sound religion."\*

Perhaps no class of men ever suffered more reproach than the Puritans. Archbishop Parker stigmatizes them as "schismatics, belly-gods, deceivers, flatterers, fools, having been unlearnedly brought up in profane occupations, being puffed up with arrogancy."† His successor Whitgift says, "that when they walked in the streets, they hung down their heads, and looked austerely; and in com-

\* Blackstone's Comment. vol. iv. p. 51—53. Edit. 1771.

† Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 481.—Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 61.

pany they sighed much, and seldom or never laughed. They sought the commendation of the people; and thought it an heinous offence to wear a cap and surplice, slandering and backbiting their brethren. As for their religion, they separated themselves from the congregation, and would not communicate with those who went to church, either in prayer, hearing the word, or sacraments; despising all, who were not of their sect, as polluted and unworthy of their company.\* Dugdale denominates them “a viperous brood, miserably infesting these kingdoms. They pretended,” says he, “to promote religion and a purer reformation; but rapine, spoil, and the destruction of civil government, were the woeful effects of those pretences. *They were of their father the devil, and his works they would do.*”† A modern slanderer affirms, “that they maintained the horrid principle, that the end sanctifies the means; and that it was lawful to kill those who opposed their endeavours to introduce their model and discipline.”‡ Surely so much calumny and falsehood are seldom found in so small a compass.

Bishop Burnet, a man less influenced by a spirit of bigotry and intolerance, gives a very different account of them. “The Puritans,” says he, “gained credit as the bishops lost it. They put on the appearance of great sanctity and

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 5.

† Dugdale's Troubles of Eng. Pref.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 215.

gravity, and took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the bishops, often preaching against the vices of the court. Their labours and their sufferings raised their reputation and rendered them very popular.\* Hume, who treats their principles with ridicule and contempt, has bestowed upon them the highest eulogium. "So absolute," says he, "was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled, and was preserved, by the *Puritans alone*; and it was to this sect that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution."†

It is granted that they had not all equally clear views of our civil and religious rights. Many of their opinions were confused and erroneous; yet their leading principles were the same. Though they had, in general, no objection to a national establishment, many of them maintained, "That all true church power must be founded in a divine commission: that where a right to command is not clear, evidence that obedience is a duty is wanting: that men ought not to make more necessary to an admittance into the *church* than God has made necessary to an admittance into *heaven*: that so long as unscriptural impositions are continued, a further reformation of the church will be necessary: and that every one who must answer for himself *hereafter*, must

\* Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 17, 18.

† Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 134.

judge for himself *now*."\* These were the grand principles of their nonconformity.

The author of these volumes has spared no labour nor expense in the collection of materials, and has used the utmost care to retain whatever appeared interesting, curious, and useful. Not writing to please any particular sect or party, he has endeavoured to observe the strictest impartiality. In the lives of these worthies, he has not suppressed their imperfections, nor even the accusations of their adversaries; but has constantly stated their faults, as well as their excellencies, without reserve. Neither has he at any time connived at bigotry and persecution, whether found among prelates, presbyterians, or any others. Whoever were the persecutors or aggressors, their case is represented, as near as possible, as it is found in the faithful pages of history. His sole object has been to give a lucid and impartial statement of *facts*. Indeed, the documents are frequently transcribed in the very words of the authors; and, wishing to retain the genuine sense and originality of the whole as entire as possible, he has constantly avoided dressing them in any garb of his own.

Through the whole, he has invariably given his authorities. These might easily have been multiplied; but, when two or more authors have given accounts of the same facts, he has invariably chosen that which appeared the most authentic:

\* Calamy's Contin. vol. i. Pref.

or, when they have at any time contradicted each other, he has always given both, or followed that which appeared most worthy of credit. In the Appendix, a correct list is given of the principal books consulted; and, for the satisfaction of the more critical reader, the particular edition of each is specified. In numerous instances, reference will be found to single lives, funeral sermons, and many other interesting articles, of which the particular edition is mostly given. In addition to the numerous *printed* works, he has also been favoured with the use of many large *manuscript collections*, a list of which will be found at the close of the Appendix. From these rare documents he has been enabled to present to the public a great variety of most interesting and curious information never before printed.

After all, many lives will be found very defective, and will leave the inquisitive reader uninformed in numerous important particulars. Such defect was unavoidable at this distance of time; when, after the utmost research, no further information could possibly be procured. The author has spent considerable labour to obtain a correct list of the works of those whose lives he has given, and to ascertain the true orthography of the names of persons and places. Though, in each of these particulars, he has succeeded far beyond his expectations, yet, in some instances, he is aware of the deficiency of his information. He can only say, that he has availed himself of

every advantage within his reach, to render the whole as complete and interesting as possible.

The lives of these worthies are arranged in a chronological order, according to the time of their deaths.\* By such arrangement, the work contains a regular series of the History of Nonconformists during a period of more than a hundred years. It does not in the least interfere with any other publication; and forms a comprehensive appendage to Neal's "History of the Puritans," and a series of biographical history closely connected with Palmer's "Nonconformist's Memorial," containing a complete memorial of those nonconformist divines who died *previous* to the passing of the Act of Uniformity. To this, however, there are some exceptions. There were certain persons of great eminence, who lived *after* the year 1662; yet, because they were not *in the church* at that period, they come not within the list of *ejected* ministers, but are justly denominated Puritans. Memoirs of these divines will therefore be found in their proper places.

It was requisite, in a work of this nature, to give some account of the origin and progress of Nonconformity, together with a sketch of the numerous barbarities exercised upon the Puritans. This will be found in the Introduction, which may not prove unacceptable to the inquisitive and

\* It should here be remembered, that, in all cases, when the particular period of their deaths could not be ascertained, the *last* circumstance noticed in their lives is taken for that period.

pious reader. If its length require any apology, the author would only observe, that he hopes no part of it will be found superfluous or uninteresting; that he has endeavoured to give a *compressed* view of the cruel oppressions of the times; and that it would have been difficult to bring the requisite information into a narrower compass.

The work contains an authentic investigation of the progress and imperfect state of the English reformation, and exhibits the genuine principles of protestant and religious liberty, as they were violently opposed by the ruling ecclesiastics. The fundamental principles of the reformation, as the reader will easily perceive, were none other than the grand principles of the first Protestant Non-conformists. Those reasons which induced the worthy Protestants to seek for the reformation of the church of Rome, constrained the zealous Puritans to labour for the reformation of the church of England. The Puritans, who wished to worship God with greater *purity*, than was allowed and established in the national church,\* were the most zealous advocates of the reformation; and they used their utmost endeavours to carry on the glorious work towards perfection. They could not, with a good conscience, submit to the superstitious inventions and impositions of men in the worship of God; on which account, they employed their zeal, their labours, and their influence to promote a more pure reformation.

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 76.

And because they sought, though in the most peaceable manner, to have the church of England purged of all its antichristian impurities, they were stigmatized with the odious name of *Puritans*, and many of them, on account of their nonconformity, were suspended, imprisoned, and persecuted even unto death. These volumes, therefore, present to the reader a particular detail of the arduous and painful struggle for religious freedom, during the arbitrary reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I., to the restoration of King Charles II.

The reader will here find a circumstantial account of the proceedings of the *High Commission* and the *Star Chamber*, the two terrible engines of cruelty and persecution. The former of these tribunals assumed the power of administering an oath *ex officio*, by which persons were constrained to answer all questions proposed to them, though ever so prejudicial to themselves or others: if they refused the unnatural oath, they were cast into prison for contempt; and if they took it, they were convicted upon their own confession. The tyrannical oppressions and shocking barbarities of these courts are without a parallel in any Protestant country, and nearly equal to the Romish inquisition. The severe examinations, the numerous suspensions, the long and miserable imprisonments; with other brutal usage, of pious and faithful ministers, for not wearing a *white surplice*, not baptizing with a *cross*, not *kneeling* at the

sacrament, not subscribing to *articles* without foundation in law, or some other equally trivial circumstance, were among the inhuman and iniquitous proceedings of those courts.

These intolerant and cruel transactions, instead of reconciling the Puritans to the church, drove them farther from it. Such arguments were found too weak to convince men's understandings and consciences; nor could they compel them to admire and esteem the church fighting with such weapons. These tragic proceedings created in the nation a great deal of ill blood, which, alas! continues in part to this day. While the governing prelates lost their esteem among the people, the number and reputation of the Puritans greatly increased, till, at length, they got the power into their own hands, and shook off the painful yoke.

That the Puritans in general were men of great learning, untarnished piety, and the best friends to the constitution and liberties of their country, no one will deny, who is acquainted with their true character and the history of the times in which they lived. Many of them, it is acknowledged, were too rigid in their behaviour: they had but little acquaintance with the rights of conscience; and, in some instances, they treated their superiors with improper language: but, surely, the deprivation, the imprisonment, or the putting of them to death for these trifles, will never be attempted to be vindicated in modern times.

The author is aware, however, of the delicacy of many things here presented to the public, and of the difficulty of writing freely, without giving offence. But, as honest truth needs no apology, so the pernicious influence of bigotry, superstition, and persecution, he thinks, can never be too fairly and openly exposed. He also believes that all professing Christians, except those who are blind devotees to superstition, or persecutors of the church of God, will rejoice to unite with him in holding up these evils as a warning to posterity.

The work is not to be considered as a medium, or a test of religious controversy, but an historical narrative of facts. It is not designed to fan the flame of contention among brethren, but to promote, upon genuine protestant principles, that christian moderation, that mutual forbearance, and that generous affection, among all denominations, which is the great ornament and excellency of all who call themselves Protestants. A correct view of the failings and the excellencies of others, should prompt us to avoid that which is evil, and to imitate that which is good.

When we behold the great piety and constancy with which our forefathers endured the most barbarous persecution, will not the sight produce in our minds the most desirable christian feelings? Though we shall feel the spirit of indignity against the inhumanity and cruelty of their persecutors, will not the sight of their sufferings, their holiness, and their magnanimity, awaken in our breasts the

spirit of sympathy and admiration? Shall we not be prompted to contrast our own circumstances with theirs, and be excited to the warmest thankfulness that we live not in the puritanic age, but in days of greater christian freedom? Shall we not be constrained to exclaim, "The lines are fallen to us in pleasant places; yea, Lord, thou hast given us a goodly heritage?"

The author has not attempted to justify any irregularities in the opinions, the spirit, or the conduct of the Puritans. Although he acknowledges that he has, in numerous instances, endeavoured to prove their innocence, against the evil reproaches and groundless accusations of their adversaries, so far as substantial evidence could be collected from historical facts; yet he has never attempted to vindicate their infirmities, or to connive at their sins. They were men of like passions with ourselves; and, from the cruel treatment they met with, we cannot wonder that they sometimes betrayed an improper temper. *Surely oppression maketh a wise man mad.* Oh, that we may learn to imitate their most amiable endowments!

Though he does not expect to escape the censures of angry partisans, he will thankfully receive any corrections or improvements from those who are disposed to communicate them, promising to make the best use of them in his power. If his endeavours should, through the blessing of God, prove successful in exciting Protestants, of various

denominations, to a zealous imitation of the excellent qualities of their worthy ancestors, he will in no wise lose his reward.

The author wishes here to present a tribute of gratitude to his numerous friends, who have favoured him with the use of books and other materials for the work; and, under a deep sense of his multiplied obligations, he now requests them to accept his most grateful acknowledgments.\* He desires particularly to express his special obligations to the Trustees of Dr. Williams's Library, Red-Cross-Street, London, for the use of several volumes of most curious and valuable manuscripts.

\* Valuable communications of books or manuscripts have been received from the following ministers:—The late Dr. Edward Williams, Rotherham—Dr. Joshua Toulmin, Birmingham—Dr. Abraham Rees, London—Dr. John Pye Smith, Homerton—Mr. Timothy Thomas, Islington—Mr. Joseph Ivimey, London—Mr. John Sutcliff, Olney—Mr. William Harris, Cambridge—Mr. James Gawthorn, Derby—Mr. Joshua Shaw, Ilkeston—Mr. Thomas Roome, Sutton in Ashfield—Mr. William Salt, Lichfield—Mr. John Hammond, Handsworth—Mr. Samuel Bradley, Manchester—Mr. John Cockin, Holmfirth—Mr. John Tallis, Cheadle. Also from the following gentlemen:—Francis Fox, M. D. Derby—John Audley, Esq. Cambridge—Mr. Walter Wilson, London—Mr. J. Simco, ditto—Mr. Joseph Meen, Biggleswade—Mr. T. M. Dash, Kettering—Mr. James Ashton, Leek—Mr. Isaac James, Bristol—Mr. William Daniel, Lichfield.

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# LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

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## INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF NONCONFORMITY FROM THE REFORMATION, TO THE PASSING OF THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY, IN 1662.

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### SECT. I.

*From the Commencement of the Reformation, to the Death of Queen Mary.*

**P**REVIOUS to the accession of King HENRY VIII. popish darkness overspread the whole island of Britain. This was followed by a train of most unhappy consequences. Ignorance, superstition, immorality and persecution were predominant in every part of the kingdom. Those who presumed to think for themselves on religious subjects, and to dissent from the national church, underwent all the oppressions and severities of persecution. From the days of Wickliffe to this time, great numbers of excellent christians and worthy subjects, fell sacrifices to popish cruelty. This proud monarch being at first a most obedient son of the pope, treated the bold confessors of truth as obstinate rebels; and because their piety and integrity condemned his licentiousness, he put multitudes to cruel tortures and to death.

Soon after Luther arose in Saxony, England became affected by his bold and vigorous opposition to the errors of the church of Rome. The young king, vain of his scholastic learning, was unwise enough to meet the bold reformer on the field of controversy, and published a book

against him.\* Luther treated his royal antagonist with sarcastic contempt, contending that truth and science knew no difference between the prince and the plebeian. The pope, however, craftily flattered the vanity of the royal author, by conferring upon him the title of *Defender of the Faith*,† which Henry was weak enough to value as the brightest jewel in his crown. This pompous reward from his holiness was conferred upon him in the year 1521.‡

The haughty king soon discovered his ingratitude. He quarrelled with the pope, renounced his authority, and became his avowed enemy. Being weary of Queen Katharine his wife, with whom he had lived almost twenty years; and having long sought, but in vain, to be divorced by the pope, he was so much offended, that he utterly rejected the papal power, authority and tyranny in England. This was a dreadful blow against the Romish supremacy. But the king soon after procured the dignified and flattering title of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*. This additional jewel to his crown was conferred upon him, first by the clergy in convocation, then by act of parliament.§ Thus, in the year 1534, Henry VIII. having renounced the supremacy of the pope, and having placed himself in the chair of his holiness, at least as far as concerned the English church, did not fail to manifest his usurped power and authority. He did not intend to ease the people of their oppressions, but only change their foreign yoke for domestic fetters, dividing the pope's spoils betwixt himself and his bishops, who cared not for their father at Rome, so long as they enjoyed honours and their patrimony under another head.||

\* Mr. Fox observes, that though "this book carried the king's name in the title, it was another who ministered the motion, and framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of the book, the king had the thanks and the reward."—*Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, vol. ii. p. 57.

† It has been said, that the jester whom Henry, according to the custom of the times, retained at court, seeing the king overjoyed, asked the reason; and when told, that it was because his holiness had conferred upon him this new title, he replied, "my good Harry, let thee and me defend each other, and let the faith alone to defend itself." If this was spoken as a serious joke, the fool was undoubtedly the wisest man of the two.

‡ Burnet's *Hist. of Refor.* vol. i. p. 19.—King Henry afterwards got this sacred title united to the crown, by act of parliament; and, curious and inconsistent as it may appear, it is retained to this day.—*Heylin's Hist. of Pres.* p. 235.

§ Burnet's *Hist. of Refor.* vol. i. p. 112. 136. 157.

|| *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, vol. i. p. 105. Edit. 1810.

On June 9, 1536, assembled the first reformed convocation in England; in which Lord Cromwell, prime secretary, sat in state above the bishops, as the king's vicegerent in all spiritual matters.\* On this occasion, Cromwell, by order of the king, declared, "That it was his majesty's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the church should be reformed by the RULES OF SCRIPTURE, and that nothing should be maintained which did not rest on that authority; for it was absurd, since the scriptures were acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should be had to glosses or the decrees of popes, rather than to them."† Happy had it been, if the reformers of the church of England had invariably adhered to this sacred principle. Much, however, was done even at this early period. The pious reformers rejoiced to see the holy scriptures professedly made the only standard of faith and worship, to the exclusion of all human traditions. The immediate worship of images and saints was now renounced, and purgatory declared uncertain. But the corporeal presence in the sacrament, the preservation and reverence of images, with the necessity of auricular confession, were still retained.‡ The publication of Tindal and Coverdale's Translations of the Bible, greatly promoted the work of reformation; though it soon received a powerful check by the passing of the terrible and bloody act of the Six Articles. By this act, all who spoke against transubstantiation were to be burnt as heretics, and suffer the loss of all their lands and goods; and to defend the communion in both kinds, or the marriage of priests; or, to speak against the necessity of private mass, and auricular confession, was made felony, with the forfeiture of lands and goods.§ Towards the close of this king's reign, the popish party obtained the ascendancy; the severity of persecution was revived; and the Romish superstitions greatly prevailed. Till now, these superstitions had never been denominated *laudable ceremonies, necessary rites, and godly constitutions*. All who refused to observe them, were condemned as traitors against the king. To make the standing of the persecuting prelates more secure, and their severities the more effectual, this was ratified by act of parliament.|| Many excellent persons were, therefore, condemned to the flames: among whom were the famous Mr. Thomas Bilney,

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. v. p. 207.

† Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. i. p. 214.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 72.

§ Ibid. p. 218.

|| Ibid. p. 190.

Mr. Richard Byfield, Mr. John Frith, and Dr. Robert Barnes, all highly celebrated for piety and zeal in the cause of the reformation.\*

King Henry was succeeded by his son, EDWARD VI., a prince of most pious memory. Being only nine years and four months old when he came to the crown, he was free from bigotry and superstition, and ready to observe the instructions of Archbishop Cranmer and the Duke of Somerset, by whose aid and influence, he set himself to promote sound religion. Upon his accession, the penal laws against protestants were abolished; the chains of many worthy persons confined in prison were struck off, the prison-doors were set open, and the sufferers released. Others who had fled from the storm, and remained in a state of exile, now with joy returned home. Among the former were old Bishop Latimer and John Rogers;† and among the latter, were Hooper, afterwards the famous martyr, and Miles Coverdale, afterwards a celebrated puritan.‡ Men of real worth were esteemed and preferred. Hooper became Bishop of Gloucester, and Coverdale was made Bishop of Exeter. The monuments of idolatry, with the superstitious rites and ceremonies, were commanded to be abolished, and a purer form of worship introduced. Though, during this reign, the reformation made considerable progress, the greatest part of the parochial clergy were in a state of most deplorable ignorance: but to remedy, as far as possible, this evil, the pious reformers composed and published the book of Homilies for their use.§ The order of public worship was a Liturgy or Book of Common Prayer, established by act of parliament. Though this act did not pass without much opposition, especially from the bishops, some were so enamoured with the book, that they scrupled not to say, “it was compiled *by the aid of the Holy Ghost.*”||

In the year 1550, the altars in most churches were taken away, and convenient tables set up in their places.¶ “And as the form of a table,” says Burnet, “was more likely to turn the people from the superstition of the popish mass, and bring them to the right use of the Lord’s supper, Bishop Ridley, in his primary visitation, exhorted the

\* Fox’s Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 227, 241, 256, 445.

† Burnet’s Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 25.

‡ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. vii. p. 371.

§ Burnet’s Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 25, 27.

|| Ibid. p. 94.

¶ MS. Remarks, p. 51.

curates and churchwardens in his diocese, to have it in the fashion of a table, decently covered."\* This was very congenial to the wishes of many of the pious reformers, who, at this early period, publicly avowed their nonconformity to the ecclesiastical establishment. Among the articles of the above visitation, the bishop inquired, "Whether any of the anabaptists' sect, or others, use any unlawful or private conventicles, wherein they use doctrine, or administration of sacraments, separating themselves from the rest of the church? And whether any minister doth refuse to use the common prayers, or minister the sacraments, in that order and form, as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer?"† The disputes about conformity were carried into the pulpits; and whilst some warmly preached against all innovations, others as warmly preached against all the superstitions and corruptions of the old Romish church; so that the court prohibited all preaching, except by persons licensed by the King or the Archbishop of Canterbury.‡

In the convocation of 1552, forty-two Articles of Religion were agreed upon by the bishops and clergy, to which subscription was required of all ecclesiastical persons, who should officiate or enjoy any benefice in the church. And all who should refuse, were to be excluded from all ecclesiastical preferment. This appears to be the first time that subscription to the articles was enjoined.§ Here the reformation under King Edward made a stand.

During this king's reign, there were numerous debates about the habits, rites and ceremonies; and many divines of great learning and piety, became zealous advocates for nonconformity. They excepted against the clerical vestments, kneeling at the communion, godfathers and their promises and vows in baptism, the superstitious observance of Lent, the oath of canonical obedience, pluralities and nonresidence, with many other things of a similar description.¶ At this early period, there was a powerful and very considerable party disaffected to the established liturgy.‡ Though the reformation had already made considerable progress, its chief promoters were concerned for its further advancement. They aimed at a more perfect work; and

\* Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 158.

† Sparrow's Collection, p. 36.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 195.

§ Sparrow's Collection, p. 39.—Strype's Eccl. Mem. vol. ii. p. 420.

¶ MS. Remarks, p. 51.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. vii. p. 426.

manifested their disapprobation of the numerous popish ceremonies and superstitions still retained in the church. King Edward desired that the rites and ceremonies used under popery, should be purged out of the church, and that the English churches might be brought to the APOSTOLIC PURITY. Archbishop Cranmer was also very desirous to promote the same;\* and he is said to have drawn up a book of prayers incomparably more perfect than that which was then in use; but he was connected with so wicked a clergy and convocation, it could not take place.† And the king in his diary laments, that he could not restore the primitive discipline according to his heart's desire, because several of the bishops, some through age, some through ignorance, some on account of their ill name, and some out of love to popery, were opposed to the design.‡ Bishop Latimer complained of the stop put to the reformation, and urged the necessity of reviving the primitive discipline.§ The professors of our two universities, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, both opposed the use of the clerical vestments. To Martyr the vestments were offensive, and he would not wear them. "When I was at Oxford," says he, "I would never use those white garments in the choir; and I was satisfied in what I did." He styled them *mere relics of popery*. Bucer giving his advice, said, "That as those garments had been abused to superstition, and were likely to become the subject of contention, they ought to be taken away by law; and ecclesiastical discipline, and a more thorough reformation, set up. He disapproved of godfathers answering in the child's name. He recommended that pluralities and nonresidences might be abolished; and that bishops might not be concerned in secular affairs, but take care of their dioceses, and govern them by the advice of their presbyters." The pious king was so much pleased with this advice, that "he set himself to write upon a further reformation, and the necessity of church discipline."|| Bucer was displeased with various corruptions in the liturgy. "It cannot be expressed, how bitterly he bewailed, that, when the gospel began to spread in England, a greater regard was not had to discipline and purity of rites, in constituting the

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 73.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 299.

† Troubles at Frankeford, p. 43.

‡ King Edward's Remains, numb. 2. in Burnet, vol. ii.

§ Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 152.

|| Ibid. vol. ii. p. 155—157.

churches.”\* He could never be prevailed upon to wear the surplice. And when he was asked why he did not wear the *square cap*? he replied, “Because my head is not square.”† The famous Dr. Thomas Sampson, afterwards one of the heads of the puritans, excepted against the habits at his ordination, who, nevertheless, was admitted by Cranmer and Ridley.‡ But the celebrated John Rogers and Bishop Hooper, according to Fuller, were “the very ringleaders of the nonconformists. They renounced all ceremonies practised by the papists, conceiving (as he has expressed it) that such ought not only to be clipt with shears, but shaven with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof pluckt out.”§

The sad effects of retaining the popish habits in the church, began to appear at a very early period. In the year 1550, a debate arose, which to some may appear of small consequence; but, at this time, was considered of great importance to the reformation. The debate was occasioned by Dr. Hooper's nomination to the bishopric of Gloucester. Burnet denominates him a pious, zealous, and learned man. Fuller says, he was well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.|| He was some time chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, and a famous preacher in the city of London;‡ but declined the offered preferment for two reasons,—1. Because of the form of the oath, which he calls foul and impious. And, 2. Because of the popish garments. The oath required him to swear by *the saints*, as well as by the name of God; which Hooper thought impious, because the Searcher of Hearts alone ought to be appealed to in an oath. The young king being convinced of this, struck out the words with his own pen.\*\* But the scruples about the habits were not so easily got over. The king and council were inclined to dispense with them, as his majesty openly signified in the above letter to Cranmer: but Cranmer and Ridley were of another

\* Heylin's Hist. of Refor. p. 65. † Strype's Parker, Appen. p. 41.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 192.

§ Church Hist. b. vii. p. 402.

|| Burnet's Refor. vol. iii. p. 199.—Fuller's Church Hist. b. vii. p. 402, 403.—King Edward, in his letter of nomination to Cranmer, dated Aug. 5, 1550, writes thus: “We, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well-worthy Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our Bishop of Gloucester; as well for his learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the scriptures, and profane learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation.”—*Ibid.*

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 211.

\*\* Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 203.

mind, and refused their allowance. Ridley was therefore nominated to a deputation with Hooper, with a view to bring him to a compliance; but this proved ineffectual. Hooper still remained unconvinced, and prayed to be excused from the old symbolizing popish garments. These garments, he observed, had no countenance in scripture or primitive antiquity: they were the inventions of antichrist, and introduced into the church in the most corrupt ages: they had been abused to idolatry, particularly in the pompous celebration of the mass: and to continue the use of them, was, in his opinion, to symbolize with antichrist, to mislead the people, and inconsistent with the simplicity of the christian religion.\* He could appeal to the Searcher of Hearts, that it was not obstinacy, but the convictions of his conscience alone, which made him refuse these garments.†

Ridley's endeavours proving unsuccessful, Hooper was committed to the management of Cranmer, who, being unable to bring him to conformity, laid the affair before the council, and he was committed to the Fleet. Having remained in prison for several months, the matter was compromised, when he was released and consecrated.‡ He consented to put on the vestments at his consecration, when he preached before the king, and in his own cathedral; but was suffered to dispense with them at other times.§ How this business was adjusted, and with what degree of severity he was persecuted, is related by Mr. Fox, in the Latin edition of his "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs." The passage, says Mr. Peirce, he hath left out in all his English editions, out of too great tenderness to the party. "Thus," says Mr. Fox, "ended this theological quarrel in the victory of the bishops, Hooper being forced to recant; or, to say the least, being constrained to appear once in public, attired after the manner of the bishops. Which, unless he had done, there are those who think the bishops would have endeavoured to take away his life: for his servant told me," adds the martyrologist, "that the Duke of Suffolk sent such word to Hooper, who was not himself ignorant of what they were doing."¶ Horrid barbarity! Who, before Hooper, was ever thrown into prison, and in danger of his life, merely

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 62. † Fuller's Church Hist. b. vii. p. 404.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 211—215.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xviii. p. 269.

§ Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 166.

¶ Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 30.

because he refused a bishopric? It was certainly some kind of excuse, that the bishops would not consecrate him contrary to law; but there can be no excuse for his imprisonment, and their conspiring to take away his life. When Hooper wished to be excused accepting the offered preferment upon the conditions of the ecclesiastical establishment, was there any law to constrain him, contrary to the convictions of his own conscience? Ridley, however, who was by far the most severe against Hooper, lived to change his opinions, as will appear hereafter.

Most of the reforming clergy were of Hooper's sentiments in this controversy. Several who had submitted to the habits in the late reign, now laid them aside: among whom were Bishops Latimer and Coverdale, Dr. Rowland Taylor, John Rogers, John Bradford, and John Philpot, all zealous nonconformists. They declaimed against them as mere popish and superstitious attire, and not fit for the ministers of the gospel.\* Indeed, they were not so much as pressed upon the clergy in general, but mostly left as matters of indifference.†

During this reign, certain persons denominated anabaptists, having fled from the wars in Germany, and come to England, propagated their sentiments and made proselytes in this country. Complaints being brought against them to the council, Archbishop Cranmer, with several of the bishops and others, received a commission, April 12, 1550, "to examine and search after all anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the common prayer." As they were able to discover such persons, they were to endeavour to reclaim them, and, after penance, to give them absolution; but all who continued obstinate, were to be excommunicated, imprisoned, and delivered over to the secular power. Several tradesmen in London being convened before the commissioners, abjured; but Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, was made a public example. She steadfastly maintained, "That Christ was not truly incarnate of the virgin, whose flesh being sinful, he could not partake of it; but the word, by the consent of the inward man of the virgin, took flesh of her."‡ These were her own words; not capable of doing much mischief, and, surely, undeserving any severe punishment. The poor woman could not reconcile the spotless purity of

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 35. (30.)

† Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 310, 311.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. Collec. p. 168.

Christ's human nature, with his receiving flesh from a sinful creature; for which she was declared an obstinate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt. The compassionate young king thought, that burning persons for their religious opinions savoured too much of that for which they censured the papists; therefore, when he could not prevail upon himself to sign the warrant for her execution, Cranmer, with his superior learning, was employed to persuade him. He argued from the practice of the Jewish church in stoning blasphemers; which *silenced*, rather than *satisfied* the king. He still looked upon it as cruel severity. And when at last he yielded to the archbishop's importunity, he told him, with tears in his eyes, "That if he did wrong, since it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to God." This is said to have struck the archbishop with much horror; yet he suffered the sentence to be executed.\*

Besides those denominated anabaptists, there were also many others who administered the sacraments in other manner than was prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer. To prevent the number of these nonconformists from increasing, and to crush all who had already imbibed their sentiments, another commission was issued, empowering the archbishop and others to correct and punish them.† And in the year 1552, Cranmer and others received a third commission from the council, to examine a certain sect newly sprung up in Kent.‡ This was a sect of nonconformists, though their peculiar sentiments do not appear. Mr. Fox, in the Latin edition of his "Martyrs," observes, "That one Humphrey Middleton,§ with some others, had been kept prisoners in the last year of King Edward by the archbishop, and had been dreadfully teased by him and the rest in commission, and were now just upon the point of being condemned; when in open court he said: *Well, reverend Sir, pass what sentence you think fit upon*

\* Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 111, 112.—This female sufferer, according to Mr. Strype, "was a great reader of the scriptures, and formerly a great disperser of Tindal's New Testament; which book she dispersed in the court, and so became acquainted with certain women of quality. She used, for the greater secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the court." Thus she exposed her own life, in dangerous times, to bring others to a knowledge of God's holy word.—Strype's *Eccl. Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 214.

† Strype's Parker, p. 27.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 291.

§ This person, a native of Ashford, in Kent, was afterwards burnt in the days of Queen Mary.—Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 313.

us ; but that you may not say you were not forewarned, I testify that your own turn will be next. And accordingly it came to pass ; for a little while after, King Edward died, when the prisoners were set at liberty, and the archbishop and bishops cast into prison.”\* The above severities, shewing the imperfect state of the English reformation, will be handed down to posterity, as monuments of lasting reproach to our famous reformers. Persecution, whoever may be the persecutors, deserves ever to appear in all its detestable and shocking features.

In the year 1553, upon the death of King Edward, his sister MARY coming to the crown, soon overturned the reformation, and restored the whole body of popery. The queen was a violent papist ; yet she at first declared, “ That though her conscience was settled in matters of religion, she was resolved not to compel others, only by the preaching of the word.”† How far her majesty adhered to this sacred maxim, the numerous tragic scenes of her bloody reign, afford too strong a proof. She, within the same month, prohibited all preaching without her special license ; and further declared, “ That she would not compel her subjects to be of her religion, till public order should be taken.”‡ This was a clear intimation of the approaching storm. Many of the principal reformers were immediately cast into prison. Hooper was sent to the Fleet, and Cranmer and Latimer to the Tower, and above a thousand persons retired into foreign parts :§ among whom were five bishops, five deans, four archdeacons, and a great number of doctors in divinity, and celebrated preachers. In the number of worthy exiles were Coverdale, Turner, Sampson, Whitehead, Becon, Lever, Whittingham, and Fox, all afterwards famous in the days of Queen Elizabeth.¶ The two archbishops and most of the bishops were deprived of their sees. The most celebrated preachers in London were put under confinement, and no less than 12,000 of the clergy, for being married, were turned out of their livings ; some of whom were deprived without conviction ; some were never cited to appear ; and many, being confined in prison, and unable to appear, were cited and deprived for non-appearance. In the mean time, the service and reformation of King Edward were abolished, and the old popish worship and ceremonies revived.¶

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 35.

† Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 245. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 247, 250.

¶ Strype's Cranmer, p. 314. ¶ Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 276.

During this queen's reign, several hundred persons suffered death under the foul charge of heresy;\* among whom were great numbers of pious and learned divines, all zealous for the reformation. Many of these divines being avowed nonconformists in the reign of King Edward, maintained their principles even at the stake. Mr. John Rogers, the protomartyr, peremptorily refused to wear the habits, unless the popish priests were enjoined to wear upon their sleeves, as a mark of distinction, a *chalice with an host*. The same may be observed of Mr. John Philpot and Mr. Tymes, two other eminent martyrs.† Bishop Latimer derided the garments; and when they pulled off the surplice at his degradation, he said, *Now I can make no more holy water*. In the articles against Bishop Farrar, it was objected, that he had vowed never to wear the *cap*, but that he came into his cathedral in his long gown and hat; which he did not deny, alleging that he did it to avoid superstition, and giving offence to the people.‡ When the popish vestments were put upon Dr. Taylor, at his degradation, he walked about with his hands by his sides, saying, "How say you, my lord, am I not a *godly fool*? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these *apish toys and toying trumpery*?" And it is observed, that when the surplice was pulled off, he said, *Now I am rid of a fool's coat*.§ The famous John Bradford excepted against the habits, and was ordained without them; and even Cranmer and Ridley, who, in the late reign had exercised great severity against Hooper and others, lived to see their mistakes, and to repent of their conduct. Cranmer being clothed in the habits, at his degradation, said, "All this needeth not. I had myself done with this years ago."¶ Ridley, when he refused to put on the surplice at his degradation, and they put it on by force, "vehemently inveighed against it, calling it *foolish and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play*."‡ And even during his confinement in prison, he wrote to Hooper, saying, "That

\* Burnet reckons the number of those who suffered in the flames to be 284; and Mr. Strype, 288; but it is said there were no less than 800, during Queen Mary's bloody persecution.—*Ibid.* p. 364.—*Strype's Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. Appen. p. 291.

† Heylin's *Hist. of Refor.* part i. p. 93.

‡ Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 168, 172.

§ *Ibid.* p. 143.

¶ It is observed that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to have procured an act for abolishing the habits, but were prevented.—*Peirce's Vindication*, part i. p. 44.

‡ Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 427.

he was entirely knit to him, though in some circumstances of religion they had formerly jarred a little; wherein it was Hooper's wisdom, and his own simplicity, which had made the difference."\*

All the severe persecution in this queen's reign, did not extinguish the light of the English reformation. Great numbers were driven, indeed, into exile, and multitudes suffered in the flames, yet many, who loved the gospel more than their lives, were enabled to endure the storm. Congregations were formed in various parts of the kingdom. There was a considerable congregation of these excellent christians, at Stoke, in Suffolk; with whom, on account of their number and unanimity, the bishops were for some time afraid to interfere. They constantly attended their private meetings, and never went to the parish church. An order was at length sent to the whole society, requiring them to receive the popish sacrament, or abide by the consequences. But the good people having assembled for the purpose of consultation, unanimously resolved not to comply. In about six months, the Bishop of Norwich sent his officers, strictly charging them to go to church on the following Lord's day, or, in case of failure, to appear before the commissary to give an account of their conduct. But having notice of this, they kept out of the way to avoid the summons. When they neither went to church, nor appeared before the commissary, the angry prelate suspended and excommunicated the whole congregation. And when officers were appointed to apprehend them, they left the town, and so escaped all the days of Queen Mary.†

The most considerable of these congregations, was that which met in and about London. Owing to the vigilance of their enemies, these people were obliged to assemble with the utmost secrecy; and though there were about 200 members, they remained for a considerable time undiscovered. Their meetings were held alternately in Aldgate, in Blackfriars, in Pudding-lane, in Thames-street, and in ships upon the river. Sometimes they assembled in the villages about London, especially at Islington, that they might the more easily elude the bishops' officers. To

\* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 217.—Bishop Ridley was a famous disputant against the papists. He forced them to acknowledge, that Christ in his last supper, held himself in his hand, and afterwards eat himself.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 159.

† Clark's Martyrologie, p. 515.

screen themselves from the notice of their persecutors, they often met in the night, and experienced many wonderful providential deliverances.\* Their public devotions were conducted by the following ministers : Edmund Scambler, afterwards successively Bishop of Peterborough and Norwich, Mr. Fowler, Mr. John Rough, Mr. Augustine Birnher, Thomas Bentham, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Mr. John Pullain, afterwards an excellent puritan.†

During Mr. Rough's ministry among these people, he was apprehended, with Mr. Cuthbert Sympson and some others, at a house in Islington, where the church was about to assemble for prayer and preaching the word ; and being taken before the council, after several examinations, he was sent to Newgate, and his case committed to the management of Bonner. The character of this prelate, whose hands were so deeply stained with innocent blood, needs no colouring in this place : the faithful pages of history will always hold it up to the execration of mankind. In his hands, Mr. Rough met with the most relentless cruelty. Not content with degrading him, and delivering him over to the secular power, the furious prelate flew upon him, and plucked the beard from his face. And, at length, after much cruel usage, he ended his life in the flames, in December, 1557.‡ Mr. Sympson, who was deacon of the church, was a pious, faithful, and zealous man, labouring incessantly to preserve the flock from the errors of popery, and to secure them from the dangers of persecution. At the time of his apprehension, the whole church was, indeed, in the utmost danger. It was Mr. Sympson's office to keep a book, containing the names of all the persons belonging to the congregation, which book he always carried to their private assemblies. But it was so ordered, by the good

\* On one of these nocturnal occasions, being assembled in a house, by the side of the river, in Thames-street, they were discovered ; and the house was so guarded, that their enemies were sure none could escape. But among them was a worthy mariner, who, seeing no other way of deliverance, got out at a back door ; and swimming to a boat in the river, brought it ; and having received all the good people into it, he made oars of his shoes, and conveyed them all away in safety.—*Clark's Martyrologie*, p. 515, 516.

† *Ibid.*—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 292.

‡ *Fox's Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 722, 726.—Mr. Rough had been a celebrated preacher in Scotland, and also in England, in the reign of Edward VI. A sermon which he delivered in the parish church of St. Andrew, was made a great blessing to the celebrated Mr. John Knox, and proved the means of bringing him forth to engage in his public ministry.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2965. Edit. 1747.

providence of God, that on the day of his apprehension, he left it with Mrs. Rough, the minister's wife.\* Two or three days after this, he was sent to the Tower. During his confinement, because he would not discover the book, nor the names of the persons, he was cruelly racked three several times; and an arrow was tied between his two fore-fingers, and drawn out so violently as to cause the blood to gush forth; but all was without effect. He was then committed to Bonner, who bore this testimony concerning him before a number of spectators: "You see what a personable man this is; and for his patience, if he were not an heretic, I should much commend him. For he has been thrice racked in one day, and, in my house, he hath endured some sorrow; and yet I never saw his patience once moved." The relentless prelate, nevertheless, condemned him, ordering him first into the stocks in his coal-house, and from thence to Smithfield; where with Mr. Fox and Mr. Davenish, two others of the church taken at Islington, he ended his life in the flames.+ Seven more of this church were burnt in Smithfield, six at Brentford, and others died in prison.‡

The numerous divines who fled from the persecution of Queen Mary, retired to Frankfort, Strasburgh, Zurich, Basil, Geneva, and other places; but they were most numerous at Frankfort. At this place it was, that a contest and division commenced, which gave rise to the PURITANS, and to that SEPARATION from the church of England which continues to this day. The exiles were in no place so happily settled as at Frankfort; where the senate gave them the use of a church, on condition that they should not vary from the French reformed church, either in doctrine or ceremonies. According to these conditions, they drew up a new liturgy, more agreeable to those of the foreign churches, omitting the responses and the litany, with many trifling ceremonies in the English prayer book, and declined the use of the surplice. They took possession

\* A few nights before this, Mr. Rough had a remarkable dream. He thought he saw Mr. Sympson taken by two of the guard, and with the book above-mentioned. This giving him much trouble, he awoke, and related the dream to his wife. Afterwards, falling asleep, he again dreamt the same thing. Upon his awaking the second time, he determined to go immediately to Mr. Sympson, and put him upon his guard; but while he was getting ready, Mr. Sympson came to his house with the book, which he deposited with Mrs. Rough, as above related.—*Fox*, vol. iii. p. 726.

† *Ibid.* p. 726, 729.—*Clark's Martyrologie*, p. 497.

‡ *Fox's Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 732, 734.

of the church, July 29, 1554; and having chosen a temporary minister and deacons, they sent to their brethren, who had fled to other places, inviting them to Frankfort, where they might hear God's word truly preached, the sacraments duly administered, and the requisite christian discipline properly exercised: privileges which could not be obtained in their own country.\* The members of the congregation sent for Mr. John Knox from Geneva, Mr. James Haddon from Strasburgh, and Mr. Thomas Lever from Zurich, requesting them to take the oversight of them in the Lord.

The church at Frankfort being thus comfortably settled with pastors, deacons, and a liturgy, according to its own choice; Dr. Richard Cox, a man of a high spirit, coming to that city, with some of his friends, broke through the conditions of the new-formed church, and interrupted the public service by answering aloud after the minister. On the Lord's day following, one of the company, equally officious as himself, ascended the pulpit, and read the whole litany. Mr. Knox, upon this, taxed the authors of this disorder with a breach of the terms of their common agreement, and affirmed, that some things in the Book of Common Prayer were superstitious and impure. Dr. Cox reprov'd him for his censoriousness; and being admitted, with the rest of his company, to vote in the congregation, obtained a majority, prohibiting Mr. Knox from preaching any more.† But Mr. Knox's friends applied to the magistrates, who commanded them to unite with the *French* church both in doctrine and ceremonies, according to their original agreement. Dr. Cox and his party finding Knox's interest among the magistrates too strong, had recourse to an unworthy and unchristian method to get rid of him. This divine having published a book, while he was in England, entitled "An Admonition to Christians," in which he had said, "That the emperor was no less an enemy to Christ than Nero," these overbearing fellow-exiles basely availed themselves of this and some other expressions in the book, and accused him of high treason against the emperor. Upon this, the senate being tender of the emperor's honour, and unwilling to embroil themselves in these controversies, desired Mr. Knox, in a respectful manner, to depart from the city. So he left the place, March 25, 1555.

\* Troubles at Frankford, p. 1—3.

† Cox and his friends were admitted to vote in the congregation, through the particular solicitations of Mr. Knox.—*Ibid.* p. 33.

Upon Mr. Knox's departure, Cox's party having strengthened themselves by the addition of other exiles, petitioned the magistrates for the free use of King Edward's service-book; which they were pleased to grant. The old congregation was thus broken up by Dr. Cox and his friends, who now carried all before them. They chose new church-officers, taking no notice of the old ones, and set up the service-book without interruption. Among those who were driven from the peaceable and happy congregation, were Knox, Gilby, Goodman, Cole, Whittingham, and Fox, all celebrated nonconformists in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.\* From the above account, it will sufficiently appear who were the aggressors. Bishop Burnet, with great injustice, says, "That Knox and his party certainly began the breach."†

Towards the close of this queen's unhappy reign, her government having sustained many losses, her spirits failed, her health declined, and, being seized with the dropsy, she died November 17, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age, having reigned a little more than five years and four months. Queen Mary was a princess of severe principles, and being wholly under the controul of her clergy, was ever forward to sanction all their cruelties. Her conscience was under the absolute direction of the pope and her confessor; who, to encourage her in the extirpation of heresy, and in all the cruelties inflicted upon protestants, gave her assurance, that she was doing God service. She was naturally of a melancholy and peevish temper; and her death was lamented only by her popish clergy.‡ Her reign was in every respect calamitous to the nation, and will be transmitted to posterity in characters of blood.



## SECT. II.

*From the Death of Queen Mary, to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.*

THE accession of Queen ELIZABETH to the crown, gave new life to the Reformation. The news had no sooner reached the continent, than most of the worthy exiles with joy returned home; and those who had concealed themselves, during the late storm, came forth as men restored from the

\* Troubles at Frankeford, p. 1—&amp;c.

† Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 339.

‡ Ibid. p. 369—371.

dead.\* By the queen's royal proclamation, the public worship of God remained some time without alteration. All preaching was prohibited; and the people were charged to hear only the epistles and gospels for the day, the ten commandments, the litany, the Lord's prayer, and the creed, in English. No other prayers were to be read, nor other forms of worship to be observed, than those already appointed by law, till the meeting of parliament.†

The parliament being assembled, the two famous acts, entitled "The Act of Supremacy,"‡ and "The Act of Uniformity of Common Prayer," were passed. The former gave rise to a new ecclesiastical court, called *The Court of HIGH COMMISSION*, which, by the exercise of its unlimited power and authority, became the engine of inconceivable oppression to multitudes of the queen's best subjects. The latter attempted, indeed, to establish a perfect uniformity in public worship, but it could never be effected.§ During the whole of this reign, many of the best divines and others, were dissatisfied with the Book of Common Prayer, and with the rigorous imposition of it in divine worship. Some things contained in the book, they considered to be erroneous; others superstitious; and the greater part to be derived from the corrupt fountain of popery, and, therefore, could not with a good conscience observe the whole; on which account, they were treated by the prelates with the utmost severity. The principal debate in the first parliament of this queen's reign, was not whether popery or protestantism should be established; but whether they should carry on the reformation, so happily begun in the days of King Edward, to a greater degree of perfection, and abolish all the remains of superstition, idolatry, and

\* It is observed, that when the exiles and others came forwards in public, a certain gentleman made suit to the queen, in behalf of *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John*, who had long been imprisoned in a Latin translation, that they also might be restored to liberty, and walk abroad as formerly in the English tongue. To this petition her majesty immediately replied, "That he should first know the minds of the prisoners, who perhaps desired no such liberty as he requested."—*Heylin's Hist. of Refor.* p. 275.

† Burnet's *Hist. of Refor.* vol. ii. p. 378.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 41—44.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 69.

§ This act was designed to establish a perfect and universal conformity, among the laity, as well as the clergy. It required "all persons diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse, to resort to their parish church, every Sunday and all holidays, on pain of punishment by the censures of the church, and also on pain of forfeiting twelve-pence for every such offence, to be levied by way of distress."—*Burn's Eccl. Law*, vol. ii. p. 145. Edit. 1775.

popish innovations, which being still retained in the church, were stumbling blocks to many worthy subjects.\*

In the year 1559, the queen published her *Injunctions*, consisting of upwards of *fifty* distinct articles. She commanded all her loving subjects obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep them, according to their offices, degrees and estates, upon pain of suspension, deprivation, excommunication, and such other censures as to those who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction under her majesty, should seem meet.† Though in these injunctions the queen manifested some disapprobation of the Romish superstitions and idolatry, she was much inclined to retain images in churches, and thought they were useful in exciting devotion, and in drawing people to public worship. Her object was to unite the papists and protestants together.‡ She still retained a crucifix upon the altar, with lights burning before it, in her own chapel, when three bishops officiated, all in rich copes, before the idol.§ Instead of stripping religion of the numerous, pompous ceremonies with which it was incumbered, she was inclined rather to keep it as near as possible to the Romish ritual: and even some years after her accession, one of her chaplains having preached in defence of the *real presence*, she presented her public thanks to him, for his *pains and piety*.|| She spoke with great bitterness against the marriage of the clergy, and repented having made married persons bishops.¶ Her majesty having appointed a committee of divines to review King Edward's liturgy, she commanded them to strike out all passages offensive to the pope, and to make the people easy about the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament.\*\* The liturgy was, therefore, exceedingly well fitted to the approbation of the papists.†† The queen commanded, that the Lord's table should be placed in the form of an altar; that reverence should be made at the name of Jesus; that music should be retained in the churches; and that all the festivals should be observed as in times of popery.‡‡ The reformation of King Edward, therefore, instead of being carried forwards and perfected, was, according to Burnet, removed considerably backwards, partly

\* MS. Remarks, p. 463.

† Sparrow's Collec. p. 65—86.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 397.

§ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 292.

|| Heylin's Hist. of Refor. p. 124. Edit. 1670.

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 109.

\*\* Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 392.

†† Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 259.

‡‡ Heylin's Hist. of Refor. p. 283. Edit. 1674.

from the queen's love of outward magnificence in religion, and partly in compliance with the papists.\*

Many of our excellent reformers who had espoused the cause of nonconformity, in the days of King Edward, retained their principles, and acted upon them, during their exile in a foreign land, especially those who being driven from Frankfort, settled at Geneva and other places. Nor did they forget their principles upon the accession of Elizabeth. Having settled for several years among the best reformed churches in Europe, they examined more minutely the grand principles of the reformation, and returned home richly fraught with wisdom and knowledge. They wished to have the church purged of all its anti-christian errors and superstitions, and to have its discipline, its government, and its ceremonies, as well as its doctrine, regulated by the standard of holy scripture. On the contrary, many of the bishops and clergy being too well affected to popery, opposed a thorough reformation, accounting that of King Edward sufficient, or more than sufficient, for the present church of England. Therefore, so early as in the year mentioned above, there were many warm debates betwixt the two contending parties.†

In addition to the oath of supremacy, a compliance with the act of uniformity, and an exact observance of the queen's injunctions, a public creed was drawn up by the bishops, entitled "A Declaration of certain principal Articles of Religion," which all clergymen were obliged to read publicly at their entrance upon their cures. These were, at this time, the terms of ministerial conformity. There was no dispute among the reformers, about the first and last of these qualifications, but they differed in some points about the other two. Many of the learned exiles and others, could not, with a good conscience, accept of livings according to the act of uniformity and the queen's injunctions. If the popish garments and ceremonies had been left indifferent, and some liberties allowed in the use of the common prayer, the contentions and divisions which afterwards followed, would no doubt have been prevented. But as the case then stood, it was almost miraculous that the reformation did not fall back to popery; and if some of the nonconforming divines had not in part complied, in hopes of the removal of these grievances at some future period, that would most probably have been the unhappy

\* Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 305.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 407.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxvii. p. 387.

consequence. Many churches were for a considerable time without ministers, and not a few mechanics, and persons altogether unlearned, were preferred, which brought much reproach upon the protestant cause; while others of the first rank for learning, piety and usefulness, were laid aside in silence. There was, indeed, very little preaching through the whole country.\* The Bishop of Bangor writes, during this year, "that he had only two preachers in all his diocese."† Indeed the bishops in general were not insensible of the calamity; but instead of opening the door a little wider, for the allowance of the more conscientious and zealous reformers, they admitted the meanest and most illiterate, who would come up to the terms of conformity.‡ And even at this early period, there were many of the clergy, who, though preferred to benefices, could not conform, but refused to observe the public service, and to wear the holy garments; at which the queen was exceedingly offended.§ Dr. Matthew Parker was this year consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year 1562, sat the famous convocation, when "The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion," much the same as those of King Edward, were drawn up and subscribed by all the members then sitting, and required to be subscribed by all the clergy in the kingdom. The convocation proceeded next to consider the rites and ceremonies of the church, when Bishop Sandys presented a paper recommending the abolition of private baptism, and the crossing of the infant in the forehead, which, he said, was *needless* and *very superstitious*.|| Another paper was, at the same time, presented to the house, with the following requests:— "That the psalms may be sung distinctly by the whole congregation; and that organs may be laid aside.—That none may baptize but ministers; and that they may leave off the sign of the cross.—That in the administration of the sacrament, the posture of *kneeling* may be left indifferent.—That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away; so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and long garment, as they commonly do in preaching.—That ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps, as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen for the special array of their priesthood.—That the words in the thirty-third article, concerning the

\* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3297. Edit. 1747. † MS. Register, p. 886.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 146.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 106.

|| Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 297.

“punishment of those who do not in all things conform to the public order about ceremonies, may be mitigated.—“That all the saints’ days, festivals, and holidays, bearing the name of a creature, may be abrogated.”—This paper was subscribed by one provost, five deans, twelve archdeacons, and fourteen proctors, many of whom were eminent for learning and ability; but their requests were rejected.\*

In the above convocation, there was a great difference of sentiment among the learned reformers, which occasioned many warm debates upon points of great importance, especially upon this, “Whether it was most proper to retain the outward appearance of things, as near as possible to what had been practised in times of popery.” While the one party maintained the affirmative, the other asserted, that this outward resemblance of the Romish church, would encourage the people in their former practices, nourish in them the old root of popery, and make them a more easy prey to their popish adversaries. Therefore they recommended that every thing might be removed as far as possible from the church of Rome.† In the conclusion, the contrary party prevailed: and the bishops, conceiving themselves empowered by the canons of this convocation, began to exercise their authority by requiring the clergy of their respective dioceses to subscribe to the liturgy, the ceremonies, and the discipline of the church; when such as refused, were branded with the odious name of PURITANS. This was a term of reproach given them by their enemies, because they wished to serve and worship God with greater *purity* than was allowed and established in the church of England.‡ All were stigmatized by this name, who distinguished themselves in the cause of *religious liberty*, and who could not in all points conform to the ecclesiastical establishment.

In the year 1564, Archbishop Parker, with the assistance of several of the bishops, published the *Advertisements*, with a view to secure a due conformity among ecclesiastical persons. By the first of these advertisements, all preachers throughout the province of Canterbury were at once disqualified; and by the last, they were required to subscribe, and promise not to preach or expound the scriptures, without a license from the bishop, which could not be obtained

\* Strype's Annals, p. 298. vol. ii. Adden. p. 15.

† Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 302.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 76.

without a protestation and promise under their hand of an absolute conformity to the ceremonies. No less than eight protestations were also required to be made and subscribed by all who should be admitted to any office or cure in the church.\* Though the archbishop and his brethren at first met with some difficulties in carrying them into effect, (the queen refusing to sanction them,) yet afterwards, presuming upon her majesty's favour, they succeeded according to their wishes.† Upon the approach of these severities, Mr. Whittingham wrote a long and pressing letter to the Earl of Leicester, warmly urging him to interpose with the queen, to hinder their execution. In the conclusion of this most pathetic epistle, he says, "I need not appeal to the word of God, to the history of the primitive church, and to the just judgments of God poured out upon the nations for lack of true reformation. Judge ye betwixt us and our enemies. And if we seek the glory of God alone, the enjoyment of true christian liberty, the overthrow of all idolatry and superstition, and to win souls to Christ; I beseech your honour to pity our case, and use your utmost endeavours to secure our liberty."‡

Many of the clergy in both the universities, and in the country, but especially in the city of London, refused to wear the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice. "And it is marvellous," says Mr. Strype, "how much these habits were abhorred by many honest, well-meaning men; who styled them antichristian ceremonies, and by no means fit to be used in a true christian church."§ But Archbishop Parker and other high commissioners being resolved to reduce the church to one uniform order, cited many of the clergy before them, admonishing some, and threatening others. Among those who appeared, were Dr. Sampson, dean of Christ-church, Oxford, and Dr. Humphrey, president of Magdalen college, in the same university. They were divines of great renown throughout the kingdom, for learning, piety, and zeal for the reformation, but were cast into prison for nonconformity.|| The famous Mr. Whitehead, with several others, was cited at the same

\* Sparrow's Collec. p. 123—128.

† Strype's Parker, p. 151—161.

‡ See Art. Whittingham.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 151.

|| It is proper here to observe, that throughout the Introduction, no authority will be given where the same things are treated more at large in the body of the work. Therefore, in order to examine the evidence of what the author has asserted, as well as a more circumstantial detail of facts, the reader, in all such instances, is directed to the respective articles.

time, and, refusing to subscribe, was immediately suspended. Mr. Becon, another celebrated reformer, being cited, and refusing to subscribe, was immediately sequestered and deprived. Mr. Allen was cited, and received the like censure. Many others were suspended and deprived, who, having wives and children, laboured under great poverty and want. Being driven from their ministerial employment, some, to procure a livelihood, betook themselves to trades, some to husbandry, and some went to sea.\*

The principal reasons of these and other learned divines now refusing conformity, were—1. Because those things which the prelates required, were unsupported by scripture and primitive antiquity.—2. They were not received by other reformed churches.—And, 3. They savoured very much of the errors and superstitions of popery.+ On these grounds, they disapproved of some things in the Book of Common Prayer, and forbore the use of the habits and ceremonies.

In the year 1565, the archbishop and his brethren in commission, not content with exercising all their own authority to its fullest extent, sought the favourable assistance of the council, and enforced an exact conformity to the ecclesiastical establishment with still greater rigour. They convened the London ministers before them; and when they appeared in court, Mr. Robert Cole, a clergyman,‡ being placed by the side of the commissioners in priestly apparel, they were addressed in these words:—"My masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is, that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priest-like, a tippet, and, in the church, a linen surplice. Ye that will subscribe, write *Volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief: make no words." When some of the ministers offered to speak, they were immediately interrupted with the command, "*Peace, peace*; and *apparitor*, call over the churches: ye masters, answer presently under the *penalty of contempt*."§ In the conclusion, sixty-one promised conformity, but *thirty-seven* absolutely refused, being, as the archbishop acknowledged, the best among them. These

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 99.

† MS. Remarks, p. 161.

‡ This Mr. Cole, for his subscription and conformity, was preferred by the archbishop to the benefice of Bow and Allhallows, London.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xxvii. p. 387.

§ Strype's Grindal, p. 98.—*Annals*, vol. i. p. 463.

were immediately suspended, and told, that if they did not conform within three months, they should be deprived of all their spiritual promotions.\* Among those who received the ecclesiastical censure, was Mr. Crowley, who was afterwards deprived and imprisoned. Mr. Brokelsby was sequestered, and afterwards deprived, being the first who was thus censured for refusing to wear the surplice. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, was sequestered and deprived for refusing to wear the surplice, and to use the Book of Common Prayer. The venerable Miles Coverdale was driven from his flock, and obliged to relinquish his benefice. In consequence of these proceedings, many of the churches in London were shut up, for want of ministers. "This," says the archbishop, "was no more than he foresaw before he began; and that when the queen put him upon doing what he had done, he told her, that these precise folks," as in contempt he calls them, "would offer their goods and bodies to prison, rather than they would relent."†

Notwithstanding these proceedings, the nonconformists greatly multiplied, and they were much esteemed and countenanced by persons of quality and influence. God raised them up many friends in both houses of parliament, and in her majesty's privy council: as, the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir William Cecil, and many others. All these were the constant friends of the puritans, and used their power and influence to obtain a further reformation.‡ Though in the latter they utterly failed of success, they often protected the persecuted ministers, or procured their release from suspension, deprivation, and imprisonment.

The principal persons for learning and piety, in the university of Cambridge, not only opposed the above severities, but refused conformity. The fellows and scholars of St. John's college, to the number of nearly *three hundred*, threw away their surplices with one consent; and many in other colleges followed their example.§ This, indeed, presently roused the zeal of the jealous archbishop. He looked upon Cambridge as becoming the very nursery of puritanism; and, therefore, to crush the evil in the bud, he warmly recommended the chancellor to enforce an exact conformity throughout that fountain of learning. In the mean time, the heads of colleges being dissatisfied with these proceedings, wrote a pressing letter to the chancellor,

\* Strype's Parker, p. 211, 215.

† MS. Remarks, p. 111, 193.

‡ Ibid. p. 225.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 441.

wishing him to put a stop to such severe measures. They observe that multitudes of pious and learned men thought in their consciences, that the use of the garments was utterly unlawful; and that the imposition of them upon all in the university, would compel these worthy persons to forsake the place, which would leave the university very destitute. Such an imposition of conformity, say they, will prove exceedingly detrimental to the preaching of the gospel, as well as to good learning.\* The chancellor being a man of great prudence and circumspection, and loath to give offence by using severities, made some demur, with which the archbishop was displeas'd. Those who refused conformity remind the chancellor, that they had cast away the ceremonies, not out of malice, for vain glory, an affection for popularity, contempt of laws, or any desire of innovation, but out of love to the truth. They could call the Searcher of Hearts to witness, that in what they had done, they had sought to enjoy peace of conscience, and the true worship of God. They prayed, therefore, that their consciences might not be brought into a state of most grievous bondage and exquisite torment, by being forced to observe the ceremonies.†

The proceedings of the prelates in censuring so many ministers of high reputation, was very afflictive to the foreign reformed churches. Therefore the famous Beza wrote a letter this year to Bishop Grindal, exposing the evils attending the imposition of conformity. He observes, that "if *they* do offend, who choose to leave their churches, rather than conform to rites and vestments against their consciences; a greater guilt is contracted by *those* who choose to spoil these flocks of able pastors, rather than suffer those pastors to make choice of their own apparel; or, choose to rob the people of the food of their souls, rather than suffer them to receive it otherwise than on their knees."‡ He observes also, that this intended conformity designed "to admit again, not only those garments which are the signs of *Baal's* priests, but also certain rites, which are degenerated into the worst of superstitions: as the signing with the cross, kneeling at the communion, and such like."§

The church of Scotland wrote, at the same time, a most

\* Among those who subscribed this letter was even Dr. John Whitgift, afterwards the celebrated archbishop. This man was now a zealous friend of the nonconformists; but soon after as zealous a persecutor of them.  
—*Strype's Parker*, p. 194.

† *Ibid.* p. 192, 194, 196.

‡ Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 39.

§ *Strype's Grindal*, p. 113.

affectionate and pressing letter to the bishops and pastors of England, exposing the evil of persecution, and recommending peace among brethren. "We understand," say they, "that divers of our dearest brethren, among whom are some of the best learned in the realm, are deprived from the ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, because their consciences will not suffer them to use such garments as idolaters in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry. We crave in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that christian charity may prevail among you. Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing the conscience of man is. If then the surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolatry, and used in the very act of idolatry, what hath the preacher of christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, to do with the dregs of that Romish beast? Our brethren who of conscience refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither condemn, nor molest you, who use such vain trifles. If you should do the like to them, we doubt not that you will please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded by the present extremities. Our humble supplication is, that our brethren among you, who refuse the *Romish rags*, may find such favour of you prelates, as your Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to shew to all others. We expect to receive your gentleness, not only because you fear to offend God's majesty, by troubling your brethren with such vain trifles; but also because you will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren and fellow-preachers of Jesus Christ. We suppose you will esteem us to be of the number of those, who fight against the Romish antichrist, and travel for the advancement of the universal kingdom of Jesus Christ; before whom, we, and you, and your brethren, must soon give an account."\*

Many of the puritans having, for the sake of peace, conformed as far as they possibly could, at length endeavoured, though under great discouragements, to obtain an accommodation. But the prelates proceeding with still greater severity against all who could not come up to the standard of conformity, made it too evidently appear, that they sought not their conformity, but their utter extir-

\* This letter, dated Edinburg, Dec. 27, 1566, is entitled "The ministers and elders of the churches within the realme of Scotlande, to their brethren the bishops and pastours of Englande, who have renounced the Romane antichrist, and doe professe with them the Lord Jesus in sinceritie, desireth the perpetuall increase of the Holy Spirit."—*Parte of a Register*, p. 125—127.

pation. Having made application to certain persons of distinguished eminence, the business was laid before the parliament; and during this year, six bills were brought into the house of commons, to promote a further reformation of the church. They were warmly supported by many eminent statesmen, and one of them passed the house; but coming up to the lords, it met with some opposition; and by the superior power and influence of the bishops, it was cast out.\*

Through the heavy oppressions of the prelates, many of the puritans, both ministers and others, withdrew from the national church, and set up their separate assemblies. They laid aside the ecclesiastical ceremonies and the Book of Common Prayer, and worshipped God in a way which to them appeared more agreeable to the word of God. The reason assigned for their separation was, "that the ceremonies of antichrist were so tied to the service of God, that no one might preach, or administer the sacraments without them, being compelled to observe these things by law." If the use of the habits and certain ceremonies had been left discretionary, both ministers and people would no doubt have been easy. This being denied, they entered into a serious consultation, when they came to this conclusion: "That, since they could not have the word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered, without *idolatrous gear*; and since there had been a separate congregation in London, and another at Geneva, in Queen Mary's time, which used a book and order of preaching, administration of the sacraments and discipline, which the great Mr. Calvin approved of, and which was freed from the superstitions of the English service: that therefore it was their duty in their present circumstances, to break off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had opportunity in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend their consciences."† This was about the year 1566, and was the æra of that SEPARATION from the church of England which continues to this day.

The chief leaders of the separation were Messrs. Coleman, Button, Halingham, Benson, and Hawkins, all, according to Fuller, active and zealous nonconformists, beneficed within the diocese of London.‡ Notwithstanding

\* MS. Remarks, p. 463.

† Parte of a Register, p. 25.—Strype's Parker, p. 241, 242.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 81.

the threatenings and severities of the prelates, they continued to meet in their private assemblies, as they found opportunity; and oftentimes assembled in the fields and the woods in the neighbourhood of London, to avoid the discovery of their watchful enemies.\* But they ventured at length to appear more openly; and June 19, 1567, having agreed to have a sermon and the Lord's supper at Plumbers-hall in the city, they hired the place, as some one intimated, under pretence of a wedding. Here, the sheriffs and other officers discovered them, and broke up their meeting, when about one hundred were assembled; most of whom were taken into custody, and sent to Bridewell, the Compter, and other prisons. Having remained in prison nearly two years, and their patience and constancy being sufficiently tried, twenty-four men and seven women were released by an order from the council.†

The puritans of these times had many objections against the established church. They complained of the assumed superiority of bishops above presbyters.—They excepted against the numerous, pompous titles of ecclesiastical officers.—They complained of the exorbitant power and jurisdiction of the prelates.—They lamented the want of *godly discipline*.—They disliked some things in the public liturgy: as, the frequent repetition of the Lord's prayer, the responses, some things in the office of marriage, the burial of the dead, &c.—They disliked the reading of the apocryphal books, to the exclusion of some parts of canonical scripture.—They disallowed of the cathedral mode of worship.—They disapproved of the church festivals or holidays, as having no foundation in scripture.—They disapproved of pluralities, nonresidence, and lay patrons.—And they scrupled conformity to certain rites and ceremonies: as, the cross in baptism; the promises and vows; the use of sponsors, to the exclusion of parents; the custom of confirming children; kneeling at the Lord's supper; bowing at the name of Jesus; the ring in marriage; and the wearing of the surplice, with other ceremonies equally without foundation in scripture.‡

During the above year, the puritans felt the oppressions of the ruling ecclesiastics. Mr. Evans was convened before them and prosecuted, for keeping conventicles. Mr. Lawrence, a Suffolk divine of great eminence, was suspended for nonconformity; and Dr. Hardyman suffered deprivation.

\* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 259.

† Strype's Grindal, p. 136.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 209—213.

Mr. Stroud, minister of Yalding, in Kent, was cast into prison, excommunicated, deprived of his ministry, reduced to extreme poverty, and obliged to enter upon the employment of correcting the press for his support. Other puritans, denominated peaceable nonconformists, obtained for some time a connivance or toleration. These were Drs. Sampson, Humphrey, Wyburn, Penny and Coverdale, with Messrs. Fox, Lever, and Johnson.\*

About the year 1570, other oppressions were inflicted upon certain London ministers: Mr. Crane and Mr. Bonham were both silenced and cast into prison for nonconformity. The former was afterwards for the same crime committed to Newgate; where, after languishing a long time under the hardships of the prison, he was delivered by death from all his afflictions. Mr. Axton, an excellent divine, for refusing the apparel, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Lord's supper, was convened before the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and, after a long examination, was deprived and driven to seek his bread in a foreign land. The celebrated Mr. Cartwright, of Cambridge, was cited before Dr. Whitgift and others, when he was deprived of his public ministry, expelled from the university, and forced to depart out of the kingdom. Innumerable, indeed, were the hardships under which the puritans groaned. By the rigorous proceedings of the ruling prelates, the church was deprived of many of its brightest ornaments; and nearly all its faithful pastors were ejected; especially in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Norfolk, and Suffolk.† While these ravages were made upon the church of Christ, several thousands of ministers of inferior character, such as common swearers, drunkards, gamesters, whoremongers, and massing priests, only because they were conformable, continued in their offices, enjoyed their livings, and obtained preferment. Most of the bishops having endured persecution and banishment in the days of Queen Mary, and being now exalted by promotion, honour, and wealth, forgot their former condition, and persecuted their brethren of the same faith, who could not come up to the standard of conformity.‡

At this period, there was considerable variety in the *kind* of bread used in the Lord's supper: some ministers, in conformity to the papists and the queen's injunctions, used the *wafer* bread; but others, in conformity to scripture

\* Strype's Parker, p. 243.

† MS. Register, p. 147.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 2—9.

and the convictions of their own minds, renounced the popish relict, and used the *loaf* bread. This gave great offence and much trouble to Archbishop Parker, who, with the assistance of Bishop Grindal, laboured much to bring all the clergy to an exact uniformity.\*

The above proceedings having excited considerable alarm in the nation, some attempts were made in the parliament of 1571, to obtain a reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. The motion was warmly supported by some of the ablest statesmen; but was no sooner become the subject of public discussion, than the queen took great offence, and forbade the house to concern itself about such matters.+ The commons ventured, however, to present a supplication to her majesty, in which they observe, that for want of true ecclesiastical discipline, there were great numbers of ministers of infamous lives, while those possessed of abilities for the sacred function were cast aside as useless. They complain of the great increase of popery, atheism and licentiousness, by which the protestant religion was in imminent danger. "And," say they, "being moved with pity towards so many thousands of your majesty's subjects, daily in danger of being lost for want of the food of the word, and true discipline; we, the commons in this present parliament assembled, are humbly bold to open the griefs, and to seek the salving of the sores of our country; and to beseech your majesty, seeing the same is of so great importance, that the parliament at this time may be so long continued, as that by good and godly laws, provision may be made for a reformation of these great and grievous wants and abuses, and by such other means as to your majesty shall seem meet, a perfect redress of the same may be obtained; by which the number of your majesty's faithful subjects will be increased, popery will be destroyed, the glory of God will be promoted, and your majesty's renown will be recommended to all posterity."† But the queen broke up the parliament without taking the least notice of the supplication.

These proceedings occasioned an act to pass during this parliament, requiring all ministers "to declare their assent to all the articles of religion, which *only* concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments." This was a great alleviation to the non-

\* Strype's Parker, p. 308—310.

† D. Ewes's Journal, p. 167, 185.—Strype's Parker, p. 324.

‡ MS. Register, p. 92, 93.

conformists, when they all readily subscribed. But the bishops and clergy in convocation had the confidence, at the same time, to make new canons of discipline, by which they greatly increased the burdens of the puritans. They required subscription to *all* the articles, even those relating to the rites, ceremonies, order and policy of the church, as well as others, contrary to the above statute. The bishops called in all their licenses to preach, forbidding all ministers to preach without new ones. Most of the nonconformists claiming the liberty allowed them by the laws of the land, refused the canonical subscription, as a most grievous usurpation over their consciences; for which great numbers were turned out of their livings.\* This led them to preach in other churches, or in private houses, without license, as they were able to procure an opportunity. But the queen hearing of this, immediately commanded the archbishop and other ecclesiastical commissioners not to suffer any minister to read, pray, preach, or administer either of the sacraments, in any church, chapel, or private place, without a license from her majesty, the archbishop, or the bishop of the diocese.†

These tyrannical measures, instead of bringing the puritans nearer the standard of conformity, drove them farther from the church. They could not with a good conscience, observe the new ecclesiastical impositions; and, therefore, the chief among them were cited to appear at Lambeth; ‡ among whom were Drs. Sampson and Wyburn, and Messrs. Goodman, Lever, Walker, Goff, Deering, Field, Brown, and Johnson. These divines were ready to subscribe to the doctrines of faith and the sacraments, according to law, but excused themselves from doing more. Goodman was suspended, and constrained to sign a recantation. Lever quietly resigned his prebend in the church of Durham. Deering was long molested and suspended. Johnson suffered similar treatment. Dr. Willoughby was deprived for refusing the above canonical subscription.§ Mr. Gilby and Mr. Whittingham endured many troubles for their non-conformity.

These proceedings opened the eyes of the people; and the parliament in 1572, warmly espoused the cause of the distressed ministers. The queen and bishops having most shamefully abused their pretended spiritual power, two bills were brought into the house, in one of which the

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 135. (1—2)

† Strype's Parker, p. 324, 325. ‡ Ibid. p. 326. § Ibid, p. 372.

hardships under which the puritans groaned, were intended to be redressed.\* The bills passed smoothly through the commons, and were referred to a committee of both houses; which so alarmed the bishops, and gave such offence to the queen, that, two days after, she acquainted the commons, that it was her royal pleasure, that no bill relating to religion should henceforth be introduced into that house, till after the same had been considered and approved by the clergy; and she commanded the house to deliver up the two bills last read, touching rites and ceremonies.+ With this high stretch of her majesty's prerogative, the commons quietly and tamely complied, and their efforts came to nothing.

In the mean time, the bishops stuck close to the canonical discipline; enforced conformity with the utmost rigour; and, according to the computation of Mr. Strype,‡ there were at least one hundred ministers deprived this year, for refusing subscription. The university of Cambridge was, indeed, become a nest of puritans. Dr. Browning and Mr. Brown, both fellows of Trinity college, were convened before the heads, and cast into prison for nonconformity. Mr. Clarke, fellow of Peter-house, and Mr. Millain, fellow of Christ's college, were expelled from their colleges, and banished from the university.§ But these severe proceedings had not the effect intended: for, instead of crushing the nonconformists, the more they were persecuted, the more they multiplied.

The puritans having in vain sought for a reformation from the queen and the bishops, resolved to apply to the parliament, and stand by the constitution. They published a treatise, presenting their grievances in one view. It was compiled by Mr. Field, assisted by Mr. Wilcocks, and revised by others. The work was entitled "An Admonition to the Parliament;" to which were annexed, Beza's letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gaulter's to Bishop Parkhurst, upon the reformation of church discipline. It contains a platform of the church; the manners of electing ministers; with their several duties, and their equality in government.

\* Strype's Parker, p. 394.

+ D. Ewes's Journal, p. 207.—Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 125.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 187.

§ In opposition to the above facts, Bishop Maddox insinuates that great favour and indulgence were shewn to the puritans, during this year; and refers to the words of Mr. Strype, saying, "That they were as gently treated as might be; no kind of brotherly persuasion omitted towards them; and most of them as yet kept their livings; though one or two were displaced." What degree of truth is contained in this statement, every one will easily judge.—Maddox's Vindication, p. 173.

It then exposes with some degree of sharpness the corruptions of the church, and the proceedings of the bishops. The admonition then concludes, by petitioning the houses, that discipline, more consonant to the word of God, and more agreeable to other reformed churches, may be established by law. Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks presented it themselves to the house, for which they were apprehended, and sent to Newgate, where they remained in close and miserable confinement at least fifteen months. While the authors were thus prosecuted, the book spread abroad, and soon passed through several editions.\*

The leading puritans having presented their numerous petitions to the queen, the bishops, and the parliament, to little or no purpose, agreed to attempt to promote the desired reformation in a more private way. For this purpose, they erected a presbytery at Wandsworth, near London. The members of this association were Messrs. Smith, Crane, Field, Wilcocks, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloc, and Edmunds; to whom were afterwards joined Messrs. Travers, Clarke, Barber, Gardiner, Cheston, Crook, Egerton, and a number of respectable laymen. Eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a register, entitled "The Orders of Wandsworth." This was the first presbyterian church in England. Notwithstanding that all imaginable care was taken to keep their proceedings secret, the bishops' eyes were upon them, who gave immediate intelligence to the high commission; upon which the queen issued her royal proclamation for a more exact observance of the act of uniformity. And though the bishops knew of the presbytery, they could not discover its members, nor prevent others from being erected in other parts of the kingdom.†

While multitudes of the best preachers were utterly silenced, the church of England stood in the greatest need of their zealous and faithful labours. It was, indeed, in a most deplorable condition. The conformable clergy obtained all the benefices in their power, and resided upon none, utterly neglecting their cures: many of them alienated the church lands, made unreasonable leases, wasted the wood upon the lands, and granted reversions and advowsons for their own advantage. The churches fell greatly into decay, and became unfit for divine service. Among the laity there was very little devotion; and the Lord's day was

\* For a circumstantial account of the controversy excited by the publication of the "Admonition," see Art. Thomas Cartwright.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 266.

generally profaned. Many were mere heathens, epicures, or atheists, especially those about the court; and good men feared that some sore judgment hung over the nation.\*

In the year 1573, the queen issued her royal proclamation, "strictly commanding all archbishops and bishops, all justices of assizes, and all others having authority, to put in execution the act of uniformity of common prayer, with all diligence and severity, neither favouring, nor dissembling with any one person, who doth neglect, despise, or seek to alter the godly orders and rites set forth in the said book." The proclamation requires further, "that all who shall be found nonconformable in the smallest matter, shall be immediately apprehended and cast into prison; all who shall forbear coming to the common prayer, and receiving the sacraments, according to the said book, shall be immediately presented and punished; and all who shall either in private houses, or in public assemblies, use any other rites of common prayer and administration of sacraments, or shall maintain in their houses any persons guilty of these things, shall be punished with the utmost severity."† This, from the *supreme governor* of the church, inspired the zealous prelates with new life and courage. They enforced subscription upon the clergy with great rigour. Though the forms of subscription varied in different dioceses, that which was most commonly imposed was the following: "I acknowledge the book of articles agreed upon by the clergy in the synod of 1563, and confirmed by the queen's majesty, to be sound and according to the word of God.—That the queen's majesty is the chief governor, next under Christ, of this church of England, as well in *ecclesiastical* as civil causes.—That in the Book of Common Prayer, there is nothing evil or repugnant to the word of God, but that it may well be used in this our christian church of England.—And that as the public preaching of the word in this church of England is sound and sincere, so the public order in the ministration of the sacraments is consonant to the word of God."‡

Upon the rigorous imposition of these forms, many ministers not being able with a good conscience to comply, were brought into great trouble. Messrs. Deering and Cartwright, together with Dr. Sampson and other excellent divines, endured much cruel usage for nonconformity.§ Dr. Wyburn, and Messrs. Brown, Johnson, Field, Wilcocks,

\* Strype's Parker, p. 395.

† Sparrow's Collec. p. 169, 170.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 81.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 265—282.

Sparrow, and King, were deprived of their livings, and four of them committed to Newgate. They were told, that if they did not comply in a short time, they should be banished, though there was no law in existence to inflict any such punishment.\* Mr. Johnson, who was fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and domestic chaplain to the Lord Keeper Bacon, was tried at Westminster-hall for nonconformity, and sent to the Gatehouse, where, through his cruel imprisonment, he soon after died. Several others, cast into prison at the same time, died under the pressures of their confinement. Mr. Bonham, Mr. Standen and Mr. Fenn, were committed to prison, where they remained a long time. Mr. Wake, rector of Great-Billing; Mr. Paget, minister of Oundle; Mr. Mosely, minister of Hardingstone; Mr. Gilderd, minister of Collingtree; and Mr. Dawson, minister of Weston-Favell, all in the diocese of Peterborough, were first suspended for three weeks, and then deprived of their livings. They were all useful preachers. Four of them were licensed by the university, as learned and religious divines, and three had been moderators in the religious exercises. Mr. Lowth, minister of Carlisle, was prosecuted in the high commission at York; while Mr. Sanderson and Dr. Crick, two learned and useful divines in Norfolk, fell into the hands of the high commissioners in the south, when the latter was deprived of his preferment. Many others in the diocese of Norwich refusing conformity, were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts.† And Mr. Aldrich, with many others in the university of Cambridge, received much unchristian usage from the governing ecclesiastics. At the same time, John Townley, esq. a layman, was committed to prison for nonconformity, when Dean Nowell, his near kinsman, presented a petition to the president of the north and the Archbishop of York, for his release.‡

The year 1574 was memorable for the suppression of the religious exercises, called *prophesyings*. Some of the bishops being persuaded of the usefulness of these exercises, discovered their unwillingness to put them down. This gave great offence to the queen, who addressed a letter to all the bishops in England, peremptorily commanding them to suppress them in their respective dioceses. Her majesty in this discovered a most despotic and tyrannical spirit. All the bishops and clergy in the nation must bow to her

\* Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413. † Ibid. p. 451, 452.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 382.

sovereign pleasure.\* This was the royal lady who renounced the infallibility of the Pope of Rome. In these exercises, the clergy were divided into classes, and each class was under the direction of a moderator appointed by the bishop of the diocese. They were held once a fortnight, when a portion of scripture formed the subject of discussion. They were holden publicly in the churches; and besides exposing the errors of popery, they were of unspeakable service in promoting a knowledge of the scriptures among the people. But the jealous archbishop looked upon them as the nurseries of puritanism, calling them *vain prophesyings*.† They tended, in his opinion, to promote popularity, insubordination, and nonconformity. But the archbishop did not long survive. For he died May 17, 1575; when he was succeeded by Dr. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York. He was a prelate of rigid and cruel principles, and much concerned to establish an exact uniformity in outward things, to the neglect of more important matters.‡

During this year, a congregation of Dutch anabaptists was discovered, without Aldgate, London; *twenty-seven* of whom were apprehended and cast into prison, and four bearing fagots at Paul's cross, recanted their opinions. Eight were banished from the kingdom, and two were condemned to the flames, and burnt in Smithfield. The Dutch congregation in London interceded for their pardon, as did Mr. Fox, the martyrologist; but the queen remained inflexible, and the two poor men perfumed Smithfield with their ashes.§

The puritans, under all their hardships, had many able friends at court, who stood firm in the cause of religious liberty. Therefore a committee was this year appointed by parliament to draw up a bill "For the Reformation of Church Discipline." But, as before, the house most probably received a check for attempting to interfere in religious matters.||

In the year 1576, many learned divines felt the vengeance of the ruling prelates. Mr. Harvy and Mr. Gawton, in

\* Strype's Grindal, Appen. p. 85, 86.

† Strype's Parker, p. 461.

‡ Though a late writer affirms that Archbishop Parker "was prudent, gentle, and patient;" Hume says "he was rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fines or deprivation, all the puritanical clergymen, who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or liturgy of the church."—*Churton's Life of Nowell*, p. 113.—*Hume's Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 189.

§ See Art. Fox.

|| MS. Remarks, p. 463.

addition to many other troubles, were both suspended for nonconformity. As the storm approached, the ministers of Norfolk prepared for it, by presenting their humble supplication to the council, in which they express themselves as follows:—"As touching your letters wherein you say, that her majesty is fully bent to remove all those, who cannot be persuaded to conform themselves to all orders established, it grieveth our souls very much, considering what desolation is likely to come upon the poor flock of Christ, by being thus bereaved of many excellent pastors, who dare not yield to that conformity. Yet knowing that the hearts of princes are in the hands of God, we commit our cause, being God's own cause, unto him, waiting for a happy issue at his hands. In the mean time, we pour out our prayers before the throne of his mercy, to direct her majesty to promote his glory, lamenting our sins, and the sins of the land, as the reason of our prince being set against so godly a cause,

"As for ourselves, though we are willing to yield our bodies, goods, and lives to our sovereign prince, we dare not yield to this conformity, for fear of that terrible threatening of the Lord Jesus: 'Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea.' And though we have ever so much knowledge of christian liberty, we dare not cause our weak brother to perish, for whom Christ died. For in sinning against them, and wounding their consciences, we sin against Christ. We conclude with the apostle, 'Wherefore if meat (so we say of ceremonies) make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.' Therefore we dare not yield to these ceremonies, because, so far from edifying and building up the church, they have rent it asunder, and torn it in pieces, to its great misery and ruin, as God knoweth; and unless some mitigation be granted, still greater misery and ruin will follow, by stopping the mouths of the servants of God.

"Although her majesty be incensed against us, as if we would obey no laws, we take the Lord of heaven and earth to witness, that we acknowledge, from the bottom of our hearts, her majesty to be our lawful queen, placed over us by God for our good; and we give God our most humble and hearty thanks for her happy government; and, both in public and private, we constantly pray for her prosperity.

We renounce all foreign power, and acknowledge her majesty's supremacy to be lawful and just. We detest all error and heresy. Yet we desire that her majesty will not think us disobedient, seeing we suffer ourselves to be displaced, rather than yield to some things required. Our bodies, and goods, and all we have, are in her majesty's hands; only our *souls we reserve to our God*, who alone is able to save us or condemn us.

"We humbly crave," say they, "that you will deal with her majesty, in our behalf. Let her majesty understand, that all laws commanding things which edify not, but are offensive, are contrary to the word of God. Let her further understand how dangerous a thing it is, to urge the observance of human ceremonies with greater severity, than the observance of the law of God. The word of God is in danger of being made of no effect, by the traditions of men. Though, in scripture, ministers are commanded to preach the word of God, this is now not half so strictly examined and enforced, as the observance of the ceremonies. Through the whole land it is manifest, that a minister who is conformable to the ceremonies, may continue on his charge undisturbed, though he cannot teach: so if he be ever so able to teach as God hath commanded, yet if he cannot conform to those ceremonies which men have devised and appointed, he must not continue in the ministry. This must needs be preferring the ordinance of man before the word of God."

This supplication proving ineffectual, Messrs. John More, Richard Crick, George Leeds, Thomas Roberts, Vincent Goodwin, Richard Dowe, and John Mapes, all ministers in or near the city of Norwich, were suspended.† Mr. Thickpenny, a minister of good learning, and much beloved by his parishioners, was suspended for nonconformity. Mr. Greenham, a divine of a most excellent spirit, received the like treatment, because he could not in conscience subscribe and wear the habits, though he cautiously avoided speaking against them, lest he should give offence. Mr. Rockrey, a divine of great eminence at Cambridge, was twice expelled from the university for a similar offence. Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks having already suffered a long and painful imprisonment, were brought into fresh troubles. They were convened before Bishop Aylmer, who pronounced Mr. Field obstinate, for having taught children in

\* MS. Register, p. 253—256.

† Ibid. p. 285.

gentlemens' houses, contrary to the prohibition of the archbishop. Aylmer recommended, as their punishment, that they should both be sent into the most barbarous parts of the country, where they might be profitably employed in turning the people from the errors of popery. Mr. Whittingham, dean of Durham, a divine of distinguished eminence, was exercised with many troubles, which continued to the day of his death.

In the year 1579, Mr. Lawrence, already mentioned, was suspended by his diocesan. Though repeated intercessions were made for him, particularly by the lord treasurer, the bishop peremptorily refused to restore him, without a perfect conformity to all the rites and ceremonies. Mr. Merbury underwent a long examination before the high commission, when he was treated with much foul, abusive language. Bishop Aylmer, seldom sparing in bitter invectives, called him "a *very ass*, an *idiot*, and a *fool*." He was then sent to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner several years. Aylmer, indeed, was not behind any of his brethren in the persecution of the puritans. This prelate, to enforce a due observance of the ecclesiastical orders, cited the London ministers before him no less than five times in one year. On these occasions, he made inquisition whether they truly and faithfully observed all things contained in the Book of Common Prayer; whether any preached without a license; and whether any kept private conventicles. In the visitation of his diocese, he inquired of ministers, churchwardens, and sworn-men, in every parish, whether there were any persons who refused to conform, to attend the church, or to receive the communion; and for what cause they refused. He required all ministers to wear the surplice, to keep to the exact order of public service, and to observe all the ceremonies without the slightest alteration. His lordship had no mercy on such as did not comply in every punctilio; and warmly declared, that he would surely and severely punish offenders, or, "I will lie," said he, "in the dust for it."\*

This prelate had very little compassion in his nature, and apparently as little regard for the laws of the country, or the cries of the people for the word of God. There was a great scarcity of preachers in all parts of England; and even the city of London was now in a most lamentable state, as appears from their petition to parliament, in which

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 64, 65, 81—83.

are these words:—"There are in this city a great number of churches, but the one-half of them at the least are utterly unfurnished of preaching ministers, and are pestered with candlesticks not of gold, but of clay, with watchmen that have no eyes, and clouds that have no water: the other half, partly by means of nonresidents, which are very many; and partly through the poverty of many meanly qualified, there is scarcely the *tenth* man that makes conscience to wait upon his charge, whereby the Lord's sabbath is often wholly neglected, and for the most part miserably mangled; ignorance increaseth, and wickedness comes upon us like an armed man. Therefore we humbly on our knees beseech this honourable assembly, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, to become humble suitors to her majesty, that we may have guides; that the bread of life may be brought home to us; that the pipes of water may be brought into our assemblies; that there may be food and refreshing for us, our poor wives and forlorn children: so shall the Lord have his due honour; you shall discharge good duty to her majesty; many languishing souls shall be comforted; atheism and heresy banished; her majesty have more faithful subjects; and you more hearty prayers for your prosperity in this life, and full happiness in the life to come."

In the county of Cornwall there were one hundred and forty clergymen, scarcely any of whom could preach a sermon, and most of them were pluralists and nonresidents. The inhabitants of the county, in their supplication to the parliament, gave the following affecting description of their case:—"We have about one hundred and sixty churches, the greatest part of which are supplied by men who are guilty of the grossest sins; some fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing the marks in their hands for the said offence; some drunkards, gamesters on the sabbath-day, &c. We have many nonresidents, who preach but once a quarter; so that between meal and meal the silly sheep may starve. We have some ministers who labour painfully and faithfully in the Lord's husbandry; but they are not suffered to attend their callings, because the mouths of papists, infidels, and filthy livers, are open against them, and the ears of those who are called *lords* over them, are sooner open to their accusations, though it be only for ceremonies, than to the others' answers. Nor is it safe for

\* MS. Register, p. 302.

us to hear them; for though our own fountains are dried up, yet if we seek for the waters of life elsewhere, we are cited into the spiritual courts, reviled, and threatened with excommunication.\* The ground of this scarcity was the violence of the high commission, and the narrow terms of conformity. Most of the old incumbents, says Dr. Keltridge, were disguised papists, more fit to sport with the timbrel and pipe, than to take into their hands the book of God.†

The common topic of conversation now was the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, a notorious papist.‡ All true protestants were displeased and under alarming apprehensions. The puritans in general protested against the match, dreading the consequence of having a *protestant body*, under a *popish head*. Mr. John Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's-inn, and a gentleman of excellent abilities, published a book, entitled "The Discoverie of the Gaping Gulph, whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof." It no sooner came forth, than the queen issued her proclamation to suppress the book, and apprehend the author and printer. Stubbs the author, Singleton the printer, and Page the disperser, were apprehended, and sentenced to have their *right hands cut off*. Singleton was pardoned, but Stubbs and Page were brought to a scaffold erected at Westminster; where, with terrible formality, their right hands were cut off, by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet; but as soon as Stubbs's *right hand* was cut off, he pulled off his hat with his *left*, and, to the great amazement of the spectators, exclaimed *God save the Queen*.§ He was then sent to the Tower, where he remained a long time; but afterwards proved himself a loyal subject, and a valiant and faithful commander in the wars in Ireland.

Many of the puritans being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, and the episcopal ordination of the church of England, went to Antwerp and other places, where they received ordination according to the practice of the foreign reformed churches. Among these were Messrs. Cartwright, Fenner, Ashton, Travers, and Wright. The last, upon his return, became domestic chaplain to Lord Rich; but for saying, that "to keep the queen's birth-day as an

\* MS. Register, p. 300.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 32.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 566.

§ Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 487.

*holiday*, was to make her an *idol*," Bishop Aylmer committed him to the Fleet. Lord Rich, for attempting to vindicate him, was at the same time sent to the Marshalsea, and Mr. Dix to the Gatehouse.\* Mr. Morley, a Norfolk minister, and Mr. Handson, preacher at Bury St. Edmunds, were both greatly molested, and suspended for nonconformity. The lord treasurer, with several other eminent persons, interceded with the bishop for the restoration of Mr. Handson, but all to no purpose. The angry prelate peremptorily declared, that he should not be restored, unless he would publicly acknowledge his fault, and enter into bonds for his good behaviour in future. Mr. Drewit was committed to Newgate, and Mr. Nash to the Marshalsea, where they remained a long time. Also, during this year, Mathew Hament, a poor plow-wright at Hethersett, near Norwich, being suspected of holding many unsound and dangerous opinions, was convened before the Bishop of Norwich, condemned as an heretic, and, May 20th, committed to the flames in the castle-ditch. As a preparative to this punishment, his ears were cut off on the 13th of the same month.† These proceedings were *too conformable* to those of the church of Rome.

Great numbers of pious and learned ministers were now indicted at the assizes, for omitting to use the surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, or some part of the common prayer. They were ranked with the worst of felons, and exposed to public contempt, to the great dishonour of God, and injury of her majesty's subjects. Many persons of quality in the various counties of England, petitioned the lords of the council in behalf of the persecuted ministers. In the Suffolk petition are these words:— "The painful pastors and ministers of the word, by what justice we know not, are now of late brought to the bar at every assize; marshalled with the worst malefactors, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment: some for having holidays unbidden; some for singing the hymn *nunc dimittis* in the morning; some for turning the question in baptism from the infants to the godfathers, which is only *you*, for *thou*; some for leaving out the cross in baptism; some for leaving out the ring in marriage; whereunto," say they, "neither the law, nor the lawmakers, in our judgment, had ever any regard.‡

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 86.

† Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 290, 291.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 128.

But instead of relieving the suffering ministers, their burdens were greatly increased. In the year 1580, the parliament passed a law, entitled "An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience," which enacted "That all persons who do not come to church or chapel, or other place where common prayer is said, according to the act of uniformity, shall forfeit *twenty pounds per month* to the queen, and suffer imprisonment till paid. Those who are absent for twelve months, shall, besides their former fine, be bound with two sufficient sureties in a bond of *two hundred pounds*, until they conform. And every *schoolmaster* who does not come to common prayer, shall forfeit *ten pounds a month*, be disabled from teaching school, and suffer a year's imprisonment."\* This, says a learned churchman, was little better than making merchandize of souls.+ The fine was, indeed, unmerciful, and the common people had nothing to expect but to rot in jails.

The legislature, by these violent measures, overshot the mark, and instead of crushing the puritans, or reconciling them to the church, they drove them farther from it. Men of integrity will not easily be beaten from their principles by canons, injunctions, subscriptions, fines, or imprisonment; much less will they esteem the church fighting with such weapons. Multitudes were by these methods driven to a total separation, and they became so far opposed to the persecuting church of England, as not to allow it to be a true church, nor its ministers true ministers. They renounced all communion with it, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the word and the sacraments. These were called **BROWNISTS**, from Robert Brown, at this time a preacher in the diocese of Norwich. The Brownists did not differ from the church of England in matters of faith; but were very rigid in points of discipline. They maintained the discipline of the church of England to be popish and antichristian, and all her ordinances to be invalid. They apprehended that, according to scripture, every church ought to be confined within a single congregation; and the choice of its officers, and the admission and exclusion of members, with all its other regulations, ought to be determined by the brotherhood. Many of the Brownists were great sufferers in their zeal for nonconformity: among these were Mr. Copping and Mr. Thacker, ministers in the county of Suffolk. After suffering imprisonment seven

\* Burn's Eccl. Law, vol. ii. p. 146.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 131.

years, for spreading Brown's books against the bishops and the established church, they were tried, condemned, and hanged at Bury St. Edmunds. At the same time, Mr. John Lewis, for denying the godhead of Christ, and, it is said, for holding other detestable heresies, was burnt at Norwich, September 17, 1583.\*

Upon the death of Archbishop Grindal,† Dr. John Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury, and was confirmed September 23, 1583. The queen charged him "to restore the discipline of the church, and the uniformity established by law, which," says she, "through the connivance of some prelates, the obstinacy of the puritans, and the power of some noblemen, is *run out of square*."‡ Therefore, in obedience to her majesty's royal command, the new archbishop immediately published the following articles, and sent them to the bishops of his province, for their direction in the government of their dioceses:— "That all reading, preaching, catechising, and praying in any private family, where any are present besides the family, be utterly extinguished.—That none do preach or catechise except he also read the whole service, and administer the sacrament four times a year.—That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear the *habits* prescribed.—And that none be admitted to preach, or to execute any part of the ecclesiastical function, unless they be ordained according to the manner of the church of England; nor unless they subscribe the three following articles."

1. "That the queen hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons, born within her dominions, of what condition soever they be; and that none other power or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, ecclesiastical or civil, within her realms or dominions.

2. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it *nothing* contrary to the word of God, but may be lawfully used;

\* Parallel betwixt Phanatics, p. 11. Edit. 1661: from Stow.

† Grindal, in his latter days, was much inclined to favour the puritans, and was, with great difficulty, brought to punish them for their nonconformity. He had not sat long in the chair of Canterbury, before he was suspended and confined in his own house, for not suppressing the religious exercises called Prophesyings, which his conscience told him should have been encouraged and promoted. He continued under the tyrannical censure several years.—*Hume's Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 188.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 204.

‡ Kennet's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 494.

“and that he himself will use the same, and none other, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments.

3. “That he alloweth the book of articles, agreed upon in the convocation holden at London in 1562, and set forth by her majesty’s authority; and he believe all the articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God.”\*

These were called *Whitgift’s* articles, because he was their principal author. Subscription to them was required for many years, without the warrant of any statute or canon whatsoever. By Whitgift’s strict imposition of them upon all ministers, multitudes who refused to comply were suspended and deprived. They would most cordially have subscribed to the *first* and *third*, but could not in conscience subscribe, “That the Book of Common Prayer and Ordination contained *nothing contrary to the word of God*,”† These proceedings excited universal alarm, and great numbers of worthy ministers were brought under the ecclesiastical censure. Sixty-four ministers were suspended in the county of Norfolk, sixty in Suffolk,‡ thirty in Sussex, thirty-eight in Essex, twenty in Kent, and twenty-one in Lincolnshire. Among those in the county last mentioned, were Messrs. Charles Bingham, vicar of Croft, John Somerscales of Beseby, Joseph Gibson of Swaby, William Muming, vicar of Claxby, Reignald Grome of Thediorthorp

\* Strype’s *Whitgift*, p. 115, 116.

† MS. Register, p. 513.

‡ The names of those suspended in Suffolk, were the following, forty-four of the last being suspended on one day;—Nicholas Bound, minister of Norton; Richard Grandish, A. M. rector of Bradfield; Lawrance Whitaker, A. B. rector of Bradfield; Richard Holden, A. B. rector of Testock; Gaultier Allen, B. D. of Rushbrook; Reignald Whitfield, A. M. of Barrow; Thomas Rogers of Horningsheath; Anthony Rowe of Hedgesset; Thomas Warren; William Cook; William Holden; Nicholas Bonnington, rector of Chettisham; John Tylmen, A. M. of Borgholt; Richard Dowe, A. M. vicar of Stratford; John Carter, A. M. vicar of Bramford; Martin Brige, A. M. vicar of Brettenham; Henry Sandes of Boxford; John Holden, rector of Bildeston; Thomas Cranshawe, A. M. rector of Boxted; Peter Cook, curate to Mr. Cranshawe; John Knewstubs, B. D. rector of Cockfield; William Hey, rector of Nedging; John Aulthroppe of Sudbury; Robert Ballard, A. B. rector of Clare; Lawrance Fairclough, vicar of Haverhill; John Ward; Nicholas Egleston, rector of Stradshill; William Turner, rector of Wrattling-Parva; Robert Prick of Denham; Thomas Sutton, A. M. rector of Eriswell; Josias Hallington, Edmund Salmon, Thomas Jeffraye, Thomas Wattis, Mr. Phillips, Roger Nuttle, Roger Geoffrey, John Smith, John Forthe, Thomas Moore, William Browne, John Cooper, William Flemming, Robert Sweete, William Bentloc, John Smith, Thomas Hagas, Daniel Dennis, George Webb, William Bend, John English, Thomas Fowle, Robert Cotsford, Richard King, Mr. Lovell, Mr. Walsh, Mr. Pigge, Mr. Hill, Mr. Smith, and Dr. Crick.—*MS. Register*, p. 437.

St. Hellen, Mr. Sheppard, vicar of Bardney, Mr. Bradley of Torksey, Mr. Huddleston of Saxilby, Mr. Rellet of Carlton in Moreland, Mr. Nelson of Skinnand, Mr. Hughe of Silk-Willoughby, Mr. Daniel of Ingolsby, Mr. Richard Holdsworth of Boothby, Mr. Thomas Fulbeck of Boultham, Mr. Anthony Hunt of West-Deeping, and Mr. Richard Allen of Ednam.\* Great numbers in the diocese of Peterborough, in the city of London, and other parts of the kingdom, received the like ecclesiastical censure.

Multitudes of the best ministers and most laborious preachers in the nation, as the Earl of Leicester observes, were now deprived of their ministry.† The terrible storm fell upon Mr. Fenner and Mr. Wood, who were imprisoned twelve months, and suspended seven or eight years. Mr. Stroud was deprived of his ministry, and commanded to leave the country. He had so high a reputation, and was so universally beloved, that no less than *thirteen* petitions were presented to the archbishop for his restoration; but all to no purpose. Messrs. Underdown, Hopkinson, Norden, and Hely, together with Mr. Anthony Hobson, vicar of Leominster; Mr. John German, vicar of Buringham; Mr. Richard Whitaker, vicar of Almerby; Mr. William Clark, vicar of Langton; Mr. John Bingham, minister of Hadleigh, Mr. Turner, Mr. Star, Mr. Jackson, and many others, were all suspended at the same time.‡ Mr. Hill, minister at Bury St. Edmunds, for having omitted the cross in baptism, and making some trivial alteration in the vows, was suspended, several times indicted at the assizes, and committed to prison, where he continued a long time. The venerable Mr. Fenn was cited to Lambeth and suspended. Messrs. Hooke, Paget, and Oxenbridge, suffered the like ecclesiastical censure. Mr. Daniel Dyke, a most excellent divine, was twice suspended, deprived of his ministry, and driven out of the county. Mr. Benison was committed to the Gatehouse, where, to his unspeakable injury, he remained five years. Upon his application to the council, the lords were so moved with the reading of his case, that they wrote to Bishop Aylmer, signifying that he ought to make the good man some considerable recompence for his hard dealing. Dr. Browning was deprived of his fellowship at Cambridge, and forced from the university. Mr. Brayne, another learned divine at Cambridge, was cited to Lambeth, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, was suspended. Many

\* MS. Register, p. 696—712.

† Ibid. 513.

‡ Ibid. p. 395.

others in the diocese of Ely were prosecuted for nonconformity. Also Messrs. Barber, Field, Egerton, and Rockrey, were all suspended, part of whom continued under the censure many years. Mr. Elliston of Preston, in Northamptonshire, was, for three years together, continually molested and cited before the prelates. During that period, he had ten journeys to London, seven to Peterborough, one to Cambridge, and many to Leicester and Northampton. He was greatly impoverished, suspended from his ministry, and deprived of his living. Mr. Cawdrey, rector of Luffenham in Rutlandshire, a divine of good reputation, was suspended, deprived, cast into prison, degraded from the ministry, and, with a family of eight children, left to starve as a mere layman: also, during his troubles, which continued many years, he had *twenty-two* expensive journeys to London. Mr. John Holden, rector of Bildeston, was suspended and excommunicated for not subscribing to Whitgift's articles.\* Mr. Hopkins, vicar of Nazing, in Essex, was, for the same thing, deprived of his benefice. Mr. Whiting of Panfield, was twice suspended, and then deprived. Mr. Hawkdon, vicar of Fryon, was indicted at the assizes, suspended, and deprived of his living. Mr. Huckle of Eythorp-Roding, was suspended; and though the lords of the council applied to the bishop for his restoration, his grace positively refused. Mr. Cornwell of Markshall, was suspended, and openly reviled by the bishop, who called him *wretch*, and *beast*, and committed him to the custody of his pursuivant. Mr. Negus of Leigh, was suspended and deprived, for not promising to wear the surplice, though there was no surplice in the parish. Mr. Seridge of East Havingfield, was suspended and three times indicted at the assizes. Mr. Carew of Hatfield, being cited before the bishop, and refusing the oath *ex officio*, was suspended, deprived, and committed to the Fleet; and Mr. Allen, his patron, was committed at the same time. Mr. Gifford, vicar of Maldon, was twice suspended, and cast into prison, and his troubles continued several years. Mr. Morley of Ridgwell, having been molested several years, was indicted at the assizes, committed to prison, and obliged to enter into bonds not to preach any more within the diocese of London. Upwards of thirty other ministers in the county of Essex were suspended, deprived, or worse treated, by the inhuman proceedings of Bishop Aylmer,

\* MS. Register, p. 586, 587.

for refusing to subscribe, wear the surplice, or some other trivial matter.\* He, moreover, advised the heads of the university of Cambridge to call in all their licenses, and expel all who refused to wear the apparel, saying, "The folly that is bound up in the heart of a child, is to be expelled by the rod of discipline."† This cruel, persecuting prelate might, therefore, with truth say, "He was hated like a dog, and was called *the oppressor of the children of God.*"‡

While the puritans were suffering the above extremities, there was the greatest scarcity of preachers in all parts of the kingdom. It appears from an impartial survey of all the counties of England, that there were only 2000 preachers, to serve nearly 10,000 parishes:§ and while many of the best and most useful preachers were silenced, there were multitudes of pluralists, nonresidents, and ministers, who could not preach. There were 416 ministers who could not preach in the county of Norfolk, 457 in Lincolnshire, and the same in other counties.¶ Numerous petitions were, at the same time, presented to parliament in favour of the suffering nonconformists; but by the opposition and influence of Whitgift and other prelates, they were rejected.‡ The lords of the council being much concerned for the persecuted ministers, wrote to Whitgift and Aylmer, saying, "That they had received complaints, that great numbers of *zealous and learned* preachers in various counties, especially in Essex, were suspended or deprived; that there was no preaching, prayers, or sacraments in the vacant places; that in some places, the persons appointed to succeed them, had neither good learning, nor good

\* The names of these persecuted servants of Christ, were the following:— Messrs. Wyresdale of Maldon, Carr of Rayne, Tonstal of Totham, Piggot of Tilbury, Ward of Writtle, Dyke of Coggeshall, Northey of Colchester, Newman of Coggeshall, Taye of Pildon, Parker of Dedham, Farrar of Langham, Serls of Lexden, Lewis of St. Peter's, Colchester, Cock of St. Giles's, Colchester, Beaumont of Easthorpe, Redrige of Hatton, Chaplain of Hempsted, Culverwell of Felsted, Chapman of Dedham, Knevit, Mile-end, Colchester, Rogers of Wethersfield, Wilton of Aldham, Forth of Great-Glaston, Winkfield of Wicks, Dent of South-Southberry, Pain of Tolesbury, Barker of Prittlewell, Larking of Little-Waltham, Camillus Rusticus of Fangy, Howell of Paglesham, Maiburne of Great-Making, Knight of Hempsted, and Chadwick of Danbury. These, says our author, are the painful ministers of Essex, of whom says the bishop, "You shall be white with me, or I will be black with you."—*MS. Register*, p. 584, 741, 742.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 69.

‡ MS. Register, p. 206.

¶ Strype's Whitgift, p. 176—183.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

¶ Ibid. p. 696.

name ; and that in other places, a great number of persons occupying cures, were notoriously unfit, some for lack of learning, and others chargeable with enormous faults : as, *drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards, haunting of ale-houses, &c.* against whom they heard of no proceedings."\* The Lord Treasurer Burleigh, also, himself addressed the archbishop, saying, " I am sorry to trouble you so oft as I do, but I am more troubled myself, not only with many private petitions of ministers, recommended for persons of credit, and peaceable in their ministry, who are greatly troubled by your grace and your colleagues ; but I am daily charged by counsellors and public persons, with neglect of my duty, in not staying your grace's vehement proceedings against ministers, whereby papists are encouraged, and the queen's safety endangered.—I have read over your *twenty-four* articles, formed in a *Romish style*, to examine all manner of ministers, and to be executed *ex officio nuro*. I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests. Surely this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers, is not to edify or reform. This kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the *Romish Inquisition*, and is a device to *seek* for offenders, rather than to *reform* them."† But these applications were to no purpose : for, as Fuller observes, " This was the constant custom of *Whitgift* ; if any lord or lady sued for favour to any nonconformist, he would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify their desires, assuring them for his part, that all possible kindness should be indulged to them, but he would remit nothing of his rigour. Thus he never *denied* any great man's desire, and yet never *granted* it ; pleasing them for the present with general promises, but still kept to his own resolution ; whereupon the nobility ceased making any further application to him, knowing them to be ineffectual."‡

The commons in parliament, at the same time, were not unmindful of the liberties of the subject. They presented a petition to the upper house, consisting of sixteen articles, with a view to further the reformation of the church, to remove the grievances of the puritans, and to promote an union of the conformists and nonconformists. But by the opposition of the bishops, nothing could be done.§ All that the puritans could obtain, was a kind of conference

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 151.

+ Ibid. p. 155.

‡ Ibid. p. 218.

§ D. Ewes's Journal, p. 357—359.

betwixt the Archbishop and the Bishop of Winchester, on the one part; and Dr. Sparke and Mr. Travers, on the other, in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, Sir Francis Walsingham, and some others. The conference was held at Lambeth, concerning things needful to be reformed in the Book of Common Prayer.\*

In the year 1586, the persecution of the puritans went forwards with unabating fury. The celebrated Mr. Travers was silenced by Archbishop Whitgift. Mr. Udal was suspended and deprived of his living. Mr. Glover was convened before Whitgift, and cast into prison. Mr. Moore was cited before the high commission at York, where he endured many troubles. Mr. Hildersham, a most excellent divine, was suspended, and commanded to make a public recantation. Dr. Walward, a learned professor of divinity at Oxford, and Mr. Gillibrand, fellow of Magdalen college in the same university, were both cited before the high commission at Lambeth; when they were suspended, enjoined public recantations, and obliged to enter into bonds till they were performed. Mr. Gardiner was deprived and committed to Newgate by Bishop Aylmer, from whom he received most cruel usage. Mr. Wigginton, vicar of Sedburgh, was deprived of his living, and afterwards apprehended and carried before Whitgift; who, upon his refusal of the oath *ex officio*, committed him to prison, where he was treated with the utmost barbarity. The tyrannical archbishop also deprived him a second time, and degraded him from the ministry. Mr. Wigginton afterwards obtaining his release, returned home; and venturing to preach after his lordship's censure, he was apprehended and sent prisoner to Lancaster castle, where he remained a long time under very cruel usage. At the same time, about one hundred and forty of his people, for hearing him preach, were excommunicated. The zealous minister having at length obtained his liberty, was again apprehended and carried before Whitgift, who, for refusing the above oath, committed him to the Gatehouse, where he continued most probably till he consented to be banished. Mr. Settle, a Suffolk divine, was arraigned before the archbishop, who treated him with very reproachful language, calling him *ass, dolt, fool*; and after many threatenings, the angry prelate sent him to the Gatehouse, where he continued close prisoner

\* See Art. Travers,

many years. Such were the proceedings of that archbishop who is said to have been eminently distinguished for his *mild* and *excellent* temper.\*

The suffering puritans, during this year, presented a petition to the convocation, tending to promote a reconciliation betwixt the conformists and nonconformists, but most probably without the least effect.+ They also made another effort to obtain a redress of their grievances from the parliament, by presenting an humble supplication to the house of commons; in which they say, "It pierces our hearts with grief to hear the cries of the people for the word of God. The bishops either preach not at all, or very seldom. And others abandon their flocks, contrary to the charge of Christ, *feed my sheep*. But great numbers of the best qualified for preaching, and of the most industrious in their spiritual function, are not suffered quietly to discharge their duties, but are followed with innumerable vexations, notwithstanding they are neither *heretics* nor *schismatics*, but keep within the pale of the church, and persuade others so to do, who would have departed from it. They fast and pray for the queen and the church, though they have been rebuked for it, and diversly punished by officers both civil and ecclesiastical. They are suspended and deprived of their ministry, and the fruits of their livings sequestered to others. This has continued many years; and last of all many of them are committed to prison, when some have been chained with *irons*, and continued in hard durance a long time.

"To bring about these severities, the bishops tender the suspected persons an oath *ex officio*, to answer all interrogatories to be put to them, though it be to accuse themselves; and when they have got a confession, they proceed upon it to punish them with all rigour, contrary to the laws of God and the land. Those who refused have been cast into prison, and commanded there to lie without bail, till they would yield. The grounds of these troubles are not *impiety*, *immorality*, *want of learning* or *diligence* in their ministerial work, but not being satisfied in the use of certain ceremonies and orders of the church of *Rome*, and for not being able to declare, that *every thing* in the Book of Common Prayer is *agreeable to the word of God*."‡ Two bills were at the same time brought into the house of commons, for the abolition of the old ecclesiastical laws,

\* Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 37.

† Parte of a Register, p. 323.

‡ MS. Register, p. 672.

and the old Book of Common Prayer, and for the establishment of a new one; but the queen being offended, forbade them to proceed.\*

All the endeavours of the puritans proving ineffectual, and being wearied with repeated applications to their superiors, they began to despair of obtaining relief. Therefore, in one of their assemblies, they came to this conclusion: "That since the magistrates could not be induced to reform the discipline of the church, it was lawful, after waiting so many years, to act without them, and introduce a reformation in the best manner they could." They had their private classes or associations in Essex, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, London, Cambridge and other places, when they consulted about the most proper means of promoting the desired object. And having revised their book, entitled "The Holy Discipline of the Church, described in the Word of God," it was subscribed by above *five hundred* ministers, all divines of good learning, and of unspotted lives. †

In the year 1587, Mr. Holmes, rector of Kenn, was driven from his flock and his living. Mr. Horrocks, vicar of Kildwick, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, was convened before the high commission at York, committed to York castle, and enjoined a public recantation, for suffering Mr. Wilson, another puritan minister, to preach in his church, though it was his native place. Mr. Wilson was also convened, and cast into prison. After he had obtained his release, he was obliged to remove out of the archbishop's province; and going to London, he was called before Whitgift and suspended. Mr. Allison was twice suspended. Mr. Penry was summoned before the high commission and committed to prison. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bainbrigg, both fellows in the university of Cambridge, and popular preachers, were cast into prison, where they continued a long time. Mr. Jewel was tried at the public assizes for nonconformity, and condemned to suffer five months' imprisonment. Mr. Wight was harassed for many years, when his study was broken open, searched, and his private papers carried away. Mr. Darrel and Mr. Moore were both cited before the high commission at Lambeth, when the former was deposed from his ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and the latter close prisoner to the Clink, where they continued

\* MS. Remarks, p. 465. † Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

many years. Mr. Udal was summoned before the council, sent close prisoner to the Gatchouse, and not suffered to have *pen, ink, or paper, or any one to speak to him*. He was afterwards tried at the public assizes and condemned as a felon. Having received sentence of death, pardon was offered him if he would have recanted; but he continued firm to his principles, and died in the Marshalsea, as a martyr in the cause of religious liberty.

The proceedings of the high commission against the afflicted puritans, now exceeding all bounds, men of the greatest eminence began even to question the legality of the court. But the archbishop, to get over this difficulty, and remove the odium from himself, sent the principal nonconformists, especially those possessed of worldly estates, to be prosecuted in the star-chamber.\* Indeed, several of the bishops, as well as many of the lords temporal, opposed these proceedings; and it appears from a list now before me, that upwards of one hundred and twenty of the house of commons, were not only averse to persecution, but zealous advocates for a reformation of the church, and the removal of those burdens under which the puritans groaned.† Therefore, in 1588, a bill against pluralities and nonresidence passed the commons, and was carried up to the lords; but by the determined opposition of the zealous prelates, it came to nothing.‡

The puritans still continued to hold their associations. Many divines, highly celebrated both for learning and piety, were leaders in their assemblies, and chosen moderators: as, Messrs. Knewstubs, Gifford, Rogers, Fenn and Cartwright.§ At one of these assemblies, held at Coventry, it was resolved, “That private baptism is unlawful.—That the sign of the cross ought not to be used in baptism.—That the faithful ought not to communicate with ignorant ministers.—That the calling of bishops is unlawful.—That it is not lawful to be ordained by them, nor to rest in their deprivation of any from the ministry.—And that

\* Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 187.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 417. (15.)

‡ During the debate upon this bill in the upper houses, when it was signified that the queen would confer with the bishops upon the points contained in the bill, the celebrated Lord Gray said, “he greatly wondered at her majesty choosing to confer with those who were enemies to the reformation; and added, that he wished the bishops might be served as they were in the days of Henry VIII. when they were all thrust out of doors.”—*Strype’s Annals*, vol. iii. p. 543.—*Fuller’s Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 190.

§ *Strype’s Annals*, vol. iii. p. 470, 471.

for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, it ought to be taught the people, as occasion shall serve.\* Some of the more zealous nonconformists about this time, published Martin Mar-Prelate, and other satirical pamphlets.† They were designed to expose the blemishes of the established church, and the tyrannical proceedings of the bishops. They contained much truth, but were clothed in very offensive language. Many of the puritans were charged with being the authors: as, Udal, Penry, Throgmorton, and Wigginton; but the real authors were never known. However, to put a stop to these publications, the queen issued her royal proclamation, “For calling in all *schismatical* and seditious books, as tending to introduce monstrous and dangerous innovation, with the malicious purpose of dissolving the present prelacy and established church.”‡

The flame of contention betwixt the conformists and nonconformists, broke out this year with redoubled fury, when Dr. Bancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, ventured to assert, that the order of bishops was superior to that of presbyters, by divine appointment, and that the denial of it was *heresy*. This new doctrine was readily adopted by many, in favour of their high notions of episcopal ordination, and gave new fuel to the flame of controversy. They who embraced the sentiments of Bancroft, considered all ministers not episcopally ordained, as irregularly invested with the sacred office, as inferior to the *Romish* priests, and as mere laymen.‡

In the year 1590, the persecution of the puritans still raged with unabating fury. Many of the best divines were prosecuted with the utmost rigour in the high commission and the star-chamber. Mr. Hubbock and Mr. Kendal, two divines in great repute at Oxford, were cited before

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 194.

† The bishops having cried out loudly against Martin Mar-Prelate, it was prohibited that no person should presume to carry it about him, upon pain of punishment. This the queen declared in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, who, pulling the book out of his pocket, and shewing it the queen, said, “what then will become of me?” But it does not appear that any thing was done.—*Selection Harleim Miscel.* p. 157. Edit. 1793.

‡ Sparrow's Collec. p. 173.

§ The first English reformers admitted only two orders of church-officers, bishops and deacons, to be of divine appointment. They accounted a bishop and a presbyter to be only two names for the same office. But Bancroft, in his sermon at Paul's Cross, January 12, 1588, maintained, that the bishops of England were a distinct order from priests, and possessed a superiority over them, *jure divino*. Mr. Strype thinks that Bancroft published this new doctrine under the instructions of Whitgift.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 297.

|| Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 393.

**Whitgift, and suspended.** Mr. Hildersham was prosecuted a second time in the high commission, and again suspended. He was obliged to enter into bonds not to preach in any part of England; and when restored he was not allowed, for some time, to preach at any place south of the river Trent. The celebrated Mr. Cartwright, with many of his brethren, endured much severe persecution. This divine having been prosecuted for nonconformity, was driven into a foreign land, where he remained several years in a state of exile. Upon his return for the benefit of his health, he was immediately apprehended, and, though in a very languishing condition, was cast into prison. At length, having obtained his liberty, he was suspended by his diocesan, and convened before the high commission, when *thirty-one* articles were exhibited against him. But refusing the oath *ex officio*, to answer these articles, he was immediately committed to the Fleet, with his brethren, Messrs. Stephen Egerton, Humphrey Fenn, Daniel Wight, — Farmer, Edward Lord, Edmund Snape, Andrew King, — Rushbrooke, — Wiggins, John Field, — Royde, John Payne, William Proudlove, Melancton Jewel, &c.\* Many others were summoned at the same time: as, Messrs. Henry Alvey, Thomas Edmunds, William Perkins, Edmund Littleton, John Johnson, Thomas Stone, Thomas Barber, Hercules Cleavelly, and Andrew Nutter. These believing it to be their duty to take the oath, deposed many things relative to the associations, and thus became witnesses against their brethren; for which they were most probably released. But the others underwent many examinations; received much unkind treatment in the high commission and star-chamber; and they continued in prison several years. As this storm was gathering, Mr. Francis Kett, a man of some learning, and master of arts in one of the universities, was convened before the Bishop of Norwich; and for holding divers detestable opinions, as they are called, he was condemned and burnt near the city of Norwich.† Such was the outrageous persecution in the reign of Queen Elizabeth!

In the year 1592, the nonconformists had many bold and zealous advocates in both houses of parliament. Mr. Attorney Morrice, a man of distinguished eminence, moved the house of commons to enquire into the inquisition and other proceedings of the bishops, contrary to the honour

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 331—333.

† Parallel betwixt Phanatics, p. 11. Edit. 1661; from Stow.

of God, the laws of the realm, and the liberty of the subject; compelling learned and godly ministers upon their own oaths, to accuse themselves, and to deprive, degrade and imprison them upon this accusation.\* He also offered two bills to the house; the one against the oath *ex officio*, the other against the illegal proceedings of the bishops, in which he was warmly supported by Sir Francis Knollys and other famous statesmen. But the queen, by her own arbitrary command, forbade the house to discuss ecclesiastical matters, and charged the speaker, upon his allegiance, not to read the bills.+ Morrice was, at the same time, seized in the house, and carried prisoner to Tutbury castle, where he continued many years.

The parliament having tamely yielded its own liberties and those of the subject, to the tyrannical power of the queen, passed one of the most unjust and inhuman acts for oppression and cruelty, that was ever known in a protestant country. It is entitled "An Act for the Punishment of Persons obstinately refusing to come to Church;" and enacts, "that all persons above the age of sixteen, refusing to come to church; or persuading others to deny her majesty's authority in causes *ecclesiastical*; or dissuading them from coming to church; or being found present at any conventicle or meeting under pretence of religion; shall upon conviction be committed to prison without bail, till they shall conform and come to church." But in case such offenders should refuse to subscribe a most debasing recantation, it is further enacted, "That within three months, they shall **ABJURE THE REALM** and go into **PERPETUAL BANISHMENT**. And if they do not depart within the time appointed; or if they ever return without the queen's license, they shall **SUFFER DEATH WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY.**"‡ The case of the nonconformists was by this act worse than that of felons. Herein the queen exceeded the tyranny of Henry VIII. For absolute as that monarch was, he contented himself with punishing those who *opposed* the established religion by some overt act; but by this new statute, the subjects were obliged, under the heaviest penalty, to make an *open profession* of the established religion, by a constant attendance on its public service."§

The oppression of this statute fell chiefly upon the Brownists, who renounced all communion with the national

\* D. Ewes's Journal, p. 474.

† MS. Remarks, p. 465.

‡ D. Ewes's Journal, p. 517.—Burn's *Eccl. Law*, vol. ii. p. 247, 248.

§ Warner's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 465.

church, and were now become very numerous.\* There were several considerable persons at their head: as, Messrs. Smyth, Jacob, Ainsworth, Johnson, and Greenwood. Their London congregation being obliged to meet in different places, to hide itself from the bishops' officers, was at length discovered on a Lord's day at Islington, in the very place in which the protestant congregation met in the reign of Queen Mary; when about *fifty-six* were apprehended, and sent two by two to the different prisons about London, where many others had been long confined. The names of most of these persecuted servants of Christ, with the cruel oppressions they endured, are now before me. They suffered a long and miserable confinement; and under the barbarous usage they met with, many of them died in prison.† Mr. Roger Rippon, who died this year, is said to have been the last of *sixteen* or *seventeen* that were murdered in Newgate. Numerous families, as well as individuals, were driven into banishment, while many died in close imprisonment, and others suffered upon the gallows. Among the latter were Mr. Henry Barrow and Mr. John Greenwood. These persons having endured several years close confinement in the Fleet, were tried, condemned, and executed at Tyburn, giving the strongest testimony of their unfeigned piety towards God, and their unshaken loyalty to the queen. Also, Mr. John Penry, a pious and learned minister, was arraigned, condemned, and executed in a most cruel and barbarous manner. Mr. William Denny was also executed on the same account, at Thetford in Norfolk.‡ These violent proceedings drove great numbers of the Brownists into Holland, where their leaders, Messrs. Smyth, Johnson, Ainsworth, Jacob, Robinson, and others, by leave of the states, erected churches according to their own views of the gospel, at Amsterdam, Arnheim, Middleburgh, and Leyden.

Several champions now appeared in defence of episcopacy: as, Drs. Bancroft, Bilcon, Bridges, Cosin, and Soam. These were answered by Bradshaw, Fenner,

\* Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that in their various congregations, they were increased to the number of twenty thousand.—*D. Ewes's Journal*, p. 517.—*Townshend's Collections*, p. 76.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xiv. p. 311. xv. 59—111.

‡ "These round dealings," says a reverend author, "did a little terrify the rest of the puritans, and checked the furiousness of the wiser sort. But having the Earls of Leicester, Warwick, and Shrewsbury, Lords North and Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, and Sir Francis Knollys, with others of the nobility, for their honourable patrons, they resumed their course."—*Peirce's Vindication*, part i. p. 151.—*Foulis's Hist. of Plots*, p. 61.

Morrice, and others; though the press was shut against the puritans. But Bancroft was their bitterest enemy. In his "Survey" and "Dangerous Positions," he wrote with much fierceness, misrepresentation, and abuse. He reproached the principles and practices of the puritans, as if they were enemies both to church and state, when they only sought, in the most peaceable manner, to promote a reformation of the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, according to their views of the word of God.\*

Towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign many severities were inflicted upon the nonconformists. Mr. William Smyth was apprehended and cast into prison. Mr. Snythurst was deprived of his living, and treated with great injustice by the high commission. Mr. Rudd was convened before the high commission, suspended, and forced to make a recantation. Mr. Aderster, a Lincolnshire divine, having endured many sufferings by suspension, deprivation, and other censures, in the high commission at Lambeth, was tried at the public assizes, when Judge Anderson treated him worse than a dog. Mr. Clarke, preacher to the society at Lincoln's-inn, London, and Mr. Philips, preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, were both summoned before the high commission; when the former was deprived, and the latter suspended and committed to the Gatehouse. Mr. Bradshaw, an excellent divine, was silenced by Archbishop Whitgift; and a great number of ministers in Norfolk were under suspension, and their people greatly oppressed in the ecclesiastical courts. Some, indeed, supposed that the puritans were now vanquished, and their number greatly diminished, by the rigorous execution of the penal laws.† This, however, is contrary to matter of fact. For in the beginning of the next reign, there were at least fifteen hundred ministers who avowed their nonconformity to the national church. The queen died March 24, 1603, having reigned upwards of forty-four years.

The puritans of these times were not without their failings, being men of like passions with their adversaries; yet, while they opposed the episcopal impositions and oppressions, if they had accomplished their wishes, there is cause to fear, that they would have imposed their own discipline. Their notions of civil and religious liberty were confused, and their principles and behaviour sometimes rigid; yet

\* MS. Remarks, p. 461.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 233.

they were men eminent for piety, devotion, and zeal in the cause of Christ. The suspensions and deprivations of this long reign are said to amount to several thousands.\* But, while the nonconformists were thus harassed, the church and the nation were in a most deplorable state. Great numbers of churches, in all parts of the country, were without ministers; and among those who professed to be ministers, about three thousand were mere readers, who could not preach at all. And under pretence of maintaining order and uniformity in the church, popery, immorality, and ungodliness were every where promoted: so that while the zealous prelates pretended to be building up the church of England, they were evidently undermining the church of God.†

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### SECT. III.

#### *From the Death of Queen Elizabeth, to the Death of King James I.*

KING JAMES was thirty-six years old when he came to the crown of England, having reigned in Scotland from his infancy. His majesty's behaviour in Scotland had raised too high the expectations of the puritans: they relied upon his education, his subscribing the covenant, his professed kindness for the suffering nonconformists, and his repeated declarations. He had declared in the general assembly at Edinburgh, with his hands lifted up to heaven, "That he praised God that he was born to be king of the purest kirk in the world. As for our neighbour kirk of England," said he, "their service is an evil-said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings."‡ The king had given great offence to the English bishops, by saying, "that their order smelled vilely of popish pride; that they were a principal branch of the pope, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; that the Book of Common Prayer was the English mass-book; and that the surplice, copes, and ceremonies were outward badges of popery."§ The expectations of the puritans were, therefore, highly

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 511.—The number of clergy suspended and deprived for nonconformity was, according to Hume, very great, and comprehended at one time a third of all the ecclesiastics in the kingdom! †—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 337.

‡ MS. Remarks, p. 411.

§ Calderwood's *Hist. of Scotland*, p. 256.

§ MS. Remarks, p. 535.

raised ; and upon the king's accession, they took fresh courage, omitted some things in the public service, threw aside the surplice, and rejected the unprofitable ceremonies. During his majesty's progress to London, they presented their *millenary petition*, subscribed by above 1000 pious and able ministers, 750 of whom were out of twenty-five counties.\* It is entitled "The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church." They observe, "that they being more than 1000 ministers, groaning under the burden of human rites and ceremonies, with one consent, threw themselves at his royal feet, for a reformation in the church service, ministry, livings, and discipline."† But amidst all their hopes, many of them rejoiced with trembling ; while James himself had, properly speaking, no other religion, than what flowed from a principle which he called *kingcraft*.‡

Indeed, this soon appeared at the Hampton-court conference. This conference, and the disputants on both sides, were appointed by his majesty. For the church, there were nine bishops and about the same number of dignitaries ; but for the puritans, there were only four divines, Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Sparke, Mr. Chadderton, and Mr. Knewstubs. These divines having presented their request of a further reformation, in several particulars,§ towards the conclusion the king arose from his chair, and addressed Dr. Rainolds, saying, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else do worse." And to close the whole, he said, "I will have none of this arguing. Let them conform, and that quickly, or they shall hear of it."¶ Such was the royal logic of the new monarch ! This conference, observes the judicious historian, was only a blind to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.‡ The conduct of the king, who bore down all before him, was highly gratifying to the dignified prelates. Besides other instances of palpable flattery, Archbishop Whitgift said, "He was verily persuaded the king spoke by the spirit of God."\*\*

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr, p. 116.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 22.

‡ Warner's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 477.

§ See Art. Rainolds. ¶ Barlow's Sum of Conference, p. 170, 177.

‡ Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 162.

\*\* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 21.—Bishop Bancroft, falling on his knees before the king, on this occasion, and with his eyes raised to him, said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king, as since Christ's time hath not been."—*Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 396.

The above *mock* conference, as it is justly called, taught the puritans what to expect. The threatened storm soon overtook them. The persecuting prelates having received new life, presently renewed their tyrannical proceedings. Mr. Richard Rogers, of Wethersfield in Essex, a divine of incomparable worth, and six other ministers, were convened before the archbishop, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, were all suspended. They were cited to appear before him a second time; but the archbishop died on the very day of their appearance. Whitgift, according to Fuller, was one of the worthiest men the church of England ever enjoyed.\* Mr. Strype observes, that he was equal to both his predecessors, Parker and Grindal, in right godly and episcopal endowments; and that great wisdom, courage, and *gentleness* accompanied all his orders.+ He was, however, an unfeeling and a relentless persecutor, and extravagantly fond of outward splendour, usually travelling with a most magnificent retinue.‡

Dr. Richard Bancroft having acquitted himself so much to the king's satisfaction, in the conference at Hampton-court, was thought the fittest person to succeed Whitgift in the chair of Canterbury.§ He trod in the steps of his predecessor in all the iniquities of persecution. He entered upon the work where Whitgift concluded, and immediately convened Mr. Rogers and his brethren before him. They endured continual molestations for a long time, having many expensive journies to London. Mr. Rogers was cited also before the Bishop of London, who protested "by the help of Jesus, that he would not leave one nonconformable minister in all his diocese;" but his death soon after put an end to his career. Mr. Baynes, the excellent lecturer at Cambridge, was silenced, and his lecture put down. Dr. Taylor was suspended from his ministry. Mr. Hilder-

\* Church Hist. b. x. p. 25.

† Life of Parker, Pref. p. 5.

‡ His train sometimes consisted of 1000 horse. The archbishop being once at Dover, attended by five hundred horse, one hundred of which were his own servants, many of them wearing chains of gold, a person of distinction then arriving from Rome, greatly wondered to see an English archbishop with so splendid a retinue. But seeing him the following sabbath in the cathedral of Canterbury, attended by the above magnificent train, with the dean, prebendaries, and preachers, in their surplices and scarlet hoods; and hearing the music of organs, cornets, and sacbuts, he was seized with admiration, and said, "That the people at Rome were led in blindness, being made to believe, that in England there was neither archbishop, nor bishop, nor cathedral, nor any ecclesiastical government; but that all were pulled down. But he protested, that unless it were in the *pope's chapel*, he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound."—*Paule's Life of Whitgift*, p. 104—106.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 340.

sham was suspended a third time for nonconformity; and many others suffered the like extremity.

Numerous congregations being deprived of their zealous and faithful pastors, the distressed people presented a petition to the king, in behalf of their suffering ministers; which, because it was presented while his majesty was hunting, he was exceedingly displeased. The poor puritan ministers were now persecuted in every quarter, some of them being suspended, and others deprived of their livings.\* And while the bishops were highly commended for suspending or depriving all who could not conform, Sir Richard Knightly, Sir Valentine Knightly, Sir Edward Montague, and some others, presented a petition to the king in behalf of the suffering ministers in Northamptonshire; for which they were summoned before the council, and told, that what they had done "tended to sedition, and was little less than treason."†

The king now issued two proclamations, intimating in the one, what regard he would have to the *tender consciences of the papists*; but in the other, that he would not allow the least indulgence to the *tender consciences of the puritans*.; In his majesty's long speech, at the opening of the first session of parliament, he said, "I acknowledge the Roman church to be our *mother church*, although defiled with "some infirmities and corruptions;" and added, "I would "for my own part be content to meet them in the mid-"way;" but spoke with great indignation against the puritans.‡ And many of the ministers still refusing to conform, the king issued another proclamation, dated July 10, 1604, allowing them to consider of their conformity till the end of November following: but in case of their refusal, he would have them all deprived, or banished out of the kingdom.¶

Most of the bishops and clergy in the convocation which sat with the above parliament, were very zealous against the puritans. Bishop Rudd was, indeed, a noble exception. He spoke much in their praise, and exposed the injustice and inhumanity of their persecutors. The book of canons passed both houses, and was afterwards ratified by the king's letters patent, under his great seal.‡ By these canons, new hardships were laid upon the oppressed puritans. Suspensions and deprivations were now thought not

\* Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 36, 48.

† Ibid. p. 49.

‡ Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 163.

§ Ibid. p. 165; 166.

¶ MS. Remarks, p. 563.

‡ Sparrow's Collec. p. 263.

to be a sufficient punishment for the sin of nonconformity. The puritans received the terrible sentence of excommunication, being turned out of the congregation, rendered incapable of suing for their lawful debts, imprisoned for life, denied christian burial, and, as far as possible, *excluded from the kingdom of heaven*. Archbishop Bancroft, now at the head of all ecclesiastical affairs, enforced the observance of all the festivals of the church, the use of copes, surplices, caps, hoods, &c. and obliged the clergy to subscribe afresh to Whitgift's three articles, which, by canon xxxvi. they were to declare they did *willingly and from their hearts*. By these oppressive measures, four hundred ministers were suspended and cast out of their livings; some of whom were excommunicated and cast into prison, while others, to preserve their consciences, were driven into a state of banishment.

Among the painful sufferers at this time, were Mr. Maunsel, minister of Yarmouth, and Mr. Lad, a merchant of the same place. For holding a supposed conventicle, they were cited before the high commission at Lambeth, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, were cast into prison. When they were brought to the bar, Nicholas Fuller, esq. a bencher of Gray's-inn, and a learned man in his profession, was their counsel; who, for pleading their cause, was cast into prison, where he continued to the day of his death. Mr. Wotton and Mr. Cleaver, two learned and useful divines, were suspended for nonconformity. Mr. Rush, fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, was convened and required to make a public recantation. Mr. Randall Bates, a pious and excellent preacher, was committed to the Gatehouse, where, after a long and miserable confinement, he died under the hardships of the prison. These severities drove many learned ministers and their followers out of the kingdom, when they retired to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden and other places. Among these were Dr. William Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, both divines of distinguished eminence.

Indeed, Archbishop Bancroft incessantly harassed and plagued the puritans, to bring them to an exact conformity. On account of his rigorous proceedings, great numbers

\* *Sion's Plea*, p. 75.—*MS. Remarks*, p. 585.—Some of our high-church historians, it is acknowledged, have diminished the number to forty-five, others to forty-nine, evidently with a design to remove the odium from the persecuting prelates.—*Heylin's Hist. of Pres.* p. 370.—*Spotiswood's Hist. of Scotland*, p. 479. Edit. 1677.

resolved to transport themselves to Virginia, and settle in that uncivilized country, where they could enjoy the blessing of religious liberty. Some having departed for the new settlement, and the archbishop seeing many more ready for the voyage, obtained his majesty's proclamation, forbidding them to depart without the king's license. The arbitrary court was apprehensive this sect would in the end become too numerous and powerful in America.\* The distressed puritans must not enjoy liberty of conscience at home, nor remove to another country, even among uncivilized pagans, where they could enjoy it.—The high commission, says Bishop Kennet, began now to swell into a grievance, of which the parliament complained. Every man must conform to the episcopal church, and quit his opinion or his safety. That court was the touch-stone, to try whether men were current. "This," he adds, "was the beginning of that mischief, which made such a bloody tincture in both kingdoms, as never will be got out of the bishops' lawn sleeves."†

The parliament, in 1610, was deeply concerned about these proceedings. In their petition to the king, they say, "That divers painful and learned pastors, who have long travelled in the work of the ministry, with good fruit and blessing of their labours, who were ready to subscribe to the true christian faith and doctrine of sacraments, for not conforming in some points of ceremony, and refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundry of your majesty's well-affected subjects."‡ And in a memorable speech during this parliament, it was said, "The depriving, degrading, and imprisoning learned and godly ministers, whom God hath furnished with most heavenly graces, is the crying sin of the land, most provoking to God, and most grievous to the subjects."§ A bill was, therefore, introduced against pluralities and nonresidence; another against canonical subscription; a third against scandalous ministers; a fourth against the oath *ex officio*; and they all passed the commons.¶ An address was also presented to the king, entitled "An humble supplication for toleration and liberty to enjoy and

\* Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 176.

† Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 681, 682.

‡ Calamy's Church and Dissenters, p. 131.

§ MS. Remarks, p. 629.

¶ Ibid. p. 137.

observe the ordinances of Jesus Christ in the ministration of his churches, in lieu of human constitutions." It was published by those who apprehended the church of England to be fast approaching towards the church of Rome.\* But all these endeavours proved ineffectual to obtain a further reformation of the church.† Archbishop Bancroft died November 10, 1610, and was succeeded by Dr. George Abbot, an avowed enemy to all the superstitions of popery.‡

King James, to shew his zeal against heresy, had now an opportunity of exercising it upon two of his own subjects; who, in the year 1611, were burnt alive for their heretical opinions. One was Bartholomew Legatt, a native of the county of Essex. He was a man of a bold spirit, a fluent tongue, well skilled in the scriptures, and of an unblameable conversation. He denied the divinity of Christ, and a plurality of persons in the Godhead. The king himself, and several of the bishops, conferred with him, and endeavoured to convince him of his errors.§ Having continued a long time prisoner in Newgate, he was at length brought before the king, many of the bishops, and many learned divines, in the consistory of St. Paul's; where he was declared a contumacious and obdurate heretic, and delivered over to the secular power. The king having signed a writ *de heretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London, he was carried to Smithfield, March 18, and, before an immense number of spectators, was burnt to ashes. Pardon was offered him at the stake if he would have recanted, but he firmly refused.¶

Mr. Edward Whiteman of Burton-upon-Trent, was, at

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 619. (2.)

† The puritans were now oppressed by every means that could be devised. Mrs. VENABLE, a lady of great liberality and exemplary piety, being deeply concerned for the numerous persecuted servants of Christ, bequeathed in her last will £5000, to be distributed among the suffering nonconformist ministers. This was no sooner known at court, than the money was seized, and given to such ministers as were conformable. Such was the fraud and barbarity of the times!—*MS. Remarks*, p. 585.

‡ Bishop Kennet styles Archbishop Bancroft "a sturdy piece," and says, "he proceeded with *rigour, severity and wrath*, against the puritans."—*Kennet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 665.

§ The attempt of the king to convince Legatt having utterly failed, he arose in a passion from his chair, and, giving him a kick with his royal foot, said: "Away, base fellow, it shall never be said, that one stayeth in my presence, that hath never prayed to our Saviour for seven years."—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 62.

¶ He had a brother, called Thomas Legatt, who, at the same time, for holding certain heretical opinions, as they are called, was committed to Newgate, where he died under the pressures of his confinement.—*Jessop's Discovery of Anabaptists*, p. 77. Edit. 1623.

the same time, convicted of heresy by Dr. Neile, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and burnt at Lichfield, April 11. In the king's warrant for his execution, he is charged with no less than sixteen distinct heresies, among which are those of the Ebionites, Corinthians, Arians, and Anabaptists, and other heretical, execrable, and unheard-of opinions. Some of the opinions imputed to him savoured of vanity, superstition, and enthusiasm; and he was certainly an object more deserving of compassion than of punishment.\* But, to gratify the wishes of his enemies, he must pass through the fire.—There was another condemned to be burnt for similar heresies; but the constancy of the above sufferers having greatly moved the pity of the spectators, he was left to linger out a miserable life in Newgate.†

Many of the puritans being driven into exile, continued a number of years in a foreign land. They raised congregations and formed christian churches, according to their views of the New Testament. Mr. John Robinson, pastor of the church at Leyden, first struck out the congregational or independent form of church government. Afterwards, about a hundred of his church transplanted themselves to America, and laid the foundation of the colony of New England. But some of the worthy exiles ventured at length to return home. Mr. Henry Jacob having espoused the sentiments of the independents, returned about the year 1616; and communicating to his friends his design of forming a separate church, like those in Holland, they, seeing no prospect of any reformation of the national church, signified their approbation. They spent a day in solemn devotion, to implore the divine blessing upon the undertaking; and having made an open confession of their faith in Christ, they joined hands, and covenanted with each other to walk together in all the ordinances of God, as far as he had already made known to them, or should hereafter make known to them. Mr. Jacob was chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others to the office of deacons. This was the first INDEPENDENT church in England.

During this year, his majesty, by the advice of the bishops, issued his royal directions for a better conformity to the established church. He required "That all students who took their degrees, should subscribe to the thirty-sixth canon.—That all scholars should wear their scholastical

\* Narration of the burning of Legatt and Whiteman, Edit. 1651.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 62—64.

habits.—That no one be allowed to preach without perfect conformity.—And that no preacher shall maintain any point of doctrine not allowed by the church of England.”\*

The distressed puritans felt the iron rod of their cruel persecutors in various parts of the country. Messrs. Ball, Nicholls, Paget, and many others, in the diocese of Chester, were often cited before the high commission, when attachments were issued to apprehend them, and commit them to prison. They were obliged to conceal themselves, and heavy fines were laid upon them for their nonappearance, and were aggravated from one court day to another; till their case was returned into the exchequer, when, to their unspeakable injury, they were obliged to compound. Mr. Bradshaw had his house searched by the bishops’ pursuivants, and he was suspended. Mr. John Wilkinson was several times spoiled of his goods, and kept many years in prison by the furious prelates. Mr. Hildersham was suspended a fourth and a fifth time. He was afterwards summoned before the high commission, and, refusing the oath *ex officio*, committed first to the Fleet, then to the King’s-bench, where he continued a long time. Having obtained his liberty, he was censured in the ecclesiastical court, upon the most glaring false witness, and fined £2,000, pronounced excommunicate, degraded from his ministry, ordered to be taken and cast into prison, required to make a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and condemned in costs of suit. His two friends, Mr. Dighton and Mr. Holt, being committed, one to the Fleet, the other to the Gatehouse, were fined £10,000 each, excommunicated, ordered to be publicly denounced, to make their submission in three different places, condemned in costs of suit, and sent back to prison. The learned Mr. John Selden, for publishing his “History of Tithes,” was summoned before the high commission, and obliged to sign a recantation.†

To prevent the growth of puritanism, the king, in the year 1618, published his “Declaration for Sports on the Lord’s-day,” commonly called the Book of Sports. It was procured by the bishops, and all ministers were enjoined to approve of it, and read it in the public congregations; and those who refused were brought into the high commission,

\* Heylin’s *Life of Laud*, p. 72.

† Mr. Selden was justly denominated the glory of England for his uncommon learning. Archbishop Usher used to say, “I am not worthy to carry his books after him.”

suspended and imprisoned. "It was designed," says Bishop Kennet, "as a trap to catch men of tender consciences, and as a means of promoting the ease, wealth and grandeur of the bishops."\*

The king, at the opening of the parliament in 1620, made this solemn declaration: "*I mean,*" said he, "*not to compel any man's conscience; for I ever protested against it.*"† But his majesty soon forgot his own declaration; and to increase the distress of the puritans, he set forth his directions to all the clergy, forbidding them to preach on the deep points of controversy betwixt the Arminians and Calvinists. The puritans had hitherto suffered only for refusing the ceremonies, but now their doctrine itself became an offence. Most Calvinists were now excluded from court preferments. The way to rise in the church, was to preach up the absolute power of the king, to declaim against the rigours of Calvinism, and to speak favourably of popery. Those who scrupled were neglected, and denominated *doctrinal puritans*; but having withstood all the arbitrary proceedings adopted both in church and state, they will be esteemed by posterity, as the glory of the English nation.‡

Many of the puritans now groaned under the oppressive measures of the prelates. Mr. Collins was cast into prison for nonconformity. Though he was not suffered to preach in the churches, he preached to the malefactors in prison, and there procured himself a subsistence by correcting the press.§ Mr. Knight of Pembroke college, Oxford, was cited up to London, and committed to the Gatehouse. Mr. Peck having catechised his family, and sung a psalm in his own house, when several of his neighbours were present, they were all required by Bishop Harsnet to do penance and recant. Those who refused were immediately excommunicated and condemned in heavy costs. The citizens of Norwich afterwards complained of this cruel oppression to parliament. The celebrated Mr. Dod was often cited before the bishops, and was four times suspended. Mr. Whately was convened before the high commission, and required to make a public recantation. Mr. Whiting was prosecuted by the Bishop of Norwich, and brought before the high commission, expecting to be deprived of considerable

\* Several of the bishops, however, declared their opinion against the Book of Sports. And Archbishop Abbot being at Croydon the day on which it was ordered to be read in the churches, expressly forbid it to be read there.—*Kennet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 709.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 667. (13.) ‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 128. § Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 194.

estates; but, happily, while the cause was pending, King James died, and the prosecution was dropped. The king finished his course March 27, 1625, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham.\* He was a mere pedant, without judgment, courage, or steadiness, being the very scorn of the age. His reign was a continued course of mean practices.+ He invaded the liberties of his subjects; endangered the religion of his country; was ever grasping at arbitrary power;‡ and, in a word, liberty of conscience was totally suppressed.§ ||

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#### SECT. IV.

#### *From the Death of King James I. to the Death of King Charles I.*

WHEN King CHARLES came to the crown, he was at first thought favourable to puritanism. His tutor, and all his court, were puritanically inclined. Dr. Preston, one of the leading puritans, came in a coach to London with the King and the Duke of Buckingham, which gave great offence to the contrary party. His majesty was so overcharged with grief for the death of his father, that he wanted the comfort of so wise and great a man.¶ The puritans, however, soon found that no favour was to be expected. The unjust and inhuman proceedings of the COUNCIL-TABLE, the STAR-CHAMBER, and the HIGH COMMISSION, during this reign,

\* Harris's Life of James I. p. 237. Edit. 1753.

† Bernet's Hist. of his Times, vol. i. p. 17.

‡ Bennet's Mem. of Reformation, p. 147.

§ Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. vi. p. 116.—|| Bishop Laud observes of James, that the sweetness of his nature was scarcely to be paralleled, and little less than a miracle. Clemency, mercy, justice, and peace, were all eminent in him; and he was the most learned and religious prince that England ever knew. On the contrary, the learned Mosheim affirms, "that as the desire of unlimited power and authority was the reigning passion in the heart of this monarch, so all his measures, whether of a civil or ecclesiastical nature, were calculated to answer the purposes of his ambition. He was the bitterest enemy of the doctrine and discipline of the puritans, to which he had been in his youth most warmly attached; the most inflexible and ardent patron of the Arminians, in whose ruin and condemnation in Holland he had been singularly instrumental; and the most zealous defender of episcopal government, against which he had more than once expressed himself in the strongest terms." Though he was no papist, he was certainly very much inclined to popery, and "was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking."—*Breviate of Laud*, p. 5.—*Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.* vol. v. p. 385, 391, 392.—*Harris's Life of James I.* p. 45, 66.

¶ Bernet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 19.

are unparalleled. The two former were become courts of *law*, to determine matters of *right*; and courts of *revenue*, to bring money into the treasury. The *council-table*, by proclamations, enjoined upon the people what was not enjoined by law; and the *star-chamber* punished the disobedience of those proclamations by heavy fines and imprisonment. The exorbitances of this court were such, that there were very few persons of quality who did not suffer more or less, by the weight of its censures and judgments. And the *high commission* became justly odious, not only by meddling with things not within its cognizance, but by extending its sentences and judgments to a degree that was unjustifiable, and by treating the common law, and the professors of it, with great contempt. From an ecclesiastical court for the reformation of manners, it became a court of *revenue*, imposing heavy fines upon the subjects.\*

These courts made strange havoc among the puritans, detaining them long in prison, without bringing them to trial, or acquainting them with the cause of their commitment. Their proceedings were, in some respects, worse than the *Romish Inquisition*; because they suspended, degraded, excommunicated, and imprisoned multitudes of learned and pious ministers, without the breach of any established law. While the heaviest penalties were inflicted upon the protestant nonconformists, the papists lived without molestation. Indeed, the king gave express orders "To forbear all manner of proceedings against Roman catholics, and that all pains and penalties to which they were liable, should cease."†

The Arminian tenets, warmly supported by Bishop Laud and his brethren, now began rapidly to gain ground. The points of controversy became so much the subject of public discussion, that the king issued his royal proclamation, threatening to proceed against all who should maintain any new opinions, contrary to the doctrines as by law established. Though this proclamation appeared to be in favour of the Calvinists, the execution of it being in the hands of Laud and his brethren, it was turned against them, and made use of to silence them; while it gave an untroubled liberty to the tongues and pens of the Arminians.‡ Many were, indeed, of opinion, that Bishops Laud and Neile procured this injunction on purpose to oppress the

\* Clarendon's History, vol. i. p. 68, 69, 222, 283.

† Rushworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 173.

‡ Ibid. p. 416, 417.

Calvinists, who should venture to break it, while they should connive at the disobedience of the contrary party. It is certain, the Calvinists were prosecuted for disobeying the proclamation, while the Arminians were tolerated and countenanced.\* The puritans, who wrote in defence of the received doctrines of the *thirty-nine* articles, were censured in the high commission, and their books suppressed; and when they ventured to preach or dispute upon those points, they were suspended, imprisoned, forced to recant, or banished to a foreign land.†

The king now usurped an arbitrary power, much more extensive than any of his predecessors. Henry VIII. did what he pleased by the use of parliament; but Charles evidently designed to rule *without* parliament.‡ To convince the people that it was their duty to submit to a monarch of such principles, the clergy were employed to preach up the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Dr. Manwaring preaching before his majesty, said, "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm, concerning the subject's rights and liberties, but that his royal will and pleasure, in imposing taxes without consent of parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience on pain of eternal damnation."§

The church being governed by similar arbitrary and illegal methods, it was easy to foresee what the nonconformists had to expect. They were exceedingly harassed and persecuted in every corner of the land. In the year 1626, Mr. Brewer was censured in the high commission, and committed to prison, where he continued fourteen years. Mr. Smart, prebend of Durham, was many times convened before his ecclesiastical judges; then sent to the high commission at York, and kept a prisoner nine months. He was next sent to the high commission at Lambeth; then returned to York, fined £500, and ordered to recant; for refusing which, he was fined a second time, excommunicated, deprived, degraded, and committed to prison, where he remained eleven or twelve years, suffering

\* Rapin's Hist. vol. ii. p. 259.

† Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*, p. 161.

‡ Rapin's Hist. vol. ii. p. 259.

§ Manwaring, for this sermon, was sentenced by the house of lords to pay a fine of a thousand pounds, to make a public submission at the bar of both houses, to be imprisoned during the pleasure of the lords, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity: nevertheless, he was so much a *court favourite*, he obtained the king's pardon, with a good benefice, and afterwards a bishopric.—*Ibid.*

immense damages. These severities were inflicted by the instigation of Laud, soon after made Bishop of London, and prime minister to his majesty.\* This furious prelate was no sooner exalted, than he made strange havoc among the churches. Agreeable to the king's injunctions, many excellent lecturers were put down, and such as preached against Arminianism or the popish ceremonies, were suspended; among whom were Drs. Stoughton, Sibbs, Taylor, and Gouge, with Messrs. White of Dorchester, Rogers of Dedham, Rogers of Wethersfield, Hooker of Chelmsford, White of Knightsbridge, Archer, Edwards, Jones, Ward, Saunders, Salisbury, Foxley, William Martin, and James Gardiner.† Mr. Henry Burton was brought before the council-table, and the high commission. He was afterwards apprehended by a pursuivant, then suspended and committed to the Fleet. Mr. Nathaniel Bernard was suspended, excommunicated, fined £1,000, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison, where he was treated with great barbarity; and refusing to make a public recantation, after languishing a long time, he died through the rigour of his confinement. But the unparalleled cruelty of this prelate most appeared in the terrible sentence inflicted upon Dr. Alexander Leighton. He was seized by a warrant from the high commission; dragged before Bishop Laud; then, without examination, carried to Newgate, where he was treated a long time with unexampled barbarity. When brought to trial before that arbitrary court, the furious prelate desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him. He was, therefore, condemned to be degraded from his ministry, to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, whipped at a post, to stand in the pillory, to pay £10,000, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. This horrible sentence being pronounced, Laud pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, *gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies.*‡

During these cruel proceedings, Mr. Palmer and Mr. Udney, two lecturers in Kent, were silenced. Mr. Angier was suspended.§ Mr. Huntley was grievously censured in the high commission, and committed to prison, where he continued a long time. Mr. John Workman was

\* Pryne's Cant. Doome, p. 78.

† Ibid. p. 362, 373.

‡ For an account of the barbarous execution of this shocking sentence, see Art. Leighton.

§ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 395.

suspended, excommunicated, condemned in costs of suit, cast into prison, and obliged to make a public recantation at three different places. Mr. Crowder was committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, then deprived of his living, without there being any charge, witness, or other proof brought against him. Many others were prosecuted and deprived.\* Bishop Laud being made chancellor of Oxford, carried his severities to the university. He caused Mr. Hill to make a public recantation; Messrs. Ford, Thorne, and Hodges to be expelled from the university; the proctors to be deprived for receiving their appeal; and Drs. Prideaux and Wilkinson to be sharply admonished. Mr. William Hobbs, fellow of Trinity college, having preached against falling from grace; and Mr. Thomas Cook of Brazen-nose college, having in his Latin sermon used certain expressions against the Arminians, they were both enjoined public recantations. Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Burgess, Mr. White, Mr. Madye, with some others, suffered on the same account.†

By the unfeeling persecutions of the bishops, the puritans were driven from one diocese to another, and many of them obliged to leave the kingdom, and seek their bread in a foreign land. Messrs. Higginson, Skelton, Williams, Wilson, Wheelwright, Philips, Lathorp, Hooker, Stone, Cotton, with many others, fled to New England. Many of these divines, previous to their departure, were harassed, prosecuted, and cruelly censured by the ruling prelates.

The distressed puritans who remained at home, presented a petition to his majesty, in which they say, "We are not a little discouraged and deterred from preaching those saving doctrines of God's free grace in election and predestination which greatly confirm our faith of eternal salvation, and fervently kindle our love to God, as the seventeenth article expressly mentioneth. So we are brought into great strait, either of incurring God's heavy displeasure if we do not faithfully discharge our embassy, in declaring the whole council of God; or the danger of being censured as violaters of your majesty's acts, if we preach these constant doctrines of our church, and confute the opposite Pelagian and Arminian heresies, both boldly preached and printed without the least censure."‡ This

\* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 519.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 173, 176.—Rushworth's *Collec.* vol. ii. p. 283.

‡ Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 165.

appears, however, to have been followed with no good effect. By silencing so many learned and useful ministers, there was a great scarcity of preachers, and a famine of the word of God in every corner of the land ; while ignorance, superstition, profaneness, and popery, every where increased.\*

The sufferings of the people for want of the bread of life continually increasing, a number of ministers and gentlemen formed a scheme to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the different market towns. To defray the expence, a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be divided into salaries of forty or fifty pounds a year, for the support of the lecturers. The money was deposited in the hands of the following persons, as FEOFFEEES : Dr. George, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Offspring, and Mr. Davenport, of the clergy ; Ralph Eyre, Simon Brown, C. Sherland, and John White, esqrs. ; and Messrs. John Gearing, Richard Davis, George Harwood, and Francis Bridges, citizens of London. Most people thought the design was very laudable, and wished them good success ; but Bishop Laud looking upon the undertaking with an evil and a jealous eye, as if it was likely to become the great nursery of puritanism, applied to the king, and obtained an information against all the feoffees in the exchequer. The feoffment was, therefore, cancelled, their proceedings declared illegal, the impropriations already purchased, amounting to five or six thousand pounds, were confiscated to the king, and the feoffees themselves fined in the star-chamber.†

If the persecuted puritans at any time ventured to except against the proceedings of this fiery prelate, they were sure to feel his indignation. Mr. Hayden having spoken against them from the pulpit, was driven out of the diocese of Exeter, but afterwards apprehended by Bishop Harsnet, who took from him his horse, his money, and all his papers, and caused him to be shut up in close prison for thirteen weeks. His lordship then sent him to the high commission, when he was deprived, degraded, and fined, for having preached against superstitious decorations and images in churches. Mr. Hayden venturing afterwards to preach occasionally, was again apprehended by Bishop Laud,

\* *Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 385.

† *Ibid.* p. 385—387.

who sent him first to the Gatehouse, then to Bridewell, where he was whipped and kept to hard labour; then confined in a cold dark hole during the whole of winter, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with irons on his hands and feet, having no other food than bread and water, and a pad of straw to lie on. Before his release, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, to preach no more, but depart from the kingdom, and never return. Henry Shirfield, esq. a bencher of Lincoln's-inn, and recorder of Salisbury, was tried in the star-chamber, for taking down some painted glass from one of the windows of St. Edmund's church, Salisbury. These pictures were extremely ridiculous and superstitious.\* The taking down of the glass was agreed upon at a vestry, when six justices of the peace were present. Towards the close of his trial, Bishop Laud stood up, and moved the court, that Mr. Shirfield might be fined £1,000, removed from his recordership, committed to the Fleet till he paid the fine, and then bound to his good behaviour. The whole of this heavy sentence was inflicted upon him, excepting that the fine was mitigated to £500.†

In the year 1633, upon the death of Archbishop Abbot, Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury; when he and several of his brethren renewed their zeal in the persecution of the puritans.‡ Numerous lecturers were silenced, and their lectures put down. Mr. Rathband and Mr. Blackerby, two most excellent divines, were often silenced, and driven from one place to another. Mr. John Budle, rector of Barnston, and Mr. Throgmorton, vicar of Mawling, were prosecuted in the high commission.§ Mr. Alder and Mr. Jessey were both silenced, the latter for not observing the ceremonies, and removing a crucifix.|| Mr. John Vincent was continually harassed for nonconformity. He was so driven from place to place, that though he had many

\* There were in this window seven pictures of *God the Father* in the form of little old men, in a blue and red coat, with a pouch by his side. One of them represented him creating the sun and moon with a pair of compasses; others as working upon the six days creation; and at last as sitting in an elbow chair at rest. Many of the people, upon their going in and out of the church, did reverence to this window, because, as they said, the Lord their God was there.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 102.

† *Ibid.* p. 103.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 153—156.

‡ Archbishop Abbot, who succeeded Bancroft, is said to have imitated the moderation of Whitgift; and that Laud, who succeeded Abbot, imitated the wrath of Bancroft.—*Kennet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 665, note.

§ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 526—529.

|| Calamy's *Contin.* vol. i. p. 46.

children, not two of them were born in the same county. Messrs. Angel, Buckley, Saunders, Bridges, Roberts, Erbery, Cradock, Newport, and others, were suspended, and some of them driven out of the country.\* Mr. John Carter was censured by Bishop Wren, but death soon after delivered him from all his troubles. Messrs. Peters, Davenport, Nye,† and others, to escape the fury of the storm, fled to Holland. Mr. Peters, previous to his departure, was apprehended by Archbishop Laud, suspended, and committed for some time to New Prison. Many others were driven to New England, among whom were Messrs. Norton, Burr, Shepard, Sherman, and Nathaniel Ward, who was deprived and excommunicated by the archbishop.

During this year the king, by the recommendation of Laud, republished the "Book of Sports," for the encouragement of recreations and pastimes on the Lord's day. This opened a flood-gate to all manner of licentiousness, and became the instrument of unspeakable oppression to great numbers of his majesty's best subjects. The ruling prelates, though unauthorized by law, required the clergy to read it before the public congregation. This the puritans refused; for which they felt the iron rod of their tyrannical oppressors. Dr. Staunton, Mr. Chauncey, and Mr. Thomas, for refusing to read the book, were suspended.‡ Mr. Fairclough was often cited into the ecclesiastical courts. Mr. Tookie was turned out of his living. Mr. Cooper was suspended, and continued under the ecclesiastical censure seven years. Mr. Sanger was imprisoned at Salisbury. Mr. Moreland, rector of Hamsted-Marshall in Berkshire, was suspended and deprived of his living.§ Mr. Snelling was suspended, deprived, excommunicated, and cast into prison, where he continued till the meeting of the long parliament. Dr. Chambers was silenced, sequestered, and cast into prison.|| Messrs. Culmer, Player, and Hieron being suspended, waited upon the archbishop, jointly requesting absolution from the unjust censure; when his grace said, "If you know not how to obey, I know not how to grant your favour," and dismissed them from his presence. Mr. Wilson was suspended from his office and benefice, and afterwards prosecuted in the high commission. Mr. Wroth and Mr. Erbery from Wales, Mr. Jones from

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 592, 593.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 89.

‡ Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 163.

§ MS. Remarks, p. 903.

|| Calamy's Account and Contin.

Gloucestershire, Mr. Whitfield of Ockham, Mr. Garth of Woversh, Mr. Ward of Pepper-Harrow, Mr. Farrol of Purbright, Mr. Pegges of Weeford, and Mr. Thomas Valentine, minister of Chalfont St. Giles, with many others, were brought from various parts of the country, and prosecuted in the high commission.\* Mr. Edmund Calamy, Mr. William Bridge, Mr. Thomas Allen, and about thirty other worthy ministers, for refusing to read the book and observe Bishop Wren's articles, were driven out of the diocese.† And Laud, at the same time, caused upwards of twenty ministers to be fined and expelled from their livings, for not bowing at the name of Jesus.‡

Towards the close of this year, William Prynne, esq. a member of Lincoln's-inn, having published a book, entitled "Histrio-mastix; or, the Play's Scourge," exposing the evil of plays, masquerades, &c. was sentenced to have his book burnt by the common hangman, to be put from the bar, to be for ever incapable of his profession, to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's-inn, to be degraded at Oxford, to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside, to lose both his ears, one in each place, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment.§ Dr. Bastwick, a physician of Colchester, having published a book, entitled *Elenchus religionis, papisticæ*, with an appendix, called *Flagellum pontificis and episcoporum Latialium*, so greatly offended the prelates, by denying the divine right of bishops above that of presbyters, that by the high commission, he was discarded from his profession, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, and imprisoned till he should recant. And Mr. Burton having published two sermons against the late innovations, entitled "For God and the King," had his house and study broken open by a serjeant at arms, and his books and papers carried away. He was then suspended, and committed close prisoner to the Fleet, where he remained a long time.

These terrible proceedings made many conscientious non-conformists retire, with their families, to Holland and New England. Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. William Bridge, Mr. Sydrach Sympson, Mr. Julines Herring, Mr. Samuel Ward, and many others, having

\* Prynne's Cant. Dopme, p. 149, 151, 382.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 5, 476.

‡ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 165.

§ Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 233.

endured the cruel oppressions of the prelates, went to Holland. Mr. Herring had been driven from his flock, and several times suspended. Mr. Ward had been suspended, required to recant, condemned in costs of suit, and cast into prison, where he had remained a long time. And Messrs. Mather, Bulkley, Hobert, Symes, Whitfield, Rogers, Partridge, Whiting, Knollys, and Chauncey, withdrew from the storm, and fled to New England. This was no rash adventure. They suffered many hardships by suspension and imprisonment, previous to their departure. Mr. Chauncey was twice prosecuted by the high commission, suspended from his ministry, cast into prison, condemned in costs of suit, and obliged to make a recantation.

While these fled from the storm, others continued to endure the painful conflict. Dr. Stoughton, rector of Aldermanbury, London; Mr. Andrew Moline, curate of St. Swithin's; Mr. John Goodwin, vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street; and Mr. Viner of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry, were prosecuted for breach of canons. Mr. Turner and Mr. Lindall, with some others, were censured in the high commission. Mr. John Wood, formerly censured in the high commission, and Mr. Sparrowhawke of St. Mary's, Woolnoth, were both suspended for preaching against bowing at the name of Jesus. Dr. Cornelius Burgess and Mr. Wharton suffered in the high commission. Mr. Matthews, rector of Penmayn, was suspended by his diocesan, for preaching against the observance of popish holidays.\* Mr. Styles was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court at York, for omitting the cross in baptism. Mr. Leigh, one of the prebendaries of Lichfield, was suspended for churching refractory women in private, for being averse to the good orders of the church, and for ordering the bell-man to give notice in open market of a sermon. Mr. Kendal of Tuddington, was suspended for preaching a sermon above an hour long, on a sabbath afternoon. Dr. Jenningson of Newcastle, was prosecuted in the high commission, and forced to quit the kingdom, to escape the fury of Laud. Mr. John Jemmet of Berwick, was apprehended by a pursuivant, suspended from the sacred function, and banished from the town, without any article or witness being brought against him; and above twenty other ministers were suspended for nonconformity.† Mr. John Evans was sent to the Gatehouse; Mr. John

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 535—544.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 381, 382, 450.

Vicars was apprehended by a pursuivant, cast into prison, fined, and deprived of his living; and Mr. George Walker was prosecuted in the star-chamber, sequestered, and cast into prison, where he remained till the meeting of the long parliament.

Dr. Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, at the same time persecuted the nonconformists without mercy. He drove all the lecturers out of his diocese, and put down their lectures, as factions, and nurseries of puritanism. Upon a reflection on what he had done, he said, "I thank God, I have not one lecturer left in my diocese," hating the very name. He suspended Mr. Davenish of Bridgewater, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market-day; and having absolved him upon his promise to preach no more, he said, *Go thy way, and sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.* He suspended Mr. Cornish for preaching a funeral sermon in the evening; and he questioned Mr. Thomas Erford for preaching on a revel-day, saying "his text was scandalous to the revel." He sharply reprimanded other ministers for explaining the questions and answers in the catechism, and said, "That was as bad as preaching." For this practice he enjoined Mr. Barret, rector of Barwick, to do public penance.\* Dr. Conant, rector of Limington, received much molestation from this prelate.+ Mr. Richard Allein, fifty years minister of Dichiatt, endured great sufferings under him. And Dr. Chambers was silenced, sequestered, and cast into prison, being harassed several years.†

Bishop Wren of Norwich, having ordered the communion tables in his diocese to be turned into altars, fencing them about with rails, many of the people, to avoid superstition and idolatry, refused to kneel before them. And though they presented themselves on their knees in the chancel, they were refused the communion; and afterwards, for not receiving it, they were excommunicated by this prelate.§ His lordship had no mercy on the puritans. He suspended, deprived, excommunicated,|| or otherwise censured no less than *fifty* able and pious ministers, to the ruin of themselves, their wives, and their children. Among this

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 377, 378.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 580, 754.

§ Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 399.

|| A minister's son was excommunicated for only repeating the sermon of his father, who had been excommunicated.—Rusworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 181.

number were Messrs. William Leigh, Richard Proud, Jonathan Burr, Matthew Browning, William Powell, Richard Raymund, John Carter, Robert Peck, William Bridge, William Green, Thomas Scott, Nicholas Beard, Robert Kent, Thomas Allen, John Allen, and John Ward.\* Some of them spent their days in silence; others retired into foreign countries; but none were restored without a promise of conformity. This furious prelate, by these severities, drove upwards of three thousand persons to seek their bread in a foreign land.†

About the year 1637, many of the persecuted puritans, to obtain a refuge from the storm, retired to New England; among whom were Messrs. Fisk, Moxon, Newman, Peck, Ezekel Rogers, and Thomas Larkham.‡ Mr. Larkham was so followed by continued vexatious prosecutions, that he was a sufferer in almost all the courts in England. He was in the star-chamber and high commission at the same time. And, he said, he was so constantly hunted by hungry pursuivants, that at last, by the tyranny of the bishops, and the tenderness of his own conscience, he was forced into exile.§

While these ravages were made in the churches, numerous pious ministers and their flocks being torn asunder, if any attempted to separate from the national church, the jealous archbishop was sure to have his eye upon them. Mr. Lamb was accordingly prosecuted in the high commission, and cast into prison. He was confined in most of the jails about London. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cornwall were committed to Maidstone jail. Many others were excommunicated and imprisoned by the archbishop.

This tyrannical arch-bishop suspended one Mr. Warren, a schoolmaster, for refusing conformity, and for reading only books on *divinity* among his scholars. Mr. Ephraim Hewet, minister of Wroxall in Warwickshire, was suspended by his diocesan, for keeping a fast in his parish, and not observing the ceremonies. Mr. Jeffryes was forced from his flock; and Mr. Wroth and Mr. Erbery were prosecuted, when the latter resigned his vicarage, and left the diocese in peace. Great numbers in Kent were excommunicated and cast into prison. About thirty of the London ministers

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.—Nelson's Collec. vol. ii. p. 400, 401.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 376.

‡ The number of ministers driven to New England by the hard dealings of the bishops, from the year 1620 to 1640, amounted to about ninety.—*M.S. Remarks*, p. 919—921.

§ Calamy's Contin. vol. i. p. 330.

were convened before their diocesan; when many of them were suspended and excommunicated for refusing to receive the sacrament at the rails.\* Mr. Miles Burket, vicar of Patteshall in Northamptonshire, was prosecuted in the high commission, for administering the sacrament without the rails, and for not bowing at the name of Jesus.+ Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Dr. Bastwick, already mentioned, having been long confined in prison, were prosecuted in the star-chamber, when they received the following dreadful sentence:—"Mr. Burton shall be deprived of his living, and degraded from his ministry, as Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick had been already from their professions; they shall each be fined £5,000; they shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne had lost his ears already, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a *sedition libeller*; and they shall all three suffer perpetual imprisonment in the remotest parts of the kingdom."‡

The church of England and the governing prelates were now arrived at their highest power and splendour. The afflicted nonconformists, and those who favoured their cause,§ felt the relentless vengeance of the star-chamber and high commission. Dr. Williams, the excellent Bishop of Lincoln, was now removed from the court, and retired to his diocese. Here he connived at the nonconformists, and spoke with some keenness against the ceremonies. He once said, "That the puritans were the king's best subjects, and he was sure they would carry all at last." Laud being informed of this expression, caused an information to be lodged against him in the star-chamber, when, after suspension from all his offices and benefits in the high commission, he was fined £10,000 to the king, £1,000 to Sir John Mounson, and committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure. Being sent to the Tower, his library and all his goods were seized, and sold to pay the fine. His papers being seized, two letters were found written to him by Mr. Osbaldeston, chief

\* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i., p. 546—557.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 96.

‡ For a circumstantial account of the execution of this barbarous sentence, see Art. Henry Burton.

§ Many of those who favoured the cause of the nonconformists, paid great sums of money to obtain their release from the ecclesiastical censure. And Mr. John Packer, a gentleman of exemplary piety, charity, and zeal for a further reformation, was most liberal in supporting the silenced ministers; and he paid £1,000 for one of them to be released.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. iii. A. D. 1640, p. 44.

master of Westminster school, containing certain dark expressions,\* on the ground of which he was condemned in the additional fine of £5,000 to the king, and £3,000 to the archbishop, and kept close prisoner in the Tower. Mr. Osbaldeston was fined £5,000 to the king, and £5,000 to the archbishop; to be deprived of all his spiritual promotions, to stand in the pillory before his own school, and have his ears nailed to it, and to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Mr. Osbaldeston being among the crowd in the court, when the sentence was pronounced, immediately went home, burnt some papers, and absconded, leaving a note on his desk in his study, with these words: "If the archbishop enquire for me, tell him I am gone beyond Canterbury." Mr. John Lilburne, afterwards a colonel in the army, for refusing to take an oath to answer all interrogatories concerning his importing and publishing seditious libels, was fined £5,000, and whipped through the streets from the Fleet to the pillory in Westminster. While in the pillory, he was gagged, then carried to the Fleet, and committed to close confinement, with irons on his hands and feet, where he remained betwixt two and three years, without any persons being allowed to see him.†

These terrible proceedings, without serving the interest of the church, awakened universal resentment against those in power. Many thousand families were driven to Holland, and many thousands to New England.‡ This so alarmed the king and the council, that a proclamation was issued, April 30, 1637, observing, "That great numbers of his majesty's subjects were yearly transported to New England, with their families and whole estates, *that they might be out of the reach of ecclesiastical authority*; his majesty therefore commands, that his officers of the several ports should suffer none to pass without license from the commissioners of the plantations, and a testimonial from their minister, of their conformity to the orders and discipline of the church." And to debar all *ministers*, it was ordered, "That whereas such ministers as are not conformable to the discipline and ceremonies of the church, do frequently transport themselves to the plantations, where they take liberty to nourish their factious and schismatical humours, to the hindrance of the

\* These letters made mention of a *little great man*; and in another passage, the same person was denominated a *little urchin*. Such were the dark expressions which, by interpretation, were applied to Laud.

† Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 417, 803, 817.

‡ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 18.

good conformity and unity of the church; we therefore expressly command you, in his majesty's name, to suffer no clergyman to transport himself without a testimonial from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.\* The puritans must not be suffered to live peaceably at home, nor yet be allowed to take sanctuary in a foreign land. These unparalleled acts of cruel and tyrannical injustice in a protestant country, turned the hearts of tens of thousands to the cause of the puritans.

Notwithstanding the above prohibitions, multitudes went on board ships in disguise, and got over to the new plantations. There were, indeed, eight ships in the river Thames bound for New England, and filled with puritan families, among whom was OLIVER CROMWELL; who, seeing no end of the cruel oppressions in their native country, determined to spend the remainder of their days in America. But the council being informed of their design, issued an order "to stay those ships, and to put on shore all the provisions intended for the voyage." To prevent the same in future, the king prohibited all masters and owners of ships, from sending any ships with passengers to New England, without a special license from the privy council; "because," says he, "the people of New England are factious and unworthy our support."†

The puritans who remained at home still groaned under the merciless oppressions of the prelates. Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick was driven from his living and the people of his charge. Mr. Cox was summoned first before Bishop Hall, then Archbishop Laud. Mr. Simonds, rector of St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London, and Mr. Daniel Votyer, rector of St. Peter's, West-cheap, were deprived, and forced to flee into Holland. Mr. Show was cited before Laud, and he fled to New England.‡ By the recommendation of Laud, Mr. Edward Moore, a student in the university of Oxford, was cast into prison, for the insignificant crime of wearing his hat in the town; and for his behaviour when reproved for his fault, he recommended him to be publicly whipped, and banished from the university.§ Mr. Bright was suspended for refusing to read the prayer against the Scots; and his brethren, the ministers of Kent, endured many troubles for the same crime. Mr. Barber was suspended and cast into prison, where he remained eleven months. Mr.

\* Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 409, 410.

† Ibid. ‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 559—563.

§ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. ii. p. 167.

Jessey and many others being assembled together for the purpose of fasting and prayer, were interrupted by the pursuivants, and sent to the Tower. Afterwards he was apprehended and several of his congregation, and committed to the Compter; but upon their application to the parliament, they were immediately released. Mr. Wilkinson was suspended, but restored by the house of commons.\* Mr. Moreton, rector of Blisland in Cornwall, was driven from his living and his flock. Mr. Hughes and Mr. Todd were both silenced. Mr. Hieron was apprehended and prosecuted in the high commission, for very trivial matters.† By these proceedings of the bishops, many thousands of excellent christians and worthy subjects were ruined in their estates, and driven out of the country.‡

In the year 1640, the convocation continued to sit, after the parliament was dissolved. The canons adopted in this synod, entitled “Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical treated upon by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, &c.” are extremely superstitious and tyrannical. They required of all clergymen to swear “That they would never consent to the alteration of the present government of the church, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c.” And if any beneficed person should refuse this ridiculous and cruel oath, “he shall after one month be suspended from his office; after a second month, he shall be suspended from his office and benefice; and after a third month, he shall be deprived of all his ecclesiastical promotions.”§ These canons were evidently designed to crush all the puritans at once; but they were soon virtually annulled.||

November 3, 1640, the LONG PARLIAMENT first assembled, and continued sitting with some little interruption about *eighteen* years. The members of this parliament were *all members of the church of England*, and nearly all advocates for episcopal government.¶ The first week was spent in appointing committees, and receiving the numerous petitions from all parts of the kingdom, craving a redress of grievances both in church and state.\*\* Numerous petitions were also

\* Calamy's Contin. vol. i. p. 47, 91.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 144, 162, 222, 797.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 136.

§ Sparrow's Collec. p. 359, 360.

|| The above convocation, says Clarendon, gave subsidies, enjoined an oath, and did things, which, in the best of times, might have been questioned; and therefore, in the worst, were sure to be condemned.—*Hist. of Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 116.

¶ Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 184.

\*\* Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 36.

presented by the puritans who had been many years under close confinement; when the parliament favourably received them, released the prisoners, and voted them to receive considerable sums out of the estates of their persecutors, by way of damages. They released Dr. Leighton, who had been imprisoned ten years; Mr. Smart, eleven or twelve years; and Mr. Brewer, fourteen years. Also, Burton, Prynne, Bastwick, Walker, Lilburne, Bishop Williams, and many others, now obtained their liberty. The above canons were, at the same time, condemned in the house of commons, as being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and property of the subject, and as containing divers other things tending to sedition and dangerous consequence. For which several of the bishops were impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours.\* The archbishop was impeached of *high treason*, and committed to the Tower.†

The *committee of accommodation* was appointed by the upper house, to consider of such innovations as were proper to be taken away. It consisted of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons. They also appointed a sub-committee of bishops and learned divines, to prepare matters for debate, Bishop Williams being chairman of both.‡ The result of their conference was drawn up for the debate of the committee, in a number of propositions and queries. But all attempts at an accommodation were blasted by the obstinacy of the bishops, and by the discovery of the plot for bringing the army up to London to dissolve the parliament. This widened the distance betwixt the king and the two houses, and broke up the committee, without bringing any thing to perfection. The moderation and mutual compliance of these divines, it is justly observed, might have saved the whole body of episcopacy, and prevented the civil war: but the court bishops expected no good from them, suspecting that the puritans would betray the church. Some hot

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. iv. p. 359.

† Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 23, 24.

‡ The names of these bishops and learned divines, were as follows:

Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln,  
Dr. Usher, archbishop of Armagh,  
Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham,  
Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter,  
Dr. Samuel Ward,  
Dr. John Prideaux,  
Dr. Robert Sanderson,  
Dr. Daniel Featley,  
Dr. Ralph Brownrigg,

Dr. Richard Holdsworth,  
Dr. John Hacket,  
Dr. William Twisse,  
Dr. Cornelius Burgess,  
Mr. John White,  
Mr. Stephen Marshall,  
Mr. Edmund Calamy,  
Mr. Thomas Hill.

Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 174.

spirits would abate nothing of the episcopal power or profit, but maintained, that to yield any thing was giving up the cause to the opposite party.\*

In the year 1641, the parliament introduced two bills, one to abolish the high commission court, the other the star-chamber, both of which obtained the royal assent.† The former of these courts, observes Lord Clarendon, had assumed a disputable power of *imposing fines*; that it sometimes exceeded in the severity of its sentences; that it rendered itself very unpopular; and had managed its censures with more sharpness, and less *policy*, than the times would bear: but he declares he did not know that any *innocent* clergyman suffered by any of its ecclesiastical censures.‡ The abolition of these courts effectually clipped the wings of the persecuting prelates.

Numerous petitions being sent up from all quarters for preaching ministers, a committee of forty members of the house was appointed, called the *committee of preaching ministers*, to send ministers where there were vacancies, and provide for their maintenance.§ And there being many complaints of idle and licentious clergymen, another committee was appointed, called the *committee of scandalous ministers*, to examine these complaints.|| A third committee was appointed, called the *committee of plundered ministers*, for the relief of such godly ministers as were driven from their cures, for adhering to the parliament.¶ Many pious and learned divines were members of these committees, who employed their abilities to the utmost for public usefulness.

Upon the presentation of numerous grievances from all

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 175.

† Scobell's Collections, part i. p. 9, 12.

‡ Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 221, 222.—The high commission, says Hume, extended its jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men; and every circumstance of its authority, and all its methods of proceeding, were contrary to the clearest principles of law and natural equity. The commissioners were empowered to administer the oath *ex officio*, by which a person was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. The fines were discretionary, and often occasioned the total ruin of the offender, contrary to the established laws of the kingdom. This court was a real *Inquisition*; attended with all the *iniquities*, as well as *cruelties*, inseparable from that tribunal. It was armed, says Granger, with an *Inquisitorial power*, to force any one to confess what he knew, and to punish him at discretion.—Hume's Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 189.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 206.

§ Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 295.

|| Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 19.

¶ Walker's Saf. Clergy, part i. p. 75.

parts of the kingdom, the parliament appointed a committee to draw out of them all, such kind of *remonstrance* as would give his majesty an impartial representation of the deplorable state of the nation. The remonstrance\* was presented to the king, December 1, 1641; and enumerates the grievances, oppressions, and unbounded acts of the prerogative, since his majesty's accession: among which were "The suspension, deprivation, excommunication, and degradation of laborious, learned, and pious ministers.—The sharpness and severity of the high commission, assisted by the council-table, not much less grievous than the Romish inquisition.—The rigour of the bishops' courts in the country, whereby numbers of tradesmen have been impoverished, and driven to Holland and New England.—The advancement to ecclesiastical preferments, of those who were most officious in promoting superstition, and most virulent in railing against godliness and honesty.—The design of reconciling the church of England with that of Rome.—And the late *canons* and *oath* imposed upon the clergy, under the most grievous penalties."† But the king was displeased with the remonstrance; he published an answer to it, and issued his royal proclamation, requiring an exact conformity to the religion as by law established.‡

During the year 1642, the king and the parliament put themselves respectively in a posture of defence, and used those military precautions which soon led to all the horrors of a civil war, and deluged the land with blood. Both parties published their declarations, in justification of their own cause. The king set up his standard at Nottingham, where about 2,000 came to him; and greatly augmented his forces out of Shropshire, Worcestershire, and other counties. The parliament raised a gallant army under the command of the Earl of Essex. Many excellent divines became chaplains to the several regiments. Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall, to the general's own regiments; Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, to Colonel Hollis's regiment; Dr. Downing, to Lord Roberts'; Mr. John Sedgwick, to the Earl of Stamford's; Dr. Spurstowe, to Mr. Hampden's; Mr. Perkins, to

\* The debates in parliament about the remonstrance lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon, till ten next morning, which occasioned Sir B. R. to say, "It was the verdict of a starved jury." Oliver Cromwell told Lord Falkland, that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all his estates next morning, and never have seen England any more.—*Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 49.—*Clarendon's Hist.* vol. i. p. 246, 247.

† *Rushworth's Collec.* vol. v. p. 438—*Nelson's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 694.

‡ *Rushworth's Collec.* vol. v. p. 456.

Colonel Goodwin's; Mr. Moore, to Lord Wharton's; Mr. Adoniram Byfield, to Sir Henry Cholmley's; Mr. Nalton, to Colonel Grantham's; Mr. Ashe, either to Lord Brook's or the Earl of Manchester's; and Mr. Morton, to Sir Arthur Hasilrigg's; with many more.\*

The house of commons had already resolved, "That the Lord's day should be duly observed and sanctified; that all dancing and other sports, either before or after divine service, should be forborn and restrained; that the preaching of God's word be promoted in all parts of the kingdom; and that ministers be encouraged in this work."† May 5, 1643, the parliament issued an order, "That the Book of Sports shall be burnt by the common hangman, in Cheapside and other public places," which was done by direction of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex.‡ By an ordinance of both houses, it was appointed, "That no person shall henceforth on the Lord's day, use or be present at any wrestling, shooting, bowling, ringing of bells for pleasure, mask, wake, church-ale, games, dancing, sports, or other pastime, under the several penalties annexed." An ordinance also passed for removing all monuments of superstition and idolatry, commanding all altars and tables of stone to be demolished, communion tables to be removed from the east end of the church, the rails to be removed, the chancel to be levelled, tapers, candlesticks, basons, &c. to be removed from the communion tables; and all crosses, crucifixes, and images, to be taken away and defaced. And by another, it was appointed, "That all copes, surplices, superstitious vestments, roods, founts, and organs, be utterly defaced."§

June 12, 1643, an ordinance passed both houses for calling the assembly of divines.¶ This assembly was not a convocation according to the diocesan modal, nor was it called by the votes of ministers according to the presbyterian way; but the parliament chose all the members themselves, merely with a view to obtain their opinion and advice, in settling the government, liturgy, and doctrine of the church. Their debates were confined to such things as the parliament proposed. Some counties had two members, and some only one. But to appear impartial, and

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 42.

† Nalson's Collec. vol. ii. p. 482.

‡ An act of greater scorn, or greater insolency and disloyal impudence, says Dr. Heylin, was never offered to a sovereign and anointed Prince, than this severe usage of the Book of Sports.—*Hist. of Pres.* p. 465.

§ Scobell's Collec. part i. p. 53, 69.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 49.

give each party the liberty to speak, they chose many of the most learned episcopalians, as well as those of other denominations.\* Lord Clarendon reproaches these pious and learned divines, of whom a list is given below,† by saying, “ That some were infamous in their lives and conversation, and most of them of very mean parts, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the

\* Many of the episcopal divines, several of whom were bishops, did not attend.

- |                                                 |                                                                   |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| † William Twisse, D. D. Newbury,<br>prolocutor. | William Greenhill, Stepney.                                       |
| Coro. Burgess, D. D.                            | Edward Peale, Compton.                                            |
| Watford,                                        | John Green, Pencombe.                                             |
| John White, Dorches- } Assessors.               | Andrew Perne, Wilby.                                              |
| ter,                                            | Samuel de la Place, French Church.                                |
| William Gonge, D. D. Blackfriars.               | John de la March, French Church.                                  |
| Robert Harris, B. D. Hauwell.                   | John Dury.                                                        |
| Tho. Gataker, B. D. Rotherhithe.                | Philip Delme.                                                     |
| Oliver Bowles, B. D. Sutton.                    | Sydrach Sympson, London.                                          |
| Edward Reynolds, D. D. Bramston.                | John Langley, West-Tuderly.                                       |
| Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. Stretton.              | Richard Cleyton, Showel.                                          |
| Anthony Tuckney, B. D. Boston.                  | Arthur Salwey, Severn Stoke.                                      |
| John Arrowsmith, Lynn.                          | John Ley, A. M. Budworth.                                         |
| Simeon Ashe, St. Bride's.                       | Charles Herle, A. M. Winwick, (pro-<br>locutor after Dr. Twisse.) |
| Philip Nye, Kimbolton.                          | Herbert Palmer, B. D. Ashwell,<br>(assessor after Mr. White.)     |
| Jeremiah Burroughs, A. M. Stepney.              | Daniel Cawdrey, A. M.                                             |
| John Lightfoot, D. D. Ashly.                    | Henry Painter, B. D. Exeter.                                      |
| Stanley Gower, Brampton-Bryan.                  | Henry Scudder, Collingbourne.                                     |
| Richard Heyricke, A. M. Manchester.             | Thomas Hill, D. D. Tickmarch.                                     |
| Thomas Case, London.                            | William Reynor, B. D. Egham.                                      |
| Thomas Temple, D. D. Battersea.                 | Thomas Goodwin, D. D. London.                                     |
| George Gippes, Ayleston.                        | William Spurstowe, D. D. Hampden.                                 |
| Thomas Carter, Oxford.                          | Matthew Newcomen, Dedham.                                         |
| Humphrey Chambers, B. D. Claverton.             | John Conant, D. D. Limington.                                     |
| Tho. Micklethwaite, Cherryburton.               | Edmund Staunton, D. D. Kingston.                                  |
| John Gibbon, Waltham.                           | Anthony Burgess, Sutton-Coldfield.                                |
| Christ. Tisdale, Uphurstborne.                  | William Rathband, Highgate.                                       |
| John Phillips, Wrentham.                        | Francis Cheynel, D. D. Petworth.                                  |
| George Walker, B. D. London.                    | Henry Wilkinson, junior, B. D.                                    |
| Edm. Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury.                | Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeshall.                               |
| Joseph Caryl, A. M. Lincoln's-inn.              | Edward Corbet, Merton coll. Oxford.                               |
| Lazarus Seaman, D. D. London.                   | Samuel Gibson, Burley.                                            |
| Henry Wilkinson, B. D. Waddesdon.               | Thomas Coleman, A. M. Bliton.                                     |
| Richard Vines, A. M. Calcot.                    | Theod. Buckhurst, Overton-Water-<br>vile.                         |
| Nicholas Proffet, Marlborough.                  | William Carter, London.                                           |
| Steph. Marshall, B. D. Finchingfield.           | Peter Smith, D. D. Barkway.                                       |
| Joshua Hoyle, D. D. Dublin.                     | John Maynard, A. M.                                               |
| Thomas Wilson, A. M. Otham.                     | William Price, Covent-Garden.                                     |
| Thomas Hodges, B. D. Kensington.                | John Wincop, D. D. St. Martin's.                                  |
| Tho. Bayley, B. D. Maningford-<br>Crucis.       | William Bridge, A. M. Yarmouth.                                   |
| Francis Taylor, A. M. Yalding.                  | Peter Sterry, London.                                             |
| Thomas Young, Stow-market.                      | William Mew, B. D. Esington.                                      |
| Tho. Valentine, B. D. Chalfont St.<br>Giles.    | Benj. Pickering, East-Hoathly.                                    |
|                                                 | John Strickland, B. D. New Sarum.                                 |

church.”\* But Mr. Baxter, who knew them much better than his lordship, says, “They were men of eminent learning and godliness, ministerial abilities and fidelity. And the christian world, since the days of the apostles, has never had a synod of more excellent divines, than this synod, and the synod of Dort.”† Many of the lords and commons were joined with the divines, to see that they did not go beyond their commission.‡ The assembly presented to the parliament the *confession of faith*, the *larger and shorter catechisms*, the *directory of public worship*, and their *humble advice concerning church government*. The “Assembly’s Annotations,” as it is commonly called, is unjustly ascribed to the assembly. The parliament employed the authors of that work, several of whom were members of this learned synod. The assembly first met July 1, 1643, in Henry the Seventh’s chapel, and continued to meet several years.

Soon after the meeting of the assembly, a bond of union was agreed upon, entitled “A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and

Humphrey Hardwick.  
Jasper Hickee, A.M. Lawrick.  
John Bond, LL.D. Exeter.  
Henry Hall, B.D. Norwich.  
Thomas Ford, A.M.  
Tho. Thorowgood, Massingham.  
Peter Clark, A.M. Carnaby.

William Goad.  
John Foxcroft, Gotham.  
John Ward.  
Richard Byfield, A.M.  
Francis Woodcock, Cambridge.  
J. Jackson, Cambridge.

The Commissioners for Scotland were,  
Lord Maitland. Samuel Rutherford. Robert Baylie.  
Alexander Henderson. George Gillespie.

The Scribes were,  
Henry Roborough. John Wallis. Adoniram Byfield.

\* Clarendon’s Hist. vol. i. p. 415.  
† Sylvester’s Life of Baxter, part i. p. 73.

‡ Algernon Earl of Northumb.  
William Earl of Bedford.  
Phillip Earl of Pembroke.  
William Earl of Salisbury.  
Henry Earl of Holland.  
Edward Earl of Manchester.  
William Lord Viscount Say and Sele.  
Edward Lord Viscount Conway.  
Philip Lord Wharton.  
Edward Lord Howard.  
John Selden, esq.  
Francis Rouse, esq.  
Edmund Prideaux, esq.  
Sir Henry Vane, senior, knt.  
John Glyn, esq. recorder of London.

John White, esq.  
Bulstrode Whitlocke, esq.  
Humphrey Sallway, esq.  
Oliver St John, esq. king’s solicitor.  
Mr. Serjeant Wild.  
Sir Benjamin Rudyard, knt.  
John Pym, esq.  
Sir John Clotworthy, knt.  
John Maynard, esq.  
Sir Henry Vane, junior, knt.  
William Pierpoint, esq.  
William Wheeler, esq.  
Sir Thomas Barrington, knt.  
Walter Young, esq.  
Sir John Evelin, knt.

Ireland."\* It was subscribed by both houses of parliament, the Scots commissioners, and the assembly of divines, in St. Margaret's church, Westminster; and afterwards required to be subscribed by all persons above the age of eighteen years.

In addition to the committees already mentioned, the parliament appointed *country committees*, in the different parts of the kingdom; and afterwards the *committee of sequestrations*. They were empowered to examine, and sequester, upon sufficient witness, such clergymen as were scandalous in their lives, ill-affected to the parliament, or fomenters of the unnatural war betwixt the king and parliament. Multitudes of the conformable clergy were cited before these committees, and such as were found guilty of notorious immorality, or an avowed hostility to the parliament, were deprived of their livings. Though it cannot be supposed in such times, that no innocent person unjustly suffered; yet, "many" says Fuller, "were cast out for their misdemeanours, and some of their offences were so foul, it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment."† And, says Mr. Baxter, "in all the countries where he was acquainted, *six to one at least*, if not *many more*, that "were sequestered by the committees, were by the oaths of "witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or especially "guilty of drunkenness and swearing. This I know," says he, "will displease the party, *but I am sure it is true.*"‡

In the year 1644, Archbishop Laud was brought to trial by the two houses of parliament, and being found guilty of high treason, was beheaded on Tower-hill. He was a prelate of imperious and bigotted principles, and rash and furious in his conduct, especially towards the puritans. His councils were high and arbitrary, tending to the ruin of the king and constitution. He obtained the ascendancy over his majesty's conscience and councils.§ Though he was no papist, he was much inclined to the popish impositions and superstitious rites, and to meet the church of Rome half way. While it was Laud's "chief object to maintain the outward splendour of the church, by daily increasing the number of pompous ceremonies and scan-

\* Clarendon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 267.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 207.

‡ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 74.

§ "Some of his majesty's ministers drove so fast," says Welwood, "that it was no wonder both the wheels and chariot were broken. And it was owing in a great part to the indiscreet zeal of a *mitred head*, (meaning Laud) who had got an ascendant over his master's conscience and councils, that both the monarchy and hierarchy owed afterwards their fall."—*Memoirs*, p. 37.

dalous innovations, he made many fair approaches towards Rome, in point of doctrine.\* Under his primacy the church of England evidently assumed a very popish appearance. And, according to Hume, the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. His answer was, as he observes himself, "that something dwelt within him which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome was other than it is."†

The London ministers having presented a petition to parliament, for a settlement of the ecclesiastical discipline and government, according to the directory of public worship, they had the thanks of the house; and a committee was appointed to confer with the assembly, and to ascertain how far tender consciences might be borne with, consistent with the peace of the kingdom and the word of God.‡ An ordinance soon passed to set aside the Book of Common Prayer, and to establish the directory.§ The presbyterians now gaining the ascendancy, discovered a strong propensity to grasp at the same arbitrary power, as that under which they had formerly and for a long time groaned. The parliament published two ordinances, one against the preaching of *unordained ministers*, the other against *blasphemy* and *heresy*, both of which became the engines of oppression and persecution. The latter, says Mr. Neal, is one of the most shocking laws I have met with in restraint of religious liberty, and shews, that the governing presbyterians would have made a terrible use of their power, had they been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate. Several ministers of puritan principles, became sufferers by these ordinances. Mr. Clarkson having embraced the sentiments of the antipædobaptists, was cast into prison, and required to recant, for the marvellous sin of *dipping*. Mr. Lamb, Mr. Denne, and Mr. Knollys, all of the same denomination, were apprehended and committed to prison. Mr.

\* May's Hist. of Parliaments, p. 22—23.

† Prymne's Breviate of Laud, p. 18.—Hume's Hist of Eng. vol. vi. p. 209.—It is observed that a court lady, daughter of the Earl of Devonshire, having turned papist, was asked by Laud the reasons of her conversion. "It is chiefly," said she, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and, therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you."—*Ibid.* p. 210.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 99.

§ Scobell's Collec. part i. p. 75, 97.

Knollys was afterwards prosecuted at the sessions, and sent prisoner to London. Mr. Oates was tried for his life, but acquitted. Mr. Biddle was cast into prison, where he remained seven years.

The civil war having now continued several years, introduced dreadful confusion and distress into every part of the kingdom. Numerous were the sufferers on both sides. But the parliament's army proving every where triumphant, the king himself was taken prisoner. During these commotions, the *rump* parliament passed a decree to establish a government without a king and house of lords, and so governed alone. They erected a high court of justice, brought the king to trial, condemned him, erected a scaffold before Whitehall, and there, before a large concourse of people, struck off his head, January 30, 1649. "The king had a mistaken principle, that kingly government in the state, could not stand without episcopal government in the church. Therefore, as the bishops flattered him by preaching up the sovereign prerogative, and inveighing against the puritans as factious and disloyal: so he protected them in their pomp and pride, and insolent practices against all the godly and sober people in the land."\* "An *immoderate desire of power*, beyond what the constitution did allow of, was the rock on which he split."†

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#### SECT. V.

*From the Death of King Charles I. to the passing of the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.*

THE King being taken out of the way, CROMWELL proposed a Commonwealth, till he laid a foundation for his own advancement. The parliament drew up a form of ENGAGEMENT, to be subscribed by all persons above eighteen years of age, in these words:—"I do promise to be true and faithful to the commonwealth as it is now established, without a king or house of lords." No man who refused this engagement could have the benefit of suing another at law, or hold any mastership in either university, or travel

\* Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 129, 130.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 87.—The puritan ministers of the presbyterian denomination in London being charged with bringing the king to the block, published a "Vindication" of themselves, declaring the falsehood of the charge, and protesting their abhorrence of the fact, and their unshaken loyalty to his majesty's person and just government.—*Calamy's Contin.* vol. ii. p. 737.

more than a certain number of miles from his own house.\* Therefore, Mr. Vines, Mr. Blake, and many other puritan ministers, for refusing to subscribe, were turned out of their livings.

The terms of conformity were now less rigid than at any time since the commencement of the civil wars. The oppressive statutes of the parliament were relaxed or not acted upon, the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification required of ministers, besides the engagement. Though the episcopal divines were forbidden to read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near it as they pleased; and upon this principle, many of them complied with the government. Numerous episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government: nor would they have been denied an open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddled with the affairs of government.†

Cromwell and his friends, indeed, gave it out, that they could not understand what right the magistrate had to use compulsion in matters of religion. They thought that all men ought to be left to the dictates of their own consciences, and that the civil magistrate could not interpose in any religious concerns, without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution.‡ Dr. George Bates, an eminent royalist, and an avowed enemy to Cromwell, observes, "That the protector indulged the use of the common prayer in families, and in private conventicles; and it cannot be denied, that churchmen had a great deal more favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which would never have been interrupted, had they not insulted the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their seditious practices and plottings against his person and government."§

December 16, 1653, Oliver Cromwell was installed **LORD PROTECTOR** of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, when an **INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT** was adopted and subscribed. The thirty-seventh article observes, "that all who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, shall be protected in their religion."¶ The parliament afterwards voted, that all should be tolerated, or indulged, who professed the fundamentals of christianity; and certain

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 64.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 61.

‡ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 193.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 102.

¶ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 552—559.

learned divines were appointed to draw up the fundamentals to be presented to the house. Those who acted were Drs. Owen, Goodwin, and Cheynell, and Messrs. Marshall, Reyner, Nye, Sympson, Vines, Manton, Jacomb, and Baxter. Archbishop Usher was nominated, but declined his attendance.\*

During the national confusions there were many persons denominated fifth monarchy-men, chiefly of the baptist persuasion. They were in immediate expectation of King Jesus, and of the commencement of his glorious, personal reign of a thousand years upon the earth. Though they were avowedly of commonwealth principles, they were extremely hostile to Cromwell's government.† Several of them having discovered considerable enmity and opposition against the protector, were apprehended and committed to prison; among whom were Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feake, and Mr. Vavasor Powell. On account of the rigorous laws still in force, they were kept in prison a long time, under the plea of mercy, and to save their lives.

The protector having discovered some inconvenience from the approbation of ministers being left wholly to the presbyterians, he contrived a middle way, by joining the various parties together, and committing the business to certain men of approved abilities and integrity, belonging to each denomination. For this purpose, an ordinance was passed, March 20, 1654, appointing thirty-eight commissioners to this office, commonly called TRYERS.‡ Another ordinance was also passed, "for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters." It appointed certain lay-commissioners for every county, to be joined by ten or more of the best divines, as their assistants. They were required to call before them any public preacher, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster, reputed to be ignorant, scandalous, or insufficient.§

This ordinance, it must be acknowledged, bore hard upon some of the episcopal clergy; among whom were Dr. Pordage, charged with blasphemy and heresy; and Mr. Bushnal, charged with drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government. For these crimes, they were both turned out of their livings.¶ Also, by the act for propagating the gospel in Wales, many ignorant and scandalous ministers were ejected, and others

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 197.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 621, 641.

‡ Scobell's Collec. part ii. p. 279.

§ Ibid. p. 335, 340—347.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 112, 113.

put in their places. It is observed, that in a short time, there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week.\* But the generality of the ejected clergy did not preach at all, or were scandalous in their lives; and the commissioners affirm, that of the sixteen they turned out in Cardiganshire, only three of them were preachers, and those of very immoral character.†

The protector's health, through his excessive toils and fatigues, began at length to decline. And having nominated a successor, he died of a fever, September 3, 1658, aged fifty-nine years. Never was man more highly extolled, nor more basely vilified, according as men's interests led their judgments. "The royalists," says Mr. Baxter, "abhorred him as a most perfidious hypocrite, and the presbyterians thought him little better. He kept up his approbation of a godly life in the general, and of all that was good, except that which the interest of his sinful cause engaged him to be against. I perceived," our author adds, "that it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the gospel and the interests of goodness, more than any had done before him."‡ His son Richard, according to his father's will, succeeded him. Numerous addresses were sent from all parts of the country, congratulating the new protector. He was of a calm and peaceable temper, but unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. Richard Cromwell finding the nation involved in difficulties, tamely resigned his high dignity and government, after enjoying it only eight months.

The nation being tired of changes, and now in danger of universal anarchy, soon discovered its uneasiness. General Monk, with his army, was called out of Scotland; and upon his arrival in London, he declared in favour of the king. A council of state was called; and having agreed to invite home the king, the question was put, "Whether they should call him in upon treaty and covenant, or entirely confide in him?" After some debate, it was resolved to trust him absolutely. The new parliament assembling, they unanimously voted the king home. He was sent for to Holland, when Mr. Calamy, Mr. Bowles, Dr. Manton, and some others, were deputed by the parliament and city to attend him. His majesty gave them such encouraging promises, as raised in some of them very high

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 518.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 116.

‡ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 71, 98.

expectations. Upon the entrance of the king, May 29, 1660, as he passed through the city towards Westminster, the London ministers, by the hands of old Mr. Arthur Jackson, presented his majesty with a richly adorned bible; which he received, saying, "It shall be the rule of my government and my life."<sup>\*</sup>

King CHARLES II. being now seated on the throne of his ancestors, the commencement of his reign was a continued jubilee. But from the period of his accession, he grasped at arbitrary power, and shewed but little inclination to depend upon parliaments.† "The restoration," says Burnet, "brought with it the throwing off the very professions of virtue and piety, and entertainments and drunkenness overrun the three kingdoms. The king had a good understanding; and knew well the state of affairs both at home and abroad. He had a softness of temper that charmed all who came near him, till they found out how little they could depend on good looks, kind words, and fair promises; in which he was liberal to an excess, because he intended nothing by them, but to get rid of importunities. He seemed to have no sense of religion. He was no atheist, but disguised his popery to the last."<sup>‡</sup>

Upon his majesty's accession, many of the puritans were in great hopes of favour. Besides the promises of men in power, they had an assurance from the king, in his declaration from Breda, "That he should grant liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be questioned for a difference of opinion in matters of religion, who did not disturb the peace of the kingdom."<sup>§</sup> Afterwards, the king having issued his declaration concerning ecclesiastical matters, dated October 25, 1660; and the London ministers having presented to him their address of thanks, his majesty returned them this answer: "Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself."<sup>||</sup> All this was, indeed, most encouraging. Their hopes were further cherished by ten of their number being made the king's chaplains, though none of them preached, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstowe, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, once each.<sup>¶</sup> But all their hopes were soon blasted. Many hundreds of worthy ministers enjoying sequestered livings, were displaced soon after his majesty's return. The fellows and heads of colleges in the two universities, who

<sup>\*</sup> Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 20.      † Welwood's Memoirs, p. 121.

<sup>‡</sup> Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 93.

<sup>§</sup> Whitlocke's Mem. p. 702.

<sup>||</sup> Kennet's Chronicle, p. 315.

<sup>¶</sup> Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 239.

had been ejected, were restored, and the others cast out.\* Bishops being placed in most of the sees, and the hierarchy restored to its former splendour, though the presbyterians still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, the independents and baptists sunk in despair.

Here was an end, says Mr. Neal, of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The common people have been stigmatized as *hypocrites*. Their looks, their dress, and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; yet we may challenge these declaimers to produce any period since the reformation, wherein there was less open profaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Better laws, he adds, were never made against vice, or more rigorously executed. Drunkenness, fornication, profane swearing, and every kind of debauchery, were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious to an excess, in preaching, praying, catechising, and visiting the sick. The magistrates were exact in suppressing all kinds of games, stage-plays, and abuses in public houses; and a play had not been acted in any theatre in England, for almost twenty years.†

But the court and bishops were now at ease. The doctrines of passive obedience and nonresistance were revived. And the puritans began to prepare for those persecutions which presently followed. Mr. Crofton, who had been very zealous for the king's restoration, for having written in favour of the covenant, was deprived of his living, and sent close prisoner to the Tower, where he was not permitted to have pen, ink, or paper.‡ Mr. Parsons, a noted royalist, was fined £200, and cast into prison, for nonconformity. The celebrated Mr. John Howe was committed to prison; and multitudes were sequestered and prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, for not wearing the surplice and observing the ceremonies. These were powerful indications of the approaching storm.

Upon Venner's insurrection,§ Mr. Knollys and many

\* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 152, 153, 173, 221.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 269.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 501.

§ Mr. Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, with about fifty of his admirers, being in expectation of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of King Jesus upon the earth, raised an insurrection in the city. But their mad scheme was frustrated. Many of them were killed in the contest; and Venner and some others were seized, tried, condemned, and executed.

—Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 160.

other innocent persons, were dragged to Newgate, where they continued eighteen weeks. The rebellion of Venner occasioned a royal proclamation, prohibiting all *anabaptists* and *other sectaries* from worshipping God in public, except at their parish churches. This unnatural edict was another signal for persecution. Mr. Biddle was tried at the public sessions, fined one hundred pounds, and cast into prison, where he soon after died. Mr. John James was seized in the pulpit, tried, condemned, and beheaded. His bowels were then burnt, and his body being quartered, was placed upon the four gates of the city of London, and his head first upon London bridge, then opposite his meeting-house in Bulstake-alley.

In order to crush the puritans in every corner of the land, and strike all nonconformists at once dumb, the famous "Act of Uniformity" was passed, requiring a perfect conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, and the rites and ceremonies of the church. This struck the nonconformists with universal consternation. The unmerciful act took place August 24, 1662, justly denominated the BLACK BARTHOLOMEW-DAY. By this act, "it is well known, that nearly 2,500 faithful ministers of the gospel were silenced. And it is affirmed, upon a modest calculation, that it procured the untimely death of 3,000 nonconformists, and the ruin of 60,000 families."\* And for what purpose were these cruelties inflicted? To establish an *uniformity* in all ecclesiastical matters. A charming word, indeed! for the thing itself is still wanting, even among those who promoted these tragic scenes. But this is the closing period of the present work. These barbarities are sufficiently delineated by our excellent historians.†

\* Mather's *Hist. of New England*, b. iii. p. 4.—"The world," says Bishop Kennet, "has reason to admire not only the wisdom, but even the moderation of this act, as being effectually made for ministerial conformity alone, and leaving the people unable to complain of any imposition!"—*Kennet's Hist. of Eng.* vol. iii. p. 243.

† Calamy's *Account and Continuation*, vol. iv.—And Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. iii.

THE

LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

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**JOHN BALE, D. D.**—This laborious and celebrated divine was born at Cove, near Dunwich, in Suffolk, November 21, 1495. His parents being in low circumstances, and incumbered with a large family, he was sent, at twelve years of age, to the monastery of Carmelites in Norwich; and from thence to Jesus College, Cambridge. He was educated in all the superstitions of the Romish church; but afterwards he became a most zealous and distinguished protestant. The account of this change in his sentiments is from his own pen, therefore we shall give it in his own words:—"I wandered," says he, "in utter ignorance and blindness of mind both there (at Norwich) and at Cambridge, having no tutor or patron; till, the word of God shining forth, the churches began to return to the pure fountain of true divinity. In which bright rising of the New Jerusalem, being not called by any monk or priest, but seriously stirred up by the illustrious the Lord Wentworth, as by that centurion who declared Christ to be the Son of God, I presently saw and acknowledged my own deformity; and immediately, through the divine goodness, I was removed from a barren mountain, to the flowery and fertile valley of the gospel, where I found all things built, not on the sand, but on a solid rock. Hence I made haste to deface the mark of wicked antichrist, and entirely threw off his yoke from me, that I might be partaker of the lot and liberty of the sons of God. And that I might never more serve so execrable a beast, I took to wife the faithful Dorothy, in obedience to that divine command, Let him that cannot contain, marry." Bishop Nicolson, with great injustice, insinuates, that a dislike of celibacy was the grand motive of Bale's conversion. "He was converted," says this writer, "by the procurement of Thomas Lord Wentworth;

though, in truth, his wife Dorothy seems to have had a great hand in that happy work.”\*

Bale no sooner experienced the power of converting grace, than he publicly professed his renunciation and abhorrence of popery. In one of his books, speaking of the idolatrous and superstitious worshippers in the Romish church, he pathetically adds: “Yea, I ask God mercy a thousand times; for I have been one of them myself.”† Having felt the power of divine truth on his own mind, he conferred not with flesh and blood, but began, openly and fervently, to preach the pure gospel of Christ, in opposition to the ridiculous traditions and erroneous doctrines of the Romish church. This exposed him to the resentment and persecution of the ruling clergy; and for a sermon which he preached at Doncaster, in which he openly declared against the invocation of saints, he was dragged from the pulpit to the consistory of York, to appear before Archbishop Lee, when he was cast into prison. Nor did he meet with more humane treatment in the south. For a similar offence, he experienced similar usage from Stokesly, bishop of London. But by the interference of the celebrated Lord Cromwell, who had the highest opinion of him, and was then in high favour with King Henry VIII., he was delivered out of the hands of his enemies. Upon the death of this excellent nobleman, and the publication of the Six Articles, with the shocking persecution which immediately ensued, he could find no shelter from the storm, and was obliged to flee for safety. He retired into Germany, where he became intimate with Martin Luther and other distinguished reformers, and continued with them about eight years. While in a state of exile, he was not idle, but diligently employed in his own improvement, and in writing and publishing several learned books, chiefly against the popish superstitions.‡

After the death of King Henry, and the accession of Edward VI., Bale was invited home, and presented to the benefice of Bishopstoke in Hampshire. While in this situation, as well as when in exile, he wrote and published several books against the errors of popery. In the year 1550, he published a work, entitled “The Acts and unchaste Example of religious Votaries, gathered out of their own Legends and Chronicles.” Mr. Strype calls it a *notable*

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 532. Edit. 1778.

† Strype's Parker, p. 143.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 68.—Abel Redivivus, p. 504—506.

book; and says, he designed to complete this history in four books, which should detect the foul lives and practices of the monastics, both men and women. He published the two first parts, which he dedicated to King Edward, and intimated that the other two should presently follow; but it is supposed they never came forth. He, at the same time, published "An Apology against a rank Papist, answering both him and the Doctors, that neither their Vows, nor yet their Priesthood, are of the Gospel, but of Antichrist." This was also dedicated to the king. The Apology begins thus: "A few months ago, by chance as I sat at supper, this question was moved unto me, by one who fervently loves God's verity, and mightily detesteth all falsehood and hypocrisy: Whether the vows expressed in the xxxth chapter of Numbers give any establishment to the vow of our priests now to live without wives of their own?" This piece was answered by a certain chaplain; and Bale published a reply. During the above year, he likewise published his "Image of both Churches," being an exposition of Revelation. Also, "A Dialogue or Communication to be had at table between two Children." And "A Confession of the Sinner, after the Sacred Scripture."\* By these and similar productions of his pen, he so exposed the delusive superstitions and vile practices of the Romish church, as greatly to exasperate the party; and Bishop Gardiner, the cruel persecutor, complained of him to the lord protector, but most probably without success.†

During Bale's abode at Bishopstoke, where he lived retired from the world, he waited upon the king, who was then at Southampton. His majesty, who had been informed of his death, was greatly surprised and delighted to see him; and the bishopric of Ossory, in Ireland, being then vacant, he summoned his privy council, and appointed him to that see. Upon which the lords wrote the following letter to our author:

"To our very lovinge friende Doctour Bale. After our heartye commendacyons. For as much as the kinges majestie is minded in consideracyon of your learninge, wysdome, and other vertuose qualities, to bestowe upon yow the bishopricke of Ossorie in Irelande presently voyde, we have thought mete both to give yow knowledge thereof, and therewithall to lete you understande, that his majestie wolde ye made your repayre hyther to the

\* Strype's Eccl. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 263.

† Barnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 12.

“ courte as soon as conveniently ye may, to thende that if  
 “ ye be enclined to embrace this charge, his highnesse may  
 “ at your comynge give such ordre for the farther pro-  
 “ cedings with yow herin, as shall be convenient. And  
 “ thus we bid yow hartely farewell. From Southampton,  
 “ the 16 daye of August 1552. Your lovinge frendes, W.  
 “ Winchestre, F. Bedford, H. Suffolke, W. Northampton,  
 “ T. Darcy, T. Cheine, F. Gate, W. Cecill.”\*

Bale, at first, refused the offered preferment, on account of his age, poverty, and ill health; but the king not admitting his excuses, he at length consented, and went soon after to London, where every thing relative to his election and confirmation was dispatched in a few days, without any expense to him. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Down; and Hugh Goodacre, a particular friend of his, was, at the same time, consecrated Archbishop of Armagh. There was, however, some dispute about the form of consecration. Dr. Lockwood, dean of the church, desired the lord chancellor not to permit the form, in the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth by the parliament in England, to be used on this occasion, alledging that it would cause a tumult, and that it was not consented to by the parliament of Ireland. The lord chancellor proposed the case to the archbishop and the bishops, who agreed in opinion with the dean. Dr. Goodacre wished it might be otherwise, but was unwilling to enter into any disputation about it. But our author positively refused being consecrated according to the old popish form, alledging, that as England and Ireland were under one king, they were both bound to the observance of the same laws. Upon which, the lord chancellor ordered the ceremony to be performed according to the new book, and afterwards entertained the bishops at dinner.†

This celebrated divine having entered upon his new charge, did not become indolent, nor yet rise in worldly grandeur, but was constantly employed in his beloved work of preaching the gospel, labouring to the utmost of his power to draw the people from popery to Christ. He spent a great part of his income in the purchase of books, manuscripts, and records, for the purpose of publishing certain learned works which he had then in contemplation.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the return of popery, Dr. Bale was again exposed to the resentment and

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 532.

† Ibid.

cruel persecution of his popish adversaries. All his endeavours to reform the manners of his diocese, to correct the lewd practices and debaucheries of the priests, to abolish the mass, and to establish the use of the new Book of Common Prayer set forth in England, were not only rendered abortive by the death of King Edward, and the accession of Mary, but exposed him so much to the fury of the papists, that his life was frequently in the utmost danger. At one time in particular, they murdered five of his domestics, who were making hay in a meadow near his house; and he would in all probability have shared the same fate, if the governor of Kilkenny had not seasonably interposed by sending a troop of soldiers to his protection. This, however, served only as a defence against the present outrage. It did not in the least allay the fury of his adversaries, who were implacably enraged against him for preaching the doctrines of the gospel. He could find no permanent security among them, and was obliged to flee for safety. He did not, indeed, withdraw from the storm till after his books and other moveable articles were seized, and he had received certain information, that the Romish priests were conspiring to take away his life.

Dr. Leland's reflections are not at all favourable to the memory of our prelate. After calling him the violent and acrimonious oppugner of popery, and relating his rigid and uncomplying conduct at his consecration, he adds: "That Bale insulted the prejudices of his flock without reserve, or caution. They were provoked; and not so restrained, or awed by the civil power, as to dissemble their resentments. During the short period of his residence in Ireland, he lived in a continual state of fear and persecution. On his first preaching the reformed doctrines, his clergy forsook him, or opposed him; and to such violence were the populace raised against him, that five of his domestics were slain before his face; and his own life saved only by the vigorous interposition of the civil magistrate. These outrages are pathetically related; but," he adds, "we are not informed what imprudencies provoked them, or what was the intemperate conduct which his adversaries retorted with such shocking barbarity."\*

When Dr. Bale fled from the fury of his enemies, he went first to Dublin, where, for some time, he concealed himself. Afterwards, a favourable opportunity offering,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 535.

he endeavoured to make his escape in a small trading vessel, bound for Scotland, but was taken prisoner by the captain of a Dutch man of war, who rifled him of all his money, apparel and effects. This ship was driven by distress of weather into St. Ives in Cornwall, where our author was taken up on suspicion of treason. The accusation was brought against him by one Walter, an Irishman, and pilot of the Dutch ship, in hopes of obtaining a share of Bale's money, which was in the captain's hands. When our author was brought to his examination before one of the bailiffs of the town, he desired the bailiff to ask Walter, "How long he had known him? and what treason he had committed?" These interrogatories being proposed, Walter replied, that he had never seen him, nor ever heard of him, till he was brought into their ship. Then said the bailiff, "What treason have you known by this honest gentleman since? For I promise you he looks like an honest man." "Marry," said Walter, "he would have fled into Scotland." "Why," said the bailiff, "know you any impediment why he should not have gone into Scotland? If it be treason for a man, having business in Scotland, to go thither, it is more than I knew before." Walter was then so confounded, that he had nothing more to say. The captain and purser deposed in favour of Bale, assuring the bailiff that he was a very honest man, and that Walter was a vile fellow, deserving no credit. This they did, lest they should be deprived of the money and other articles which they had taken from our author.

Dr. Bale being honourably acquitted, the ship sailed, and, in a few days, arrived in Dover road, where he was again brought into danger by false accusation. One Martin, a Frenchman by birth, but now an English pirate, persuaded the Dutch captain and his crew, that Bale had been the principal instrument in pulling down the mass in England, and in keeping Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, a long time in the Tower; and that he had poisoned the king. With this information the captain and purser went ashore, carrying with them our author's episcopal seal, and two letters sent him from Conrad Gesner and Alexander Alesius, with commendations from Pellicanus, Pomeranus, Melancthon, and other celebrated reformers, who were desirous to become acquainted with the doctrines and antiquities of the English church. They also took from him the council's letter of his appointment to the bishopric of Ossory. All these things served to

aggravate the charge. The episcopal seal was construed to be a counterfeiting of the king's seal; the two letters were heretical; and the council's letter a conspiracy against the queen. When the captain returned to the ship, it was proposed to send Bale to London; but, after some consultation, they resolved to send two persons, with information to the privy council. This determination, however, was relinquished, upon Bale's strong remonstrances to the captain, and offering to pay fifty pounds for his ransom, on his arrival in Holland.

He was carried into Zealand, and lodged in the house of one of the owners of the ship, who treated him with great civility and kindness. He had only twenty-six days allowed him for raising the money agreed upon for his ransom, and could not obtain the liberty of going abroad to find out his friends. In this state of perplexity and distress, he was sometimes threatened to be thrown into the common gaol, sometimes to be brought before the magistrates, sometimes to be left to the examination of the clergy, at other times to be sent to London, or to be delivered to the queen's ambassador at Brussels. At length his kind host interposed, and desired the captain to consider, how far he had exceeded the limits of his commission, in thus using a subject of England, with which nation they were at peace. This produced the desired effect, and the captain was willing to take *thirty* pounds for his ransom, as he should be able to pay it, and so discharged him.\*

Dr. Bale having obtained his liberty, retired to Frankfort, where he and the other English exiles were favoured by the magistrates with the use of one of their churches. Having obtained so great a privilege, their next object was to agree to certain forms of worship: driven from their own country, and now comfortably settled in a foreign land, they thought it their duty to make certain improvements upon the reformation of King Edward. They entered, therefore, into a mutual and friendly consultation upon the subject, and agreed to the following things:—"Having perused the English liturgy, it was concluded among them, That the answering aloud after the minister should not be used; the litany, surplice, and many other things also omitted, because in the reformed churches abroad such things would seem more than strange. It was further agreed upon, that the minister, in the room of the English con-

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 533.

“ fession, should use another, both of more effect, and also  
 “ framed according to the state and time. And the same  
 “ ended, the people to sing a psalm in metre in a plain tune,  
 “ as was and is accustomed in the French, Dutch, Italian,  
 “ Spanish and Scottish churches : that done, the minister to  
 “ pray for the assistance of God’s Holy Spirit, and to pro-  
 “ ceed to the sermon. After the sermon, a general prayer  
 “ for all estates, and for our country of England, was  
 “ devised : at the end of which prayer was joined the Lord’s  
 “ prayer, and a rehearsal of the articles of belief ; which  
 “ ended, the people to sing another psalm as afore. Then  
 “ the minister pronouncing this blessing, The peace of God,  
 “ &c. or some other of like effect, the people to depart.  
 “ And as touching the ministration of the sacraments, sundry  
 “ things were also by common consent omitted, as *supersti-  
 “ tious and superfluous.*”\*

Our learned and pious divine undoubtedly took an active part in the formation of the church at Frankfort. The pious exiles having comfortably settled their new congregation, entered into a friendly correspondence with their brethren who had settled at other places. In their letter addressed to the exiles at Strasburgh, signed by John Bale, William Whittingham, John Fox, and fourteen others, they conclude by saying : “ We have a church freely granted to preach  
 “ God’s word purely, to minister the sacraments sincerely,  
 “ and to execute discipline truly. And as touching our  
 “ book, we will practice it so far as God’s word doth assure  
 “ it, and the state of this country permit.”† They wrote also to their brethren who had fled to other places, signifying how comfortably they were settled, and inviting them to Frankfort. Upon the arrival of Dr. Cox ‡ and his friends,

\* Troubles of Frankeford, p. 3. † Ibid. p. 20.

‡ Dr. Richard Cox had been preceptor and almoner to King Edward, and dean of Oxford and Westminster, but was now fled from the persecution of Queen Mary. He was a high churchman, a bigot to the English ceremonies, and of too imperious a disposition. On his return home, Queen Elizabeth made him Bishop of Ely, which he enjoyed to his death. He scrupled for some time to officiate in the royal chapel, on account of the queen’s retaining the crucifix, with lights on the altar; and when he consented, it was, he said, with a *trembling conscience*. He was violent in his opposition against the puritans, as well in his own country, as at Frankfort. He wrote to Archbishop Parker, to go on vigorously in reclaiming or punishing them, and not be disheartened by the frowns of those court-favourites who protected them; assuring him, that he might expect the blessing of God on his *pious labours*. When the privy council interposed in favour of the puritans, and endeavoured to screen them from punishment, he wrote a bold letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh; in which he warmly expostulated with the council, for meddling with the affairs of the church, which, he

who broke through the conditions of the new-formed church, interrupted the peace of the congregation, and, in effect, drove them from the city, they fled to other places. Dr. Bale retired to Basil in Switzerland, where he remained until the death of Queen Mary. The church at Basil was also exercised with contentions, of which our author, in a letter to one of his friends, gives a very deplorable account, severely censuring those who were of a contentious spirit.\*

Though we have already mentioned Dr. Bale as an author, it will be proper to renew the subject. He published a celebrated work, containing the lives of the most eminent writers of Great Britain. It came out at three different times. He first published his "Summarium illustrium majoris Brytanniæ Scriptorum," Wesel, 1549. This was addressed to King Edward, and contained only *five centuries* of writers. Afterwards he added four more, and made several additions and corrections through the whole work. The book thus enlarged, was entitled "Scriptorum illustrium majoris Brytanniæ, quam nunc Angliam et Scotiam vacant, Catalogus; à Japheto per 3618 annos usque ad annum hunc Domini 1557," &c. It was completed and printed at Basil, while the author was in a state of exile. The writers, whose lives are contained in this celebrated work, are those of Great Britain, including England and Scotland. The work commences from Japhet, one of the sons of Noah, and is carried down through a series of 3618 years, to the year of our Lord 1557. It is collected from a great variety of authors: as, Barosus, Gennadius, Bede, Honorius, Boston of Bury, Frumentarius, Capgrave, Bostius, Burellus, Trithemius, Gesner, and our great antiquary John Leland. It consists of *nine centuries*, comprising the antiquity, origin, annals, places, successes, and the most remarkable actions, sayings, and writings of each author, in the whole of which a due regard is had to chronology; and with this particular view, "That the actions of the reprobate as well as the elect ministers of the church may historically and aptly correspond with the mysteries described in the Revelation, the stars, angels, horses, trumpets, thunderings, heads, horns, mountains, vials, and plagues, through every age of the same church." There are

said, ought to be left to the determination of the bishops. He, also, admonished their lordships to keep within their own sphere; and told them, that he would appeal to the queen, if they continued to interpose in matters not belonging to them.—*Wood's Athene Oxon.* vol. i. p. 161.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 398, 399.

\* *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 248. Appen. p. 107.

*appendixes* to many of the articles; also an account of such actions of the contemporary popes as are omitted by their flatterers, Carsulanus, Platina, and the like; together with the actions of the monks, particularly those of the mendicant order, who, he pretends, are meant by the *locusts* in Revelation ix. 3, 7. To the appendixes is added a perpetual succession both of the holy fathers and the antichrists of the church, with instances from the histories of various nations and countries; in order to expose their adulteries, debaucheries, strifes, seditions, sects, deceits, poisonings, murders, treasons, and innumerable impostures. The book is dedicated to Otho Henry, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of both Bavarias, and Elector of the Roman Empire; dated from Basil in September, 1557. Our learned divine was, therefore, laboriously employed while in a foreign land.

In the month of February, 1559, he published a new edition of this celebrated work, with the addition of *five* more centuries, making in all *fourteen*; to which is prefixed an account of the writers before the deluge and the birth of Christ, with a description of England from Paulus Jovius, George Lilly, John Leland, Andrew Althamerus, and others. This impression is dedicated to Count Zkradin and Dr. Paul Scalechius of Lika.\*

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Bale returned to England, but not to his bishopric in Ireland. The queen, during her minority, and while exercised with troubles under her sister Mary, shewed the highest respect for him, and even honoured him by sending him a book which she had translated into French. It was too manifest, however, that she afterwards drew her affections from him: but whether this was on account of the puritanical principles which he imbibed while abroad, or from some other cause, we do not undertake to determine. During the few years that he lived under her majesty's government, he contented himself with a prebend in the church of Canterbury, where he continued the rest of his days, still refusing to accept of his bishopric. "One may wonder," says Fuller, "that being so learned a man, who had done and suffered so much for religion, higher promotion was not forced upon him; seeing about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, bishoprics went about begging able men to receive them."†

It ought to be recollected, that many of the *pious*

\* *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 533, 534.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, part iii. p. 61.

reformers, while in a state of exile, and living among foreign protestants, were led to examine more minutely the grand principles of the reformation; and they acted upon those principles, as we have already observed, while dwelling in a foreign land. Nor did they forget their principles on their return to their native country. Notwithstanding their want of success, they constantly endeavoured, as the times would permit, to obtain a more pure reformation of the English church. This was the case with Dr. Bale, and was undoubtedly the reason of his refusing to accept his former preferment. Though it does not appear that he gave his reasons for this refusal; yet it is evident, says our author, that, while he was a zealous opposer of the Romish superstitions, he was a leading person among the non-conformists, and was against the use of the English rites and ceremonies: he opposed the divine institution of bishops, and was a zealous advocate for the discipline of the foreign reformed churches. It was a settled principle with him, that the government of the church by bishops, did not exist till the beginning of the seventh century. These are his own words:—"In the year 607, the church began to be ruled by the policy and government of bishops, which government was especially devised and invented by the monks."\* From the above facts, Dr. Bale, with great justice, stands first on the list of our *puritan* worthies. He was summoned to assist in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, but refused to attend, no doubt on account of his puritanical principles.† He died at Canterbury in the month of November, 1563, aged sixty-eight years; and his remains were interred in the cathedral at that place.‡ Several of our historians are greatly mistaken in both the time and place of his death.§

The character of no man has been more variously represented than that of our author, as will appear from the different testimonies concerning him. Bishop Montague censures him for his unjustifiable freedom in speaking and writing; yet he thinks him of credit and weight in many things. Valerius Andreas calls him an impious wretch and a wicked apostate; but at the same time allows him his merit as a writer. Vossius charges him with disingenuity in his accounts of ancient writers. But of all the authors, who have censured Bale, no one has fallen upon him with

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 49. (2.)

† Strype's Parker, p. 54.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 534.

§ Lupton's Modern Divines, p. 201.—Faller's Worthies, part iii. p. 61.

greater severity than his follower John Pits. The following are some of those invenomed arrows which he has shot at him :—" This writer," says he, " did not so much enlarge Leland's catalogue, as corrupt it in a monstrous manner. For he has stuffed it full of lies and calumnies, and spoiled Leland's work, by his own barbarous style. He says many things worthy, indeed, of the mind and mouth of an heretic, but absolutely void of all civility and moral honesty, some things plainly unworthy of a christian ear.—If we except his slanders against men, and his blasphemies against God, the poor wretch has nothing of his own, which deserves our notice.—I hoped to have found at least some gem of antiquity in that dunghill : but more unlucky than Esop's cock, I was disappointed in my expectation." He brands him with the name of *Baal*, and calls him an apostate Carmelite monk, and a married priest. Such are the foul accusations brought against our divine, by this bigotted papist. Wharton charges Bale with paying very little regard to truth, provided he could increase the number of enemies to the Romish church ; and adds, that, for the most part, he settled the chronology of the English writers with his eyes shut. Bishop Nicolson says : " The ground-plot of his famous work was borrowed from Leland ; and the chief of his own superstructure is malicious and bitter invectives against the papists."\*

It will be proper on the contrary to observe, that Gesner denominates Bale " a writer of the greatest diligence ;" and Bishop Godwin gives him the character of a laborious inquirer into the British antiquities. Dr. Lawrence Humphrey says, that Vergerius, Platina, and Luther, have discovered many errors and frauds of the papists ; but that Bale hath detected them all. Valentine Henry Vogler says, " it will be less matter of wonder, that Bale inveighs with so much asperity against the power of the pope, when it is considered that England was more grievously oppressed, by the tyranny of the holy see, than any other kingdom. Though he rendered himself so odious to the papists, his very enemies could not help praising his Catalogue of English writers."†

It is generally allowed that Bale's sufferings from the popish party, is some apology for his severe treatment of them : He wrote with all the warmth of one who had escaped the flames. Granger observes, that his intemperate

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 535.

† Ibid. p. 534.

zeal often carries him beyond the bounds of decency and candour, in his accounts of the papists. Anthony Wood styles him "the foul-mouthed Bale;"\* but, the above writer adds, some of his foul language translated into English, would appear to be of the same import with many expressions used by that writer himself.† Perhaps some allowance ought to be made not only for his resentment of what he had suffered, but for the age in which he lived. It would be doing him great injustice, to form our ideas of him from the *popish* authors, many of whom were exceedingly exasperated against him, on account of the vehemence with which he had attacked the errors and superstitions of the papal see.

Dr. Bale's writings are prohibited by the church of Rome, among those of the first class of *heretical* books. The *Index Expurgatorius*, published at Madrid in 1667, calls him a most impudent and scurrilous writer against the see of Rome, the Mass, the Eucharist, and one that is perpetually breathing out poison; for which, it forbids the reading of his works for ever.‡ His writings were numerous, a list of which, according to the subjects, is given below: the exact titles cannot now be ascertained.

His WORKS, while he was a papist.—1. A Bundle of Things worth knowing.—2. The Writers from Elias.—3. The Writers from Berthold.—4. Additions to Trithemius.—5. German Collections.—6. French Collections.—7. English Collections.—8. Divers Writings of divers learned Men.—9. A Catalogue of Generals.—10. The Spiritual War.—11. The Castle of Peace.—12. Sermons for Children.—13. To the Synod of Hull.—14. An Answer to certain Questions.—15. Addition to Palaonydorus.—16. The History of Patronage.—17. The Story of Simon the Englishman.—18. The Story of Francus Senensis.—19. The Story of St. Brocard.—20. A Commentary on Mantuan's Preface to his Fasti.

He wrote the following after he renounced popery:—1. The Heliades of the English.—2. Notes on the three Tomes of Walden.—3. On his Bundle of Tares.—4. On Polydore de Rerum Inventionibus.—5. On Textor's Officina.—6. On Capgrave's Catalogue.—7. On Barnes's Lives of the Popes.—8. The Acts of the Popes of Rome.—9. A Translation of Thorp's Examination.—10. The Life of John Baptist.—11. Of John Baptist's Preaching.‡—12. Of Christ's Temptation.—

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 60.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 139, 140.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 535.

§ The title of this piece is, "A Comedy, or Interlude, of Johan Baptist's Preachynge in the Wilderness; opening the Crafts of Hypocrites," and is printed in the "Harleian Miscellany." "There was a time," says Mr. Granger, "when the lamentable comedies of Bale were acted with applause. He tells us, in the account of his vocation to the bishopric of Omory, that his comedy of John Baptist's Preaching, and his

13. Two Comedies of Christ's Baptism and Temptations.—14. A Comedy of Christ at twelve years old.—15. A Comedy of the Raising of Lazarus.—16. A Comedy of the High Priest's Council.—17. A Comedy of Simon the Leper.—18. A Comedy of the Lord's Supper, and the Washing of the Disciples Feet.—19. Two Comedies (or rather Tragedies) of Christ's Passion.—20. Two Comedies of Christ's Burial and Resurrection.—21. A Poem of God's Promises.—22. Against those that pervert God's Word.—23. Of the Corrupting of God's Laws.—24. Against Carpers and Traducers.—25. A Defence of King John.—26. Of King Henry's two Marriages.—27. Of Popish Sects.—28. Of Popish Treacheries.—29. Of Thomas Becket's Impostures.—30. The Image of Love.—31. Pamachius's Tragedies, translated into English.—32. Christian Sonnets.—33. A Commentary on St. John's Apocalypse.—34. A Locupletation of the Apocalypse.—35. Wickliffe's War with the Papists.—36. Sir John Oldcastle's Trials.—37. An Apology for Barnes.—38. A Defence of Grey against Smith.—39. John Lambert's Confession.—40. Anne Askew's Martyrdom.—41. Of Luther's Decease.—42. The Bishops Alcoran.—43. The Man of Sin.—44. The Mystery of Iniquity.—45. Against Anti-Christ, or False Christ.—46. Against Baal's Priests, or Baalamites.—47. Against the Clergy's Single Life.—48. A Dispatch of Popish Vows and Priesthood.—49. The Acts of English Votaries, in two parts.—50. Of Heretics indeed.—51. Against the Popish Mass.—52. The Drunkard's Mass.—53. Against Popish Persuasions.—54. Against Bonner's Articles.—55. Certain Dialogues.—56. To Elizabeth the King's Daughter.—57. Against Customary Swearing.—58. On Mantuan of Death.—59. A Week before God.—60. Of his Calling to a Bishopric.\*—61. Of Leland's Journal, or an Abridgement of Leland, with Additions.—62. A Translation of Sebald Heyden's Apology against Salve Regina.—63. A Translation of Gardiner's Oration of true Obedience, and Bonner's Epistle before it, with a Preface to it, Notes on it, and an Epilogue to the Reader.—But his most capital work was his *Lives of the Writers*, already noticed.—Bale's *Collectanea* is preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, and now deposited in the British Museum.

**JOHN PULLAIN, B. D.**—This zealous reformer was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1517, and educated first in New college, then in Christ's college, Oxford. He was a famous preacher, and a celebrated reformer, in the days of King Edward VI. He became rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, in the year 1552, but suffered deprivation in 1555.† Upon the commencement of Queen Mary's bloody persecution, he did not immediately flee, but endured the storm for some

Tragedy of God's Promises, were acted by young men at the market-cross of Kilkenny, upon a Sunday. Surely this tragedy must be as extraordinary a composition, in its kind, as his comedies."—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 139.

\* This work is entitled "The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishopric of Ossorie in Irelande, his persecutions in the same, and finally Delyverance."

† Newcourt's *Repert. Eccl.* vol. l. p. 92.

time. Having no prospect of enjoying his public ministry, and being deeply concerned for his persecuted countrymen, he continued to labour in private as he found an opportunity. He preached and administered the Lord's supper, about a year, to the protestant congregation, which assembled in private places, in and about the city of London.\*

The persecution of the protestants becoming, at length, extremely hot, and Mr. Pullain finding himself most probably in danger of the fire, he fled into a foreign land, and became an exile at Geneva; where he became a member of the English congregation, and abode during the remainder of the bloody queen's reign. The news of the queen's death, and of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, gladdened the hearts of all the worthy exiles. On this occasion, Mr. Pullain united with his brethren at Geneva, in their letter of congratulation, addressed to their fellow-exiles at Arrau, Basil, Strasburgh, Frankfort, and other places.† Upon the reception of the joyful news, he immediately prepared to return home; and was no sooner arrived in his native country, than he resumed his zealous ministerial labours. But he had not continued long in his beloved work, before he received a sudden check. For the new queen having issued her royal proclamation prohibiting all preaching, till all the affairs of the church were finally settled, this worthy servant of Christ was taken into custody at Colchester, and sent prisoner up to London. His crime was that of preaching when prohibited by the queen; but our historian does not say what further prosecution he underwent.‡

Towards the close of the year 1559, Mr. Pullain became rector of Capford in Essex, which he kept to his death.§ About the same time, he was made Archdeacon of Colchester. He sat in the famous convocation of 1562, and subscribed the articles of religion.|| He was an avowed enemy to all popery and superstition; and, therefore, was much grieved at the imperfect state in which the reformation rested, and the severe proceedings of the prelates which immediately followed. He was ever anxious to have the church purged of all its corruptions and antichristian ceremonies, and for its discipline and government, as well as its

\* Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 525.—Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 292.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 160—162.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 44.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 192.

|| Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 299.

doctrine, to be regulated by the word of God alone. These things made so deep an impression upon his mind, as brought a complaint upon his body, of which he died in the month of July, 1565, aged forty-eight years. He was a truly pious man, a constant preacher, a learned divine, a thorough puritan, and an admired English and Latin poet.\* He published "A Tract against the Arians," and several translations of the works of other learned men.

**JOHN HARDYMAN, D. D.**—He was educated at Cambridge, where he took his degrees; and was made preacher at St. Martin's church, Ironmonger-lane, London, in the reign of Henry VIII., when he came forwards openly and boldly in the cause of the reformation. He preached publicly, "That confession to priests, was confusion; that the ceremonies of the church being the superstitious inventions of men, ought to be abhorred; that to esteem any internal virtue in the sacrament, was mischievous and robbing God of his glory; and that faith in Christ, without any other sacrament, was sufficient for justification;" for which, in the year 1541, he was presented and most probably deprived.+ The Oxford historian, with his usual bitterness against the puritans, says, that he ran with the mutable times of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. However, the above account of his suffering persecution for the avowal of his principles, shews that this account is not altogether correct. Though it does not appear whether he ever changed his sentiments, it is certain that upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was still a zealous protestant, and still desirous to carry forwards the reformation. In the year 1560, the queen appointed him one of the twelve prebendaries of Westminster; and about the same time, he became famous for his puritanical principles, and distinguished himself in the cause of the reformation. He was not, indeed, like too many of the clergy, who rested in the reformation of King Edward, or even in that which fell short of it; but laboured to carry on the work to perfection. He wished, with the rest of the puritanical reformers, to have the church thoroughly purged of all the remnants of antichrist. But his zeal for nonconformity presently exposed him to the resentment and persecution of the ruling prelates; and in the year 1567, he was summoned

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 135. (6.)

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 460.

before the high commission, and deprived of his benefice. He is charged with breaking down the altars, and defacing the ancient utensils and ornaments belonging to the church of Westminster;\* but with what degree of justice we are unable to ascertain.

**MILES COVERDALE, D. D.**—This celebrated puritan was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1486, and educated in the university of Cambridge. Being brought up in the popish religion, he became an Augustine monk at the place of his education, where Dr. Barnes was prior, who was afterwards burnt for pretended heresy. He took his doctor's degree at Tübingen, in Germany, and was incorporated in the same at Cambridge. At an early period in the reign of Henry VIII., he cast off the shackles of popery, and became a zealous and an avowed protestant. When the king quarrelled with the pope, and renounced the authority of Rome, he is said to have been one of the first who preached the gospel in its purity, and wholly devoted himself to promote the reformed religion.+ In the year 1528, he preached at Burnsted in Essex, when he declared openly against the popish mass, the worship of images, and auricular confession. He maintained that contrition for sin, betwixt God and a man's own conscience, was sufficient of itself, without any confession to a priest. His zealous and faithful labours at this place were not in vain: It is preserved on authentic record, that he was the honoured instrument of turning one Thomas Topley, afterwards a martyr, from the superstitions and errors of popery, to the true protestant faith.‡

Coverdale having espoused the same opinions as Dr. Barnes, and finding himself in danger of the fire, fled, not long after the above period, beyond sea, and lived for some time in Holland, where he chiefly applied himself to the study and translation of the holy scriptures.§ In the year 1529, the famous Mr. William Tindal having finished his translation of the Pentateuch, wished to have it printed at Hamburgh; but in crossing the sea, the ship was wrecked, when he lost all his money and papers: and so had to begin the work afresh. Upon his arrival at Hamburgh, his friend Coverdale, who was waiting for him, assisted him in writing

\* Wood's *Athens Oxon.* vol. i. p. 692.

† Clark's *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologie*, p. 3.

‡ Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. ii. p. 267.

§ Lewis's *Hist. of Translations*, p. 23. Edit. 1731.

a new translation.\* In the year 1535, (some by mistake say 1532,) Tindal and Coverdale translated and published the whole Bible, the first that was ever printed in the English language. It was printed at Hamburgh, by Grafton and Whitchurch, when Mr. John Rogers, afterwards the proto-martyr, corrected the press. This first English translation was called *Matthew's Bible*, a fictitious name, and was dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry.† The form of dedication is preserved by Mr. Strype;‡ in which our reverend author expressed himself in the following manner :

“ Unto the moost victorious prynce and our moost gracyous soverygne lorde Kyng HENRY eyghth, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande, &c. defendour of the fayth; and under God the chefe and supreme heade of the church of Englande. The ryght and just administracyon of the lawes that God gave unto Moses and Josua : the testimonye of faythfulness that God gave to David : the plenteous abundaunce of wysdome that God gave unto Solomon : the lucky and prosperous age with the multiplicacyon of sede which God gave to Abraham and Sara his wyfe, be given unto you, moost gracyous prynce, with your dearest just wyfe and moost vertuous pryncesse Quene Jane. Amen.

“ Your graces humble subjecte and daylye oratour,  
“ MYLES COVERDALE.”

In this dedication he tells his majesty, that the blind bishop of Rome no more knew what he did when he gave this title, *Defender of the Faith*, than the Jewish bishop Caiaphas when he taught, that it was better to put Christ to death, than that all the people should perish : that the pope gave him this title, only because his highness suffered his bishops to burn God's word, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of it ; whereas, he openly declared, that by the righteous administration of his majesty, the faith ought to be so defended, that God's word, the mother of faith, should have its free course through all christendom, but especially in these realms : and that his majesty should, indeed, *defend the faith* ; yea, even the true faith of *Christ*, not dreams, not fables, not heresy, not papistical inventions, but the uncorrupt faith of God's most holy word, to set forth which, his highness, with his most honourable council, applied all study and endeavour.

\* Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 303.  
‡ Annals, vol. ii. Appen. p. 43.

† Ibid. p. 434.

He next observes to his majesty, that as the word of God is the only truth that driveth away all error, and discovereth all juggling and deceit; therefore, is the Balaam of Rome so loath to have the scriptures known in the mother-tongue, lest by kings and princes becoming acquainted with them, they should again claim and challenge their due authority, which hath been falsely usurped for many years; and lest the people, being taught by the word of God, should renounce their feigned obedience to him and his disguised apostles, and observe the true obedience commanded by God's own mouth, and not embrace his painted religion.

As to the present translation, Coverdale observes here, and in his epistle to the reader, that it was neither his labour nor desire to have this work put into his hand, but that being *instantly required* to undertake it, and the Holy Ghost moving other men to be at the cost thereof, he was the more bold to take it in hand. He considered how great pity it was, that the English should want such a translation so long, and called to his remembrance the adversity of those, who were not only endowed with right knowledge, but would, with all their hearts, have performed that which they had begun, if no impediment had been in the way. Therefore, as he was desired, he took the more upon him, as he said, to set forth this *special translation*, not as a reprover or despiser of other mens' labours, but lowly and faithfully following his interpreters, and that under correction. Of these, he said, he made use of *five* different ones, who had translated the scriptures, not only into Latin, but also into Dutch. He made this declaration, that he had neither wrested nor altered so much as one word, for the maintenance of any manner of sect, but had with a clear conscience, purely and faithfully translated out of the foregoing interpreters, having only the manifest scriptures before his eyes.

This translation was divided into six tomes or parts, and Coverdale prefixed to every book the contents of the several chapters, and not to the particular chapters, which was done afterwards. It is adorned throughout with wooden cuts, and in the margin are scripture references. In the last page it is said, "Prynted in the yeare of our Lorde M.D.XXXV. and fynished the fourth day of October." This Bible was reprinted in 1550, and again in 1553.\*

In the year 1537, the Bible was published a second time in English, entitled "The Bible, which is all the Holy

\* Lewis's Hist. of Translations, p. 23—25.

Scripture, in which are containd the Olde and Newe Testament, truelye and purelye translated into English." The translators were Tindal and Coverdale. John Rogers is said to have had a share in it; but this appears incorrect. From the end of the Chronicles to the end of the Apocrypha was Coverdale's, and the rest was Tindal's. This was called "The Great Bible,"\* but it did not come forth till after Tindal's death.†

The New Testament was afterwards printed in Latin and English in quarto, with the following title: "The Newe Testament both in Latine and Englishe eche correspondent to the other after the vulgare Text communely called St. Jerome's. Faithfully translated by Johan Hollybushe anno M.CCC.CC.XXXVIII." This was Coverdale's translation, which he gave Hollybushe leave to print. It was dedicated "To the moost noble, moost gracious, and "our moost dradde soveraigne lord Kynge HENRY the "eyght, kynge of England and of Fraunce, defender of "Christ's true fayth, and under God the chefe and supreme "heade of the church of Englande, Irelande, &c." In the dedication, he tells his majesty, "that oon of the chiefest causes why he did now with moost humble obedience dedicate and offre thys translation of the New Testament unto his moost royall majesty, was his highnesse's so lovingly and favourably taking his infancy and rudeness in dedicating the whole Bible in Englysh to his most noble Grace."

This translation, as Coverdale says, was *sinistrally printed* and *negligently corrected*. He, therefore, the next year, 1539, published another edition in Svo., which he dedicated "To the right honourable Lorde Cromwell lorde "prevyse seale, vicegerent to the kynge's hyghnesse concer- "nyng all his jurisdiction ecclesiasticall within the realme "of Englande."‡

In the year 1538, Lord Cromwell procured letters from

\* Lewis's Hist. of Translations, p. 26.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 82.

† William Tindal, deservedly styled "The Apostle of England," was the first who translated the New Testament into English, from the original Greek. This translation was printed at Antwerp, in 1526; when Bishop Tunstal and Sir Thomas Moore purchased all the impression, and burnt them at Paul's cross. The sale of this impression enabled the translator to print a larger, and more correct edition. Tindal was burnt for an heretic at Wilford, near Brussels, in 1536, crying at the stake, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."—Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 301—305.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 81.

‡ Lewis's Hist. of Translations, p. 27, 28.

Henry VIII. to the King of France, soliciting his license and allowance for printing the English Bible in the university of Paris, since it could be done there to much greater advantage than in England. The King of France granting the privilege, the work was immediately undertaken; and as Coverdale was a person eminently qualified for the office, he was appointed to superintend the press. He also compared the former translations with the original Hebrew and Greek, making the requisite alterations and amendments. When the work was nearly completed, the printer was convened before the tribunal of the Inquisition, and charged with heresy. Coverdale and others were sent for; but, aware of the approaching storm, they fled for their lives, and left their Bibles behind them, to the number of two thousand five hundred. Thus, he narrowly escaped the rack, the fire, or some equally cruel torture.

As the heretical translator could not be found, the Bibles were all seized, and committed to the care of one Lieutenant Criminal, to be burnt at Paris; but instead of casting the whole of them to the flames, he, through covetousness, sold four great fats full of them to an haberdasher, as waste paper, of whom they were afterwards purchased. All the rest were publicly burnt at Paris. Afterwards Lord Cromwell\* went himself to Paris, when he procured the printing-press, and brought the servants of the printer to London, where the remaining part of the Bible was printed, though not without much opposition from the bishops.†

The first publication of the Bible in English roused the malice and ill-will of the bigotted prelates. Their anger and jealousy being awakened, they laid their complaints before the king; who, in compliance with their suggestions, ordered all the copies to be called in, and promised them a new translation. And when the translation in 1537, called Coverdale's translation, came forth, the bishops told Henry,

\* Thomas Lord Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, and some time served as a soldier in Italy, under the Duke of Bourbon. He was afterwards secretary to Cardinal Wolsey; and recommended himself to Henry VIII. by discovering that the clergy were privately absolved from their oath to him, and sworn anew to the pope. This discovery furnished the king with a pretence for the suppression of monasteries, in which Cromwell was a principal instrument. The king, whose mercies were cruel, raised him to a most envied pitch of honour and preferment, a little before his fall. He first amused him with an agreeable prospect, and then pushed him down a precipice. Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedence of all great officers of state; but lost his head July 28, 1540.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 86.

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 434, 435.—Lewis's Hist. of Trans. p. 29.

that there were many faults in it. His majesty asked them whether it contained any heresies; and when the bishops said they had found none, the king replied, "Then in the name of God let it go abroad among the people."\*

Coverdale's immense labours in publishing the various translations of the scriptures, exposed him to the wrath of the English bishops, by whom he was most severely persecuted for his pains. The angry prelates hunted him from place to place, which obliged him to flee from the storm, and continue many years in a foreign land. While in a state of exile, he printed the Bible, and sent it to be sold in England, by which means he obtained a comfortable support. This, however, could not long be concealed from the jealous eye of the Bishop of London; who no sooner found what Coverdale was doing, than he inquired where the Bibles were sold, and bought them all up: supposing by this means he should be able to suppress their circulation. But God so ordered it, contrary to the prelate's expectations, that the merchant of whom the Bibles were purchased, sent the money to Coverdale; whereby he was enabled to print more, and send them over to England.† This, indeed, roused the fury of the angry prelates, who, by their outstretched arms, reached him even in Holland; and to escape their potent malice, he was obliged to retire into Germany. He settled under the palsgrave of the Rhiene, where he found much favour. Here, upon his first settlement, he taught school for a subsistence. But having afterwards learned the Dutch language, the Prince Elector Palatine conferred upon him the benefice of Burghsaber, where his faithful ministry and holy life were made a blessing to the people. During his continuance in this situation, he was maintained partly by his benefice, and partly by Lord Cromwell, his liberal and worthy benefactor.‡

Upon the accession of Edward VI. the tyrannical cruelties of King Henry began immediately to relax; the prison

\* Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 444.—Burnet's *Hist. Abridged*, vol. iii. p. 31.

† Clark's *Lives*, p. 3.

‡ Coverdale was almoner to Queen Katharine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII., and a great friend to the reformation. In the month of September 1548, he officiated at her funeral, and preached a sermon on the occasion; in which he declared, "That there shulde none there thinke, saye, or spread abroad, that the offeringe which was there don anye thing to profythy the deade, but for the poore onlye; and also the lights which were carried and strode abowte the corps, were for the honnour of the person, and for none other intente nor purpose; and so wente throughte with his sermonde, and made a godlye prayer," &c.—*Biographia Britan.* vol. iv. p. 310, 311. Edit. 1778.

doors were set open ; and those who had been driven into a state of exile, returned home. Among the last, was Dr. Miles Coverdale. Not long after his return, he became chaplain to Lord Russel, in his expedition to suppress the insurrection in Devonshire. For his excellent labours and behaviour on this occasion, he was highly extolled by the famous Peter Martyr.\* In the year 1551, he, though a married man, was made Bishop of Exeter, being promoted "on account of his extraordinary knowledge in divinity, and his unblemished character." His consecration was performed at Lambeth, by Archbishop Cranmer.† The following is King Edward's letter patent nominating him to the bishopric :

"The king to all to whom the presents shall come greeting. Whereas the bishopric of Exon is without a bishop, and is destitute of a fit pastor, by the free resignation of John late bishop of that place, and doth by right belong to our collation and donation. We willing to collate another fit person to the bishopric aforesaid, and judging our well-beloved Miles Coverdale, professor of divinity, for his signal learning in the scriptures, and for his most approved manners, wherewith he is endowed, to be a fit man for the place and office aforesaid. Know ye, therefore, that we of our special grace, and certain knowledge, and mere motion, have conferred, given, and granted, and by these presents do confer, give, and grant, to the aforesaid Miles Coverdale, the said bishopric of Exeter : and we translate the same Miles to the bishopric of Exon, and we nominate, ordain, and constitute by these presents, the same Miles, Bishop of Exon, and of Exeter diocese ; to have and to hold, execute and enjoy the said bishopric of Exon to the same Miles, during his natural life."‡

The diocese of Exeter, on account of the late insurrection, and the prevalence of popery, was in a most lamentable state ; and some wise, courageous, and excellent preacher, was extremely necessary for that situation. Therefore Coverdale was judged a most fit person to be invested with the above charge. Archbishop Cranmer had the highest opinion of him ; was intimately acquainted with him ; and was ever ready to do him acts of kindness.§ Though

\* Burnet's Hist. Abridged, vol. lii. p. 148.

† Clark's Lives, p. 3.—Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. p. 166.

‡ Hantley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 132.

§ Stryce's Cranmer, p. 266, 267.

Coverdale had submitted to wear the habits, in the late reign, he now, with many other celebrated divines, laid them aside.\*

At this early period, there were many persons in the kingdom, who, besides the papists, were nonconformable to the established church. They refused to have their children baptized, and differed in some points of doctrine from the national creed. These, out of reproach, were denominated anabaptists. Also, there were many others who administered the sacraments in other manner than as prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, set forth by public authority. Therefore to prevent these persons from propagating their opinions, and to bring them to conformity, a commission was issued to thirty-one persons, empowering them to correct and punish these nonconformists. Among those in the commission were Cranmer, Latimer, Parker, and Coverdale; but it does not appear whether any of the nonconformists were prosecuted by them.† Coverdale being ever celebrated for peace and moderation, would undoubtedly disapprove of all such measures.

This excellent divine, while he was Bishop of Exeter, conducted himself in a manner worthy of his high office. Like a true primitive bishop, he was a constant preacher, and much given to hospitality. He was sober and temperate in all things, holy and blameless, friendly to good men, liberal to the poor, courteous to all, void of pride, clothed with humility, abhorring covetousness and every scene of vice. His house was a little church, in which was exercised all virtue and godliness. He suffered no one to abide under his roof, who could not give some satisfactory account of his faith and hope, and whose life did not correspond with his profession. He was not, however, without his enemies. Because he was a constant and faithful preacher of the gospel, an avowed enemy to all superstition and popery, and a most upright worthy man, his adversaries sought to have him disgraced: sometimes by secret backbiting; sometimes by open raillery; and sometimes by false accusation. Indeed, their malice is said to have been carried to so great a length, that they endeavoured at last to poison him; but through the good providence of God, their snares were broken, and he was delivered out of their hands.‡

Coverdale having continued in the episcopal office

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 65.

† Strype's Parker, p. 27.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 4.

betwixt two and three years, it pleased God to remove, by death, the excellent King Edward. Upon the accession of his sister Mary, the face of religion was soon changed; great numbers of the most worthy preachers in the kingdom were immediately silenced; and this good bishop, together with many others, was cast into prison.\* During the confinement of Coverdale and the other protestant bishops, they drew up and subscribed their confession of faith. This confession, with the names of those who subscribed it, is still preserved, but too long for our insertion.† The malice of the papists designed Coverdale for the fire; but the Lord most wonderfully preserved and delivered him. During his imprisonment, the King of Denmark, with whom he had become acquainted when he was in Germany, became his honoured friend, warmly espoused his cause, and wrote several letters to Queen Mary, earnestly soliciting his release.‡ By the king's continued importunity, yet as a very great favour, he was permitted to go into banishment. Burnet, by mistake, calls him a Dane; and observes, that on this account some allowance was made for him, and a passport was granted him, with two of his servants, to go to Denmark.§ He retired first to his kind friend, the King of Denmark; then to Wezel in Westphalia; and afterwards he went into Germany, to his worthy patron the Elector of the Rhiene, by whom he was cordially received, and restored to his former benefice of Burghsaber.¶ Here he continued a zealous and laborious preacher, and a careful shepherd over the flock of Christ, all the remaining days of Queen Mary.

Coverdale and several of his brethren, during their exile, published a new translation of the Bible, commonly called the *Geneva Bible*. The translators of this Bible were Coverdale, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, Cole, Knox, Bodliegh, and Pullain, all celebrated puritans. They first published the New Testament in 1557. This was the first that was ever printed with numerical verses. The whole Bible, with marginal notes, was printed in

\* The two archbishops, Cranmer and Holgate, with the bishops, Ridley, Poinet, Scory, Coverdale, Taylor, Harvey, Bird, Bush, Hooper, Farrer, and Barlow, and twelve thousand clergymen, were all silenced at this time, and many of them were cast into prison.—*Burnet's Hist. of Refor.* vol. ii. p. 276.

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 15, 82, 83.

‡ These letters are still preserved.—*Ibid.* p. 140—151.

§ Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 239.

¶ Troubles at Frankford, p. 158.

1560, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. The translators say, "They were employed in the work night and day, with fear and trembling; and they protest from their consciences, and call God to witness, that in every point and word, they have faithfully rendered the text, to the best of their knowledge." But the marginal notes giving some offence, it was not suffered to be printed in England till after the death of Archbishop Parker; when it was printed in 1576, and soon passed through twenty or thirty editions.\* This translation of the Bible has been lately published, under the title of "The Reformers' Bible."

During the rage of persecution in the reign of Queen Mary, every effort was made for the suppression of the reformation, and the re-establishment of popery. The frauds, and impositions, and superstitions of the latter being ashamed of an examination, the people were not allowed to read the writings of protestants. Therefore, in the year 1555, her majesty issued her royal proclamation for suppressing the books of the reformers. Among the works enumerated in this proclamation, were those of Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Hooper, Cranmer, and Coverdale.†

Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Dr. Coverdale again returned to his native country. His bishopric was reserved for him, and he was repeatedly urged to accept it; but on account of the popish habits and ceremonies retained in the church, he modestly refused. He assisted in the consecration of Archbishop Parker, in Lambeth chapel, December 17, 1559. The ceremony was performed in a plain manner, by the imposition of hands and prayer. Coverdale, on this occasion, wore only a *plain black gown*; and because he could not with a good conscience come up to the terms of conformity, he was neglected, and for some time had no preferment.‡ He had the plague in the year 1663, but afterwards recovered. He was commonly called *Father Coverdale*. But on account of the neglect with which he was treated, and the reproach which it brought upon the ruling prelates, Grindal, bishop of London, said, "Surely it is not well that he, who was in Christ before any of us, should be now in his age without stay of living. I cannot herein excuse us bishops." Grindal therefore in the above year, gave him the living of St.

\* Strype's Parker, p. 205, 206.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 88.

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 226.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 58—60.—Annals, vol. i. p. 366.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 165.

Magnus, at the Bridge-foot. But he being old and poor, petitioned Secretary Cecil and others, to be released from paying the first fruits, amounting to upwards of sixty pounds, adding, "If poor old Miles might be thus provided for, he should think this enough and as good as a feast." This favour was granted.\*

Coverdale continued in the undisturbed exercise of his ministry a little more than two years;† but not coming up to the terms of conformity, he was driven from his flock, and obliged to relinquish his benefice.‡ Though he was laden with old age and infirmities, he did not relinquish his beloved work. He still continued preaching as he found an opportunity, without the habits; and multitudes flocked to hear him. They used to send to his house on a Saturday, inquiring where he was to preach on the following sabbath, and were sure to follow him. This, however, giving offence to the ruling prelates, the good old man was, at length, obliged to tell his friends, that he durst not any more inform them of his preaching, through fear of offending his superiors.§ He, nevertheless, continued preaching as long as he was able; and died a most comfortable and happy death, January 20, 1568, aged eighty-one years. He was a man of most exemplary piety, an indefatigable student, a great scholar, a celebrated preacher, a peaceable nonconformist, and much admired and followed by the puritans; but the Act of Uniformity brought down his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave. His remains were honourably interred in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange, London; when vast crowds of people attended the funeral procession. A monumental inscription was afterwards erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:¶

IN MEMORY  
of the most reverend Father,  
MILES COVERDALE,  
who died, aged eighty years.  
This Tomb  
contains the mortal Remains of COVERDALE,  
who having finished his labours,  
now lies at rest.  
He was once the most faithful  
and worthy *Bishop* of EXETER,  
a man remarkable for the uprightness of his life.

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 91.—Parker, p. 148, 149.—Annals, vol. i. p. 367.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 398.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 149.

§ Parte of a Register, p. 25.

¶ Stow's Survey of London, b. ii. p. 123.

He lived to exceed the age of eighty years,  
 having several times  
 been unjustly sent into banishment;  
 and after being tossed about, and  
 exposed to the various  
 hardships of life,  
 the Earth kindly received him into  
 her bosom.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The Christen Rule or State of all the Worlde from the highest to the lowest: and how every Man shulde lyve to please God in his Callynge, 1547.—2. The Christen State of Matrimonye, wherein Husbands and Wyfes maye lerne to keepe House together with Love, 1547.—3. A Christen Exhortation to customable Swearers. What a ryght and lawfull Othe is: when, and before whom it oughte to be, 1547.—4. The Maner of sayenge Grace, or gyvyng Thankes to God, after the Doctrine of Holy Scripture, 1547.—5. The old Fayth: an evident Probacion out of the Holy Scripture, that Christen Fayth (which is the ryghte, true, olde, and undoubted Fayth) hath endured sins the beginyng of the Worlde, 1547.—6. A faythful and true Prognostication upon the year M.CCCC.XLIX. and perpetually after to the Worlde's Ende, gathered out of the Prophecies and Scriptures of God, by the Experience and Practice of hys Workes, very comfortable for all Christen Hertes.—7. A Spiritual Almanacke, wherein every Christen Man and Woman may see what they oughte daylye to do, or leave undone.—8. A Confutation of John Standish.—9. A Discourse on the Holy Sacraments.—10. A Concordance to the New Testament.—11. A Christian Catechism.—12. Several Translations from Bullinger, Luther, and others.—The version of the Psalms in the Book of Common Prayer, is taken from Coverdale's Bible.\*

**WILLIAM TURNER, M. D.**—This distinguished person was born at Morpeth in Northumberland, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he became famous for his knowledge in philosophy, physic, and divinity. He was a most learned and pious nonconformist, an avowed enemy to all the abominations of popery, and a most zealous promoter of the reformation. Beholding the deplorable ignorance of the people, and the great scarcity of useful preachers in every part of the kingdom, he renounced all thoughts of preferment, though he had the most flattering prospects, and became a zealous and constant preacher, in cities, towns, and villages, through most parts of the country. As he could not with a good conscience, submit to the ceremonies required in the ordination of ministers, he generously employed his talents in preaching the gospel *without* ordination. Having continued in these ministerial

\* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 394. note.

labours for some time, he at length settled at Oxford, where he enjoyed the advantage of learned men and books. There he continued preaching, not without hopes of gaining learned men to espouse the reformation, till he was cast into prison; and after close confinement for a considerable time, he was banished from the country. Such was the effect of bigotry and popish cruelty!

During his banishment, he travelled into Italy; and at Ferrara, being much admired for his great learning, he was created doctor of physic. Towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII. he lived at Cologne and other places in Germany. In the reign of Edward VI. he returned home, when he was greatly esteemed among our pious and learned reformers. Upon his return he was made prebendary of York, canon of Windsor, and dean of Wells, and incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford. Having obtained a license to preach, he renewed his former ministerial exercises; and, at the same time, practised physic among the nobility and gentry, and was chosen both chaplain and physician to the Duke of Somerset, lord protector. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the commencement of her bloody persecution, he fled from the storm, and retired first into Germany, then to Rome, and afterwards settled, with others of his fellow exiles, at Basil in Switzerland.† Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he returned a second time to his native country, when he was restored to his deanery, being highly esteemed both as a physician and divine, but especially on account of his numerous learned writings.‡

He was author of a work, entitled "A New Herbal," the first original work on the subject in the English language, and afterwards the foundation of Gerard's celebrated work on the same subject.§ It is said, the first publisher of an original Herbal in our tongue, Dr. William Turner, informs us, that botany, or the knowledge of simpling, was fallen into such neglect, that in King Henry's reign, he found not a physician in the university of Cambridge, who could inform him of the Greek, Latin, or English names of any plants he produced, as he gathered them to compile

\* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 136.

† Bishop Ridley, during his imprisonment, writing to Grindal, then an exile at Frankfort, made the most affectionate and honourable mention of Turner, Lever, Sampson, and other worthy exiles.—*Fox's Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 374.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 120, 121.

§ Strype's Cranmer, p. 274.

his first Latin skeleton of his Herbal. The learned Dr. John Kaius, enumerating the celebrated men who have written on this subject, asks, "And who shall forget the most worthy Dr. William Turner? whose learned acts I leave to the witty commendations, and immortal praise, of Conradus Gesnerus. Yet his book of herbs will always grow green, and never wither, as long as Dioscorides is had in mind among us mortal wits."\* He wrote with great zeal and strength of argument against the superstitions and errors of popery. It is observed, that in his book entitled "The Hunting of the Romish Fox," he has "unanswerably proved, that those who labour to advance and bring in the canon law, labour to advance and usher in the pope."†

September 10, 1559, Dr. Turner preached the sermon at Paul's cross; and, as he was a person universally beloved, and a most popular preacher, his audience, consisting of courtiers, citizens, and people from the country, was uncommonly large.‡ He was a decided nonconformist, and refused subscription and the habits. Mr. Strype observes, that in the year 1565, he enjoined a common adulterer to do open penance in the *priest's square cap*, and thus discovered his contempt of the clerical garments. For this flagrant crime, Archbishop Parker complained of him to Secretary Cecil. And, as our historian adds, he used to call the bishops, *white coates and tippet gentlemen*. He also contemned their office, by asking, "Who gave them more authority over me, than I over them, either to forbid me preaching, or to deprive me, unless they have received it from their holy father the pope?" This was certainly bold language for those times of severity. But without attempting to vindicate the claim here expressed, or inquiring from whom their authority was derived, their lordships ventured to exercise this authority upon Dr. Turner, and caused him, with many of his brethren, to feel the weight of their outstretched arms. For upon his refusal to wear the surplice, and use the Book of Common Prayer, he was sequestered and deprived, with nearly forty other London ministers.§

It has been generally, but improperly supposed, says Mr. Middleton, that Mr. Cartwright was the first noted dissenter from the established church. Dr. Turner, dean of Wells,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 2, 6. Edit. 1778.

† Huntley's Prelates, p. 39.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 136.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 151.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 50.

says he, about the year 1563, seems to have been the first, or one of the first, after the church of England was settled, who opposed both its episcopacy and ceremonies, and made some disturbance about them. This Turner, adds the pious but mistaken author, was a very intemperate and indiscreet man, as appears from an anecdote recorded of him, wherein he manifested his rude treatment of a bishop, whom he had invited to dine with him.\*

That Dr. Turner was opposed to the episcopacy and ceremonies of the church, was never doubted; but that he was a disturber of the peace, was never proved. And whether he was a very intemperate and indiscreet man, will best appear from the anecdote itself, which was the following: the doctor having invited a bishop to dine with him, and having a very sagacious dog, was desirous to put a joke upon his lordship. Therefore, while they were at dinner, he called his dog, and told him that the bishop perspired very much. The dog then immediately flew upon his lordship, snatched off his cornered cap, and ran with it to his master.†

This celebrated divine having spent his life in active and vigorous endeavours to promote the reformation of the church, and the welfare of the state; and having suffered imprisonment and banishment from the hands of the papists, and deprivation from his fellow protestants, he died full of years, July 7, 1568. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Olave's church, Hart-street, London, where a monumental inscription was erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:‡

**IN MEMORY**

of that famous, learned and holy man,  
**WILLIAM TURNER**, Dean of Wells,  
 a most skilful Physician and Divine,  
 in which professions  
 he served the Church and the Commonwealth,  
 with the greatest diligence and success,  
 for thirty years.  
 Against the implacable enemies of both,  
 but especially against the Roman Antichrist,  
 he fought bravely  
 as a good Soldier of Jesus Christ.  
 When worn out with age and labours,  
 he laid down his body  
 in hope of a blessed resurrection.

\* Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. ii. p. 326. Edit. 1780.

† Strype's *Parker*, p. 152.

‡ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 130.—An imperfect account of this inscription is given in Stow's "Survey of London," b. ii. p. 38.

JANE TURNER erected this monument  
to the Memory  
of her beloved and pious husband.  
By the power of Christ  
they both overcame the world and the flesh,  
and now they triumph for ever.

Turner, an honour to the healing art,  
And in religion he was truly great;  
But envious death has snatched him from our eyes;  
We suffer loss, but Turner gains the prize.  
He died July 7, 1568.

The Oxford historian, with an evident design to blacken his memory, says, he was conceited of his own worth, hot-headed, a busy body, and much addicted to the opinions of Luther, always refusing the use of the ceremonies.\* Fuller denominates him a most excellent Latinist, Grecian, orator, and poet, and a most learned and zealous protestant.† Mr. Strype styles him an eminent preacher, and says, he was greatly befriended by Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecil.‡ He had a son called Peter, who became doctor of physick, a member of parliament in 1584, and a most zealous man in the cause of religion and his country. He died May 27, 1614, when his remains were interred in the chancel of the above church. Dr. William Turner was a celebrated writer, especially against the papists.

His Works.—1. The Hunting of the Romish Fox, which more than seven years hath been hid among the Bishops of England, after that the King's Highness had commanded him (Turner) to be driven out of the Realm, 1543.—2. Avium præcipuarum, quarum apud Plinum & Aristotelum mentio est, brevis & succincta historia, 1544.—3. The Rescuing of the Romish Fox; otherwise called the Examination of the Hunter, devised by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor and Defender of the Pope's Canon Law, and his ungodly Ceremonies, 1545.—4. The Hunting the Romish Wolf, 154.—5. A Dialogue, wherein is contained the Examination of the Masse, and of that kind of Priesthood which is ordained to say Masse, 1549.—6. A new Herbal, wherein are contained the names of Herbs in Greek, Latin, English, Dutch, French, and in the Apothecaries and Herbaries, with their properties, 1551.—7. A Preservative, or Triacle against the Poyson of Pelagius, 1551.—8. A new Book of Spiritual Physick for divers Diseases of the Nobilitie and Gentlemen of England, 1555.—9. The Hunting of the Fox and the Wolf, because they did make Havock of the Sheep of Jesus Christ, 155.—10. A Book of the Natures and Properties, as well of the Bathes of England, as of other Bathes in Germany and Italy, 1562.—11. A Treatise of the Bath at Barth in England, 1562.—12. Of the Nature of all Waters, 1562.—13. The

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 120.

† Worthies, part ii. p. 306.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 274.

Nature of Wines commonly used in England, with a Confutation of them that hold, that Rhenish and other small Wines ought not to be drunken, either of them that have the Stone, the Rume, or other Diseases, 1568.—14. The Nature and Virtue of Triacle, 1568.—15. The rare Treasure of English Baths, 1587.—16. Argumenta against the Popish Ceremonies.\*—He translated into English, "A Comparison between the Old Learning and the New," 1538.—And "The Palsgraves Catechism," 1572.

**ROBERT HAWKINS.**—This zealous puritan was beneficed in London, but endured many troubles for nonconformity. In the year 1566, conformity to the habits and ceremonies being enforced with great rigour, especially in London and its vicinity, and many of the nonconformable ministers being silenced, and their friends treated with great severity, they came at length to a determination to form themselves into a separate congregation; and they assembled together privately, in various places in the city, as they found opportunity. It is observed from Mr. Strype, that the refusers of the orders of the church, who by this time were commonly called puritans, were now grown into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanour, who indeed would not use the habits, nor subscribe to the ceremonies, as kneeling at the sacrament, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage; but held the communion of the church, and willingly and devoutly joined in the common prayer. There was another sort, who disliked the whole *constitution* of the church, charging it with many gross remainders of popery, and that it was still full of antichristian corruptions, and not to be tolerated. These separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting together not in churches, but in private houses, where they had ministers of their own. They rejected wholly the Book of Common Prayer, and used a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there. This book had been revised and allowed by Calvin and the rest of the Geneva divines. At these private assemblies, they had not only prayers and sermons, but the Lord's supper likewise sometimes administered. This gave great offence to the queen, who issued her letters to the ecclesiastical commissioners, to this effect: "That they should move these nonconformists by gentle means to conformity, or else for their first punishment to lose their

\* The author has seen a MS. copy of this work, but is not certain whether it was ever published.

freedom of the city, and afterwards to suffer what should follow.”\*

Mr. Hawkins was a leading person among these separatists, and an active and a zealous preacher. Several other ministers were members of the congregation. Having kept their assemblies for some time more privately, to elude the notice of the bishop's officers, they at length ventured to come forth more publicly; and June 19, 1567, they agreed to have a sermon and the Lord's supper at Plumbers-hall, which they hired for the day, as some one gave it out, under pretence of a wedding. Here the sheriffs of London discovered them, and broke up their meeting, when about one hundred were assembled together. Most of them were taken into custody, and sent to the Compter. These were the first puritans who accounted it unlawful to hold communion with the church of England, and who totally separated from it. They did not separate, however, till after their ministers were silenced; and they appear to have been the first who were cast into prison, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for not coming to their parish churches, and for holding conventicles. They deserved more humane treatment, especially when it is recollected, that they only imitated the worthy protestants a few years before, in the time of Queen Mary; who, to the great hazard of their lives, assembled in private places; and some of them were, indeed, the same persons. They were harassed and persecuted, while the papists continued unmolested.†

The day after their imprisonment in the Compter, Mr. Hawkins, and Messrs. William White, Thomas Bowland, John Smith, William Nixson, James Ireland, and Richard Morecraft, were brought before Bishop Grindal, Dean Goodman, Archdeacon Watts, the lord mayor, and other commissioners. The bishop charged them with absenting themselves from the parish churches, and with setting up separate assemblies for prayer, preaching, and administering the sacrament. He told them, that by these proceedings, they condemned the church of England, which was well reformed according to the word of God, and those martyrs who shed their blood for it.‡ To this charge, Mr. Hawkins replied in the name of the rest, as follows; and would have said more, but was interrupted.

Hawkins. We condemn them not. We only stand to the truth of God's word.

\* Biographia Britan. vol. iv. p. 2432. Edit. 1747.

† MS. Remarks, p. 213.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 23, 24.

Bishop. Have you not the gospel truly preached, and the sacraments duly ministered, and good order preserved; though we differ from other churches in indifferent ceremonies, which the prince has power to command for the sake of order? What say you, Smith, as you seem the *ancientest*?

Smith. Indeed, my lord, we thank God for reformation; and that is the thing we desire, according to God's word.

White. I beseech you, let me answer.

Bishop. Nay, White, hold your peace. You shall be heard anon.

Nixson. I beseech you, let me answer a word or two.

Bishop. Nixson, you are a busy fellow. I know your words. You are full of talk. I know from whence you came.

Hawkins. I would be glad to answer.

Bishop. Smith, you shall answer.

Smith. So long, indeed, as we might have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without the use of *idolatrous gear*, we never assembled in private houses. But when all our preachers, who could not subscribe to your apparel and your laws, were displaced; so that we could not hear any of them in the church for the space of seven or eight weeks, excepting father Coverdale, who at length durst not make known unto us where he preached; and then we were troubled in your courts from day to day, for not coming to our parish churches; we considered among ourselves what we should do. We remembered that there was a congregation of us in this city, in the days of Queen Mary; and a congregation at Geneva, which used a book and order of preaching, ministering the sacraments and discipline, most agreeable to the word of God. This book is allowed by the godly and learned Mr. Calvin, and the other preachers at Geneva, which book and order we now hold. And if you can, by the word of God, reprove this book, or any thing that we hold, we will yield to you, and do open penance at Paul's cross; but if not, we will, by the grace of God, stand to it.

Bishop. This is no answer.

Smith. Would you have me go back from better to worse? I would as soon go to *mass* as to some churches, and particularly to my own parish church; for the minister is a very *papist*.

Dean. He counteth the service and reformation in the days of King Edward, as evil as the *mass*.

**Bishop.** Because he knoweth one that is evil, he findeth fault with all. You may go to other places.

**White.** If it were tried, there would be found a great company of papists in this city, whom you allow to be ministers, and thrust out the godly.

**Bishop.** Can you accuse any of them of false doctrine?

**Nixson.** Yes, I can accuse one of false doctrine, who is even now in this house. Let him come forth, and answer to the doctrine which he preached upon John x.\*

**Dean.** You would take away the authority of the prince, and the liberty of christians.

**Bishop.** Yes, and you suffer justly.

**Hawkins.** It does not belong to the prince, nor to the liberty of christians, to use and defend that which appertaineth to papistry and idolatry, as appears from Deuteronomy vii. and other parts of scripture.

**Dean.** When do you hear us maintain such things in our preaching?

**Hawkins.** Though you do not defend them in your preaching, you do it by your deeds, and your laws. You preach Christ to be a prophet and priest, but not to be a king; nor will you suffer him to reign in his church *alone*, by the sceptre of his word; but the *pope's canon law*, and the *will of the prince*, must be preferred before the word and ordinance of God.

**Dean.** You speak irreverently of the prince, before the magistrates. You were not required to speak, and therefore might hold your peace.

**Hawkins.** You will suffer us to make our defence, seeing you persecute us.

**Bishop.** What is so preferred?

**Nixson.** Your laws, your copes, and your surplices; because you will suffer none to preach, except they wear them, and subscribe.

**Bishop.** No! what say you of Sampson and Lever, and others? Do not they preach?

**White.** Though they preach, you have deprived and forbidden them; and though you suffer them, the law stands in force against them. But for what cause you will not suffer others, whom you cannot reprove by the word of God, I know not.

\* This was one Bedall, then present, who immediately held down his head, but said nothing. The bishop and other commissioners, at the same time, looked upon one another, as if they knew not what to do, but proceeded no farther.—*Parts of a Register*, p. 26.

**Bishop.** They will not preach among you.

**White.** Your doings are the cause.

**Hawkins.** And they will not join with you. One of them told me, "he had rather be torn in a hundred pieces, than communicate with you." We neither hold nor allow any thing that is not contained in the word of God. But if you think we do not hold the truth, shew unto us, and we will renounce it.

**Smith.** And if you cannot, we pray you, let us not be thus used.

**Dean.** You are not obedient to the authority of the prince.

**White.** Yes, we are. For we resist not, but suffer whatsoever authority is pleased to lay upon us.

**Bishop.** Thieves likewise suffer, when the laws are laid upon them.

**White.** What a comparison is this! They suffer for evil doing, and you punish us for serving God according to his word.

**Nixson.** The prince, as well as ourselves, must be ruled by the word of God: as we read, 1 Kings xii., that the king should teach only the word of God.

**Bishop.** What! should the king teach the word of God? Lie not.

**Nixson.** It means that both king and people should obey the word of God.

**Bishop.** It is indeed true, that princes must obey the word of God only. But obedience consisteth of three points.—1. That which God commandeth may not be left undone.—2. That which God forbiddeth may not be done.—3. That which God hath neither commanded nor forbidden, and consisteth in things *indifferent*: such things princes have authority to appoint and command.

**Prisoners.** Prove that. Where find you that?

**Bishop.** I have talked with many persons, and yet I never saw any behave themselves so irreverently before magistrates.

**White.** I beseech you, let me speak a word or two.

**Bishop.** White, stay a little. You shall speak anon.

**Hawkins.** Kings have their rule and commandment, Deut. xvii., not to decline from the word of God, to the right hand or the left, notwithstanding your distinction.

**Smith.** How can you prove those things to be *indifferent*, which are *abominable*.

**Bishop.** You mean our caps and tippets, which, you say, came from Rome.

Ireland. They belong to the papists, therefore throw them to them.

Watts. You would have us use nothing that the papists used. Then should we use no churches, seeing the papists used them.

Hawkins. Churches are necessary to keep our bodies from the rain; but *cofes* and *surplices* are superstitious and idolatrous.

White. Christ did cast the buyers and sellers, and their wares, out of the temple, yet was not the temple overthrown.

Bishop. Things not forbidden of God, may be used for the sake of order and obedience. This is according to the judgment of the learned Bullinger. We, therefore, desire you to be conformable.

Smith. What if I can shew you Bullinger against Bullinger, in this thing?

Bishop. I think you cannot, Smith.

Smith. Yes, that I can.

Bishop. Though we differ from other reformed churches, in rites and ceremonies, we agree with them in the substance of doctrine.

Hawkins. Yes, but we should follow the truth in all things. Christ saith, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe *all things whatsoever I have commanded you.*" But you have brought the gospel and its ordinances into bondage to the ceremonies of antichrist; and you defend idolatry and papistry. You have mingled your own inventions with every ordinance of Christ. How do you address godfathers and godmothers in baptism?

Watts. Oh! a wise reason.

Bishop. How say you of the church at Geneva? They communicate with wafer cakes, which you are so much against.

Nixson. Yes, but they do not compel any to receive it so and in no other way.

Bishop. Yes, in their parish churches.

White. The English congregation, while residing there, did minister the sacrament with loaf bread.

Bishop. Because they were of another language.

White. It is good to follow the best example. But we must follow them only as they follow Christ.

Dean. All the learned men in Europe are against you.

Watts. You will believe no man.

Smith. Yes, we reverence the learned at Geneva, and

in all other places. Yet we build not our faith and religion upon them.

Bishop. Will you be judged by the learned at Geneva? They are against you.

Hawkins. We will be judged by the word of God, which shall judge us all at the last day, and is, therefore, sufficient to judge us *now*. But how can they be against us, seeing they know not of our doings?

Bishop. Here is a letter from Geneva; and they are against you and your doings, in going from us. They tremble at your cause.

Hawkins. The place is against you. For they tremble at your case, and the case of the prince; because, by your severities, you drive us to a separation against our wills.

Bishop. Then you enter into judgment against us.

Hawkins. No; we judge not. But we know the letter well enough; for we have it in our houses. It maketh nothing against us.

Bishop. We grant it doth not. Yet they account the apparel, in its own nature, indifferent, and not impious and wicked; and, therefore, counsel preachers not to give up their functions, or leave their flocks, for these things.

Hawkins. But it is said, in the same letter, "that ministers should give up their ministry, rather than be compelled to subscribe unto the allowance of such things."

Nixson. Let us answer to your first question.

Bishop. Say on, Nixson.

Nixson. We do not refuse you for preaching the word of God; but because you have tied the ceremonies of anti-christ to your ministry, and set them before it, seeing no man may preach or minister the sacraments without them. Before you used this compulsion, all was quiet.

Bishop. So you are against things indifferent, which for the sake of order and obedience may be borne with.

Mayor. Well, good people, I wish you would wisely consider these things, and be obedient to the queen's good laws; that you may live quietly, and have liberty. I am sorry that you are troubled; but I am an officer under my prince, and therefore blame not me. The queen hath not established these garments and other things, for the sake of any holiness in them, only for civil order and comeliness; and because she would have ministers known from other men, as aldermen are known by their tippets, judges by their red gowns, and noblemen's servants by their liveries. Therefore, you will do well to take heed and obey.

Hawkins. Philip Melancthon, upon Romans xiv. hath these words: "When the opinion of *holiness*, or *merit*, or *necessity*, is put to things indifferent, they darken the light of the gospel, and ought always to be taken away."

Bishop. These things are not commanded as *necessary* in the church.

Hawkins. You have made them necessary, and that many a poor man doth feel.

Nixson. As you say, my lord, that the alderman is known by his tippet, even as by this apparel were the mass-priests known from other men.

Dean. What a great matter you make of it!

Hawkins. The apostle Paul would not be like the false apostles in any such things; therefore the apostle is against you.

Bishop. There were good men and good martyrs, who, in the days of King Edward, did wear these things. Do you condemn them?

Nixson. We condemn them not. We would go forward to perfection. The best of them who maintained the habits, did recant at their death: as did Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and Dr. Taylor. Ridley did acknowledge his fault to Hooper, and when they would have put the apparel upon him, he said it was *abominable* and too fond for a vice in a play.\*

Bishop. Do you find that in the Book of Martyrs?

Hawkins. It may be shewed from the book of the "Monuments of the Church," that many who were burned in the time of Queen Mary, died for standing against popery, as we do now.

Bishop. I have said mass. I am sorry for it.

Ireland. But you go still like one of the mass-priests.

Bishop. You saw me wear a cope or surplice in St. Paul's. I had rather minister without them, only for the sake of order and obedience to my prince.

Nixson. Your garments, as they are now used, are accursed.

Bishop. Where do you find them forbidden in scripture?

Nixson. Where is the mass forbidden in the scriptures?

Bishop. The mass is forbidden in scripture thus:—It was thought meritorious. It took away free justification. It

\* What is here observed relative to the worthy reformers, is abundantly confirmed by the concurrent testimony of our historians. *Fox's Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 143, 166, 172, 427.—*Heylin's Hist. of Refor.* part i. p. 93.—*Prince's Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 217.

was made an idol: and idolatry is forbidden in the scriptures.

Hawkins. By the same argument, I will prove your garments to be forbidden in the scriptures. In Psalm cxxxviii. it is said, that "God hath magnified his word above all his name." And 2 Cor. x. it is said, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds; casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringeth into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." But you have brought the word of God into captivity to the *pope's garments* and his *canon law*. Therefore they are forbidden in the scriptures. "And," says Christ, "that which is highly esteemed amongst men, is abomination in the sight of God." Luke xvi.

White. Reprove what we hold, and prove what you would have us to observe, by the scriptures, and we will yield to you. But if you cannot do this, why do you persecute us.

Bishop. You are not obedient to the prince.

Dean. Doth not St. Peter say, "Be obedient unto every ordinance of man?"

White. Yes, so far as their ordinances are according to the will of God.

Nixson. It hath always been the practice of popish bishops, when they could not defend their cause by scripture, to make the mayor and aldermen their servants and butchers, to execute punishment. But you, my lord, seeing you have heard and seen our cause, will take good advertisement concerning the same.

Mayor. How irreverently you speak before my lords and us, in making such a comparison!

Bishop. Have we not a godly prince? Or, is she evil?

White. What the answer to that question is, the fruits do shew.

Bowland. Yes, the servants of God are persecuted under her.

Bishop. Mark this, my lord.

Hawkins. The prophet may answer this question. "Have all the workers of iniquity no knowledge, who eat up my people as they eat bread?"

Dean. Do we hold any heresy? Do we deny any article of faith? Do we maintain purgatory or pilgrimage? No;

we hold the reformation that was promoted in the days of King Edward.

White. You build much upon the time of King Edward. And though it was the best time of reformation, all was confined to one prescript order of service, patched together out of the popish mattins, even-song, and mass-book; and no dicipline, according to the word of God, might be brought into the church.

Nixson. Yet they never made a law, that none should preach, nor administer the sacraments, without the garments, as you have done.

Hawkins. It can never be proved, that the ceremonies of antichrist, and the pope's canon law, are clean to christians. For the apostle saith, there is no fellowship between Christ and Belial, and light and darkness.

Dean. All the learned are against you.

White. I delivered a book to Justice Harris, containing the order which we hold. Reprove the same by the word of God, and we will renounce it altogether.

Bishop. We cannot reprove it. But to gather yourselves together disorderly, and to trouble the quiet of the realm, against the will of the prince, we like not.

White. We hold nothing that is not warranted by the word of God.

Hawkins. That which we do, we do in obedience to the command of God. "Now, I beseech you, brethren, *mark* them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and *avoid* them."

Dean. Yes; but what you hold is disorderly, and against the authority of the prince.

Hawkins. That which is according to the word of God is truth, whoever holds it; unless you make the truth of God subject to the authority of the prince. It were better for us never to have been born, than to suffer the word of God to be defaced by the pleasure of princes.

Bishop. All the learned are against you. Will you be tried by them?

White. We will be tried by the word of God, by which we shall all be judged at the last day.

Dean. But who will you have to be judge of the word of God?

Hawkins. That was the cavil of the papists, in the time of Queen Mary. I have myself heard them say, when the truth was defended by the word of God, "Who shall judge

of the word of God? The catholic church must be judge."

**White.** We will be tried by the best reformed churches. The church of Scotland hath the word truly preached, the sacraments truly ministered, and discipline according to the word of God: these are the marks by which a true church is known.

**Dean.** We have a gracious prince.

**Prisoners.** May God preserve her majesty and council.

**White.** That which God commandeth, ought to be done; and that which God forbiddeth, ought not to be done.

**Bishop.** Yes; and so say I.

**White.** It is manifest that what God comandeth to be done, is left undone; and what God forbiddeth, is done by authority. God says, "Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do: but the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God." But the law of the prince saith, "Thou shalt not labour six days, but shalt keep the popish holy-days."—Christ commandeth discipline to be used in his church, Matt. xviii., and it was practised by the apostles: but in the church of England, that is set aside, and none used but the popish discipline. And Christ saith, "If any man shall add unto those things which he has revealed, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in his book: and if any man shall take away from the words of his book, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city." Rev. xxii. How will you avoid this?

**Bishop.** Why, is it not well to hear a good sermon or two on the holy-days?

**White.** We are not against that. But what shall we do when the sermons are ended? If we do any work, we are commanded to appear in your courts.

**Bishop.** You may be well employed in serving God.

**White.** So we are, when we are at our work, as God commandeth.

**Dean.** Then you would have no sermons, nor prayers, all the week.

**White.** I think he is no christian who does not pray and serve God every day in the week.

**Nixson.** You can suffer bear-baiting, bowling, and other games, both on the sabbath and your holy-days, without any trouble for it.

**Dean.** Then you would have no holy-days, because the papists have used them?

White. We ought to do what God commandeth.

Dean. Then you must not use the Lord's prayer, because the papists used it; and many other prayers, because the papists used them. You would have nothing but the word of God. Are all the psalms which you sing the word of God?

White. Is every word delivered in a good sermon the word of God?

Dean. No.

White. But every word and thing *agreeing* with the word of God, is as the word of God.

Bishop. There hath been no heretic, but he hath challenged the word of God to defend himself.

White. What is that to us? If you know any heresy that we hold, charge us with it.

Bishop. Holy-days may be well used.

Hawkins. Bishop Hooper, in his Commentary upon the Commandments, saith, "that holy-days are the leaven of antichrist."\*

In the conclusion, the prisoners not yielding to the conformity required, were sent to Bridewell, where they, with their brethren, and several women, were kept in confinement two years. During this period, the famous Mr. Thomas Lever had a conference with them, and, by their desire, wrote them a letter to, comfort and encourage them under their present trials, giving his opinion of those things for which they suffered. In this letter, dated December 5, 1568, he declares, that by the grace of God, he was determined never to wear the *square cap* and *surplice*, nor kneel at the communion, because it was a symbolizing with popery. Yet he would not condemn those who should observe these things.† The celebrated Mr. John Knox wrote, also, a most affectionate and faithful letter to certain prisoners confined for nonconformity; urging them to hear the ministers who preached sound doctrine, though they conformed to the habits and ceremonies of the church. This letter, written about the same time, was most probably addressed to the same persons ‡

The patience and constancy of Mr. Hawkins and the rest of the prisoners, being at length sufficiently tried, an order at the motion of Bishop Grindal, was sent from the lords of the council to release them. Therefore, in the month of April, 1569, after admonition to behave themselves better

\* Parte of a Register, p. 24—37.

† MS. Register, p. 18, 19.

‡ Ibid. p. 20, 21.

in future, *twenty-four men*, and *seven women*, were discharged.\* Bishop Maddox insinuates that these persons were guilty of *disloyalty*; and adds, "that it was no wonder they were not more respectful to the queen, since their whole

\* The names of the men were, Robert Hawkins, John Smith, John Roper, James Ireland, William Nixon, Walter Hinkesman, Thomas Bowland, George Waddy, William Turner, John Nash, James Adderton, Thomas Lidford, Richard Langton, Alexander Lacy, John Leonard, Robert Tod, Roger Hawksworth, Robert Sparrow, Richard King, Christopher Coleman, John Benson, John Bolton, Robert Gates, and William White.† Several of them had been beneficed ministers in the church, the rest were religious and worthy laymen, but all sufferers in the same cause. Among the latter was Mr. William White, a substantial citizen of London, whom Fuller, by mistake, calls a minister. He was oftentimes fined and tossed from one prison to another, contrary to law and justice, only for not going to his own parish church. Having been examined before the Bishop of London, he wrote his lordship a most bold and excellent letter, now before me, dated December 19, 1569; in the conclusion of which, he subscribes himself, "Yours in the Lord to command, *William White*, who joineth with you in every speck of truth, but utterly detesteth whole antichrist, head, body, and tail, never to join with you, or any, in the least joint thereof; nor in any ordinance of man, contrary to the word of God."‡ An abstract of this letter is preserved by Mr. Neal.§

January 18, 1573, Mr. White appeared before the commissioners, who treated him neither as men, nor as christians. He was examined in the presence of the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, the Master of the Requests, the Dean of Westminster, the Sheriff of London, the Clerk of the Peace, and Mr. Gerard. Some others having been dispatched, Mr. White was brought forth, whom his lordship accosted as follows:—

L. C. J. Who is this?

White. White, if it please your honour.

L. C. J. White! as black as the devil.

White. Not so, my lord, one of God's children.

L. C. J. By whom were you released?

White. By the commissioners, I suppose.

L. C. J. That is well, indeed, if we shall commit, and others set at liberty!

White. They did no more than they might do.

L. C. J. By which of the commissioners were you delivered?

White. I know not. There were the hands of four or five commissioners set to the warrant.

L. C. J. But who were they?

White. I suppose Sir Walter ——— and my Lord Mayor were two of them.

Master of Requests. How were you delivered?

White. Upon sureties.

M. Requests. How long is it since you were delivered?

White. Since the birth-day of our Lord.

L. C. J. How often, during this time, have you been at your parish church?

White. I could not go to any church, being myself, with sureties, bound to be a true prisoner in my own house.

L. C. J. Oh! you were glad of that.

White. Not so, my lord; for if I had been at liberty, I would have frequented the place of public preaching and prayer.

† Strype's Grindal, p. 136.

‡ MS. Register, p. 22—25.

§ Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 290.

“scheme of church government appears to be calculated for  
“the overthrow of monarchy.”\* We are at a loss to say  
whether this calumny discovers greater ignorance or bigotry.  
The twofold charge is asserted without the least shadow of

Gerard. When were you bound to appear?

White. At any time, I suppose, when I should be called.

Gerard. You are now called: you must then answer.

White. I acknowledge it, and am here to answer.

L. C. J. Why will you not come to your parish church?

White. My lord, I did use to frequent my parish church before my troubles, and procured several godly men to preach there, as well as other places of preaching and prayer; and since my troubles, I have not frequented any private assemblies, but, as I have had liberty, have gone to my parish church. Therefore, they who have presented me, have done it out of malice; for if any of the things can be proved against me, or that I hold all things common, your lordship may dismiss me from hence to the gallows.

Gerard. You have not usually frequented your own church.

White. I allow I have more used other places, where I was better edified.

Gerard. Then your presentation is in part true.

White. Not so, if it please you; for I am presented for not coming at all to my parish church.

Gerard. Will you then come to prayers when there is no sermon?

White. I crave the liberty of a subject. But if I do not publicly frequent both preaching, prayer, and the sacraments, deal with me accordingly.

Master of the Rolls. You must answer yes or no.

White. You know my mind, how that I would avoid those things which are a grief to me, an offence to others, and disturb the quiet state of the church.

Dean. You disobey the queen's laws.

White. Not so, if it please you.

Dean. What fault do you find in the common prayer?

White. Let them answer to whom it appertains; for being in prison almost a whole year about these matters, I was indicted upon a statute relating to that book; and before I came to liberty, almost outlawed, as your worship Mr. Gerard knoweth.

M. Requests. What scripture have you to ground your conscience upon against these garments?

White. The whole scriptures are for destroying idolatry, and every thing belonging unto it.

M. Requests. These things never served to idolatry.

White. Shough! they are the same as those which heretofore were used for that purpose.

M. Requests. Where are they forbidden in scripture?

White. In Deuteronomy and other places, the Israelites are commanded, not only to destroy the altars, groves, and images, with all thereto belonging, but also to abolish the very names. And God by Isaiah commandeth us not to pollute ourselves with the garments of the image, but to cast them away as a *menstruous clout*.

M. Rolls. These are no part of idolatry, but are commanded by the prince for civil order; and if you will not be ordered you shew yourself disobedient to the laws.

White. I would not willingly disobey any law, only I would avoid those things which are not warranted by the word of God.

\* Maddox's Vindication, p. 210.

evidence, excepting what might arise in his lordship's episcopal imagination. Mr. Hawkins and several others had been beneficed ministers in London, but were now silenced and persecuted for nonconformity. The rest were

**M. Requests.** You disobey the queen's laws; for these things are commanded by act of parliament.

**Dean.** Nay, you disobey God; for God commandeth you to obey your prince. Therefore in disobeying her in these things, you disobey God.

**White.** I do not avoid those things of contempt, but of conscience. In all other things I am an obedient subject.

**L. C. J.** The queen's majesty was overseen not to make thee of her council, to make laws and orders for religion.

**White.** Not so, my lord. I am to obey laws warranted by God's word.

**L. C. J.** Do the queen's laws command any thing against God's word?

**White.** I do not say so, my lord.

**L. C. J.** Yes, marry, you do; and there I will hold you.

**White.** Only God and his laws are absolutely perfect. All men and their laws may err.

**L. C. J.** This is one of Shaw's darlings. I tell thee what, I will not say any thing of affection, for I know thee not, saving by this occasion; thou art the wickedest, and most contemptuous person, that has come before me, since I sat in this commission.

**White.** Not so, my Lord; my conscience doth witness otherwise.

**M. Requests.** What if the queen should command to wear a grey frize gown, would you then come to church?

**White.** That were more tolerable, than that God's ministers should wear the habit of his enemies.

**L. C. J.** How if she should command them to wear a fool's coat and a cock's comb?

**White.** That were unseemly, my lord, for God's ministers.

**Dean.** You will not be obedient to the queen's commands.

**White.** I am, and will be, obedient.

**M. Requests.** Yes, you say so. But how are you obedient, when you will not do what she commandeth?

**White.** I would only avoid those things that have no warrant in the word of God, that are neither decent nor edifying, but flatly the contrary, and condemned by the foreign reformed churches.

**M. Requests.** Do the church and pews edify? And because the papists used these, will you, therefore, cast them away?

**White.** The church and pews, and such things, are both necessary and profitable.

**Gerard.** White, you were released, thinking you would be conformable, but you are worse than ever.

**White.** Not so, if it please you.

**L. C. J.** He would have no laws.

**White.** If there were no laws, I would live like a christian, and do no wrong, though I received wrong.

**L. C. J.** Thou art a rebel.

**White.** Not so, my lord; a true subject.

**L. C. J.** Yes, I swear by God, thou art a very rebel; for thou wouldst draw thy sword, and lift up thy hand against thy prince, if time served.

**White.** My lord, I thank God, my heart standeth right towards God and my prince; and God will not condemn, though your honour hath so judged.

**L. C. J.** Take him away.

worthy, religious persons, but great sufferers in the same cause. These proceedings against zealous protestants, of pious and sober lives, excited the compassion of all unprejudiced beholders, and brought many over to their interests. It was, indeed, a great grief to the prelates, to see persons

White. I would speak a word, which I am sure will offend, and yet I must speak it. I heard the name of God taken in vain. If I had done it, it had been a greater offence than that which I stand here for.

Gerard. White, White, you do not behave yourself well.

White. I pray your worship, shew me wherein, and I will beg your pardon and amend it.

L. C. J. I may swear in a matter of charity.

White. There is no such occasion now.

Gerard. White, you do much misuse yourself.

White. If I do, I am sorry for it.

M. Requests. There is none here but pitieth thee.

White. If it be so, I praise God for it. But because it is said, that at my last being before you, I denied the supremacy of my prince, I desire your honours and worships, with all that be present, to bear witness, that I acknowledge her majesty the chief governor, next under Christ, over all persons and causes within her dominions, and to this I will subscribe. I acknowledge the Book of Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer, as far as they agree with the word of God. I acknowledge the substance of the doctrine and sacraments of the church to be sound and sincere; and so I do of rites and orders, as far as they agree with the word of God.

Dean. Are not all things in the Articles and the Book of Common Prayer, taken out of the word of God?

White. Though they were; yet being done by man, I may not give them the same warrant as the writings of the Holy Ghost.

Dean. You will not then allow of sermons.

White. We are commanded to search the scriptures, and to try the spirits; therefore, we must allow of sermons as they agree with the scriptures.

L. C. J. Take him away.

White. I would to the Lord Jesus, that my two years' imprisonment might be a means of having these matters fairly decided by the word of God, and the judgment of other reformed churches.

L. C. J. You shall be committed, I warrant you.

White. Pray, my lord, let me have justice. I am unjustly prosecuted. I desire a copy of my presentment.

L. C. J. You shall have your head from your shoulders. Have him to the Gatehouse.

White. I pray you to commit me to some prison in London, that I may be near my house.

L. C. J. No, sir, you shall go thither.

White. I have paid fines and fees in other prisons: send me not where I must pay them again.

L. C. J. Yes, marry shall you. That is your glory.

M. Requests. It will cost you *twenty pounds*, I warrant you, before you come out.

White. God's will be done.

The good man was then carried to the Gatehouse; but how long he remained in a state of confinement, we are not able to learn. These severe proceedings, instead of crushing, greatly promoted the cause of puritanism. The sword of persecution was always found a bad argument to convince men of understanding and conscience.—*MS. Register*, p. 176—178.

going off from the first establishment of the protestant religion, concluding the service book to be unlawful, and the ecclesiastical state antichristian; and labouring to set up another kind of church government and discipline. But who drove them to these extremities? Why were not a few amendments made in the liturgy, by which conscientious persons might have been made easy; or, even liberty given them to worship God in their own way? How far these proceedings were justifiable by the laws of God, or consistent with that universal rule of conduct given by Jesus Christ, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them*, is left with the impartial reader to determine.

**ANDREW KINGSMILL, LL. B.**—This excellent person was born at Sidmanton in Hampshire, in the year 1538, educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, and elected fellow of All Souls college in the same university, in 1558. He studied the civil law, in the knowledge of which he made considerable proficiency. But while he was thus employed, he did not forget to seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness. He discovered the warmest desires for a knowledge of the mysteries of the gospel, and for the attainment of which, he paid the closest application. He would receive nothing for truth, till he found the testimony of scripture for its support. By a constant and close attention to the word of God, its sacred pages became familiar to him; and, indeed, he so addicted himself to search and recite the holy scriptures, that he could readily repeat by heart, and in the Greek language, the whole of the epistles to the Romans and Galatians, the first epistle of John, and many other parts of the sacred volume.\*

Mr. Kingsmill did not so much esteem the preferment and profit, to which he might easily have attained by the profession of the law, as the comfortable assurance and blessed hope of eternal life, and to be useful in preaching the gospel to his fellow creatures. He, therefore, relinquished the law, entered the sacred function, and became an admired preacher in the university of Oxford. For some time after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, there were only three preachers in this university, Dr. Humphrey, Dr. Sampson, and Mr. Kingsmill, all puritans. But upon

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 123.

the rigorous imposition of conformity; Dr. Sampson being already deprived of his deanery, Mr. Kingsmill withdrew from the storm. He was averse to all severity in the imposition of habits and ceremonies; and being fixed in his nonconformity, he wrote a long letter to Archbishop Parker, against urging a conformity to the papists in habits, ceremonies, and other things equally superstitious.\*

Upon Mr. Kingsmill's departure from the kingdom, he resolved to take up his abode among the best reformed churches, both for doctrine and discipline, that he could meet with in a foreign land. During the first three years, he settled at Geneva, where he was highly esteemed by persons eminent for learning and piety. Afterwards, he removed to Lausanne, where he died in the month of September, 1569, aged thirty-one years. Though he was a zealous puritan, and an avowed nonconformist, seeing he was a man of such great worth, and universally beloved; Wood found himself obliged to give him an excellent character. Accordingly, he says he was too good for this world, and left behind him a most excellent pattern of piety, devotion, and every other amiable virtue.†

His WORKS.—1. A View of Man's Estate, wherein the great Mercy of God in Man's free Justification is shewed, 1574.—2. An excellent and comfortable Treatise for all such as are in any manner of way either troubled in Mind or afflicted in Body, 1578.—3. Godly Advice touching Marriage, 1580.—4. A godly and learned Exhortation to bear patiently all Afflictions of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.—5. A Conference between a godly learned Christian and an afflicted Conscience, concerning a Conflict had with Satan.—7. A Sermon on John iii. 16.

CHRISTOPHER COLEMAN was a zealous puritan, and one of the preachers to the congregation of separatists in London. In the year 1567, he was apprehended, with the rest of his brethren, at Plumbers-hall, and cast into prison; where he remained a long time. This heavy sentence was inflicted upon him, for separating from the established church, and holding private meetings for divine worship, when he could not in conscience conform to the church of England.‡ Having at length obtained his release, he wrote a letter, in the year 1569, to Secretary Cecil, earnestly urging him to employ his interest to promote a further

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 126.—*Strype's Parker*, p. 157.

† *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 126.

‡ See Art. Robert Hawkins.

reformation of the church. He is denominated from this letter a man of good intentions, but of little learning.\* Mr. Coleman and his brethren, Messrs. Benson, Button, and Hallingham, are said to have been more ardently zealous in the cause of the reformation than any others; and it is observed, that they condemned the discipline of the church, the calling of the bishops, and the public liturgy, as savouring too much of the church of Rome; that they would allow of nothing in the public worship of God, besides what was expressly laid down in the holy scriptures; and that though the queen had commanded them to be *laid by the heels*, it is incredible how the number of their followers increased in all parts of the kingdom.†

WILLIAM AXTON was a truly pious man, a steady non-conformist, and a learned divine. He was some years rector of Moreton Corbet in Shropshire;‡ where Sir Robert Corbet, who was his great and worthy friend, protected him for some time from the severities of the prelates.§ Though under the wing of so excellent a patron, he found protection only for a season, and was brought into trouble for nonconformity. About the year 1570, he was cited before Dr. Bentham, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, when he underwent several examinations for refusing the *apparel*, the *cross* in baptism, and *kneeling* at the sacrament. Upon his appearance, he debated these points with the bishop and his officers, with great freedom and courage. These examinations, now before me, though at considerable length, are here presented to the curious reader. Mr. Axton being brought before his ecclesiastical judges, the bishop thus addressed him:

Bishop. Though we allow you, Mr. Axton, to assign your reasons, you shall not be unanswered. Therefore set forth your reasons, and we will consider them.

Axton. If there be any odds in the disputation, it is on your side. For you are many, and I am but one, and have no equal judge or moderator; but I am content to set down my reasons, and leave them to God and your own con-

\* Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 568—570.

† Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 257, 258.

‡ Mr. Neal, by mistake, says Leicestershire.—*Hist. of Puritans*, vol. i. p. 228.

§ Sir Robert was a constant friend to the persecuted nonconformists, and often sheltered them from the tyrannical oppressions of the bishops.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 373. (14.)

sciences.—As the priesthood of Christ or of Aaron, and even their very garments, were most honourable: so the priesthood of antichrist, and even the very garments, as the cope and surplice, is most detestable.

B. Then you will condemn as unlawful, whatsoever the papists used in their idolatrous service.

A. Some things have been abused by idolaters, and yet are necessary and profitable in the service of God. Other things they have abused, which are neither necessary nor profitable. The former are to be retained, and the latter to be refused. The surplice hath been used by the priests of antichrist, and hath no necessary nor profitable use in the service of God, any more than any other thing used in idolatrous worship; therefore the surplice ought not to be used.

B. The surplice hath a *necessary* use.

A. If it have, you sin in omitting it at any time. In this you condemn the reformed churches abroad, for excluding a thing so necessary.

B. It is necessary, because the prince hath commanded it.

A. Indeed, it is so necessarily commanded, that without the use of it, a minister must not preach, nor administer the sacraments, however great are his learning, his gifts, and his godliness. This is a most wicked necessity.

B. But it is comely in the church of God.

A. What comeliness is it for the minister of Christ, to wear the rags of antichrist? If this be comely, then the velvet and golden copes, for the same reason, are more comely. But this is not the comeliness of the gospel.

B. You are not a judge whether the surplice be comely.

A. The apostle saith to all christians, "Try the spirits, whether they be of God." Is it then unlawful for a christian, and a minister of Christ, to judge of a ceremony of man's invention? The reformed churches have judged the surplice to be uncomely for the ministers of Christ. Luther, Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and many others, have disallowed the use of it. And most learned men now in England, who use the surplice, wish with all their hearts, it were taken away. Yea, I think this is your opinion also. Ridley said "it was more fit for a player on the stage, than for a minister of God in his church."

B. We will not allow that the surplice is the garment of antichrist.

A. That which was consecrated by antichrist, and constantly worn by the priests of antichrist, in their idolatrous service, was one of the garments of antichrist. But the

surplice was consecrated by antichrist, and constantly worn by the priests of antichrist in their idolatrous service. Therefore, the surplice is a garment of antichrist.

B. But this surplice which we use, was never used by idolatrous priests.

A. Then you confess that their surplices may not be used by us. Yet in many churches in England, the massing surplices and copes have been used, and are still used; which, by your own confession, are accursed and abominable. But when we speak of the surplice, we do not mean this or that surplice, but surplices in general.

Barker. How do you prove that?

A. When the king of Judah came to Damascus, and there saw a brazen altar, he sent the pattern of it to Jerusalem, commanding the high priest to make one like unto it, and set it up in the temple of God. This was as great a sin, as if he had set up the very same altar which he saw at Damascus; therefore, though we have not the very same surplice, we have one made like unto it, even as like that at Damascus as it can be made.

B. Then we will have it made shorter or longer than theirs, or wider or narrower.\*

A. That is a poor shift. You know, that nearly all the surplices in England are like the papists' surplices.

B. I have a cup like the papists' calice, and is it unlawful for me to use it?

A. Your cup is not used in the service of God, nor is it convenient for that purpose. But supposing it were both convenient and useful in the supper of the Lord, it cannot be compared with the surplice, which is neither convenient nor useful.

B. We have appointed the surplice for another end, than the papists did.

A. You cannot appoint it to any good end. According to what you now plead, you may bring into the church

\* The profound reasoning of the reverend prelate, reminds us of an anecdote we have met with concerning a pious minister, who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was urged by his ordinary to wear the surplice; but who, in addition to other reasons, alleged, that the surplice offered him to put on, was the *very same* surplice as the mass-priest had used. The bishop admitted the excuse, and commanded another to be made; and when it was taken to the church, the minister took it up, and thus addressed the people present:—"Good people," said he, "the bishop himself confessed, that the former *massing* surplice was not to be worn by a minister of the gospel; but judge you if this be as like that, as one eye is like another? Let this, therefore, go after the other:" and so he cast it away.—*Ames' Fresh Suit*, part ii. p. 435.

of God, nearly all the trash of popery, their candles, their torches, their banners, their oil in baptism, and nearly all other things pertaining to antichrist.

B. Yes; and why not, if it please the prince, seeing they are things in their own nature indifferent.

A. I beseech you in the Lord, mind what you say. Shall we again bring tapers into the church of God, and oil into the sacrament of baptism?

B. Yes; and why not? Is not oil one of the sacraments in the church of God? Why do you speak so contemptuously of oil?

A. It is no contempt to exclude oil, milk, salt, or any such thing, from the sacrament. And why do you call oil a sacrament, seeing it is neither a sacrament, nor any sign of a sacrament?

B. Though it be no sacrament now, it was in the time of the apostles.

A. To speak properly, it never was a sacrament, the nature and use of which is to remember and seal unto us the mercies of God in Christ Jesus.

B. This is talk. You do not allege the scriptures.

A. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; and ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord, and the table of devils: Meats, drinks, and apparel, are all of the same nature; therefore, being consecrated to idolatry, they are condemned. So it is said, "Ye shall also defile the covering of the graven images of silver, and the ornament of the molten image of gold: Thou shalt cast them away as a menstruous cloth; thou shalt say unto it, get thee hence. And whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." But the surplice, and the wearing of it, is not for the glory of God, therefore not to be worn.

B. The surplice is for the glory of God.

A. That which promotes the glory of the papists, does not promote the glory of God; but the wearing of the surplice promotes the glory and triumph of the papists, and, therefore, not to be worn.

B. I deny your argument.

A. It is a syllogism.

B. You are full of your syllogisms.

A. Our reason is the gift of God, and the right use of it is to find out the truth.

B. But a syllogism may be false. Let us proceed to your second argument.

A. I will allege one reason more. We ought to be without offence to the Jew, to the Gentile, and to the church of God. But our wearing the surplice is an offence to the Jew, and the Gentile, (meaning the papists) and the church of God. Therefore we ought not to wear the surplice.

B. How will you be an offence to the papists by wearing the surplice ?

A. By offence, the apostle does not mean to *grieve*, but to be an occasion to another to *sin*. But if I wear the surplice, I shall be an occasion or encouragement to the papists to sin. Therefore I may not wear it.

B. How will you be an offence to the church of God? You perhaps may be to three or four; but you must regard the greater part.

A. I should be an offence to the greater part, and the lesser part, and all the church of God.

B. How do you prove that ?

A. I should be an offence to the lesser part, being those who are effectually called, because their souls are exceedingly grieved with those who do wear it. And to the greater part, being such as are beginning to dislike popery, and follow true religion; who, by wearing it, would be ready to give up their zeal, and return to popery.

B. You must teach them to hate popery, though you wear the surplice.

A. If I teach them one thing, and I myself do the contrary, how will they believe me? You know most people look more at our doings, than our doctrine.—Hitherto I have given my reasons against wearing the surplice; if you have any reasons to shew why I *should* wear it, let me hear a few of the best.

Barker. That which doth not offend in its institution, matter, form, or use, is not to be refused. But the surplice doth not offend in its institution, matter, form, or use. Therefore it may not be refused.

A. Your reasoning is not good. You must first prove that the surplice has not been abused, and is not offensive, then will you conclude better.

Walton. If nothing may be used in the church, that has been abused to idolatry, then the pulpits, and even the churches, of the papists, may not be used.

A. This, in effect, hath been already answered. Prove that the surplice is as useful as the pulpit and the church, and you will do something.

Chancellor. Then you deny that the prince hath any authority to command things indifferent.

A. You have said more than I have done all day. Your unjust charge is contrary to what I have said. I wonder you can charge me so falsely to my face.

B. You run to your former distinction.

A. It is not my distinction, but Tertullian's; and it is that distinction which you will never be able to condemn. I trust I have now confirmed the truth, and shewed sufficient reason why I may not wear the surplice, there being no reason why I should.

B. No, indeed! your reasons are no reasons.

A. They are such as have not yet been answered, and I am persuaded, will not be answered. I am not afraid that all these things should be made known, that the learned may judge.

C. Yes, you would have them in print, would you not?

A. I thought of no such thing. But, as a witness for the truth, I am not ashamed that these things should undergo the examination of the learned and the godly.\*

The second conference was about the use and signification of the cross in baptism. Upon Mr. Axton's appearance before the bishop and others, being required to deliver his opinion, he spoke as follows:

A. Nothing may be added to the institution of Christ: as, *I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you.* But the cross in baptism is an addition to the institution of Christ. Therefore the cross in baptism is unlawful.

B. The necessary parts of the sacrament are to be retained; but whether the water be poured upon the child's forehead, or it be marked with a cross, being ceremonial, is left to the determination of the church.

A. If you produce as good warrant from the word, for the crossing of the child, as I can for the washing of it, then I will grant that the church has authority so to determine. But such warrant cannot be produced. Besides, we have just reason to leave out the cross, because papists abuse it to superstition and idolatry, and in itself it is entirely useless.

C. Do you then say it is a sin to make any cross?

A. It is no sin in the carpenter, the mason, or the mathe-

\* MS. Register, p. 26—37.

matician, making crosses, any more than it is in his making lines and angles.

B. You would take away the liberty of the church, to establish or alter these things.

A. The church is the spouse, and hath no authority to introduce any thing that will dishonour Jesus Christ, her true husband.

B. Hath not the church liberty to use the font, or the bason, or both?

A. The church may use that which is necessary, to hold the water for baptism, as becometh the institution of Christ.

B. But I can shew you that matters of greater importance were altered by the apostles themselves.

A. What are they?

B. That they might not baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

A. Do you mean that the apostles did not always baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost?

B. Yes; and I can shew you that they did not always use that form of words.—“For,” it is said, “as yet the Holy Ghost was come upon none of them, only they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord.”

A. Because they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, does that prove they were not baptized in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost? How can you from this, charge the apostles with altering the institution of their Master; they baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus; therefore, you say, they did not baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Because one part of the action is mentioned, does that prove they did not attend to the other parts?

C. You may not take such advantage of my lord.

B. I did not say, that the apostles did not baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; but that it was probable they did not.

A. Yes, you said you could shew this; and you have not shewn it to be certain, or even probable.

B. The cross, you say, is no part of baptism: only an addition to the sacrament. What say you then of the signification of the cross?

A. To use such signs, tokens, or instructions in the service of God, which are only the inventions of men, is the fancy of papists. And they draw us not unto the spiritual service of God, but from it.

B. But the cross is used as a token only, that we should not be ashamed of the cross of Christ.

W. And is it not lawful to be taught not to be ashamed of Christ?

A. Yes; but we may not teach by unlawful means. Where doth the word of God warrant us, that making a cross, signifies that we should not be ashamed of Christ?

W. Would you then take all symbolical signs out of the church of God?

B. The church hath authority to ordain all symbolical signs, that are useful in the church. Therefore the church hath authority to ordain the cross in baptism.

A. This is only begging the question. You are as far from the mark as ever.

B. Is not the cross a symbolical sign, that is useful in the church of God?

A. That is the point in dispute, and yet remains to be proved.

B. What scriptures have you against the cross?

A. In the second commandment, we are forbidden to use in the service of God, "The likeness of any thing." But the cross in baptism is the likeness of something: Therefore the cross in baptism is forbidden, and may not be used.

C. May we not then make the likeness of any thing?

A. The commandment meaneth, that we should make no likeness of any thing for a religious purpose. We may not make the likeness of any thing in heaven or earth, for a religious purpose. But the cross in baptism is the likeness of something in heaven or earth, and appointed for a religious purpose. Therefore we may not make the cross in baptism. The making of the cross, because for a religious purpose, is here forbidden.

Barker. The cross in baptism is not forbidden in the *first* commandment.

A. I did not say it was. It is sufficient that it is forbidden in the *second*.

Barker. But the same thing is meant in them both.

A. You confound the first and second commandments; and, like the papists, make them to be the same. I must say, this is great ignorance.

Barker. I am not so ignorant as you suppose.

A. Your own words do betray you.

B. You are too captious. He shall reason you out of it.

Barker. The making of the cross in baptism is not forbidden in all the prophets; and, therefore, not in the commandment.

A. You had better first prove, that the cross is not forbidden in all the prophets. Your reasoning is not good.

C. If God have bestowed better gifts upon you, than upon others, you must thank him for it; but not condemn other mens' gifts.

A. God forbid that I should condemn the gifts of God in any man.

B. What say you about kneeling at the communion?

A. Jesus Christ and his apostles received the communion sitting, and why may we not imitate them?

Barker. Jesus Christ, with his apostles, celebrated the communion sitting, because he had immediately before, celebrated the passover sitting.

A. After the celebration of the passover, Christ arose and washed the feet of his disciples. Then it is said, he did again *sit down* to celebrate the communion; which shews, that he preferred doing it *sitting*, rather than in any other posture.\*

B. Mr. Axton, I have other questions to propose to you. What think you of the calling of bishops, or of my calling?

A. I am not ignorant of the danger I may fall into, by answering your question. Yet I am not compelled to answer it, not being accused of any crime.

B. Yes, I may compel you to answer upon your oath.

A. But I may choose whether I will answer you upon my oath.

B. I may urge you with your own speeches, which you delivered the last time you were before me.

A. What I then spoke to the glory of God, that will I also speak now.

\* The learned Beza, in his letter to Bishop Grindal, said, "If you have rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the practice of adoring the host, why do you symbolize with popery, and seem to hold both by kneeling at the sacrament? Kneeling had never been thought of, had it not been for transubstantiation." Grindal replied, that though the sacrament was to be received kneeling, yet the rubric accompanied the service book, and informed the people, that no adoration of the elements was intended. "O! I understand you," said Beza, "there was a certain great lord, who repaired his house, and, having finished it, left before his gate, a great stone, for which he had no occasion. This stone caused many people in the dark to stumble and fall. Complaint was made to his lordship, and many a humble petition was presented, praying for the removal of the stone; but he remained long obstinate. At length, he condescended to order a lantern to be hung over it. My lord, said one, if you would be pleased to rid yourself of further solicitation, and to quiet all parties, order the stone and the candle to be both removed."—*Robinson's Claude*, vol. ii. p. 77.

**B.** You then said, that every minister of God is a bishop, and to be a bishop is only to be a minister of God. You said also, that no bishop in England had authority to excommunicate.

**A.** I said so, indeed; and proved what I said by the word of God. I am not bound to bring myself into danger; but because I am persuaded it will advance God's glory, I will speak, be the consequence what it will. I trust in the Holy Spirit, that I shall be willing to die in defence of the truth.

**B.** Then what say you of my calling?

**A.** You are not lawfully called to be a bishop, according to the word of God.

**B.** I thought so: But why?

**A.** For three reasons,—1. Because you were not ordained by the consent of the eldership.

**B.** But I had the hands of three or four bishops.

**A.** That is not the eldership St. Paul speaks of, 1 Tim. iv. 14.

**B.** By what eldership were you ordained? Was it not by a bishop?

**A.** I had, indeed, the laying on of the hands of one of the bishops of England, but that was the least part of my calling.

**B.** What calling had you more?

**A.** I having exercised and expounded the word several times in an orderly assembly of ten ministers, they joined in prayer; and being required to speak their consciences, they declared upon the trial they had of me, that they were persuaded I might become a profitable labourer in the house of God. After this I received the laying on of the hand of the bishop.

**B.** But you had not the laying on of the hands of those preachers.

**A.** No: I had the substance, but wanted the accident; and in this, I beseech the Lord to be merciful unto me. For the laying on of hands, as it is the *word*, so it is agreeable to the mighty action of ordaining the ministers of God.

**A.** Then your ordination is imperfect as well as mine.

**A.** Mine is imperfect for want of the accident: the Lord be merciful to me for it. And yours is imperfect for want of the substance.

**B.** What is your second reason?

**A.** Because you are not ordained bishop over any *one flock*.

Nay, you are not a pastor to any one congregation, contrary to 1 Pet. v. 2. and Acts xiv. 23., "Feed the flock." From which it is manifest there should be a bishop and elders in every congregation.

B. What is a congregation ?

A. Not a whole diocese, but such a number of people as ordinarily assemble in one place, to hear the word of God.

B. What if you had a parish six or seven miles long, where many could not come to hear you once in a quarter of a year ?

A. I would not be pastor of such a flock.

B. What is your third reason ?

A. Because you are not chosen by the people. Acts xiv. 23.

C. How came you to be parson of Moreton Corbet ?

A. I am no *parson*.

C. Are you then vicar ?

A. No : I am no vicar. I abhor those names as anti-christian. I am pastor of the congregation there.

C. Are you neither parson nor vicar ? How hold you the living ?

A. I receive those temporal things of the people, because, being their pastor, I minister to them spiritual things.

C. If you be neither parson nor vicar, you must receive no profit.

A. Do you mean in good faith what you say ?

C. Yea, if you will be neither parson nor vicar, there is good cause why another should.

B. You must understand, that all livings in the church are given to ministers as parsons and vicars, and not as pastors and ministers.

A. I am sure the names of parsons and vicars were not given by Jesus Christ, but by antichrist.

B. How were you chosen pastor ?

A. By the free election of the people, according to the word of God.

B. Why, did not the patron place you there ?

A. The patron allowed the people the free choice of their minister ; and after I had preached about six weeks by way of probation, I was chosen by one consent of them all, and a sermon was preached by one of my brethren, setting forth the mutual duties of pastor and people.

B. May the bishops of England ordain ministers ?

A. You ought not to do it in the manner you do, without the consent of the eldership, without sufficient proof of their qualifications, and without ordaining them to some particular congregation.

C. How do you like my lord's book of articles.

A. Some of the articles approach near to the institution of the apostles, but the best of them appear to be very little practised.

B. I admit none to the ministry but those who have a recommendation from some nobleman or gentleman.

A. You had need beware of breaking the institution of God. This door being opened, will admit thieves and robbers. The Lord give you a sound conscience to keep hirelings out of the church of God.

B. Well, Mr. Axton, you must yield in some things to me, and I will yield in some things to you. I will not trouble you about the cross in baptism, if you will sometimes wear the surplice.

A. I cannot consent to wear the surplice: it is against my conscience. I trust, by the help of God, I shall never put on that sleeve which is the mark of the beast.

B. Will you leave your flock for the surplice?

A. Nay: Will you persecute me from my flock for the surplice? I love my flock in Jesus Christ, and had rather have my right arm cut off than be removed from them.

B. Well, I will not deprive you at this time.

A. I beseech you consider what you do in removing me from my flock, seeing I am not come in at the window, nor by simony, but according to the institution of Jesus Christ.\*

The second day's conference concluded as above, when Mr. Axton was taken away, the bishop requiring his future attendance. Accordingly, upon his appearance at the time appointed, he underwent a third examination concerning the use of instrumental music in the public worship of God, and obedience to the queen's laws, with some other things. Being questioned about the use of organs in public worship, he replied as follows:

A. They are Jewish, and not to be used in christian congregations.

Bickley. Did not David command organs and cymbals to be used?

A. That command was ceremonial, and is abrogated.

Bickley. You will then abrogate singing in the church, because David and the Jews sung.

A. Piping with instruments is abolished.

Bickley. How do you prove that?

A. Because our joy in public worship must be more

\* MS. Register, p. 37—50.

spiritual than that of the Jews ; and it is said, that in the time of the gospel, all shall sing praises unto God.

Bickley. The organs are used before the prince.

A. That does not prove them to be lawful.

Bickley. The organs are used before the prince, and therefore they are lawful. The argument is good.

A. Do you then reason, that the cross in churches is lawful, because it used to stand before the prince ?

Bickley. As it stood before the prince, it might have been lawfully used.

A. From what you say, tapers, and lights, and nearly all the trash of popery, may still be lawfully used.

Bickley. If you had the cross on which Christ died, would you say it was of no use ?

A. After the crucifixion of Christ, as well as before, the cross on which he died was the same as any other piece of wood.

B. But, in refusing the surplice, you are disloyal to the queen, and shew your contempt of her laws.

A. In charging me with disloyalty, you do me great injury ; and especially when you call me and my brethren traitors, and say, that we are more troublesome subjects than papists.

B. I say the same still. The papists are afraid to stir ; but you are presumptuous, and disquiet the state more than papists.

A. If I, or any others who fear God, speak the truth, doth this disquiet the state ? The papists for twelve years have been plotting treason against the queen and the gospel, yet this doth not grieve you. But I protest in the presence of God and you all, that I am a true and faithful subject to her majesty. I pray daily, both in public and private, for her safety, for her long and prosperous reign, and for the overthrow of all her enemies, especially the papists. I do profess myself an enemy to her enemies, and a friend to her friends. If, therefore, you have any conscience, cease to charge me with disloyalty to my prince.

B. Seeing you refuse to wear the surplice, which her majesty hath commanded, you do in effect deny her to be supreme governess in all causes ecclesiastical and temporal.

A. I do so far admit her majesty's supremacy, that if there be any error among the governors of the church, she has power to reform it : but I do not admit her to be an ecclesiastical elder, or church governor.

B. Yes, but she is, and hath full power and authority all

manner of ways. Indeed, she doth not administer the sacraments and preach, but leaveth those things to us. But if she were a man, as she is a woman, why might she not preach the word, as well as ourselves?

A. Might she preach the word of God, if she were a man? Then she might also administer the sacraments.

B. That does not follow. For you know Paul preached, but did not baptize.

A. Paul confesseth that he did baptize, though he was sent especially to preach.

B. Did not Moses teach the people, and yet he was a civil governor.

A. The calling of Moses was extraordinary. Remember the king of Judah, how he would have sacrificed in the temple of God. Take heed how you confound those offices which God hath distinguished.

B. You see how he runneth.

Bickley. He speaketh very confidently and rashly.

B. This is his arrogant spirit.

Sale. Why should you refuse the surplice, seeing the queen hath commanded it?

Bickley. The queen hath authority to command all things indifferent.

A. If those things be decent, tend to edification, and promote God's glory; but the surplice does none of these.

Bickley. Has not the church liberty to command the surplice to be used, as well as any other garment?

A. No: because the surplice hath been abused, and is still abused, by the papists, in their superstition and idolatry.

Bickley. I deny your reasons.

A. I prove what I said thus: God will not allow his church to borrow ceremonies from idolators, or to imitate them in their ceremonies, as is evident from Ezekiel xlv. But the papists are idolators. Therefore, God will not allow us to borrow our ceremonies, as garments and other things, from the papists.

Bickley. How do you prove that out of Ezekiel?

A. I prove it thus: The Egyptian priests used to shave their heads; but God commanded his priests should not shave. The Egyptian priests used to drink wine: but God commanded his priests, that when they did sacrifice, they should not drink wine. And the Egyptian priests wore linen garments before the people: but God commanded that his priests should not sanctify the people with their garments.

B. God commanded the contrary. Do you not remember the garments of Aaron ?

A. I do remember them. But if you would wear the garments of Aaron, you must attend to the other ceremonies of Aaron's priesthood.

B. Shew your place in Ezekiel. There is no such place. You are deceived.

A. I will thank you for a Bible.

B. You should have brought your own books with you. You see, I have brought my books.

A. And have you not a Bible among them? I pray you let me have a Bible.

B. Let him have the Hebrew Bible.

A. I pray you, let me have the Hebrew Bible.

Bickley. Then let us hear you read the place.

A. The place is this : " And when they go forth into the outer court, even into the outer court of the people, they shall put off their garments wherein they ministered, and lay them in the holy chambers, and they shall put on other garments; and they shall not sanctify the people with their garments."\*

Here the dispute broke off. And notwithstanding all his entreaties and supplications, though the bishop† acknowledged him to be a divine of good learning, a strong memory, and well qualified for the pulpit, the good man was deprived of his living, and driven to seek his bread

\* MS. Register, p. 50—56.

† Bishop Bentham complied with popery in the reign of Henry VIII., but afterwards repented. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, being perpetual fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, he was required to correct the junior scholars for their absence from the popish worship, but refused, saying, " He had indeed but too much repented of his compliance with the popish religion already; and he esteemed it unjust to punish that in others, which he himself would willingly and knowingly do." He was one of the preachers to the protestant congregation which assembled in private places, during this queen's reign; and it is said, " that by his encouragement and constant preaching, the protestants did not only stand to their former principle, but were resolved to suffer whatever could be laid upon them, rather than forfeit a good conscience." He witnessed the sufferings of many of the martyrs; and notwithstanding the cruel proclamation, " that no man should either pray for or speak to them, or once say *God bless them*," Bentham seeing the fire set to some of them, turned his eyes to the people, and said, " We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish them well, and say *God strengthen them*;" and so he boldly cried out, " Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!" upon which all the people with one accord, cried, *Amen, Amen*; the noise of which was so great, from the vast crowd of people, that the officers knew not whom to seize, or against whom to bring their accusations. Bentham would have done well to have remembered these things when he became a lord bishop, and a persecutor of his fellow protestants.—*Biographia Britan.* vol. ii. p. 206. Edit. 1778.

in a foreign land. But, surely, such proceedings were unworthy of a protestant prelate, and too obvious an imitation of the popish severities. Do we find any such proceedings in the first ages of the church of Christ? "I am sure," says the learned Dr. Stillingfleet, "it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the moderation then used, to suspend or deprive men of their ministerial functions, for not consenting to habits, gestures, and the like."\*

**THOMAS BECON.**—This celebrated divine was born in Suffolk, and educated in the university of Cambridge. He afterwards became chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, and a zealous advocate for the reformation, even from its very commencement in the reign of King Henry VIII. He endured many troubles from the persecuting prelates; and in the year 1544, was apprehended, with Mr. Robert Wisdome, another excellent reformer, by the cruel Bishop Bonner, when he was obliged to make a public recantation at Paul's cross, and burn his books.† Having obtained his release, he travelled for future safety towards the north, and settled at Alsop in the Dale, in the Peak of Derbyshire, where he taught school for his subsistence. At this place, Mr. Alsop, a pious gentleman, and an avowed friend to the reformation, shewed him much civility, and afforded him seasonable relief.

The severity of the times not suffering the zealous and faithful servants of the Lord to abide long in any one place, Mr. Becon was obliged to move into Staffordshire, where he was kindly entertained in the house of Mr. John Old, a man eminently distinguished for charity and piety. Mr. Wisdome, mentioned above, was also entertained with him. Mr. Becon, in his treatise, entitled "The Jewel of Joy," published in the reign of King Edward, gives this character of Mr. Old: "He was to me and Wisdome, as Jason was to Paul and Silas: he received us joyfully into his house, and liberally, for the Lord's sake, ministered to our necessities. And as he began, so did he continue a right hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, so long as we remained in the country.‡ Here, as in his former situation, he educated children in good literature and sound christian doctrine, continuing, at the same time, in a close application to his studies. Afterwards, he removed into Leicestershire,

\* Conformist's Plea, p. 14. Edit. 1691. From "Irenicum."

† Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 45.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 276, 277.

where he was for some time hospitably entertained by the Marquis of Dorset. Here he contracted a familiar acquaintance with Mr. John Aylmer, afterwards the famous bishop of London, whom he calls his countryman.\* He next removed into Warwickshire, where he still occupied the office of tutor to gentlemens' sons. Upon this last removal, to his great joy, he met with his old friend, the famous Hugh Latimer; who, about twenty years before, while they were at Cambridge, had been instrumental in bringing him to the knowledge of the gospel.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the city of Canterbury was more hostile to the reformation than most other places; therefore, upon the accession of King Edward, Archbishop Cranmer placed in that city six of the most distinguished preachers for learning and piety; among whom was Mr. Becon. The others were Nicholas Ridley, afterwards bishop of London and martyr, Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Richard Beasley, and John Joseph. The ministry of these learned divines proved a great blessing to the place, and, by their labours, many persons were brought to embrace the gospel.† Also, during the reign of the above excellent prince, Mr. Becon, justly denominated a worthy and reverend divine, became chaplain to the protector Somerset, and was made professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, where he gained much reputation.‡ But upon the accession of Queen Mary, he was apprehended in London, with Mr. Veron and Mr. John Bradford, and committed to the Tower. Here he remained above seven months in close confinement, meeting with most cruel usage; and having been made rector of St. Stephen, Walbrook, London, in 1547, he was deprived of both his office and benefit.§

It was, indeed, nearly miraculous that this zealous reformer escaped the fire. While many of his brethren, and even those committed with him to the Tower, suffered at the stake, a kind providence constantly watched over him, and at length delivered him from the rage of all his enemies. During the reign of King Henry and former part of Queen Mary, Mr. Becon, to conceal himself from his malicious foes, who narrowly watched for his life, went by the name of Theodore Bazil, and in the proclamation of the king, in 1546, as well as that of the queen, in 1555, he

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 7.

† Strype's Cranmer, p. 161, 423.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 21.—Lupton's Divines, p. 331.

§ Strype's Cranmer, p. 423.—Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 540.

is specified by that name.\* At length, having been driven from one situation to another, and finding no place of safety in his own country, he fled into a foreign land, and became an exile in Germany. During his abode on the continent, he wrote an excellent letter to his godly brethren at home; in which, besides declaring the cause of those calamities now come upon England, he earnestly directed them to the mercy and faithfulness of God, for a redress of all their grievances. This letter was read in the private religious meetings of his persecuted countrymen, to their great edification and benefit. He wrote, also, an epistle to the popish priests, wherein he made a just and an important difference betwixt the Lord's supper, and the popish mass, denominating the latter a *wicked idol*.†

Mr. Becon remained in exile till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he returned to his native country, and became a most faithful and zealous labourer in the vineyard of Christ. Having obtained distinguished reputation, he was soon preferred to several ecclesiastical benefices. He is said to have been designed for one of the chief preferments then vacant;‡ In the year 1560, he became rector of Buckland in Hertfordshire, but most probably did not hold it long. About the same time, he was preferred to a prebend in the church of Canterbury; and in 1563, he became rector of St. Dionis Back-church, London. This last he held to his death.§

In the year 1564, when conformity was rigorously imposed upon the London clergy, Mr. Becon, with many of his puritan brethren, was cited before Archbishop Parker at Lambeth, and refusing to subscribe, he was immediately sequestered and deprived; though it is said, he afterwards complied, and was preferred.|| It does not, however, appear what preferment he obtained. During the same year, he revised and republished most of his numerous and excellent writings in three volumes folio, dedicating them to all the bishops and archbishops of the realm. The clergy were in general at this time in a state of deplorable ignorance. Mr. Becon was deeply affected with their situation, and extremely anxious to render them all the assistance in his power. Therefore, in the year 1566, he published a book, entitled "A new Postil, containing most godly and learned Sermons,

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 221. (3 | 3.)

† Strype's Cranmer, p. 357, 358. ‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 40.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 72, 130.—Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 330, 815.

|| Strype's Grindal, p. 98.

to be read in the Church throughout the Year; lately set forth unto the great Profit, not only of all Curates and Spiritual Ministers, but also of all Godly and Faithful Readers." Mr. Strype stiles him a famed preacher and writer, and the book a very useful work, containing honest, plain sermons upon the gospels, for all the Sundays in the year, to be read by the curates of congregations. The preface, dated from Canterbury, July 16, 1566, is addressed "to his fellow labourers in the Lord's harvest, the ministers and preachers of God's most holy word;" in which he earnestly exhorts them to the discharge of their important duties. To this Postil he added two prayers, one at some length, the other shorter, either of which was to be said before sermon, according to the minister's discretion: also a third prayer, to be repeated after sermon. These prayers and sermons were drawn up for the use of ministers who were not able to compose prayers and sermons, and for the further instruction of the people in sound and wholesome doctrine.\* Bishop Parkhurst published verses in commendation of Mr. Becon and his excellent writings.+ During the above year, he preached the sermon at Paul's cross; and such was his great fame, and such his favour among persons of distinction, that the lord mayor for that year presented a petition to Archbishop Parker, entreating his grace to prevail upon him to preach one of the sermons at the Spittle the following Easter.†

Our historians are divided in their opinion concerning the time of Mr. Becon's death. Newcourt observes that he died previous to September 26, 1567; and Lupton says he died in 1570.§ He was a divine of great learning and piety, a constant preacher, a great sufferer in the cause of Christ, and an avowed enemy to pluralities, nonresidence, and all the relics of popery,|| being ever zealous for the reformation of the church. He was a man of a peaceable spirit, always adverse to the imposition of ceremonies, and an avowed non-conformist, both in principle and practice. Mr. Strype justly denominates him famous for his great learning, his frequent preaching, his excellent writings, and manifold sufferings in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.¶ One Mr. Thomas

\* Strype's Parker, p. 228. † Lupton's Modern Divines, p. 332.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 424.

§ Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 330.—Hist. of Divines, p. 332.

|| MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 48.

¶ Strype's Cranmer, p. 423.—Parker, p. 130.

Becon was of St. John's college, Cambridge, public orator and proctor in the university, and an active leading man, most probably in the cause of nonconformity, by which he is said to have incurred the displeasure of the chancellor, formerly his patron and great admirer. This was undoubtedly the same person.\* He was author of numerous books, many of which were designed to expose the superstitions and errors of popery, and to encourage his fellow christians under persecution; and his labour of love was signally useful. He wrote against the superstitious practice of bowing at the name of Jesus, as did several other puritans after him. According to Mr. Lupton, the following appears to be the most correct list of his numerous learned writings that can now be obtained :

**HIS WORKS.**—1. News from Heaven.—2. A Banquet of Christ's Birth.—3. A Quadregesimal Feast.—4. A Method of Praying.—5. A Bundle or Posey of Flowers.—6. An Invective against Swearing.—7. Discipline for a Christian Soldier.—8. David's Harp.—9. The Government of Virtue.—10. A short Catechism.—11. A Book of Matrimony.—12. A Christian's New-Year's Gift.—13. A Jewel of Mirth.—14. Principles of the Christian Religion.—15. A Treatise of Fasting.—16. The Castle of Comfort.—17. The Soul's Solace.—18. The Tower of the Faithful.—19. The Christian Knight.—20. Homilies against Whoredom.—21. The Flowers of Prayers.—22. A sweet Box of Prayers.—23. The Sick Man's Medicinc.—24. A Dialogue of Christ's Nativity.—25. An Invective against Idolatry.—26. An Epistle to the distressed Servants of God.—27. A Supplication to God for the Restoration of his Word.—28. The Rising of the Popish Mass. †—29. Common-places of Scripture.—30. A Comparison betwixt the Lord's Supper and the Papal Mass.—31. Articles of Religion confirmed by the Authority of the Fathers.—32. The monstrous Wages of the Roman Priests.—33. Romish Relics.—34. The Difference betwixt God's Word and Human Inventions.—35. Acts of Christ and Antichrist, with their Lives and Doctrine.—36. Chronicles of Christ.—37. An Abridgement of the New Testament.—38. Questions of the Holy Scripture.—39. The glorious Triumph of God's Word.—40. The Praise of Death.—41. Postils upon all the Sundays' Gospels.—42. A Disputation upon the Lord's Supper.

GILBERT ALCOCK was an excellent minister of puritan principles, but silenced, with many of his brethren, for nonconformity. April 3, 1571, he presented a supplication to the convocation, in behalf of himself and his suffering brethren,

\* Baker's MS. Collection, vol. i. p. 193.

† This excellent work was reprinted in the time of Archbishop Laud; but upon the complaint of a popish priest, his grace commanded it to be suppressed, and threatened the printer with a prosecution. Such was the spirit and inclination of this protestant prelate.—*Canterburies Doome*, p. 516.

earnestly soliciting the house to consider their case, and redress their grievances. In this supplication, now before me, he spoke with considerable freedom and boldness, concerning the corruptions of the church. He expressed himself as follows:—"The ceremonies now retained in the church, and urged upon the consciences of christians, occasion the blind to stumble and fall, the obstinate to become more hard-hearted, Christ's messengers are persecuted, the holy sacrament is profaned, God dishonoured, the truth despised, christian duty broken, and the hearts of many are sorely vexed: they cause papists and wicked men to rejoice in superstition, error, idolatry, and wickedness: they set friends at variance, and provoke the curse of God. *Woe unto him by whom the offence cometh.*

"The godfathers and godmothers, who promise to do so much for the child, are the pope's kindred; and, by his canon law, like priests, are forbidden to marry. It is holden that kneeling in the public sacrament, is more reverent, more religious, and more honourable to God; and thus they make themselves wiser than Jesus Christ, who sat with his disciples at the last supper. *Matt. xxvi. In vain do ye worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*

"If a minister preach true doctrine and live virtuously, yet omit the least ceremony for conscience sake, he is immediately indicted, deprived, cast into prison, and his goods wasted and destroyed; he is kept from his wife and children, and at last excommunicated, even though the articles brought against him be ever so false.\* How heavy these ceremonies lie upon the consciences of christians; and what difference there is between them, and those for which the people of God have been, and are still, so much persecuted, judge ye, as ye expect to be judged in the day of judgment. Those who observe your ceremonies, though they be idolaters, common swearers, adulterers, or much worse, live without punishment, and have many friends. We, therefore, beseech your fatherhoods to pity our case, to take these stumbling-blocks from us, that we may live quiet and peaceable lives, to the honour of our God."† The convocation were, however, of another mind; and, instead of lessening their burdens, very much increased them.

\* Bishop Maddox has endeavoured to invalidate this statement of Mr. Alcock, but completely failed in the attempt. He has produced additional evidence of the extreme severities inflicted upon the oppressed puritans.—*Vindication*, p. 335, 336.

† MS. Register, p. 90—92.

**DAVID WHITEHEAD, B. D.**—This famous divine, greatly celebrated for learning, piety, and moderation, was educated at Oxford, and chaplain to Queen Anne Bullen. Archbishop Cranmer says, “he was endowed with good knowledge, special honesty, fervent zeal, and politic wisdom;” for which, in the year 1552, he nominated him as the fittest person to become Archbishop of Armagh. The nomination, however, did not succeed; for another was chosen to the place.\* In the beginning of the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, he fled from the storm, and retired to Frankfort, where he was chosen pastor to the English congregation. Here he was held in high esteem by his fellow exiles. He discovered his great wisdom and moderation, and answered the objections of Mr. Horne, relative to church discipline, and the worship of God, and used his utmost endeavours to compose the differences among his brethren.†

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Whitehead returned home; and, the same year, was appointed, together with Drs. Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Grindal, Pilkington, and Sir Thomas Smith, to review King Edward’s liturgy. The same liturgy was published the following year. This was the third edition of the English liturgy ever published, the two former editions having come forth in the reign of King Edward.‡ In the year 1559, he was appointed one of the public disputants against the popish bishops. The subjects of disputation were,—1. “Whether it was not against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use, in the common prayers and administration of the sacraments, a tongue unknown to the people.—2. Whether every church hath authority to appoint, change, and take away, ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites; so the same were done to edification.—And 3, whether it could be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.” The other disputants on the side of the protestants, were, Dr. Story, bishop of Chichester, Dr. Cox, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Horne, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Gest, Mr. Aylmer, and Mr. Jewel; most or all of whom afterwards became bishops, and some of them archbishops.§ On this occasion, Mr. Whitehead had a fine opportunity of displaying his great learning, piety, and moderation; and he shewed himself to be so profound a divine, that the

\* Strype’s Cranmer, p. 274—278.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 52, 122—144.

‡ Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 52.

§ Fox’s Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 822.

queen offered him the archbishopric of Canterbury. This he declined, as some thought, from a desire of privacy; but as others thought, from a disaffection to the ecclesiastical discipline. The mastership of the Savoy, which he might have accepted without subscription, was also offered him about the same time; but he would accept of no preferment in the church, as it then stood. Refusing to embrace these offered promotions, he excused himself to the queen, by saying, he could live plentifully by the preaching of the gospel without any preferment.\* While others exerted themselves to *obtain* dignified titles and worldly emolument, he was content with *deserving* them. Accordingly, he went up and down like an apostle, preaching the word where it was most wanted; and spent his life in celibacy, which gained him the greater reputation in the eye of the queen, who was never fond of married priests. It is observed, that Mr. Whitehead coming one day to the queen, her majesty said to him, "I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried." "In troth, Madam," replied Mr. Whitehead, "I like you the worse for the same cause."†

In the year 1564, Mr. Whitehead shared the same fate with many of his brethren. He was cited before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and suffered deprivation, for non-conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the church.‡ Though it does not appear how long he remained under the ecclesiastical censure, Bishop Maddox is greatly mistaken, when he asserts, "that Mr. Whitehead always continued preaching, that he approved the constitution of the church, and died a member of the church of England."§ The celebrated Lord Bacon observes, that though he was much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, he was not preferred, because he was *against* the government of the bishops.¶ During his deprivation, he most probably united with the other non-conformist divines, in presenting to Archbishop Parker, a paper of reasons for refusing the apparel. This excellent paper, now before me, is entitled "Reasons grounded upon the Scriptures, whereby we are persuaded not to admit the use of the outward apparel, and ministering garments of the pope's church."‡ Mr. Whitehead died in the year 1571. According to Wood, he was a great scholar, and a

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 12.

† Ibid.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 98.

§ Vindication of the Church, p. 237.

¶ Bacon's Works, vol. ii. p. 419.

Edit. 1603.

‡ MS. Register, p. 57—60.

most excellent professor of divinity.\* In the opinion of Fuller, he was a man of great learning, a deep divine, and a rare example of moderation and self-denial.+ It is observed of Coverdale, Turner, and Whitehead, three worthy puritans, "That they were the most ancient preachers of the gospel, and the most ancient fathers of this our country; and that from their pens, as well as their mouths, most of Queen Elizabeth's divines and bishops first received the light of the gospel."‡ Mr. Whitehead was author of "Lectures and Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles," and probably some other works.

Mr. MILLAIN was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university. He maintained liberty of conscience, and publicly avowed his sentiments. Being thoroughly dissatisfied with the corruptions in the church, he openly declared his opinion of them, as things worthy of censure. In the year 1572, having delivered a sermon in St. Mary's church, he was conveyed before the vice-chancellor Dr. Bying, and the heads of colleges, when he was charged with having delivered the following opinions:—1. "That the ordering and making of ministers as used in the church of England, is an horrible confusion, and contrary to the word of God.—2. That ignorant and unpreaching ministers are no ministers.—3. That such as are not called by some particular congregation, are no ministers.—4. That able and sufficient ministers are rejected from the sacred function.—5. That the clergy of England deface and pull down the church, by maintaining both adultery and idolatry.—6. That to command saints' eyes to be observed, is idolatry.—7. That to command saints' days to be kept as days of fasting, is abominable idolatry."—When he was examined upon these points, he confessed the whole, declaring that what he had delivered was according to the word of God. Refusing, therefore, to revoke these dangerous errors, as they are called, he was expelled from his college, and driven from the university.§

WILLIAM BONHAM was a zealous nonconformist, and a considerable sufferer under the oppressions of the perse-

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 135, 136.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 12.

‡ Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 274.

§ Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 48, 49. Appen. p. 16.

cuting prelates. In the year 1569, he and Mr. Nicholas Crane, another puritan minister, were licensed to preach by Bishop Grindal. Their licenses are said to have been granted on condition that they should avoid all conventicles, and all things contrary to the order established in this kingdom. Accordingly, they made the following promise, signed with their own hands:—"I do faithfully promise, that I will not, any time hereafter, use any public preaching, or open reading, or expounding of the scriptures; nor cause, neither be present at, any private assemblies of prayer or expounding of the scriptures, or ministering the communion in any house, or other place, contrary to the state of religion now by public authority established, or contrary to the laws of this realm of England. Neither will I inveigh against any rites or ceremonies used or received by common authority within this realm."\* Such were the conditions on which these divines entered the sacred function! But, surely, if the church of England, so lately separated from the church of Rome, had come immediately from heaven, and been as infallible as its natural parent, the mother church, pretended, it would have been too wisely constructed to require such tyrannical promises of the Lord's servants.

The two divines were afterwards apprehended and cast into prison for nonconformity, where they remained more than twelve months, and then they were released. But persisting in the same practice, and not keeping to the exact order established in the church of England, Mr. Bonham was again committed to prison, and Mr. Crane was silenced from preaching within the diocese of London; but it does not appear how long they continued under these ecclesiastical oppressions.†

Mr. Bonham was a zealous man in the cause of the reformation. Being concerned for the restoration of a purer ecclesiastical discipline, he, in 1572, united with his brethren in the formation of the presbyterian church at Wandsworth in Surrey.‡ Our divine was afterwards called to endure fresh trials. Mr. Bonham and Mr. Nicholas Standen, another puritan minister, were brought under the tyrannical power of the high commission, and cast into prison for nonconformity. After having continued under confinement a long time, and being deeply afflicted with the sickness of

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 156.

† Ibid. p. 153—155.—MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 405. (6.)

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

the prison, they presented their petitions to the lords of the council, to which their lordships paid immediate attention. They accordingly addressed a letter to Archbishop Parker and other commissioners, signifying that they should be glad to assist them in any *lawful* cause against such as refused conformity; yet they did not like men to be so long detained without having their cause examined; and desire them to proceed in such cases more speedily in future. They entreat them to examine the cause of the two complainants, and, in case they should be found so sick that they could not continue in prison without inconvenience, to suffer them to be bailed till their cause should be ended.

This effort of the council seems to have been without any good effect. Undismayed, however, by the first repulse, they made a second application, but in a style much more peremptory. They addressed another letter to the archbishop alone, signifying, that, for good considerations, it was her majesty's pleasure that Bonham and Standen, committed by his lordship for breach of conformity, should be set at liberty, upon warning to observe the laws in their public ministry in future, or else to abstain from it.†

Mr. Strype observes, that, during the above year, these two divines were accused of being concerned in Undertree's sham plot, and committed to prison; but, upon examination, they were found innocent, and were both acquitted and released by order of council.‡

ROBERT JOHNSON was fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and domestic chaplain to Lord Keeper Bacon. He preached and administered the sacrament in his lordship's family at Gorambury, and was stately employed in the ministry at St. Alban's. In July, 1571, he was brought into trouble for nonconformity. He was cited before Archbishop Parker, and the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, at Lambeth. Upon his appearance, he was threatened to be silenced if he would not subscribe. Accordingly, not being satisfied in every point contained in the articles proposed to him, and refusing subscription, he was immediately suspended. Afterwards, he sent the following humble letter to the commissioners, earnestly desiring to be restored to his

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 334.

† Ibid. p. 385.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 466.

ministry. This letter was dated from the lord keeper's house, Gorambury, near St. Albans, August 14, 1571.

“Whereas July 4th,” says he, “being before your lordships, to answer to your three articles, I did forbear to subscribe to the first, viz. ‘That the Book of Common Prayer is agreeable to the word of God,’ because it seemed to me to contain a license of administering baptism by women, a thing forbidden by the word of God. And being suspended and sequestered, I have abstained from preaching and administering the sacrament, and thereby, my lord, and his family, have suffered the want of those most necessary and comfortable religious privileges. Therefore, my duty to his lordship’s household, and to that part of the church from which I receive some maintenance, move me with all due humility and submission, to beseech you that I may be restored to my former liberty.

“And concerning the articles, I trust this will suffice and fully answer your intention, that, by this my letter, subscribed with my own hand, I do promise and declare, that I did not mean to vary from the ordinary book of service, in my ministry. Neither to inveigh against it by public speech, wittingly, or maliciously; but to move the auditory to hold the truth in matters of faith and sound religious practice, and to live for ever in the fear of God. And I think that the contents of the service book, then expressly mentioned, and according to the exposition then given to me, are not defective, nor expressly contrary to the word of God; and that the imperfections thereof, may, for the sake of unity and charity, be suffered, till God grant a more perfect reformation: for which, every man, according to his particular vocation, ought diligently to labour.

“As to the second article, ‘That the apparel of ministers is not wicked, and directly against the word of God; and being appointed by the prince only for the sake of policy, obedience, and order, it may be used;’ yet is it not generally expedient, nor edifying.

“And as to the third, ‘That the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacrament, comprised in a book, entitled Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy, in the convocation holden in London, in the year of our Lord 1562,’ and every of them, contain true and godly christian doctrine.

“And because I perceived it to be offensive to his grace

the archbishop, that I hold by the favour of the lord keeper, a prebend in Norwich, I now inform you, that I mean to relinquish it the next half year following. Trusting, that upon the receipt of this my humble submission, you will release me, and grant me a new license to preach. And so committing your lordships, in all your godly and zealous undertakings, to the direction and blessing of Almighty God. Subscribing myself your lordships' most humble petitioner  
 "ROBERT JOHNSON."

What effect this letter produced, we are not able to learn; but it probably failed to answer the end proposed. We find, however, in the year 1573, that Mr. Johnson was brought into further trouble. He was convened before the Bishop of Lincoln, and required to subscribe to the three curious articles following:

1. "I am content hereafter, in my open sermons and public preaching, to forbear to impugn the articles of religion agreed upon in the Synod at London, in 1562, or any of them.

2. "Neither will I speak against the state of the church of England, now allowed by the laws of this realm; nor against the Book of Common Prayer, or any thing contained therein.

3. "Neither will I say or sing, or cause, procure, or maintain any other to say or sing, any common or open prayer, or minister any sacrament, otherwise, or in any other manner or form, than is mentioned in the said book, till further order be taken by public authority."

Mr. Johnson refusing subscription, answered as follows:—  
 "Whether these articles be such as I ought in duty to subscribe, and whether for refusing this subscription, I deserve to be openly declared a forsaker of the church, and the flock committed to my care, and whether it be matter for which I ought to be defamed, I refer to your worship's consideration, upon the following reasons:

"I take it for granted, that there are faults, and such as ought to be reformed, both in the government of the church, and in the Book of Common Prayer, upon which I reason thus. Either there is, or there is not, a reformation intended by those in authority. If there be a reformation intended, then it is good that the people's minds be prepared the more willingly to receive it when it comes, and to persuade them

\* Strype's Parker, p. 327, 328.

by sound reason and the authority of scripture, before they are compelled by law to obey. This preparation of the people to obey, is necessary, lest they be compelled to obey they know not what. Therefore, that the people may the more willingly, and without murmuring, agree to a reformation, and praise the Lord for the same, it is necessary they should first know the *defects* in the church, which need reformation. But if no reformation be intended, it is proper the people should understand how much the church stands in need of it, that they may pray unto God to stir up those who are in authority to promote it; and, no doubt, the Lord will the sooner hear their prayers. So that, whether a reformation be intended, or not intended, the church of God should be told of its corruptions, that the people may the more willingly praise God when they are taken away, and the more earnestly pray unto him until they be taken away. This is one reason why ministers should not bind themselves to conceal the faults and corruptions remaining in the church.

“Another reason is, that seeing there are many preachers who maintain that the government of the church is perfectly good, and that the Prayer Book needs no amendment; and as these preachers have license to preach where they please, they may preach these things to that flock over which God hath made me overseer; if I should consent and subscribe, that, in such a case, I will not speak, I cannot see how I could acquit myself before God. Therefore, the fear of this evil, in these days of peril and confusion, is another reason for not giving either the promise of my word, or the subscription of my hand, to hold my peace against the government of the church, and every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

“Also, in the Book of Common Prayer, there is a manifest abuse of scripture: as in the ordination of ministers, it is said, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. Corrupt prayers: as in confirmation, “Almighty God, who hast vouchsafed to regenerate these thy servants, by water and the *Holy Ghost*; and *hast given them the forgiveness of all their sins*.” These and many such faults in the book, are such, that a preacher ought not to promise and subscribe, that he will *never speak any thing against them*. There are, likewise, many things in the government of the church: as the court of faculties, the high commission court, dispensations for nonresidence; and many others, against which I cannot oblige myself that I will *never speak*.” This answer, with much more to the same

purpose, Mr. Johnson delivered August 6, 1573, subscribed with his own hand \*

We do not, indeed, find what immediately followed his refusing to subscribe; whether he was dismissed, and allowed to go on in his ministry, or sent to prison. Most probably he was released; for he afterwards became minister of St. Clement's church, London. Here, however, he enjoyed but little repose; for towards the close of December, in the above year, he and some others were committed close prisoners to the Gatehouse, for nonconformity. † February 2d, following, Mr. Johnson being still in prison, wrote a letter to Dr. Sandys, bishop of London, whom he styles "superintendent of popish corruptions in the diocese of London." In this letter, he reminds his lordship of some of the existing evils, especially that of professed christians persecuting one another. "There is," says he, "persecution enough. Some are imprisoned, and are in danger of losing, not only their liberty, but also their lives, being compelled to remain in filthy jails, more unwholesome than dunghills, and more stinking than pig-styes. Others are persecuted in their minds, by being enforced to subscribe to those things against which every good man's conscience makes a stand, and every godly man disallows. It is a great evil for a man to lose or spend his property in prison; it is a greater, to lose his reputation; it is greater still, to lose his liberty; but it is greatest of all, to be greatly distressed and disquieted in his conscience. Take heed, therefore, lest you get your name enrolled amongst the number of persecutors. Let not worldly policy prevail more than true divinity. Let not man cause you to do that which God has forbidden. Let not the commission draw you further than God's word will allow. Let not your honour here on earth, cause you to do that which is against the honour of God. Let not your palace make you forget the temple of Christ.

"The present persecution is among brethren, not only of one nation, but of one profession: those who persecute, and those who are persecuted, believing in one God, professing one Christ, embracing one religion, receiving one gospel, communicating in one sacrament, and having one hope of salvation. Dissention in a kingdom, discord in a nation, controversy among neighbours, and contention among brethren, are more to be feared than any of them among enemies. You say, you are our chief pastor, we desire

\* Parte of a Register, p. 94—100. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxii. p. 440.

food: you say, you are our doctor, we desire to be taught. This is the best way to win us, and the best for you to use. The laws and authority of *men*, should not set aside the laws and authority of *God*. The popish logic of slander and imprisonment will not prevail at last. The Fleet, the Gatehouse, the White-lion, the King's-bench; and Newgate, are weak arguments to convince the conscience."\*

† Upon the 20th day of the same month, Mr. Johnson was brought to trial before his judges, and examined at Westminster-hall, in the presence of the queen's commissioners, the bishop of London, the dean of Westminster, the lord chief justice, and others. He was accused of marrying without the *ring*, and of baptizing without the *cross*, which he did for a time; but upon complaint against him, he begun again to use them. He was accused, also, of a misdemeanour, as it is called; because when he was once administering the sacrament, the wine falling short, he sent for more, but did not consecrate it afresh, accounting the former consecration sufficient for what was applied to the same use, at the same time. The examination which he underwent at his trial, was as follows:

Johnson. If it please your honours, may I not submit myself, and declare the truth of things as they were done?

Lord Chief Justice. Yes, you may.

J. I stand here indicted for three points. The first is, that I have not repeated the words of the institution; or, as they commonly call it, I did not consecrate the wine, when I delivered it to the communicants.—Secondly, that I have not married with the ring.—Thirdly, that I have not used the cross in the administration of baptism, and have left out the whole sentence for that purpose.†—Unto these charges, I answer, that respecting the *contempt*, as expressed in the indictment, I plead, *not guilty*. And as to the first of those charges, I answer under my protestation, that at no time, in celebrating the communion, have I omitted any prayer or words of the institution, which the book prescribeth, but have used them in as full and ample a manner

\* Parte of a Register, p. 101—105.

† In Mr. Johnson's indictment, he was charged with having solemnized matrimony, between one Leonard Morris and Agnes Miles, without using the ring. And having baptized a male child that he did not know, he did not make the sign of the cross on its forehead, nor use the following words: "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross," as contained in the Book of Common Prayer: "And that he did the same voluntarily, and in contempt of the queen and her laws, and against the peace of the realm."—*MS. Register*, p. 199.

as they are appointed. Only upon a certain occasion, when the wine failed, I sent for more, which I delivered to the people, using the words appointed in the book to be used in the delivery of the sacrament, not again repeating the words of the institution: partly, because, as I take it, being an entire action and one supper, the words of the institution at first delivered were sufficient; and partly, because, in the Book of Common Prayer, there is no order appointed to which I could refer the case. And as to the second, I answer that once or twice, I did not use the ring. For looking into the mass-book, I found the words with which the papists *hallow* the ring; and because this seemed to me no less derogatory to the death of Christ, than holy bread and holy water, I thought as other persons had omitted those, I might omit this.

Commissioner. There is no such thing in the Book of Common Prayer.

Dean. He speaketh of the mass-book.

Bishop. Then you compare the mass-book and the common prayer book, and make the one as bad as the other.

J. My lord, I make no such comparison. But after I was complained of to my ordinary, Dr. Watts, archdeacon of Middlesex, who reprehended me, I used the ring, as I have good and sufficient witness. Since, therefore, I did in this default correct myself, I refer myself to your honour's discretion, whether I have herein stubbornly and contemptuously broken the law.—As to the third charge, I answer, that I have omitted to make the sign of the cross, but not of contempt. But seeing I have already suffered seven weeks imprisonment, with the loss of my place and living, I beseech you, be indifferent judges, whether this be not sufficient for so small a crime.

Mr. Gerard. You were not sent to prison for that, but for your irreverent behaviour.

J. I trust, sir, I did not behave myself more irreverently than I do now. Whereas the indictment is, that I omitted the whole prayer, "We receive this child," &c. This is false; for I never administered baptism without using that prayer, though I omitted making the sign of the cross.

B. Those two are but trifles. The chief is the consecration of the sacrament. For, as it had not the word, it was no sacrament, and so the people were mocked.

J. My lord, I did not mock the people; for it was a sacrament.

D. St. Augustin saith, "That the word must be added to

the element, to make a sacrament." You lacked the word, therefore, it was no sacrament.

J. I had the word.

B. How had you the word, when you confess that you recited not the institution?

J. I had recited the institution before, and that was sufficient.

D. Yea, for that bread and wine that was present; but when you sent for more bread or wine, you should again have rehearsed the words of the institution.

J. The book appointed no such thing.

B. Yes, sir, the book saith, you shall have sufficient bread and wine, and then the prayer of the institution must be recited. Now, as you had not sufficient, you should, therefore, have repeated the institution.

J. There is no such caveat, nor proviso, appointed in the book.

B. But that is the meaning of the book.

J. Men may make what meaning they please; but I refer myself to the book, whether or not it be so appointed.

D. You are not forbidden to use the repetition.

J. Neither am I commanded.

D. I will prove this to be the meaning of the book. For it is said in the prayer, "these creatures of bread and wine:" so that the book hath respect to the bread and wine there present, and not to any other. Therefore, if there be any more brought, it must be consecrated afresh, by the words of the institution.

J. I pray you tell me one thing. Are the words of the institution spoken for the bread, or for the receivers?

D. For both.

J. I deny that. For the evangelist declares, that Christ said unto his *disciples*, to teach them for what end and purpose they should take the bread.

D. Then the word is of no force.

J. I deny that. The word is necessary to the substance of the sacrament. But this is not the question: we both confess this. Herein is the controversy, whether it be necessary for the institution to be repeated, seeing it is but one and the same action, and the same communicants as before, for whom the words are spoken. If it had not been the same supper, or if the communicants had been changed, it would have been necessary to rehearse the institution.

B. You like yourself very well, and you are stubborn

and arrogant. I have before heard of your stubborn heart, but now I perceive it.

J. My lord, who he is that liketh himself so well, and is so stubborn and arrogant, that Lord, who trieth the hearts of all, must judge.

B. Why, you being unlearned, stand stubbornly against us all, and so no learning will satisfy you.

J. I would fain understand with what words Christ did consecrate.

Dr. Wilson. With this word, *benedixit*.

J. Be it so. But we know not the words with which Christ did *benedicere*. Therefore, we must consecrate with we know not what.

L. C. J. Ah! Johnson. Is this your submission?

J. I must needs defend my own innocence.

G. Johnson, you in a manner confess as much as you are charged with. For you confess, that when the words of the institution were recited, you had no wine.

J. I do not confess that. I had both bread and wine.

G. But you had not that wine.

J. No.

G. Therefore it was not consecrated.

J. The words before repeated were sufficient for the consecration.

D. Then, with those words you consecrated all the wine in the tavern.

J. No, sir, it was the wine that was brought from the tavern to the church, and of a common wine, was appointed to be a sacramental wine, to represent Christ's blood; and this is consecration.

D. Why then, with you, the word is of no force.

J. It is not of force to bring any holiness to the sacrament. I trust you do not think that the word maketh the bread any holier when used in the sacrament.

W. Yes, it is holy bread.

B. It is a holy sacrament.

J. That I confess. But holiness is in the use and end, not in the substance. For otherwise you would make a magical enchantment of it, and not a consecration. Dr. Cranmer, in his book on the sacrament, saith, "There cometh no holiness to the bread by consecration."

G. If thou wert well served, thou wouldst be used like a magician.

J. Whatever your judgment may be, I stand or fall to my own Lord.

B. You know not what harm you have done, by defending an error before this company, bringing them so into doubt, that they know not which way to take.

J. My lord, I defend no error. I maintain the truth.

D. Nay, you maintain a *horrible heresy*.

Bromley. Yea, if you were well served, you should *fry a faggot*.

J. As you say that I maintain a heresy, I pray you shew me by what commandment I am bound to the precise words of the institution.

D. As the word in baptism is, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:" so the word in the Lord's supper is the rehearsal of the institution.

J. Bullinger was of another mind; for he saith, "The consecration of sacraments is not by the nature, will, command, or precept of Christ, nor from the authority of any other."

D. Where doth he say this?

J. Sermon vi. decad 5.

D. You falsify his words.

J. No, I cite them right. And the churches of Geneva and Scotland consecrate with other words, without using the words of the institution, except in preaching.

D. You slander those churches, as appeareth from their own words, which I have here in a book.

J. I have not slandered those famous churches. Let their liturgy witness. And as to that book, there is nothing in it which I do not believe. But I pray you, my lord of London, answer me one question. Must consecration be performed before the delivery of the elements, or after?

B. I will not answer it.

J. It is only a question. I pray you answer it.

B. Answer it thyself.

D. It shall be answered. The consecration must go before; for Christ gave a sacrament, which could not be without the word. Consecration, therefore, must go before.

J. But Christ spake the word after the distribution. For he first gave them the bread, and then said, "Take, eat, this is my body."

D. And what then?

J. Then, according to what you say, Christ did not consecrate aright.

D. You defend a horrible heresy: for you reject the word.

J. I do not reject the word, but would understand what the word meaneth.

D. It meaneth the institution of Christ.

J. All writers do not so understand it. Some by the word, understand the promises, as Musculus, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Calvin.

D. The word is not the promise.

J. These learned men so take it. Herein I am content to refer myself to the judgment of the learned.

L. C. J. Here is my lord of London, a prelate of the realm, and a bishop, and this gentleman, Mr. Dean; dost thou think they are not learned?

J. I neither despise, nor deprave their learning. But as to the words of the institution, I say, they are to be considered, either as they are expressly set down by the evangelist; or, as other words are used equivalent to them, declaring the sum and substance of them, and, in either case, the institution is whole and sound. Consecration may be taken either according to the consecration of the papists, who say, "This is my body, and this is my blood;" or, as the best writers in our time, take it for the rehearsal of the promises and thanksgiving to be enjoined; and whichever of these two be accepted, seeing I used the words of delivery, there was sufficient consecration.

L. C. J. Let us make an end of it. Charge the jury.—The witnesses were then called and sworn, some of whom were known papists, and others had done penance for the foulest crimes, against whom no exception would be taken; and Mr. Johnson being by their verdict found guilty, was condemned to one year's imprisonment, and immediately sent back to the Gatehouse.\*

The hard treatment Mr. Johnson received from Bishop Sandys, and the other commissioners, as appears in the above examination; with the heavy sentence pronounced upon him, after having endured some close and severe imprisonment already, were, surely, more than proportionate to any crime with which he was charged, even supposing he had been guilty. Indeed, whether the principal thing with which he was charged was good or evil, was matter of mere opinion, and a point much to be disputed. But right or wrong, he must be punished.

During the execution of the heavy sentence, and about two weeks after his trial, Mr. Johnson wrote a letter to

\* Parte of a Register, p. 105—111.

Bishop Sandys, dated March 7, 1574, in which he earnestly pleads for more kind treatment. He thus observes, "Our Saviour saith, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: And the apostle, He shall have judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy.* I wonder what mercy you, and the rest of the commissioners, hope for, and what judgment you look for, seeing for trifles and of no weight, nay of no truth, as I doubt not you are persuaded in your own consciences, you not only mock and molest men, deprave and deprive them, but to their great poverty and utter ruin, and without any bowels of mercy, you condemn them to long imprisonment. Where hath God given any such commandment? Where hath Christ given any such precedent? Where did the apostles put any such thing in practice? If you say, that we hold errors, are schismatics, and promote sects; then do you the part of a teacher, to reform our errors, to reduce schismatics to unity, and to dissuade sectaries from dissention. Your office and function, your name and title, your degree and profession, your knowledge and religion, yea the apostles, Jesus Christ, and God himself, requireth this at your hands. You know who saith, *If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in the spirit of meekness.* Compare your doctrine in time past, and your doings now, and see how they agree. We may say as the prophet said: *The Lord God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, and he hath delivered them into your hand, and you have persecuted them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven.*

"If to imprison and famish men, be the proper way to instruct the ignorant and reduce the obstinate, where is the office and work of a shepherd, to seek that which was lost, and bring home that which went astray? We beseech you, therefore, to gather something out of the Old and New Testament, that you may reduce those who go astray, and heal that which is bruised and broken. And I pray you, let us feel some of your charitable relief, to preserve us from death, under this hard usage; especially as you have been the chief cause of my trouble, I desire you to be some part of my comfort. Let pity requite spite, and mercy recompence malice. Thus beseeching God, that you may proceed faithfully in all the duties of a bishop, I commend you to Jesus Christ, the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls.

"ROBERT JOHNSON."

\* Parts of a Register, p. 117, 118.

Mr. Johnson, at the same time, presented a petition to the queen or council, desiring to be restored to his former liberty of preaching, from which he was restrained by the foregoing heavy sentence. This petition, together with a letter from the court, dated Greenwich, March 19, 1573, were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, pressing them to take the case into consideration, and take such order therein as should appear most convenient. The council also sent another letter to the Bishop of London, dated Greenwich, May 16, 1574, signifying that their lordships were given to understand, that Mr. Johnson, committed to the Gatehouse for nonconformity, was very sick and likely to die, unless he might enjoy more open air. Therefore they commanded his grace to give order for the poor afflicted man to be bailed, and upon sureties to be removed to his own house, but not to depart thence without further order.\*

All these efforts were, however, without any good effect. The relentless prelate continued inflexible. Mr. Johnson experienced neither his lenity, nor his charity, nor any other favour: for the good man died soon after, a prisoner in the Gatehouse, through the cruelty of his imprisonment, and his extreme poverty and want.† Herein, surely, his inhuman persecutors would be highly gratified. Bishop Sandys, who was at the head of these proceedings, is said to have been "a man very eminent for his learning, probity, and prudence;"‡ but, surely, it may be questioned whether he exercised these excellent qualifications on the present occasion. This is even admitted by his partial biographer: for he observes, that during the above period, the *good* bishop proceeded so vigorously against the puritans, that his doings brought *public reproach* on his name and reputation.§

Mr. Johnson wrote a letter, a little before his death, to the Dean of Westminster, another zealous promoter of his persecution. This letter is still preserved.¶ Mr. Strype charges Mr. Johnson as a false accuser, and, in 1609, as reviling the puritans. But the fact of his being dead several years before either of these events are said to have taken place, at once acquits him of the twofold charge. Some other person of the same name, who was a rigid churchman, we believe to have been guilty of those crimes.‡

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 393, 394.

† Parte of a Register, p. 111, 118.

‡ Le Neve's Lives, vol. i. part ii. p. 69.

§ Ibid. p. 31.

¶ Parte of a Register, p. 112—116.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 328, 329.

**RICHARD TAVERNER, A. M.**—This distinguished person was born at Brisley in Norfolk, in the year 1505, and educated first in Bennet college, Cambridge, then in the university of Oxford. The famous Cardinal Wolsey having founded a new college at the latter place,\* furnished it with all the best scholars in the nation; among whom were Taverner, Tindal, Frith, Goodman, and many others. Here Mr. Taverner and his brethren were soon called to the trial of their faith. They were men of good learning and grave judgments, and Mr. Taverner was famous for his knowledge of music; but conferring together about the corruptions of the church, they were presently accused to the cardinal, and cast into prison. They were confined in a deep cell under the college, where salt fish was wont to be preserved; so that by the filthiness and infection of the place, several of them soon lost their lives. Mr. Taverner, however, escaped the fatal malady. Though he was accused of hiding one Mr. Clark's books under the boards of his school, the cardinal, on account of his music, exempted him, saying, "He is only a musician;" and so he was released.† He had a good knowledge of the Greek language, philosophy, and divinity; but about this time he removed or was expelled from the university, and became a student at the inns of court. Here, when he read any thing in the law, he made his quotations in Greek. In the year 1534, he was taken under the patronage of Lord Cromwell, principal secretary to Henry VIII.; by whose recommendation the king afterwards made him one of the clerks of the signet. This place he kept till the accession of Queen Mary, having been held in high esteem by King Henry, Edward VI., and the Duke of Somerset, the lord protector.

In the year 1539, he published "A Recognition or Correction of the Bible after the best Exemplars." It was printed in folio, dedicated to the king, and allowed to be publicly read in the churches. But upon the fall of Lord Cromwell, in 1540, the bishops causing the printers of the Bible in English to be cast into prison and punished, Mr. Taverner, as the reward of his labours, was sent to the

\* Cardinal Wolsey possessed, for some years, all that power and grandeur which could be enjoyed by the greatest favourite, and most absolute minister, under an arbitrary prince. He exercised as absolute a power in the church, as he had done in the state. His abilities were equal to his great offices, but these were by no means equal to his ambition. He was the only man that ever had the ascendancy of Henry VIII., but afterwards fell into disgrace.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 92.

† Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. ii. p. 309, 351.

Tower. Here, however, he did not continue long; for, having fully acquitted himself before his judges, he was soon after released, and restored to his place and the king's favour. He was about this time, a member of parliament, and held in high esteem by men of piety and worth. Upon King Henry's coming to the parliament house in 1545, and exhorting the members to charity, unity, and concord, he published a translation of Erasmus, entitled "An Introduction to Christian concord and unities in matters of Religion."

In the year 1552, Mr. Taverner, though he was not ordained, obtained a special license subscribed by King Edward, to preach in any part of his dominions; and he did not fail to make use of the liberty granted him. He preached from place to place through the kingdom; also at court before the king, and in other public places, wearing a velvet bonnet or round cap, a damask gown, and a chain of gold about his neck; in which habit, he sometimes preached in St. Mary's church, Oxford, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. When Queen Mary came to the crown, he retired to his country house called Norbiton-hall, in Surrey, where he continued during the whole of her reign. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he presented her majesty with a congratulatory epistle in Latin, for which she exceedingly respected him, placed great confidence in him, and, besides offering him the degree of knighthood, put him into the commission of peace for the county of Oxford. Here numerous concerns were entrusted to him, and, in 1569, he was made high sheriff of the county. Notwithstanding his high station, he did not relinquish his ministerial labours, but continued preaching as he found opportunity. While he was in the office of high sheriff, he appeared in St. Mary's pulpit, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, and preached to the scholars, beginning his sermon with the following words:—"Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation."† This way of preaching was then mostly fashionable, and commended by the generality of scholars.

\* Wood says the pulpit of St. Mary's was then of fine carved stone; but it was taken away in 1654, when Dr. John Owen was vice-chancellor, and a pulpit of wood set up in its place.—*Altham Oxon.* vol. i. p. 144. note.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 65.

In those times. This celebrated reformer and zealous non-conformist to the church of England, laid down his head in peace, July 14, 1575, aged seventy years. He died at his manor-house, at Wood-Eaton, in Oxfordshire, and his remains were interred with great funeral solemnity, in the chancel of the church at that place.\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The Sum or Pith of the 150 Psalmes of David, reduced into a forme of Prayers and Meditations, with other certaine godly Orisons, 1639.—2. Correction of the Bible, already mentioned.—3. The Epistles and Gospels, with a brief Postill upon the same, from Advent to Low Sunday, drawn forth by divers learned men for the singular commoditie of all good Christian Persons, and namely of Priests and Curates, 1640.—4. The Epistles and Gospels, with a brief Postill upon the same, from after Easter till Advent, 1640.—5. Fruite of Faith, containing all the Prayers of the holy Fathers, Patriarks, Prophets, Judges, Kings, renowned Men, and Women, in the Old and New Testament, 1682.—6. Various Poems in Latin and English, and severall Translations of the works of other learned men.

R. HARVEY was a zealous and learned minister in the city of Norwich, a divine of puritanical principles, and brought into troubles for his nonconformity. Having spoken against the pompous titles, and the government of bishops, and other ecclesiastical officers, he was summoned, May 13, 1576, to appear before his diocesan at Norwich. Upon his appearance before his lordship, he was immediately suspended; when the dean, who pronounced the sentence, behaved himself towards Mr. Harvey, not as a judge, but a most angry tyrant.†

Mr. Harvey having received the ecclesiastical censure, and conceiving himself to have been hardly used, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Norwich, in which he addressed his lordship with considerable freedom and boldness. The substance of this letter is as follows:—"I am moved in conscience," says he, "to address you in this way, that I may give a further account of my behaviour. I think you may see, if you shut not your eyes, how the man of sin, I mean the pope of Rome, hath so perverted and corrupted the doctrine of Christ, that not one free spot of it now remaineth. In like manner, touching the discipline and government of the church, although our Saviour, who is the only king of his church, sate in the seat of judgment, with the crown of life on his head, and the sceptre of righteousness in his hand;

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 143—145.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 448, 449.—*Parts of a Register*, p. 339.

that man of sin plucked him from his throne, and placed himself upon it, having on his head the mitre of death, and in his hand the sword of cruelty and blood. These things I hope you know.

“ We find in the scriptures of truth, that when Christ ruled and reigned in his church, his officers were bishops or pastors, and elders and deacons. But when the pope set aside this government, he appointed new governors in the church, as cardinals, archbishops, lord-bishops, deans, chancellors, commissioners, and many others. The doctrine and government of the church being thus thrown down, it pleased the Lord in his time to shew us favour. By means of our good prince, he hath purged the doctrines of our church from the errors of popery; and was ready to have restored unto us true discipline, if it had not been prevented by our own slackness and unthankfulness. But you prelates turn the edge of the sword against us, and stand in the way to keep us from the tree of life. The government of the church is much the same as it was under popery. The pope's officers, you know, still bear rule; and, therefore, the reins of government are not in the hands of Christ, but in the hands of antichrist. And though you hide yourselves under the shadow of the prince, saying, that she created you and your authority; you perversely attempt to deceive the world, and you miserably abuse the name and goodness of our prince. For how long were your names and offices in full force before our prince was born? How then will you make her authority the origin of your jurisdiction?

“ Moreover, as Jesus Christ is the only lawgiver in his church, and as he alone has power and authority to appoint its officers, if any king or prince in the world appoint any other officers in the church, than those which Christ hath already allowed and appointed, we will lay down our necks upon the block, rather than consent to them. Wherefore, do not so often object to us the name of our prince; for you use it as a cloak to cover your cursed enterprizes. Have you not thrust out those who preached the word of God sincerely and faithfully? Have you not plucked out those preachers whom God fixed in his church? And do you think that this plea, *I did but execute the law*, will excuse you before the High Judge.”\* It does not appear what effect this bold address had on the mind of the reverend

\* Parte of a Register, p. 365—370.

prelate; nor whether the good man ever procured his restoration.

Mr. Harvey appears to have written "A Treatise of the Church and Kingdom of Christ," a copy of which is still preserved, though most probably it was never published.\* The Oxford historian gives a very curious account of one Mr. Richard Harvey, who lived about the same time, but he does not appear to have been the same person.† One Mr. Richard Harvey of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, took his degrees in Arts in 1581 and 1585. This was probably the same person as that last mentioned.‡

**EDWARD DEERING, B. D.**—This learned and distinguished puritan was descended from a very ancient and worthy family at Surrenden-Dering, in Kent; and having been carefully brought up in religion, and the rudiments of sound learning, completed his education in Christ's college, Cambridge. Here he made amazing progress in valuable knowledge, and became an eminently popular preacher. He was fellow of the house, was chosen proctor in 1566, and Lady Margaret's preacher the year following.§ This, indeed, was not sufficient to protect him from the fury and persecution of the prelates.

In the year 1571, being cited before Archbishop Parker and other commissioners, he was charged with certain assertions, which, it is said, he maintained and subscribed before them. These assertions were the following: "That breaking the laws of civil government is, in its own nature, no sin, but only on account of scandal.—That Christ's descent into hell relates only to the force and efficacy of his passion; but that neither his body, nor his soul, went to that place.—That it is lawful to take oaths, when the forms are written or printed, to determine the sense of the imposer; but to make use of the book, as a circumstance of solemnity, is a sacrilegious addition.—That the clerical garments, which are derived from popery, are full of offence, and appear to me directly against the truth."¶ It does not appear, however, what punishment was inflicted upon him for these assertions.

\* MS. Register, p. 533—554.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 173, 174.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 381.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 262. (2.)

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 326.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxvi. p. 337.

Mr. Deering was domestic chaplain to the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, (who, in the above year, lost his head on Tower-hill,) and was tutor to his children. In this situation, he conducted himself with great propriety, and much to the satisfaction of his noble patron.\* When the duke was imprisoned for his treasonable connections with the Queen of Scots, Mr. Deering thus addressed him: "You once earnestly professed the gospel; but now dissimulation, ambition, and hypocrisy hath bewitched you. You know how many times I dissuaded you from your wicked servants, your popish friends, and your adulterous woman. Alas! my lord, your high calling hath so bridled my words, that I could not speak to you as I would: my words were too soft to heal so old a disease."†

In the year 1572, he became lecturer at St. Paul's, London; where, on account of his great learning, ready utterance, and uncommon boldness, he was amazingly followed. This being grievous to certain ecclesiastical persons, it was deemed most proper to silence him. This was accordingly done the very next year. Our historian intimates, that he was a great enemy to the order of bishops. This was, indeed, the case with most of the puritans. They generally looked upon the episcopal office, as appointed in the church, to be equally a popish invention, and contrary to its original design, according to the New Testament. He further informs us, that Mr. Deering was intimately acquainted with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, with whom he often interceded, in behalf of the suffering nonconformists.‡

While he was lecturer of St. Paul's, he was charged with having spoken certain things, which, by interpretation, were said to reflect upon the magistrate, and tend to break the peace of the church. Therefore, by an order from the council, his lecture was put down. Persons were appointed to watch him continually, to take advantage of what he delivered; and when he was brought under examination for delivering certain things offensive to the ruling powers, he utterly denied that he had said any such thing, and declared that the charges were mere slanders. Indeed, upon his appearance before the attorney-general and the bishop of London, the bishop frankly acknowledged that he could not accuse him.§ What a pity then was it, that so excellent a preacher as he is denominated, who had so large a

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 190.

† MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 262. (2.)

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 190.

§ Ibid. p. 266.

congregation, and when such preachers were much wanted, should be put to silence!

In September this year, he wrote to the treasurer, requesting that he might no more appear before the council, but be judged by the bishops themselves, at any time and place they should appoint. In order to the restoration of his lecture, he requested that judgment might not be deferred; that he might be charged with some impropriety, either in his words or actions; and that upon the knowledge of which, his honour might himself be able to judge what he deserved. He beseeched his lordship to inquire into his character, and examine his actions, till he could find only two persons who had heard him speak evil: but if such evidence of his ill behaviour could not be obtained, he intreated him to become his friend. He urged further, that his lordship would either believe his own judgment, having himself sometimes heard him, or the report of multitudes, who were his constant hearers. And if his lecture might not be restored, as he was persuaded it was his duty to seek the good of souls, he earnestly prayed that he might have liberty to preach in some other place.

Though the treasurer was undoubtedly willing and desirous to serve him, he obtained no redress; but was cited to appear before the court of the star-chamber, when several articles were exhibited against him. But before his appearance to answer these articles, he wrote a long letter to Burleigh, dated November 1, 1573, in which he addressed him with great spirit and freedom, concerning his own case, and several important points of controversy. This letter was as follows:

“ Grace and peace from God the Father, &c.

“ Bear with me, I beseech your honour, though I trouble  
 “ you; and let the cause of my grief be the discharge of my  
 “ boldness. It behoveth me to discharge myself from  
 “ slander, lest the gospel should be reproached in me. And  
 “ it behoveth you to obey this commandment, *Receive no*  
 “ *accusation against a preacher without good and sufficient*  
 “ *witness*. I know, my lord, you will not do it. I have  
 “ good evidence of your equity in this behalf. Yet I am  
 “ bold to put you in mind of the word of Christ, which you  
 “ cannot possibly too often remember. I ask no more than  
 “ what is due to me, even from her majesty’s seat of govern-  
 “ ment and justice. If I have done evil, let me be punished:  
 “ if not, let me be eased of undeserved blame. I crave no  
 “ partiality, but seek to answer, and to make you (including

“ the other lords of the council) judges of my cause ; before  
 “ whose presence I ought to fear, and the steps of whose  
 “ feet I humbly reverence. If, before your honours, I  
 “ should be convinced of these pretended crimes, with what  
 “ shame should I hide my face all the days of my life !  
 “ Where were the rejoicing that I have in God, in all things  
 “ that he hath wrought by me ? Where were their comfort,  
 “ who have so desirously heard me ? Where were the good  
 “ opinion of many, and all the good-will you have shewed  
 “ me ? I am not so ignorant, that I see not this. Therefore  
 “ persuade yourself, that I am on sure ground. Trial shall  
 “ teach your eyes and ears the truth. And to persuade your  
 “ heart, I give unto you my faith, I cannot accuse myself  
 “ of any thought of my mind, in which I have not honoured  
 “ the magistrate, or word of my mouth, in which I have not  
 “ regarded the peace of the church. And I thank God,  
 “ who of his unspeakable mercy, hath kept for me this con-  
 “ science against the day of trouble.

“ If you muse now, how these slanders have risen, you  
 “ may easily know, that the malice of satan is great against  
 “ the ministry of the gospel. I know I have given no  
 “ cause, more than I have confessed ; and with what words  
 “ I have spoken, I desire to be judged by the hearers. And  
 “ so much the more bold I now speak to you, because my  
 “ lord of London, of late told me, before Mr. Attorney  
 “ and Mr. Solicitor, that he could not accuse me of any  
 “ such thing. As I was glad to hear this discharge, so I  
 “ should have been much more glad, if, upon so free a con-  
 “ fession, he would favourably have restored me to my  
 “ lecture. Though it be somewhat strange to punish a  
 “ man before he offend, lest hereafter he should offend ; yet  
 “ I am contented with it, and leave it unto them, who  
 “ should be as much grieved as myself to see so great a con-  
 “ gregation dispersed.”

Mr. Deering next proceeds to prove the *lordship* and  
*civil* government of bishops to be unlawful, and contrary to  
 scripture. “ The lordship and civil government of bishops,”  
 says he, “ is utterly unlawful. The kingdom of Christ is  
 “ a spiritual government only. But the government of the  
 “ church is a part of the kingdom of Christ. Therefore,  
 “ the government of the church is only a *spiritual* govern-  
 “ ment. What the kingdom of Christ is, and what  
 “ government he hath established in it, learn not of me, but  
 “ of God himself. What can be plainer than the words of  
 “ Christ ? *My kingdom is not of this world ?* How plainly

“ doth St. Paul say, *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal ?* Let him, therefore, who is the King of kings, have the pre-eminence of government. And let him, whose dominion is the kingdom of heaven, have the sword and the sceptre that is not fleshly. Let not a vile pope, in the name of Christ, erect a new kingdom, which Christ never knew: a kingdom of this world, which, in the ministry of the gospel, he hath condemned. This kind of rule hath set all out of order, and in confusion, mingled heaven and earth together.—As the minister hath nothing to do with the temporal sword, so it much less becometh him to be called *lord*. The reason is plain from scripture. Ministers are called *fishers of men, labourers in the harvest, callers to the marriage, servants of the people, workmen, stewards, builders, planters, &c.* In all of which, they are removed from a *lordship* over the people. And again, they are called fellow-elders, fellow-helpers, fellow-workmen, fellow-soldiers, fellow-servants, fellow-travelers, &c. In which names, they are forbidden *lordship* over their brethren. And, surely, it must be great rashness to refuse so many names, which God hath given us, and take another, which importeth dominion over others. Can we doubt then in the question of *lordship*? We appeal to Christ, and the words of his mouth, to decide the controversy. The disciples had this contention, as well as ourselves. They strove much, who should be highest; against which strife, our Saviour Christ pronounceth this sentence, *He that is greatest among you, let him be as the least. And whosoever of you will be the chief, shall be servant of all.* This is a brief account of the superiority in the ministry. And this shall for ever determine the controversy, though all the wisdom in the world reply to the contrary. If a *lord bishop* find his titles given him here, let him rejoice in his portion. If he have them not hence, he shall not have them from us: we will not so dishonour him who hath given the sentence.”

. Afterwards, speaking of bishops in the primitive church, and those in modern times, he makes the following distinctions: “ The bishops and ministers *then*, were one in degree: *now* they are divers.—There were many bishops in one town: now there is but one in a whole country.—No bishop’s authority was more than in one city: now it is in many shires.—The bishops then used no bodily punishments: now they imprison, fine, &c.—Those bishops could not excommunicate, nor absolve, of their own

“ authority: now they may.—Then, without consent, they could make no ministers: now they do.—They could confirm no children in other parishes: they do now in many shires.—Then they had no living of the church, but only in one congregation: now they have.—Then they had neither officials, nor commissaries, nor chancellors, under them.—Then they dealt in no *civil* government, by any established authority.—Then they had no right in alienating any parsonage, to give it in lease.—Then they had the church where they served the cure, even as those whom we now call *parish ministers*.”—This bold and excellent letter contains many other interesting particulars, too numerous for our insertion.\* Upon the appearance of Mr. Deering in the star-chamber, the following charges were brought against him: “ That he had spoken against *god-fathers* and *godmothers*.—That he had asserted that the statute of providing for the poor was not competent to the object.—That he had said, he could provide for them in a better way, by committing them to be kept by the rich.—That, at a public dinner, he took off his cap, and said, ‘ Now I will prophesy, *Matthew Parker* is the last archbishop that shall ever sit in that seat:’ and that Mr. Cartwright said, *Accipio omen*.”

To acquit himself of these charges, he presented an address, November 28th, to the lords of the council, who constituted the above court. In this address, he proves his innocence, and establishes his own reputation. He says here, “ Against godfathers and godmothers, save only the name, I spake nothing.—That I said the statute of provision for the poor was not competent to the object, or any such words, I utterly deny: I commended the statute.—That I said I could provide for the poor, I utterly deny, as words which I never spake, and thoughts which were never yet in my heart. And if I had spoken any such thing, I had spoken wickedly, and accordingly deserved punishment: And thus much I profess and protest, before the seat of justice, where I dare not lie.—In the last place, I am charged with taking off my cap, and saying, ‘ Now I will prophesy, *Matthew Parker* is the last archbishop that shall ever sit in that seat: and that Mr. Cartwright said, *Accipio omen*.’ To this I answer, that I have confessed what I said; and here I send it, witnessed by the hands of those who heard it. I put off no cap, nor spake of any prophesy.”†

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 270—279.

† *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 55—58

However before Mr. Deering could be restored to his beloved ministerial work, the bishop or the archbishop required him to acknowledge and subscribe to the four following articles:—"1. I acknowledge the Book of Articles, agreed upon by the clergy in the Synod of 1563, and confirmed by the queen's majesty, to be sound, and according to the word of God."

In reply to this, he excepted against the article of the consecration of bishops and archbishops, as contained in the said book. "To what purpose," says he, "is this article put in? What reason is there to make all subscribe unto it? Who dare make so bold an addition to the word of God, as to warrant these consecrations to be tied unto it? Let him allow of it, who hath the profit of it: and he that liketh it not, let him have no bishopric. I would, therefore, gladly make this exception. Also, the article touching homilies, to which, because they are made by man, I dare not give my absolute warrant, that they are, in all things, according to the word of God. And when I set my hand unto it, I must needs avow that which I know not. I would, therefore, make this addition, *As far as I know.*"

"2. That the queen's majesty is the chief governor, next under Christ, of the church of England, as well in ecclesiastical, as civil causes."—"The second article," says he, "I freely acknowledge."

"3. That in the Book of Common Prayer, there is nothing evil, or repugnant to the word of God; but that it may be well used in this our church of England."

To this he excepts, "That in the book, there are many phrases and hard speeches, which require a favourable exposition. There are many things, though well meant, when first appointed, which were certainly ill devised, being first used by papists. And, therefore, being still kept in the Prayer Book, they are offensive.—That day in which there is no communion, certain prayers are to be said after the offertory. What this offertory is, and what it meaneth, I cannot tell. And to account our prayers as offertories, I dare not warrant that it is according to the word of God.—In this book, we are commonly called by the name of *priests*; which name, besides importing a popish sacrifice, and so is sacrilegious, cannot possibly be given to us, and to our Saviour also.—On Christmas-day, we say, 'Thou hast given us thy Son *this day*, to be born of a virgin.' The same words we use all the week after, as if Christ had been born anew every day in the week. If it be said, *this*

*is but a trifle*, the more loath I am to subscribe, that it is according to the word of God.—In one of the prayers, we say, ‘Grant us that, which, for our unworthiness, we dare not ask.’ These words cannot be excused. They fight directly against our faith. We must come boldly to the throne of grace, and doubt not of obtaining mercy, in whatever God has promised. These and such other things, thus standing in the prayer book, make many fearful of subscribing, that *every part* of it is according to the word of God.”

“4. That, as the public preaching of the word, in the church of England, is sound and sincere; so the public order, in the ministration of the sacraments, is consonant to the word of God.”

Upon this he observes, “How can I tell, that all preaching in England is sound and sincere, when I hear not all preachers? And sometimes those whom I do hear, preach neither soundly, nor sincerely: but this is the fault of man.—And that the public order, in the ministration of the sacraments, is according to God’s word, I cannot simply confess. There is an order how women may baptize. All reformed churches have condemned this, and how can I allow it? All learned men write against the questions and crossings in baptism; and why should I, with my hand, condemn all their doings? The wafer cake in many churches, is thought intolerable; and our own act of parliament for avoiding superstition, hath appointed other bread: what then if I should dislike it?

“Another reason why I cannot subscribe both to this article and the first, is the one contradicting the other. In the first I must subscribe to all the homilies: in this, to all the ceremonies; and yet our homilies condemn many of our ceremonies. In the homilies it is said, ‘That the costly and manifold furniture of vestments lately used in the church, is Jewish, and maketh us the more willingly, in such apparel to become Jewish.’ If I subscribe to this, how can I subscribe to the ceremonies used in cathedral churches, where the priests, deacon, and subdeacon, are in copes and vestments? In the homilies, it is said, ‘That piping, singing, chanting, playing on organs, &c. greatly displease God, and filthily defile his holy temple.’ If I must subscribe to this, then I must not subscribe to the contrary, even that all our ceremonies are good, and according to the word of God. How can I say, that our doctrine, our sacraments, our prayers, our ceremonies, our orders, even that all is

according to the word of God? A person having a conscience, or no conscience, must needs be tried here: and blessed is he that is not offended. See, I beseech you, what wrong I sustain, if I be urged to this subscription. While any law bound me to wear the cap and surplice, I wore both. When I was at liberty, surely I would not wear them for devotion. I never persuaded any to refuse them, nor am I charged with ever preaching against them. Thus, according to my promise, I have set down how far I would yield in these articles which your worship sent me. If I seem curious, or to stand upon little points, conscience, it should be remembered, is very tender, and will not yield contrary to its persuasion of the truth. I have sent you these articles, subscribed with mine own hand, and sealed with my heart, even in the presence of God; whom I humbly beseech, for Christ's sake, to give peace unto his church, that her ministers may rejoice, and her subjects be glad. I conclude, desiring God to make you rich in all grace, to his honour and glory. December 16, 1573."\* Here we see the evil of requiring subscription to articles and creeds of human composition. To yield in such a case as this, would rack the conscience of every honest man.

Twenty other articles were, about the same time, presented to Mr. Deering in the star-chamber; to each of which, he gave a particular answer. These articles were designed, says Mr. Strype, to make exact inquiry into his principles and opinions, concerning the church, its usages, practices; and clergy, and the queen's authority; and he might, with truth, have added, that it assumed all the appearance of a tyrannical and cruel inquisition. Mr. Deering, in the preface to his answers to these articles, thus expressed himself:—"I most humbly beseech your honours, to remember my former protestation, that I have never spoken against the book of prayers; and in my book in print, I have spoken openly for the allowance of it. I resort to common prayers; and sometimes, being requested, I say the prayers as prescribed. If I be now urged to speak what I think, as before an inquisition, there being no law of God requiring me to accuse myself, I beseech your honours, let my answer witness my humble duty and obedience, rather than be prejudicial and hurtful to me. This I most humbly crave; and under the persuasion of your favour, I will answer boldly, as I am required." These articles, which so

\* Part of a Register, p. 81—85.

much discover the spirit of the times, and the answers which Mr. Deering presented to the court, though at some length, we here present to the curious and inquisitive reader. They were the following :

Article 1. Is the book entitled "The Book of Common Service," allowed by public authority in this realm, to be allowed in the church of God, by God's word, or not ?

Answer. The similitude of this book, to that form of prayer used by the papists, leads me to think it declineth from those laws, Deut. vii. 25., xii. 30., xviii. 9. Also, its great inconvenience in encouraging unlearned and indolent ministers to conclude, that the mere *reading* of the service is sufficient. These are some of the reasons why I cannot subscribe, that all the book is allowable by the word of God. Some other things, the bishops themselves confess to be faulty.

2. Are the articles set down by the clergy in Synod, and allowed by public authority, according to God's word, or not ?

I confess, as I am persuaded, that the articles of faith are good. I think the same of the articles about traditions, an oath before a judge, the civil magistrate, the doctrine of the homilies, &c. But that which relates to the consecration of archbishops and bishops, I can by no means confess as godly, and according to the word of God.

3. Are we tied in all things, by God's word, to the order and usage of the apostles and primitive church, or not ?

No doubt we are bound to whatsoever was the usual order of the apostles. When St. Paul had said to Timothy, "Thou hast fully known my doctrine, manner of life, purpose," &c. &c. he adds, *continue in the things which thou hast learned.* And he chargeth the Philippians, *Those things which ye have both learned and received, and heard and seen in me, do.*

4. Is there any right ministry, or ecclesiastical government, at this time, in the church of England, or not ?

If, by right, you mean such a calling as the word of God requireth : as, 1 Tim. iii. 2., Acts i. 23., xiv. 23., 1 Tim. iv. 14., I am sure you will confess it is not right. If you mean a right ministration of the doctrine and sacraments, I humbly confess, that no man ought to separate himself from the church. Concerning government, see the seventh article.

5. May nothing be in the church, either concerning cere-

monies, or government, but that only which the Lord in his word, commandeth ?

Such ceremonies as do not necessarily appertain to the gospel of Christ, may be changed ; observing always that which St. Paul hath commanded, Phil. iv. 8., 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

6. Ought every particular church or parish in England, of necessity, and by the order of God's word, to have its own pastor, elder, and deacons, chosen by the people of that parish ; and they only to have the whole government of that particular church, in matters ecclesiastical ?

Wherever this government hath been, the choice hath been by certain persons, with the allowance of the people ; so far as I ever read. But what is most requisite at the present time, I leave to those whom God hath set in authority.

7. Should there be an equality among all the ministers of this realm, as well in government and jurisdiction, as in the ministration of the word and sacraments ?

That all ministers are called to the preaching of the word, and the ministration of the sacraments, no man, I think, will deny. Touching government or governors, the Holy Ghost calleth them fellow-ministers, fellow-elders, fellow-officers, fellow-soldiers, fellow-labourers, fellow-servants : and St. Peter expressly forbids them being *lords over God's heritage*. St. John evidently condemneth the lordly dominion of Diotrephes, in commanding and excommunicating by his own authority. Our Lord himself, refused to exercise any lordly dominion ; and when his disciples strove for superiority, he expressly forbad them, and reproved them for aspiring after it. Though ministers are worthy of double honour, singular love, great reverence, and all humble duty, I dare, by no means, make them *lords* in the ministry, nor give to any one of them authority above the rest.

8. Are the patrimonies of the church, such as bishops' lands, the lands belonging to cathedral churches, the glebe lands, and tithes, by right, and God's word, to be taken from them ?

*Render unto Cæsar, the things which are Cæsar's ; and unto God, the things that are God's,* is a rule always binding. Every prince who feareth the King of kings, must make sufficient provision for the ministry, then for the poor, then for schools and the universities, in such a degree as may supply the wants of the ministry ; with-

out which the spoil of the church is most unnatural sacrilege.

9. Are the ministers of this realm, of whatsoever calling, now in place, lawful ministers; and their administration, and ecclesiastical actions, lawful and effectual?

This article, so far as I can see, is the same as the fourth.

10. Is it not convenient at a marriage, to have the communion, and the newly married persons to communicate; and, at a funeral, to have a sermon?

I would have communions at such times as the church appoints. On those days, if there be a marriage, it is meet that the parties communicate. As to the funeral sermons, they may be used. Yet, if there be any inconvenience, by hurting or offending the church, they ought to be omitted.

11. Is it lawful for any man to preach, besides he who is a pastor; and may a pastor preach out of his own flock without a license?

None may preach but a pastor, and he, on just occasion, being requested, may preach out of his own flock. But, surely, if he have no license to preach, he hath no license to be a pastor.

12. Is it better and more agreeable to God's word, and more for the profit of God's church, that a prescribed order of common prayer be used, or that every minister pray publicly, as his own spirit shall direct him?

An ordinary prayer is very necessary, that it may be familiar to the people: but, as every parish will have its occasions and necessities, so it is necessary, that the minister be able to pray in the congregation, according to the necessities of the people.

13. Are the children of parents, who are perfect papists, to be baptized? And are infants within God's covenant, and have they faith?

If parents are obstinate, and perfect papists, wanting nothing of the spiritual wickedness of antichrist, and are so accounted by the church, their children are not to be admitted to this sacrament, though we exclude them not from the election of God: but if the parents be not cast out of the church, we may admit the children; yet not as having that faith which cometh by hearing, but as being within the covenant: *I am their God, and the God of their children.*

14. May any ecclesiastical persons have more ecclesiastical livings than one?\*

For one man to have many parsonages, where he cannot possibly reside, is great wickedness. And seeing Christ hath purchased his church with his own blood, whosoever enjoys several livings, considers very little the words of St. Paul: *Take heed unto all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God.* I, therefore, humbly beseech your honours, to have this carefully reformed.

15. May one be a minister, who has no particular flock assigned him? And may an ecclesiastical person be exercised, also, in a civil function?

A minister can no more be without a charge, than a king without a kingdom. *No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life.* And I am sure whatsoever person seeketh after civil offices, wanteth that love which should most abound. Our Saviour refused to be judge in the division of lands. Yet I judge not him, who, on special occasions, seeketh to do good to others.

16. Are all the commandments of God needful for salvation?

All the commandments are necessary for all men in all places, and are ever to be observed. And as Christ was minister, not of earthly things, but heavenly; so the observance of all his commandments is necessary to salvation; and the breach of the least of them, if imputed to us, hath the just recompence of eternal death.

17. Has the Queen of England authority over the ecclesiastical state, and in ecclesiastical matters, as well as civil?

Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, whether he be an apostle, or evangelist, or prophet, or whatsoever he be. This subjection is not against his calling. Princes have full authority over all ecclesiastical and civil persons, and equally over both, to punish offenders, and to praise well-doers. Only this is the difference in the sovereignty over both. The commonwealth cannot be without the magistrate; but if all magistrates fall from the church, we must still hold this article, "I believe in the catholic church." For Christ, and not the christian magistrate, is the life and head of the church. In the commonwealth,

\* What could the commissioners design by proposing this question? Did they imagine it was a crime to speak against pluralities, the great plague of the christian church, and at which even papists blush?

the prince maketh and repealeth laws, as appears most for the safety of the state, and the benefit of the people; but in the church, there is only ONE LAWGIVER, even JESUS CHRIST.

18. Is the Queen of England the chief governor under Christ, over the whole church and state ecclesiastical in this realm, or but a member of it? And may the church of England be established without the magistrate?

This is answered under the seventeenth article.

19. Is the Queen of England bound to observe the judicial laws of Moses, in the punishment and pardon of criminal offences?

We are sure that the law of Moses, was, to the people of Israel, an absolute and a most perfect rule of justice; so that all laws ought to be made according to its equity. Yet, to decide on all particular cases, dare I not. It belongeth to the Lord to say, I will pardon, or I will destroy.

20. May the Queen of England, of herself, and by her own authority, assign and appoint civil officers?

I never knew a man who doubted this article. And sure I am, that her majesty, in her wisdom, may do as she thinketh best.\*

These were the articles proposed to Mr. Deering in the star-chamber, and this was the substance of those answers which he presented to the court in writing. In these answers, says Mr. Strype, he made *very ill* reflections upon the reformation and religion of the established church.† Whether this remark be consistent with christian liberality, or even common justice, every reader will easily judge. What could be the design of the commissioners in proposing such inquiries? Some of them relating wholly to matters of state, seem designed to ensnare him. Others were evidently intended to draw him either to approve, or to censure, the corruptions of the church. And in general, it is extremely manifest, that they were put to him, to rack his conscience, and to get something out of him; to make him an offender by his own confession. "For my part," says Mr. Peirce, "when I consider the abominable tyranny of all such proceedings, and the barbarous wickedness of sifting the secrets of mens' hearts, about those matters, of which perhaps they never spoke any thing in their lives; I heartily bless my God that he did not cast my lot in those days, but reserved me for times of greater equity and freedom."‡

\* Parte of a Register, p. 73—80.—Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 280, 281.

† Strype's Parker, p. 452.

‡ Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 61.

During Mr. Deering's suspension, the Bishop of London, out of good nature, it is said, interceded with the treasurer, to procure the consent of the council for his liberty to preach again at St. Paul's; upon these conditions, that he taught sound doctrine, exhorted to virtue, dissuaded from vice, and meddled not with matters of order and policy, but left them to the magistrate: and, he said, he believed Mr. Deering would be brought so to do. He thought these gentle dealings the best, for the present, and would quiet the minds of the people. He thought a soft plaster, in such a case, much better than a corrosive. But the treasurer, we are informed, disliked the advice, and sharply reprov'd the bishop for giving it. At length, however, he prevailed; got Mr. Deering's suspension taken off, and, notwithstanding his puritanical answers to the above articles, procur'd his restoration to his lecture.\*

The lords of the council having restored him to his beloved work of preaching, the archbishop and several of the bishops were much offended. Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, wrote a warm letter to the treasurer, signifying his great disapprobation of the conduct of the council in restoring him, even as a man sound in the faith, and by their own authority, without consulting *spiritual* men, whose business it was to determine in such cases: and that they ought not to have determined a matter relating to religion without the assistance of those who belonged to the ecclesiastical function. Mr. Deering was, indeed, restored in consequence of the answers he gave to the articles, which articles, it seems, were collected out of Mr. Cartwright's book against Whitgift. Though Bishop Cox said his answers were *fond* and *untrue*, the lords of the council thought otherwise, and were satisfied with them. The bishop urged, that in these matters they ought to have consulted the judgment of learned divines, adding, "In all godly assemblies, *priests* have usually been called, as in parliaments and privy councils." And in the warmth of his zeal, he seem'd inclined to move the queen's majesty to oppose and recall the decree of the council: but he trusted that the treasurer would, in his *wisdom* and *godly* zeal, undertake to do it himself.† Our author further adds, that when Mr. Deering and three of his brethren were first cited into the star-chamber, the Bishop of London remained silent, for which the queen afterwards bitterly rebuked him.‡

\* Strype's Parker, p. 426.

† Ibid. p. 426, 427.

‡ Queen Elizabeth was a lady of a proud and imperious spirit; and

Although Mr. Deering was again allowed to preach, his troubles were not ended. The Bishop of London, by whose influence he had been restored, appeared soon to repent of what he had done. When he waited upon the bishop, informing him that the council, by their letters, had restored him to his lecture, his grace said he would see the letters, or he should not preach, and added, "That unless he preached more soberly and discreetly than before, he would silence him again." Mr. Deering replied, "If you do forbid me, I think I shall obey." His obedience was, indeed, soon brought to the test; for the bishop silenced him presently after. He brought complaints against him in the star-chamber, and urged the treasurer to procure an order from the queen to put down his lecture. He wrote also to the Earl of Leicester, signifying how much he disliked Mr. Deering's continuance. This was going the right way to work, and he was sure of success. Accordingly, the business was brought before her majesty, who commanded him to be silenced; and a warrant being sent to the bishop for this purpose, he was again suspended.\*

In the year 1574, the famous Dr. Thomas Sampson being laden with old age and infirmities, was desirous of Mr. Deering succeeding him in his lecture at Whittington-college, London, for which there was a stipend of ten pounds a year. The company of cloth-workers had the power of nomination, and the archbishop had the allowance. Dr. Sampson had no doubt of the company's approbation, but doubted the favour of the archbishop. And, indeed, his doubts were not without foundation; for his grace being moved to allow of Mr. Deering, in case he should be nominated by the company, he utterly refused. Dr. Sampson, however, wrote to Burleigh, the treasurer, earnestly intreating him, in this case, to use his influence with the archbishop. In this letter, he observed, that though the archbishop did not himself like to take pains in the congregation, he should

usually carried things with a very high hand, expecting all to bow to her will and pleasure. This arbitrary temper she exercised over her own clergy, as well as others. Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, and one of the queen's chaplains, having spoken less reverently of the sign of the cross, in a sermon preached before her majesty, she called aloud to him from her closet window, commanding him to retire from that ungodly digression, and return to his text.—On another occasion, Elizabeth and the Earl of Essex not exactly agreeing in a point of political prudence, this sovereign lady was so exceedingly provoked, that she gave him a box on the ear, and bid him "go and be hanged."—*Heylin's Hist. of Reformation*. p. 124. Edit. 1670.—*Rapin's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 149.

\* Strype's Parker, p. 428.

not hinder or forbid others, who were both able and willing. He could say of Mr. Deering, that his grace of Canterbury could find no fault with him, either in his doctrine or his life. Also, that it was no great promotion, but a place in which, by the labours of Mr. Deering, he doubted not that her majesty's subjects would be much profited. It was all to no purpose. The archbishop remembered his former nonconformity, but especially his puritanical answers to the articles in the star-chamber; and, therefore, remained inflexible, and would not admit him.\*

At length, Mr. Deering being worn out by hard labours and manifold troubles, fell sick; and perceiving his dissolution to approach, he said to his friends, "The good Lord pardon my great negligence, that, while I had time, I used not his precious gifts more for the advancement of his glory, as I might have done: yet I bless God, that I have not abused those gifts to ambition and vain studies. When I am dead, my enemies will be reconciled to me; excepting such as knew me not, or such as have in them no sense of the truth. I have faithfully, and with a good conscience, served the Lord my God, and my prince." A brother minister standing by him, said, "It is a great blessing to you, that you shall depart in peace, and be taken from many troubles, which your brethren shall behold and suffer." To whom he replied, "If the Lord hath appointed that his saints shall sup together in heaven, why do I not go to them? But if there be any doubt or hesitation resting on my spirit, the Lord reveal the truth unto me." Having for some time lain still, a friend who attended him, said, that he hoped his mind had been employed in holy meditation; to whom he thus replied: "A poor wretch and a miserable man that I am, the least of all saints, the chief of all sinners! yet I trust in Christ my Saviour. Yet a little while, and we shall see our hope. The end of the world is coming upon us; and we shall quickly receive the end of our hope, which we have so much looked for. Afflictions, diseases, sickness, and grief, are only parts of that portion which God hath allotted us in this world. It is not enough to continue some time in his ways; we must persevere in the fear of the Lord to the end of our days. For in a moment we shall be taken away. Take heed, therefore, that you do not make sport of the word of God, nor lightly esteem so great a treasure.

\* Strype's Parker, p. 468, 470.

Blessed are they who, while they have tongues, use them to God's glory."

As the hour of his dissolution approached, being raised up in bed, his friends desired him to say something to their edification and comfort. The sun shining in his face, he thus addressed them: "As there is only one sun in the world, so there is only one righteousness, and one communion of saints. If I were the most excellent creature in the world, equal in righteousness to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, yet would I confess myself to be a sinner, and that I expected salvation in the righteousness of Jesus Christ alone: for we all stand in need of the grace of God. As for my death, I bless God, I find and feel so much comfort and joy in my soul, that if I were put to my choice, whether to die or live, I would a thousand times rather choose death than life, if it was the holy will of God." He died soon after, June 26, 1576.\*

Fuller denominates Mr. Deering a pious man, a painful preacher, and an eminent divine; but disaffected to bishops and ceremonies.† Mr. Strype says, he was disliked by the bishops, and some other great personages, as a man vain and full of fancies, because he would tell them of their common swearing and covetousness. He would not associate with persecutors; and was much grieved when the benefice of a great parish was given to an unpreaching minister. Yet, says he, it was Mr. Deering's common fault to tell lies.‡ Does not this look like a slander? What did the excellent Dr. Sampson say of him, as already noticed, who knew him well? Surely, if this had been his common fault, having so many enemies constantly and narrowly watching him, his sin would have found him out. Granger gives a very different account of him. "The happy death," says he, "of this truly religious man, was suitable to the purity and integrity of his life."§ He is classed with the other learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.¶

Mr. Deering was a man of great learning, and a fine orator; but in his sermon before the queen, February 25, 1569, he had the boldness to say, "If you have sometimes said (meaning in the days of her sister Mary,) *tanquam ovis*, as a sheep appointed to be slain; take heed you hear not

\* Account annexed to Mr. Deering's Lects. on Heb.—Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 341, 342.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 109.

‡ Strype's *Parker*, p. 381, 429.

§ Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 215.

¶ Fuller's *Hist. of Cam.* p. 92.

now of the prophet, *tanquam indomica juvenca*, as an untamed and unruly heifer.\* For this, he was forbidden preaching any more at court; and surely, says Fuller, the queen still retained much of her former disposition, *as a sheep*, in not inflicting a greater punishment, for so public a reproof.†

Mr. Clark relates the following anecdote, shewing the amiableness of his truly christian spirit. Mr. Deering being once at a public dinner, a gallant young man sat on the opposite side the table, who, besides other vain discourse, broke out into profane swearing; for which Mr. Deering gravely and sharply reprov'd him. The young man taking this as an affront, immediately threw a glass of beer in his face. Mr. Deering took no notice of the insult, but wiped his face, and continued eating as before. The young gentleman presently renewed his profane conversation; and Mr. Deering reprov'd him as before; upon which, but with more rage and violence, he flung another glass of beer in his face. Mr. Deering continued unmoved, still shewing his zeal for the glory of God, by bearing the insult with christian meekness and humble silence. This so astonished the young gentleman, that he rose from the table, fell on his knees, and asked Mr. Deering's pardon; and declared, that if any of the company offered him similar insults, he would stab them with his sword.‡ Here was practically verified, the New Testament maxim, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

**His WORKS.**—1. A Sermon at the Tower of London, 1569.—2. A sparing Restraint of many lavish Untruths, which Master D. Harding doth challenge in the first Article of my L. of Salisburies Reply, 1569.—3. Certaine godly and comfortable Letters, full of Christian Consolation, 1571.—4. Twenty-seven Lectures, or Readings, upon part of the Epistle to the Hebrewes, 1576.—5. A Sermon preached before the Queen's Majesty, the 25th day of February, 1599, from Psalm lxxviii. 70., 1584.—6. A briefe and necessarie Catechisme, or Instruction very needful to be known to all Householdiers.—All these were collected and published in one volume, in 4to., 1597.

**THOMAS ALDRICH, A. M.**—He was son of John Aldrich, who was twice chosen mayor of the city of Norwich, and member of several parliaments for that city. His father being a public character, introduced him to public notice,

\* Sermon before the Queen, Feb. 25, 1569.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 109.

‡ Clark's Examples, p. 500. Edlt. 1671.

and obtained his preferment to several ecclesiastical benefices. He was made archdeacon of Sudbury, prebendary of Westminster, master of Bennet college, Cambridge, proctor of the university, and rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk.\* About the same time, he became chaplain to Archbishop Parker, and was appointed one of the commissioners for visiting and reforming the papists in the county of Norfolk.† Notwithstanding all these worldly allurements, together with a flattering prospect of much higher advancement, he espoused the cause of the despised puritans; became a zealous nonconformist, and one of their leaders in the university of Cambridge.

It is observed, that, May 20, 1571, Mr. Aldrich preached at Thetford, in Norfolk: May 21st, he preached at Wymondham: May 22d, he preached at Matshall: May 24th, he preached in St. Clement's church, Norwich: and the next Lord's day, May 27th, he preached in the Greenyard, before the mayor and citizens. He was, therefore, no indolent labourer in the Lord's vineyard.‡

Mr. Aldrich being master of the above college, and refusing, from a scrupulous conscience, to take the degrees required of those in that office, was brought into many troubles, and at length, to avoid expulsion, resigned his mastership of the college. Many other grievous complaints are said to have been brought against him, most probably about his nonconformity. In one of these complaints, he is said to have called the archbishop "the pope of Lambeth and Bennet college." Dr. Whitgift, at this time one of the heads of the university, took an active part in these severities. This was in the year 1573; but some time previous to these troubles, Mr. Aldrich voluntarily resigned his prebend at Westminster.§ It is, indeed, acknowledged, that as he objected taking the degrees, upon the ground of a scrupulous conscience, the treatment he met with was *rather too severe*.||

The author last cited, however, brings many foul accusations against him. He observes, that Mr. Aldrich was charged, not only with refusing to qualify for his office, but with evil government of his college, in neglecting its exercises and discipline; with things prejudicial to its temporal interests; and with various other things, to the number of twenty. And the troubles of the college did not

\* Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. ii. p. 468.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 925.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 284.

§ Ibid. p. 429—433.—Whitgift, p. 69.

|| Master's Hist. of C. C. C. p. 119. Edit. 1753.

end with his resignation. For the masters and fellows, says he, were afterwards under the necessity of appealing to Chancery, to oblige him to account for several sums of money which he had received, and had not paid; to restore many writings, the private seal of the master, and ~~some~~ other things; and to discharge the various debts which he had contracted. These, however, were not recovered till after his death, which happened in the year 1576.\* These are certainly very heavy charges! But how far he was guilty, is not easy now to ascertain. He was a man well versed in the learned languages, also in the French and Italian.† The Oxford historian says, that he was deprived of his prebend for notorious nonconformity; but, upon his repentance and reconciliation, that he was admitted to another prebend, in 1576, the year in which he died.‡ It is not easy to reconcile this with the account given above from Mr. Strype.

**THOMAS LEVER, B. D.**—This celebrated divine was born of respectable parents at Little Lever in Lancashire, and educated in the university of Cambridge. After taking his degrees, he was chosen fellow, then master of St. John's college; in which office he succeeded Dr. William Bill, and was the seventh master of the house.§ He was a famous disputant, a celebrated scholar, and remarkably zealous in the advancement of true religion.¶ He was ordained both priest and deacon, in the year 1550, by Bishop Ridley, afterwards martyr in the Marian persecution, and was a most eloquent and popular preacher to the close of the reign of King Edward.‡ This learned prelate had a very high opinion of him, and esteemed him famous for his bold and plain preaching. Speaking of the preaching of Latimer, Bradford, Knox, and Lever, he said: "They ripped so deeply in the galled backs of the great men at court, to have purged them of the filthy matter festered in their hearts; as, insatiable covetousness, filthy carnality, voluptuousness, intolerable pride, and ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor mens' cases and God's word; that they could never abide them above all others."\*\* Afterwards,

\* Master's Hist. of C. C. C. p. 111, 112.

† Strype's Parker, p. 289.

‡ Wood's Athense Oxon. vol. i. p. 725.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 146.

¶ Strype's Cranmer, p. 163.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 146.

\*\* Strype's Parker, p. 211.

when Ridley was cast into prison, and not long before he was committed to the flames, he wrote a letter to his friend Grindal, then in exile, in which he made affectionate and honourable mention of Mr. Lever, as one of the persecuted servants of Christ.\*

In the above year he preached two sermons, the one at Paul's cross,† the other before the king, which, it is said, would in that day have spoiled any man's preferment. As he delivered several things on these occasions, illustrating the history of the time, and particularly shewing the state of learning, the way of living, and the course of study, as well as the manner of preaching, in those days, we shall take notice of one or two passages; which serve also to describe the author in his spirit and address. Having spoken in commendation of King Henry's bounty, in giving £200 annually, towards the exhibition of five learned men, to read and teach divinity, law, physic, Greek and Hebrew, and of his munificence in founding Trinity college, and other bounties, he proceeds as follows:

“Howbeit, all they that have knowen the universitye of  
 “Cambryge, sense that tyme that it dyd fyrst begynne to  
 “receive these greate and manyefolde benefytes from the  
 “kynges magstye, at youre handes, have juste occasion  
 “to suspecte that you have decyved boeth the kynge and  
 “universitie, to enryche yourselves. For before that you  
 “dyd begynne to be the disposers of the kynges lyberalitye  
 “towards learnynge and poverty, ther was in houses be-  
 “longynge unto the universitye of Cambryge two hundred  
 “students of dyvynytye, many verye well learned: whyche  
 “be nowe all clene gone, house and name; younge towarde  
 “scholers, and old fatherlye doctors, not one of them  
 “left. One hundred also of an other sorte, that havynge  
 “rich frendes or beyng benefyced men dyd lyve of theym-  
 “selves in ottels and innes, be eyther gon awaye, or elles  
 “fayne to crepe into colleges, and put poore men from  
 “bare lvynges. Those bothe be all gone, and a small  
 “number of poore godly dylygent students now remaynyng  
 “only in colleges be not able to tary, and contynue  
 “their studye in the universitye, for lacke of exhibition.  
 “and healpe. There be dyverse ther which ryse dayly  
 “betwixt foure and fyve of the clocke in the mornyng;

\* Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 347.

† Paul's cross was a pulpit, in the form of a cross, which stood nearly in the middle of St. Paul's church-yard, where the first reformers used frequently to preach unto the people.

“and from fyve untill syxe of the clocke, use common  
 “prayer, wyth an exhortation of God’s worde, in a commori  
 “chappell; and from sixe unto ten of the clocke, use ever  
 “eyther private study or common lectures. At tenne of  
 “the clocke they go to dynner, where as they be contente  
 “wyth a penyve pyece of biese amongst foure, havynge  
 “a fewe porage made of the brothe of the same byefe,  
 “wythe salte and otemel, and nothyng els.

“After thys slender dinner, they be either teachinge or  
 “learnynge untill fyve of the clocke in the evening,  
 “whenas they have a supper not much better than theyr  
 “diner. Immedyatelye after the wyche, they go cyther to  
 “reasonynge in problemes or unto some other studye, untill  
 “it be nyne or tenne of the clocke; and there beyngē  
 “wythout fyre, are fayne to walke or runne up and downe  
 “halfe an houre, to gette a heate on their feete, when they  
 “go to bed.”\*

Notwithstanding the heavy pressures under which the university, and particularly St. John’s college, groaned, of which Mr. Lever complains in his sermons, occasioned by the hungry courtiers invading the ecclesiastical preferments; yet his college greatly flourished, as well in religion as in sound learning. The reformation in no place gained more ground, or was maintained with greater zeal, than in this college, and under the worthy example and just government of this master. This was manifest in the day of trial; when he, with twenty-four of his fellows, quitted their places and preferments, to preserve their own consciences.†

Mr. Lever was a zealous advocate for the reformation, as well as genuine piety. He held a correspondence with his numerous friends; and among his letters, the following, which contains information not unworthy of notice, is given as a specimen of his sentiments and address. It is addressed to the learned Roger Ascham; and though there is no year mentioned, it appears from the contents to have been written November 13, 1551, and about the time when he was preferred to the mastership of his college.‡

“To Roger Ascham,

“My salutation in Christ. I have received your letters  
 “written unto me. As concerning a privilege to be pro-  
 “cured for you, so that the reading of Greek in Cambridge  
 “might be free from *Celibatus*, and such acts as the fellows

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 147, 148.

† Ibid. p. 149, 150.

‡ Ibid. vol. xxxii. p. 496, 497.

" of the house be bound unto. I have also shewed Mr.  
 " Cheek your request, and have as yet no answer from him.  
 " Your letters of news written to all the fellows of St.  
 " John's, are as yet reserved there, and come not as yet  
 " unto my sight. As touching the imprisonment of the  
 " Duke of Somerset and his wife, the Earl of Arundel, the  
 " Earl Paget, Lord Gray and others, that be lately put  
 " into the Tower, other men that know more than I do  
 " may write unto you better than I can. The bishoprics of  
 " Lincoln, Rochester and Chichester, be as yet void, and  
 " appointed as yet certainly to no man for as much as I know.  
 " Mr. Horne is dean of Durham, Dr. Redman is deceased,  
 " and Dr. Bill by the king is appointed master of Trinity  
 " college, Cambridge, and I to succeed him in the master-  
 " ship of St. John's. Dr. Redman being in a consumption  
 " did look certainly for death, and did ever talk of religion  
 " as one who had clean forsaken the world, and look and  
 " desire to be with God. I will shew you part of such talk  
 " as Mr. Young of Cambridge did hear of Dr. Redman  
 " himself, and did shew unto me afterwards. First, Dr.  
 " Redman being desired to answer to questions of religion  
 " his judgment, did say, that he would answer betwixt God  
 " and his conscience, without any worldly respect. Then  
 " being demanded what he thought of the see of Rome, he  
 " said, it was the *sink of iniquity*: but do not you also think  
 " that we have a *stinking pump* in the *church of England*?  
 " To the demand of *purgatory*, he said, there was no such pur-  
 " gatory as the schoolmen do imagine; but when Christ shall  
 " come surrounded with fire from heaven, then all meeting  
 " him shall there be purged, as I think, said he, and as  
 " many authors do take it. And to make the *mass* a  
 " sacrifice for the dead, is to be plain against Christ. And  
 " to the proposition, *faith only justifieth*, he answered, that  
 " was a comfortable and sweet doctrine, being rightly under-  
 " stood of a true and lively faith, and that no works could  
 " deserve salvation; no, not the works of grace in a man  
 " that is justified. When he was asked what he thought of  
 " *transubstantiation*, he said, he had studied that matter  
 " these twelve years, and did find that Tertullian, Irenæus  
 " and Origen, did plainly write contrary to it, and in the other  
 " ancient writers it was not taught nor maintained. There-  
 " fore, in the schoolmen, he thought he should have found  
 " plain and sufficient matter for it; but in them there was  
 " no good ground, but all was imaginations and gross errors.  
 " Concerning the presence, he said, that Christ was in the

“sacrament really and corporally, as Mr. Young told me; and yet being asked whether that was Christ’s body which we see the priest lift up, he said that Christ’s body could neither be lifted up, nor down; and carrying it about to be honoured, he said, was an evil abuse. Also, he said, that evil men do not receive Christ’s body, but the sacrament thereof. He advised Mr. Young to study the scriptures, and to beware of men. He said also that the book which my lord of Canterbury last set forth of this matter, is a wonderful book, and willed Mr. Young to read it with diligence. Mr. Young said to me, that whereas he was aforetime as ready and willing to have died for the transubstantiation of the sacrament, as for Christ’s incarnation; he is now purposed to take deliberation, and to study after a more indifferent sort, to ground his judgment better than upon a common consent of many that have borne the name of Christ. I trust that not only Mr. Young, but many others are drawn from their obstinacy unto more indifferency, by Dr. Redman’s communication.

“If I be master of St. John’s college, I shall be desirous to have you at home, and not unwilling that you should have and enjoy any privilege that may encourage you to a better knowledge of the Greek tongue.\* Since I wrote last, there be dead of your acquaintance Dr. Neveyear, Dr. Redman, and Dr. Bell the physician. All other your friends and acquaintance are in good health. When you talk with God in meditation and prayer remember me. Consider; be vigilant; pray, pray, pray. Scribbled at London, 13 November.

“Faithfully yours,

“THOMAS LEVER.”

On the death of King Edward, and the return of popery and persecution, Mr. Lever withdrew from the storm, fled beyond sea, and was involved in the troubles at Frankfort. It does not, however, appear that he took any active part in

\* Roger Ascham, to whom this epistle was addressed, was one of the brightest geniuses and politest scholars of his age. He was public orator of the university of Cambridge, and Latin secretary to Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, the last of whom he taught to write a fine hand, and instructed in the Greek and Latin languages, of which he was a consummate master. His letters are valuable both for style and matter, and are almost the only classical work of the kind written by an Englishman; yet with all his learning and refinement, he was extravagantly fond of archery, dicing and cockfighting.—*Wood’s Atheneæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 695. *Granger’s Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 276.

those disgraceful broils, but was invited thither to be one of the pastors of the church, and a judicious mediator between the contending parties. Herein his worthy service utterly failed. He also visited the learned protestants at Strasburgh, Basil, Zurich, Berne, Lausanne, and Geneva; among whom he discovered great learning, sound doctrine, and godly discipline, especially in Bullinger and Calvin; as he wrote to his intimate friend Mr. John Bradford, then in confinement previous to his martyrdom.\* While Mr. Lever was in a state of exile, he lived chiefly at Arrau in Switzerland, where he was chosen pastor to the English church. The members of this church, under his pastoral care, are said to have lived together in godly quietness among themselves, and in great favour with the people among whom they were planted. Upon the arrival of news of the queen's death, and a prospect of better days in his own country, he united with his brethren at Arrau, in addressing a most affectionate letter of congratulation to their brethren in exile at Geneva.†

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Lever returned home, but not to the mastership of his college, having brought with him, it is said, "that unhappy tincture which disqualified him for his preferment."‡ This was his non-conformity. Having acted upon the genuine protestant principles, in matters of ceremony and discipline, while in a foreign land, he wished to act upon them now he was returned to his native country, and was desirous that the reformation might be carried on towards perfection.

He was a celebrated preacher at court, and was often called to preach before the queen. He had so much influence over her majesty, that he dissuaded her from assuming the title of *Supreme Head*; for which, though he did it with great temper, he was severely censured by persons of another spirit.§ It was this which gave the first and great offence to the ruling courtiers. Though they had heard him with great attention in the days of King Edward, they would not amend their lives under Queen Elizabeth, nor would many of them attend upon his ministry. He entered upon the married state soon after his return from exile, and sooner than he could do it with safety. His marriage, as well as his puritanical principles, appears to

\* Troubles at Frankeford, p. 30.—Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 131.

† Troubles at Frankeford, p. 159, 164.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol i. p. 150.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 132.

have been some hinderance to his return to the mastership of his college.\*

In the year 1561, according to Mr. Strype, he was preferred to a prebend in the church of Durham, and to the mastership of Sherborn hospital, near Durham; the former of which, he says, in one place, he supposes Mr. Lever was deprived of for nonconformity, and in another, that he resigned it in the year 1571.† In addition to this information, he tells us that upon Mr. Lever's return from exile, he obtained no other preferment besides that of the mastership of the above hospital, which he kept to his death: yet he mentions him as Archdeacon of Coventry, and in this capacity, sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the Articles of Religion.‡ It is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to reconcile these accounts of the learned and voluminous historian. By another writer, he is said to have been collated to the mastership of the above hospital, January 28, 1562; and, the year following, to his prebend in the church of Durham; both of which, he supposes Mr. Lever held by connivance from Bishop Pilkington, who had formerly been one of the fellows in the university.§

Archbishop Parker having pressed conformity to the habits and ceremonies, sequestered and deprived many learned and faithful ministers. This was a great affliction to the Lord's servants. They were exceedingly tempted and tried. The sorrow of most ministers was, indeed, very great; and they murmured, saying, "We are killed in our souls, by this pollution of the bishops. We cannot perform our ministry in the singleness of our hearts. We abide in extreme misery, our wives, and our children, by the proceedings of the bishops, who oppose us, and place ignorant ministers in our places."¶ Mr. Lever, therefore, addressed an excellent letter to the Earl of Leicester and Sir William Cecil, dated February 24, 1565, in which he exposes the extreme hardships under which the puritans laboured, by the imposition of the habits and ceremonies; and earnestly solicits them to use their utmost endeavours to procure some favour for his silenced brethren, who had been lawfully admitted into the ministry, and had always

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 152.

† Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 133.—Parker, p. 325.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 290. vol. ii. Appen. p. 15.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 150.

¶ Ibid. vol. xxvii. p. 388, 389.

faithfully preached the gospel. In this letter, he expressed himself as follows:\*

“Wherefore in the universities and elsewhere,” says he, “no standing but sinking doth appear; when, as the office and living of a minister shall be taken from him, who, once lawfully admitted, hath ever since diligently preached, because he now refuseth prescription of men in apparel; and the name, living, and office of a minister of God’s word, allowed to him who neither *can* nor *will* preach, except as a mere form.—Now there is notable papistry in England and Scotland proved and proclaimed by the preaching of the gospel, to be idolatry and treason, and how much idolatry and treason is yet nourished in the hearts of many, God knoweth; and how the old stumbling-blocks are set up in many things and many places, especially the crucifix in England, and the mass in Scotland, before the faces of the highest, is daily seen by idolaters and traitors with rejoicing and hope; and by christian and obedient subjects with sorrow of heart and fear of the state.

“If, in the ministry and ministers of God’s word, the sharpness of salt by doctrine to mortify affections, be rejected, and ceremonial service, with flattery to feed affections, be retained, then doth Christ threaten such treading under foot, as no power nor policy can withstand.

“Now, therefore, my prayer unto God, and writing to your honours, is, that authority in England, and especially you may for sincere religion refuse worldly pleasure and gains. You ought not to allow any such corruptions among protestants, being God’s servants, as to make papists to rejoice and hope for a day, being God’s enemies: but rather cause such abolishing of inward papistry, and outward monuments of the same, as should cause idolatrous traitors to grieve, and faithful subjects to be glad: such casting forth of the unsavoury ministry and ministers, as might make only such as have the savouriness of doctrine and edification to be allowed to that office, seeing such ministry only may preserve princes, and priests, and people from casting and treading under foot: and so not deceiving and leaving the godly in distress, to perish with the ungodly; but ever travelling to deliver, defend and help the godly, till by God’s providence and promise they be delivered and preserved from all danger, and in continuance and increase of

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 550—561.—Styree’s Parker, Appen. 77.

godly honour; which God for his mercy in Christ grant unto the queen's majesty, unto you and all other of her honourable council, amen. By yours at commandment, faithfully in Christ,

“THOMAS LEVER.”

Mr. Lever was a person greatly beloved, especially by persons of learning and real worth; but the above letter was most probably without its desired effect. He was a most learned and popular preacher at court; and though he was a decided nonconformist, he obtained a connivance for some time. In the year 1566, when many excellent ministers were silenced for refusing the habits and ceremonies, he is said to have been still allowed to preach;\* but the year following, he was deprived of his prebend in the church of Durham.†

There were at this period numerous puritans confined in the various prisons about London, for refusing conformity to the established church; when Mr. Lever wrote a letter, dated December 5, 1568, to those who were confined in Bridewell. In this excellent letter, he first endeavours to comfort the prisoners under their manifold afflictions; then declares that though the popish garments were not in themselves unclean, he was resolved, by the grace of God, never to wear the *square cap* and *surplice*; “because,” says he, “they tend neither to decency nor edification, but to offence, dissention, and division in the church of Christ.” He would, therefore, use his utmost endeavours to get them abolished; and adds, “that he would not kneel at the communion, because it would be symbolizing with popery, and would look too much like the adoration of the host.”‡ Though he was a fixed nonconformist, he was a man of a peaceable spirit, and of great moderation, and constantly opposed to a total separation from the church.

These excellent qualifications could not screen him from the persecutions of the times: for he was not only deprived of his prebend, as observed above, but, in June 1571, he was convened before Archbishop Parker and others of the high commission at Lambeth. What prosecution he underwent on this occasion, we are unable fully to ascertain, only our historian by mistake observes, that he resigned, or was deprived of, his prebend.§

\* Strype's Parker, p. 223.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. I. p. 151.

‡ MS. Register, p. 18, 19.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 325.—Grindal, p. 170.

Mr. Lever was a person of great usefulness. He spent great pains in promoting the welfare of his hospital, not only by preaching and other religious exercises, but by recovering its temporal privileges. On account of the corrupt management of its estates, which were rented by several persons one of another, its pecuniary income was very much reduced, and even almost lost : but by his zealous and vigorous efforts, it was effectually recovered. His endeavours in this business reflect much honour on his character.\* In this situation he spent the latter part of life in great reputation and usefulness, and died in the month of July, 1577. His remains were interred in the chapel belonging to the hospital, and over his grave was the following plain monumental inscription erected to his memory :†

THOMAS LEVER,  
preacher to King EDWARD VI.  
He died in July,  
1577.

A few weeks previous to his death, Mr. Lever received a letter from the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, dated June 18, 1577, requiring him, in her majesty's name, to put down the prophesyings within his archdeaconry.‡ Had he lived a little longer, he would in all probability have felt the severities of persecution from the new Bishop of Durham, as was the case with his brother Whittingham ; but God took him away from the evil to come. Fuller says, that whatever preferment in the church he pleased, courted his acceptance ; but is greatly mistaken concerning the time and place of his death.§ Mr. Strype denominates him a man of distinguished eminence for piety, learning, and preaching the gospel.¶ Mr. Gilpin says, he was a man of excellent parts, considerable learning, and very exemplary piety ; that, in the days of King Edward, he was esteemed an excellent and bold preacher ; and that he was the intimate friend of the celebrated Bernard Gilpin.‡ Mr. Baker has favoured us with the following account of him : “ Preaching,” says this writer, “ was indeed his talent, which, as it was thought fit to be made the only ingredient in his character, so he continued in it to the last, even after

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 513, 514.

† Ibid.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 151.

‡ MS. Register, p. 284.

§ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 284.

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 211.

‡ Gilpin's Life of Bernard Gilpin, p. 249. Edit. 1780.

he was deprived. Thus much may be gathered from the printed Register, that will give a very authentic character of the man. From the passage, it appears, that he was a useful preacher, and permitted to preach after his deprivation; that he was inoffensive in his temper; and that no sufferings could provoke him. In the days of King Edward, when others were striving for preferment, no man was more vehement, or more galling in his sermons, against the waste of church revenues, and other prevailing corruptions of the court; which occasioned Bishop Ridley to rank him with Latimer and Knox. He was a man of as much natural probity and blunt native honesty as his college ever bred: a man without guile and artifice; who never made suit to any patron, or for any preferment; one that had the spirit of Hugh Latimer. No one can read his sermons without imagining he has something before him of Latimer or Luther. Though his sermons are bold and daring, and full of rebuke, it was his preaching that got him his preferment. His rebuking the courtiers made them afraid of him, and procured him reverence from the king. He was one of the best masters of his college, as well as one of the best of men the college ever bred.\* He was succeeded in the mastership of his hospital by his brother, Mr. Ralph Lever, another puritan divine. Mr. Henry Lever, his grandson, and Mr. Robert Lever, his great-grandson, were both ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662.†

His WORKS.—1. Sermon on Rom. xiii. 1—7., 1550.—2. A Sermon preached the thyrd Sondaye in Lente before the Kynges Majestic, on John vi. 5—14., 1550.—3. A Sermon preached at Paul's Cross, the 14th day of December, on 1 Cor. iv. 1., 1550.—4. The right Way from the Danger of Sin and Vengeance in this wicked World, unto godly Wealth and Salvation in Christ, 1575.—5. A Commentary on the Lord's Prayer.—6. The Path-way to Christ.

FRANCIS MERBURY was minister at Northampton, and brought into many troubles for nonconformity, being several times cast into prison. November 5, 1578, he was convened before the high commission; when he underwent the following examination before Bishop Aylmer, Sir Owen Hopton, Dr. Lewis, Mr. Recorder, and Archdeacon Mullins, in the consistory of St. Paul's, London :

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 146, 152.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 58, 79.

**Bishop. Merbury, where have you been since your last enlargement?**

**Merbury.** At Northampton.

**B.** You were especially forbidden to go to that place. For there you did all the harm.

**M.** I was not, neither in justice may be inhibited from that place. Neither have I done harm there, but good.

**B.** As you say, sir.

**M.** Not so. I refer myself to the judgment of God's church at that place.

**B.** The last time, you found more favour than you deserved, and more than you shall find hereafter; and yet you vaunted that you had rattled the Bishop of Peterborough, and in like manner you would treat me.

**M.** If your ears be open to every sycophant, you will have slanders enow: but for proof, bring forth mine accusers. For if bare words will serve your purpose, you may as well accuse me of high treason.

**B.** Well, sir, what have you to say against my lord of Peterborough, or me?

**M.** Nothing; but God save you both.

**B.** Nothing! Why, you were wont to bark much of dumb dogs. Are you now weary of it?

**M.** I came not to accuse, but to defend. Yet because you urge me for advantage, I say, that the bishops of London and Peterborough, and all the bishops in England, are guilty of the death of as many souls, as have perished by the ignorance of the ministers of their making, whom they *knew* to be unable.

**B.** Whom such have I made?

**M.** I accuse you not particularly, because I know not your state. If you have, you must bear the condemnation.

**B.** Thy proposition is false. If it were in Cambridge, it would be hissed out of the schools.

**M.** Then you had need hire hissers.

**B.** If I, finding one well qualified with learning, admit him, and he afterwards play the truant, and become ignorant, and by his ignorance slay souls, am I guilty of their death?

**M.** This is another question. I distinguish and speak of them which never were able.

**B.** Distinguish! thou knowest not a distinction. What is a distinction?

**M.** It is the severing of things which appear to be the same.

B. Nay, that is *differentia*.\*

M. *Different, quæ non sunt ambigua*; but we distinguish those things only which are ambiguous: as, you differ not from the Bishop of London; but I may distinguish between you and the Bishop of London, because you are a man though you were without a bishopric.

B. Here is a tale of a tub. How many predicaments are there?

M. I answer you according to your question, if I say there are enow of seven. Why do you ask me questions so impertinent?

B. How many predicables be there? Where didst thou learn logic?

M. The last time you spoke of good behaviour; but this is something else. I am no logician.

Recorder. Merbury, use my lord more reverently. He is a peer of the realm. I perceive your words are puffed up with pride.

M. I speak only the truth. I reverence him so far as he is reverend; and I pray God to teach him to die.

B. Thou speakest of making ministers. The Bishop of Peterborough was never more overseen in his life than when he admitted thee to be a preacher in Northampton.

M. Like enough so, in some sense. I pray God those scales may fall from his eyes.

B. Thou art a very ass; thou art mad; thou art courageous; nay, thou art impudent. By my troth, I think he is mad: he careth for nobody.

M. Sir, I take exception against swearing judges. I praise God I am not mad, but sorry to see you so much out of temper.

B. Did you ever hear one more impudent.

M. It is not impudency, I trust, to answer for myself.

B. Nay, I know thou art courageous; thou art foolhardy.

M. Though I fear not you, yet I fear the Lord.

R. Is he learned?

B. Learned! He hath an arrogant spirit. He can scarce construe Cato, I think.

M. Sir, you do not punish me because I am unlearned. Howbeit, I understand both Greek and Latin. Make trial of me, to prove your disgrace.

\* What ridiculous trifling was this! Yet this is the prelate whom Mr. Strype extols on account of his great learning, and deep knowledge of divinity.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 255.

B. Thou takest upon thee to be a preacher, but there is nothing in thee. Thou art a *very ass*, an *idiot*, and a *fool*.\*

M. I humbly beseech you, sir, have patience, and give this people a better example. Through the Lord, I am what I am. I submit the trial of my sufficiency to the judgment of the learned. But this wandering speech is not logical.

Hopton. Mr. Merbury, how do you prove all the bishops in England, to be guilty of the death of as many souls as have perished, by the ignorance of the unable ministers which they have made?

M. If they ordain unmeet or unable ministers, they give unto them imposition of hands *too hastily*, to do which, the apostle saith, they are partakers of other mens' sins.

B. The Greek word importeth nothing but the examination of their lives.

M. It is general enough to include both; and it is before set down in the Epistle as a positive law. "A bishop (a word formerly used in a more general sense) must be apt to teach;" and, according to the apostle, if he be not so approved to your conscience, you communicate with his sins.

B. What sins are those, I pray thee?

M. Soul-murder.

B. How dost thou prove that?

M. The words of the prophet are, "My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge." And who should teach them knowledge?

B. Knowledge! Have they not the homilies and the catechism? It is more, methinks, than they will learn.

M. Yes, or their parish priest either, to any purpose, in many places.

B. Why then, by thy saying, it seems they have too much of this already.

M. And too little of the other.

B. What other?

M. I mean preaching. What can an ignorant minister see in those things more than a book-learned parishioner?

B. O! thou wouldst have all preaching. Are not the homilies sermons?

M. God giveth his own blessing to his own appointed means, which is preaching, not reading:

\* Such was the language from a lord bishop, whom Mr. Strype highly commends as an *exact logician*, and a man of *universal learning*!—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 240.

**B.** Mark you what his words insinuate. He condemneth reading in churches; and seemeth to affirm; that they are all damned, whose minister is not a preacher. You see what he is.

**Dr. Lewis.** By St. Mary, these be pernicious errors. Sir, what say you of them?

**M.** Mr. Doctor, I allow of the reading of the scriptures in the church; for Christ read Esaias in the temple, and expounded what he read. I am no judge. God hath extraordinary supplies, when he takes away the ordinary means; but it is good for us not to tempt God, but thankfully to use his ordinary means.

**L.** Go to the purpose. If I present a man to my lord, whom I take to be a true man, and he prove a thief, am I guilty of his theft? Neither is the bishop guilty of the faults of ministers, of whom there is good hope when he maketh them.

**M.** Sir, you argue *a paribus*, but your reason holdeth not.

**L.** Why?

**M.** You may try him who would be a spiritual thief before you trust him: but you cannot try the other till he have stolen something.

**L.** What trial would you have more than this: he is a honest man, and in time likely to prove learned?

**M.** Then, in the mean time, the people perish. You will not commit your sucking child to a dry nurse, be she ever so honest.

**L.** A good life is a good sermon; and such ministers slay no souls, though they be not so exquisite.

**M.** To teach by example only, is good in a matron whom silence best becometh; but the apostle telleth Titus, that "ministers must be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."

**B.** This fellow would have a preacher in every parish church!

**M.** So would St. Paul.

**B.** Where wouldst thou have them?

**M.** In Cambridge, in Oxford, in the inns of court, yea, and some in prison, if more were wanted. We doing our part, the Lord would do his.

**B.** I thought where thou wouldst be. But where is the living for them?

**M.** A man might cut a large thong out of your hide, and that of the other prelates, and it would never be missed.

B. Go thou on to contrive. Thou shalt orderly dispose of our livings.

M. That is more than you can do yourselves. If rich livings be the fault, they are to blame who have too much. Whatever be the cause, the church feeleth the smart.

Mullins. Sir, in the beginning of her majesty's reign, there was a defect of able men; and the church was constrained to take such as it could get, upon the recommendation of noblemen.

M. I speak of later times. As for noblemen, they are no sureties for us; and as to the defect, it cannot wholly dispense with the word. A minister must be able to teach.

Mull. Then you would have a preacher, or none at all; and so the church would be unserved.

M. It would be better to have nothing, than that which God would not have.

B. How dost thou prove that God would not have them, when we can get no better?

M. Doth he not say, "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no priest unto me?"

B. Thou are an overthwart, proud, puritan knave.\* Thou wilt go to Northampton; and thou wilt have thine own sayings till thou die. But thou shalt repent.

M. I am no puritan. I beseech you to be good to me. I have been twice in prison already; but I know not why.

B. Where was he before?

Keeper of the Gatehouse. With me, my lord.

B. Have him to the Marshalsea. There he shall cope with the papists.

M. I must go where it pleaseth God. But remember God's judgments. You do me open wrong. I pray God forgive you.†

Mr. Merbury was then carried to the Marshalsea; but how long he remained in prison we are not able to learn. Notwithstanding the cruelty with which the good man was treated, he was not a person of severe principles, but acted with great moderation; and afterwards, with liberty of interpretation, became much more conformable.‡ A minister of the same name was afterwards

\* This prelate was much accustomed to use foul language. He called Bishop Bonner, because he was remarkably corpulent, "My Lord Lubber of London."—*Strype's Aymer*, p. 275.

† *Parte of a Register*, p. 381—386.

‡ *Baxter's Second Plea*, p. 41.

beneficed in the city of London; but whether he was the same person appears rather doubtful.\*

**WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM, A. M.**—This excellent divine was born in the city of Chester, in the year 1524, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. In 1545, he became fellow of All-Souls college. Afterwards, being accounted one of the best scholars in the university, he was translated to Christ-church, then founded by Henry VIII. In the year 1550, he travelled into France, Germany, and Italy, and returned towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the commencement of her bloody persecution, he fled from the storm, and retired to Frankfort, where he settled among the first of the English exiles. Here he was the first who took the charge of the congregation, but afterwards resigned to Mr. John Knox. Mr. Whittingham and his brethren having comfortably settled their church at Frankfort, invited their brethren, who had taken refuge in other places, to come to them, and participate of their comforts: but on the arrival of Dr. Cox and his friends, instead of union and comfort, they were soon deeply involved in discord and contention; and many of them, in a short were time, obliged to leave the place. Our historian observes, that when “Dr. Cox and others with him came to Frankfort, they began to break that order which was agreed upon: first, by answering aloud after the minister, contrary to the determination of the church; and being admonished thereof by the seniors of the congregation, he, with the rest who came with him, made answer, that they would do as they had done in England, and that they would have the *face* of the English church. And the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the congregation, got up suddenly into the pulpit, read the litany, and Dr. Cox with his company answered aloud, whereby the determination of the church was broken.”† These imperious exiles having, by very ungenerous and unchristian methods, procured the use of the church, Mr. Whittingham said, he did not doubt that it was lawful for him and others to join themselves to some other church. But Dr. Cox sought that it might not be suffered. Then Mr. Whittingham observed, that it would be great cruelty to force men, contrary to their consciences,

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 406, 422, 519.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 31.

to obey all their disorderly proceedings; and offered, if the magistrate would be pleased to give them the hearing, to dispute the matter against all the contrary party, and prove, that the order which they sought to establish, ought not to take place in any reformed church. In this they were expressly prohibited, and even forbidden meddling any more in the business. They ventured, however, to offer, as their last refuge, to refer the whole matter to four arbitrators, two on each side; that it might appear who was faulty, and they might vindicate themselves from the charge of schism: but the proposal was rejected; and after this unkind and unchristian treatment, they left the place.\* Mr. Whittingham being, in effect, driven from Frankfort, went to Geneva, where he was invited to become pastor to the English church. He refused, at first, to accept the charge; but, by the earnest persuasion of John Calvin, he complied with their invitation, and was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. During his abode at Geneva, he was employed with several other learned divines, in publishing a new translation of the Bible. This was afterwards called the Geneva Translation, a particular account of which is given in another place.†

Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Whittingham returned home; and presently after his arrival, was nominated to accompany the Earl of Bedford on his mission to the court of France. Upon his return from France, he accompanied the Earl of Warwick, in his defence of Newhaven against the French. There he was a preacher for some time; and, as Wood observes, though he was ready in his ministerial function, he dissuaded his hearers against conformity, and the observance of the rites and ceremonies of the English church. Yet, such was the high esteem which this excellent earl had for him, that, about 1563, he was the means of procuring from the queen, his preferment to the deanery of Durham.‡ He was a very learned and popular preacher; and in September 1563, he preached before the queen.§ During this year, the ruling prelates proceeded to a more rigorous imposition of the clerical habits; therefore, Mr. Whittingham wrote a most pressing letter to the Earl of Leicester, intreating him to use his interest to prevent it. In this letter, he expressed him-

\* Troubles at Frankford, p. 38—51.

† See Art. Coverdale.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 133.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 327.

§ *Strype's Parker*, p. 135.

self with considerable freedom, upon the painful subject; the substance of which was as follows:\*

“ I understand,” says he, “ they are about to compel us, contrary to our consciences, to wear the popish apparel, or deprive us of our ministry and livings. Yet when I consider the weighty charge enjoined upon us by Almighty God, and the exact account we have to give of the right use and faithful dispensation of his mysteries, I cannot doubt which to choose. He that would prove the use of the apparel to be a thing indifferent, and may be imposed, must prove that it tendeth to God’s glory; that it agreeth with his word; that it edifieth his church; and that it maintaineth christian liberty. But if it wanteth these things, then is it not indifferent, but hurtful. And how can God’s glory be advanced by those garments which anti-christian superstition has invented to maintain and beautify idolatry? What agreement can the superstitious inventions of men, have with the pure word of God? What edification can there be, when the Spirit of God is grieved, the children of God discouraged, wicked papists confirmed, and a door open for such popish traditions and antichristian impiety? And can that be called true christian liberty, where a yoke is laid on the necks of the disciples; where the conscience is clogged with impositions; where faithful preachers are threatened with deprivation; where the regular dispensation of the word of God is interrupted; where congregations are robbed of their learned and godly pastors; and where the holy sacraments are made subject to superstitious and idolatrous vestments ?

“ Your lordship will thus see, that to use the ornaments and manners of the wicked, is to approve of their doctrine. God forbid, that we, by wearing the popish attire, as a thing merely indifferent, should seem to consent to their superstitious errors. The ancient fathers with one consent, acknowledge that all agreement with idolatry, is so far from being indifferent, that it is exceedingly pernicious. Some will say, that the apparel is not designed to set forth popery, but for good policy. Will it then be deemed good policy, to deck the spouse of Christ with the ornaments of the Babylonish strumpet, or to force her faithful pastors to be decorated like superstitious papists? God would not permit his people of old, to retain any of the Gentile manners for

\* Strype’s Parker, Appen. p. 43—47.

the sake of policy, but expressly forbad their imitation of them, and commanded them to destroy all the appurtenances of idolatry and superstition. And, in the time of the gospel, our Lord did not think it good policy, either to wear the pharisaical robes himself, or to suffer any of his disciples to do it; but condemned it as altogether superstitious. When I consider that Jereboam maintained his calves in Dan and Bethel, under the plausible name of policy, it makes me tremble to see the popish ornaments set forth under the same pretence. For if policy may serve as a cloak to superstition and papistry, then crowns and crosses, oil and cream, images and candles, palms and beads, with most of the other branches of antichrist, may again be introduced.

“ It is well known, that when Hezekiah, Josiah, and other famous princes, promoted the reformation of religion according to the word of God, they compelled not the ministers of God to wear the apparel of Baal’s priests, but utterly destroyed all their vestments. Hezekiah commanded all the *appendages* of superstition and idolatry, to be carried out of the Temple, and to be cast into Kedron. Josiah burnt all the vestments and other things belonging to Baal and his priests, not in Jerusalem, but out of the city. All this was done according to the word of the Lord, who commanded that not only the idols, but all things pertaining to them, should be abhorred and rejected. And if we compel the servants of Christ, to conform unto the papists, I greatly fear we shall return again to popery.

“ Our case, my lord, will be deplorable, if such compulsion should be used against us, while so much lenity is used towards the papists. How many papists enjoy their liberty and livings, who have neither sworn obedience to the queen’s majesty, nor discharged their duty to their miserable flocks! These men laugh and triumph to see us treated thus, and are not ashamed of boasting, that they hope the rest of popery will soon return. My noble lord, pity the disconsolate churches. Hear the cries and groans of many thousands of God’s poor children, hungering and thirsting after spiritual food. I need not appeal to the word of God, to the history of the primitive church, to the just judgments of God poured out upon the nations for lack of true reformation. Judge ye betwixt us and our enemies. And if we seek the glory of God alone, the enjoyment of true christian liberty, the overthrow of all idolatry and superstition, and

to win souls to Christ; I beseech your honour to pity our case, and use your utmost endeavours to secure unto us our liberty.”\*

What effect this generous letter produced, we are not able to learn. Mr. Whittingham was a man of an excellent character and admirable abilities. This was well known at court. Therefore, some time after his settlement at Durham, Secretary Cecil being made lord treasurer, he was nominated to the secretary's place; and, says Wood, if he had sought after this office, and made interest with his noble friend, the Earl of Leicester, he might have obtained

\* Bishop Pilkington of Durham wrote a letter, at the same time, to the same noble person; in which he addressed him as follows:—“ Consider, I beseech your honour, how that all countries, which have reformed religion, have cast away the popish apparel with the pope; and yet we, who would be taken for the best, contend to keep it as a holy relic. Mark, also, how many ministers there be here in all countries, who are so zealous, not only to forsake the wicked doctrine of popery, but ready to leave the ministry and their livings, rather than be like the popish teachers of such superstitions, either in apparel or behaviour. This realm has such scarcity of teachers, that if so many worthy men should be cast out of the ministry, for such small matters, many places would be destitute of preachers; and it would give an incurable offence to all the favourers of God's truth, in other countries. Shall we make that so precious, which other reformed churches esteem as vile? God forbid. If we forsake popery as wicked, how shall we say their apparel becomes saints and professors of true holiness? St. Paul bids us refrain from all outward shew of evil; but, surely, in keeping this popish apparel, we forbear not an outward shew of much evil, if popery be judged evil. How christian peace shall be kept in this church, when so many, for such small things, shall be thrust from their ministry and livings, it passes my simple wit to conceive. We must not so subtilly dispute what christian liberty would suffer us to do, but what is most meet and edifying for christian charity, and promoting true religion. But, surely, how popish apparel should edify, or set forth the gospel of Jesus Christ, cannot be seen of the multitude. How much it rejoices the adversaries, when they see what we borrow of them, and contend for, as things necessary. The bishops wearing their white rockets began first by Sisinius, an heretic bishop of the Novatians; and these other have the like foundation. They have so long continued and pleased popery, which is beggarly patched up of all sorts of ceremonies, that they could never be rooted out since, even from many professors of the truth. Though things may be borne with for christian liberty's sake for a time, in hope to win the weak; yet, when liberty is turned to necessity, it is evil, and no longer liberty; and that which was for winning the weak, is become the confirming of the froward. Paul used circumcision for a time as of liberty; but when it was urged of necessity, he would not bend unto it. Bucer, when he was asked why he did not wear the square cap, made answer, *because my head is not square*. God be merciful to us, and grant us uprightly to seek his honour with all simplicity and earnestness.” This prelate, who had been an exile in the days of Queen Mary, was a man of great learning, piety, and moderation, and a constant friend to the persecuted puritans.—*Strype's Parker*, Appen. p. 40, 41.

it; but he was not in the least anxious for court preferment.\* During the severities inflicted upon the nonconformists, in the former part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when good men were obliged to conform, or be deprived of their livings and ministry, it is said that Mr. Whittingham at first refused, but afterwards subscribed.† And in the year 1571, by the instigation of Archbishop Parker, he was cited before Grindal, archbishop of York; but the particular cause of his citation, or what prosecution he underwent, at least at that time, does not appear.‡

While Grindal lived, who, towards the close of life, connived at the nonconformists, Mr. Whittingham and his brethren in the province of York, were not much interrupted; but Dr. Sandys was no sooner made archbishop, than he was brought into troubles, from which the stroke of death alone could deliver him. In the year 1577, the new archbishop resolved to visit the whole of his province, and to begin with Durham, where Dean Whittingham had obtained a distinguished reputation, but had been ordained only according to the reformed church at Geneva, and not according to the English service book. The accusations brought against him contained *thirty-five* articles, and *forty-nine* interrogatories; but the principal charge was his Geneva ordination. Mr. Whittingham refused to answer the charge, but stood by the rites of the church of Durham, and denied the archbishop's power of visitation in that church, upon which his grace was pleased to excommunicate him. Mr. Whittingham then appealed to the queen, who directed a commission to the archbishop, Henry Earl of Huntington, lord president of the north, and Dr. Hutton, dean of York, to hear and determine the validity of his ordination, and to inquire into the other misdemeanours contained in the articles. The president was a zealous favourer of the puritans, and Dr. Hutton was of Whittingham's principles, and boldly declared, "That Mr. Whittingham was ordained in a better sort than even the archbishop himself." The commission, therefore, came to nothing.§

Sandys being sorely vexed at this disappointment, as well as Whittingham's calling in question his right of visitation, obtained another commission directed to himself; the Bishop

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 153.

† Strype's *Grindal*, p. 98.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 170.—Strype's *Parker*, p. 326.

§ Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii, p. 481, 519—521.

of Durham, the Lord President, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and some others in whom he could confide, to visit the church of Durham. The chief design of this was to deprive Mr. Whittingham, as a mere layman. Upon his appearance before the commissioners, he produced a certificate under the hands of eight persons, signifying the manner of his ordination, in these words :—“ It pleased God, by the suffrages of the whole congregation (at Geneva) orderly to choose to Mr. W. Whittingham, unto the office of preaching the word of God and ministering the sacraments ; and he was admitted minister, and so published, with such other ceremonies as are there used and accustomed.”\* It was then objected, that there was no mention made of bishops or superintendants, nor of any external solemnities, nor even of imposition of hands. Mr. Whittingham replied, that the testimonial specified in general the ceremonies of that church, and that he was able to prove his vocation to be the same as all other ministers of Geneva. Upon this the lord president said, “ I cannot in conscience agree to deprive him for that cause alone. This,” he added, “ would be ill taken by all the godly and learned, both at home and abroad, that we allow of *popish massing priests* in our ministry, and disallow of ministers made in a reformed church.” The commission was, therefore, adjourned, and never renewed.†

The archbishop's proceedings against Mr. Whittingham, were evidently invidious ; and they greatly sunk his reputation, both in town and country. His calling Whittingham's ordination in question was expressly contrary to the statute of 13 Eliz. by which, says Mr. Strype, “ The ordination of foreign reformed churches was made valid ; and those who had no other orders, were made of like capacity with others, to enjoy any place of ministry in England.”‡ Indeed, the Oxford historian says, Mr. Whittingham did good service to his country, not only against the popish rebels in the north, but in repelling the Archbishop of York, from visiting the church of Durham. Yet he denominates him a lukewarm conformist, an enemy to the habits and ceremonies, and an active promoter of the Geneva doctrine and discipline ; and he brings many severe charges against him, styling them works of *impiety*. He caused several stone coffins, belonging to the priors, and laid in the cathedral of Durham, to be taken up, and appointed them

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 523.

† Ibid. p. 524.

‡ Ibid.

to be used as troughs for horses and swine, and their covers to pave his own house. He defaced all the brazen pictures and imagery work, and used the stones to build a washing-house for himself. The two *holy water* stones of fine marble, very artificially engraven, with hollow bosses very curiously wrought, he took away, and employed them to steep beef and salt fish in. He caused the image of St. Cuthbert, and other ancient monuments, to be defaced. And the truth is, he could not endure any thing that appertained to a monastic life.\* How far Mr. Whittingham was concerned in these *works of impiety*, it is not in our power to ascertain; and how far he is censurable for these things, is left with the reader to determine.

With an evident design to reproach his memory, Dr. Bancroft says, that Mr. Whittingham, with the rest of his Geneva accomplices, urged all states to take arms, and reform religion themselves by force, rather than suffer such idolatry and superstition to remain in the land.† And a late writer, with the same ill design, observes, “that when he returned from exile, he imported with him, much of the leaven of Geneva.”‡

He was, however, a truly pious man, opposed to all superstition, an excellent preacher, and an ornament to religion and learning. He died while the cause of his deprivation, for not being ordained according to the rites of the English church, was depending, June 10, 1579, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Wood informs us, though without the smallest evidence, that he *unwillingly submitted to the stroke of death*.§ His remains were interred in the cathedral at Durham.

This learned divine wrote prefaces to the works of several learned men: as, Mr. Goodman's book, entitled “How superior powers ought to be obeyed,” &c. He published the translations of several learned works, and he turned part of the Psalms of David into metre. These are still used in the church of England. Those which he did, have W. W. prefixed to them, among which is Psalm cxix.; as may be seen in the Common Prayer Book.¶

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 154.

† Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, p. 62. Edit. 1640.

‡ Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 114.

§ *Athenæ*, p. 155.

¶ The other persons concerned in turning the Psalms into metre, were Messrs. Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and Thomas Norton, all eminent in their day, and zealous in promoting the reformation of the church. The parts which they performed have the initials of their names prefixed to them, as may be seen in the Common Prayer Book.—*Wood's Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 62, 63, 153.

Mr. LAWRENCE was a man of great piety, an admired preacher, and incumbent in the county of Suffolk. He discovered great modesty, was unblameable in his life, sound in doctrine, and a laborious and constant preacher. He was first employed in the ministry in the above county, about the year 1561, where he continued to labour about six years with great acceptance and usefulness. But in the year 1567, he was silenced by Archbishop Parker's visitors for nonconformity. The good man having received the ecclesiastical censure, several persons of quality in that county, who knew his excellent character and great worth, wrote a letter to the archbishop, earnestly soliciting his restoration. This letter, dated October 27, 1567, was as follows :

“ Our humble commendations and duties remembered to your grace. Great necessity doth occasion us to write to you for one Mr. Lawrance, lately a preacher ; of whose great modesty, unblameable life, and sound doctrine, we have good experience, having with great diligence been well exercised among us these five or six years. He commonly preached twice every Lord's day, and many times on the working days, without ever receiving any thing. His enemies cannot accuse him of any thing worthy of reproach, as we testified to your grace's visitors, and desired them that he might still continue his preaching ; for we knew very well that we should have great need of him. Now we see it more evident. For there is not one preacher within a circuit of *twenty miles*, in which circuit he was wont to preach.

“ Thus we have thought good to certify your grace of the necessity of our country, and diligence and good behaviour of the man ; trusting that your grace will either restore him again, or send us some other in his room ; which we most earnestly desire. Commending the same to Almighty God, and praying that he may preserve your grace. Your grace's to command,

“ ROBERT WINGFIELD,  
WILLIAM HOPTON,  
ROBERT HOPTON,  
WILLIAM CAVENDISH,

THOMAS PEITON,  
THOMAS COLBY,  
THOMAS PLAYLESS.”\*

Though it does not appear what success attended their application, nor yet how long Mr. Lawrance remained

\* MS. Register, p. 889, 890.

under the ecclesiastical censure, he was afterwards restored to his beloved ministry.

This, however, was not the end of his troubles: for in the year 1579, he was again suspended by the Bishop of Norwich, for not observing all the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. Upon his suspension, his people soon experienced the loss of his excellent labours. Mr. Calthrop, a gentleman of distinguished eminence in the county, and the lord treasurer Burleigh, therefore, applied to the bishop for his restoration. But his grace observed, that what he had done in suspending him, was by virtue of the queen's orders, requiring him to allow no ministers to preach who were not in all things perfectly conformable to the rites and ceremonies of the church. Mr. Calthrop urged the great want there was of such excellent preachers as Mr. Lawrance, for whose fitness for the work of the ministry he would undertake to obtain the testimonial of the chief gentlemen in the county. But all was unavailable: the good man still remained under the episcopal censure.\*

Mr. Lawrance was greatly beloved by persons of a religious character throughout the county where he lived, and his suspension was the cause of much sorrow and grief to all who knew him. Therefore, in the month of April, 1580, the above worthy persons made a second application to the bishop, but with no better success. The bishop remained inflexible, and declared that unless the treasurer commanded him, he would not restore Mr. Lawrance without perfect conformity. So he still continued under suspension.†

JOHN HANDSON was curate of St. James's church, Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, and brought into trouble for nonconformity. He refused to wear the surplice, not only in time of divine service, but even in the administration of the sacrament; saying, that by law he thought himself not bound to wear it. He was examined by the chancellor to the Bishop of Norwich; but it does not appear what penalties were then inflicted upon him. This was in the year 1573.‡ In 1581, he was again brought into trouble by his diocesan, Dr. Freke, who suspended him for nonconformity. The bishop gave an account of this affair, in a letter to the treasurer, dated April 19th, this year.

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 585, 586.

† Ibid. p. 660.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 482.

Mr. Handson having continued for some time under the episcopal censure, the treasurer, after due examination of the case, wrote to the bishop in reply to his letter, desiring that the good man might be restored to his ministry. At the same time, Sir Robert Jermin, Lord North, and some others, wrote to his grace, requesting the same favour. Sir Robert, in his letter, said, "That his lordship had examined Mr. Handson's case at length, but, in his opinion, very indiscreetly, in many of the principal points; that they knew his ministry to have been very profitable to great numbers; that they who sought to remove him, were adversaries, rather than friends to the truth; that, as to faith and manners, he was ever held a sound teacher; that in these indifferent things (meaning the matters of conformity) he had never laboured much; and that, from these considerations, he requested the bishop would allow him the free exercise of his ministry." But the angry prelate stood resolute, and declared peremptorily, that he never would, unless Mr. Handson would publicly acknowledge his fault, and enter into bonds for his good behaviour in future. Other applications were made to the bishop, to take off his suspension; but whether he ever became so favourably disposed, we have not been able to learn.\*

**ROBERT WRIGHT.**—He lived fourteen years in the university of Cambridge, was a very learned man, and tutor to the Earl of Essex, both in school learning and at the university. Being dissatisfied with episcopal ordination, he went to Antwerp, where he was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. Upon his return to England, Lord Rich of Rochford, in Essex, made him his domestic chaplain; and he constantly preached and administered the sacrament in his lordship's chapel, but in no other place, seeing the bishop utterly refused him a license. He was an admired preacher; and, for his great seriousness and piety, was universally beloved by the clergy in the county. While his noble patron lived, he protected him from danger; but this excellent lord was no sooner dead, than Dr. Aylmer, bishop of London, laid hands on him; and for saying, "That to keep the queen's birth-day as an *holiday*, is to make her an *idol*," he was committed to the Gatehouse, where he continued a long time.†

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 14, 21. † Strype's Aylmer, p. 83—87.

Having lain in prison several months, he petitioned the bishop to be brought to trial, or admitted to bail. But all the answer he could obtain of his grace, was, that he *deserved to lie in prison seven years*. This very hard usage, together with Mr. Wright's open and undisguised honesty and piety, moved the compassion of his keeper; and, his poor wife being in child-bed and in great distress, he gave him leave, with the private allowance of the secretary of state, to make her a visit at Rochford, upon his parole. But it so happened, that Dr. Ford, the civilian, met him on the road, and acquainted the bishop with his escape; who, falling into a violent passion, sent immediately for the keeper, and demanded his prisoner. The keeper pleaded the great compassion of the case; but all was unavailable. For the bishop threatened to complain of him to the queen, and have him turned out of his place. Mr. Wright, having received information of his keeper's danger, returned immediately to his prison, and wrote as follows to the lord treasurer in his behalf:—"Oh! my lord," says he, "I most humbly crave your lordship's favour, that I may be delivered from such unpitiful minds; and especially, that your lordship will stand a good lord to my *keeper*, that he may not be discouraged from favouring those who profess true religion." This was written in May, 1582. The keeper was therefore pardoned.\*

The bishop, however, was resolved to have full satisfaction of the prisoner; and, bringing him before the high commission, he was examined upon certain articles concerning the Book of Common Prayer; the rites and ceremonies; praying for the queen and church; and the established form of ordaining ministers. He was, moreover, charged with preaching without a license, and with being a mere *layman*. To which he replied, "that he thought the Book of Common Prayer, upon the whole, was good and godly, but could not answer for every particular. That as to rites and ceremonies, he thought that his resorting to churches where they were used, was a sufficient proof, that he did not utterly condemn them. That he prayed for the queen, and for all the ministers of God's word; consequently, for archbishops, bishops, &c. That he was only a private chaplain, and knew of no law that required a license for such a place. But he could not acknowledge, that he was a mere

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 123, 124.

*layman*, having preached seven years in the university with a license, and being since that time regularly ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery at Antwerp."

The bishop having charged Mr. Wright with saying, "That the election of ministers ought to be by their flocks," he acknowledged the charge, and supposed it was no error; adding, "That he was himself thus chosen by his flock at Rochford; that in his opinion, every minister was a *bishop*, though not a *lord* bishop; and that his grace of London, must be of the same opinion; because when he was last before him, he rebuked Mr. White for striking one of his parishioners, alleging that text, *A bishop must be no striker*: which had been impertinent, if Mr. White, who was only a minister, had not been a *bishop*." When he was charged with saying, "That the ministers who only used the common prayer, were *dumb dogs*;" he said, "the phrase, though used in scripture, has very seldom been in my mouth, on any occasion whatever. But it can never be proved, that I ever called any man, especially any preacher, by that name. Yet a man who is professedly the pastor of a flock, and does not preach at all, may, according to the design of the prophet, deserve the name of dumb dog."

Aylmer also charged him with saying, "There were no lawful ministers in the church of England; and that those who are called ministers, are thieves and murderers." To this, Mr. Wright said, "I will be content to be condemned, if I bring not two hundred godly, preaching ministers, as witnesses against this accusation. I do as certainly believe, that there are lawful ministers in England, as that there is a sun in the sky. In Essex, I can bring twenty godly ministers, all preachers, who will testify that they love me, and have cause to think that I love and reverence them. I preached seven years in the university of Cambridge with approbation, and have a testimonial under the hands and seals of the master and fellows of Christ's college, being all ministers, of my good behaviour."\*

This excellent divine having been a considerable time in the Gatehouse, in September, 1582, became willing to subscribe to the allowance of the ministry of the church of England, and the Book of Common Prayer. Yet Bishop Aylmer required his friends to be bound in a *good round sum*, that henceforth he should never preach, nor act, contrary to the same. Upon these conditions, his grace was

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 38—43.

not unwilling to grant him favour, if the queen approved of it.\* It is, indeed, very doubtful whether the favour was ever obtained; for the unmerciful proceedings of the above prelate against the puritans, were almost unparalleled.†

**BERNARD GILPIN, B. D.**—This celebrated person was born of an ancient and honourable family, at Kentmire in Westmoreland, in the year 1517, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford. He made the closest application to his studies, and uncommon progress in useful learning. Having determined to apply himself to divinity, he made the scriptures his principal study; and with a view to his better acquaintance with them, he resolved by the greatest industry to gain a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. He had not been long thus employed before he was noticed as a young man of excellent parts and considerable learning; and became exceedingly admired and beloved for the sweetness of his disposition, and the politeness of his manners. At the usual term, he took his degrees in Arts, and was elected fellow of his college. His reputation was, indeed, so great, that he was chosen to supply the college newly founded by Cardinal Wolsey.‡

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 87.

† The zeal and assiduity of Bishop Aylmer in defence of the church of England, is said to have recommended him to the particular favour of Queen Elizabeth. Though in the early part of his life he declaimed against the wealth and splendour of bishops, and spoke with vehemence against their *lordly dignity* and *civil authority*, and was an avowed advocate of what was afterwards called *puritanism*; yet, as he rose in ecclesiastical preferment and worldly grandeur, he changed his opinions, and became the most violent in the opposite sentiments. And notwithstanding he is styled a person of extraordinary wisdom, a *worthy* prelate, and a blessing to the church; he was certainly one of the most unfeeling and cruel persecutors, of which the pages of history afford sufficient proof. He was preceptor to Lady Jane Grey; and, on the accession of Queen Mary, he went into exile. His escape was very remarkable. Being a *little* man, the merchant of the ship in which he made his escape, put him into a *wine butt*, with a partition in the middle; so that he was inclosed in one end of the cask, while the *searchers* drank wine drawn out of the other.—He was a man of great courage, and had one of his own teeth drawn, to encourage Queen Elizabeth to submit to a similar operation. When he wished to rouse the attention of his audience while he was preaching, he usually took his Hebrew Bible out of his pocket, and read them a few verses, and then resumed his discourse. He was remarkably fond of bowls, even on the Lord's-day, when he commonly used very unbecoming language, to the great reproach of his character.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 215—292.—*Wood's Atheneæ*, vol. i. p. 611.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 384—391. Edit. 1778.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 208.

‡ The following memoir of Mr. Gilpin is chiefly collected from the "British Biography," vol. iii. p. 98—.

Mr. Gilpin having been trained up in the popish religion, still continued a steady son of that church; and in defence of popery, had held a disputation with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and the famous martyr. This was in the reign of Henry VIII.; but upon the accession of King Edward, Peter Martyr being sent to Oxford, delivered public lectures upon divinity in a strain to which that university had been little accustomed. He attacked the Romish doctrines in a manner that alarmed the popish party; which induced them to unite, and make as strong an opposition as they were able. Mr. Gilpin having gained considerable reputation in the university, the popish party were exceedingly solicitous to engage him in a public defence of their cause, and made the most pressing applications for this purpose. But they found his zeal much cooler than their own. Indeed, he was not satisfied with the cause of the reformers, having never had a sufficient opportunity of acquainting himself with their principles: but, on the other hand, he had never been a bigotted papist; and had discovered, in his dispute with Hooper, that several of the Romish doctrines were not so well supported by scripture, as he had before supposed. While his mind was thus unsettled, he thought himself ill qualified to defend either side by public disputation. His inclination was to stand by as an unprejudiced observer; and to embrace the truth, whether he found it among papists or protestants. By much importunity, however, he at length yielded, and the next day appeared in public against Peter Martyr.\*

Mr. Gilpin being thus drawn into the controversy against his inclination, was determined to make it as useful as possible to himself. By bringing his old opinions to the test, he hoped that he should be enabled to discover whether they were justly founded, or he had hitherto been involved in error. He resolved, therefore, to lay aside as much as possible, the temper of a caviller; and to follow truth, from which he was determined nothing should make him swerve. Having commenced the dispute, he soon found the arguments of his adversary too strong for him. They came so forcibly authorized by the testimony of scripture, that he

\* Dr. Peter Martyr, a celebrated reformer, was born in Florence, and invited to England by the Protector Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer. In the year 1548, he was made regius professor of divinity at Oxford, and, in 1560, installed canon of Christ-church. His numerous works, which are in Latin, consist chiefly of commentaries on the scriptures, and pieces on controversy. On the accession of Queen Mary, and the commencement of persecution, he desired to withdraw, and died at Zurich, November 12, 1562.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 141.

could not help frankly acknowledging they were of a very different nature from the wire-drawn proofs and strained interpretations, in which he had hitherto acquiesced. The disputation, therefore, was soon over. Mr. Gilpin had too much honesty to defend suspected opinions. He yielded to the force of truth; and owned publicly, that he could not maintain what he undertook to defend; and therefore determined to enter no more upon controversy, till he had gained that full information which he was anxious to obtain.\*

Mr. Gilpin being thus staggered by his opponent's arguments, the first step he took, after imploring divine assistance, was to commit to paper, the substance of the dispute. Also, he resolved to enter into a strict examination of the whole, but especially those points in which he had found himself the most closely pressed. At the same time, he began with great assiduity to examine the scriptures, and the writings of the fathers, with a particular view to the controversy betwixt protestants and papists. The first result of his inquiries, cooled his zeal for popery, and gave him a more favourable opinion of the doctrines of the reformation. In this unsettled state of mind, he communicated his thoughts to his friends, and particularly to Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who was his mother's uncle, and his great friend. The advice he received induced him to examine the scriptures and the fathers with still greater attention; and at last he became thoroughly convinced, that there were numerous sore abuses and corruptions in the church of Rome, and that a reformation was highly necessary.

As an academic life affords the greatest leisure for study, Mr. Gilpin was resolved still to continue wholly employed in the pursuit of knowledge. He had too just a sense of the ministerial work, to rush upon it hastily, or to be unacquainted with the qualifications requisite to the discharge of it; and too mean an opinion of himself, to think he was yet possessed of them. He thought more learning was necessary in that controversial age, than he had yet acquired. And his chief argument with his friends, who were continually urging him to leave the university, was, that he was not yet sufficiently instructed in religion himself

\* Peter Martyr was much concerned for Mr. Gilpin's welfare, and used to say, he cared not much for his other adversaries; but for Gilpin, who spoke and acted like a man of integrity, he was much troubled. He therefore often prayed that God would convince him of his error, and convert him to the truth; which the Lord was pleased afterwards to do.—*Fuller's Abel Redivivus*, p. 353.

to teach others. The christian ministry, said he, was an arduous work, especially in those times; and protestantism could not suffer more than by the rawness and inexperience of its teachers. These thoughts continued to attend him at Oxford till the thirty-fifth year of his age. About this time, the vicarage of Norton, in the diocese of Durham, becoming void, his friends, with some difficulty, prevailed upon him to accept it. Accordingly, he was presented to this living in November, 1552. But before he entered upon his important charge, he was appointed to preach before King Edward at Greenwich.

Mr. Gilpin was resolved on this occasion to censure the prevailing avarice and corruptions with honest freedom, and ordered his sermon accordingly. He began by first addressing the clergy. He was sorry, said he, to observe amongst them so manifest a neglect of their function. To get benefices, not to take care of their flocks, was their great object. Half of them were pluralists, or nonresidents, and such could never fulfil their charge. He was shocked, he said, to hear them quote human laws against the word of God. If such laws did exist, they were the remains of popery, and ought to be repealed. For while mens' consciences would permit them to hold as many livings as they could get, and discharge none, it was impossible the gospel could have any considerable success.

From the clergy he turned to the court; and observing the king was absent, he was obliged to introduce that part of his sermon, by saying, it grieved him to see those absent, who, for example's sake, ought to have been present. He had also heard other preachers remark, that it was common for them to be absent. Business might, perhaps, be their excuse; but he could not believe that serving God would ever hinder business. If he could, he said, he would make them hear in their chambers. However, he would speak to their seats, not doubting that what he said would be carried to them.—“You, great prince,” said he, “are appointed by God to be the governor of this land; let me then here call upon you in behalf of your people. It is in your power to redress them; and if you do not, the neglect must be accounted for. Take away dispensations for pluralities and nonresidence, and oblige every pastor to hold only one benefice; and, as far as you can, make every one do his duty. Your grace's eye to look through the realm, would do more good than a thousand preachers. The land is full of idle pastors. And how can it be otherwise, while the nobility, and patrons of

livings, put in just who will allow them to take out most profit? It would be good, if your grace would send out surveyors, to see how benefices are bestowed. It is no wonder that your people are continually rising up in rebellion, when they have no instructors to teach them their duty. If some remedies be not applied to these evils, we are in danger of falling into more ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, than we ever were in while under the Bishop of Rome. This must, indeed, be the case, if some proper methods be not taken to prevent it; for benefices are every where so plundered and robbed by patrons, that in a little time no one will bring up his children to the church. It is amazing to see how the universities are diminished within these few years. And I must tell your grace, that all these evils will be laid to your charge, if you do not exert yourself to prevent them. For my part, I will do my duty: I will tell your grace what corruptions and abuses prevail, and pray to God that he will direct your heart to amend them."

He next addressed the nobility and magistrates. He told them, that they all received their honours, their powers, and their authority, from God, who expected they would make a proper use of such gifts; and would certainly call them to an account for the abuse of them. But he saw so much ambitious striving for these things at court, that he was afraid they did not all consider them in their true light. He observed, that the spirit of avarice was crept in among them; that the country cried out against their extortions; and that when the poor came to seek for justice in London, the great men would not see them; but their servants must first be bribed. Oh! said he, with what glad hearts and clear consciences might noblemen go to rest, after having spent the day in hearing the complaints of the poor, and redressing their wrongs. For want of this, he said, they were obliged to seek their right among lawyers, who quickly devoured every thing they had, and thousands every term were obliged to return worse than they came.—"Then," said he, "let me call upon you magistrates, and put you in mind, that if the people are debtors to you for obedience, you are debtors to them for protection. If you deny this, they must suffer; but God will assuredly espouse their cause against you. And now, if we search for the root of all these evils, what is it but avarice? This it is that maketh the bad nobleman, the bad magistrate, the bad pastor, the bad lawyer."—Having thus freely addressed his audience,

he concluded his sermon with a warm exhortation, that all would consider these things, and that such as found themselves faulty would amend their lives.\*

Such was the manner in which Mr. Gilpin entered on the work of the ministry; and such was the sense he had of the sincerity and faithfulness necessary to the proper discharge of it. Whatever appeared to be his duty, appeared also to be his interest; and he was never swayed by hope or fear. He considered himself in some degree chargeable with those vices of which he had the knowledge, if he failed to rebuke them. His plain dealing on this occasion was therefore well taken, and recommended him to the notice of many persons of the first rank. And Sir William Cecil presented him a general license for preaching.

Soon after this, he repaired to his parish, and with becoming seriousness entered upon the duties of his function. Though he failed not occasionally to use the king's license in other parts of the country, he considered his own parish as requiring his principal labours. He chiefly preached on practical subjects; and seldom touched on points of controversy, lest by attempting to instruct, he should only mislead. Though he was fully resolved against popery, he did not see protestantism in its clearest light; and was scarcely settled in some of his religious opinions. Hence by degrees he became extremely diffident, which gave him great uneasiness. He thought he had engaged too soon in the work of the ministry; that he ought not to rest in giving his hearers merely moral instructions; and that, as the country was overspread with popish errors, he did ill in pretending to be a teacher of religion, if he were unable to oppose those errors.

These thoughts made deeper impressions upon his mind every day; and being at length extremely unhappy, he wrote to Bishop Tonsal, then in the Tower, giving him an account of his situation. The venerable prelate advised Gilpin to provide a *trusty curate* for his parish, and to spend a year or two in Germany, France, and Holland; by which means he might have an opportunity of conversing with men celebrated for learning, both papists and protestants. Mr. Gilpin having long earnestly desired a conference with learned men abroad, was much pleased with the advice. And as to the expense, Tonsal observed, that his living would do something towards his maintenance, and

\* This sermon is published with Carleton and Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, and is the only thing he ever published.

he would make up all deficiencies. This, however, did not remove the difficulty from his mind. Mr. Gilpin's views of the pastoral office were so correct, that he thought no excuse could justify nonresidence for so considerable a time as he intended to be abroad. He, therefore, could not think of supporting himself with any part of the income of his living. Yet he was resolved to go abroad ; and if he stayed only a short time, he would rely on the frugal management of the little money he possessed, and leave the rest to the bishop's generosity. He accordingly resigned his living, and set out for London, to receive his last orders from the bishop, and to embark for the continent.

The account of his resignation got to London before himself ; and Tonal, anxious for his kinsman to thrive in the world, was much concerned about it. "Here are your friends," said his grace, "endeavouring to provide for you, and you are taking every method to frustrate their endeavours. But be warned ; by these courses you will presently bring yourself to a morsel of bread." Mr. Gilpin begged the bishop would attribute what he had done to a scrupulous conscience, which would not permit him to act otherwise. "Conscience!" replied the bishop, "why, you might have had a dispensation." "Will my dispensation," answered Gilpin, "restrain the tempter, in my absence, from endeavouring to corrupt the people committed to my care ? Alas ! I fear it would be but an ill excuse for the harm done to my flock, if I should say, when God shall call me to an account of my stewardship, that I was absent by dispensation." This reply put the bishop a little out of humour. But after his temper cooled, this instance of Mr. Gilpin's integrity raised him still higher in the prelate's esteem. Nevertheless, Tonal would frequently chide him for his qualms of conscience, as he called them ; and often told him, that if he did not look better to his own interest, he would certainly die a beggar."

Before his departure, the bishop entrusted him with his Treatise on the Eucharist, in manuscript, desiring him to inspect the printing of it at Paris. Upon his arrival in Holland, he travelled to Mechlin, to see his brother George, there prosecuting his studies. Afterwards, he went to Louvain, resolving there to abide. He made frequent excursions to Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and other places, where he usually spent a few weeks with persons of reputation, both papists and protestants. But Louvain being the principal place for students in divinity, was his chief residence. Here

some of the most celebrated divines on both sides of the question resided; and the most important topics in divinity were discussed with great freedom.

Mr. Gilpin's first business was to get himself introduced to men eminent for learning; to whom his own address and attainments were no mean recommendation, and supplied the place of long acquaintance. He attended upon all public readings and disputations. He committed every thing material to writing; re-examined all his own opinions; proposed his doubts to friends in private; and, in every respect, made the best use of his time. Hereby, he began to obtain more correct views of the doctrines of the reformation; he saw things in a clearer and stronger light, and felt great satisfaction in the change he had made.

While he was thus prosecuting his studies, and making considerable improvement in useful knowledge, he was suddenly alarmed, together with numerous other protestants in those parts, by the melancholy news of the death of King Edward, and the accession of Queen Mary. This news, however, was attended with one favourable circumstance, which was, the release of Bishop Tonsal from the Tower, and his restoration to his bishopric. Soon after, Tonsal finding a rich living vacant in his diocese, made the offer of it to Mr. Gilpin; supposing that by this time he might have got over his former scruples. But Mr. Gilpin still continued inflexible in his resolution not to accept any benefice without discharging the duties of it. He, therefore, gave the bishop his reasons for not accepting his kind offer, in the following letter, dated from Louvain, November 22, 1554:

“ Right honourable and singular good lord, my duty  
 “ remembered in most humble manner. Pleaseth it your  
 “ lordship to be informed, that of late my brother wrote to  
 “ me, that in any wise I must meet him at Mechlin; for he  
 “ must debate with me urgent affairs, such as could not be  
 “ dispatched by writing. When we met, I perceived it  
 “ was nothing else but to see if he could persuade me to  
 “ take a benefice, and continue in study at the university;  
 “ which if I had known to be the cause of his sending for  
 “ me, I should not have needed to interrupt my study to  
 “ meet him. For I have so long debated that matter with  
 “ learned men, especially with the holy prophets, and most  
 “ ancient and godly writers since Christ's time, that I trust  
 “ so long as I have to live, never to burden my conscience  
 “ with having a benefice, and lying from it. My brother

" said, that your lordship had written to him, that you  
 " would gladly bestow one on me; and that your lordship  
 " thought, and so did other of my friends, of which he  
 " was one, that I was much too scrupulous in that point.  
 " Whereunto I always say, if I be too scrupulous, as I  
 " cannot think that I am, the matter is such, that I had  
 " rather my conscience were a great deal too strait, than a  
 " a little too large. For I am seriously persuaded, that I  
 " shall never offend God by refusing to have a benefice,  
 " and lie from it, so long as I judge not evil of others;  
 " which, I trust, I shall not; but rather pray God daily,  
 " that all who have cures may discharge their office in his  
 " sight, as may tend most to his glory and the profit of his  
 " church. He replied against me, that your lordship would  
 " give me no benefice, but what you would see discharged  
 " in my absence, as well or better than I could discharge it  
 " myself. Whereunto I answered, that I would be sorry,  
 " if I thought not that there were many thousands in  
 " England, more able to discharge a cure than I find myself.  
 " And therefore I desire they may take both the cure and  
 " the profits also; that they may be able to feed both the  
 " body and the soul, as I think all pastors are bounden.  
 " As for me, I can never persuade myself to take the *profit*,  
 " and another take the *pains*: for if he should teach and  
 " preach as faithfully as ever St. Austin did, yet I should  
 " not think myself discharged. And if I should strain my  
 " conscience herein, I strive with it to remain here, or in any  
 " other university, the unquietness of it would not suffer  
 " me to profit in my study at all.

" I am here, at this present, I thank God, very well  
 " placed for study among a company of learned men, joining  
 " to the friers minors; having free access at all times to a  
 " notable library among the friers, men both well learned  
 " and studious. I have entered acquaintance with divers  
 " the best learned in the town; and for my part was never  
 " more desirous to learn in all my life than at present.  
 " Wherefore, I am bold, knowing your lordship's singular  
 " good will towards me, to open my mind thus rudely and  
 " plainly unto your goodness, most humbly beseeching you  
 " to suffer me to live without charge, that I may study  
 " quietly.

" And whereas I know well your lordship is careful how  
 " I should live, if God should call your lordship, being  
 " now aged, I desire you will not let that care trouble you.  
 " For if I had no other shift, I could get a lectureship, I

“ know, shortly, either in this university, or at least in some  
 “ abbey hereby ; where I should not lose any time ; and this  
 “ kind of life, if God be pleased, I desire before any  
 “ benefice. And thus I pray Christ always to have your  
 “ lordship in blessed keeping. By your lordship’s humble  
 “ scholar and chaplain,

“ BERNARD GILPIN.”

The bishop was not offended with this letter. The unaffected piety which it discovered disarmed all resentment, and led him rather to admire a behaviour, in which the motives of conscience shewed themselves so much superior to those of interest. “ Which of our modern  
 “ gaping rooks,” exclaims Bishop Carleton, “ could endeavour with greater industry to *obtain* a benefice, than this  
 “ man did to *avoid* one!” Mr. Gilpin having got over this affair, continued some time longer at Louvain, daily improving in religious knowledge. And having remained about two years, he went to Paris ; where his first care was the printing of Tonsal’s book, which he performed entirely to the bishop’s satisfaction, and received his thanks for it.

Mr. Gilpin having spent three years on the continent, was fully satisfied in all his former scruples. He was firmly convinced of the errors and evil tendency of popery ; and of the truth and importance of the doctrines of the reformation. Therefore, in the year 1556, he returned to England, though the persecutions of Queen Mary were carrying on with unabating fury. Tonsal received his kinsman with great kindness ; and soon after his arrival, gave him the archdeaconry of Durham, to which the rectory of Easington was annexed. He immediately repaired to his parish, where he preached with great boldness against the vices, errors, and corruptions of the times ; also, by virtue of his office as archdeacon, he took great pains to reform the manners of the clergy. His free and open reproofs soon roused the malice of proud ecclesiastics, who used every method in their power to remove so inconvenient a person. It soon became their popular clamour, that he was an enemy to the church ; a scandalizer of the clergy ; a preacher of damnable doctrines ; and that if he was spared much longer, religion must suffer from the heresies he was daily propagating.\* Indeed, a charge of heresy, consisting of

\* Mr. Gilpin, in a letter to his brother, makes the following observation:—“ After I entered upon the parsonage of Easington, and began to “ preach,” says he, “ I soon procured many mighty and grievous adversaries ; for that I preached against pluralities and nonresidence. Some said,

thirteen articles, was soon drawn up against him; and he was accused in form before the Bishop of Durham. But the bishop, who was much acquainted with the world, easily found a method of dismissing the cause, so as to protect his nephew, without endangering himself. The malice of his enemies, however, could not rest; and they created him so much trouble, and on account of the extreme fatigue of keeping both his places, he begged leave of the bishop to resign either the archdeaconry or his parish. But the bishop observing that the income of the former was not a sufficient support without the latter, and that he was unwilling they should be separated, Mr. Gilpin therefore resigned them both.

The bishop soon after presented him to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, in the county of Durham. The living was valuable; but the duties of it were proportionably laborious. The parish contained no less than fourteen villages; and the instruction of the people having been so exceedingly neglected, popery was arrived to its full growth of superstition. Scarcely any traces of true christianity were indeed left. Nay, what little remained, was even popery itself corrupted. Here all its idle ceremonies were carried to a greater extent than in most other places, and were looked upon as the very essentials of religion. And how these barbarous people were excluded from all means of better information, appears from hence, that through the neglect of the bishops and the justices of peace, King Edward's proclamations for a change of worship, had not been even heard of, in that part of the kingdom, at the time of his death. Such was the condition of the parish of Houghton, when first committed to the care of Mr. Gilpin. He was grieved to see ignorance and vice so lamentably prevail; but he did not despair. He implored the assistance and blessing of God, and was much encouraged. The people crowded about him, and heard him with great attention. They perceived him to be a very different teacher from those to whom they had been accustomed.

After the acceptance of Houghton, Tonsal urged him to accept of a stall in the cathedral of Durham; telling him, that there did not exist the same objection against this as against the archdeaconry, it being altogether a sinecure;

“all who preached that doctrine became heretics soon after. Others found great fault, for that I preached repentance and salvation by Christ; and did not make whole sermons, as they did, about transubstantiation, purgatory, holy-water, images, prayers to saints, and such like.”

and that he could have no reasonable pretence for refusing it. But Mr. Gilpin resolving not to accept it, told the bishop, that by his bounty he had already more wealth, than he was afraid, he could give a good account of. He, therefore, begged that he might not have any additional charge; but that his lordship would bestow his preferment on some one who stood in greater need of it.

Mr. Gilpin now lived retired, and gave no immediate offence to the clergy. The experience he had of their temper, made him more cautious not to offend them. He was, indeed, more cautious than he afterwards approved. For in future life he often taxed his behaviour, at this period, with weakness and cowardice. But all the caution he could use availed nothing. He was soon formally accused a second time before the Bishop of Durham; who again found means to protect him. The malice of his enemies, however, succeeded in part. From this time, Tonsal's favour towards him visibly declined; and to shew his dislike of heresy, and of his kinsman's conduct, he struck him out of his will, though he had before made him his executor. The loss gave Mr. Gilpin very little uneasiness. His heart was not set upon the things of this world. It was no less than he expected, nor more than he had provided for. He was, indeed, sorry to see the bishop disgusted; and would have given up any thing, except his conscience, to have satisfied him. But a good conscience, he was assured, was the best friend in the world; and he was resolved not to part with that, to please any man upon earth.

His enemies, in the mean time, were not silenced. They were so exceedingly enraged by their second failure, that they caused *thirty-two* articles, expressed in the strongest terms, to be exhibited against him, before Bonner, bishop of London. Here they went the right way to work. Bonner was a man exactly suited to their purpose, nature having formed him for an inquisitor. The fierce zealot at once took fire, extolled so laudable a concern for religion, and promised that the heretic should be at the stake in a fortnight. Mr. Gilpin, who was no stranger to the *burning* zeal of the Bishop of London, received the account with great composure, and immediately prepared for martyrdom. Laying his hand on the shoulder of a favourite domestic, he said, "At length they have prevailed against me. I am accused to the Bishop of London, from whom there will be no escaping. God forgive their malice, and give me

“strength to undergo the trial.” He then ordered his servant to provide a long garment, in which he might go decently to the stake, and desired it might be got ready with all expedition; “for I know not,” said he, “how soon I may have occasion for it.”\* As soon as he was apprehended, he set out for London, in expectation of the fire and faggot. But on his journey to the metropolis, we are informed, that he broke his leg, which unavoidably detained him some time on the road. The persons conducting him, took occasion from this disaster maliciously to retort upon him a frequent observation of his, viz. “That nothing happens to us but what is intended for our good.” And when they asked him whether he thought his broken leg was so intended, he meekly replied, that he had no doubt of it. And, indeed, so it soon appeared in the strictest sense. For before he was able to travel, Queen Mary died, and he was set at liberty. Thus he again escaped out of the hands of his enemies.

Mr. Gilpin having obtained this providential deliverance, returned to Houghton through crowds of people, expressing the utmost joy, and blessing God for his happy release. The following year he lost his friend and relation Bishop Tonstal;† but soon procured himself other friends. Upon the deprivation of the popish bishops, the Earl of Bedford recommended him to the patronage of Queen Elizabeth, who offered him the bishopric of Carlisle; and according to Wood, he was much pressed to accept it.‡ The Bishop of Worcester, his near relation, wrote to him expressly for this purpose, and warmly urged him to accept the offer, declaring that no man was more fit for such kind of preferment.§ After all, Mr. Gilpin modestly refused. No arguments could induce him to act contrary to the dictates of his conscience. The accounts given us by Bishop Nicolson and Dr. Heylin of Mr. Gilpin’s behaviour on this occasion, are extremely disingenuous: they both ascribe it to his lucrative motives. The former intimates that the good man knew what he was about, when he refused to part with the rectory of Houghton for the bishopric of Carlisle: the latter supposes that all his

\* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. Sup. p. 72.

† Bishop Tonstal was one of the politest scholars of the age, and a man of the most amiable character. He published a book, entitled *De Arte Supputandi*, which was the first book of arithmetic ever printed in England, and passed through many editions.—*Granger*, vol. i. p. 96.

‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 593.

§ *Fuller’s Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 63.

scruples would have vanished, might he have had the old temporalities undiminished. Both these writers seem to have been very little acquainted with Mr. Gilpin's character. He considered his income in no other light, than that of a fund to be managed for the public good. The bishop's insinuation, therefore, is contradicted by every action in Mr. Gilpin's life: and Dr. Heylin's is most notoriously false, for the bishopric was offered him with the old temporalities undiminished.\*

It is certain that Mr. Gilpin was reckoned among the nonconformists of his time; and though he had several reasons for rejecting the offered preferment, that which prevailed most with him, was his disaffection to some points of conformity.† It was his fixed opinion, that no human invention should take place in the church, instead of a divine institution. The excellent Bishop Pilkington, who succeeded Tostal at Durham, connived at his nonconformity; and excused him from subscription, the use of the habits, and a strict observance of the ceremonies.‡ But the bishop could screen him only for a season. For upon the controversy about the habits, about the year 1566, he was deprived for nonconformity;§ but it is extremely probable he did not continue long under the ecclesiastical censure. The year after he was offered and nominated to the bishopric of Carlisle, he was offered the provostship of Queen's college, Oxford; but this he declined also. His heart was set on ministerial usefulness, not ecclesiastical preferment.

Mr. Gilpin continued many years at Houghton without further molestation, discharging all the duties of his function in a most exemplary manner. When he first undertook the care of souls, it was his settled maxim to do all the good in his power; and accordingly his whole conduct was one direct line towards this point. His first object was to gain the affections of his people. Yet he used no servile compliances: his means, as well as his ends, were good. His behaviour was free without levity, obliging without meanness, and insinuating without art. He condescended to the weak, bore with the passionate, and complied with the scrupulous. Hereby he convinced them how much he loved them; and thus gained their high esteem. He was unwearied in the instruction of those

\* *Blag. Britan.* vol. vii. Sep. p. 72.

† *MS. Remarks*, p. 117.

‡ *Calamy's Account*, vol. I. Pref.

§ *Neal's Puritans*, vol. I. p. 345.

under his care. He was not satisfied with the advice he gave them in public, but taught them from house to house; and disposed his people to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. And even the reproofs which he gave, evidently proceeding from friendship, and given with gentleness, very seldom gave offence. Thus, with unceasing assiduity, he was employed in admonishing the vicious, and encouraging the well-disposed. And in a few years, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, a greater change was effected throughout his parish, than could have been expected.

Mr. Gilpin continued to discharge the duties of his ministerial function in the most conscientious and laborious manner. Notwithstanding all his painful industry, and the large scope of labour in his own parish, he thought the sphere of his exertions were too confined. *It grieved his righteous soul* to behold in all the surrounding parishes so much ignorance, superstition, and vice, occasioned by the shameful neglect of the clergy. The ignorance and public vices in that part of the country, were very remarkable. This appears from the injunctions of Archbishop Grindal in 1570; among which were the following:—"That no pedlar shall be admitted to sell his wares in the church porch in divine service.—That parish clerks shall be able to read.—That no lords of misrule, or summer lords and ladies, or any disguised persons, morrice-dancers or others, shall come irreverently into the church, or play any unseemly parts with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribbald talk, in the time of divine service."\* Such was the deplorable condition of the people. Therefore, to supply as far as he was able, what was manifestly wanting in others, he used regularly every year to visit the most neglected parishes in Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire: and that his own people might not suffer, he was at the expense of keeping an assistant. Even in those wild parts of the country, he never wanted an audience; and was the means under God of rousing many to a sense of religion, and the great importance of their salvation.

There is a tract of country on the borders of Northumberland, called Reads-dale and Tyne-dale; which, of all other places in the north, were the most barbarous. It was inhabited by a kind of desperate banditti, who lived chiefly

\* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. Sup. p. 73.

by plunder. In this wretched part of the country, where no one would even travel if he could avoid it, Mr. Gilpin never failed to spend some part of the year, labouring for the good of their souls. He had fixed places for preaching, and punctually attended. If he came where there was a church, he made use of it; but if there were none, he used to preach in barns, or any other large buildings, where great crowds of people were sure to attend. In these itinerating excursions, his labours were always very great, and he often endured the most amazing hardships.

This excellent servant of Christ sometimes gave incontestible evidence of his firmness in reproving the vices of the greatest as well as the poorest. Having at one time made the requisite preparations for his journey to Reads-dale and Tyne-dale, he received a message from Dr. Barns, bishop of Durham, appointing him to preach a visitation sermon on the following sabbath. He therefore acquainted the bishop with his engagements, and the obligation he was under to fulfil them, begging his lordship at that time to excuse him. As the bishop returned no answer, he concluded that he was satisfied, and set out on his journey. But, upon his return, he was greatly surprised to find himself suspended. After some time, he received an order to meet the bishop and many of the clergy, when the bishop ordered Mr. Gilpin to preach before them. He pleaded his suspension, and that he was unprepared; but the bishop immediately took off his suspension, and would admit of no excuse. Mr. Gilpin then went up into the pulpit, and preached upon the high charge of a christian bishop. In the sermon, after exposing the corruptions of the clergy, he boldly addressed the bishop in these words:—"Let not your lordship say, that these crimes have been committed by others, without your knowledge; for whatever either yourself shall do in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own. Therefore, in the presence of God, angels, and men, I pronounce you to be the author of all these evils. Yea, and in that strict day of general account, I will be a witness to testify against you, that all these things have come to your knowledge by my means; and all these men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard me speak to you this day."

This great freedom alarmed all who wished well to Mr. Gilpin. They said, the bishop had now got that advantage over him which his enemies had long sought to obtain. And

when they expostulated with him, he said, "Be not afraid. The Lord God ruleth over all. If God may be glorified, and his truth propagated, God's will be done concerning me." Thus he assured them, that if his discourse answered the purpose he intended, he was regardless what might befall himself. Upon his going to the bishop, to pay his compliments before he went home, the bishop said, "Sir, I purpose to wait upon you home myself;" and so accompanied him to his house. As soon as Mr. Gilpin had conducted him into the parlour, the bishop suddenly turned round, and seizing him by the hand, said, "Father Gilpin, I acknowledge you are fitter to be the Bishop of Durham, than I am to be the parson of your church. I ask forgiveness of past injuries. Forgive me, father. I know you have enemies; but while I live Bishop of Durham, be secure: none of them shall cause you any further trouble."\*

The benevolence and hospitality of Mr. Gilpin were the admiration of all the country. Strangers and travellers found a cheerful reception at his house. All were welcome that came: and every sabbath, from Michaelmas to Easter, he expected to see all his parishioners and their families. For their reception, he had three tables well covered: the first for gentlemen, the second for husbandmen and farmers, and the third for the labouring poor. This kind of hospitality he never omitted, even when losses or scarcity rendered its continuance rather difficult. He thought it was his duty; and that was a deciding motive. Even when he was from home, the poor were fed, and strangers entertained, as usual. Every Thursday throughout the year, a very large quantity of meat was dressed wholly for the poor; and every day they had as much broth as they wanted. Twenty-four of the poorest were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year a dinner was provided for the poor in general, when they received a certain quantity of corn and a sum of money; and at Christmas they had always an ox divided among them. Whenever he heard of any persons in distress, whether in his own parish or any other, he was sure to relieve them. As he walked abroad, he frequently brought home with him poor people, and sent them away clothed as well as fed. He took great pains to acquaint himself with the circumstances of his neighbours, that the modesty of sufferers might not prevent their relief. But the money best

\* Wood says, that Bishop Barns was a constant favourer of puritanism. — *Athene Oxon.* vol. i. p. 607.

laid out, in his opinion, was that which encouraged industry. He took great pleasure in making up the losses of those who were laborious. If a poor man had lost a beast, he would send him another in its room: or if the farmers had at any time a bad harvest, he would make them an abatement in their tithes. Thus, as far as he was able, he took the misfortunes of his parish upon himself, and, like a true shepherd, exposed himself for his flock.

In the distant places where he preached, as well as in his own neighbourhood, his generosity and benevolence were continually manifested, particularly in the parts of Northumberland where he preached. Upon the public road, he never passed an opportunity of doing good. He was often known to take off his cloak, and give it to a poor traveller. "When he began a journey to those distant places," it is said, "he would have ten pounds in his purse; and at his coming home, would be twenty nobles in debt, which he would always pay within a fortnight after."

Among the many instances of Mr. Gilpin's uncommon benevolence, was the erection and endowment of a public grammar school. His school was no sooner opened, than it began to flourish; and there was so great a resort of young people to it, that in a little time the town could not accommodate them. For the sake of convenience, however, he fitted up his own house, where he had seldom fewer than twenty or thirty children. The greater part of these were poor children, whom he not only educated, but clothed and maintained. He was also at the expense of boarding many poor children in the town. He sent many of his scholars to the university, and devoted sixty pounds a year to their support during their continuance there. The common allowance for each scholar was ten pounds annually; which to a sober youth was at that time a sufficient support. And he not only procured able teachers for his school, but took a very active part himself in the constant inspection of it. To increase the number of his scholars, one method which he used was rather singular. Whenever he met with a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his abilities by asking him questions; and if he was pleased with him, would provide for his education. Among those educated at his school, and sent to the university, were Dr. George Carleton, afterwards bishop of Chichester, who published Mr. Gilpin's life; Dr. Henry Airay, and the celebrated Mr. Hugh Broughton.

Towards the close of life, Mr. Gilpin went through his

laborious exercises with great difficulty. By extreme fatigue for many years, his constitution was worn down, and his health much impaired. He thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend: "To sustain all these travels and troubles, I have a very weak body, subject to many diseases; by the motions whereof, I am daily warned to remember death. My greatest grief of all is, that my memory is quite decayed: my sight faileth; my hearing faileth; with other ailments, more than I can well express." While he was thus struggling with old age and an impaired constitution, as he was one day crossing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and pushed him down with such violence, that it was thought it would have occasioned his death. Though he survived the shock and bruises he received, he was long confined to his house, and continued lame as long as he lived.

During his last sickness, he made known his apprehensions to his friends, and spoke of death with happy composure of mind. A few days previous to his departure, he requested that his friends, acquaintance, and dependents, might be called into his chamber; and being raised in his bed, he delivered to each of them the pathetic exhortation of a dying man. His remaining hours were employed in prayer, and broken conversation with select friends, speaking often of the sweet consolations of the gospel. He finished his laborious life, and entered upon his rest, March 4, 1583, aged sixty-six years.

Such was the end of Mr. Bernard Gilpin, whose learning, piety, charity, labours, and usefulness, were almost unbounded. He possessed a quick imagination, a strong memory, and a solid judgment; and greatly excelled in the knowledge of languages, history, and divinity. He was so laborious for the good of souls, that he was usually called the **NORTHERN APOSTLE**; and he was so universally benevolent to the necessitous, that he was commonly styled the **FATHER OF THE POOR**. He was a thorough puritan in principle, and a most conscientious nonconformist in practice, but against separation. Being full of faith and good works, he was accounted a saint by his very enemies; and was at last gathered in as a shock of corn fully ripe. By his last will and testament, he left half of his property to the poor of Houghton, and the other half to a number of poor scholars at the university.\*

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 703.

Mr. Gilpin, from the earliest period, was inclined to serious thoughtfulness. This was discovered by the following circumstance. A begging friar coming on a Saturday evening to his father's house, was received, according to the custom of those times, in a very hospitable manner. The friar made too free with the bounty set before him, and became thoroughly intoxicated. The next morning, however, he ordered the bell to toll for public worship; and from the pulpit, expressed himself with great vehemence against the debauchery of the times, but particularly against drunkenness. Young Gilpin, then a child on his mother's lap, seemed for some time exceedingly affected by the friar's discourse; and at length, with the utmost indignation, cried out: "Oh, mamma, do you hear how this fellow dares speak against drunkenness, and was drunk himself last night!"

The disinterested pains which Mr. Gilpin took among the barbarous people in the north, and the great kindness he manifested towards them, excited in them the warmest gratitude and esteem. One instance is related, shewing how greatly he was revered. Being once on his journey to Reads-dale and Tyne-dale, by the carelessness of his servant, he had his horses stolen. The news quickly spread through the country, and every one expressed the highest indignation against it. While the thief was rejoicing over his prize, he found, by the report of the country, whose horses he had stolen; and being exceedingly terrified at what he had done, he instantly came trembling back, confessed the fact, returned the horses, and declared he believed the devil would have seized him immediately, if he had taken them off, when he found they belonged to Mr. Gilpin.

The hospitality of this excellent person was not confined in its objects. Strangers and travellers found the kindest entertainment in his house. And even their beasts were so well taken care of, that it was humorously said, "If a horse was turned out in any part of the country, he would immediately make his way to the rectory of Houghton."—The following instance of his benevolent spirit, is preserved. As he was one day returning from a journey, he saw several persons crowding together in a field; and supposing some disaster had happened, he rode up to them, and found that one of the horses in a team had suddenly dropped down, and was dead. The owner bemoaning the greatness of his loss, Mr. Gilpin said, "Honest

man, be not discouraged; I'll let you have that horse of mine," pointing at his servant's." "Ah! master," replied the countryman, "my pocket will not reach such a beast as that." "Come, come," said Mr. Gilpin, "take him, take him; and when I demand the money, then shalt thou pay me;" and so gave him his horse.

The celebrated Lord Burleigh being once sent into Scotland, embraced the opportunity on his return to visit his old acquaintance at Houghton. His visit was without previous notice; yet the economy of Mr. Gilpin's house was not easily disconcerted. He received his noble guest with so much true politeness, and treated him and his whole retinue in so affluent and generous a manner, that the treasurer would often afterwards say, "he could hardly have expected more at Lambeth." During his stay, he took great pains to acquaint himself with the order and regularity of the house, which gave him uncommon pleasure and satisfaction. This noble lord, at parting, embraced his much respected friend with all the warmth of affection, and told him, he had heard great things in his commendation, but he had now seen what far exceeded all that he had heard. "If Mr. Gilpin," added he, "I can ever be of any service to you at court or elsewhere, use me with all freedom, as one on whom you may depend." When he had got upon Rainton-hill, which rises about a mile from Houghton, and commands the vale, he turned his horse to take one more view of the place, and having fixed his eye upon it for some time, he broke out into this exclamation: "There is the enjoyment of life indeed! Who can blame that man for refusing a bishopric? What doth he want, to make him greater, or happier, or more useful to mankind?"\*

Dr. Richard Gilpin, an excellent and useful divine, ejected by the Act of Uniformity in 1662; and Mr. William Gilpin, author of "The Lives of eminent Reformers," were both descendants of Mr. Gilpin's family.†

**JOHN COPPING.**—This unhappy man was minister near Bury St. Edmunds, a zealous puritan of the Brownist persuasion, and a most painful sufferer for nonconformity. In the year 1576, he was brought into trouble by the commis-

\* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. Sup. p. 75.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 338.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 163.

sary of the Bishop of Norwich, and committed to prison at Bury. He is said to have maintained the following opinions: "That unpreaching ministers were dumb dogs.—That whoever keeps saints' days, is an idolater.—That the queen, who had sworn to keep God's law, and set forth God's glory, as appointed in the scriptures, and did not perform it, was perjured." And it is added, that for the space of six months, he had refused to have his own child baptized; "because," he said, "none should baptize his child who did not preach;" and that when it was baptized, he would have neither godfathers nor godmothers. These were the great crimes alleged against him! Mr. Copping having for these offences remained in prison two years, and still refusing to conform; December 1, 1578, he underwent an examination before Justice Andrews, when the above *false and malicious opinions*, as they are called, were proved against him.\* The good man continuing steadfast to his principles, and still refusing to sacrifice a good conscience on the altar of conformity, was sent back to prison, where he remained nearly five years longer. What shocking barbarity was this! Here Mr. Elias Thacker, another Brownist minister, was his fellow prisoner. The two prisoners having suffered this long and painful confinement, were indicted, tried, and condemned for spreading certain books, said to be seditiously penned by Robert Brown against the Book of Common Prayer. The sedition charged upon Brown's book, was, that it subverted the constitution of the established church, and acknowledged her majesty's supremacy only in *civil* matters, not in matters *ecclesiastical*. The judges took hold of this to aggravate their offence to the queen, after they had passed sentence upon them, on the statute of 23 Eliz. against seditious libels, and for refusing the oath of supremacy. Having received the sentence of death, they were both hanged at Bury, in the month of June, 1583. Such, indeed, was the resentment, and even the madness, of the persecutors of these two servants of Christ, that, previous to their death, all Brown's books that could be found, were collected together, and burnt before their eyes.+ Under all these barbarities, the two champions for nonconformity continued immoveable to the last, and died sound in the faith, and of holy and unblemished lives. But, to hang men for spreading a book written against the church

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 532, 533.

+ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 186.

only, appeared extremely hard, especially at the very time when Brown himself was pardoned and set at liberty.

THOMAS UNDERDOWN was minister of St. Mary's church in Lewes, in the county of Sussex, but was brought into trouble for nonconformity. By a special warrant from Dr. Longworth, visitor to Archbishop Whitgift, dated November 18, 1583, he was summoned to appear in the ecclesiastical court at Lewes.\* Upon his appearance in the court, he was immediately required to subscribe to Whitgift's three articles. He signified his readiness to subscribe to the *first* and *third* of those articles, but, hesitating about the *second*, he was immediately suspended. At the same time, Mr. William Hopkinson, vicar of Salehurst, Mr. Samuel Norden, minister of Hamsey, Mr. Thomas Hely, minister of Warbleton, with many others in the same county, were cited and suspended, for refusing subscription, though their refusal was not out of contempt, but because to them some things appeared doubtful.†

These ministers having received the ecclesiastical censure, ventured to lay their case at the feet of the archbishop. They appeared before his grace at Lambeth, December 5th, in the same year; when they entered upon the following conference:

Underdown. We are become suitors to your lordship, out of the diocese of Chichester, being urged thereunto by the hard dealing of Dr. Longworth; who hath suspended us from the exercise of our functions, for not subscribing to certain articles, pretended to be sent by your lordship; and to request your favour to be released from the same.

\* Dr. Longworth sent the following warrant or citation to all the ministers within the archdeaconry of Lewes, requiring them to appear before him:—"These are to command you in her majesty's name, to appear personally in St. Michael's church in Lewes, the 20th day of this present November, between the hours of eight and ten o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to perform all such duties and injunctions, as I am to impose upon you, from the Archbishop's grace of Canterbury, as appeareth by a special letter directed to me in that behalf. Fail you not hereof, upon pain of the law which will necessarily ensue upon the default which you shall commit in these premises. From Lewes, November 18, 1583.

"Signed your loving friend,

"JOHN LONGWORTH."

MS. Register, p. 396.

† *Ibid.* p. 395, 396.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 128, 129.

Archbishop. I am so far from releasing you from your suspensions, that I declare it to have been orderly done; and I approve and justify the same, and shall further proceed against you unless you subscribe.

U. My lord, we have subscribed to the first and third articles, but desired respite for the second. And though we have used the Book of Common Prayer, so far as concerned our ministry, we cannot with a good conscience, subscribe to every particular in that book.

A. If you use that to which you will not subscribe, you dissemble. And how much respite would you have, after the exercise of twenty-five years?

U. Every thing in the book doth not pertain to our ministry; and in some things we are left to our liberty; but this subscription bindeth us to give our full consent to the whole, and thus abridgeth us of the liberty which the book alloweth.

A. What do you dislike in the Book of Common Prayer?

U. We do not say *dislike*, my lord; but there are many things *doubtful*, and about which we are not yet resolved.

A. What are the points doubtful, which you wish to have resolved? I will endeavour to satisfy you, if you will be satisfied.

U. We desire to know what book your lordship would have us to subscribe unto. For there are many copies, which differ in many points of great weight; and those which have been printed last, have most declined to superstition.

A. I mean the book which is now used for divine service and administration of the sacraments in the church of England.

U. That is not the book established by law, according to 1 Eliz., but differeth in more points from the book of 5 Edward VI. than the law of the land alloweth.

A. And what is the difference?

U. They differ in the following points and some others: The kalenders are not the same; the first lessons on all saints' days are appointed out of the apocrypha: the kalender appoints the saints' eyes to be observed by fasting: it putteth in the popish saints: it prescribeth a number of holy-days: and it omitteth the advertisement after the communion, to avoid the popish adoration in kneeling at the sacrament.

A. The kalenders are not of the substance of the book.

U. They form a principal part of the book, and have a

chief interest in the directions there given : and the statute calleth it a part.

A. What other doubts have you which you wish to be resolved ?

U. The book prescribeth certain parts of the apocrypha to be read in public worship, which contain gross errors, both in doctrine and practice; and leaveth out some parts of canonical scripture.

A. All the apocrypha is not appointed to be read, but those parts which are most edifying. And the ancient fathers permitted them to be read in the church.

U. Not some detached parts only, my lord, but whole books are appointed.

A. What errors in doctrine and practice do they contain ?

U. Raphael maketh a lie, Tobit v. 15.

A. If this be a lie, then the angels lied to Abraham, by seeming to have bodies and to eat, when they had no bodies and did not eat : And Christ, when he seemed to intend going farther than Emmaus : And God, when he destroyed not Ninevah.

U. The cases are not alike.—Again, the devil is said to have loved Sara, Tobit vi. 16., which is fabulous.

A. Is it strange to you that the devil should love men and women ? Do you think the devil doth not love ?

U. In Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 20. it is said, that Samuel preached after he was dead.

A. It is controverted whether this were Samuel or some evil spirit.

U. What writers are of this opinion ?

A. What point of faith is it to believe it was Samuel ?

U. A principal point, my lord ; for Rev. xiv. 13. it is said, that the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and rest from their labours ; which is not true, if they be at the call of a witch or sorcerer, to do those things which while they lived, they would not have done.

A. Cannot the Lord dispense with them, and allow them to come, being called ?

U. He dispenseth with things according to his word. And, surely, he would not condemn such abominations, and encourage them.

A. It is no matter whether we believe the one or the other. What is your next error ? Are there any other faults in the apocrypha ?

U. There are many others, which at this time we remember not.

A. Is there any other reason why you will not subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer ?

U. Yes, my lord, there are many others. For if we subscribe to the book, we must subscribe to the massing apparel : as copes, vestments, tunicle, &c.

A. Whatever you are discharged from by any article or injunction, you are not required to subscribe unto it in the book.

U. Who then shall interpret how far our subscription shall extend ?

A. That will I and the other bishops do, who know best what the book and subscription meaneth.

U. But, my lord, we dare not subscribe without protestation.

A. I will have no protestation. You are not called to rule in this church of England ; and you shall not rule, but obey. And unless you subscribe, you shall have no place in the ministry. Is there any other thing which hindereth your subscription ?

U. The rubric requireth that after the reading of the Nicene creed, an homily shall be read, either one already set forth by public authority, or hereafter to be set forth ; and we think it is absurd to subscribe to the use of things not yet published.

A. You need not trouble yourself about that. Have you any thing else ?

U. If we subscribe, we must subscribe to private baptism, and the baptism of women, directly contrary to the word of God.

A. Though baptism were unlawfully performed, yet being once performed, it is not to be repeated ; and seeing it has the seal of the prince, it may not be condemned, though not performed by an ordinary minister.

U. We acknowledge the necessity of baptism, and that he who administereth it, does not make the sacrament better ; yet from the words of Christ, " Go teach and baptize," it appears that he who administers this sacrament should be a minister of the word.

A. Whosoever shall say it is of the substance of the sacrament, that he who baptizeth must be a minister, I will proceed against him as an *heretic*. I say, moreover, it is not lawful for women to baptize ; yet if they do baptize, their baptism is valid, and ought not to be set aside.

U. Seeing the sacrament is not saving, but the seal of God's promises, there is no need of them to baptize.

A. If I had a child dying without baptism, I should be doubtful of its salvation.

U. We think, my lord, that it is not the *want* of baptism, but the *contempt* of it, and that not of his friends, but the person himself, that doth condemn. Yet we believe and teach the lawfulness and necessity of childrens' baptism, and that it ought to be performed by ministers.

A. The book doth not speak of women; and it is called *private* because of the place, not the persons.

U. The circumstances of it can admit of no other sense. For it may be administered when there is not time to say the Lord's prayer.

A. There may not be so much time after the minister is come.

U. We know that the baptism of a certain nobleman by the midwife was allowed and defended by the Book of Common Prayer.

A. You should have complained of this abuse, that the parties might have been punished.

U. Your lordship knoweth the opinion of most persons upon this point, and that they practise accordingly.

A. It is not the fault of the book, if in this case it be misunderstood.

U. The practice was condemned in the convocation, when your lordship was prolocutor.

A. True: and you are to take away the superstition attached to it, by preaching against it.—Have you any other thing to mention?

U. We object against private communion.

A. Strange, indeed! Do you not think it lawful for two to communicate alone? If there were only two persons together in time of persecution, or in a wilderness, or in the world, would you have them not to communicate?

U. Such communion, if the church were there, would not be private. But we live in a time of gospel light and peace; therefore, the communion which your lordship defendeth, savours too much of the popish housel.

A. The minister is not compelled to do it, but only suffered if he will.

U. But if we subscribe, we must subscribe unto this as a convenient order appointed by the book. We have many other things; but we fear to be tedious. There are many others who are suspended, and are waiting your lordship's pleasure.

A. Why did they not all come? I would have endea-

youred to satisfy them. You seem to be sober and discreet men. I would not have you depend on any vain fancies; but be ruled and enjoy your places, which, without this subscription, you shall not hold.

U. If our ministry have been useful to souls, we thank God for it; and we desire to keep our places, if it may be done with peace of conscience.

Hely. If we may subscribe with a good conscience, it is what we desire. But, my lord, if we subscribe to the book, do we not subscribe to the translation of the Bible, which the book appointeth to be read? That translation is faulty and incorrect in many places.

A. Mention some place.

H. In the Psalms.\*

The first day's conference thus broke off; but by order of the archbishop, they all attended the next morning; when they appeared before the archbishop, the bishops of London, Salisbury, and Rochester, and the dean of Westminster. The archbishop having rehearsed the substance of what had passed the preceding day, with some enlargement upon the *devil's loving women*, the Bishop of London spoke as follows:

Bishop. If you had read either divinity or philosophy, it would not be strange to you that the devil should love women.

U. My lord, we have not learned any such divinity.

A. You must subscribe. It will be much to your advantage.

Hopkinson. We cannot subscribe, my lord, without protestation. And we have not so far examined every point, that we can subscribe at present, therefore we desire longer respite.

B. What respite would you have, after the use of the book twenty-five years? If you be not skilful in the knowledge of it, in so long a time, it seems as if you had not used it much.

Hopk. There are many things in the book which belong not to us, or to our ministry, therefore we desire favour in this subscription.

A. You shall subscribe or you shall enjoy no place in the ministry. And because you are the first who have been thus far proceeded against, in this case, you shall be made an example to all others.

\* MS. Register, p. 397—401.

Hopk. If your lordship will deal thus hardly with us, we must give up our places.

A. If you do give them up, I can furnish them with as sufficient men as you are, and yet conformable.

B. Rochester. There are many learned men who are now in want of livings. These will fill up their places.

A. You of Sussex have been accounted very disorderly and contentious; and her majesty hath been informed of you; and I mean to proceed strictly with you.

U. My lord, the ministers of Sussex have been as well ordered as any in the kingdom, until one Shales came among them, and broached certain points of popery and heresy, which hath been the cause of all those troubles.

A. It would have been a wonder, if you had not been quiet, seeing you have all done as you pleased, without the least controul: the devil will be quiet so long. Why do you not accuse the man? and you shall see how I will deal with him.

B. Roches. What were his points of popery and heresy?

U. My lord hath been informed of these things already.

A. I remember you found fault yesterday with holy-days.

B. Have we not as good reason to maintain the holy-days established by law, as you have to make them when you please?

Hopk. We make no holy-days.

B. What do you else, when you call the people together unto sermons on working-days?

Hopk. When we have sermons, the people go to work before sermon, and return to work after sermon, as on other days: but to do this on the holy-days, they might be presented and punished, as hath been lately witnessed.

A. I see whence you have most of your doubts. Mr. Cartwright and I might have been better employed, especially he, who began the contest.\* If you have any more doubts, propose them now, seeing there are so many of the bishops to answer them.

H. In the rubric before confirmation, salvation is ascribed to baptism. For whosoever is baptized, is said to be undoubtedly saved.

A. Is there any such thing in the book?

H. Yes, my lord, those are the words.

\* This statement is incorrect. Mr. Cartwright did not begin the contest; but Whitgift himself engaged first in the controversy.—See Art. Cartwright.

A. Let us see the book.

Hartwell. They are the last words of the rubric.

A. The meaning of the book is to exclude the popish opinion of confirmation, as if it were as necessary as baptism. Therefore, those who have been baptized have all outward things necessary to salvation, even without confirmation.

H. The words may be taken in another sense, and, therefore, may not be subscribed without some deliberation.

Dean. I wonder you do not subscribe, seeing there is nothing in the second article which is not in the third, and you are willing to subscribe the third.

U. We have subscribed to the third already; and seeing all things contained in the second are contained in the third, we desire you to be satisfied with that subscription.

B. Not so.

Norden. How do your lordships understand these words, "Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office of a priest?"

A. Not imperatively, but optatively; and this speech is much the same as that other, "I baptize thee," &c.

B. We cannot give the Holy Ghost.

B. Roches. Do you not think, that when we use these words, we do communicate something?

U. I think not, my lord. For persons return from you no better furnished, than when they came unto you, if we may form our opinion from their practice.

A. We hope you are now resolved, and will now subscribe. You are unlearned, and only boys in comparison of us, who studied divinity before most of you were born.

U. We acknowledge our youth, my lord, and have no high opinion of our learning. Yet we hold ourselves sufficiently learned to know and teach Jesus Christ, as the way of salvation.

Hopk. If we subscribe under such interpretations, our subscription may become dangerous to us hereafter, when no interpretation may be allowed; therefore, we desire some protestation.

A. I will admit no protestation.

Dean. Come, Mr. Hopkinson, subscribe. My lord will favour you much, and help you against your adversaries.

Hopk. We must be better advised, Mr. Dean.

A. Go into the garden, or elsewhere, and consider of this matter, and return here again.

These divines having retired for some time, after consultation among themselves, they returned and consented

to subscribe, on condition that their subscription should not be required to any thing against the word of God, or contrary to the analogy of faith; and that it should not be extended to any thing not already contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Also, to avoid all cavilling, Mr. Underdown protested, that the book of consecration did not belong to them, and that they could not subscribe to it; yet he acknowledged the ministry of the church to be lawful. To these conditions the archbishop and bishops agreed; and the ministers accordingly subscribed. Afterwards, Mr. Underdown having requested that the cross in baptism might not be urged, the conversation was briefly renewed, as follows:

A. You must use the cross, or the statute will reach you.

Hopk. Because it is intended as a significant sign, and is a new mystery in the church, we take it to be contrary to the second commandment.

A. Remember, it is required in the rubric.

N. It seemeth hard that the child must be asked whether it believe, and will be baptized.

A. The child is not asked, but the godfathers.

N. The godfathers and godmothers are several; therefore, if this were the meaning of the book, the number should be altered.

U. There are in our county many more of our brethren suspended for not subscribing. We beseech you that they may enjoy the same benefit, if they will subscribe as we have done.

A. I am content.

B. Roches. Are there any more who have refused?

U. Yes, my lord; there are above *twenty* in all.

B. Are there so many in your county?

German. There are some who have subscribed, and are greatly troubled in mind for what they have done. What do you think they had best do?

A. Let them come to me, and I hope to satisfy them.\*

In the conclusion of the above conference, Mr. Underdown and his brethren were dismissed, when they returned home; and December 11th, being assembled in open court at Lewes, they were publicly released from their suspensions, where the business ended.

\* MS. Register, p. 401—402.

Mr. SANDERSON was minister at Lynn in Norfolk, and troubled for his nonconformity. In the year 1573, he was charged, together with the people of the town, with having impugned the Book of Common Prayer. This was, indeed, a sad crime in those days.\* February 8th, in that year, the following articles were exhibited against him in the ecclesiastical court:

1. "That he had called the curate of the place, a *dumb dog*, and a *camelion priest*.

2. "That he said the curate would not say the morning prayer, but would bid the popish holy-days, and say the popish service (meaning the common prayer) for those days.

3. "That, January 17th, he declared in the pulpit, that they who formerly employed their labours, and their goods, for the benefit of their poor and afflicted brethren, were now become judges over them; they sat in judgment upon them; and, like the Galatians, had received another gospel.

4. "That he exhorted the people to pray unto God, to change the heart of the queen's majesty, that she might set forth true doctrine and worship.

5. "That he said the apostle Paul would have contention for the truth, rather than suffer any inconvenience to enter into the church of God.

6. "That, January 24th, he said, that if either bishops, deans, or any others, or even an angel from heaven, preached any other doctrine than that which he then preached, they should hold him accursed, and not believe him.

7. "That he called the appointed holy-days, Jewish ceremonies; and the churching of women, Jewish purifications; and said, that many persons made the queen's laws their divinity.

8. "That, February 7th, he said in his sermon, that unpreaching and scandalous ministers were one principal occasion of the present dearth."†

Upon the examination of Mr. Sanderson, though we do not find what penalty was inflicted upon him, one Francis Shaxton, an alderman of the place, accused him of having delivered these opinions and assertions in two of his sermons, and even said he heard them, when, in fact, he was in London at the very time when the sermons were preached.

\* "On Christmas-day last," says the Bishop of Norwich, in his letter to Archbishop Parker, "some of the aldermen went to church in their scarlets, and some would not; some opened their shops, and some shut them up; some eat flesh on that day, and others eat fish." Surely, then, it was high time to punish these rebellious people!—*Strype's Parker*, p. 452.

† MS. Register, p. 191.

In the year 1583, Mr. Sanderson's name is among those of the Norfolk divines, being upwards of sixty in all, who were not resolved to subscribe to Whitgift's three articles.\*

JOHN HILL was minister at Bury St. Edmunds, and, for omitting the cross in baptism, and making some trivial alteration in the vows, was suspended by the high commission. Not long after receiving the ecclesiastical censure, he was indicted at the assizes for the same thing. Upon his appearance at the bar, having heard his indictment read, he pleaded *guilty*. Then said Judge Anderson, before whom he appeared, what can you say that you should not suffer one year's imprisonment?† Mr. Hill replied, "the law hath provided that I should not be punished, seeing I have been already suspended for the same matter, by the commissary." Upon this, the judge gave him liberty to produce his testimonial under the hand and seal of the commissary, at the next assizes. Accordingly, at the next assizes, his testimonial was produced and read in open court, when his discharge as founded thereon according to law being pleaded by his counsel, he was openly acquitted and dismissed.

Notwithstanding his public acquittance in open court, at the Lent assizes in 1583, the good man was summoned again by the same judge, and for the same crime. When he appeared at the bar, and heard the charges brought against himself, he greatly marvelled, seeing he had been already discharged of the same things. He was obliged to attend upon the court many times, when being known to be a divine of puritan principles, nothing more was done than he was always bound to appear at the next assize. At length, however, the judge charged him with having complained of their hard usage. And, surely, he had great reason for so doing. To this charge Mr. Hill replied, "I have

\* M<sup>s</sup>. Register, p. 436.

† Sir Edmund Anderson, lord chief justice of the common pleas, was a most furious and cruel persecutor of the puritans. He sat in judgment upon Mary, Queen of Scots, in October, 1586; and the next year presided at the trial of Secretary Davison, in the star-chamber, for signing the warrant for the execution of that princess. His decision on that nice point was, "That he had done *justum, non juste*; he had done what was right in an "unlawful manner, otherwise he thought him no bad man." "This was excellent logic," says Granger, "for finding an innocent man guilty. But upon the queen's order, and no-order, he was obliged to find him guilty, upon pain of being deprived of his office."—*Biog. Hist.* vol. I. p. 236.

spoken no untruth of your honours." Anderson then shewed him the copy of a supplication, demanding whether he had not set his hand to it; and Mr. Hill answering that he thought he had, the angry judge said, "we shewed you favour before in accepting your plea, but we will shew you no more." Mr. Hill then replied, "I hope your lordships will not revoke what you have done, seeing you have discharged me of this matter already." The judge then answered, "that which we did, we did out of favour to you." Here the business closed, and Mr. Hill was sent to prison, being charged with no other crime than that of which the same judge had acquitted him. He continued in prison a long time; but whether he was ever restored to his ministry, is very doubtful.\*

NICHOLAS BROWN, B. D.—This learned divine was fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university, but dissatisfied with the discipline of the national church. In the year 1573, he was brought into trouble for two sermons which he preached in the university. For the erroneous and dangerous doctrines supposed to be contained in these sermons, he was several times called before the heads of colleges, and, after repeated examination, was kept for some time in a state of confinement. Dr. Whitgift, afterwards the famous archbishop, was a leading person in these severe proceedings.

Upon Mr. Brown's appearance before his learned judges, he was required to retract his dangerous positions; which, at first, he utterly refused; but afterwards, it is said, he complied. These dangerous positions were contained in the two following articles: "That in his two sermons, he uttered doctrine and reasons tending to infringe the order and manner of creating and electing ministers, and the regimen now used in the church of England.—And that no priests made in the time of popery ought to have any function in the church of England, except they be called afresh."† These doctrines, said to have been delivered in his sermons, contain all the crimes with which he was accused even by his enemies. He was, therefore, required to make the following recantation, in the place, and before the congregation, where he had delivered the sermons:

"Whereas, I preaching in this place, the Sunday before

\* MS. Register, p. 314.

† Strype's Parker, p. 391, 392.

“ Christmas, and January 25, last past, was noted to have  
 “ preached offensively; speaking as well against the manner  
 “ and form of making and ordering of ministers and deacons  
 “ in the church of England, as by law established: also,  
 “ against such priests as were made in the time of King  
 “ Henry and Queen Mary, saying that they were not to be  
 “ admitted into the ministry without a new calling. I now  
 “ let you understand, that I never meant so. For I do here  
 “ acknowledge and openly protest, that the manner and  
 “ form of ordering ministers and deacons in the church of  
 “ England, now established, is lawful and to be allowed.  
 “ Also, that the priests made in the time of King Henry and  
 “ Queen Mary, now allowed, and now exercising any  
 “ function in the church, are lawful ministers of the word  
 “ and sacraments, without any new ordering, otherwise than  
 “ is prescribed by the laws of this realm.”\*

Mr. Brown refused to comply with the above tyrannical requisition. He would not defile his conscience by doing that which was contrary to the convictions of his own mind. He considered it to be his duty to obey God, rather than men, though they were the spiritual rulers of an ecclesiastical establishment. He was, therefore, detained in prison a considerable time, but afterwards obtained his release. Notwithstanding this, his troubles were not over. After his deliverance from prison, he was repeatedly convened before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges. On one of these occasions, the vice-chancellor commanded him to deliver another sermon in St. Mary's church, on a particular day, and at the usual hour of public service, requiring him to read openly and distinctly a paper, which the vice-chancellor should deliver to him. He also charged him “ to accomplish the same humbly and charitably, without any *flouting, girding, twisting, or overthwarting* any man, and without using any words or gesture tending to the discredit of any person, or to the stirring up or maintaining of any contention or dissention.”† That which the learned ecclesiastic delivered to him, and commanded him to read before the public congregation, was a kind of revocation of his opinions; but he remained inflexible, and would not comply with the tyrannical imposition.‡

On account of the cruelty with which he was treated, he presented his distressing case to Lord Burleigh, the chancellor, who warmly espoused his cause, and sent a letter to

\* Strype's Parker, p. 391, 392.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 55, 56.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 395, 396.

‡ Ibid. p. 399, 400.

the vice-chancellor, dated June 26, 1573, in which his lordship wrote as follows:—"Mr. Brown was with me," says he, "five or six days past, to entreat me, that by my means to you and others, he might forbear the execution of a certain order by you as vice-chancellor prescribed, to *pronounce a certain declaratory sentence*, in a sermon to be made by him now at the commencement. In which matter I had no disposition to deal; yet by the importunity of his sorrowful petition, and purpose not to offend in any such cause wherewith he hath been charged, I did with my pen write suddenly a few lines, to shew my inclination to have him favoured, and so dismissed him. Since which time, he is this day returned to me with a letter from Sir Thomas Smith, the queen's majesty's principal secretary, whereby you shall see how I am entreated to procure more favour for him. And yet without hearing you and others, who best know his cause, I dare not precisely require any alteration of your orders, but do recommend the party, who hath a good report, to be as favourably ordered, as he may find his repair to me hath in some measure relieved him, without hurting the public cause of good order."

This pacific address from the treasurer proved ineffectual. The tyrannical vice-chancellor and his reverend colleagues refused to observe the generous instructions of the chancellor. Mr. Brown still remained under their ecclesiastical oppressions; and on account of the cruel usage he met with, he again laid his distressing case before Burleigh, July 6, 1573; but whether with any better success, we have not been able to learn.†

The year following, a puritan divine of the same name, and no doubt the same person, was concerned in Undertree's sham plot, when many letters were forged in his name. After examination, his innocence, with that of his brethren, was made openly and perfectly manifest.‡ Upon Mr. Brown's removal from the university, he became minister at Norton in Suffolk, where he was afterwards molested for nonconformity. For, in the year 1583, on the publication of Whitgift's three articles, he refused subscription, and, with many others, was immediately suspended. How long he continued under the ecclesiastical censure, or whether he was ever restored, we are unable to ascertain.§

\* Strype's Parker, vol. xxix. p. 371, 372.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 466.

§ MS. Register, p. 436, 437.

**RICHARD CRICK, D. D.**—He was chaplain to the Bishop of Norwich, and much commended for his learning and sobriety. In the year 1573, he preached at Paul's cross; and having in his sermon commended Mr. Cartwright's reply to Whitgift, a special messenger was sent from Archbishop Parker to apprehend him. Though at that time he escaped the snare, he afterwards fell into the hands of the high commissioners, by whom he was deprived of his preferment in the church at Norwich.\*

Dr. Crick being silenced, and many of his brethren in the same diocese, they united in presenting a supplication to the council, that they might be restored to their beloved ministry, and allowed again to preach the glad tidings of the gospel. This supplication was dated September 25, 1576; a further account of which is given in another place.† Afterwards, he and many of his brethren, being the silenced ministers in that diocese, presented their humble submission, to their diocesan, dated August 21, 1578. In this submission, they request to be restored to their ministry, promising to subscribe to the articles of faith and the doctrine of the sacraments, according to the laws of the realm. They profess, at the same time, that the ceremonies and government of the church are so far to be allowed, that no man ought to withdraw from hearing the word and receiving the holy sacraments, on account of them. They also offer to the bishop, their reasons for refusing to subscribe, requesting to have their difficulties removed, without which they could never subscribe in the manner required.‡ This excellent divine, therefore, remained a long time under deprivation. Though he was afterwards restored to his ministry, yet, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, he was again suspended, with many others, for refusing subscription.§

**ANTHONY GILBY.**—This pious and zealous nonconformist was born in Lincolnshire, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he obtained a most exact knowledge of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. He constantly laboured to promote a further reformation; and having published his sentiments of the habits, ceremonies, and corruptions in the church, more openly than many of

\* Strype's Parker, p. 421, 427.

† See Art. John More.

‡ MS. Register, p. 437.

‡ Ibid.

his brethren, he is represented by some of our historians, as a fiery and furious opposer of the discipline in the church of England.\*

Upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the commencement of her bloody persecution, he became an exile in a foreign land. He was among the first who retired to Frankfort, where he was deeply involved in the troubles occasioned by the officious interference of Dr. Cox and his party. When the order of church discipline, highly esteemed by many, was presented to the whole congregation, and rejected by the zealous episcopalians, "Mr. Gilby, with a godly grief, as was openly manifest, kneeled down before them; and with tears in his eyes, besought them to promote the desired reformation, solemnly protesting, that, in this matter, they sought not themselves, but the glory of God only: adding, that he wished the very hand which he then held up, might be struck off, if godly peace and unity could thereby be promoted."† Such was his truly generous spirit; and such his fervent zeal for the peace and unity of the church! Upon the unkind usage at Frankfort, Mr. Gilby removed to Geneva. Afterwards, he united with his brethren in writing a letter to those who still remained at Frankfort, defending the lawfulness of their departure, against the slanderous reports of those who stigmatized them as schismatics. This letter, signed by eighteen persons, among whom was the famous Mr. John Fox, breathes a most condescending, humble, and healing spirit.‡ During Mr. Gilby's abode at Geneva, he assisted Coverdale, Sampson, and other learned divines, in the translation of the Bible.§

After the accession of Queen Elizabeth, our divine returned from exile, and was greatly admired and beloved by all who sought a thorough reformation of the English church. He is, indeed, exceedingly reproached by several of our bigotted historians. Dr. Bancroft says, that Mr. Gilby, with the rest of the Geneva accomplices, urged all states by degrees, to take up arms, and reform religion themselves by force, rather than suffer so much idolatry and superstition to remain in the land.¶ Another peevish writer, with an evident design to blacken his memory, says, "That in obedience to John Calvin, the supreme head of Geneva,

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 167.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 30.

‡ Ibid. p. 47.

§ See Art. Coverdale.

¶ Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 62. Edit. 1640.

doth his dear subject and disciple Anthony Gilby, and others of that fraternity, shoot their wild-fire against the statutes of England; by which they shew their schism and madness, more than their christian prudence.\* This is wholly the language of misrepresentation and abuse.

Notwithstanding these calumnies, Mr. Gilby enjoyed the favour of several of the nobility, men of excellent character and high reputation. The Earl of Huntington, who was his constant friend and patron, presented him to the vicarage of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire; where, through the blessing of God on his ministry, he was made exceedingly useful. Here he obtained a distinguished reputation, when the worthy earl used to style him *Father Gilby*.† Bishop Hall, who probably had some acquaintance with him, denominates him “a reverend and famous divine;”‡ and he is said to have lived at Ashby “as great as a bishop.” He was highly esteemed by some of the learned prelates, as well as many of the most celebrated divines of the age, with whom he held a friendly correspondence. The following is the copy of a letter, which he received from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry:§

“To my loving friend and brother in Christ, Mr. Gilby,  
“at Ashby.

“With my hearty commendations to you Mr. Gilby. I  
“received your letter but now and heretofore, to the which  
“I proposed to have made some answer by this time; but  
“either lack of convenient messenger, or some other present  
“business, have stayed; and, therefore, these are in few  
“words to signify to you, that such reports as you have  
“heard of me, touching Stretton, were untrue, (I thank  
“Almighty God) and so saying to my brother. Augustin  
“added these words, that I marvelled much if you did  
“judge as you wrote. Notwithstanding, I was not dis-  
“pleased with your writing, but accepted the same as  
“friendly and lovingly as I can any man’s writing.

“It is plain that many enormities remain uncorrected,  
“either for lack of knowledge thereof, or else through the  
“corruption of mine officers, or otherwise through negli-  
“gence or forgetfulness of myself; yet when I have proof  
“of them, I either call the offenders myself, or charge mine

\* Fowlis’ Hist. of Plots, p. 36.

† Nichols’s Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 626.

‡ Life of Bp. Hall prefixed to his Works.

§ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 434.

“ officers with the same. Concerning that evil man, Sir  
 “ William Radish, I engage to have him called as soon as  
 “ I can, to answer his doings and such sayings as ———.  
 “ Touching the person of Stretton, I will do that which  
 “ lieth in me to displace, for the which I have given charge  
 “ divers times to mine officers. I would not have my  
 “ brother Dawberry to do any thing touching the same ; for  
 “ the matter will not pass through at Lichfield. I will then  
 “ send you word, and use your counsel. And thus omitting  
 “ all other matters, till we shall have occasion to meet  
 “ together, I commit you and good Mrs. Gilby (whose  
 “ health and happiness I wish) to the goodness of Almighty  
 “ God ; this 12 day of Nov. 1565. At Eccleshall-castle.

“ Your loving friend and brother in Christ,

“ THOMAS COVEN. and LICHFIELD.”

The above letter, justly deemed a curiosity, shews at once the great intimacy and familiarity which subsisted betwixt Mr. Gilby and the bishop, and the high esteem and respect in which our divine was held by his learned diocesan. Mr. Gilby was a celebrated scholar, and a most profound and pious divine, and admirably qualified for the translation of the holy scriptures. The famous Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, with whom he held a frequent correspondence, had the highest opinion of him. Several of the doctor's letters to Mr. Gilby are now before me, one of which, though very short, it will be proper here to insert ; which is as follows :\*

“ To his worshipful and good friend Mr. Ant. Gilby.

“ Salutation in Christ Jesus. Albeit your days are evil  
 “ and your time short ; yet I pray you be occupied in the  
 “ gift which God has betowed upon you, in translating the  
 “ prophets, and conjoin somewhat also out of the Rabbins  
 “ or Chaldee Paraphrast, that may be a testimony of your  
 “ industry, and an help for your son. We must do what we  
 “ may, and what we cannot must leave to God. The Lord  
 “ be merciful to us. Commend me to your good wife.  
 “ Oxon. March 5.

“ Yours in the Lord,

“ LAWRENCE HUMPHREY.”

This letter appears to have been addressed to our divine towards the close of life, but there is no particular year

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 431.

specified in the date. Several other letters from Dr. Thomas Sampson, Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, and other celebrated divines, addressed to Mr. Gilby, are now before me. Such of them as are particularly illustrative of the history of the times, will be found inserted in their proper places.

The high respect in which Mr. Gilby was held, was no screen against the persecution of the tyrannizing ecclesiastics. Therefore, in the year 1571, Archbishop Parker binding the clergy to a more exact conformity, by wearing the habits and observing the ceremonies, commanded Archbishop Grindal of York, to prosecute him for non-conformity. But Grindal, who, towards the close of life, was averse to all severe measures, signified to his brother of Canterbury, that as Mr. Gilby dwelt in Leicestershire, and out of his province, he could not proceed against him; and so referred his case to the commissioners in the south. Hence it is extremely probable that he was now summoned, with several other learned divines, before Parker and his colleagues at Lambeth; but of this we have no certain information.\* It appears, however, pretty evident, that he was silenced from his public ministry, either at this, or at some other time.+

Mr. Gilby, according to Fuller, stands first on the list of learned writers, who received their education in Christ's college, Cambridge.‡ He was author of a work, entitled "A Viewe of Antichrist, his Lawes and Ceremonies in our English Church unreformed," 1570. The first part of this humorous piece is called "The Book of the Generation of Antichrist the Pope, the revealed Child of Perdition and his Successors;" and is so singular (and curious, that, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader, the substance of it is here transcribed. The ecclesiastical genealogy is expressed as follows:

The devil begat darkness. Darkness begat ignorance. Ignorance begat error and his brethren. Error begat free-will and self-love. Free-will begat merit. Merit begat forgetfulness of the grace of God. Forgetfulness of the grace of God, begat transgression. Transgression begat mistrust. Mistrust begat satisfaction. Satisfaction begat the sacrifice of the mass. Sacrifice of the mass begat popish priesthood. Popish priesthood begat superstition.

\* Strype's Parker, p. 320.—Grindal, p. 170.

† Nichols's Defence, p. 21. Edit. 1740.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam, p. 92.

Superstition begat hypocrisy the king. Hypocrisy the king begat lucre. Lucre begat purgatory. Purgatory begat the foundation of pensions, and the patrimony of the church. Pensions and patrimony begat the mammon of iniquity. Mammon begat abundance. Abundance begat fulness. Ffulness begat cruelty. Cruelty begat dominion in ruling. Dominion begat ambition. Ambition begat simony. And simony begat the POPE, and his brethren the cardinals, with all their successors, abbots, priors, archbishops, lord-bishops, archdeacons, deans, chancellors, commissaries, officials, and proctors, with the rest of the viperous brood.

The pope begat the mystery of iniquity. The mystery of iniquity begat divine sophistry. Divine sophistry begat rejection of the holy scriptures. Rejection of the holy scriptures begat tyranny. Tyranny begat murder of the saints. Murder begat despising of God. Despising of God begat dispensation of offences. Dispensation begat license for sin. License for sin begat abomination. Abomination begat confusion in matters of religion. Confusion brought forth travail of the spirit. Travail of the spirit brought forth matter of disputation for the truth; by which that desolator, antichrist the pope, hath been revealed, and all other antichrists shall in due time be revealed. And they are antichrists, who make laws for the church, contrary to the truth, and deprive, imprison, and banish the members of Christ, both preachers and others, refusing obedience thereunto.—Most of the points in this curious genealogy, are supported by an appropriate portion of scripture.\* Though Mr. Toplady styles the author, “a very acrimonious puritan;” yet he adds, “that as far as matters of mere doctrine were concerned, it is in perfect harmony with the creed of the church of England.”†

As Mr. Gilby was a zealous opposer of the ecclesiastical corruptions, and constantly desirous to obtain a more pure reformation, he could not escape the severe animadversion of the contrary party. For having said, “that the habits and ceremonies used in the church of England, were carnal, beggarly, antichristian elements,” Dr. Nichols has treated him with much scurrility and abuse. But, surely, if the apostle might call the Jewish ceremonies *carnal*, when God himself had appointed them; why might not Mr. Gilby say

\* Parte of a Register, p. 56, 57.

† Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 356.

the same of the popish ceremonies, which he never appointed? If the one called Jewish ceremonies, *weak and beggarly elements*; why might not the other call the popish ceremonies, *beggarly and antichristian pomps*? The celebrated Bishop Ridley, once a zealous defender of the ceremonies, when the surplice was forced upon him, bitterly inveighed against it, calling it *foolish, abominable, and not fit for a player on the stage*. The excellent Bishop Jewel called the garments, *relics of popery*. Why then is Mr. Gilby so bitterly censured for saying, they were *popish fopperies, Romish relics, rags of antichrist, and dregs of disguised popery*?\* Mr. Gilby publicly declared, adds the above writer, “that if he was *suffered to preach* some time longer, being so conceited of his popular eloquence, he would shake the very foundations of the English church.”+ Whether he was, indeed, thus conceited of his own superior eloquence, and whether he ever made any such declaration, it is not now very easy to ascertain. If Dr. Nichols had any authority for what he has asserted, he would certainly have done his own cause no injury, but have conferred a favour upon the public, by bringing it forwards. However, admitting the twofold charge, it reflects no great degree of honour upon the rulers of the church, that so eloquent, learned, pious and useful a divine, should be condemned to silence.

This worthy servant of Christ appears to have lived to a very great age, but we cannot learn the particular time of his death. The last of the letters addressed to him, that we have seen, is one from Dr. Sampson, dated March 8, 1584; when he must have been living.‡

**HIS WORKS.**—1. An Answer to the Devilish Detection of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, 1547.—2. A Commentary on the Prophet Micah, 1551.—3. An Admonition to England and Scotland, to call them to Repentance for their Declension and Apostacy from the Truth, 1557.—4. A View of Antichrist, &c. already mentioned.—5. A Godly and Zealous Letter written to Master Coverdale, M. Turner, M. Sampson, M. Doctor Humphrey, Mr. Lever, M. Crowley, and others that labour to roote out the Weedes of Poperie, 1570.—6. A pleasant Dialogue between a Soldier of Berwick and an English Captain, wherein are largely handled and laid open such Reasons as are brought for Maintenance of Popish Traditions in our English Church.

\* Peirce's Vindication, part ii. p. 8, 9.

† Nichols's Defence, p. 21. Edit. 1740.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 443.

JOHN EDWIN was a man of great learning and piety, a zealous and constant preacher, and many years vicar of Wandsworth in Surrey, but was prosecuted for nonconformity. He was cited before the Bishop of Winchester; and, upon his appearance, April 30, 1584, he underwent the following examination :

Bishop. Where do you dwell ?

Edwin. At Wandsworth in Surrey.

B. Where were you brought up ?

E. For the most part at Wandsworth.

B. What in no school !

E. Never in any public school, only some time at Rochester. I have lived at Wandsworth forty-two years, and have been vicar of Wandsworth twenty-five years, during which time, I thank God, I have not been idle.

B. Where were you made minister ?

E. I was made minister when Dr. Parker was created Archbishop of Canterbury, by the Bishop of Bangor, who, by the command of the archbishop, made me minister in Bow-church, London.

B. Do you use to catechize ? and how do you perform it ?

E. I catechize every Lord's day before evening prayer, and in the midst of evening prayer.

B. Have you not subscribed ?

E. No.

B. Why not ?

E. My Lord, I perceive that you wish us to signify our allowance of the Book of Common Prayer. There is no cause why I should be called in question for this matter ; for I use the book, and do not refuse it, and I speak not against it. These are manifest proofs that I allow of it.

B. Many of you who say so, will not confess what you have done, neither what you will do. Therefore you must subscribe.

E. I consider it a greater allowance to *use* a thing, than to *subscribe* unto it.

B. So you think and say it is unreasonable and unlawful to require you to subscribe.

E. Do you gather this, my lord, from what I have said ?

B. No.

E. Then all is well.

B. But you must subscribe, or shew some cause why you will not.

E. My lord, if no excuse will serve, but I must subscribe,

or shew some cause why I refuse, I will shew your lordship three reasons: As, 1. There are some things in the Book of Common Prayer *against* the word of God, and, therefore, *repugnant* to the word of God.—2. My next reason—

B. Nay, stop; let us talk of the first.

E. I like your order well. And to prove what I have said, I refer you to the words of the rubric, before the office of confirmation, where it is said, “That no man shall think any detriment will come to children by deferring their confirmation; he shall know for *truth*, that it is *certain by God’s word*, that children being baptized have *all things necessary to salvation*, and be *undoubtedly saved*.”

B. You must not take it as the words import.

E. No, my lord! Is it not your pleasure that we should subscribe to the things in the book? Or, is it your pleasure that we should subscribe to your interpretation of those things?

B. You must subscribe to the *sense* of what is contained in the book.

E. If we must subscribe to the sense, then must you amend your article. For your article, to which you require us to subscribe, saith, that there is nothing in the Book of Common Prayer repugnant to the word of God.

B. If you were to subscribe to the gospel, would you subscribe to the words, or the sense?

E. I would subscribe to the words——\*

B. You lie.

E. My lord, I beseech you let us have good words. I say again, we must subscribe both to the *words* and to the *sense*.

B. But I say nay. For where Christ saith, “I am the door,” will you subscribe to the words?

E. My lord, mistake me not. I say we must subscribe to the sense and the words; and where the words are figurative, we must subscribe to the sense. But when the words and sense are the same, and without any figure, then we must subscribe to both.

B. What think you of the words of Christ, “My father is the husbandman,” and, “the word was made flesh?”

E. If you compare Gen. i. with the words going before those you have mentioned, you will see that we must subscribe to the *sense* of the words.

\* Here, as Mr. Edwis attempted to proceed, his grace suddenly and passionately interrupted him.

B. "The word was made flesh:" I am sure you will not say, the Godhead of Christ was made flesh.

E. No, my lord, and I am as sure you will not say, that the manhood of Christ was made flesh, without his Godhead. But, my lord, allow me to prove my assertion.

B. Tell me, what is the English of *verbum*?

E. I can prove out of the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Syriac, that the word *verbum*, as near as it can be rendered in English, signifieth a thing. Allow me to prove my assertion.

B. I confess we must subscribe both to sense and words.

E. Then in this we are agreed.

B. In the place you cited from the book, the meaning is, that those who are baptized, and therewith receive the grace of that sacrament, being of the number of the elect, are undoubtedly saved.

E. I beseech your lordship to read the words of the book, and let it be seen how you can give it that interpretation. But I wish to mention a second reason, and that is the administration of the communion to an individual person in private. How doth this agree with the word of God, and with the word *communion*?

B. The doctrine contained in the sacrament, belongeth to wise and learned men to determine. You had best exercise yourself in catechizing, and let this alone.

E. My lord, you must bear with me. For I think God requireth it at our hands, that we learn and teach all things revealed in his holy word.

B. In some parts of Saxony, there are various articles of religion prohibited from being taught; and we ought to be content and thankful for the liberty we enjoy.

E. I cannot, without tears, remember the marvellous benefits we enjoy by the freedom of the gospel, which I pray God may never be interrupted. I must, also, call to mind, and I do also remember, the innumerable comforts and benefits we enjoy under the government of our most gracious Queen Elizabeth, whom, I beseech God, long to continue and bless. But are these sufficient reasons for us to yield to any thing against the word of God?

B. The communion in private is a *single* communion.

E. How can the words *single* and *communion* be made to agree?

B. I do not say they can.

E. Why then do you join them together?

B. In the time of Justin Martyr, being two hundred years after Christ, the sacrament, in time of persecution, was carried from house to house, because the people dare not come together. And on one occasion, the sacrament was sent by a boy to a sick man, who earnestly desired to receive it.

E. But, my lord, your bringing forward the example of primitive christians is to no purpose. Our question is, whether the Book of Common Prayer containeth any thing repugnant to the word of God. And, my lord, I think no good man will deny that the two places I have mentioned are repugnant to the word of God.

B. What! do you condemn all who have subscribed? Do you say they have all acted wickedly?

E. You misunderstand my words. What I speak, I speak with consideration, and I know what I say.

B. What o'clock is it?

E. We have not yet done. I told you I had *three* reasons.

B. I have had more ado with you than all the rest.

E. You have not yet finished with me. As I said, I have three reasons; and I trust you will hear them before you proceed against me.

B. What are your other reasons?

E. If you will promise that we shall examine them, I will mention them; but if not, it is unnecessary.

B. I had rather persuade many learned men than you.

E. I speak not of learning, but of conscience; and my conscience, without persuasion, will not yield. Hitherto in my ministry, I have enjoyed a good conscience, founded upon the word of God; and, my lord, with as good a conscience, by the help of God, will I be removed from it, or I will not be removed.\*

Here the examination broke off, and the good man departed most probably under suspension or deprivation. His two other reasons for refusing to subscribe, which he designed to have mentioned, were, "That in the Book of Common Prayer, there are some things contrary to the *laws of the realm*.—And that there are some things which maintain and encourage some of the *grossest errors* and *heresies of popery*."†

\* MS. Register, p. 576—579.

† Ibid.

EDWARD BRAYNE was a learned divine of Cambridge, and greatly harassed for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles, accounting them contrary to scripture and the dictates of his own conscience. Having received two canonical admonitions, he united with his brethren in the diocese of Ely, in writing the following peaceable letter to the archbishop, dated March 12, 1584 :—" Whereas two canonical admonitions are already passed upon us, for refusing to subscribe to things, some of which we know not, and others we greatly doubt. We are, therefore, bold to offer our humble supplication unto you, as well as crave your lordship's favour that a longer space of time may be granted us, endeavouring and praying daily with our whole hearts for the peace of the church. Wherefore, if it shall please your lordship, we wish either to be freed from all subscription, excepting to her majesty's authority, and the articles of religion, as by law required, or to give us so long a time, that we may sufficiently consider the subject, and be persuaded that we ought to subscribe; or if, at length, we cannot subscribe, to submit ourselves to suffer punishment, for the peace of the church. In the mean time, we condemn not those who have subscribed, and we desire that they may not condemn us. Thus if it shall please Almighty God to move your lordship to have compassion on our troubled consciences, we shall praise God and manifest our thankfulness to you."\*

It does not, however, appear that this letter had any good effect on the mind and conduct of this severe prelate. His grace remained inflexible. Therefore, May 24, 1584, Mr. Brayne and his brethren presented a supplication to the lords of the council; in which they protest their aversion to popery, and their inviolable loyalty to the queen, having already sworn obedience to her authority, and subscribed the articles of religion, and were ready to do the same again, if required. That they abhorred all error, heresy, and schism, and made use of the Book of Common Prayer, and endeavoured both in doctrine and conversation, to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and men. And that being commanded to subscribe to many things not required by law, they humbly crave their lordships to accept of the following reasons for their refusal, and to be a means of releasing them from the subscription required :

\* MS. Register, p. 333, 334.

“Some things,” say they, “appear to us repugnant to the word of God; as the allowance of an unlearned ministry, reading the apocrypha in the service of God, private baptism, and the government of the church. And to us many things appear very doubtful, some of which it is impossible for us to practice with a good conscience. Yet, as we judge not others in the practice of them; so we desire that we may not be judged by them, but left to our liberty in not subscribing. There are other things to the use of which we have subscribed, because they are tolerated for a time, and imposed upon us by the laws of the church; yet we see not how they agree with the word of God, and cannot approve of them. But if we offend against any law of the church or statute, we humbly crave such favour and clemency as is not contrary to law; but if this cannot be obtained, we submit ourselves to the censures of the law, still avowing our peaceableness both in church and state.

“We, therefore, must humbly on our knees, beseech your honours, that we may be freed from the subscription now urged upon us; or have so much time allowed us to examine and consider the case, as your wisdoms shall think fit; or we must give up our places for the peace of the church. For we most humbly confess before God and the elect angels, that to subscribe as now required, we should act contrary to the doctrines of faith and repentance which we have taught among the people of our charge: We should subscribe to some things *against* our consciences, to many things with a *doubtful* conscience, and most of all with an *ignorant* conscience; from all such dealing the Lord ever preserve us. We commend to your wise consideration the indignity and reproach which is likely to be cast upon us and our ministry, being accounted disloyal and seditious against her majesty; but we much more commend to you our doubtful, fearful, and distressed consciences, and the miserable state of our poor and distressed people hungering after the word of life, who, when they are deprived of us, almost despair of having a learned and godly ministry. If they might have better than ourselves, we should rejoice, and be much more content. We bless the Lord, that the people of our charges are free from heresies and seditious, and most of them from gross crimes, and all, so far as we know, are faithful subjects, and many of them are known and approved christians. But what may befall them when they are left as sheep without

a shepherd, we leave to your honoured wisdoms to judge.

„We have only to add our humble apology for now soliciting the favour of your honours. We have forborne applying to you as long as we possibly could, and perhaps till it is too late, as three canonical admonitions have already passed upon us, and our deprivation is threatened; which sentence, two of us have already tasted. We have used means by our right worshipful and some of her majesty's justices, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who have used their earnest suit for us with the archbishop, both by their letters and private conference; but hitherto to no purpose. Such dealing may seem favourable to them who treat us thus, but to us it seemeth very hard. Our release from this hard dealing by your kind favour, will provoke us to pray for your honours' present peace and prosperity, and that when you have done with all things here, you may receive the crown of glory.”\*

Notwithstanding this supplication, or their letter to the archbishop, in the month of July this year, Mr. Brayne was cited to appear before his grace and other high commissioners at Lambeth. Having attended several times according to appointment, and being required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer the interrogatories of the court, he refused, unless he might first see them, and write down his answers with his own hand. His grace refusing to grant him the favour, immediately gave his canonical admonitions, *once, twice, thrice*; and caused him to be registered for contempt, and suspended from his ministry. „But,” says the good man, „God knoweth how far contempt was from my heart, and, I trust, my words and behaviour will witness the same.”† But guilty or not guilty, the tyrannical archbishop cut him off from all public usefulness in the church of God.

Mr. Brayne being silenced from his beloved work, wrote a very appropriate letter, dated July 6th, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, giving him an account of the hard treatment he had met with. In this letter, he earnestly solicited the treasurer's kind favour and interference; but whether it proved the means of procuring his restoration, appears extremely doubtful.‡ The treasurer, indeed, used his utmost endeavours. He applied to the archbishop, signifying

\* MS. Register, p. 455—457.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 163.

‡ Ibid. p. 164.

his dissatisfaction with his lordship's urging ministers, by his method of examination, to accuse themselves; and then to punish them upon their own confessions. He further observed, "that he would not call his proceedings *captious*, but they were scarcely *charitable*. That he would not offend his grace; and was content that he and the Bishop of London, might use Mr. Brayne as their wisdoms should think fit. But when by examining him, it was only meant to sift him with *twenty-four* articles, he had cause to pity the poor man."\* Such was the wisdom, the boldness, and the sympathy of this celebrated statesman; but his generous efforts appear to have been without effect. †

BARNABY BENISON was minister in London, a divine of good learning, and suspended and imprisoned for several years, by Bishop Aylmer, on pretence of some irregularity in his marriage. The bishop charged him with being married in an afternoon, and in the presence of two or three hundred people, by Mr. Field, a nonconformist. For this singular crime, in the year 1579, he was committed to the Gatehouse, where he continued till towards the close of the year 1584. Mr. Strype, with a design to blacken his memory, observes, "that he studied for some time at Geneva; and upon his return to England, was fraught with innovation and disobedience." He undoubtedly was dis-

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 160.

† Lord Burleigh was a decided friend to the persecuted puritans, and often screened them from the inhuman proceedings of the prelates, or procured their release from bonds and imprisonment. On account of his great abilities, indefatigable application, amazing capacity for business, and immoveable integrity, he is deservedly placed at the head of our English statesmen. His capacity for business appears from the following passage in his life:—"Besides all business in council, or other weighty causes, and such as were answered by word of mouth, there was not a day in term wherein he received not threescore, fourscore, or a hundred petitions, which he commonly read that night, and gave every man an answer the next morning as he went to the hall. Hence the excellence of his memory was greatly admired; for when any of these petitioners told him their names, or what countrymen they were, he presently entered into the merit of his request, and having discussed it, gave him his answer." This was his practice towards persons in all circumstances. He would answer the *poorest*, as well as others, from his own mouth. When at any time he was forced to keep his chamber, or his bed, he ordered that poor suitors should send in their petitions sealed; and upon every petition he caused his answer to be written, and subscribed it with his own hand. "He was prayed for by the poor, honoured by the rich, feared by the bad, and loved by the good."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 391. Edit. 1778.

obedient to the tyrannical proceedings of the bishops. Our author adds, "that he fixed his station in London, refused to go to church, gathered conventicles, and sought to promote schism and confusion in the city. That the bishop finding in him unspeakable disobedience, and he refusing the oath usually tendered by the high commission, (meaning the oath *ex officio*, by which he would have become his own accuser,) was committed to prison. And," our learned historian asks, "what could the bishop have done less?"\*

It is not very difficult to find out many things, which his lordship might not have done less than this, even admitting that Mr. Benison was deserving of punishment. Four or five years' confinement in prison is a penalty of no small magnitude, and appears greatly disproportionate to any crime with which he was charged. And, indeed, Mr. Strype himself intimates as much, in the very next words: "But," says he, "it seems the bishop overshot himself, and did not proceed so *circumspectly* in the imprisonment of him for so long a time. For Mr. Benison's cause being brought before the lords of the council, the bishop was judged to have dealt *too hardly* with him; for which, therefore, he received a reprimand."†

Mr. Benison having suffered so long a confinement in prison, applied both to the queen and council; and in the statement of his own case, he declares concerning his marriage, the irregularity of which was the crime alleged against him, "That he had invited only forty persons to the solemnity, and only thirty attended: that he was married in the morning, and according to law: that when the bishop sent for him, charging him with sedition, he cleared himself to his lordship's satisfaction; but that after he went home, he gave a private order under his own hand for him to be apprehended and sent to the Gatehouse; and that he was there shut up in a dungeon eight days, without knowing the cause of his imprisonment." Moreover, when Mr. Benison was first apprehended and carried to prison, he was plundered of a great part of his household furniture; his valuable library was utterly spoiled and taken away, and he suffered great losses in various other ways.‡ Dr. Hammond, and his faithful friend Mr. John Fox, who were

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 209, 210.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 211, 212.

both at the wedding, and witnessed the whole proceeding, went to the bishop, and assured him, that he was faultless in those things charged against him. But his lordship remained inflexible, and would not release him without such bonds for his good behaviour and future appearance, as the prisoner was unable to procure. Mr. Benison, in his letter to the queen and council, concludes in the following moving language: \*

“ Thus I continue,” says he, “ separated from my wife before I had been married two weeks, to the great trouble of her friends and relations, and to the staggering of the patient obedience of my wife. For since my imprisonment, his lordship has been endeavouring to separate us, whom God, in the open presence of his people, has joined together. Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your godly honours, for the everlasting love of God, and for the pity you take upon God’s true protestants and his poor people, to be a means that my pitiful cry may be heard, and my just cause with some credit be cleared, to the honour of God and her majesty, whom for ever I esteem more than all the bishop’s blessings or bitter cursings: and that I, being now half dead, may recover again to get a poor living with the little learning which God has given me, to his glory, to the discharge of some part of my duty, and to the profit of my country.” This was Mr. Benison’s impartial statement of his own case; upon the reception of which, the lords of the council were so moved, that they sent the bishop the following letter: †

“ Hampton-court, November 14, 1584.

“ Whereas, Barnaby Benison, minister, has given us to understand, the great hinderance he has received by your hard dealing with him, and his long imprisonment, for which if he should bring his action against you of *false imprisonment*, he would *by law recover damages*, which would touch your lordship’s credit. We have, therefore, thought fit to require your lordship to use some consideration towards him, in giving him a reasonable sum of money to repay the wrong you have done unto him, and to supply the hinderance he hath incurred by your hard dealings with him. Therefore, praying your lordship to deal with the poor man, that he may have occasion to turn his complaint into a good report unto

\* MS. Register, p. 591.

† Ibid. p. 599.

“ us of your charitable dealing. We bid you farewell.

“ Signed,

“ BROMLEY, Chan.

“ WIL. BURGHLEY,

“ AMB. WARWICK,

“ FR. BEDFORD,

“ ROBERT LEICESTER,

“ CHARLES HOWARD,

FRANCIS KNOLLES,

JAMES CROFT,

WALTER MILDMAI.

CHRIST. HATTON,

FR. WALSINGHAM.”

Upon the bishop's reception of the above letter, he returned this answer:—“ I beseech your lordships to consider, that it is a rare example thus to press a *bishop*, for his zealous service to the queen and the peace of the church, especially as the man was found worthy to be committed for refusing to go to church, and other instances of nonconformity, to say nothing of his contemptuous behaviour towards me. Nevertheless, since it pleaseth your lordships to require some reasonable sum of money, I pray you consider my *poor estate* and great charges, together with the *great vaunt* the man will make of his conquest over a *bishop*. I hope, therefore, your lordships will be favourable to me, and refer it to myself, either to bestow upon him some small benefice, or otherwise to help him as opportunity offers. Or if this shall not satisfy the man, or not content your lordships, leave him to the trial of the law, which, I hope, will not be so plain for him as he taketh it. Surely, my lords, this and the like must greatly discourage me in this poor service of mine in the commission; wherein, if I seem remiss, I pray you impute it to the troubles and infirmities of old age.”

The manner in which the bishop answered the accusations against him, is a sufficient evidence that his conduct could not be defended. What reparation Mr. Benison obtained for the injurious treatment he received, or whether any, does not appear. But he was certainly too wise to go to law with a bishop of the high commission court, who having but little conscience, exercised much cruelty; and who, notwithstanding his *poor estates* and *great charges*, left behind him at his death several very large estates, properties out upon mortgage, and above sixteen thousand pounds in money.† These were immense riches in those days. Mr. Strype‡ represents Aylmer's ill treatment of Mr. Benison as

\* MS. Register, p. 589.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 172, 194.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 384.

‡ Strype's Aylmer, p. 205.

the *slander of his enemies*; as if his lordship had dealt with him only according to his *deserts*; but what degree of justice there is in this representation, the foregoing statement of facts will best determine.

WILLIAM NEGUS was minister at Leigh in Essex, but suspended by Bishop Aylmer in the year 1584. Mr. Negus gives us the following account of this ecclesiastical censure:—"The cause of my suspension," says he, "was this: being convened before the bishop at Waltham, and he demanding whether I had worn the surplice since my coming to Leigh, my answer was, that I had it not, so I had not refused it. There was none offered me, nor was there a surplice in the parish. He then inquired whether I would wear it, when there was one provided. My answer was, that I desired his favour to proceed in my ministry, until a surplice was procured; and that he knew my unwillingness to wear it. He was not satisfied with this answer, but urged me to say that I *would*, or that I *would not* wear it. But I abiding by my former answer, and desiring that I might be accepted, he thus concluded: 'Seeing you will not promise to wear it, we suspend you until you do promise.'"\* The good man was thus silenced for refusing to wear the clerical garment.

Having received the episcopal censure, twenty-eight of his parishioners, who subscribed themselves his *hungry sheep now without a shepherd*, signed a most affectionate and pressing letter, earnestly beseeching him to wear the surplice. Though they wished that the linen garment were utterly abolished, they anxiously desired him, for the sake of their advantage, to conform. But he found it impossible, with a good conscience, to wear that garment in the public worship of God, which to him appeared wholly founded in superstition, and the very badge of antichrist; and so he quietly submitted to be deprived.†

JOHN STROUD was minister first at Yalding, then at Cranbrook in Kent. He was a man of good learning, most exemplary piety, peaceable behaviour, and a faithful, laborious, and very useful preacher; but was repeatedly persecuted for nonconformity. He entered upon his troubles

\* MS. Register, p. 568.

† Ibid.

about the year 1567. Having had in his possession the Book of Ecclesiastical Discipline, he was cited before the chancellor to the Bishop of Rochester; and confessing the fact, that such a book had been in his hands, the chancellor said, "it contains treason, rebellion, and heresy," and immediately committed him to prison. Mr. Stroud observing that he hoped he was not deserving of such hard usage, wished to give sufficient security, but his offer was utterly disregarded. Upon his release from prison, he was forbidden to preach, and even to teach children, within the parish of Yalding or elsewhere, and commanded to depart out of the diocese in forty days. This unfeeling and inhuman sentence was sent to the churchwardens of Yalding, with a strict command to see it fully executed. But an impartial statement of his case being laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the cruel sentence was in part reversed. By the license, and under the seal, of the archbishop, he obtained liberty to continue a twelvemonth; when he returned to Yalding, hoping to proceed in his ministry without further molestation.

His liberty, however, was of very short continuance. For in a few months, he was cited, with several others, to appear at Rochester; and the citation was ordered to be read publicly in the church at Yalding. Upon his appearance in the court, the churchwardens were first called and examined. The chief article of their examination was, "whether any child or children had been baptized in their parish, when the order prescribed and appointed in the Book of Common Prayer was not in all points observed; and whose children they were, who were godfathers and godmothers, and whether they answered according to the form required in the said book?" But the churchwardens were too wise to accuse their own minister, and they were all dismissed.

Afterwards, both minister and churchwardens were again brought into the bishop's court, at Rochester. The churchwardens were first examined as before; and in addition to the former interrogatory, their examination was extended to the following articles:—"Whether any one preached at Yalding without a license?—Whether any preached who were forbidden, and commanded to leave the diocese?—Whether any such preachers have any unlawful or suspected books, leading to the contempt or derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any orders, rites, or ceremonies of the church, as by law established? or who hath in any public meeting or private conventicle set forth any such

books, or any doctrine therein contained?—And whether they knew or had heard, that Mr. Stroud had observed or done any of the things above named?”

Mr. Stroud being next called, and required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer the inquiries of the court, he refused till he knew those inquiries. The following interrogatories were then read to him:—“Have you now, or have you had in time past, any printing-press and letters, and where are they?—Have you printed any contentious or rebellious books, and when, and where, and how long since, and what is become of them?—Have you any suspected or unlawful books leading to the contempt of the Book of Common Prayer?”—Mr. Stroud refused to answer these interrogatories, which were evidently designed to make him accuse himself, and told the chancellor that these things belonged to her majesty’s commissioners, and not to him. Upon this, the angry and cruel chancellor pronounced upon him the sentence of excommunication, which he commanded to be publicly announced in the church of Yalding.\* He, also, received the sentence of deprivation from the bishop.

The good man being thus cast out of the church, and reduced to extreme poverty, was obliged to condescend to the low office of correcting the press, and of publishing books to obtain a livelihood. But even in this occupation, he was not suffered to enjoy quietness. For, having published Mr. Cartwright’s Reply to Whitgift, he was summoned, November 25, 1573, before the Bishop of London and other high commissioners, when he underwent the following examination:

Mr. Stroud being asked what became of Cartwright’s books after they were printed, said he delivered thirty-four of them to the Bishop of London; but the rest were dispersed abroad. And being asked how he dared to print them a second time, seeing the queen’s proclamation was against him, he said they were printed before the queen’s proclamation came out, or he would not have printed them; upon which, the bishop thus addressed him:

Bishop. Are Mr. Cartwright’s books good and lawful, or not? And will you defend them?

Stroud. As there is no book without its faults, the book of God excepted; so will I not affirm that this book is altogether without faults; but to defend it I will not. He

\* MS. Register, p. 191—194.

is of age to defend himself. And as for the book, I think your lordship will not utterly condemn it.

B. I confess there is something in it godly. It is a very evil book that hath no good thing in it. But I say the book is wicked, and is the cause of error and dissention in the church.

Catlin. Wilt thou condemn the Book of Common Prayer? Is it antichristian?

S. For these five years, I have not served in any church; but when I have attended, I have resorted to common prayer, which, if I had condemned it, I would not have done. Yet if I should allow of all things in our ministry, I should allow of those things which his lordship has denied. For he said, in his sermon at Paul's cross, "that there were certain evils in our ministry."

B. Indeed, I said there were. Yet ought they not to be removed by private, but by public authority.

S. That is granted. But are those things to be removed?

B. Though they may be removed, they are such things as cannot offend the church; and every true christian ought to bear with them until they be removed.

S. I have borne with them, or I should not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

B. Have you been a minister, and now given it up? Every one laying his hand to the plough, ought not to look back, without some special cause.

S. About five or six years since, I was called before my ordinary, who told me I must subscribe, or lose my living, and be discharged from the ministry. Accordingly, I refusing to subscribe, he deprived me of my ministry.

C. Wilt thou receive the communion according to the order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer?

S. I have never refused to receive it according to the word of God; and where I have resorted, I have received it more than six times in the year.

Goodman. Name one church where thou hast received the communion.

S. You seek to injure me.

G. Nay; we seek to save thee.

S. I have refused to attend upon idle shepherds; and, as you said they were dumb dogs, there can be no good received from them. Therefore, I beseech you to endeavour to get them removed.

G. Why, every member of the church of Christ is a sinner.

**B.** Shall we then receive no communion ?

**Dyer.** What sayest thou of the order of baptism ? Wilt thou have thy child baptized according to the order prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer ?

**S.** I have no child to baptize.

**D.** Dost thou condemn the order of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the order of churching women, the burial service, or the ceremonies of the church ?

**S.** If I had condemned them, I would not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

**B.** Thou wilt then agree to these three things:—1. "That thou hast offended against the law in printing Cartwright's book.—2. That Cartwright's book is neither godly, nor lawful.—3. That thou dost not condemn the Book of Common Prayer, but wilt receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the order prescribed."

**S.** I say as I have said before, if I had condemned the Book of Common Prayer, I would not have resorted to the church, as I have done.

**Garret.** But wilt thou subscribe ?

**S.** I will.\*

Upon Mr. Stroud's submission to subscribe, he returned to his beloved exercise, and became minister at Cranbrook. But his troubles were not ended. For, upon the translation of Whitgift to the see of Canterbury, his nonconformity exposed him to the displeasure of the new archbishop, who deprived him of his ministry, and commanded him to leave the country. But the good man was so universally beloved, that multitudes of persons in Kent signed petitions to the archbishop, earnestly soliciting his continuance. In one of these petitions, they address his lordship as follows :

"We know, most reverend father, that Mr. Stroud has been several times beaten and whipt with the untrue reports of slanderous tongues, and accused of crimes whereof he has most clearly acquitted himself. Most of us have heard him preach Christ truly, and rebuke sin boldly, and have seen him hitherto apply to his calling faithfully, and live among us most peaceably : so that, by his diligence and doctrine, not only has our youth been instructed, and ourselves have been confirmed in true religion and learning ; but we are daily allured by his holy conversation and example, to a christian life, and the exercises of charity. And no one of us, most reverend father, hath hitherto heard

\* MS, Register, p. 194—195.

from his own mouth, nor by the credible relation of others, that he has publicly in his sermons, or privately in conversation, taught unsound doctrine, or opposed the discipline, about which, alas! there is now so great a controversy. And as he hath given a faithful promise to forbear handling any questions concerning the policy of the church; so we think in our consciences, he has hitherto performed it.

“ In consideration of these things; and that our country may not be deprived of so excellent a labourer in the Lord’s harvest; that the enemies of God’s truth, the papists, may not have cause of joy and triumph; and that the man himself may not be thus discouraged and wounded to the heart, in receiving condemnation without examination: We, therefore, most humbly beseech your grace, for the poor man’s sake, for your own sake, and for the Lord’s sake, either to take judicial knowledge of his cause, that he may be confronted by his adversaries; or, of your great wisdom and goodness, to restore him to his liberty of preaching the gospel among us. So we shall heartily thank God, and shall continually pray for you.”\*

Besides the above petition, signed by many worthy persons, another was signed by *twenty-four ministers* and others; a third by George Ely, vicar of Tenderden, and his parishioners; a fourth by Thomas Bathurst, minister of Stapleherst, and his parishioners; a fifth by William Walter, vicar of Gouldhurst, and parishioners; a sixth by Matthias Water, minister of Frittenden, and parishioners; a seventh by Anthony Francis, minister of Lamberhurst, and parishioners; an eighth by Alexander Love, minister of Rolvenden, and parishioners; a ninth by Christopher Vinebrook, minister of Helcorne, and parishioners; a tenth by Matthew Walton, curate of Benenden, and parishioners; an eleventh by William Cocks, minister of Marden, and parishioners; a twelfth by William Vicar, minister of Tisehurst, and parishioners; and a thirteenth by William Hopkinson, minister of Salehurst, and his parishioners.†

So high a reputation had Mr. Stroud among persons of true piety, and holy zeal for the protestant religion. All these petitions, signed by numerous persons respectable both for learning and piety, were presented to Whitgift; but whether they proved the happy means of procuring his lordship’s favour, is extremely doubtful. Mr. Stroud was a man of most exemplary piety, and universally beloved,

\* MS. Register, p. 196, 197.

† Ibid.

and a most excellent and peaceable divine, but continually molested and vexed in the ecclesiastical courts.

JOHN BROWNING, D. D.—This learned divine was senior fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and afterwards domestic chaplain to the Earl of Bedford, but was deprived of his fellowship for his puritanical opinions. Having delivered a sermon in St. Mary's church, in which were contained certain heretical opinions, as they were called, he was convened, February 1, 1572, before the heads of colleges, and commanded to abstain from preaching, till he should be purged from his dangerous heresy. Under these circumstances, he looked upon it to be his duty to obey God, rather than men, and therefore refused to obey their command, and still continued in his beloved work of preaching; on which account he was cast into prison for contempt. Whatever were the pretended charges of his enemies, his principal crime was his nonconformity.\*

Dr. Browning having remained for some time in prison, was at length released, upon giving bond of two hundred marks, and obtaining two sureties bound in forty pounds each, for his appearance to answer such charges as should be alleged against him, and to abstain from preaching till further leave should be granted.† Being called before his spiritual judges, they resolved, "that if the said John Browning shall from time to time appear and answer, when and wheresoever he shall be lawfully called within the realm of England, to all such matters as shall be objected unto him, touching certain words uttered by him in two sermons, for which he hath been convened before the said vice-chancellor, until he shall be lawfully discharged; and also shall abstain from preaching, until he shall be permitted or called by the said vice-chancellor, or his deputy, or successors: And further, shall behave himself quietly and peaceably towards the queen's majesty, and all her subjects, and especially within the university of Cambridge, that then the recognizance to be void and of no effect, or else to stand and remain in its full power and strength."‡ The day following, Dr. Byng, the vice-chancellor, sent a statement of his crimes, with an account of the above proceedings, to Lord Burleigh the chancellor.§

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 55.

† Strype's Parker, p. 390.—Whitgift, p. 46.—Annals, vol. ii. p. 189.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 392.

§ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 55.

Dr. Browning himself, after his release from prison, appeared before the chancellor, subscribed a submission with his own hand, and was so far acquitted that he was sent back to the university, and the vice-chancellor and heads were urged to re-admit him to his former office and preferment. But this will best appear in Burleigh's own words, addressed to the vice-chancellor and heads, which were as follows:—"Having received from you a declaration of two errors committed by this bearer, John Browning, in his sermons, one of them containing matter of heresy, and the other tending to sedition, I have caused him to be further examined hereupon, in the presence of Sir Thomas Smith, her majesty's principal secretary; and finding as well by the relation of Mr. Secretary, as by his own confession subscribed with his hand, that he utterly abhorreth them both, and affirmeth that he hath been much mistaken in the same, I thought it best, for preserving the university's reputation, and for the reverence of the church of God, wherein he is a minister, to suppress the memory and notice of the said errors, especially that which may be drawn to an interpretation that he should be justly thought seditious and offensive. Therefore, my advice is, that you should receive him again into his place; and if he shall willingly acknowledge before you the same doctrine, and misliking of the foresaid errors, whereof I mean to send you his confession under his hand, and then he may continue quietly among you."\*

Though he returned to his office in the college, and to his public ministerial exercise, his troubles were not over. Having taken his doctor's degree at Oxford, two years earlier than he ought to have done, brought upon him many fresh trials. For this singular offence, which some deemed a mere trifle, and others accounted a very grievous crime, he was deprived of his fellowship, and in effect expelled from the university. This oppressive sentence was inflicted upon him in a most clandestine and illegal manner by Dr. Still, and even above four years after taking his degree at Oxford. This was done a long time after Dr. Still had signified his approbation of his taking the degree, by allowing him to deliver public lectures in the chapel, according to the statute of the university, and by allowing him to be incorporated in the same degree at Cambridge. He also confirmed to Dr. Browning his fellowship and place in the

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxix. p. 366.

college, not only by suffering him quietly and peaceably to enjoy it, with all the privileges thereof, for more than three years, but also elected him by his own voice to be senior bursar of the college, and to be vice-master for two years by two separate elections.\*

Moreover, Dr. Still's conduct was in many particulars most shameful. He proceeded against Dr. Browning with great injustice and inhumanity. Not content with illegally depriving him of his office and benefice, he would not suffer him to dine in the hall of the college, nor any one to eat or drink with him. When Dr. Browning kept his chamber in the college, this inveterate enemy would not permit any of his friends or acquaintance to come to him, or converse with him; and those of his friends who had any private intercourse with him, he strictly examined by threatenings and oaths to confess what had passed, with a view to accuse them from their own mouths. He also complained in this case to a foreign judge, expressly contrary to the statute of the college. And though he caused the name of Dr. Browning to be struck out of the buttery, he commenced an action of £300 against him, merely on supposition that he had done the same by him. He, moreover, procured a restraint of Dr. Browning's liberty, by watching him and keeping him in his chamber for some time as in a prison. Not satisfied with these tyrannical proceedings, he assaulted Dr. Browning's lodgings in a most violent manner, and broke open his doors, and dragged him out of his chamber, to the great injury of his body; notwithstanding the Earl of Bedford by his letters had previously required all proceedings against him to be stayed, till the cause should be heard. To finish the business, this cruel oppressor of the Lord's servants prohibited Dr. Browning's pupils, servants and friends, from coming near him, or bringing him any thing to eat or drink, intending to starve him to death.†

During these rigorous and illegal proceedings, the Earl of Bedford, as intimated above,‡ wrote to the Chancellor Burleigh, desiring his lordship not to give his consent to the sentence pronounced upon Dr. Browning, till after he had heard both parties. He spoke, at the same time, in high commendation of his character; that he had good

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 45, 46.

† Ibid.

‡ Francis Earl of Bedford was a celebrated statesman, and a constant friend to the persecuted puritans. At his death he left twenty pounds to be given to a number of pious ministers, for preaching twenty sermons at Cheney, Woburn and Melshburn.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 373. (22.)

experience of his sound doctrine, his useful preaching, and exemplary conversation, saying, that his deprivation was *hard dealing*.<sup>\*</sup> If his deprivation of his fellowship was hard dealing, what must all the other proceedings have been? These troubles came upon him in the year 1584: but we do not find that this persecuted servant of Christ obtained any relief.

STEPHEN TURNER was minister of Arlington in Sussex, but much troubled for nonconformity. About the year 1584, being convened before his ecclesiastical judges, and required to subscribe to Whitgift's three articles, he refused, saying, that he was willing to subscribe as far as the laws of the realm required. With an evident design to ensnare his conscience, or accuse him upon his own confession, he was asked whether the Book of Common Prayer contained any thing contrary to the word of God; when he observed, that he was not bound by law to answer such an inquiry. Also, when he was asked whether he would use the form of prayers and administration of the sacraments, as prescribed, and no other, he replied, that he did not consider himself bound by law to answer. He was then suspended from his ministry.<sup>†</sup> Having remained a considerable time under the ecclesiastical censure, he sent the following certificate to certain persons of quality: "These may certify your honours, that I, Stephen Turner, minister of Arlington in Sussex, have been suspended from my charge this year and a quarter, for refusing to subscribe, no other matter being laid to my charge."<sup>‡</sup>

JOHN WARD was a celebrated puritan divine, and many years the laborious minister of Haverhil in Suffolk. Afterwards, he appears to have become minister of Writtle, near Chelmsford, in Essex; but, about the year 1584, he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for not wearing the surplice. On account of his nonconformity, though he was a most excellent and peaceable man, Aylmer drove him from one place to another, by which means he was exceedingly harassed, and not suffered to continue long in any one situation.<sup>§</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Strype's Parker, 391.

<sup>†</sup> MS. Register, p. 569.

<sup>‡</sup> MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 419. (1.1.)

<sup>§</sup> MS. Register, p. 584, 742.

He subscribed the "Book of Discipline,"\* and united with his brethren in their endeavours to promote the desired reformation of the church, meeting with them in their private associations.† This persecuted servant of Christ died at Haverhil, where his remains were interred. Upon his grave was a monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which Fuller gives the following translation: ‡

Grant some of knowledge greater store,  
More learned some in teaching;  
Yet few in life did lighten more,  
None thundered more in preaching.

Mr. Ward was an excellent divine, of whom the famous Dr. William Whitaker had the highest opinion, and used to say, "Give me John Ward for a text."§ Mr. Richard Rogers, the worthy puritan minister of Wethersfield in Essex, married his widow. Mr. Ward had four sons in the ministry. Samuel and Nathaniel were puritan divines of distinguished eminence. Mr. Ward, the ejected nonconformist, was most probably his son.¶

**EDMUND ROCKREY, B. D.**—He was fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge, and a person distinguished for learning and abilities, but was brought into many troubles on account of his nonconformity. He was a man of great reputation, and, in the year 1569, was chosen one of the proctors of the university.¶ The year following, he was convened before the ruling ecclesiastics, and required to enter into a bond of forty pounds, to appear from time to time before the vice-chancellor or his deputy, until such matters should be determined and ended as were and should be laid against him. After appearing several times before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Whitgift, and the heads of colleges, it was decreed, "that he should remain, continue, and quietly keep his chamber as a true prisoner, till the matters objected against him should be ended."\*\*

It appears very probable that he continued under con-

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 79.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 70. § Firmia's Real Christian, Pref.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 234.

¶ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 141.

\*\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 377, 378.

finement a long time : for, towards the close of the year 1571, he was again several times brought before the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges ; when “ Dr. Whitgift willed him to acknowledge and confess his fault, and openly to revoke his rashness in the same place, and before the same company, where he had given the offence ;” and in the conclusion, he was required to make the following public recantation :

“ For as much as on Sunday, being the 26th of November, in this place before you, I disorderly stood up, (after that Dr. Chadderton, having commandment from the vice-chancellor, had given warning that we should not speak against such statutes as the queen’s majesty had sent to the university,) and spoke words tending to the complaining of such things as were then by our master spoken, to the discrediting of some about the queen’s majesty ; saying, that godly princes might be deceived by hypocrites and flatterers, as David was by Shebna, or such like ; and to the derogation of the said statutes, and condemnation of some of them, saying, that they tended to the impairing of the liberty and privileges of the university, and that some of them were directly against God’s word. I therefore acknowledge my rashness and indiscreetness in so doing, and am heartily sorry for them, desiring you to think as it becometh dutiful subjects to think of the queen’s majesty, her counsellors and laws, and reverently obey the same, as I for my part intend to do, God willing, to the uttermost of my power. In witness whereof, I have subscribed this confession with my own hand, and deliver the same here in your presence, to our master, to be by him also delivered to Mr. Vice-chancellor.”\*

From the above, we see the crimes with which Mr. Rockrey was charged, together with the proceedings of these ruling ecclesiastics. He seems to have refused making this recantation. He would not defile his conscience, by subscribing that which appeared to him contrary to truth, as well as a tyrannical invasion of christian liberty. Though he was several times summoned before his superiors, it is probable, our author adds, that he still continued in the same mind.†

Mr. Rockrey scrupled wearing the habits, for which, during the above troubles, he was deprived of his fellowship,

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 392, 393.

† Ibid. p. 394.

and in effect, expelled from the university. Lord Burleigh, the chancellor, procured his restoration, with a dispensation from wearing the habits for a twelvemonth, at the expiration of which, he was admonished three times by the master of the college, to conform himself in wearing the apparel. But he could not with a good conscience comply, and, therefore, was finally expelled, as an example to keep others in a state of obedience.\* He was one of the prebendaries of Rochester, where he was justly esteemed an admired and popular preacher; but, about the year 1584, was suspended from his ministerial function, and continued under the ecclesiastical censure many years.†

H. GRAY was a puritanical minister in Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university. He delivered a sermon in St. Mary's church, January 8, 1586, in which he was charged with asserting the following opinions:—"That the church of England doth maintain Jewish music, contrary to the word of God, which alone ought to sound in his church.—That it is contrary to the same word, to use in sermons the testimonies of doctors and profane writers.—That to play at dice or cards is to crucify Christ.—That there are in this church *dumb dogs*, Jereboam's priests, and Chemarins, that have place at the upper end of the altar, which by the word should have no place in the church.—That it is thought there be some among us who send over news to Rome and Rheims, and would have us all murdered.—That whoever would, might fill his hand, and be minister among us, as in the time of Jereboam; whereby it cometh to pass that some go about the country to offer their service for ten pounds a year and a *carvas doubled*.—And that we celebrate the joyful time of the nativity throughout the land as atheists and epicures."‡

For these assertions, alleged against him, he appears to have been called before the ruling ecclesiastics, when he gave the following answers to the various accusations:—"Concerning music, I had no set treatise against it, but only I made this simile, that set music and its curious notes is an imitation of the Jewish music; and because it is not understood, it may delight, but not *edify*: so affected and curious eloquence, which the people cannot understand, may affect and delight the outward sense, but it cannot enter

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 434.

† MS. Register, p. 295, 565.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxx. p. 294.

and descend into the heart.—Concerning citing of fathers and profane authors, I did not teach that it was simply unlawful; but when we are to teach the simple people, and to instruct and build the conscience, we are not to stuff our sermons with authorities of fathers or sentences of profane writers.—Concerning carding and dicing, I spake only against the unlawful use of it, and shewed the abuse of the celebration of the nativity.—I said that we have dumb dogs, and some such as were once Chemarins, when I did not, neither was it my purpose to, enter any question whether they might, or might not, lawfully be ministers.—I said, it is thought there be some among us, who are not of us, who lurk here to spy out what is done, that they may give notice to Rome; and they lie among us, that they may point out and set forth which of us should first go to the fire, when the days of mourning for Jacob should come: where I desire that my meaning may be thus interpreted, that I did not notice particulars, but spake only upon the probable suspicion, to stir us up to be diligent in searching whether there be any papists among us, who are the Lord's and her majesty's enemies.—I said, for want of restraint, every man may fill his hand, and consecrate himself, alluding to 2 Chron. xiii. I would have this to be considered, that in citing or alluding to any place, every word is not to be observed, but the drift and purpose for which it is alleged.—I said, that we have some ministers who are not worthy to stand in the belfrey, but they sit at the end of the altar. I protest this to have been my meaning, that those who were altogether unfit for the ministry, did supply the places of those who ought to have been learned ministers.”\*

These were Mr. Gray's answers to the foregoing accusations. But it does not appear what prosecution was entered against him.

ROBERT MOORE was rector of Guisely in Yorkshire, and prosecuted for nonconformity. January 9, 1586, he was cited before the Archbishop of York and other high commissioners, when *twenty* charges were exhibited and aggravated against him; but he so judiciously answered them, and so fully proved his own innocence, that he was acquitted by law. Upon the complete failure of the prosecution, the angry archbishop charged Mr. Moore with

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxx. p. 295.

having said that he *could not preach*, calling him an *old doating fool*. This Mr. Moore denied upon his oath. When they failed in the proof of this charge also, his lordship was more angry than before; and seeing they could procure no evidence for any of their accusations, the good man was dismissed, and appointed to appear the week following.

January 16th, Mr. Moore appeared before the archbishop and nine other commissioners, when he was again charged with the same crimes, and they said that now they could prove him guilty. To this he replied, that as he had already cleared himself of all charges, except that of refusing to observe in all points the Book of Common Prayer, which he did not out of contempt, but from conscience; so, notwithstanding the malice of his enemies, he still stood on sure ground, and no honest man could prove him guilty. Upon this, he was immediately threatened with imprisonment and utter ruin, if they should proceed against him according to law. In the conclusion, he was obliged to enter into a bond of a hundred pounds to observe the Book of Common Prayer, and was then dismissed.

The archbishop and his colleagues were aware of the disgrace that would necessarily fall upon their own heads, if Mr. Moore should escape without submission. Therefore, they cited him a third time; and upon his appearance, presented him with the form of a recantation, requiring him, as the condition of obtaining their favour, to confess and read the same publicly in his own church. But he absolutely refused to purchase his liberty at so dear a rate, declaring that he would be cast into prison, and even put to death, rather than thus dishonour the Lord by lying against the Holy Ghost and his own conscience. He was, therefore, again dismissed; but two of his servants were committed to prison.\*

From the examination of Mr. Higgins, churchwarden of Guisely, before the above commissioners, January 10, 1586, which is now before me, Mr. Moore is evidently acquitted of the principal charges alleged against him. The uprightness of his deportment, and the purity of his character, were thus made manifest, even in the face of his enemies. He was a zealous, faithful, and laborious minister, spending his strength and his long life for the salvation of souls.†

It is observed of our divine, that he survived most of his

\* MS. Register, p. 787.

† Ibid. p. 798-790.

brethren, having lived to a great age. He baptized a child after he entered upon the benefice of Guiseley, and afterwards buried the same person threescore years of age, being rector of the place *sixty-three* years. He built the present stately parsonage house there.\*

EDWARD GELLIBRAND.—This learned and pious divine was fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, and a person of distinguished eminence among the puritans in that university. He was much concerned for a further reformation of the church, and ever zealous in promoting the desired object. The letters from the classis in London and other places, were commonly addressed to him, and, by the appointment of the brethren, he usually answered them. January 12, 1585, he wrote a letter to Mr. John Field, signifying how he had consulted several colleges about church discipline, and a further reformation; and that many were disposed to favour it, but were afraid to testify any thing under their hands, lest it should bring them into trouble. This letter, which, in the opinion of Dr. Bancroft, tended to promote sedition, was the following:—"I have," says Mr. Gellibrand, "already entered into the matters whereof you write, and dealt with three or four of several colleges, concerning those among whom they live. I find that men are very dangerous in this point, generally savouring reformation; but when it comes to the particular point, some have not yet considered of those things for which others in the church are so much troubled. Others are afraid to testify any thing with their hands, lest it should breed danger before the time. And many favour the cause of reformation, but they are not ministers, but young students, of whom there is good hope, if it be not cut off by violent dealing before the time. As I hear of you, so I mean to go forward, where there is any hope; and to learn the number, and certify you thereof." The candid reader will easily judge how far this letter tended to promote sedition, being merely designed to effect by the most peaceable means, a more pure reformation of the church.+ He united with many of his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."†

April 7, 1586, Mr. Gellibrand was cited before Archbishop

\* Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 65.

† Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, p. 74, 75.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. i. p. 423.

Whitgift, Bishop Cooper of Winchester, Bishop Piers of Salisbury, and other high commissioners. When he was called before their lordships, and the charges alleged against him had been read, the reverend archbishop thus addressed him:—"You have spoken against the ecclesiastical state and governors, as confirmed and established by the laws of this land. You have inveighed against the swelling titles of bishops and archbishops. You are full of pride and arrogance, and the spirit of pride hath possessed you. And you have preached against the Bishop of Winchester, by which you have discouraged men from doing good to the church." Then said the Bishop of Winchester, "If you had read any of the ancient fathers, or ecclesiastical histories, you could not have been ignorant, that the office of archbishops was from the time of the apostles, though the name be not found in the scriptures. Other churches do not condemn ours, as we do not theirs. This discipline which you dream of, may peradventure be convenient for Geneva, or some such free city, which hath half a dozen villages joining to it; but not for a kingdom. You are a child, yea, a babe."

Mr. Gellibrand, craving leave to answer for himself, replied to these accusations, and said, "Concerning preaching against the Bishop of Winchester, I am guiltless. I was not present at his sermon, nor did I hear of his sermon till after I had preached, according to my oath already taken." And being charged with speaking against the consecration of bishops and archbishops, he replied, "My words were uttered simply as the occasion offered from a note of Beza on Heb. ii. 10. And concerning my exhortation to those who suffer persecution for the sake of Christ, it was necessarily deduced from my text, in which the sufferings of christians are called the sufferings of Christ." Then said Dr. Cosin, "Such ifs are intolerable under the government of so gracious a prince. And it is a most grievous thing that you have made discipline a part of the gospel."

The archbishop next charged him with having made a comparison between Jesuits, and nonresidents, saying, "You make nonresidents worse than Jesuits, and in this comparison there is neither truth, nor charity, nor honesty, nor christianity. I myself have been one of those whom you call nonresidents, and have done more good by preaching, partly in my own cure, and partly in other mens', than you will do as long as you live. The church hath not been built by you, nor such as you; but by those whom you

call nonresidents!" Upon Mr. Gellibrand's attempting to answer, he was interrupted, and not allowed to proceed. And when Dr. Cosin charged him with speaking against the laws of the land, he replied, "I have long been of this opinion, and so have many others, that nonresidents are allowed by law."

Mr. Gellibrand being charged with seducing her majesty's subjects, and with bringing the archbishop and bishops into contempt, which, it was said, gave much encouragement to papists; he replied, "I never entered upon any discourse about the government of the church, but delivered the true sense of the scriptures." When he was urged to a further consideration of the charges brought against him, and to submit to the court, he was carried out, until the commissioners determined what punishment should be inflicted upon him. After some consultation, he was called in, when the archbishop thus addressed him:—"You deserve not only to be sequestered from your ministry, but to be expelled from your house, banished from the university, and cast into prison; and all this we could inflict upon you; but we will not deal thus with you, if you will revoke your errors, and give satisfaction for your offences." The good man was, therefore, suspended from his ministry, obliged to enter into a bond of a hundred pounds, either to revoke his errors in such form as their lordships should appoint, or to make his appearance at Lambeth at any time by them to be determined, when they would further proceed against him.\* But it does not appear whether he recanted, or was brought under additional hardships by the relentless prelates.

EDWARD GLOVER was a nonconformist to the church of England, as well in doctrine, as in ceremonies. He appears to have mixed faith and works in the article of justification, and to have denied the doctrine of predestination; for which, in the year 1586, he, together with some others, was apprehended by Archbishop Whitgift, and cast into prison. These persons, denominated "a poor handful of free-will men," it is said, could not assemble in a private conventicle, without attracting the rod of ecclesiastical censure, and suffering by means of the archbishop, the rigorous penalty of imprisonment. But whatever were their character and

\* MS. Register, p. 801—803.

opinions, they were so far excusable to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, that he warmly espoused their cause, and wrote a letter to the archbishop in their favour.\* In all probability, says Mr. Toplady, Burleigh's humane application to the primate, in behalf of these theological delinquents, procured them a gaol-delivery, and set the free-will men corporally free. This he conjectures from the letter of thanks, which Mr. Glover afterwards wrote to the treasurer. Mr. Glover, says he, lays all the cause of his and his brethren's imprisonment, on their dissenting from Luther's doctrine of justification without works, and from Calvin's doctrine of unconditional predestination; and loudly complains of the "iniquity and tyranny" of their prosecutors: which included a tacit fling at the archbishop himself. Had they not just cause to complain both of iniquity and tyranny? And was not the archbishop the very person who exercised this cruel oppression? Without approving of their sentiments, it may be asked, what greater right had he to cast them into prison, merely for difference of religious opinions, than they had to cast him into prison, for the same cause? His lordship having the sword in his own hands, will afford no satisfactory answer to this question. But our author further observes, "the bishops had just as much regard for the free-will men, as St. Paul had for the viper he shook into the fire."† This representation, which contains too much truth, will remain a stigma upon their character, and a reproach to their memory, as long as men are disposed to examine the impartial records of history.

**JOHN WALWARD, D. D.**—He was professor of divinity at Oxford, and a man of great learning, but involved in much trouble for nonconformity. He was summoned before the high commission, April 7, 1586, and appeared before Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Aylmer, the Bishops of Winchester and Sarum, and other commissioners, at Lambeth. And for having taught, that the order of the Jewish synagogue and eldership, was adopted into the christian church, by Jesus Christ and his apostles; and asserting that the same was designed as a perpetual modal of church government, he was enjoined a public recantation, and suspended from his public exercises in the university, till it should be performed. As the whole of this

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 431.

† Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 201, 202.

affair, attested by the hand of Abraham Hartwell, notary public, is now before me, it will be proper to transcribe it.

The above commissioners decreed, " That the said John Walward shall, upon some Sunday in the afternoon, deliver a sermon in the parish church of Alhallows in Oxford, wherein he shall not in any way, either covertly or openly, impugn any part of the government ecclesiastical now received and used in the church of England; but shall stir up all his hearers to unity, peace, obedience, and the good liking of the laws, orders, and present government of this church; and shall, also, in such his sermon publicly and distinctly read, without any addition, diminution, or alteration, the form of words following, signifying that he is so enjoined by authority for his demerits." Then follows the form of his recantation, expressed in these words :

" Whereas I, John Walward, the 22d of February last, preaching in this place, amongst other things, did utter, " That the order of a Jewish synagogue governed by an eldership, which I untruly affirmed to be still observed in Germany and Spain, was established by Jesus Christ and his apostles to continue for ever, to admonish, to suspend, to interdict, and to excommunicate in every congregation : that the same was practised by the apostles, and long after in the better times of the church : that those who are put in authority, according to the laws of this land, by the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons, to see such censures executed, are not sufficiently warranted thereto, but are in danger of God's heavy judgment; therefore, the pastor of the congregation where the offender dwelleth, hath an interest, and ought to have a dealing therein. And, whereas, I did then also affirm matter to the depraving of the office of archdeacons, and the canons agreed upon in the last convocation, and confirmed by her majesty's authority : and did avouch a necessary, substantial, and unalterable platform of government and discipline to have been left by Christ, for hearing, ordering, and determining all cases and causes of censure, which I then said ought of necessity to be by the ministry and presbytery of the congregation where the offender dwelleth, to the impeaching of her majesty's authority in causes ecclesiastical, to the discredit of the present government of the church of England wherein I live, to the breach of the unity and peace of it, and to an ill example and offence to others. And further, whereas I

“promised after my said sermon, if I might be suffered to continue my divinity lecture, I would not meddle in any matters tending to the disturbance of the peace and unity of the church, or just offence of any. I did, notwithstanding, shew myself the same man I was before, by bitter and factious speeches, and complaining that I was thus treated, as I thought, without just desert. I do here, therefore, in the sight of God, and you, my brethren, frankly acknowledge, my unadvised dealing herein, and my oversight in the former points, heartily desiring you all to be satisfied with this my unfeigned and humble submission.”\*

When Dr. Walward appeared before his ecclesiastical judges, he was obliged to enter into a bond of one hundred pounds to make this debasing public recantation; and in case he failed to perform it according to the order and form prescribed, he should not only forfeit his hundred pounds, but within four days appear again at Lambeth, to receive such censure as his case might deserve. For the better execution of the above decrees, a letter was addressed to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, requiring and authorizing him to see that they should in all points be duly executed; and in case of Walward's failure in complying with them, to bring him again before the high commission at Lambeth.† This learned divine was thus debased by the tyrannical prelates! He was compelled to sacrifice the right of private judgment, and the liberty of conscience, at the shrine of their usurped power and authority.

JOHN GARDINER was the laborious minister of Malden in Essex, but deprived of his ministry, and most cruelly treated. His sufferings would have moved the compassion of any man, excepting Aylmer, bishop of London. The bishop committed him to Newgate for matters scandalously laid to his charge seven years before, of which he had even been cleared by a regular course of law. He requested his lordship, that he might be bailed; and if he was found guilty, that he might have punishment without mercy. The account of his barbarous usage is given in a supplication which Mr. Gardiner sent to the bishop, dated September 7, 1586; in which he expressed himself as follows:‡

\* MS. Register, p. 800.

† Ibid. p. 801.

‡ Ibid. p. 752.

“ To the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop  
“ of London.

“ My duty in humble-wise remembered, my lord. I am  
“ cast into Newgate by your lordship, for a matter which  
“ about seven years past, was slanderously raised against  
“ me. I was by course of law cleared, and the Lord God  
“ who searcheth the hearts, before whom you and I shall  
“ shortly appear, doth know, and him I call to witness,  
“ that I was and am falsely accused. I have been extremely  
“ sick in prison. I thank God, I am amended, but am yet  
“ so ill, that the physicians say my infection from the prison  
“ will be very dangerous. I have a poor wife and five  
“ children, who are in a lamentable case. I had six at the  
“ beginning of my imprisonment; but by reason of my  
“ sickness in prison, and my wife being constrained to  
“ attend upon me, one of my children, for want of some-  
“ body to oversee them, was drowned in a tub of wort,  
“ being two years and a half old. If your lordship have no  
“ compassion on me, yet take pity upon the widow and  
“ fatherless, (for in that state are now my wife and poor  
“ infants) whose tears are before the Lord. I crave only  
“ to be bailed; and if I am found guilty of any breach of  
“ law, let me have extremity without any favour. Your  
“ lordship's to command in Christ.

“ JOHN GARDINER.”

It does not appear how long Mr. Gardiner remained in prison, nor what other punishment he endured. He was a member of the presbyterian church erected at Wandsworth in Surrey; and he united with his brethren in subscribing the “ Book of Discipline.”\*

NICHOLAS STANDEN was educated in the university of Cambridge; he became rector of St. Margaret-Pattens, London; but was deprived, it is supposed, for nonconformity, in 1568.† He was a learned and religious man, an orthodox divine, and ever zealous for a reformation of the church; often meeting with his brethren to promote the desired object. About the year 1570, he was chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, in his expedition against the rebels in the north.‡ In 1572, he was a member of the presby-

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 428.

† Newcourt's Report. Eccl. vol. i. p. 409.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 213. (8.)

terian church erected at Wandsworth in Surrey.\* About two years after this, he was accused of being concerned in Undertree's sham plot; and with Mr. Bonham, another puritan minister, was cast into prison: but upon their examination, being found innocent, they were both acquitted, and released by order of the council.† Mr. Standen and Mr. Bonham were convened before the high commission for nonconformity, and committed to prison, where they remained a long time. After having endured a shameful confinement, together with the sickness of the prison, they were released by order of the queen, as will appear more at large in another place.‡

Mr. Standen, with other nonconformable ministers, wrote an answer to this question, "Whether the ministers, for certain ceremonies laid upon them under pretence of policy only, may forsake their ministry?" Upon this question, he gives his opinion with great freedom, particularly against the use of the cross in baptism. He proves with great clearness, that the use of the cross in that ordinance, is wholly founded in superstition; that it can answer no good purpose whatever, but oftentimes a bad one; and consequently, that it ought to be laid aside.§ This divine being always anxious to obtain better regulations in the church, united with his brethren about the year 1586, in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."¶

JOHN FIELD, A. M.—This excellent divine was a great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity. There having been several persons of the same name, has rendered it rather difficult to distinguish them; yet this Mr. John Field appears to have been fellow of Lincoln college, Oxford. Wood intimates, that he was afterwards a famous preacher at St. Giles, Cripplegate, London; but this is rather doubtful.\*\* It is certain, however, that he was the excellent minister of Aldermary church, in the city.

The puritans having in vain sought for a further reformation from the queen and the bishops, resolved in future to apply to the parliament, and stand by the constitution. Accordingly, they made all the interest in their power among the members, and compiled a treatise, setting forth

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103. † Strype's Parker, p. 466.

‡ See Art. Bonham.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 373, (8.)—Parte of a Register, p. 409.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423. \*\* Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 106.

their numerous grievances in one view. This was drawn up by Mr. Field, assisted by Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, and was revised by several of the brethren. The work was entitled "An Admonition to the Parliament;" with Beza's letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gualter's to Bishop Parkhurst, for reformation of church discipline, annexed. It contains the platform of a church; the manner of electing ministers; with their several duties, and their equality in government. It then exposes, with some sharp language; the corruptions of the hierarchy, and the tyrannical proceedings of the bishops. The Admonition concludes with a petition to both houses, that discipline, more consonant to the word of God, and agreeable to the foreign reformed churches, may be *established by law*. Their attempt to procure an *establishment* of their own opinions, Mr. Peirce justly observes, was the greatest fault in the book, or in any of the attempts which the puritans made. With unanswerable evidence they exposed the corruptions of the established ecclesiastical government, and particularly the persecution and tyranny by which it was upheld. But I fear, says he, could they have obtained their desire of the parliament, the *platform* which they proposed, must have been established by some persecuting laws; which I cannot find that Christ ever appointed his ministers to use for the advancement of his kingdom. All compulsion, and all enforcing of ecclesiastical discipline, by civil penalties, is quite contrary to the spirit of christianity.\* Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks presented the Admonition themselves to the parliament; for which, July 7, 1572, they were sent to prison; and after examination, they were, by the instigation of the bishops, committed to Newgate.† Upon this, the book, already printed, was suffered to go abroad, and it passed through no less than four editions in about two years, notwithstanding all the vigilant endeavours of the bishops to suppress it.‡

The two prisoners were indicted, and sentenced to suffer imprisonment one whole year, which they did accordingly. After having suffered confinement some months in a most loathsome prison, by which their health was greatly impaired, they petitioned their noble friend, the Earl of Leicester, to procure their removal to some other prison, where they should meet with better usage. Their wives and children also presented a petition to the same

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 84, 85. † MS. Register, p. 118.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 347.

nobleman, earnestly desiring him to move the queen to discharge them from prison, on account of their great sufferings, and their extreme poverty and want. But these two petitions were without effect.\* The prisoners still remained in close confinement, enduring many extreme hardships; and though they were committed to prison three months previous to receiving the sentence, and remained in prison twelve months after conviction, according to the cruel tenor of the sentence, they could not, even at the expiration of that period, obtain their liberty. Under these afflictive circumstances, they presented the following petition to the lords of the council :

“ Whereas, right honourable lords, your poor and daily orators, John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, being indicted before the lord mayor and court of aldermen, in the city of London, upon a statute of the first year of her majesty’s most happy and gracious reign, entitled ‘ An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer,’ &c. were adjudged to suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year, which they have already fully endured, according to the effect of the said statute. And now being given to understand, that they cannot be discharged otherwise than by a special order from your good lordships, they most humbly, and for Jesus Christ’s sake, pray and beseech your honours, to take pity of their great poverty and extreme necessity, now come upon them and their poor wives and children, through their so long imprisonment. And that in your accustomed clemency, so graciously and continually extended towards all her majesty’s subjects, you will also vouchsafe, in compassion to their great misery, take order for their enlargement. And as in duty they are bound, so they and theirs will daily pour out their hearty prayers to Almighty God, for his merciful favour, and most gracious protection, to be extended to your lordships for ever, Amen.”†

During their imprisonment, they also petitioned the Earl of Leicester, humbly entreating him to be a means of forwarding their petition to the council. In this petition, they express themselves thus:—“ This in all humility sheweth unto your honour, that your poor and faithful orators, John Field and Thomas Wilcocks, upon October 2, 1572, by virtue of a certain statute made the first year of her majesty’s reign, were convicted and committed to

\* MS. Register, p. 118.

† Ibid. p. 117.

" prison, there to continue for the space of one whole year,  
 " and have now endured patiently all that time, besides a  
 " quarter of a year before conviction, to their great charge  
 " and utter undoing. May it, therefore, please your honour,  
 " for the tender mercies of God, and in consideration of  
 " them, their poor wives and children, to be a means with  
 " the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy council,  
 " to whom they have exhibited their most humble supplica-  
 " tion that they may be released and discharged, and as much  
 " as in your honour lieth, to promote and further the same.  
 " So they shall be greatly comforted, after this their tedious  
 " and long imprisonment; and they will not be unmindful  
 " to pray for your lordship's great and continued pros-  
 " perity."\* It does not, however, appear whether they  
 were released, or still detained in a state of confinement.

During the imprisonment of these two divines, Dr. Whitgift published his "Answer to the Admonition," in which he brought many severe charges against its authors: as, "That they were disturbers of good order; enemies to the state; and as holding many dangerous heresies." To these slanderous charges, they wrote a reply, entitled "A brief Confession of Faith, written by the Authors of the first Admonition to the Parliament, to testify their Persuasion in the Faith, against the uncharitable Surmises and Suspicions of Dr. Whitgift, uttered in his *Answer to their Admonition*, in Defence both of themselves and their Brethren." This Confession was written from Newgate, dated September 4, 1572, and contains a very judicious and comprehensive statement of their religious opinions, upon the principal doctrines of the gospel.†

In the month of September this year, Archbishop Parker sent one of his chaplains to confer with the two prisoners in Newgate, most probably with a view to convince them of their supposed errors, and bring them to a recantation. During this conference, they acknowledged themselves to be the authors of the Admonition, saying, "We wrote a book in parliament time, which should be a time of speaking and writing freely, justly craving redress and reformation of

\* MS. Register, p. 118.

† Upon the holy scriptures, they say, "We hold that they alone ought to be preached, and the whole of them preached, and nothing kept back; and that it is not lawful for men, or for angels, to add any thing thereto, or take any thing therefrom. And we affirm, that no antiquity, custom, interpretation, or opinion of men, no, nor statute or ordinance of any pope, council, parliament, or prince, may be set against the word of God."—*Ibid.*, p. 119—122.

many abuses, for which we are so uncourteously treated: A particular account of this conference is given in another place.\*

There being no prospect of any further reformation of the church by the legislature, some of the leading puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way. For this purpose, they erected a presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey; which, being seated on the banks of the Thames, was convenient for the brethren in London. Among the members of this society was one Mr. Field, lecturer of Wandsworth, and undoubtedly this painful sufferer for nonconformity. The formation of this presbytery is said to have been in the year 1572; in which case, it must not have been in the month of November, as some have supposed, but previous to the month of July; for on the seventh of July, this year, Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks were committed to prison, and remained in close confinement, at least till towards the close of 1573.

Mr. Strype observes, that while these sufferers for conscience were closely confined in Newgate, they were frequently visited by their brethren, Drs. Fulke and Humphrey, and Messrs. Wyburn, Cartwright, Deering, Lever, Crowley, Johnson, and Brown. And upon their appearance before the council, they were told, that unless they could obtain the queen's pardon, they must be banished from their country, for the singular crime of disliking the Book of Common Prayer;† though at that time there was no law in existence requiring such punishment. Whether they ever sought to her majesty for pardon, we are not able to learn; only in 1574, Mr. Field, we find, was minister of Aldermary church, London.‡ Though he was released from prison, his troubles were not over. In the year 1577, he was cited before Bishop Aylmer, who pronounced him *obstinate*, for having taught children in gentlemen's houses, contrary to the prohibitions of the archbishop. Bishop Aylmer, therefore, recommended that both Mr. Field and Mr. Wilcocks might be sent into the most barbarous parts of Staffordshire, Shropshire, Lancashire, or other places, where, his lordship observed, they might be profitably employed in reclaiming people from the ignorance and errors of popery.§

What the bishop recommended was undoubtedly a more

\* See Art. Wilcocks.

† MS. Register, p. 285.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 413.

§ Strype's Aylmer, p. 55, 56.

moderate kind of punishment than close confinement from one year to another, in a filthy, cold prison; and was, indeed, exceedingly moderate for a prelate of his tyrannical principles. Accordingly, Mr. Field was silenced or separated from the people of his charge. The parishioners of Aldermary, at the same time, used every effort in their power to procure his restoration. They applied to the Archbishop, as well as to the Bishop of London, but without success. They also presented two supplications to the Earl of Leicester, being one of the council, to be a means of promoting his restoration.

These supplications are now before me, in one of which they expressed themselves as follows:—" We, in most  
" humble-wise, beseech your honour, that whereas of late  
" we did to our comfort enjoy, one Mr. Field to be our  
" preacher, who laboured painfully amongst us for the  
" space of four years, in preaching the word of God, and  
" catechizing our youth, teaching obedience both to God  
" and our prince, and keeping us in good order. Whereas  
" since his restraint and inhibition, we are left as scattered  
" sheep upon the mountains, and have none ordinarily to  
" break unto us the bread of life, than which a greater evil  
" cannot come upon us. Hearing that God of his great  
" goodness hath made you the honoured instrument of  
" restoring many, we, your humble suppliants, beseech  
" you, even for the cause of God, to be a means also for us.  
" We feel persuaded that, if the matter be fairly examined,  
" there will be no cause found in him why he should  
" be sequestered from us. For we are able to witness to  
" your honour, even in the presence of Him who seeth all  
" hearts, that to our knowledge he ever behaved himself  
" wisely and faithfully, as became a true minister of Jesus  
" Christ. The things urged against him were never hindered,  
" impugned, or any way resisted by him, but were duly  
" kept and observed. And seeing that which he received  
" was out of our purses, without any burden upon the  
" church whatever, we cannot help feeling ourselves hardly  
" treated, that without cause he should be taken from us.  
" We have used what means we could with the Archbishop  
" and Bishop of London; but as we could learn of them no  
" cause of his sequestration, so we could receive no favourable  
" answer for his restoration. We beseech your honour,  
" therefore, in behalf of ourselves, our wives, our children,  
" and our servants, so to stand forth our good lord in this  
" our necessary and holy suit, as that by your means, he

“ may be again restored : So shall many hearts be made glad ; and we shall evermore pray for your honour’s long and happy state. Your honour’s poor suppliants ever to command, of the parish of Aldermary, in London.”\*

How long Mr. Field continued under the ecclesiastical censure, or whether he was ever restored to his charge at Aldermary, appears extremely doubtful.

The next account we meet with of this excellent divine, is, that in 1582, he was engaged, with several other learned men, in a disputation with certain papists in the Tower ; but our information is so extremely scanty, that he is only said to have taken an active part in those learned disputations,† and to have collected and published an account of them, after it had undergone the examination of the persons who engaged. In 1584, we find him brought into other troubles, when he was suspended by the Bishop of London. The cause of his suspension was, his admitting an assembly of ministers at his house, among whom were several Scotch divines. These divines being disaffected to the hierarchy, the assembly was declared to be an unlawful conventicle. Mr. Field was, therefore, suspended from his ministry, for entertaining them, and the rest were deprived for refusing subscription.‡ How long he continued under suspension, and whether he was ever restored, is very uncertain. He died in February, 1587, when his remains were interred in Cripplegate church, London. Mr. Field, a short time before his death, united with his brethren in subscribing the “ Book of Discipline.”§

**His Works.**—1. Prayers and Meditations for the use of private Families, 1581.—2. A Caveat for Parsons Howlet, concerning his untimely Flight, and Screeching in the clear Day Lighte of the Gospel, necessarie for him, and all the rest of that darke Brood, and uncleane Cage of Papists, 1581.—3. Exposition of the Symbol of the Apostles, 1581.—4. A godly Exhortation, by occasion of a late Judgment of God at Paris Garden, 1583.—He published Translations of many of Calvin’s Sermons, and the productions of other learned men.

**JOHN HUCKLE** was pastor of the church at Aythorp Roding in Essex, but prosecuted by Bishop Aylmer, for nonconformity. Mr. Strype is pleased to stigmatize him as a busy body, an enemy to the peace of the church, a

\* MS. Register, p. 285.

† Strype’s Annals, vol. ii. p. 647.—Life of Parker, p. 219.—Churton’s Life of Nowell, p. 278.

‡ MS. Register, p. 460, 568, 569.

§ Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

transgressor of its orders, an impugner of the common prayer, a gatherer of night-conventicles, and a busy disputer against the Athanasian creed; and, therefore, to reclaim him from his dangerous errors, the bishop suspended him from his ministry.\*

Upon his suspension, Mr. Huckle laid his case before the lords of the council, and procured the following letter, dated from Greenwich, May 4, 1584, addressed to the bishop :†

“ Our hearty commendations to your lordship.

“ The bearer, John Huckle, minister of the word of God, hath been here before us, who, with his confession of faith and solemn protestation, doth seem to detest Arianism, and every other the like heresy with which he may be charged; and offereth to subscribe Athanasius’s creed, and to testify to the world, by any other means, his sincere and unfeigned belief of the doctrine contained in the same. And so far as we can find, he is a man clear and sound in religion, and no other matter, according to our knowledge, can be proved against him. We, therefore, see no cause why he should be any longer suspended from the exercise of his ministry; and we pray your lordship, that you will now, upon his recognition, revoke your suspension, and treat him with all convenient favour; whereby he may be the better encouraged, and the more able to discharge the duty belonging to him. And so we bid your lordship hearty farewell. Your very loving friends,

|                     |                 |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| “ WILLIAM BURGHLEY, | ED. WARWICK,    |
| “ FR. KNOLLES,      | FR. WALSINGHAM, |
| “ CHARLES HOWARD,   | HEN. SYDNEY.”   |

Such was the opinion and commendation of these distinguished persons, but the bishop was of another mind; and, notwithstanding Mr. Huckle’s protestation and readiness to subscribe, the hard-hearted prelate refused to restore him. This appears from his lordship’s answer to the council’s letter; wherein he says, “ If I should restore him, I could not answer for it before God, her majesty, my own conscience, nor the church of God.”‡ Such was the sentiment of this relentless prelate! He was unwilling to rescind his own determination, though recommended so to do by the greatest persons in the land; therefore, Mr. Huckle, with many others, who fell into the hands of this lordly ecclesiastic, remained under suspension, at least for several

\* Strype’s Aylmer, p. 106.

† MS. Register, p. 584.

‡ Ibid.

years; and whether he was ever restored, is extremely doubtful. In the year 1587, he was among the suspended ministers of Essex, who, to obtain some redress of their grievances, presented a supplication to parliament, an account of which is given in another place.\*

**JOHN FOX, A. M.**—This celebrated man, usually denominated the English Martyrologist, was born of respectable parents at Boston in Lincolnshire, in the year 1517. His father dying when he was young, and his mother marrying again, he came under the guardianship of his father-in-law. At the age of sixteen, he was sent to Brazen-nose college, Oxford; and afterwards he became fellow of Magdalen college, in the same university. In the days of his youth, he discovered a genius and taste for poetry, and wrote several Latin comedies, upon subjects taken from the scriptures.

For some time after his going to the university, Mr. Fox was strongly attached to the superstitions and errors of popery. He was not only zealous for the Romish church, and strictly moral in his life, but rejected the doctrine of justification by faith in the imputed righteousness of Christ, and concluded himself to be sufficiently safe by trusting in the imaginary merit of his own self-denial, penances, alms-deeds, and compliance with the ceremonies of the church. Afterwards, by the blessing of God upon his studies, he was delivered from this self-righteousness, and led to submit himself to the righteousness of Jesus Christ. And by his indefatigable researches into ecclesiastical history, together with the writings of the fathers, but especially by his thorough acquaintance with the holy scriptures, he was convinced of the immense distance to which the church of Rome had departed from the faith, and spirit, and practice of the gospel.

In order to make himself a more competent judge of the controversy, which now began to be warmly discussed betwixt protestants and papists, he searched all the ancient and modern histories of the church with indefatigable assiduity. His labours to find out the truth were indeed so great, that, before he was thirty years of age, he read all the Greek and Latin fathers, all the schoolmen, and the decrees of councils, and made considerable progress in other

\* See Art. George Gifford.

branches of useful knowledge. During this close application, he avoided all kinds of company, and betook himself to the most solitary retirement, often spending whole nights in his study. At length, from this strict and severe application, having forsaken his old popish friends, and from the dubious manner in which he spoke, when he was obliged to give his opinion on religious subjects, but, above all, from his sparing attendance on the public worship of the national church, in which he had been remarkably strict, he was suspected of alienation from her constitution and ceremonies, and of being infected with heresy.

Mr. Fox having found the truth, soon became bold and courageous in the profession of it, even in those dark times of popery. He chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God in the cause of truth, than enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. Being deeply impressed with the declaration of our Lord, "Whosoever is ashamed of me, and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels;" he determined to venture the loss of all things for the sake of Christ; and, therefore, openly professed himself a protestant. This he had no sooner done, than he was publicly accused of heresy, and expelled from the college. His adversaries, indeed, thought they dealt favourably in suffering him to escape with his life. This was in the year 1545.\* Wood, by mistake, says, he resigned his fellowship, and left the university, to avoid expulsion.†

Mr. Fox being expelled from the university, lost the favour of his friends and relations. As he was convicted of heresy, they thought it unsafe, and were therefore unwilling, to countenance or protect him. His father-in-law, in particular, seized this opportunity of withholding from him the estate which his own father had left him. While he was thus forsaken and oppressed, God, in the hour of extremity, raised up an unexpected friend and patron, in Sir Thomas Lucy of Warwickshire. This worthy person took him into his house, and made him tutor to his children. Here he found a comfortable asylum from the storm of persecution. While in this situation, he married a citizen's daughter of Coventry, but still continued in Sir Thomas's family till his pupils were grown up. Afterwards,

\* Life of Mr. Fox prefixed to his "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs."

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 186.

with some difficulty, he procured entertainment sometimes at the house of his father-in-law, and sometimes at the house of his wife's father in Coventry, till a little before the death of King Henry VIII., when he removed to London.

For a considerable time after his removal to the metropolis, having no employment, nor yet any preferment, he was again reduced to extreme want. However, by the kind providence of God, he was at length relieved, in the following remarkable manner: As he was sitting one day in St. Paul's church, his countenance being pale, his eyes hollow, and like a ghastly, dying man, a person, whom he never remembered to have seen before, came and sat down by him, and accosting him with much familiarity, put a sum of money into his hand, saying, "Be of good comfort, Mr. Fox. Take care of yourself, and use all means to preserve your life. For, depend upon it, God will, in a few days, give you a better prospect, and more certain means of subsistence." Though he could never learn from whom he received this seasonable relief, within three days of that memorable event, he was taken into the family of the Duchess of Richmond, to be tutor to the Earl of Surrey's children, whose education was committed to her care.\*

Mr. Fox continued in this honourable family, at Ryegate in Surrey, during part of the reign of Henry VIII., the whole of Edward VI., and part of Queen Mary's. Bishop Gardiner, a most bloody persecutor, in whose diocese he found so comfortable and safe a retreat, would have brought him to the stake, had he not been protected by the Duke of Norfolk, who had been one of his pupils. Mr. Fox, it is said, was the first person who ventured to preach the gospel at Ryegate; and with deep concern, Gardiner beheld the heir to one of the noblest families in England, trained up, under his influence, to the protestant religion. This prelate formed various designs against the safety of Mr. Fox; and sought by numerous stratagems, to effect his ruin. The good man, who was less suspicious of the bishop, than the bishop was of him, was obliged, at length, to quit his native country, and seek refuge in a foreign land. The duke, who loved and revered him as a father, sheltered him from the storm as long as he was able; and when Mr. Fox was obliged to flee for safety, he took care to provide him with every comfortable accommodation for the voyage,

\* Life of Mr. Fox.

He set sail from Ipswich, accompanied by his wife, and some other persons, who left the country on a similar account. The vessel had no sooner got to sea, than a tremendous storm arose, which obliged them to return to port next day. Having with great difficulty reached the land, Mr. Fox was saluted with indubitable information, that Bishop Gardiner had issued warrants for apprehending him, and that the most diligent search had been made for him, during his absence at sea. He, therefore, prevailed upon the master of the ship to put to sea again, though the attempt was extremely dangerous; and in two days, they arrived at Newport in Flanders. Thus, by the kind providence of God, he a second time, narrowly escaped the fire.\*

After his arrival in Flanders, Mr. Fox travelled to Antwerp, then to Frankfort in Germany; where he was involved in the troubles excited by the officious and unkind proceedings of Dr. Cox and his party.† The first settlers at Frankfort being driven from the place, Mr. Fox removed to Basil in Switzerland, to which city many of his fellow exiles accompanied him. Basil was then one of the most famous places in Europe, for printing; and many of the English refugees, who retired thither, procured their subsistence by revising and correcting the press. By this employment, Mr. Fox maintained himself and his family. Also, at Basil, he laid the plan of his "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," which he afterwards, with immense labour, finished in his own country. Mr. Strype is, however, very incorrect when he intimates that our author published his first book while he was in a state of exile.‡

Having mentioned the above celebrated work, commonly called Fox's "Book of Martyrs," it will be proper to give some account of this fruit of his Herculean labour. We have already observed that the author directed his attention to this work, during his residence at Basil; but he reserved the greatest part of it till his return to his native country, that he might procure the authority and testimony of more witnesses. It appears from the author's own notes, that he was eleven years in compiling this great work; and in this, as well as in some others of his labours, Mr. Fox was favoured with the particular assistance of several distinguished persons. Among these were Mr. John Aylmer,

\* Life of Mr. Fox.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 30, 47, 50.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 358.

afterwards Bishop of London;\* Mr. Edmund Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and Mr. Thomas Norton, afterwards a celebrated lawyer, member of parliament, and a noted puritan, who married the only daughter of Archbishop Cranmer. From the last of these, our author is said to have derived the greatest assistance.† It also appears that Grindal, besides his constant counsel and advice in the course of the work, supplied our author with numerous materials, which, when he had digested and methodized them, were of great use to him. During Grindal's exile, he established a correspondence in England for this purpose, by which means, accounts of most of the acts and sufferings of those who were persecuted in Queen Mary's reign, came to his hands; and it is said to have been owing to Grindal's strict and tender regard to truth, that the work was so long in hand; for he rejected all common reports and relations that were carried over, till more satisfactory evidence could be procured. It was by his advice, that Mr. Fox at first printed separately the acts of some particular persons, of whom any sure and authentic memoirs came to hand, till materials for a more complete history of the martyrs, with their persecutions and sufferings, could be obtained. In pursuance of this advice, Mr. Fox published at Basil, various histories of the English bishops and divines, in single pieces, soon after their respective persecutions and martyrdoms.

Mr. Fox at first undertook to publish his laborious work in Latin; but by the advice of Grindal, it was printed in Latin and English, for more general usefulness. It was published in London in 1563, in one thick volume folio, with this title, "Actes and Monuments of these latter perillous days touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Romish prelates speciallly in this realme of England and Scotland, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousand unto the time now present," &c. A fourth edition was printed in London in 1583, in two volumes folio, and it was reprinted in 1632, in three volumes folio. The ninth edition was printed in London in 1684, in three volumes folio, with copper cuts, the former editions having only wooden ones.‡

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 11.

† MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 243 (2), 243 (3.)

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. lii. p. 2022, 2023. Edit. 1747.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 187.

To this edition there is frequent reference in the present volume.

Several writers have laboured to depreciate the memory of Mr. Fox, by insinuating that his *History of the Martyrs* contained many misrepresentations and falsehoods. Dr. Collier, who embraces all opportunities to lessen his reputation and undervalue his work, accuses him of disingenuity and ill nature, and says, he ought to be read with great caution. He tells us, that a vein of satire and coarse language runs through his martyrology, and instances the case of the cruel Bishop Gardiner, whom he styles "an insensible ass, who had no feeling of God's spirit in the matter of justification."\* He charges Mr. Fox with other improprieties and inconsistencies, and adds, "I cannot perceive the martyrologist had any right to Elijah's sarcasm. His zeal without doubt was too much imbittered. He was plainly ridden by his passion, and pushed by disaffection, towards profaneness."† It is readily acknowledged, that Mr. Fox sometimes discovers too warm a temper; and it was almost impossible it should be otherwise, considering the circumstances under which he wrote, and those cruel proceedings which he has handed down to posterity. This was too common among our zealous reformers, who, it must be confessed, were sometimes hurried forwards to lengths by no means justifiable.

Wood observes, "that as Mr. Fox hath taken a great deal of pains in his work, and shewed sometimes much judgment in it; so hath he committed many errors therein, by trusting to the relations of poor simple people, and in making such martyrs as were living after the first edition of his book came forth, though afterwards by him excused and omitted."‡ Admitting all this, what does it prove? It is very justly observed, that as to private stories, Mr. Fox and his friends used the utmost diligence and care, that no falsehood might be obtruded on the reader, and were ever ready to correct any mistakes that might happen. § Though he might be misinformed in several parts of his intelligence; yet these he corrected, as they came to his knowledge. Indeed, these were inconveniences which must attend the compiling of so large a body of modern history, as Mr. Fox's chiefly was. No man is likely to receive, from

\* Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 45, 233.

† *Ibid.* p. 43, 375, 586.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 187.

§ *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 2024. *Edit.* 1747.

various hands, so large a mass of information, and all be found perfect truth, and when digested to be found without the least trait of error. What is the weight of all the objections offered in contempt of the Foxian martyrs, to overthrow so solid and immoveable a fabric? It is compiled of so many undeniable evidences of popish barbarity, that its reputation will remain unsullied to the latest period of time. The Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs have long been, they still remain, and will always continue, substantial pillars of the protestant church; of more force than many more volumes of bare arguments, to withstand the tide of popery; and, like a Pharos, should be lighted up in every age, as a warning to all posterity.\*

The indefatigable Strype passes the following encomium on the work:—"Mr. Fox," says he, "hath done such exquisite service to the protestant cause, in shewing from abundance of ancient books, records, registers, and choice manuscripts, the encroachments of popes and papelins, and the stout oppositions that were made by learned and good men in all ages, and in all countries, against them; especially under King Henry and Queen Mary in England. He hath preserved the memoirs of those holy men and women, those bishops and divines, together with their histories, acts, sufferings and deaths, willingly undergone for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and for refusing to comply with the popish doctrines and superstitions. And Mr. Fox must not pass without the commendation of a most painful searcher into records, archives, and repositories of original acts, and letters of state, and a great collector of manuscripts. The world is infinitely indebted to him for abundance of extracts thence, and communicated in these volumes. And as he hath been found most diligent, so most strictly true and faithful in his transcriptions."†

No book ever gave so deep a wound to the errors, superstitions, and persecutions of popery; on which account the talents, virtues, and labours of Mr. Fox rendered him a fit object of papal malice and enmity. No man could be more hated and calumniated than he was by his enemies. His name, together with some others, was inserted at Rome in a "bede-roll," or list of persons who were appointed to be dispatched; and the particular mode of his death, as by

\* *Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 556. Edit. 1778.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 239, 241.

burning or hanging, pointed out, when the design of invading and over-running England should be accomplished.\* By order of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Fox's History of the Martyrs was placed in the common halls of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and heads of colleges, and in all churches and chapels throughout the kingdom.†

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, our learned divine returned from exile, and was cordially received and courteously entertained by his noble pupil, the Duke of Norfolk;‡ who maintained him at his house, and settled a pension upon him at his death. Afterwards, in 1572, when this unhappy duke was beheaded on Tower-hill, for his treasonable connections with the Queen of Scots, Mr. Fox and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, attended him upon the scaffold.§

Mr. Fox lived many years highly esteemed and favoured by persons of quality. Bishops Grindal, Parkhurst, Pilkington, and Aylmer; also Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Thomas Gresham, and many others, were his powerful friends. By their influence, they would have raised him to the highest preferment; but, as he could not subscribe, and disapproved of some of the ceremonies, he modestly declined their offers. Indeed, he was offered almost any preferment he pleased, but was more happy in declining them, excepting a prebend in the church of Salisbury.¶

For the space of three years after his return from exile, Mr. Fox had no preferment whatever: and in a letter to his friend Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, he says, "I still wear the same clothes, and remain in the same sordid condition that England received me in, when I first came from Germany: nor do I change my degree or order, which is that of the *mendicants*, or, if you will, of the

\* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 271, 272.

† Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs, and Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, continued to be thus honoured till the time of Archbishop Laud. This domineering prelate no sooner understood that the learned authors maintained, "That the communion table ought to stand among the people in the body of the church, and not altar-wise, at one end of it," than he was displeased, and ordered their books to be taken out of the churches.—Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 187.—Prynne's *Cant. Dooms*, p. 88.

‡ Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 132.

§ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 208.

¶ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 186.

“*friars preachers.*”\* Thus did this grave and learned divine pleasantly reproach the ingratitude of the times. He continued without the least preferment till the year 1563, when Secretary Cecil procured him the above prebend; which, with some difficulty, he kept to his death. This was all the preferment he ever obtained.

In the year 1564, the Bishop of London having preached the Emperor Ferdinand’s funeral sermon, in the cathedral of St. Paul’s, it was ordered to be printed, and to be translated into Latin, “by the ready and elegant pen of John Fox.”† During the same year, Archbishop Parker attempted to force the clergy into a conformity to the established church; for which purpose he summoned all the London ministers to appear at Lambeth, when they were examined upon the following question: “Will you promise conformity to the apparel by law established, and testify the same by the subscription of your hands?” Those who refused were immediately suspended, and after three months, deprived of their livings.‡ To prepare the way, Mr. Fox was summoned first, that the reputation of his great piety, might give the greater countenance to their proceedings. When they called him to subscribe, he took his Greek Testament out of his pocket, and said, *To this I will subscribe.* And when the commissioners required him to subscribe the canons, he refused, saying, “I have nothing in the church but a prebend in Salisbury, and much good may it do you, if you take it from me.”§ His ecclesiastical judges, however, had not sufficient courage to deprive so celebrated a divine, who held up the ashes of Smithfield before their eyes. It ought here to be observed, that Mr. Strype is guilty of a *twofold mistake*, when he says, that, in 1566, Mr. Fox had no ecclesiastical living; and that though he was no approver of the habits, he was not summoned before the ecclesiastical commissioners.¶

Though Mr. Fox refused subscription and conformity to certain ecclesiastical ceremonies, he behaved with great moderation, and disapproved of the warmth of the more

\* The remains of popish superstition were so prevalent in the church of England, especially among the ruling prelates in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that for many years, the *eating of flesh* was prohibited, during the weeks of Lent; yet, in certain cases, dispensations were granted. Accordingly, Mr. Fox being a man of a weak and sickly constitution, this favour was conferred upon him by Archbishop Parker!—*Strype’s Parker*, p. 112, 118.

† Churton’s *Life of Nowell*, p. 106.

‡ *Strype’s Grindal*, p. 98.

§ Fuller’s *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 76.—Heylin’s *Hist. of Refor.* p. 337.

¶ *Strype’s Parker*, p. 223.

rigid and zealous puritans. And while he expressed his dislike of separation, he was exceedingly grieved about those things which gave the occasion.\* Speaking of Blumfield, a wicked persecutor of the pious Mr. Harelson, for not wearing the surplice, he said, "It is a pity that such baits of popery are left to the enemies, to take christians in, God take them away from us, or us from them. For God knoweth they are the cause of much blindness and strife among men."†

At the above period, Mr. Fox presented a Latin panegyric to the queen, for having granted indulgence to several nonconformist divines. But in the year 1575, he addressed her majesty on a very different occasion. During this year a most severe persecution was raised against the anabaptists in London, ten of whom were condemned, eight ordered to be banished, and two to be executed. Mr. Fox, therefore, wrote an excellent Latin letter to the queen, in which he observes, "That to punish with the flames, the bodies of those who err rather from ignorance, than obstinacy, is cruel, and more like the church of Rome, than the mildness of the gospel. I do not write thus," says he, "from any bias to the indulgence of error; but to save the lives of men, being myself a man; and in hope that the offending parties may have an opportunity to repent, and retract their mistakes." He then earnestly entreats that the fires of Smithfield might not be rekindled; but that some milder punishment might be inflicted upon them, to prevent, if possible, the destruction of their souls, as well as their bodies.‡ But his remonstrances were ineffectual. The queen remained inflexible; and though she constantly called him *Father Fox*, she gave him a flat denial, as to saving their lives, unless they would recant their dangerous errors. They both refusing to recant, were burnt in Smithfield, July 22, 1575; to the great and lasting disgrace of the reign and character of Queen Elizabeth.§

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 106.—Strype's Parker, p. 223, 224.

† Baxter's Second Plea, p. 56.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 104, 105.

§ On Easter Sunday in this year, a congregation of Dutch anabaptists was discovered, without Aldgate, London; when twenty-seven persons were apprehended and cast into prison, four of whom, bearing fagots at Paul's cross, recanted their dangerous opinions. The two who were executed were John Wielmaker and Hendrick Ter Woort; or, as some of our historians call them, John Paterson and Henry Terwoordt. Previous to their execution, they suffered sixteen weeks imprisonment. The Dutch congregation in London made earnest intercession to the lords of the council, to obtain their pardon; but all to no purpose. The two unhappy

Mr. Fox was a man of great humanity and uncommon liberality. He was a most laborious student, and remarkably abstemious; and a most learned, pious, and judicious divine, and ever opposed to all methods of severity in matters of religion. But as he was a nonconformist, he was shamefully neglected. "Although the richest mitre in England," says Fuller, "would have counted itself preferred by being placed upon his head, he contented himself with a prebend of Salisbury. And while proud persons stretched out their plumes in ostentation, he used their vanity for his shelter; and was more pleased to *have* worth, than to have others *take notice* of it. And how learnedly he wrote, how constantly he preached, how piously he lived, and how cheerfully he died, may be seen at large in his life prefixed to his book."\* And even Wood denominates him a person of good natural endowments, a sagacious searcher into antiquity, incomparably charitable, and of an exemplary life and conversation, but a severe Calvinist, and a bitter enemy to popery.†

This celebrated man, having spent his life in the most laborious study, and in promoting the cause of Christ and the interests of true religion, resigned his spirit to God, April 18, 1587, in the seventieth year of his age. His death was greatly lamented; and his mortal part was interred in the chancel of St. Giles's church, Cripplegate, London; where, against the south wall, was a monumental inscription erected by his son,‡ of which the following is a translation :

In memory of JOHN FOX,  
the most faithful Martyrologist of our English Church,  
a most diligent searcher into historical antiquities,  
a most strong bulwark  
and fighter for Evangelical Truth;  
who hath revived the Marian Martyrs  
as so many Phoenixes,  
from the dust of oblivion,  
is this monument erected,  
in grief and affection,  
by his eldest son SAMUEL FOX.  
He died April 18, An. Dom. 1587,  
in his seventieth year.

men must perfume Smithfield with their ashes. It is, however, extremely surprising that Fuller attempts to palliate, and even to justify, the cruel barbarity exercised upon these unhappy men.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. ii. p. 380.—*Brand's Hist. of Refor.* vol. i. p. 315. Edit. 1720.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 105.

\* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 381. † *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 186.

‡ *Stow's Survey of London*, b. iii. p. 63.

Mr. Fox, during his residence at Basil, preaching to his fellow exiles, confidently declared in his sermon, "Now is the time for your return to England, and I bring you the news by the command of God." For these words he was sharply reproved by some of his brethren; but, remarkable as it may appear, they afterwards found that Queen Mary died the very day preceding the delivery of this sermon, and so a way was open for their return home.\*

It was Mr. Fox who had the memorable interview with Mrs. Honiwood, often related by historians. This pious lady was under most distressing doubts and fears about the salvation of her soul, and her sorrow became so grievous, that she sunk in despair. This so affected her bodily health, that she appeared to be in a deep consumption, and even on the very brink of death, for about twenty years. In vain did the ablest physicians administer their medical assistance; and in vain did the ablest ministers preach comfort to her soul. At length, Mr. Fox was sent for; who, on his arrival, found her in a most distressed and languishing condition. He prayed with her, and reminded her of the faithfulness of God's promises, and of the sufferings of Christ for her soul. But all he could say appeared ineffectual. Not in the least discouraged, he still proceeded in his discourse, and said, "You will not only recover of your bodily disease, but also live to an exceeding great age; and which is yet better, you are interested in Christ, and will go to heaven when you die." She, looking earnestly at him as he spake these words, with great emotion, answered, "Impossible; I am as surely damned, as this glass will break," and immediately dashed a Venice glass, which she had in her hand, with great violence to the ground; but the glass received not the smallest injury. The event, indeed, proved according to the words of Mr. Fox. Though Mrs. Honiwood was then sixty years old, she recovered from her sickness, and lived the rest of her days, being upwards of thirty years, in much peace and comfort.†

\* Fuller's *Abel Red.* p. 380.—Clark's *Marrow of Eccl. Hist.* p. 793.

† Mrs. Honiwood, in the days of Queen Mary, used to visit the prisons, and to comfort and relieve the confessors. She was present at the burning of Mr. John Bradford in Smithfield, and was resolved to see the end of his sufferings. But the press of the people was so great, that her shoes were trodden off her feet; and she was obliged to go barefoot from Smithfield to St. Martin's, before she could procure a new pair for money. This excellent lady had three hundred and sixty-seven children lawfully descended from her: sixteen from her own body, one hundred and fourteen grandchildren, two hundred and twenty-eight great-grandchildren, and nine

Mr. Fox was uncommonly liberal to the poor and distressed, and never refused giving to any who asked for Jesus's sake. Being once asked whether he remembered a certain poor man whom he used to relieve, he said, "Yes, I remember him, and I forget lords and ladies to remember such."—As Mr. Fox was going one day from the house of the Bishop of London, he found many people begging at the gate; and having no money, he immediately returned to the bishop and borrowed five pounds, which he distributed among the poor people. After some time, the bishop asking him for the money, Mr. Fox said, "I have laid it out for you, and have paid it where you owed it, to the poor that lay at your gate;" when his lordship thanked him for what he had done.\*

As Mr. Fox was going one day along the streets in London, a woman of his acquaintance met him; and as they discoursed together, she pulled out her Bible, and with too much forwardness, told him she was going to hear a sermon; upon which, he said to her, "If you will be advised by me, go home again." But, said she, then when shall I go to church? To which he immediately replied, "When you tell no body of it."†

Mr. Fox, it is said, used to wear a strait cap, covering his head and ears; and over that, a deepish crowned, shallow-brimmed, slouched hat. His portrait is taken with his hat on, and is supposed to have been the first English engraving with a hat.‡

**His Works.**—1. De Christo Triumphante, 1551.—2. De censura seu excommunicatione ecclesiastica, 1561.—3. Tables of Grammar, 1552.—4. Commentarii rerum in Ecclesia gestarum, 1554.—5. Articuli, seu Aphorismi aliquot Johannis Wiclevi &c., 1554.—6. Collectanea quædam ex Reginaldi Pecocki Episc. &c., 1554.—7. Opistographia ad Oxonienses, 1554.—8. Locorum communicam Logica-hium tituli & ordinationes &c., 1557.—9. Probationes & Resolutiones de re & materia sacramenti Eucharistici, 1563.—10. De Christi crucifixo, 1571.—11. De Oliva Evangelica, 1587.—12. Concerning Mau's Election to Salvation, 1581.—13. Certain Notes of Election, 1581.—14. De Christo gratis justificante, contra Jesuitas, 1583.—15. Disputatio contra Jesuitas & eorum argumenta, 1586.—

great-great-grandchildren. She lived a most pious life, and died a most christian death, May 11, 1620, in the ninety-third year of her age. Her remains were interred in Marksbull church in Essex, where there was a monumental inscription erected to her memory.—*Fuller's Worthies*, part ii. p. 85.

\* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 392.

† Clarke's *Marrow of Eccl. Hist.* p. 796.

‡ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosæ*, vol. i. l. xv. p. 9.

16. *Eicasmī, seu Meditationes in Apocal. S. Johannis, 1587.*—  
 17. *Papa Confutatus.*—18. A brief Exhortation, to be read in the  
 time of God's Visitation.—He published several translations of the  
 works of other learned men: but his most celebrated work is his  
 "History of the Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," commonly  
 called "The Book of Martyrs."

JOHN WILSON was born in the parish of Kildwick in  
 Yorkshire, and ordained deacon according to the order of  
 the church of England; when he obtained a license from the  
 Archbishop of York to preach at Skipton, in the same  
 county. He was a pious, faithful, and useful preacher,  
 but endured much severe usage for nonconformity. Arch-  
 bishop Sandys receiving complaints against him, sent his  
 pursuivant with all haste to apprehend him, and bring him  
 before the high commission. Upon his appearance before  
 their lordships, and inquiring what charges were alleged  
 against him, he was told that he must obtain two sureties to  
 be bound in two hundred pounds for his future appearance.  
 Accordingly, he obtained the securities demanded, and,  
 January 9, 1587, appeared again before the archbishop  
 and other commissioners at Bishopsthorp, when he under-  
 went the following examination:

Archbishop. You are brought before us for certain  
 disorders, contempts, and disobedience, by you committed,  
 to which you must answer as they shall be objected against  
 you.

Dean. You must answer as truly as if you were sworn.

A. He must be sworn, and answer upon his oath. Hold  
 him a book, and let him take the oath.

Wilson. If the law require me to be sworn, I am con-  
 tented. But I think it doth not compel a man to accuse  
 himself; and I hope I shall not be urged to do more than the  
 law requireth.

A. If you refuse to be sworn, answer as you will; but be  
 sure, if I prove any thing against you which you deny, you  
 shall smart for it.

W. Let me have the law, and spare not. But because I  
 mean to deny no truth objected against me, whether I be  
 sworn or not, I am, therefore, contented to answer upon my  
 oath. (He then took the oath.)

A. Read the first article against him.

Fathergill. You have taken upon you to execute the  
 office of a minister for the space of three years, without any  
 warrant so to do.

W. I know not what law maketh known the minister's duty. I must, therefore, be informed of this, before I can answer.

A. Tell him.

Hudson. It is to say service, to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to marry, and to bury the dead.

W. I have not done all these things without the law.

A. What warrant of law have you?

W. I have the orders for the office of a deacon, according to law.

A. Shew unto us your orders. (Here Mr. Wilson produced his orders, which was read by the dean, but nothing was observed.)

W. Write, Mr. Proctor, that I am deacon, according to law.

A. What say you of your preaching? At what churches have you preached?

W. At all the churches near Kildwick.\* Mr. Proctor, record this.

A. You must always have that refuge to fly to.

W. My lord, I am sworn. There may be more, though I do not remember them. I dare not upon mine oath set down an uncertain thing as certain; therefore, I say, these are all, *so far as I recollect.*

A. What authority then had you to preach?

W. I had your grace's authority in writing.

A. That was only upon condition that the people would receive you, and be willing to hear you.

W. I know not what was the condition. I followed the direction under the hand of Mr. Cock, in which I am sure no such thing was expressed.

Cock. My lord, I wrote that it was your grace's pleasure that he should preach at Skipton, until your return from London, if he behaved himself according to law.

A. I ordered you to write no such thing, unless the people would receive him willingly, as Mr. Palmer said they would.

C. My lord, they are ill-natured people, and would willingly receive none.

A. You have said service without surplice, and not according to the Book of Common Prayer.

W. That is not true.

A. You have not used the surplice in reading the service.

\* Here Mr. Wilson, by request of the archbishop, named, as far as he could recollect, all the churches in which he had preached.

W. I have no pastoral charge. I said service only in the absence of the pastor, which was very seldom; and, on those occasions, I thought I was not bound to use it.

A. You say not the service according to the book.

W. I do.

H. You use a prayer of your own at the beginning.

W. That is not true, Mr. Proctor.

A. Let me know the order you have observed.

W. I first read one of the portions of scripture appointed, and then exhorted the people to the confession of their sins. That being done, I read some of the Psalms, after that two chapters, and then the sermon.

A. Then you say not according to the book.

W. Yes, my lord, that which I read is according to the book.

A. But you omit many things.

W. And so I may according to law, especially when there is preaching, or any more profitable exercise.

A. More profitable exercise! that is, your *talking*.

W. I am sure that preaching is more profitable than reading. And I am sure your lordship will not deny, that my *talking*, being out of the word of God, is more profitable than *saying service*.

A. Nay, you have your tongue at your will. What is the next article?

F. When you should say the epistle and gospel, according to the book, you will not call them the epistle and gospel, but the *portion of scripture*.

A. Have you never administered the sacraments?

W. No.

H. Did you never christen?

W. Some few times, though very seldom.

A. Did you use the sign of the cross?

W. No, my lord, I said the words, but did not use the cross.

A. Did you say, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross?"

W. No.

A. Tell me then what words you used.

W. "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified upon the cross."

H. Did you never minister the communion?

W. No.

H. What, neither the bread, nor the cup?

W. Yes, I have ministered the cup by the appointment of the pastor, being warranted in this by law.

A. Did you ever receive the communion?

W. Yes, my lord.

A. Where?

W. At Kildwick.

A. At whose hands?

W. At the hands of the pastor.

A. When?

W. At the last communion, if I remember right.

A. You must ever take this advantage.

W. My lord, seeing I answer upon mine oath, you should not think the worse of me, because I am so careful not to speak wrong, or that which is not true.

H. You do not bury the dead according to the book.

W. I do.

H. You do not meet the corpse at the church-stile, and walk before it into the church.

W. Though I have sometimes done this, the book doth not bind me to do any such thing.

H. You do not read the prayers and places of scripture appointed.

W. I do.

H. You omit the prayers.

W. Sometimes I do, and sometimes I do not.

A. What is the next article?

F. You have gone from your own ordinary, without his consent, and have received orders from another bishop.

W. My own ordinary giveth no orders; but if his consent be his dimissary, I had his consent.

A. If you have his dimissary, shew it us.

W. See, it is here, my lord.

A. What is the next article?

F. You have taken upon you to say service without any authority by license or toleration from your ordinary.

W. I have all the authority which the orders of a deacon can give; and I hope that is sufficient to say the service.

F. You confess yourself that you were born in Kildwick parish.

W. Yes.

F. Do you acknowledge yourself to belong to this diocese, and submit yourself to the authority of your diocesan?

W. I acknowledge all this.

A. You have a haughty and a proud spirit.

W. I confess, my lord, I am not free from any one sin; but I hope that sin hath not so great a power over me as you represent.

A. Nay, you care not for mine authority.

W. My lord, I reverence your authority.

Swinborn. That is not likely, Mr. Wilson, seeing you have so much disobeyed.

W. And that disobedience is no likely argument to disprove my reverence of his authority. If your argument were good, few subjects would be found who reverence even the queen's authority.

A. You can speak for yourself I warrant you. But what say you of your calling? The scripture mentions only the offices of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and doctors. Which of these then have you?

W. The office of a doctor or teacher.

A. Where do you exercise it?

W. At Kildwick.

A. Who called you?

W. The minister and the people of that place earnestly entreated me to teach and instruct them.

A. Tush! that is nothing.

W. But it hath been something in time past.

A. Lo! this fellow would have ministers to be elected by consent of the people!

W. My lord, the word of God is plain enough upon that point, and this you know well enough yourself. Your grace made this sufficiently manifest in refusing me to be at Skipton, unless the people would consent to receive me.

A. That I did, because I would not intrude you upon them.

W. Then it follows, that you think *intrusion* is not the right calling; and on the contrary, that the right calling is by the consent or choice of the people.

A. There is no end to your talk.

W. Yes, my lord, but I had the license of your own word for that place.

A. That is true; but it was a donor.

W. And when the donor came, I stayed.

A. Yes, but you have preached there since that time.

W. I have, indeed, preached there once; which, I hope, is not so great a crime, but that your grace will deal favourably with me, and thus cause me the more to reverence and esteem you.

Mr. Wilson's first examination being concluded, the good man was taken away and sent to prison, where he remained

for some time. At length, he was brought to a second examination at Bishopsthorp, when the archbishop opened the business by affirming, that Mr. Wilson had been guilty of the most wilful disobedience, and malicious contempt. His lordship used very opprobrious language, as if he had been arraigned for treason or rebellion, exulting, at the same time, in his own favourable dealing with him. Also, he declared that before Mr. Wilson should be discharged, he should confess both in open court, and publicly in the church, how greatly he had offended; to which Mr. Wilson made the following reply:

W. My lord, I hope you will find it more difficult to prove me guilty of those odious crimes which you say I am guilty of, than to charge me with them. And as to your favour, when I find it, I shall acknowledge it. Hitherto I have felt nothing but extremity, bringing my ministry into open disgrace, and my person into public reproach.

A. You see the stubbornness of this fellow. I purposed to have discharged him, the second day of his imprisonment, and would have done it, if he had sued for it. And though he hath now been a week in prison, the pride of his heart would not let him once sue for his liberty.

W. It was neither my pride, nor my stubbornness, as you uncharitably misrepresent, and slanderously magnify against me; but my ignorance of the prisoner's duty, that I did not sue to your grace for liberty.

A. We shall never make an end, if we babble with him thus. Will you yield to the conditions?\*

W. My lord, I beseech you consider those conditions with impartiality, and, I hope, your grace will not urge me. My imprisonment will greatly injure my ministry, and bring reproach upon my person; but to do open penance before the people, will be worse than all. Therefore, I beseech your lordship not to reward one evil, by inflicting another which is much greater.

A. These are only your imaginations. Tell us plainly: Will you subscribe the bond?

W. My lord, I must take all the care in my power to preserve my ministry from the contempt of the wicked. And seeing how much harm it would be likely to do to the church of God, I cannot in any wise subscribe unto it.

\* The conditions here referred to, and afterwards often mentioned, were, that he should confess before the archbishop, and publicly in the church where he had preached, the great offence he had committed, and enter into a bond to fulfil the same.

A. See again the stubbornness of this arrogant fool! But I tell thee, thou may and shalt subscribe unto it.

W. And I answer, that, by the help of God, I neither may, nor ever will, subscribe unto it. Such unmerciful and cruel dealings are too bad among professing christians. The Lord grant me patience, and I shall be satisfied.

A. I always thought what a stir we should have with him. But thou persuadest people to meetings and private conventicles.

W. My lord, you now remind me of a duty which I have hitherto neglected; but by the grace of God I will remember it hereafter, and will exhort the people of God to meet together, and to edify and comfort one another with what they have learned. And this, by the help of God, I mean to do; though I hear that for so doing, one of the Lord's servants is committed a close prisoner.

A. Will you then defend his doings to be lawful?

W. I will defend the lawfulness of God's people meeting together, to confer upon the points of religion or the doctrines taught them out of the word of God, to sing psalms, and to pray together. I hear of no other things for which he was committed. And I am sure your grace will not deny these things to be lawful.

A. But he gathered *night-assemblies*, contrary to law. Will you defend them also?

W. Certain religious householders requested him and others to meet at night in their houses. Shall we then say that he collected *night-assemblies*? I do defend by the word of God, that to meet together for the above purposes, whether in the night or the day, is lawful. Yet I would have persons to satisfy the law of the realm, as much as they can with a good conscience.

A. If we follow him thus, we shall never come to an end. Will you subscribe the bond?

W. I have answered that already. I refuse not to do any thing that is lawful. If you can prove out of the word of God, that I may do it with a good conscience, I am ready to yield; otherwise I cannot, and I will not, subscribe. I will be bound, however, to leave your province in a fortnight.

S. You had then better go out of his grace's province to make your submission.

W. That is more than I say, Mr. Swinborn: but I would rather go out of his province and twenty others;

yea, out of the world, and this soul out of this body, than I would subscribe to that submission.

A. I hear that in prison thou hast great liberty, and that thou lovest it. It is that which maketh thee so bold and stubborn, but I will remove thee thence.

W. I have no cause to complain of my keeper. And as to my liberty, it is confined within the walls of the castle. I know not how you would have me handled, unless you would have me into the lower prison, where you would soon have my skin for your fees: But you can do nothing, except it be given you from above.

A. I tell thee plainly, that if thou wilt not yield, I will remove thee to Hull jail, and afterwards to other places.

W. My lord, the word of God will strengthen and comfort me, more than your threatenings can hurt me or make me afraid. I care not for all your prisons. Remove me where you please. God will strengthen me against all your extenuities. I will not yield so long as I live, and so long as the word of God persuades me to the contrary.

A. Thou art an *arrogant puritan*.

W. Gross errors and slanderous abuses have been cast upon the godly in all ages. Your charges against me are uncharitable and unjust.

A. Thou art a rebel, an enemy to her majesty, and an underminer of the state.

W. These speeches savour not of the spirit of God. I am as true a subject, and as good a friend to her majesty and the state, according to my ability, as you are.

A. I tell thee, the queen said, that these puritans are greater enemies to her than the papists.

W. What just cause she had so to say, all the world knoweth; and the Lord will one day judge the numerous traitorous conspiracies that have been detected. When did any, who are slanderously called puritans, give the least cause of any such suspicion? Their lives and writings testify to all the world, how far they are from such things. Therefore, they who charge them with these things, have the greater sin.

A. If we suffer thee to prattle, thy tongue will never cease. Therefore, that we may make an end of it, I counsel thee to admit the conditions proposed.

W. If your grace will shew me the least warrant from the word of God, I am ready to submit. Though you

call my answers by what name you please, they are not deserving of your reproach.

A. Will you yield to the conditions?

W. My mind is so well settled already, that I can see no reason to alter it. Therefore, I cannot yield to the conditions.

A. Perhaps you think it is very hard dealing to be tied to read it. Will you then yield, if we give you liberty to use your own words?

W. I strive not about the *manner*, but the *matter*; and I utterly refuse to do any such thing, either in my own words or any others.

A. What! surely you can say two words, even that you have preached without license. In so doing, you shall have my favour more than you think of.

W. My lord, let me have your favour only according to my behaviour in a good and just cause; but the word of God will persuade more than either your threatenings or promises. So while I see the word of God favouring me in the present case, I will never yield to speak two words, nor even one word, to any such purpose.

A. Choose then for yourself, whether you will be excommunicated out of my diocese, or return to prison, or yield to the conditions required.

W. My lord, I hope that christian charity and brotherly dealing will not bring me into any of those extremities.

A. No! but you shall observe one of them.\*

Mr. Wilson's second examination being thus concluded, he was immediately sent back to prison. After confinement for some time, by the appointment of the archbishop, he appeared before the commissioners at the dean's house in the city of York, his grace being absent. Upon the commencement of his third examination, a new bond was produced, in which he was required not to exercise any part of his ministry within the archbishop's province, without further license; nor, during his silence, allowed to come within Kildwick church, the place of his ordinary labours. This being read, he was addressed as follows:

D. Mr. Wilson, what say you of this?

W. I say it is marvellously strange dealing, that one extremity must drive out another. Excommunication from Kildwick church must drive out the public confession before required. Will you neither suffer me to preach

\* MS. Register, p. 784—786.

there, nor to hear others? This is very hard dealing. God-willing, I will never yield unto it.

D. Do as you please. Do as you please.

W. I was born and brought up in that parish, and I am bound to attend there by the laws of the realm. Do you then sit here to execute the law, and will you bind me to act contrary to the law?

Palmer. Erase it, erase it, for shame! It is a thing never before heard of, that a man should be bound from attending at his own parish church.

Proctor. I will put this in its place, "that he shall never come there to preach."

W. Will you put in that, Mr. Proctor? Will you first exclude me from his whole province, and then exclude me from that particular place?

D. What else have you for him to do?

P. He must confess that before us, which he would not acknowledge publicly in the church.

D. Then read it unto him.

W. I will confess these things neither publicly, nor privately. But if you allow me, I will separate those things which are true, from those which are false.

D. Give him the paper.

He then took the paper, and told them what was true, and what was false. This being done, and the good man having bound himself to preach no more in the archbishop's province, he was released, ascribing honour and praise to God for his merciful deliverance.\*

Mr. Wilson having obtained his liberty, though excluded from all usefulness in the province of York, went to London, and, during the same year, frequently preached at Alhallows in Thames-street. Also, by the allowance of the minister of St. Michael's, Cornhill, he delivered a sermon there; for which Bishop Aylmer silenced him the very next day, and summoned him, and the church-wardens of Alhallows, to appear before him the Saturday following. Mr. Wilson not seeing the bishop's officer when he left the information at his lodgings; nor knowing what warrant he had for what he did, refused to appear. But one of the church-wardens appeared, when, though the bishop was not present, Dr. Stanhope pronounced upon them both the sentence of excommunication; upon the one for not appearing, and upon the other for suffering Mr. Wilson to

\* MS. Register, p. 784—786.

preach without a license. This excellent minister was thus exercised with tribulations in the south, as well as in the north.

At length, our divine finding that the high commissioners, with Aylmer and Whitgift at their head, were anxious to apprehend him; that they had issued several warrants for this purpose; that a printed order was sent to all the churches in London and its vicinity, that none should preach without a license; and that his name, with several others, was particularly mentioned,\* he wisely concealed himself for a season, and retired into the north. Towards the close of the year, he returned to London; and after his arrival, Mr. Glover and Mr. Weblin, two of his cordial friends living in the parish of Alhallows, waited upon Archbishop Whitgift at Lambeth, soliciting his favour in behalf of Mr. Wilson. They had no sooner mentioned his name, than his lordship asked, "What that factious fellow who intruded himself into the church in Cornhill, and there delivered a seditious sermon?" "Yes," said Mr. Glover, "that is the man; but he hopeth to clear himself of all faction, intrusion, and sedition." "Let him then come to me any day after tomorrow," said the archbishop, "and I will say more about him." Therefore, December 1st, Mr. Wilson and his friends

\* The worthy divines whose names accompanied this order, were Mr. Wilson, Mr. Davison, Mr. Barber, Mr. Wigginton, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Carew, and some others. The order itself, dated August 16, 1587, being descriptive of the spirit of the times, was the following:—"Whereas sundry ministers, preachers, have lately come into the city of London and the suburbs; some of them not being ministers, some having no sufficient warrant for their calling; and others having been detected in the country, have taken upon them to preach publicly in the city, to the great infamy of their calling; and some of them in their preaching, have stirred up the people to innovation, rather than sought the peace of the church. These are, therefore, in her majesty's name, by virtue of her high commission for causes ecclesiastical to us and others directed, strictly to enjoin, command, and charge, all parsons, vicars, curates, and church-wardens, of all churches in the city of London and the suburbs thereof, as well in places exempt as not exempt, that neither they nor any of them, do suffer any to preach in their churches, or to read any lectures, they not being in their own cures; but only such whose licenses they shall first have seen and read, and whom they shall find to be licensed thereto, either by the queen's majesty, or by one of the universities, or by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London, for the time being. And that this may be published, and take the better effect, we will that a true copy thereof shall be taken and delivered to every curate and church-warden of all the churches aforesaid. Signed,

"JOHN CANTERBURY,

"JOHN LONDON,

"VAL DALE,

ED. STANHOPE,  
RIC. COXEN."

*MS. Register, p. 835.*

waited upon his grace at Lambeth; and upon their appearance, after asking Mr. Wilson his name, where he was born, and where educated, the archbishop thus addressed him:

Archbishop. Did not you intrude yourself into a church in Cornhill, and there preach a seditious sermon?

Wilson. That I preached there is certainly true; but there was nothing seditious. And as to intrusion, I will prove upon the oath of honest men, that I had the minister's consent, both before and after I came into the church.

A. Did you not then intrude yourself?

W. I will prove, I say, upon the oath of honest men, that it is an impudent falsehood.

A. Say you so. I did not know this before.

W. It is malice that hath propagated these things.

A. But why did you not remain in your own country?

W. Because I cannot and may not place myself where I please, much less in mine own country; for I must go where I am called, and be placed where the Lord shall appoint.

A. If you will then be placed here, you must subscribe to certain articles.

W. I will subscribe to any thing that is lawful.

A. Do you mean any thing according to law?

W. Surely, I dare very well say so. But I meant the law of God, which is the only rule of conscience.

A. You must subscribe to those articles.

W. I must first see them, and then I can answer you.

A. There is good reason why you should see them; and therefore I refer you to my lord of London. If he will allow you, I will not disallow you. But you Londoners, (speaking to Mr. Glover and Mr. Weblin) are so much given to novelty, that if there be one man more new than others, him you will have.

Glover. Surely, my lord, we cannot be justly accused of novelty. For we have had neither new nor old at our church since I knew the place, having now only a drunken reader, who can do us no good.

A. Well, you know my mind about this matter.

Stanhope. You must be sworn.

W. To what must I be sworn.

S. You shall know that afterwards.

W. No, by your leave, sir, I will see the articles before I take any oath.

S. No, you may not see them till you are sworn.

W. I will not swear till I see them. It is hard dealing

to make men swear to they know not what. You may ask me things which it is not lawful for me to make known.

S. What are those things ?

W. It is against the law of the land, that a man should be sworn to accuse himself. And by this oath, you may urge me to disclose the secret things of my heart, or the secrets of my friends, both of which are unnatural and unlawful. Such dealing is intolerable and cruel. Let me see the articles ; and if I may lawfully answer them, I will do it upon my oath.

S. Let him then see the articles.

W. Setting aside all circumstantial questions, I will answer these articles upon my oath.

S. Well, all other matters shall be set aside.

W. I will make a true answer to these articles, so help me God.\*

S. I can tell you, Mr. Wilson, if you mean to preach here, you must also minister the communion, at least thrice every year.

W. There is one to do that in the place already.

S. That is no matter. You must join him in that action, to shew that you do not divide your ministry.

W. My ministry shall be to preach the word only.

S. The laws of the realm allow of no such ministry.

W. But the laws of God do.

S. But I am set to examine the laws of the realm.

W. And I am set to maintain the laws of God, and to declare the truth of them.

S. It must be as I tell you. And that is not all: you must subscribe to certain articles.

W. What are those articles ?

S. I think they are here. Read them, and tell me what you think of them.

W. I think it is unlawful to subscribe to them.

S. What is there you dislike ?

W. Many things, and the *second* article altogether.

S. Shew me this at large.

\* These articles, *seventeen* in number, consist of certain things professedly collected from his sermon at Cornhill. They are said to have been his expressions, and are mostly against pluralities, nonresidents, and idle, ungodly, and nonpreaching ministers. In one of them he is charged with having said of such ministers, " They eat up the sins of the people." And in another, " That by the word of God, it is necessary that every congregation should have a preaching minister." This is a specimen of the treasonable charges brought against Mr. Wilson ; but the whole, together with his answers, is too long to be inserted.—*N.S. Register*, p. 829—831.

W. I fear you seek some advantage against me.

S. I promise you, that you shall have no hurt for any thing you may speak here.

W. I dislike private baptism by laymen or women.

S. You know my lord of Canterbury denies that the book alloweth any such thing.

W. It is too plain to be denied. And though he do deny it, he alloweth that if a woman or any private person perform the action, it is a sacrament, and is not to be renewed by the minister. Where there no other things, this is sufficient to keep me from subscribing.

S. But if you may have favour in that point, will you yield to the rest?

W. I wish they were such things, that I could yield to them.

S. What else then do you dislike.

W. The book of making bishops and ministers.

S. Why so?

W. Because I find no such thing done by one man, and in that manner, in the word of God.

S. Then I can say nothing to you.

W. But I could say something to you, sir, if you would patiently hear me.

S. What is that? Say what you please.

W. If you can shew me any statute, now in force in England, which requireth me to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer, to the book of making bishops and ministers, and to the whole book of articles; I will promise before you and these people, that I will subscribe. But if I offer my hand to subscribe, as far as any statute doth require, why is the offer not admitted? or by what law can it be rejected?

S. There is a statute which *alloweth* these things. This, I think you will not deny.

W. I do not deny it. But where is the statute which *commandeth* subscription to them?

S. The bishops have a commission from her majesty, to deal in these matters according to their own *discretion*.

W. But neither their commission, nor their discretion, may oppose the discreet laws made by her majesty and parliament. If they do, I dare boldly say, that they abuse her majesty, her subjects, and their own commission.

S. Take heed what you say. You must yield to this subscription, or you cannot be admitted. Besides, you are no proper minister, and were never authorized to preach.

W. That is a slander. For I am a deacon, and was licensed to preach by the present Archbishop of York.

S. What think you of the titles of *grace*, *lord*, and others of the same kind ?

W. I think the law doth require them.

S. Do you take them to be lawful ?

W. Yes, they are lawful, if you mean according to law.\*

Here the conversation closed, when Mr. Wilson was suspended, and admonished to appear before the Bishop of London and other commissioners, on the Tuesday following. This was the unkind usage he met with, though at the beginning of the conference, he was promised that no evil should befall him for what he might say. The reader will here see how little such persons were to be trusted. However, according to appointment, the good man appeared before the bishop, Dr. Stanhope, Dr. Walker, Mr. Mullins, and others. When he was called, his lordship said nothing, but left the management of the case wholly to the other commissioners, when his former opponent thus addressed him :

S. Mr. Wilson, you remember certain articles exhibited against you, as collected out of your sermon preached at St. Michael's in Cornhill. You also confessed that you were not a minister, but a deacon, and licensed to preach by the present Archbishop of York, and not by my lord of London.

W. I remember these things well, and many others.

Mullins. It was not necessary that all things should be set down.

W. Neither was it necessary he should mention only those things, when I spoke many others.

S. Well, sir, you remember I did suspend you from preaching, which sentence, by the judgment of the court, must stand. As for other matters, Dr. Walker and Mr. Mullins will attend unto them next term.

W. It is hard dealing to keep a man so long in suspense, and for so small a matter. I am chargeable either to myself, or friends, or both. I have been almost a month in town already, and now I must be put off so long a time. This is more than christian charity would do. Therefore, I pray you, sir, that I may have a more speedy dispatch.

S. You may apply to them, and they will perhaps make greater haste in this matter. (Mr. Mullins having read the charges against Mr. Wilson, thus addressed him :)

\* MS. Register, p. 828—832.

M. What are these things? Who is the accuser? And who is accused?

W. Who is the accuser, I know not; but they say they are articles objected against me.

M. Who troubleth us with such things? There is no accuser; and no man accused. There is no man or thing particularly mentioned, but all is expressed in general terms. What can we do with such things?

W. I cannot tell. But I suffer the greater wrong, being carried up and down, and tossed to and fro, for nothing.

M. Who began this matter? And who bade you follow it?

W. Who began it, I know not. But I am appointed to desire you to make an end of it. I have been much troubled in your courts; and my friends have been much charged in paying money, I cannot tell for what.

M. I wish their money was in their bellies.

W. I wish rather it was in their purses. But, I pray you, sir, let the case be ended.

M. I have other business to mind.

W. If my case be of so small a moment, you may soon finish it. I pray you, therefore, let charity move you to make an end of it, that I may be no more troubled about it.

Walker. The more we consider your case, the worse we find it. There are such words and sayings as become a railer, rather than a sober preacher.

W. The words and sayings are not mine, but the malicious accuser's, who set them down thus to make me the more odious.

Walk. Why then do you confess them to be yours, in your answer?

W. I do not confess the *words*, but the substance of the matter. For the register would not take down my answers in mine own words, but would write them as they are there.

Walk. I tell thee they are full of bitterness, malice, and slander.

W. Sir, I came for your certificate to make an end of it, as you promised me.

Walk. I tell thee, thou shalt have none of our certificate. The register shall have it, and not shew it thee till the next term.

W. That is very hard dealing.

Walk. What sayest thou? Do we do thee any wrong?

W. Yes, sir, even you.

Walk. What sayest thou, boy? Thou hast neither learning, nor manners in thee.

W. I have no less for what you say. And as to manners, you have no great cause to find fault.

Walk. Thou art an ass; thou art a dolt; thou art a beardless boy. Thou hast neither learning, nor humanity in thee.

W. Your words, sir, do not make me worse. We must and do bear these things at your hands, and have never requited you with the like.

Mr. Wilson having received the above abusive language, was obliged to depart without the examination of his case, and without obtaining his certificate, though his ecclesiastical judges had promised to give it him. He waited upon them repeatedly for the same purpose, but with no better success; and it appears extremely doubtful whether he ever obtained it, or whether he was ever restored to his ministry.\*

JOHN ELLISTON was a most diligent and pious minister, beneficed at Preston in Northamptonshire, where he laboured much to reform his parish, by frequent preaching and catechizing. But he endured manifold troubles for his non-conformity. His enemies being inclined to popery, brought complaints against him to the chancellor of Peterborough, that he did not wear the surplice, read the litany, nor use the cross in baptism. He was, therefore, indicted at the assizes; but after his case was heard before the judge, he was dismissed. Mr. Elliston having left an account of his various troubles, let us hear him speak for himself.

“Having been pastor of Preston,” says he, “about ten weeks, and being desirous to instruct the people according to my ability, some of my parishioners, persons much inclined towards popery, complained of me to Dr. Ellis, the chancellor, and the case was heard before the judge at the assizes, when I was charged with not wearing the surplice, not reading the litany, and not using the cross in baptism; but was acquitted and dismissed. After this, they exhibited a charge against me to Dr. Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, consisting of *sixteen* articles. Upon my appearance before the bishop, February 10, 1584, he asked me whether I would subscribe; but when I refused, he treated me with much abusive language.

“The first article charged against me, was, that I did not wear the surplice.—I said, I did not refuse it, and so denied the charge.

\* MS. Register, p. 832—834.

“ The second article was, that I did not use the cross in baptism. And when the bishop asked me why I did not, I replied, that I did not use it, because it was not required in the word of God. At this he scoffed, saying, neither is it required what kind of boots you shall wear. I replied, that my boots were not offensive, and what kind I shall wear is at my discretion, and therefore lawful; but God hath set down the holy sacraments in his word, and not left the ordering to our discretion. He then abused me as before.

“ In the next place, when he asked me why I catechized all persons, both old and young, I replied, that I had the charge of all, and must, therefore, instruct all. When he said that old people should not be catechized, and that they did not stand in need of it, I desired him to promote, and not to hinder good things.

“ Another charge was, that I omitted the litany on sabbath days. When I replied, that I preached on sabbath days, he said, that whether I preached or not, the litany must be read. When he asked why I kept persons from the communion, I answered, because they would not submit to be examined. He then said, that I should admit them, if they could say the Lord's prayer and ten commandments.

“ There were many other articles charged against me,” says Mr. Elliston, “ to each of which I answered as the occasion served. At my departure, he suspended me, saying, I should not remain in his diocese if I would not subscribe. I said, if I do not remain in your diocese, the earth is the Lord's, and he hath a place for me to live in; and so I departed.

“ March 6th following, he cited me, and several other ministers, to appear before him, and required us to subscribe. And May 30th he cited me a third time; but not having sufficient warning, he deprived me before I could appear before him. I, therefore, appealed against his unjust sentence, and told him that he did not deal with me with uprightness, though I wished to discharge my duties with a good conscience; and that he treated others with great kindness, if they would only subscribe, though they had neither learning nor honesty. But if you go about to discredit us, you will gain no credit to yourself. After this I had four journies to Peterborough; and though it was at least thirty-six miles from the place where I lived, I went seven times in little more than one year.

“ April 6th I went to London for an inhibition; and upon my return, I went again to Peterborough, to have it

served on the bishop. And on ascension-day, Archbishop Whitgift cited me to appear before him, who, by this means, sought to prevent me from prosecuting my appeal. When I appeared before the archbishop, he urged me to subscribe, but I refused. He then said, he had matter against me in the high commission; and I was therefore examined, but obtained leave to return home till the next term. But before the next term, the archbishop sent his pursuivant for me. This was my third journey to London.

“When I appeared before his grace, two articles were brought against me. 1. ‘That at morning prayer on Whit-sunday, I did only read two psalms and two chapters, and then preached. And, 2. That preaching out of the second psalm, and railing against my enemies, I affirmed, that they would all be damned, who troubled me.’ But when they heard my answers to those articles, I was dismissed; though the fees of the pursuivant, and other expenses, were very considerable. After this I was called up to London several times, and appeared sometimes before the Archbishop, and sometimes before the Bishop of London.

“These my troubles,” says the good man, “endured almost three years, during which time, I had ten journies to London, seven to Peterborough, many to Leicester and Northampton, and one to Cambridge.” By the expense unavoidably attending so many journies, Mr. Elliston was almost ruined. He was also a long time deprived of his living. He was a zealous and peaceable nonconformist, and, in the year 1587, was a member in the classis at Daventry, and often attended the associations of the puritans. A minister of the same name was preferred to the rectory of Chignal-Smeby in Essex, in the year 1597, but resigned it by death previous to September 20, 1617; when the next incumbent entered upon the benefice. We are not able to learn whether this was the same person.†

**ROBERT CROWLEY, A. M.**—This distinguished person was born in Gloucestershire,† and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. In the year 1542, having been at the university eight years, he was elected probationer fellow. Upon the accession of King Edward, he removed to London, and was for some time a printer and bookseller, and preached occasionally as opportunity offered. He was a

\* MS. Register, p. 579—582. † Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 139.  
‡ Fuller says he was born in Northamptonshire.—*Worthies*, pt. ii. p. 290.

man of excellent parts and eminent piety, and received ordination from Bishop Ridley, afterwards the famous martyr.\* Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he withdrew from the storm, and fled to Frankfort, where he was involved in the troubles occasioned by Dr. Cox and his party. His name, together with the names of many of his brethren, is annexed to "The Form of Discipline reformed and confirmed by the Church and Magistrates of that city."†

Upon the death of Queen Mary, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, Mr. Crowley returned from exile, and obtained some preferment in the church. In the year 1563, he had the prebend of Mora, of which, however, he was deprived in 1565; most probably for nonconformity. In 1566, he became vicar of St. Giles's, near Cripplegate, London, where he was much followed and respected. In 1576, he was collated to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry, in the city, which, however, he did not hold long; for the living became void in 1578.‡ It appears also, that soon after his return from exile, he became archdeacon of Hereford. He sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the articles, together with the paper of requests then presented to the house, desiring a further reformation of the church.§ He was a learned and popular preacher; therefore, October 15, 1559, he was nominated to preach the sermon at Paul's cross.

Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one Campneys, a turbulent and abusive pelagian, sought to disturb the peace of the church, by publishing a book against the received doctrine of predestination, though he had not the courage to affix his name to it. This virulent publication was answered by Mr. Crowley and Mr. John Veron, one of the queen's chaplains, and both the learned replies were approved and licensed by public authority.¶

Soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, her majesty was greatly offended with many of the clergy, especially those in the city of London, for refusing to wear the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice. "And it is marvellous," says Mr. Strype, "how much these habits were abhorred by many honest, well-meaning men, accounting them the relics of antichrist, and that they ought not to be used in the church of Christ. Mr. Crowley called them *conjuring*

\* Wood's Athens, vol. i. p. 190.—Strype's Parker, p. 210.

† Troubles at Frankford, p. 114.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 181.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 290. vol. ii. Adden. to Appen. p. 15.

¶ Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 184, 185.

*garments of popery*, and would not, therefore, be persuaded to wear them." Previous to the year 1566, this worthy servant of Christ was suspended; and though the cause of his suspension is not mentioned, it was, undoubtedly, his nonconformity to those rites and ceremonies which he accounted popish, superstitious, and unlawful.

During the same year he was involved in other troubles. For in the month of April, seeing a corpse coming to be buried at his church, attended by clerks in their surplices singing before it, he threatened to shut the church-doors against them; but the singing-men resisted, being resolved to go through with their work, till the alderman's deputy threatened to put them in the stocks for breaking the peace. Upon this, they slunk away. But complaint was made to Archbishop Parker and other commissioners, and Mr. Crowley was summoned to appear before them. Accordingly, April 4th, he appeared before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and the rest of their colleagues. During his examination, says our author, there fell from his lips several *fond paradoxes*, tending to anabaptism. These *fond paradoxes*, as he is pleased to call them, were the following: When speaking of a call to the ministry, he said, "A man may have a motion in his conscience to preach, without any external call. And, as *pastor*, he would resist the surplice-men." When the commissioners asked him whether he would resist a minister thus sent to him, (meaning in his surplice) he said, "That till he was deprived, his conscience would move him so to do." These are his *fond paradoxes*, said to be of so dangerous a tendency! When the archbishop discharged him from his flock and his parish, he refused to be deprived contrary to law, saying, "he would be committed to prison, rather than suffer a *wolf* to come to his flock." The good man was, therefore, deprived of his living, separated from his flock, and committed to prison. Also, the alderman's deputy mentioned above, for taking his part against the surplice-men, was obliged to enter into a bond of a hundred pounds, to be ready when called. "So gentle," says Mr. "Strype, was our archbishop in his censure of so great a fault!"†

How long Mr. Crowley remained a prisoner, we have not been able to learn. Certain it is, that he continued under

\* Strype's Parker, p. 151.

† Ibid. p. 218.

confinement some time. The mild archbishop informed the secretary how he had dealt with him, and that he could not have treated him otherwise, considering his behaviour, and especially his saying, that he would not suffer the wolf to come to his flock. By the *wolf*, Mr. Crowley appears to have meant a minister in a surplice; and this expression seems to have been a very material part of the crime for which he was censured. The Lord's day following his deprivation and commitment, the archbishop sent Mr. Bickley, his chaplain, to preach in his place.

In the year 1582, Mr. Crowley was very diligent in disputing with certain popish priests, confined in the Tower, under sentence of death. With one of them, named Kirby, he took much pains, and laboured to the utmost of his power, to convince him of his error, in maintaining the lawfulness of the pope's deposing princes. He attended them to the place of execution, where he used all his endeavours to convince Kirby of the absurdity of those principles for which he was about to suffer. He urged from Rom. xiii. and John xix., that, as princes receive their authority from God alone, they could not be deposed by any other power. When Kirby asked whether a prince guilty of turcism, atheism, or infidelity, might not be deposed, it is said, that Mr. Crowley and the rest of the ministers answered very learnedly in the negative. On this occasion, our divine observed, "That if a prince fall into any such errors, he is indeed punishable. But by whom? Not by any earthly prince; but by that heavenly prince, who gave him his authority; and who, seeing him abuse it, will, in justice, correct him for so doing."\*

Mr. Crowley was a man of a most holy and exemplary life, a pious, learned, and laborious preacher, and much beloved by his people.† Mr. Strype denominates him a learned and zealous man, possessing great parts and eminent piety.‡ Wood says, that he lived to a considerable age, and spent his life chiefly in labouring to propagate and settle the protestant religion.§ He was a most learned and laborious writer, as appears from his numerous works, many of which were written against the errors of popery. He died June 18, 1588, and his remains were interred in the chancel of St. Giles's church, where he had been vicar. The following

\* Strype's Parker, p. 219.

† MS. *penes me.*

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 136.—Life of Parker, p. 219.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 191.

monumental inscription, engraven on a brass plate, was afterwards erected to his memory :\*

Here lieth the body  
of ROBERT CROWLEY, clerk,  
late vicar of this parish,  
who departed this life the 18 day of June,  
in the year 1588.

**His Works.**—1. The Supper of the Lord after the true meaning of the Sixth of John, and the xi of the I Epistle to the Corinthians. And incidentally in the Exposition of the Supper, is confuted the Letter of Mr. Thomas More against Joh. Frith, 1533.—2. Confutation of Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Sarum, his Recantation of 13 Articles at the Burning of Mrs. Anne Aakew, 1546.—3. Explicatio petetoria (ad Parliamentum) adversus expilatores plebis, published in English in 1548.—4. Confutation of Miles Hoggard's wicked Ballad made in Defence of Transubstantiation of the Sacrament, 1548.—5. The Voice of the last Trumpet blown by the seventh Angel, containing twelve Lessons, 1549.—6. Translation of the Psalms of David, 1549.—7. The Litany with Hymns, 1549.—8. David's Psalms turned into Metre, 1549.—9. The Visions of Pierce Plowman, 1550.—10. Pleasure and Pain, Heaven and Hell. Remember these four and all shall be well, 1550.—11. Way to Wealth, wherein is plainly a most present Remedy for Sedition, 1550.—12. One and thirty Epigrams, wherein are briefly touched so many Abuses, that may, and ought to, be put away, 1550.—13. An Apologie of those English Preachers and Writers, which Cerberus the Three-headed Dog of Hell, chargeth with false Doctrines under the name of Predestination, 1566.—14. Of the Signes and Tokens of the latter Day, 1667.—15. A Setting open of the subtle Sophistry of Tho. Watson, D. D. which he used in his two Sermons preached before Qu. Mary, in Lent 1563, concerning the real Presence in the Sacrament, 1569. †—16. Sermon in the Chappell at Gilde-hall in London, 29 Sept. 1574, before the Lord Mayor and the whole state of the Citie, on Psalm cxxxix. 21, &c., 1575.—17. Answer to Tho. Pound in six Reasons, wherein he sheweth that the Scriptures must be judged by the Church, 1581.—18. Brief Discourse concerning those four usual Notes whereby Christ's Catholick Church is known, 1581.—19. Replication to that lewd Answer which Frier Joh. Francis (of the Minimies order in Nigeon, near Paris) hath made to a Letter that his Mother caused to be sent to him out of England, 1586.—20. Deliberate Aunswere to a Papist, proving that Papists are Antichristian Schismatics, and that Religious Protestants are indeed true Catholicks, 1587.—21. The Schoole of Vertue and Book of good Nurture, teaching Children and Youths their Duties, 1588.—22. Dialogue between Lent and Libertie, wherein is declared that Lent is a meer Invention of Man.

\* Stow's Survey of London, b. iii. p. 83.

† Mr. Strype says, that these sermons being very much admired, and preventing many from embracing the protestant religion, ought to have been answered much sooner.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 540.

NICHOLAS CRANE was educated at Cambridge, a divine of great learning, and a zealous nonconformist. He was minister of Roehampton in Surrey, but falling under the displeasure of the prelates, he was more than once cast into prison, and at last he died in Newgate, for nonconformity. In the year 1569, Mr. Crane, and Mr. William Bonham, were licensed to preach by Bishop Grindal. Their licenses are said to have been granted upon condition that they should avoid all conventicles, and all other things contrary to the order established in this kingdom.

Afterwards, the two divines were apprehended and cast into prison for nonconformity, where they remained more than twelve months, and were then released. But persisting in their nonconformity, and not keeping to the exact order established in the church of England, Mr. Crane was silenced from preaching within the diocese of London, and Mr. Bonham was again committed to prison;\* but it does not appear how long they continued under the ecclesiastical censure.†

Mr. Crane was a leading man among the nonconformists of his time, and, in the year 1572, united with his brethren in the erection of the presbyterian church at Wandsworth in Surrey.‡ His exceptions against subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, are still on record: They were delivered most probably upon his appearance before the ecclesiastical commissioners, and were chiefly the following:—“He excepted against reading the apocryphal books in public worship, to the exclusion of some parts of canonical scripture:—Against that part of the ordination service, *receive the Holy Ghost, &c.*:—Against the interrogatories in baptism proposed to infants who cannot give any answer:—Against the cross in baptism, which has been often used to superstitious purposes:—Against private baptism, which the Book of Common Prayer allows to be administered by persons not ordained:—Against the gospel appointed to be read the sabbath after Easter, which is taken from the mass book, and is manifestly untrue when compared with scripture. He concludes by observing, that if these and some other things equally erroneous, were reformed, it would please Almighty God; the ministers of Christ would be more firmly united against their common enemy, the papists; many of God’s ministers and people now weeping,

\* See Art. Bonham.

† Strype’s Grindal, p. 153—155.—MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 405. (6.)

‡ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

would rejoice ; many able students would be encouraged to enter the ministry ; and the religion of Jesus Christ would more extensively prevail.”

In the year 1583, Mr. Crane, with nine other learned divines of Cambridge, wrote to Mr. Thomas Cartwright, warmly recommending him to publish an answer to the Rhemist Translation of the New Testament.† Afterwards, he was cast into prison for refusing conformity to the established church. He subscribed the petition presented to the lord treasurer, and signed by about *sixty protestant nonconformists*, then confined in the various prisons in and about London.‡ Mr. Strype has placed this petition in the year 1592 : but it should have been earlier. Mr. Crane died in Newgate, in the year 1588,§ where many of his suffering brethren shared the same fate.¶

**LAWRENCE HUMPHREY, D.D.**—This celebrated puritan was born at Newport-Pagnel in Buckinghamshire, about the year 1527, and educated first in the university of Cambridge, then in Magdalen college, Oxford, where, in 1549, he became perpetual fellow, and was chosen reader of Greek in 1552. Having applied himself closely to theological studies, he entered, about the same time, into the sacred function. He remained at Oxford, some time after the accession of Queen Mary and the commencement of her severities ; but, at length, by the permission of the president, vice-president, and others of his college, was allowed to go abroad. “ In the opinion of all,” says the Oxford historian, “ he was much commended for his life and con-

\* Parte of a Register, p. 119—124. † See Art. Cartwright.

‡ An abstract of this most moving petition is given in another place.—See Art. John Greenwood.

§ Account prefixed to “ Parte of a Register.”

¶ Great numbers perished in the various prisons where they were long confined and most cruelly used. Among the rest, was one Mr. Roger Rippon ; who, dying in Newgate, his fellow prisoners put the following inscription upon his coffin :

“ This is the corpse of Roger Rippon, a servant of Christ, and her majesty’s faithful subject ; who is the last of sixteen or seventeen which that great enemy of God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his high commissioners, have murdered in Newgate within these five years, manifestly for the testimony of Jesus Christ. His soul is now with the Lord ; and his blood crieth for speedy vengeance against that great enemy of the saints, and against Mr. Richard Young, (a justice of the peace in London) who in this and many the like points, hath abused his power, for the upholding of the Romish antichrist, prelacy, and priesthood. He died A. D. 1592.”—*Strype’s Annals*, vol. iv. p. 133.

versation, and for his wit and learning; and was permitted, for the benefit of his studies, to travel one year into foreign parts, on condition that he kept himself from such places as were suspected to be heretical, or favourers of heresy, and that he refrained himself from the company of those who are, or have been, authors of heresy or heretical opinions." Having thus obtained liberty to leave the country, he went to Zurich, where he joined the English protestant exiles, and, not returning at the end of the year, was deprived of his fellowship.\* During his exile, we find his name subscribed to a letter from the exiles at Zurich, to their brethren at Frankfort. This letter is dated October 23, 1554.†

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Humphrey returned home. But having held a correspondence with the learned divines at Geneva, during his absence, he is said to have returned to England, so much the *Calvinian*, both in doctrine and worship, that the best that could be said of him was, that he was a moderate and conscientious nonconformist. Upon his return he was immediately restored to his fellowship, and, by her majesty, nominated queen's professor of divinity in the university of Oxford, being accounted the fittest person in the kingdom for that office. He soon after took his degrees in divinity, and was elected president of Magdalen college, though not without much opposition from the popish party.‡ In this situation, many persons, afterwards famed for their celebrity, were brought up under him; among whom was the famous Sir Thomas Bodley.§

In the following account of this celebrated divine, we shall have frequent occasion to mention his worthy and intimate friend, the famous Dr. Thomas Sampson. They were persons of great reputation, especially in Oxford, and were highly distinguished for their learning, piety, and zeal in promoting true religion. But their learning, piety, and zeal, were no sufficient screen from the prosecution of the high commission,

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 195.

† *Troubles at Frankford*, p. 10—12.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 195.

§ Sir Thomas Bodley was celebrated as a statesman, and as a man of letters; but incomparably more, in the ample provision he has made for literature, in which he stands unrivalled. In 1599, he opened his library, called the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, which will perpetuate his memory as long as books shall endure. He drew up the statutes of the library; wrote the memoirs of his own life; and died Jan. 28, 1613.—*Ibid.* p. 326, 327.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 283, 271.

for refusing to wear the popish habits. Accordingly, March 3, 1564, both Humphrey and Sampson, with four other divines, were cited before Archbishop Parker and his colleagues, at Lambeth. Upon their appearance, the archbishop utted the opinions of foreign divines: as, Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, with the view of bringing them to conformity. This, indeed, proved ineffectual; for their judgments remained unconvinced. They requested that they might be dismissed, and return to their usual exercises at Oxford; but this the archbishop refused, intending to bring them before the council. After attendance for some time, they prepared a supplication, in a very elegant, but submissive style, which they presented to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, and Lincoln, and other commissioners.

In this supplication, they protested before God, how great a grief it was to them, that there should be any dissention about so small a matter as *woollen* and *linen*, as they styled the cap and surplice. But it comforted them, that, under Christ, the captain of salvation, they all professed the same gospel, and the same faith; and that in the matter of habits, each party followed the dictates of their own minds, where there was often room for liberty, and always for charity. They alleged the authorities of Augustin, Socrates, and Theodoret, to shew that in their times, there was a variety of rites and observances in the churches, yet unity and concord. They had many and powerful reasons for this address: as, "That their consciences were tender, and ought not to be grieved.—That they were not turbulent, nor obstinate, nor did they study novelty, nor refuse to be convinced, nor attempt to disturb the peace of the church.—That they were certain, that things in themselves indifferent, did not always appear indifferent, even to persons of a tender conscience.—And that the law for restoring the ceremonies of the *Romish* church, was connected with bondage and superstition." They also added, "Because these things do not seem so to you, you are not to be condemned by us; and because they do seem so to us, we ought not to be condemned by you." They beseech their lordships, therefore, that if there be any fellowship in Christ, they would follow the direction of divine inspiration, about things in their own nature indifferent, "that every one might be persuaded in his own mind."\*

They wrote, also, to the Earl of Leicester, but all to no

\* Strype's Parker, p. 162, 163.

purpose. They could not procure their release; but were obliged to continue their attendance. The commissioners themselves were very much divided in their opinions. Some wished to have their reasons answered, and the habits enforced: others were for a connivance. But the archbishop, who was at the head of the commission, would abate nothing. For April 29th, he peremptorily declared in open court, "That they should conform to wear the square cap and no hats, in their long gowns; to wear the surplice with non-regent's hoods in the choirs, according to ancient custom; and to communicate kneeling, with wafer bread; or immediately part with their preferment." To this they replied, that their consciences would not suffer them to comply, whatever might be the consequences.\* Upon this, they were still kept under confinement; but the storm fell chiefly upon Dr. Sampson.†

In one of their examinations, during this year, the archbishop put the following questions to them, to which they gave the answers subjoined.

Question. Is the surplice a thing evil and wicked, or is it indifferent?

Answer. Though the surplice in substance be indifferent, yet in the present circumstance it is not, being of the same nature as the garment of an harlot, or the apparel of idolatry; for which God, by the prophet, threatens to visit the people.

Q. If it be not indifferent, for what cause?

A. Because things consecrated to idolatry are not indifferent.

Q. May the bishop detesting popery, enjoin the surplice to be worn, and enforce his injunctions?

A. It may be said to such a one, in the words of Tertullian, "If thou hatest the pomp and pageantry of the devil, whatsoever of it thou meddlest with, is idolatry." Which, if he believe, he will not enforce.

Q. Is the cope a thing indifferent, being prescribed by law for decency and reverence, and not in respect of superstition or holiness?

A. Decency is not promoted by a *cope*, which was devised to deface the sacrament. St. Jerome says, "That the gold, ordained by God for the reverence and decency of the Jewish temple, is not fit to be admitted to beautify the church of Christ;" and if so, how much less *cofes* brought

\* Strype's Parker, p. 164.

† See Art. Sampson.

in by papists, and continued in their service as proper ornaments of their religion.

Q. May any thing that is indifferent be enjoined as godly, for the use of the common prayer and sacraments?

A. If it be merely indifferent, as *time, place,* and such necessary circumstances of divine worship, for which there may be ground brought from scripture, we think it may.

Q. May the civil magistrate constitute by law, an abstinence from meats on certain days?

A. If it be sufficiently guarded against superstition, he may appoint it, due regard being had to persons and times.

Q. May a law be enacted to make a difference in the apparel of ministers from laymen?

A. Whether such prescription to a minister of the gospel of Christ be lawful, may be doubted; because no such thing is decreed in the New Testament. Nor did the primitive church appoint any such thing, but chose rather to have their ministers distinguished from the laity by their *doctrine,* not by their *vestments.*

Q. Ought the ministers going in popish apparel, to be condemned for so doing?

A. We judge no man. To his own master he standeth or falleth.

Q. Ought such preachers to be reformed or restrained, or not?

A. Irenæus will not have brethren restrained from brotherly communion, for diversity in ceremonies, provided there be unity of faith and charity; and it is desirable to have the like charitable permission among us.

To these answers, they subjoined several additional arguments against wearing and imposing the habits: as, "Apparel ought not to be worn, as meat ought not to be eaten; but according to St. Paul, meat offered to idols ought not to be eaten, therefore popish apparel ought not to be worn.—We ought not to give offence in matters of mere indifference; therefore the bishops who are of this opinion, ought not to enforce the habits.—Popish garments have many superstitious mystical significations, for which they are consecrated; we ought, therefore, to lay them aside.—Some suppose our ministrations are not valid, or acceptable to God, unless performed in the apparel; we apprehend it, therefore, highly necessary to undeceive the people.—Things indifferent ought not to be made necessary, because then their nature is changed, and we lose our liberty.—And if we are bound to wear popish apparel when commanded,

we may be obliged to have shaven crowns, and to make use of oil, spittle, cream, and all other papistical additions to the ordinances of Christ.”\*

Humphrey and Sampson having thus openly and fully delivered their opinions, a pacific proposition was drawn up, which they both subscribed, with the reserve of the apostle, *All things are lawful, but all things are not expedient. All things are lawful, but all things edify not.* Upon this, it seems, they were both released. Dr. Humphrey, about the same time, wrote a very excellent letter to the queen, in which he addressed her majesty as follows:—

“Kings being kindled with zeal for the house of God, have removed all the relics of superstition; so that no token thereof remained. This form and pattern of reformation is then perfect, when there is no blemish in the face, and when, in religion and ceremonies, nothing is taken from the enemies of the truth. You know, that in things indifferent, especially those which are in controversy, it is lawful for every man, without prejudice to others, to have his full persuasion, and that the conscience ought not in any case to be bound. That the matter which we handle is agreeable to religion and equity, I think there is no man that doubteth. Seeing, therefore, the thing which we request is honest, and that which is commanded is doubtful; and they who make the request, are your most loving and obedient subjects, and ministers of the word, why should your mercy, O queen! which is usually open for all, be shut up from us? You being the prince will not give place to your subjects; yet being *merciful*, you may spare them who are in misery. You will not disannul a public decree; yet you may mitigate it. You cannot abolish a law; yet you may grant a toleration. It is not meet you should follow every man’s affections; yet it is most right and convenient, that the mind and conscience be not forced.

“We do not go about, O most gracious queen, to bear rule, who ought to be subjects; but we would that *reason*, the queen of queens, should rule, and that the humble entreaty of the ministers of Christ, might obtain that which religion commandeth. Wherefore, O most noble prince, I do in most humble sort, request and earnestly desire, that your majesty would seriously and attentively consider

\* Strype’s Parker, p. 166—171.

“ the majesty of the glorious gospel, the equity of the cause, the small number of workmen, the greatness of the harvest, the multitude of tares, the grievousness of the punishment, the lightness of the fault, the sighs of the good, the triumphs of the wicked, and the mischiefs of the times.”\* By using these urgent endeavours, and having many friends at court, he, at length, obtained a connivance and a toleration.

Dr. Humphrey having procured his liberty, the Bishop of Winchester presented to him a small living, in the diocese of Salisbury, but Bishop Jewel, his professed friend, and intimate acquaintance, refused to admit him; and protested he never would admit him, till he obtained some good assurance of his conformity.† Jewel’s great objection against admitting him, was his nonconformity; upon which, said he, “ God is not the author of *confusion*, but of *peace*; and diversity in the worship of God, is *deformity*, and a sufficient cause of deprivation.” Dr. Humphrey, in a letter to the bishop, dated December 20, 1565, replied, “ That his lordship’s objection had but little ground to rest upon.—That he never was the author of *confusion*.—That he had ever lived in peace and concord with his brethren, and in due obedience to his superiors, and, by the grace of God, was still resolved so to do.—And that if diversity in outward ceremonies be *deformity*, if it be any *confusion*, if it be a sufficient cause of deprivation, if conformity be a necessary part of the ministry; if all this came not from the *pope*,” said he, “ and if it existed before popery, then I am much deceived. But whatever he called it, whether order or disorder, it was of very little consequence. He assured his lordship, that he did not mean to innovate, nor to violate their ecclesiastical ordinances.” Though he had obtained the patronage of his grace of Winchester, and the favour of the archbishop, and the benefice was only very small, Jewel seems to have remained inflexible;‡ for it does not appear that he was admitted.§

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 353, 354.

† MS. Register, p. 873.—Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 421.

‡ Strype’s Parker, p. 186, 186.

§ Though Bishop Jewel was a zealous churchman, he was of a different spirit from many of his brethren. In a letter dated May 22, 1559, he wrote, “ that the Queen (Elizabeth) refused to be called *Head of the Church*; and adds, that title could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due only to Christ; and that such titles had been so much abused by antichrist, that they ought not to be any longer continued.”—*Simpson’s Plea for Religion*, p. 146. Edit. 1810.

Upon the publication of the advertisements, for enforcing a more strict conformity, Dr. Humphrey wrote to Secretary Cecil, earnestly desiring him to use all his influence towards stopping their execution. In this letter, dated April 23, 1566, he says, "I am sorry that the old sore is broken out again, to the calamity of many, and to the wonder and sorrow of all. The cause is not so good, in my poor opinion, as it is represented. The trouble is greater than we imagine. The inhibition of preaching, how strange and lamentable! The cries of numbers awaken the pity of God and man. The book of advertisements contains many things, which, on many accounts, are much disliked by wise men. The execution of it, which has hitherto been vehement, has greatly agitated and spoiled all. I humbly request you to be a means with the queen's majesty, to put a stop to the execution of it, and that the book may sleep in silence. The people in these days, require other kind of advertisements. We stand in need of unity and concord; but these advertisements have produced greater *variety* and *discord* than was ever known before. To your wisdom and goodness, I refer all."\*

About the same time, he wrote a very warm and affectionate letter to the bishops, boldly expostulating with them about their corrupt and unchristian proceedings. He says, "The gospel requireth Christ to be openly preached, professed, and glorified; but, alas! a man qualified with inward gifts, for want of outward shews in matters of ceremony, is punished: and a man only outwardly conformable, and inwardly unfurnished, is exalted. The preacher, for his labour, is beaten; the unpreaching prelate offending, goes free. The learned man without his cap, is afflicted: the man with his cap is not touched. Is not this a direct breach of God's laws? Is not this the way of the pharisees? Is not this to wash the outside of the cup, and leave the inside uncleansed? Is not this to prefer mint and annis, to faith, and judgment, and mercy? Is not this preferring man's traditions before the ordinance of God? Is not this a sore disorder in the school of Christ?—Charity, my lords, would first have taught us, equity would first have spared us, brotherly-kindness would have warned us, pity would have pardoned us, if we had been found transgressors. God is my witness, that I think honourably of your lordships, esteeming you as brethren, reverencing you as lords and

\* Strype's Parker, p. 217.

masters of the congregation. Alas then! why have you not some good opinion of us? Why do you trust known adversaries, and distrust your brethren? We confess one faith of Jesus; we preach one doctrine; we acknowledge one ruler upon earth: in all these things we are of your judgment. Shall we be used thus then for the sake of a surplice? Shall brethren persecute brethren for a forked cap, devised for singularity by our enemy? Shall we fight for the *pope's coat*, now that his head and his body are banished out of the land? Shall the labourers, for lack of this furniture, lack their wages, and the church their preaching? Shall we not teach? Shall we not exercise our talents as God hath commanded? My lords, before this take place, consider the cause of the church; the triumphs of antichrist; the laughter of satan; and the sighing, sorrowing, and misery of your fellow-creatures.\*

In July 1566, Dr. Humphrey and Dr. Sampson wrote to Bullinger at Zurich, giving him a particular account of their opinions and nonconformity. "We do not think," say they, "that prescribing the habits is merely a civil thing. And how can that habit be thought decent, which was brought in to dress up the theatrical pomp of popery? The papists glory in this our imitation of them. We approve of rules to promote order, but this ought not to be applied to those things which destroy the peace of the church, and which are neither necessary, nor useful; and that tend not to any edification, but only to recommend those forms which most persons abhor. The papists glory in this, that these habits were brought in by them; for the proof of which, they vouch Otho's constitutions and the Roman pontifical.

"In King Edward's time, the surplice was not universally used, nor pressed upon the clergy, and the copes then taken away, are now restored. This is not to extirpate popery, but to plant it again; and instead of going forwards in the work of reformation, is going backwards. We do not make religion to consist in habits; but only oppose those who do. We hate contention, and are ever ready to enter into a friendly conference about this matter. We do not desert our churches, and leave them exposed to wolves, but, to our great grief, are driven from them. And we leave our brethren (meaning those who conformed) to stand or fall to their own master, and desire the same favourable

\* Ames's Fresh Sait, part ii. p. 269—272.

forbearance from them. All that is pretended is, that the habits are not *unlawful*. But they ought not to be taken from our enemies.

“We are far,” say they, “from any design of making a schism, or of quarrelling. We will not condemn things indifferent, as unlawful. We wish the occasion of the contention removed, and the remembrance of it for ever buried. They who condemn the papal pride, cannot like tyranny in a free church. The doctrine of our church is now pure; and why should there be any defect in our worship? Why should we borrow any thing from popery? Why should we not agree in rites, as well as in doctrine, with the other reformed churches? We have a good opinion of our bishops, and bear with their state and pomp. We once bore the same cross with them, and preached the same Christ with them; why then are we now turned out of our benefices, and some cast into prison, only about the habits? We pray that God may quiet these dissensions, and send forth more labourers into his vineyard.”\*

“But the dispute,” say they, “is not about the cap and surplice. There are other grievances which ought to be redressed, or dispensed with: as music and organs in divine worship.—The sponsors in baptism answering in the name of the child.—The cross in baptism.—Kneeling at the sacrament, and the use of unleavened bread.—The want of discipline in the church.—The marriage of the clergy is not legitimate, but their children are looked upon as bastards.—Marriage is not to be performed without a *ring*.—Women are not to be churched without a *veil*.—The court of faculties; pluralities; licenses for nonresidences, for eating flesh in Lent, &c.—Ministers have not free liberty to preach, without subscribing to the use and approbation of all the ceremonies.”†

During the above year, Queen Elizabeth paid her pompous visit to the university of Oxford, on which occasion our author distinguished himself in a public disputation before her majesty. Every day the queen was entertained with academical exercises of different kinds; in which the wits of the ablest men in that age, were stretched to the utmost, to merit the applause of so illustrious an audience. The queen, together with her train of courtiers, was present at a divinity act, in which Dr. Humphrey was defendant; and Drs. Godwin, Westphaling, Overton, Calfchill, and

\* Burnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. iii. p. 310—312.

† Ibid. Records, p. 335.

Peirce, were opponents. Bishop Jewel acted on this occasion, as moderator. At the conclusion, her majesty delivered a speech in praise of the learned disputants.\*

This learned divine was, at length, favoured with a toleration for about ten or eleven years; and about 1576, he consented to wear the habits. Wood says, in the year 1570, but Mr. Strype, 1576, he was made dean of Gloucester; and in 1580, he was removed from the deanery of Gloucester, to that of Winchester. This he kept to his death.† He was particularly intimate with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who, even before he consented to wear the habits, moved the queen to prefer him to a bishopric: but, as Burleigh informed him, his nonconformity seemed to be the chief impediment in the way.‡ The Earl of Leicester, in his letter to the university of Cambridge, dated March 26, 1567, makes very honourable mention of him, and most warmly recommends him to the office of vice-chancellor of that university; "who," says he, "is every way a right worthy man."§ Dr. Humphrey was intimate with Mr. Gilby, a celebrated puritan, at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, with whom he held a friendly correspondence. Some of his letters to this venerable divine are now before me, addressed "to his worshipful and well beloved friend Mr. Anthony Gilby, at Ashby;" in one of which he writes as follows:¶

"My salvation in Christ Jesus.

"I thank you for your good counsel. I would I were as well able as I am willing. Though many brethren and nobles also wish; yet we must pray that God may open the queen's majesty's ears to hear of a reformation; for there is the stay. And openly to publish such admonitions as are abroad, I like not; for in some parts and terms, they are too broad and overshoot themselves. A book, indeed, I gave as a present of mine office and cognizance of the university, a Greek Testament, with mine additions or collections, to stir up her majesty to peruse the book, and to reform the church, by it, in certain sentences. I have there declared, and in a word or two using orations, the copy whereof I send you. The Lord Jesus bless you and yours. Oxon. Jan. 17, 1572.

"Yours,  
L. HUMPHREY."

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2230. Edit. 1747.

† Wood's Athene Oxon. vol. i. p. 195.—Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 451.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 430.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xvii, p. 256.

¶ Ibid. vol. xxxii. p. 431.

As Dr. Humphrey was many years president of Magdalen college, Oxford, public professor of divinity in the university, and several times vice-chancellor; so the Oxford historian, who denominates him the standard-bearer of the nonconformists, says, that he stocked his college with such a generation of nonconformists, as could not be rooted out of it many years after his death; and that he sowed in the divinity schools, such seeds of *Calvinism*, and such hatred of *popery*, as if nothing but divine truth was to be found in the one, and nothing but abominations in the other. Nevertheless, he adds, Humphrey was a great and general scholar, an able linguist, and a deep divine; and who, for the excellency of his style, the exactness of his method, and the solidity of his matter, was superior to most theologians in his day. Archbishop Matthews said, "Dr. Humphrey hath read more fathers, than Campian the Jesuit ever saw; devoured more than he ever tasted; and taught more than he ever heard or read."\* He had the honour of seeing many of his pupils become bishops, while he, who was every way their superior, was denied any considerable preferment, on account of his puritanical principles. At length, after a life of much labour and hard study, he died in the month of February, 1589, aged sixty-three years. Fuller styles him a moderate and conscientious nonconformist, and says, that at his death, he bequeathed a considerable quantity of gold to Magdalen college.† Granger says, he was one of the greatest divines, and most general scholars, of his age; and that when Queen Elizabeth visited the university, he and Bishop Jewel entertained her majesty with a public theological disputation.‡ The remains of Dr. Humphrey were interred in the inner chapel belonging to Magdalen college, where a monumental inscription was erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:§

SACRED to the MEMORY  
 of LAWRENCE HUMPHREY, D. D.  
 twenty-eight years Regius Professor  
 and Governor of this College.  
 His eldest daughter,  
 JUSTINIA DORMER,  
 erected this monument to the memory  
 of her venerable Father.  
 He died in February, 1589,  
 aged 63.

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. I. p. 195, 196.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 234.

‡ Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 211.

§ Wood's *Hist. et Antiq. lib. ii.* p. 203.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *Epistola de Græcis literis, & Homeri lectione & imitatione, ad Præsidem, &c.*, 1558.—2. *De Religione Conversatione & Reformatione deque Primatus Regum*, 1569.—3. *De Ratione Interpretandi Authores*, 1569.—4. *Optimates sive de Nobilitate, ejusque antiqua origine, natura, officiis, disciplina, &c.*, 1560.\*—5. *Orationes Woodstochiæ habitæ ad illustress. R. Eliz.*, 1572.—6. *De Vita et Morte Johannis Juelli: Ejusq; veræ Doctrinæ Defensio, cum Refutatione quorundam Objectorum, Hardingi, Sanderi, &c.*, 1573.—7. *De fermento vitando: conscio in Matt. xvi. Marc. viii. Luc. xii.*, 1582.—8. *Jesuitismi pars prima*, 1582.—9. *Jesuitismi pars secunda*, 1584.—10. *Apologetica Epistola ad Academiæ Oxoniensis Chancery, 1585.*—11. *Seven Sermons against Treason*, 1588.—12. *Conscio in die Cinerum.*—Many of these articles were translated and published in English,

**THOMAS SAMPSON, D. D.**—This celebrated divine was born about the year 1517, and educated in the university of Oxford. Afterwards he studied at the Temple, became a zealous protestant, a distinguished preacher, and instrumental in the conversion of John Bradford, the famous martyr. He married the niece of old Bishop Latimer. He was ordained by Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley, who, at his request, dispensed with the habits. He was highly esteemed by these two reverend prelates. He was preacher in the army of Lord Russel, in his expedition against the Scots. In the year 1551, he became rector of Alhallows, Bread-street, London; the year following he was preferred to the deanery of Winchester; and he continued a famous preacher to the death of King Edward.† Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he concealed himself for some time. During this period, he and Mr. Richard Chambers, another zealous protestant, collected money in London, for the support and encouragement of poor scholars in the two universities. But it was no sooner discovered, than they were both obliged to flee for their lives. For, August 16, 1554, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Becon, and Mr. Veron, were apprehended and committed to the Tower; and Sampson was to have been committed the same day, and was even sought after for this purpose, in the house in which Mr.

\* Mr. Strype highly commends this work, both for the excellency of its matter, and the elegance of its style. In this work, the author, speaking of astrology, says, "This science above the rest was so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured by most persons of fashion, that they needed no incitements to it, but a bridle rather: not to be set on, but rather taken off from it. And that many had so trusted to this, that they almost distrusted God."—*Strype's Cranmer*, p. 358.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 487. Edit. 1778.

† *Strype's Cranmer*, p. 192, 292.—*Troubles at Frankeford*, p. 168.

Bradford was taken. Because he could not be found, the Bishop of Winchester fumed exceedingly, as was usually the case with angry prelates.\* Thus, having narrowly escaped the fire, he fled to Strasburgh, where he was much esteemed by the learned Tremelius.† He was intimately acquainted with most of the learned exiles, and particularly John Jewel, afterwards the celebrated Bishop of Salisbury. By the joint advice of Dr. Sampson, Dr. Edwin Sandys, and Mr. Richard Chambers, Jewel was induced soon after his arrival on the continent, to make a public confession of his sorrow, for his late subscription in favour of popery.‡ Sampson, during his exile, was concerned in writing and publishing the Geneva Translation of the Bible.§

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, our learned divine returned home. While on his journey, being informed that a bishopric was designed for him, he wrote to Peter Martyr for his opinion and advice, whether it was lawful to swear "that the queen was supreme head of the church under Christ." He thought that Christ was the *only* supreme head of the church, and that no account of any inferior head was to be found in scripture. He thought, also, that the want of discipline in the church of England, rendered it impossible for a bishop to perform his duty. The method of electing bishops, appeared to him, totally different from the primitive institution: the consent of neither clergy, nor people, being so much as asked. The superstitious dress of bishops seemed to him very unbecoming. He wrote to his learned friend, not that he expected a bishopric would be offered him; but he prayed to God that it might not. He resolved to apply himself to preaching the gospel, and to avoid having any share in the government of the church, till he saw a thorough reformation, both in doctrine and discipline.

Upon the reception of Peter Martyr's answer, Sampson replied, January 6, 1560, saying, "We are under sad apprehensions; concerning which, we desire an interest in your prayers. We are afraid lest the truth of religion, in England, should either be overturned, or very much darkened. Things still stick with me. I can have neither ingress, nor egress. God knows how glad I should be to have an egress. Let others be bishops, I desire only to be

\* Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 76.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 102.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2759. Edit. 1747.

§ See Art. Coverdale.

a preacher, and no bishop. There is yet a general prohibition of preaching; and still a crucifix on the altar at court, with lights burning before it. And though, by the queen's order, images are removed out of the churches all over the kingdom, yet the people rejoice to see that this is still kept in the queen's chapel.\* Three bishops officiate at the altar: one as priest, another as deacon, and a third as sub-deacon, all in rich copes before the idol: and there is sacrament without any sermon. Injunctions are sent to preachers not to use freedom in reproving vice." He then asks Martyr, Bullinger, and Bernardin, what they thought of these things; and whether, if similar injunctions were sent to all churches, the clergy ought to obey, or suffer deprivation rather than comply.

May 13th he wrote again, signifying that a bishopric had been offered him, but he had refused to accept it; for which, he desired Peter Martyr not to censure him, till he became acquainted with the whole matter. He rejoiced that Parkhurst† was made Bishop of Norwich. And Norwich, it seems, was the bishopric offered to him.‡ This illustrious divine, therefore, refused the offered preferment, because he was thoroughly dissatisfied with the episcopal office, the popish habits, and the superstitious ceremonies.

During the three first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Dr. Sampson delivered the rehearsal sermons at Paul's cross, and is said to have been appointed to do this on account of his wonderful memory and fine elocution; and in her royal visitation in the north, he was the visitor's preacher. In the year 1560, he became dean of Christ-church, Oxford. To procure his settlement in this public situation, the members of the house wrote to Lord Dudley, urging him to prevail upon the queen, in behalf of Sampson. In this letter, subscribed by twenty-two persons of distinguished

\* Dr. Sampson having laid a Common Prayer Book, (adorned with fine cuts and pictures, representing the stories of the saints and martyrs,) in the queen's chapel, for her use, it is said, that she severely reprimanded him for so doing, and told him, "That she had an aversion to idolatry, and to images and pictures of this kind.—That he had forgot her proclamation against images, pictures, and Roman relics in churches.—And she ordered that no more mistakes of this kind should be committed within the churches of her realm for the future." It seems difficult to reconcile this, to her majesty's conduct in still retaining idolatrous worship in her own chapel.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 239.

† Bishop Parkhurst, who was an exile in the days of Queen Mary, was a person of great learning, a worthy prelate, and always a decided friend to the nonconformists.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. i. p. 273. (2.)

‡ Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. iii. p. 291, 292.

§ *Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 238.

learning, they say, "That as for Dr. Sampson, after well considering all the learned men in the land, they found none to be compared to him, for singular learning and great piety, having the praise of all men. And that it was very doubtful, whether there was a better man, a greater linguist, a more complete scholar, or a more profound divine."\* Afterwards, Dr. Sampson, Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, and Mr. Andrew Kingsmill, all celebrated puritans, were the only protestant preachers in the university of Oxford.†

Dr. Sampson sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the Articles of Religion. This being finished, many learned members of the lower house, presented to the house a paper of requests, chiefly relating to matters of discipline, in which they desired an allowance in a number of important particulars. His name is among those who subscribed.‡ While the convocation was discussing the subject of discipline, the prolocutor, with Dr. Sampson and Dr. Day, presented to the upper house a book called *Catechismus pucrorum*; to which all the members of the lower house had unanimously given their consent. They left the book with their lordships; but there, unfortunately, it remained without any further notice.§ Afterwards, his scruples and objections against the prescribed habits and ceremonies, being known at court, Secretary Cecil urged him to conform, adding, "That he gave offence by his disobedience, and that obedience was better than sacrifice." To this, Sampson, in a letter to this honourable person, replied, "That in the law, God commanded all idols to be destroyed, with all the ceremonies belonging to them; prohibiting as much the ceremonies, as the idols themselves. That the godly kings of the Jews dealt with idols, idolatry, and the appurtenances accordingly. That the Lord threatened to punish those who should retain such ceremonies and fashions, in time of reformation. That Christ did not communicate in any traditions devised by the pharisees; but reprov'd them, and warn'd the apostles to take heed of them. Therefore, all ceremonies devised and used by idolatrous papists, ought to be rejected, destroyed, and forbidden. And though men in authority command otherwise, yet he, who thus followeth the mind of God in his word, doth yield that obedience, which is better

\* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 193.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 290, 298. ii. Adden. p. 15.

§ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 96.

than sacrifice." He observed further, "That the conduct of the primitive christians, in refusing such things, was void of blame—That to prescribe a certain uniform array for ministers, came out of the corrupt state of the church.—That all reformations ought to be framed according to the original and pure state of the church.—That if the reformation would not admit this, but would determine the reverse, he could not see how this should bind him, who knew and desired greater purity.—That these were only some of the reasons which constrained him to do as he did.—And that as he put no restraint upon others, but left them to the Lord, so he desired to be left in like manner."\*

In the year 1564, Dr. Sampson and his much esteemed friend, Dr. Humphrey, were cited before the high commission, at Lambeth, an account of which is given in another place.† After being harassed for some time, Humphrey, at length, obtained a toleration; but Sampson suffered deprivation, and was removed from the university. The proceedings of the commissioners were severe enough, even in the opinion of Dr. Heylin; who adds, "that he was worthily deprived, and that, by this *severity*, the puritans found what they might expect."‡ Some of the learned lawyers, however, disputed the legality of his deprivation, and were of opinion, that the commissioners were involved in a *premunire*. Indeed, Sampson was deprived not only of his deanery, but of his liberty too, and was kept for some time in a state of confinement: nor was he able, without much trouble, to procure his release.§ He was succeeded in the deanery of Christ-church by Dr. Thomas Godwin, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.¶

In the year 1573, our learned divine was struck with the dead palsy on one side; and having enjoyed, for some time, the lecture at Whittington college, London, for which he received ten pounds a year, he resigned it into the hands of his patrons. It was in the gift of the company of cloth-workers, to whom he recommended Mr. Edward Deering, whom they chose for his successor; but this divine being silenced for nonconformity, Archbishop Parker utterly refused his allowance.‡ Mr. Deering was a man of great

\* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 433, 434. † See Art. Humphrey.

‡ Heylin's Hist. of Presby. p. 250.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 186, 187.

¶ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2230. Edit. 1747. † Ibid. p. 460, 470.

learning, exemplary piety, and an excellent preacher; and the benefice being very small, it reflects not a little upon the severity of this prelate.

In March this year, Dr. Sampson sent a letter, written by another person, to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, signifying, that God had been pleased to take from him the use of half his limbs, though not his senses; which was the occasion of his using the hand of another. And though this disease was to him as the messenger of death, he thanked God, that he was ready to depart in peace. He was, indeed, constrained, before his heavenly father called him home, to trouble his lordship once more. He, therefore, earnestly solicited him to use his utmost endeavours to promote the necessary reformation of the church, and herein recommended the directions in Bucer's book on the Kingdom of Christ. "My lord," says he, "though the doctrine of the gospel is preached in the church of England, the *government* of the church, as appointed in the gospel, is still wanting. The doctrine, and the government, as appointed by Christ, are both good; and are to be joined together, and not separated. It is a deformity to see a church, professing the gospel of Christ, governed by those canons and customs, by which antichrist ruleth his synagogue. Martin Bucer wrote a book to King Edward, upon this subject, entitled *De Regno Christi*. There you will see what is wanting of the kingdom of Christ, in the church of England. My lord, I beseech you to read this faithful and brief epitome of the book, which I have sent you; and I beseech you to lay it to heart. It is the cause of Jesus Christ and his church, and very much concerneth the souls of men. Use your utmost endeavours, that, as Christ teacheth us in the church of England, he may also *rule and govern* us, even by *the laws of his kingdom*. Help, my lord, in this good work of the Lord your God. By so doing, you will serve him who is King of kings, and he will acknowledge your good service, when all kings and lords shall appear before him. My good lord, use your authority for the glory of Christ, and the peace and welfare of his church. You cannot employ your authority in a better cause." To this advice, the treasurer returned a christian reply, saying, "that he very much approved of what was urged, but was unable to do all that he recommended." Dr. Sampson, also, returned him a very appro-

\* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 365-367.

priate answer, reminding him how much he did at the commencement of the reformation; that his will and his power were not lessened, but increased; and that, seeing others sought a reformation by stopping both preaching and government, the state of the church stood now as much in need of his assistance as ever.\*

The following year he wrote to Grindal, formerly his companion in exile, but now advanced to the high dignity of Archbishop of York. Several letters passed betwixt them. Dr. Sampson reminded him of his former low condition, and cautioned him against being too much exalted with his present high title. Grindal, who was certainly different from many of the other dignitaries, told him, he did not value the title of *lord*, but was chiefly concerned to discharge the duties of his function faithfully, until the great day of the Lord Jesus. To this, Sampson replied, "You say, you are not *lordly*, nor value your *lordly estate*, in which, I hope, you say true. Yet I must further observe, that if you whom worldly policy hath made a *lord*, be not *lordly*, but keep an humble and a loving brother, and minister of Christ, shall I say you are a phoenix? I will say that you are by the special grace of God, most happily preserved. Yet your state, your port, your train of waiting-men in the streets, your gentleman-usher going before you with bare head, your family full of idle serving-men, and the rest of your worldly appendages, look very *lordly*. Perhaps the same policy which makes you a *lord*, also charges you with this *lordly state*. But doth the Lord Jesus, whose minister you rejoice to be, charge you with it? Such a number of idle serving-men is unprofitable and unsuitable to the minister of Christ; and, surely, such persons ought not to be maintained by the patrimony of the church. If policy have, therefore, charged you with them, it is very desirable that policy should discharge you; and that the patrimony of Christ may be employed in the support of labourers in the Lord's harvest, and the poor members of his church. But if you take this *lordly state* upon you, without the charge of policy, your fault is the greater: This is one of the great evils which popery hath left in the church of England."

As the archbishop had pitied his *poverty* and *lameness*, he further adds, "I do not remember that I ever complained of the one or the other. If I did of the first, I was

\* Strype's Parker, Appen. p. 177, 178.

to blame; for I must have complained before I suffered want. Touching my lameness, I am so far from complaining, that I humbly thank God for it. It is the Lord's hand which hath touched me. He might have smitten or destroyed me: but of his most rich favour and mercy through Jesus Christ, as a loving father, he hath dealt thus tenderly with me. I bless and praise his name for it. If he see that my poor labour will be of any further service in his church, he will heal me: but if he have determined by this lameness, to lead me to my grave, the Lord give me grace to say with Eli, 'It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.' I shall labour, as well as I am able, till I drop into the grave. Though I am in bonds, those bonds are from the Lord; and if it were put to my choice, I would rather carry them to my grave, than be freed from them, and be cumbered with a bishopric.\*

Dr. Sampson having been presented to the mastership of the hospital at Leicester, upon his being seized with the palsy, he retired to this situation, where he spent the remainder of his days. Here he was of great service to the hospital, in restoring its privileges and endowments. An account of this is related at some length, to the great honour of his character.† He was intimate with all the leading puritans, with whom he held a friendly correspondence. Among these was the venerable Mr. Gilby of Ashby. His letters to this celebrated divine are now before me, one of which, dated Leicester, March 8, 1584, was as follows:

"My constant salutation in the Lord.

"I do hereby thank you for your loving letter which you sent me last. I have well advised upon your godly counsel; but I am not so forward in the matter as you do think. I do not take upon me to set down a platform of reformation. I do only desire that meet men may be called by authority, to consult thereupon. In which assembly I could find in mine heart to be a door-keeper, though it were only to keep out dogs. I have a mind to proceed in that which I proposed. The Lord direct me by his grace to do that which is good in his sight. Thus praying you to pray for me, I commit you to God.

"Yours in Christ,

"THEO. SAMPSON.

"P. S. Until ambition and proud Pope xxiii. be pulled down, there is no hope for any good to be done in con-

\* Strype's Parker, Appen. 278—280.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 381, 382.

“sultation. Bishops are no meet men. They are too partial; and the university-men will never yield in disputation. Pray for reformation by the power of the word preached.”\*

In the above year, Dr. Sampson was concerned in presenting a supplication to the queen, the council, and the parliament, for a further reformation of the church. It was entitled “A Supplication to be exhibited to our sovereign lady, Queen Elizabeth, to the honourable Lords of her most honourable Privy Council, and to the High Court of Parliament.” This supplication, consisting of thirty-four articles at considerable length, enumerates many grievances still retained in the church, and, upon very powerful grounds, humbly solicits a peaceable and speedy redress; but is too long for our insertion.+ To this supplication, Dr. Sampson prefixed an address, in which many complaints are enumerated; among which are the following: “We have not vigilant, able, and painful preaching pastors resident among us, to teach us the word of God, by preaching and catechising. We have some kind of pastors, but many of them do not reside on their benefices. Some of them are licensed to two, and some to three benefices. If our bishops provided a remedy for this evil, we would not complain. But they are so far from providing a remedy, that they increase the evil daily. They are constantly making ministers, who will only read out of a printed book, what they are compelled to read; and, with this, the bishops are sufficiently satisfied. Though they want the gift of teaching, they boldly seek to obtain the place of teachers. And, seeing that pastors are commanded to feed the flock of God, over which the Holy Ghost makes them overseers, surely it is very preposterous and presumptuous, to ordain those men to be pastors who cannot feed the flock. The pastors whom the Lord allows and esteems, *are such as feed his people with knowledge and understanding.* Such did our Saviour send forth. Such did his apostles require; that, by sound doctrine, they might convince the gainsayers, apt to teach, rightly dividing the word of truth.

“We might,” says he, “greatly increase our complaint. For the good and useful teachers among us, are much discouraged. Some of them are displaced and silenced, not because they do not teach us plainly and faithfully, but because of their nonconformity to the unprofitable ceremonies which men have devised. We most humbly beseech

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 433.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 66-81.

your highness and honours, to call to your remembrance, that they who do well may receive that praise and comfort which they deserve. This hard treatment of our pastors, brings us into great distress. We are sure, that when the bishops deprive our preaching and laborious pastors of their livings, and stop their mouths, so that they cannot teach us the will of our God; they undertake to do that for which they must give an account, in the great day of the Lord. We have great need of such pastors as can and will teach us the way of the Lord. We have no need at all of idle ceremonies, which do not in the least edify in true godliness. Silencing our preaching pastors, who would feed our souls with the provision of God's word; and imposing upon us mere readers, furnished with unprofitable ceremonies, is taking from us the bread of life, which God hath prepared for us, and feeding us with the unprofitable devices of men."\* The supplication was sent to the treasurer, followed by two letters from Sampson, entreating his lordship to do every thing in his power to forward the business; but all proved ineffectual.† The ruling prelates, with Archbishop Whitgift at their head, remained inflexible.

Dr. Sampson was a divine highly celebrated for learning, piety, and zeal in the protestant cause, and was greatly esteemed in all parts of the kingdom. Upon his retiring to Leicester, he employed the remainder of his days chiefly in the government of his hospital, and his beloved work of preaching. And having spent his life in much labour, and many troubles, he died in great tranquillity, and comfort in his nonconformity, April 9, 1589, aged seventy-two years.‡ His mortal part was interred in the chapel belonging to his hospital, where was a monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:§

To the MEMORY  
and honour of THOMAS SAMPSON,  
a very keen enemy to the Romish hierarchy  
and popish superstitions,  
but a most constant advocate of gospel truth.  
For twenty-one years  
he was the faithful Keeper of this Hospital.  
Being justly entitled  
to the high esteem of the Christian world,

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 222—227.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 184.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 192.

§ Wood's Hist. et Antiq. lib. ii. p. 254.

his sons JOHN and NATHANIEL  
erected this monument to the memory of their  
beloved Father.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Letter to the Professors of Christ's Gospel, in the parish of Alhallows in Bread-street, London, 1564.—2. A Warning to take heed of Fowler's Psalter, 1578.—3. Brief Collection of the Church and the Ceremonies thereof, 1581.—4. Prayers and Meditations Apostolike, gathered and framed out of the Epistles of the Apostles, 1592.—He collected and published several Sermons written by his old friend, Mr. John Bradford.

**WILLIAM FULKE, D. D.**—This celebrated divine was born in London, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow in 1564. He was a youth of great parts, and a very high spirit. When he was a boy at school, having a literary contest with the famous Edmund Campion, and losing the silver pen which was proposed to the victor, he is said to have been angry and mortified to a degree almost beyond conception. Before he became fellow of his college, he spent six years at Clifford's-inn, where, in compliance with the wishes of his father, he was employed in the study of the law. But upon his return to the university, not liking the law, he directed his studies to other objects more congenial to his wishes; with which his father was so exceedingly offended, that though he was a man of considerable property, he refused to afford him support. Young Fulke, not discouraged by the unnatural treatment of his parents, was resolved to persevere in his literary pursuits, and to make his way through the world as well as he could. This he did, by his uncommon endowments, with the greatest ease. He studied with intense application, the mathematics, the languages, and divinity, and became a most celebrated scholar in each of these departments.

This learned divine espoused the principles of the puritans at a very early period; and in the year 1565, he preached openly and boldly against the popish habits and ceremonies incorporated with the ecclesiastical establishment. This presently roused the attention of the ruling ecclesiastics, when he was cited before the chancellor of the university. Though our author does not say what prosecution he underwent, nor what penalty he suffered, the chancellor declared his determination to proceed against him with rigour, and that he should find no comfort while

persisting in this wantonness, as he was pleased to call his nonconformity;\* and we may suppose he was as good as his word. The deficiency of information is, however, supplied by another author, who observes, that on account of his puritanism, he was expelled from his college; when he took lodgings in the town, and procured a support by the delivery of public lectures.†

Dr. Fulke having gained a most distinguished reputation, so early as the year 1569, he was upon the point of being chosen master of St. John's college, by a very considerable party, who had the highest value for him. This greatly offended Archbishop Parker, who, seasonably interposing, put a stop to his election.‡ The jealous archbishop could not bear that "Fulke's head should be thus stroken," as he expressed it; and he knew it was best to crush puritanism in the bud. About the same time, the Earl of Leicester, a constant friend and patron of such men, received him under his hospitable roof, and made him his domestic chaplain. Also, during the above year, he was charged with being concerned in certain unlawful marriages; but upon his examination by the Bishop of Ely, he was acquitted, and the charge proved to be altogether a calumny. He presently recovered his reputation. Though while he remained under the public odium, he voluntarily resigned his fellowship; yet his innocency was no sooner proved, than he was re-elected by the college.§

In the year 1571, the Earl of Essex presented Dr. Fulke to the rectory of Warley in Essex, and, soon after, to the rectory of Kedington in Suffolk. About this time, he took his doctor's degree at Cambridge, and was incorporated in the same at Oxford. The year following, he accompanied the Earl of Lincoln, then lord high admiral, as ambassador to the court of France.|| Upon his return, he was chosen master of Pembroke hall, and Margaret professor of divinity, in the university of Cambridge. He was succeeded in his mastership by Dr. Andrews, chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards successively Bishop of Chichester and Winchester.¶

Dr. Fulke was particularly intimate with Mr. Thomas

\* Strype's Parker, p. 197. Appen. p. 72.

† Middleton's Biographia Evangelica, vol. ii. p. 262. Edit. 1790.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 280. § Ibid.

|| Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 240.

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 295.

Cartwright; knew well his great worth; and united with other learned divines in warmly soliciting him to answer the Rhemish Testament. But when he found, that by the tyrannical prohibition of Archbishop Whitgift, Mr. Cartwright was forbidden to proceed, he undertook to answer it himself. His work was entitled "A Confutation of the Rhemish Testament," 1589; in which he gave notice, that the reader might some time be favoured with a more complete answer from Mr. Cartwright.\* That which occasioned the publication of the Rhemish Testament was as follows:—The English papists in the seminary at Rheims, perceiving, as Fuller observes, that they could no longer "blindfold their laity from the scriptures, resolved to fit them with false spectacles; and set forth the Rhemish translation," in opposition to the protestant versions. Fulke undertook, and successfully accomplished, an entire refutation of the popish version and commentary. The late Mr. Hervey passed a very just encomium on this noble performance: which he styles, "a valuable piece of ancient controversy and criticism, full of sound divinity, weighty arguments, and important observations. Would the young student," he adds, "be taught to discover the very sinews of popery, and be enabled to give an effectual blow to that complication of errors; I scarce know a treatise better calculated for the purpose."†

In the year 1582, Dr. Fulke, with several other learned divines, was engaged in a public disputation with certain papists in the Tower. He was a person in every respect qualified for the undertaking. He had to contend with Campion, his old school-fellow, with whom he had formerly contested for the silver pen. And it is observed, evidently with a view to reproach his principles, and depreciate his memory, that "Dr. Fulke and Dr. Goad, being puritanically inclined, and leaning to Calvin's notions, afforded Campion, on one or two points, an advantage which his cause did not give him over the real principles of the English church."‡ We should have been extremely happy, and it would have been some addition to our stock of knowledge, if our learned author had mentioned those points, and stated the superior advantage they afforded the learned Jesuit, above the real principles of the ecclesiastical establishment. He did not, surely, mean to insinuate, that

\* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 108.

† Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 196, 197.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 278.

puritanism and Calvin's notions approach nearer to popery, than the church of England.

Dr. Fulke was author of a work, entitled "A brief and plain Declaration, containing the desires of all those faithful Ministers who seek Discipline and Reformation of the Church of England, which may serve as a just Apology against the false Accusations and Slanders of their Adversaries," 1584. Here he sufficiently declares his sentiments relative to church discipline and matters of nonconformity. Though Mr. Dudley Finner's name is prefixed to the work, Dr. Fulke was its author.\* He was a very holy man, and a divine of uncommon learning and abilities, but ever scrupled some points of conformity. Wood styles him a good philosopher, and a pious and solid divine.† Granger observes, that he gained a great reputation by his writings against Cardinal Allen, and his "Confutation of Heakins, Sanders, and Rastell, three pillars of Popery," 1559. Dr. Fulke was, for a considerable time, says he, a warm advocate for the principles of the nonconformists; but in process of time, got the better of his prejudices, and made a near approach to the doctrine and discipline of the established church.‡ This author, for the satisfaction of his readers, ought to have proved, from good authority, that Dr. Fulke's principles of nonconformity arose from *prejudice*, and to have shewn *how near* he afterwards approached towards the ecclesiastical establishment.

As Dr. Fulke delivered his sentiments openly and freely on this subject, in the works that he published, let him speak in his own language. Giving his opinion of a bishop, according to the use of the church, and of the scripture, he affirms, "That for order and seemly government, there was always one principal, to whom by long use of the church, the name of bishop was applied; yet in the scripture a bishop and an elder is of one order and authority."§ "And," says he, "there ought to be in every church or congregation an eldership, which ought to have the hearing, examination, and determination of all matters pertaining to the discipline and government of that congregation."¶ Giving his sentiments of the cross in baptism, he makes the following observation: "Many, it is

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 419. (1 | 5.)

† Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 724.

‡ Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 215, 216.

§ *Petition of Prelates Examined*, p. 15. Edit. 1641.

¶ Paget's *Church Government*, p. 203.

true," says he, "speak of the sign of the cross; but they speak besides the book of God; and therefore their reasons are to be rejected. For men must not compare, or join the cross with the king's stamp; for he appointed no such thing whereby his servants might be known, but only baptism."\* These sentiments afford sufficient evidence, that he was a puritan in his views of the ceremonies and discipline of the church.

This eminent servant of Christ, after a life of great labour and usefulness in the church of God, was released from all his toils, and received into everlasting joy, in the month of August, 1589; when his remains were interred in the chancel of the church at Kedington already mentioned. Afterwards a monumental inscription was there erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation, with the lines subjoined in English :+

IN MEMORY  
of WILLIAM FULKE, D. D.  
Master of Pembroke hall, Cambridge,  
and Pastor of this church of Kedington.‡  
In testimony of his continued love  
hath Robert Wright, Professor of Divinity,  
and present pastor of this church,  
erected this monument.  
His body was committed to the ground  
August 28, 1689,  
and lies in this chancel in hope of the resurrection  
at the coming of Christ.

In deepest learning, with a zealous love,  
To Heaven and Truth, could privileges prove  
To keep back death, no hand had written here  
Lies Reverend Fulke, till Christ in clouds appear.  
His Works will shew him more free from all error,  
Rome's foe, Truth's champion, and the Rhemist's terror.

Dr. Fulke, the twelfth of the month in which he died, made his last will and testament, which it may not be improper to insert in this place. It was as follows :§

"In the name of God, amen. I William Fulke, clerk, D. D. being of sound mind and memory, God be praised, make here my last will and testament. First, I commend my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Saviour and Redeemer, yielding most humble and hearty thanks unto his majesty for all his mercies bestowed upon me, most vile and

\* *Sion's Plea*, p. 99. † *Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. ii. p. 392.

‡ Here there appears to have been some mistake in the spelling of the transcriber, which we have taken the liberty to correct.

§ *Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. iii. p. 337—339.

unworthy wretch, but especially for his mercy shewed unto me in Jesus Christ, in whom I believe to have remission of my sins, and to be justified by his blood. My body I commit to the earth, from whence it was taken, in steadfast hope of a glorious resurrection unto life everlasting, through the mercy and merits of the same Lord Jesus Christ. Concerning my earthly goods, wherewith God hath blessed me, I give all my lands freehold and copy, that are deviseable by law, or the custom of the manor, unto Christopher my eldest son, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and for default of such heir, to William Fulke my younger son, and to the heirs male of his body lawfully begotten, and for default of such heirs, unto my heirs female, to be equally divided among them: and this I understand both of such lands as I have in possession, and also of those lands whereof I have the remainder or reversion of the last will of Christopher Fulke my dear father.

“ Also I give and bequeath the customary lands that I have in Tanton called the Fullance, to William Leonard my brother-in-law, upon condition that he shall convey them over to my son Christopher, if the custom of the manor will permit it; but if the custom of the manor will not permit such conveyance, then I will that Margaret my wife, within one year after my departure, shall surrender the same to the use of my son Christopher, or else to have no benefit of this my last will and testament.

“ I will that my antiquities shall be preserved to the use of Christopher my son, if he shall have delight in them at his full age, or else to the use of my son William at the like age, if he shall have delight in them, or else to be sold to some one that delights in antiquities, and the price to be equally divided among my daughters. Also I will that my books be preserved to the use of Christopher my son, if it shall please God to call him to the study of divinity, or else to the like use of William, if God shall call him to the same study: but if neither of them shall study divinity, I will that they shall be sold to the most advantage, and the price of them to be equally divided among my daughters. Whereas I owe ten pounds and some odd money to Pembroke hall, I will that the same be paid into the hands of him that shall succeed master in my room, in the presence of the treasurer of the college. Also in respect of divers benefits I have received of the said college, for a sign of thankfulness, I give unto the master and fellows of the college of Mary

Valence, one piece of plate made in fashion of an acorn, with a cover, which I will have to be called Dr. Fulke his cup, to be used only at commencements and solemn feasts.

“The rest of all my goods moveable, as money, plate, cattle, household stuff, prized reasonably according to the value, I will to be equally divided between Margaret my wife and my four daughters, Mary, Hester, Elizabeth and Ann, to be delivered unto them at the full age of twenty-four years; or at the day of their marriage, if it shall please God that they shall marry before that age: so that they match in the fear of God, with the consent of their mother, if she be living, or of their uncle Samuel, if he be living. And if any of them depart this life before their marriage, or the year before said, then I will that their portion be equally divided among them that are living. Also where I have a lease for three lives of a farm in Horsheath which is set over to my son Christopher, I will that my three daughters shall enjoy it successively, as they be named in the same, and that my son Christopher shall make conveyance unto them so soon as he shall be of lawful years. I will that the profit of my lands, until my son Christopher come to full age of twenty-one years, my wife's dowry excepted and ten pounds a year abated for the education of my son Christopher, shall be by my executors preserved and equally divided between my wife and my four daughters, in manner and form aforesaid.

“Also, I make Margaret my wife, and Samuel Fulke my brother, executors of this my will, in witness whereof, I have set my hand and seal this twelfth day of August, in the one and thirtieth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth.

“WILLIAM FULKE.”

The above will was proved October 9, 1589, before Humphrey Tyndall, deputy to Tho. Nowell, vice-chancellor of Cambridge. Our celebrated divine was author of many other learned works besides those already mentioned, most of which were written against the papists.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *Anti-prognosticon contra Predictiones Nestradami, Lovi, Hilli, &c.*, 1560.—2. Sermon at Hampton-Court, 1571.—3. Confutation of a Libelle in Forme of an Apology made by Frocknam, 1571.—4. A goodly Gallery, or Treatise on Meteors, 1571.—5. *Astrologorum Ludus*, 1571.—6. *Metpomaxia, sivi, Ludus geometricus*, 1578.—7. *Responsio ad Tho. Stapletoni Cavillationes*, 1579.—8. A Retentive against the Motives of Richard Bristow; also, a

**Discovery of the Dangerous Rock of the Popish Church, 1680.—9. A Defence of the Translation of the Holy Scriptures in English, 1683.—10. Confutation of Will. Allen's Treatise in Defence of the Usurped Power of the Popish Priesthood.**

**JOHN GARBRAND, D. D.**—He was born in the city of Oxford, educated in grammar learning at Wickham school, near Winchester, and in 1562, was admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford. Afterwards, he became rector of North-Crowley in Buckinghamshire; and by the favour of Bishop Jewel, obtained some preferment in the church of Sarum. In 1582, he took his degrees in divinity. Upon the death of Jewel, whom he highly admired, he collected and completed several of his learned works: *As, 1. A View of a Seditious Bull sent into England from Pius V. Pope of Rome, 1569.—2. A short Treatise of the Holy Scriptures, 1582.—3. An Exposition on the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, 1582.—4. Certain Sermons preached at Paul's Cross, 1583.—5. A Treatise of the Sacraments, gathered out of certain Sermons preached at Salisbury, 1583.* Dr. Garbrand died towards the close of the year 1589, and his remains were interred in the church of North-Crowley. Wood says, he was accounted a good poet, an eminent theologian, and a noted preacher, but a severe puritan.\* By his last will, he gave a quantity of his books to New College library.

**DUDLEY FENNER** was a divine of excellent learning and piety, and, for some time a celebrated tutor in the university of Cambridge, where he had Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Travers, and other distinguished persons for his pupils. Upon his removal from the university, he became minister at Cranbrook in Kent; but being dissatisfied with the episcopal ordination of the church of England, he went to Antwerp, and was ordained according to the manner of the reformed churches at that place, renouncing his former ordination.† During his stay at Antwerp, he preached, with Mr. Cartwright, to the English congregation in that city. But upon his return to England, he was brought into many troubles for nonconformity. In the year 1583, universal subscription to Whitgift's three articles being required of the clergy, Mr. Fenner and sixteen of his

\* Wood's *Atheum Oxon.* vol. i. p. 194, 195.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 198.—Heylin's *Hist of Pres.* p. 390.

brethren, all ministers of Kent, waited upon his lordship, and signified that they could not subscribe with a good conscience. Therefore they humbly desired to know the result of his proceedings, and whether they might be favoured with a license to continue in their beloved work of preaching. This they did, in a letter addressed to the archbishop, dated January 30, 1584; in which they express themselves as follows:—"Our duty in most humble manner unto your grace presented. Whereas our coming to your lordship in so great a company, was that every one might be resolved, being in your lordship's judgment offensive. Notwithstanding many of our doubts have been heard, and by your lordship's great pains, favourably interpreted, we were in the end dismissed without any certainty of your lordship's pleasure. We have thought it meet, therefore, to signify these two things to your grace:—1. That we are not resolved in our consciences, of the most of our former doubts, and have yet many others not mentioned, which we judge of equal weight.—2. That seeing we are not in our consciences, satisfied to subscribe, we humbly desire to understand your grace's favourable purpose, in proceeding with us, and whether we shall receive license to depart or no.

"Your grace's most humble to command in the Lord.

|                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| " DUDLEY FENNER,     | ROBERT GOLLEFORD,  |
| " JOSEPH NICHOLS,    | JOHN ELVIN,        |
| " JOSEPH MINGE,      | LEVER WOOD,        |
| " GEORGE CASLOCKE,   | WILLIAM KNIGHT,    |
| " WILLIAM EVANS,     | ANTHONY HILTON,    |
| " JAMES GROVE,       | THEOPHILUS CALVER, |
| " GEORGE ELY,        | JOHN MAYO,         |
| " RICHARD HOLDEN,    | JOHN GRIMSTONE."   |
| " ANTHONY BRIMSTONE, |                    |

In the conclusion, the archbishop suspended them all; upon which, Sir Thomas Scot and twenty-six respectable gentlemen in Kent, feeling the great loss of so many excellent ministers being silenced, all waited upon his lordship. From the conversation which they had with the archbishop, now before me, it is manifest how exceedingly solicitous they were to procure their restoration. But his grace being immoveable, their generous endeavours proved ineffectual.† Mr. Fenner continued under suspension many

♦ MS. Register, p. 326.

† MS. Chronology, vol. 1. p. 332. (3 | 1) (3 | 3).

years, even to the time of his death; and most probably his brethren shared no better fate.\*

Upon their suspension, being slanderously aspersed from the press, by one who subscribed himself R. S., they were vindicated against the foul reproaches of this scurrilous writer. This vindication is at considerable length, though probably it was never printed.† Mr. Fenner, that he might silence calumny, gave a written testimony, that he was suspended merely for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. This testimony, dated June 12, 1585, was as follows:—"I, Dudley Fenner, was suspended from the execution of my ministry, for this cause only, that I refused to subscribe to the two last articles generally pronounced to the ministers at the time of subscription. And this my suspension was pronounced by the archbishop himself. Indeed, I appeared before him and the rest of her majesty's commissioners, to answer unto other articles, but this was after my suspension; neither did I receive any censure or other pain in that behalf, after my answer to the said articles. This, being lawfully called thereto, I am ready to confirm by oath.

"DUDLEY FENNER."‡

Upon Mr. Fenner's appearance before the archbishop and other commissioners, at the time specified in the above testimony, he received much unkind usage. Though he was a man of distinguished learning and piety, the proud archbishop called him a *boy*, a *knave*, a *slanderer*, a *libeller*, and other foul names, equally contrary to truth, and reproachful to his archiepiscopal character.§ Dr. Grey stigmatizes him "on account of his *vile republican principles*, with holding that it was lawful to take away the life of a king;" for which, if the good man had been punished more severely, than by seven years' suspension, the learned doctor could not but think he would have deserved it.¶ Such were the illiberal notions of these bigotted churchmen!

Some time after Whitgift suspended Mr. Fenner, he was committed to prison for nonconformity. And having suffered twelve months' imprisonment, upon a general subscription to the articles, *as far as the law required*, with a promise to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no other, he is said to have been released. He joined his brethren in

\* MS. Register, p. 585. † Ibid. p. 272—290. ‡ Ibid. p. 588.

§ MS. Remarks, p. 403.

¶ Grey's Review of Neal, p. 72.

subscribing the "Book of Discipline."\* Afterwards, on account of the severities of the times, there being no prospect of enjoying his liberty in the ministry, or some further troubles awaiting him, he was obliged to flee from the storm, when he went to Middleburgh, where he died towards the close of the year 1589.† His widow became the famous Dr. Whitaker's second wife.

Mr. Fenner, who is styled "an eminent light, yea, a bright-burning candle in his time,"‡ was a man of distinguished learning and abilities, and the author of many excellent works, some of which were upon the controversies of the times. Among these, was "A Defence of the godly Ministers against Dr. Bridges' Slanders, with a true Report of the ill Dealings of the Bishops against them." This work was finished a month only before the author's death.§ Dr. Bridges having asserted, that the puritans were not grievously afflicted, unless it was produced by their own deserts, Mr. Fenner made the following reply:—

"Is it no grievous affliction, by suspension to be hung up between hope and despair for a year or two, and in the mean time, to see the wages of our labours eaten up by loiterers? Nay, our righteous souls are vexed with seeing and hearing the ignorance, the profane speeches, and evil examples, of those thrust upon our charges; while we ourselves are defamed, reproached, scoffed at, and called seditious, and rebellious; cited, accused, and indicted, and yet no redress to be found. All this we have patiently borne, though we come daily to the congregations to prayers, to baptisms, and to the sacrament, and by our examples and admonitions have kept many from those excesses whereunto their rashness of zeal would have carried them. And though to such as you, who swarm with *deaneries, double benefices, pensions, advowsons, reversions, &c.* these molestations may seem light; yet, surely, upon every irreligious man's complaint, to be sent for by pursuivants, to pay two-pence for every mile, to find messengers, to defray our own charges, and all this by such as can hardly provide for themselves and their families, it is not only grievous, but heart-burning.

"We will not justify ourselves in all things," says he, "but acknowledge, that when coming by dozens and scores

\* Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 406, 423.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 172.

‡ Paget's Church Government, p. 86.

§ MS. Register, p. 567.

before the bishop, after half a day's disorderly reasoning, some not being heard to the full, some railed on and mis-called, none with lenity satisfied, but all suspended from our office, because we refused to subscribe to his two last articles, there might afterwards pass from us some unjustifiable expressions. This we are willing to impute to ourselves.\* The following is a list of Mr. Fenner's other learned productions.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. An Answer to the Confutation of John Nichols, 1581.—2. A Counter-Poyson, modestlie written for the Time, to make Answer to the Objections and Reproaches, wherewith the Answerer to the Abstract, would disgrace the Holy Discipline of Christ.—3. A Defence of the Reasons of the Counter-Poyson, for maintainance of the Eldershippe, against an Answer made to them by Doctor Copequot, in a publike Sermon at Paules Crosse, upon Psalm lxxxiv., 1584.† —4. A Commentry on Canticles.—5. The Order of Household Government.—6. An Interpretation of the Lord's Prayer.—7. An Interpretation of the Epistle to Philemon.—8. A short Table of Religion out of the first Table of the Law.—9. A Treatise of the Sacrament.—10. A profitable Treatise of Lawful and Unlawful Recreations.—11. The Art of Logic and Rhetoric plainly set forth.—12. Sacred Theology, in Ten Books.‡—13. The Consideration of the Admonition of Mr. Vaughan. A MS. copy of this work is now before me, but most probably was never published.

**CUTHBERT BAINBRIGG** was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and a popular preacher in the university, but was brought into trouble for nonconformity. Having preached at St. Mary's church, January 5, 1589, he was summoned before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Nevil, and heads of colleges, who, for the dangerous doctrines said to be contained in his sermon, immediately sent him to prison. This affair, with a similar one of Mr. Francis Johnson's,§ excited the attention of the university for a twelvemonth.

Mr. Bainbrigg's text on this occasion was Luke xii. 49., "I am come to send fire upon earth," &c. Certain articles were collected from the sermon, and he was required to declare upon his oath, what he had delivered relative to those articles.¶ Both he and Mr. Johnson appeared before their learned inquisitors, January 23d; and

\* Parte of a Register, p. 392, 393.

† The two last articles are published in "A Parte of a Register."—See p. 412—527.

‡ The MS. of this learned work, and apparently in Mr. Fenner's own hand, is still preserved in Dr. Williams's library, Redcross-street, London.

§ See Art. F. Johnson.

¶ Strype's Whitgift, p. 296.

refusing to answer upon their oath, they were committed to prison. The reason of their refusal being demanded, they made this three-fold protestation:—1. "That we do from our hearts, reverence your authority set over us by God.—2. That we refuse not an oath, as if it was unlawful on all occasions.—3. That we are neither afraid, nor unwilling to acknowledge and defend that which we have openly taught, if any person shall impugn it, or charge it to be unlawful."

March 13th, they underwent another examination, when they protested, "That if they had committed any crime, their only objection against taking the oath, was, that by so doing, they might be constrained to bring matter of accusation against themselves, which was contrary both to the word of God, and the laws of the land." And appearing again April 18th, they protested, "That if the oath then offered to them, could be shewn to be warranted by the word of God, and the laws of the land, they were ready to take it."

Their case exciting so much attention, was, at length, sent up to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university. Upon this, they further protested, "That if they might be suffered to appear before his lordship, they would clear themselves of the charges brought against them, or willingly suffer any condign punishment.—And that if their accusers would charge them with those things with which his lordship had been made acquainted, they would themselves, or by witness, disprove the charges, or suffer any kind of punishment they deserved: adding, that they were ready to answer, according to their honourable chancellor's letter, which required simply their answer, *without any oath.*" They further observe, that they preached their sermons at the usual time and place, as they were required; and in the hearing of many hundreds of persons, both of the town and university, who were sufficiently able to satisfy their judges. But for them, merely by their office, to search what they delivered, by extorting it from them upon their oath; in this case, if they were guilty, they would be obliged to accuse themselves. This they looked upon as contrary to the word of God, and the established laws of the realm.\*

The vice-chancellor and heads sent the following information to Burleigh the chancellor, containing, it is

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 599—591.

said, the chief points relative to the imprisonment of the two divines:—"That the court would have been hard indeed, in these proceedings, if all good means had not been first used.—That their proceeding is according to the canon law and the law of the realm.—That it is according to the former precedents of the university.—That the university, without this course, is hardly to be governed.—That by the relation of the physicians, as well as Mr. Bainbrigg himself, he was not sick.—That they have had liberty to attend their recreations in the fields, and their public exercises in the town."

To each of these points the two prisoners gave the following answers:—The vice-chancellor confesseth the offer of the oath to have been *hard*, but that all gentle means were first used. Let the means, say they, be examined. They were convened upon the delivery of their sermons, when articles were brought against them. They offered to answer these articles, but were refused; and they were required to swear to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. They humbly desired that they might not be pressed to swear, because it was impossible for them to deliver every thing uttered in their sermons of an hour and half long. It is very hard to try the conscience of a man, to take the holy name of God in witness of that which he knoweth he cannot perform; and it is contrary to the law of God to offer in his name, to do that which is impossible.

Their reasons not being admitted, the ministers prayed the vice-chancellor, that they might be informed by the law of God and the realm, that they might and ought thus to swear, protesting their willingness to yield thereto; but, if this could not be done, they desired that they might be spared. They were then committed to prison; and, at the time these answers were given, they had been detained upwards of twenty weeks, without being admitted on bail. Hence it may appear, say they, that no very *gentle* means have been used. On the contrary; that all gentle means have been refused, is, indeed, too apparent. For about six weeks after their commitment, Sir Henry Knevet and Sir William Bowes, knights, offered bail to the vice-chancellor and Dr. Perne, which was rejected. Sir William Bowes afterwards renewed his application and his offer, but with no better success. He prayed them to be well informed of the issue, about which, he conceived, they were greatly mistaken. He recommended them to take down the fact

concerning the prisoners in writing, then for two lawyers of each party to set down the law; and if the law would justify their proceedings, the prisoners should submit: but if it should appear otherwise, let them be enlarged, and they should complain no further. He also observed, that if the lawyers should not agree in any points of law, the cause, with the reasons of this difference, should be laid before the chancellor, and by him finally determined. These generous proposals the vice-chancellor and his colleagues utterly rejected, and would agree to no determination unless it were by two lawyers whom they should themselves appoint, or by the high commission in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Certain eminent persons, heads of colleges in the university, became earnest suitors to have them bailed, but all to no purpose.

The two prisoners were informed by their learned counsel, that upon the refusal of the oath, tendered them *ex mero officio*, they ought not to have been detained in prison, without bail, as might be proved by the laws of the land, and by the equity of the statute made 25 Henry VIII. Also, the counsel conceived them greatly mistaken in the whole of their proceedings. For, while they founded these proceedings on the statute of the university, they found therein neither the offer of the oath, which was done *ex mero officio*, being jurisdiction ecclesiastical; nor imprisonment proceeding from civil power; two different authorities compounded in the present action.

Though the above proceedings were said to be according to the precedents of the university, the vice-chancellor refused to shew, or suffer to be shewn, the register of any such precedent. Neither could it be found that any such precedent had ever occurred, excepting one solitary instance when Dr. Bying was vice-chancellor. At the same time, Dr. Goad, provost of King's college; Dr. Whitaker, master of St. John's college; and Mr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, all protested that they would have no hand in these proceedings. Also among the *fifteen* heads of colleges, only *five*, and of the *six* other doctors, only *two*, would join in these disgraceful oppressions.

Notwithstanding Mr. Bainbrigg was charged with counterfeiting sickness, the physician whom he employed, declared the contrary under his own hand. And the prisoners, so far from being allowed to go out of their prisons, as was represented to the chancellor, only took the liberty once to go to their college on a special occasion,

when their keeper was checked by the vice-chancellor. And having made earnest suit for liberty to attend public service at St. Mary's church, with their keeper, on a Lord's day, their request was rejected by the vice-chancellor, saying, "You must pardon me, I neither can nor will."\*

Mr. Bainbrigg and Mr. Johnson having suffered numerous and grievous hardships, laid their distresses before Burleigh the chancellor, in the following letter:†

"Right honourable and very good lord.

"May it please your good lordship once again to  
 "admit the humble suit of us poor prisoners, now having,  
 "as your lordship understandeth, of long time so con-  
 "tinued in the university of Cambridge, without bail  
 "or mainprize. And, first, may it please your honour  
 "to understand, that we are not committed for any thing  
 "uttered by us in our sermons, but only because we  
 "did not yield to take a corporal oath, to deliver the  
 "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, of  
 "what we spake in our public sermons, and thereby to  
 "accuse ourselves, if in any thing we had offended.  
 "Without oath we have already openly in the consistory  
 "(according to your honour's first letters) answered to  
 "whatsoever we were charged with; notwithstanding  
 "which, we still continue imprisoned, only because we  
 "refuse to take their unlawful oath. We have great cause  
 "to believe, that your honour hath been already a very  
 "good lord unto us, in keeping from us that extremity  
 "which we greatly feared; for which we shall continually  
 "pray the lord to reward sevenfold in your lordship's  
 "bosom. Yet because your lordship's first letters only  
 "(which upon information against us) were imparted to  
 "the rest of the heads of houses, and read also unto us;  
 "but the two late letters sent from your honour, private  
 "only to Mr. Vice-chancellor, were not communicated in  
 "the whole to the heads present in the university. We  
 "see no hope of release, except we yield to that hard  
 "condition, which we have before set down to your  
 "lordship, but are likely to be tired with imprisonment;  
 "although in so good a cause, God witnessing us, we hope  
 "never to give over.

"We are again bold to fly unto your lordship for relief,  
 "desiring your honour to consider of our long imprison-

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 83—85.

† Ibid. p. 82, 83.

"ment, only for refusing to take the oath : whereby we  
 "are greatly restrained of that liberty which other scholars  
 "do enjoy ; and our bodily health is so endangered as one  
 "of us hath been constrained very inconveniently in the  
 "place to take physic. Our duties, also, to our pupils,  
 "whom their parents have committed unto us, are very  
 "much hindered ; besides our common duties as fellows  
 "of our college and scholars of the university, all the  
 "benefits whereof we want, together with the hearing of  
 "the word of God preached, and participation of the  
 "sacrament administered ; our private studies in the time  
 "of our preparation for the ministry of the gospel, long  
 "interrupted, and much disappointed ; our good name  
 "among our friends abroad and strangers every where,  
 "that hear of our imprisonment, but not of the cause,  
 "greatly impaired ; and our exhibition, which should have  
 "been employed to the maintenance of our studies,  
 "exceedingly wasted in the charge of the prison. In all  
 "which considerations we humbly beseech your good lord,  
 "that by your lordship's good favour, we may obtain  
 "at length, some release of that long imprisonment,  
 "which we doubt not your lordship judgeth sufficiently to  
 "have met with our offence.

"We refuse not to answer any matters wherewith we  
 "can be charged, to put in bond or sufficient surety to  
 "appear, either before your lordship, or before our govern-  
 "ors here, when we shall be called. Besides, our fellow-  
 "ships, the only stay of living that we have, will sufficiently  
 "bind us hereunto. This is the whole sum of our suit,  
 "which we refer wholly to your honour's wisdom and  
 "equity. The Lord Almighty bless your honour with  
 "long life, increase of honour in this life, and everlasting  
 "life in the world to come, amen. From our prison in  
 "Camb. May 22, 1589.

Your honour's most humble supplicants,

CUTH. BAINBRIGG, FRAN. JOHNSON."

The vice-chancellor and heads of colleges laid the case  
 before the high commission. This was going the sure way  
 to work. The high commissioners denominated the sermons  
 of the two prisoners, factious, slanderous and offensive, and  
 authorized the vice-chancellor and his colleagues to examine  
 and proceed against the preachers, *according to their  
 discretion.*\* The dangerous doctrines said to have been

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 185.

contained in Mr. Bainbrigg's sermon, were collected into certain articles; to each of which he delivered his answer in writing, as follows :

Art. 1. That some who seek preferment, pay money for it themselves; and pay their money beforehand.

Ans. I said, that the excellency of a public function in the church or commonwealth, consisted in labour and diligence for the good of the public, rather than in any pomp or outward shew. Jesus Christ came into the world, not to be ministered unto, but to minister unto others. And if the example of Christ were followed, men would, with Moses and Jeremiah, labour for the welfare of their fellow creatures, when they are called so to do, rather than seek preferment with such anxiety, even buying it with money when it cannot be obtained on more easy terms.

2. That there are persons who have a bar standing between them and the fire; that if need be, they may strike the fire out of the hands of those who bring it; and that this bar is your statutes and positive laws.

Ans. That principal word in the article, namely, *your*, I never used at all. I only said, positive laws and statutes had been abused by men in all ages as a bar, either to keep the fire of the word of God from them, or to strike it out of the hands of those who bring it. I observed, that is not a man of wisdom, fearing God, who does not know and acknowledge, that there must be good order, both in church and commonwealth, and will reverence it with all his heart, as one of the excellent appointments of God. He will acknowledge the excellency and necessity of wholesome laws, by which the members of society are united, strengthened, and beautified. Yet I said the wise and learned knew and would acknowledge, that though these laws were useful and necessary, they were imperfect rules of man's obedience, and, therefore, no sufficient bar to keep off the word of God, which requires more obedience than any human laws or statutes whatsoever. The laws of men, being imperfect, should always give place to the perfect laws of God.

I also observed, that when men are reprov'd for their sins, they should not regard so much how they may acquit themselves before men, and by human laws, though in some cases even this is necessary, as to try all things in the court of conscience, and by the word of God: much less should they strike the fire of the word out of the hands of those who bring it, and require more obedience of man than the

laws demand. Offences, indeed, against positive laws must needs be punished, lest others, by too much lenity, be encouraged to do evil; yet with great prudence, especially in the case of a minister, lest the innocent be oppressed and injured. There must be great care, that the church be not deprived, of the word, which is so excellent a treasure, and which the Lord hath committed to his ministers.

3. That there is extremity used, especially in the execution of laws.

Ans. I did not say there was extremity in the execution of laws. It seems that they who thus accuse me, wholly misunderstood my meaning when I recommended mutual forbearance; but especially in inferiors towards their superiors.

4. The fire of the word is put out, by stopping the mouths of those who bring it.

Ans. I never used the words, *putting out the fire*, nor *stopping their mouths*.

5. If you mind, indeed, to awake: As if he meant to reflect upon the sleepiness of the doctors' sermons usually delivered there.

Ans. I said thus, directing myself to the doctors, If you desire, indeed, that they (meaning the townsmen) should awake out of sleep; if you would have them forsake the works of darkness, and have Jesus Christ heard among them, provide that Jesus Christ may be more frequently preached among them.

6. That eloquence is base.

Ans. I did not speak against *good* eloquence; because, I said, of all gifts, there were none more excellent in itself, nor more profitable to society. But I spoke against the ridiculous eloquence of some in our days, which consisteth principally in an outward shew, and is disgraceful to the majesty of the word of God.

7. That ceremonies are no sooner spoken of, than they are snatched at.

Ans. I said, I could not help wondering that those men, who, hearing the ceremonies spoken of without distinction, would snatch at the word of God, in order to make a minister a transgressor. Whereas the Lord himself hath spoken against idle and unprofitable ceremonies, both in the Old and the New Testament.\*

From the above statement, the reader will be able to

\* *Styrc's Annals*, vol. iii. Appen. p. 266, 267.

judge with what degree of justice Mr. Bainbrigg's opinions were denominated factious, slanderous, offensive and dangerous. To put an end to these oppressive measures, the chancellor interposed, and wrote to the vice-chancellor and heads, requiring that the two fellows might not be dealt with so rigorously.\* A further account of Mr. Johnson is given under that article, to which the reader is referred. But Mr. Bainbrigg was still in the hands of his enemies; and they were determined to make him feel their smarting rod. The cruel ecclesiastics, contrary to Burleigh's express order, would not release him, till they had thoroughly humbled him. Therefore, they required him to make the following recantation, publicly, before the congregation where he had delivered his sermon:

"Whereas in a sermon made by me in this place, Jan. 5th last past, I was taken to charge the ministry of the church of England, that they were unlike Moses and Jeremiah, that refused a charge being called; for that they do seek for livings, and buy them with their money, when they do fall. I do acknowledge that howsoever my words were taken, I think it lawful in a good conscience, for the good of the church, to desire livings. Neither did I say, as some did take me, that our statutes of the university, and positive laws of the realm, are as a bar to strike the fire of the gospel out of the hands of the preachers, who be the Lord's messengers; but I think reverently of good and wholesome laws, such as are established by the queen's authority, as well in the university, as in the rest of her dominions.

"And touching preachers, if any of them have by lawful authority been put to silence, I think as charity requireth, that the magistrates who have dealt therein, have been moved thereto by conscience, for the discharge of their honest duty in that behalf.

"I acknowledge, also, a godly use of eloquence in this place, and that the ceremonies of our church established by authority, being in themselves neither impious nor unprofitable, are not here to be reprov'd by any private man's conceit, but redress to be sought where it may be had, if it be necessary in regard of any ceremony, whereby offence may be taken."†

The above retraction, it is said, was subscribed by Mr. Bainbrigg's own hand, and he was enjoined to declare the

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 592.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 185, 186.

same in the pulpit of St. Mary's church; but whether he performed the latter we have not been able to learn. After this, he was most probably released from prison, and was restored to his fellowship in the college, which he appears to have enjoyed in the year 1590.\* The year following he was chosen one of the proctors of the university.†

EDMUND LITTLETON was a zealous puritan, who took an active part in promoting the associations. Though it does not appear at what place he exercised his public ministry, he was a man of considerable eminence, and always desirous to obtain a more pure reformation of the church. He united with his brethren in perfecting the "Book of Discipline;" and when it was finished, he joined with them in subscribing it.‡ On account of his zeal and activity to promote the desired ecclesiastical discipline, he was apprehended, with many of his brethren, in the year 1590, and carried before the high commission. He and some others were of opinion, that it was their duty to take an oath in all cases, when required by their superiors. He, therefore, took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered many things relative to the associations; for which he was most probably released.§

When he was apprehended, his papers were seized, and carried away, and produced as evidence against him and his brethren. Among these was the following declaration, subscribed by the persons whose names are subjoined.

"The brethren assembled together in the name of God, having heard and examined by the word of God, and according to their best abilities and judgment, a draught of discipline essential and necessary for all times, have thought good to testify concerning it as follows:—We acknowledge and confess the same to be agreeable to God's most holy word, so far as we are able to judge or discern of it, excepting some few points, which we have sent to our reverend brethren of this assembly, for their further resolution.

"We affirm it to be the same which we desire to be established in this church, by daily prayer to God, which we promise (as God shall offer opportunity, and give us to discern it so expedient) by humble suit unto her majesty, her honourable council and the parliament, and by all

\* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 502.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 149.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Strype's Whitgift, p. 331—333.

other lawful and convenient means, to further and advance, so far as the laws and peace of the present estate of our church will suffer it, and not enforce the contrary. We promise to guide ourselves and to be guided by it, and according to it.

“For a more special declaration of some points more important and necessary, we promise uniformly to follow such order, when we preach the word of God, as in the book is by us set down, in the chapters of the office of ministers of the word, of preaching, of sermons, of sacraments, of baptisms, and of the Lord’s supper.

“Further, also, we follow the order set down in the chapters of the meetings, as far as it concerneth the ministers of the word. For which purpose, we promise to meet together every six weeks in classical conferences, with such of the brethren here assembled, as for their neighbourhood may fit us best, and such others as by their advice, we shall desire to be joined with us.

“The like we promise for provincial meetings every half year from our conferences to send unto them, being divided according to the order following. Also, that we will attend the general assembly every year, and at all parliaments, and as often as by order it shall be thought good to be assembled.

“JOHN OXENBRIDGE,  
HUMPHREY FENN,  
EDWARD GELLIBRAND,  
HERCULES CLEVELEY,  
LEONARD FETHERSTON,  
JOHN ASHBYE,

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT,  
MATTHEW HULME,  
ANTHONY NUTTER,  
DANIEL WIGHT,  
EDWARD LORD,  
EDMUND LITTLETON.”

From the above curious declaration, we have a more clear and correct insight into the proceedings of the puritanical associations, and into the nature and design of their intended ecclesiastical discipline, than from all the raillery and misrepresentation of Dr. Bancroft and other bigotted historians. The private assemblies of the puritans are stigmatized by these writers, as having been dangerous, seditious, and amounting almost to treason; but the above paper will sufficiently refute and expose the shameful slander.

\* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 71.

EDWARD LORD was some years vicar of Woolston in Warwickshire, but greatly persecuted for nonconformity. During Mr. Cartwright's exile at Guernsey and Antwerp, he took care of his hospital at Warwick; for which that reverend divine allowed him part of the profits, and gave the rest to the poor.\* He subscribed the "Book of Discipline," and united with his brethren in their private assemblies; for which, in the year 1590, he was apprehended, and convened before the high commission and star-chamber, and cast into prison, where he remained a long time.† He underwent many examinations before his spiritual inquisitors, but refused to take the oath *ex officio*. On one of these occasions, he is said to have inquired "what would become of archbishops, bishops, &c. when the reformation should thrust them from their rich livings; that the country might not be pestered with beggars?" He gave some account of various private meetings and conferences among the brethren; and said, "that the painful preaching ministers now, are worse suppressed, than by the papists in the time of Queen Mary, who professed open enmity against them, and had law against them, which is otherwise now with us."‡ Mr. Lord was an eminently holy man, an able preacher, and an excellent divine. Upon his deprivation at the above period, he was succeeded in the pastoral office at Woolston by Mr. Hugh Clark, another excellent puritan.§

ANDREW KING was a divine of considerable eminence, but, in 1573, was apprehended and cast into prison for nonconformity. Being brought before the lords of the council and the high commission, and examined concerning some of Mr. Cartwright's opinions, and not answering to the satisfaction of his spiritual inquisitors, he was sent back to prison, and threatened with banishment if he would not conform.¶ What other sufferings he underwent at this time, we have not been able to learn. However, in the year 1590, he was again apprehended, together with Mr. Cartwright and many others, and cast into prison, where he remained a long time. During his imprisonment, he and his brethren were often carried before the high commission and the star-chamber, where they met with

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 20.

† See Art. Cartwright.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 74.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 20, 129.

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413.

most tyrannical and cruel usage.\* On one of these occasions, the following interrogatories were proposed to him :—“ Whether have you refused to use, or have you used in your sermons, the queen’s majesty’s whole title by law established under her, namely, *defender of the faith*, in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, in these her realms and dominions, and *supreme governor* next and immediately under God? For what cause have you so refused, or not used the said style? and were you admonished to use it?—Whether did you know or had heard before the 19th day of November, 1588, the said day was by and under her majesty’s authority appointed to be solemnized and celebrated with thanksgiving unto God, for our happy deliverance from the intended invasion of the Spaniards? And did you that day, nevertheless, absent yourself from the parish church, and neither said divine service, preached, nor procured any other, then and there to do it? What was the cause, and what was your very true and only purpose and intent in so doing?”† Though Mr. King refused the oath *ex officio*, these inquiries were evidently designed to force him to accuse himself, and then to condemn him upon his own confession: but it does not appear what answers he gave, or whether he absolutely refused.

MALANCTHON JEWEL was a zealous minister of Christ, but met with much cruel usage for his nonconformity. He was tried at the public assize at Exeter, and condemned upon the statute for confirming the Book of Common Prayer, to suffer five months’ imprisonment. He met with this unjust and inhuman treatment, though he had previously applied to the bishop, for the removal of his doubts and scruples, but could not obtain the favour.‡ In the year 1590, he was again apprehended, and cast into prison; he was frequently taken before the high commission and the star-chamber, and remained under confinement about two years.§

Though he refused the oath *ex officio*, the following inquiries were proposed to him, and he was required to give his answer :—“ Whether have you devised, penned, received, or delivered any English books or pamphlets, being contrary to the laws or statutes of this realm, since her majesty’s proclamation in that behalf? And have you

\* See Art. Cartwright.  
 † MS. Register, p. 585.

‡ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 78.  
 § See Art. Cartwright.

affirmed of them, or some of such books, at Houlsworthy in the county of Devon, or elsewhere, (in commendation of them) that they contained no untruths; nor used words to the like effect? How many of every sort of such books have you had, of whom, and how have you bestowed them?—Whether in your speeches, sermons, or some of them, have you thought or affirmed, that it is of necessity, and in all places, to have churches governed by elderships of pastors, doctors, elders, or such like? Or, that the offices of archbishops and bishops, as they are practised in this realm, are the offices of antichrist; and that the archbishop and lord bishops, as you term them in contempt, were beasts, members of antichrist, and chimney sweepers; and that they persecute godly ministers; and by persecuting them, did purify them, and pollute themselves?—Whether have you taught openly, that no jailer ought to receive any man (though he be committed by any authority) into their prisons, except they first know the cause, that such were certainly offenders? And that her majesty's judges of assize, who affirmed that you have submitted yourself and promised conformity, did belie you, with other terms of reproach? And affirmed in pulpits, that justices were now become tyrants? or have you used any words to the like effect of these, or any of them? when, and where?—Whether did you baptize the child of one Asher, a pretended minister, who then made a public profession of his faith; and amongst other things, said 'he believed Christ had appointed his churches to be governed by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons,' and in that faith desired baptism for his daughter, whom he named, *The Lord is Near*; and did you thereupon, and in that faith and profession baptize the child?—How tyrannical and ridiculous were these proceedings! What answers Mr. Jewel gave, or whether he absolutely refused to answer, we cannot learn.

EDWARD SNAPE was educated most probably in the university of Cambridge; afterwards he became minister at St. Peter's church, Northampton. He was a decided non-conformist, a laborious preacher, and a zealous advocate for a more pure reformation of the church. It is observed,

• Baker's MS. Collec: vol. xv. p. 77.

that when the parishioners of St. Peter's in Northampton understood that he did not account himself a full minister, till he should be chosen by some particular congregation, they immediately chose him to be their minister.\*

In the year 1576, Mr. Snape and Mr. Thomas Cartwright were invited to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, to assist the ministers of those places, in framing the necessary discipline for their churches. Dr. Heylin, who could never speak well of such men, charges these two divines with *imposing* their discipline upon the people of those islands; than which he could not have asserted a more palpable falsehood.† They were averse to every species of ecclesiastical imposition, and were called to those places only to give their instructions and advice; and this peevish, calumniating writer, must surely have known this. The two divines were men of distinguished learning and abilities. They laboured to have the discipline of the church wholly regulated by the New Testament; and, therefore, they were admirably qualified for the important undertaking.

After the comfortable settlement of those churches, Mr. Snape returned to England, and preached the gospel for some time in the diocese of Exeter; where, it is said, he sowed the seeds of nonconformity; but it is added, that the vigilant and stout prelate, Dr. Cotton, plucked them up before they came to perfection.‡ This, however, is a very defective account of his labours in those parts. For it is observed, that Mr. Snape, Mr. Eusebius Paget, and Mr. John Holmes, three excellent nonconformists in the diocese of Exeter, were exceedingly zealous and laborious to promote true religion; and, by their frequent and useful preaching, they were made a blessing to very many both of the clergy and common people.§ Mr. Snape having laboured in those parts for some time, returned to his ministerial exercise at Northampton, where he most probably continued several years.||

About the year 1586, he united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline;"¶ and in 1590, he was brought into trouble on account of the associations held in Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, and other counties. He was a zealous and an active member of these assemblies; for

\* Bancroft's *Dangerous Positions*, p. 114.

† Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 293.

‡ Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 206.

§ *MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 679. (3.)

|| Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 276, 290. ¶ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. i. p. 423.

which he was convened before the high commission, when numerous charges were exhibited against him :\* as, "That he had certain books in his possession, entitled 'A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline.'—That he refused to baptize a child, unless it was called by some scripture name.†—That in his public ministry, he did not read the confession, absolutions, psalms, lessons, litany, and some other parts of the Book of Common Prayer.—That he renounced his calling to the ministry by the bishop's ordination.—And that he urged others to renounce their calling in like manner."—Such were the crimes with which our divine was charged!

Mr. Snape, and many of his brethren, for crimes like these, were summoned before the high commission at Lambeth, and required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer all interrogatories which might be proposed to them. This they utterly refused, unless they might first see them. And, says Dr. Heylin, when the interrogatories were even shewed them, Mr. Snape, apprehensive of danger to himself and his brethren, still refused to take the oath. An unpardonable crime was this, in the opinion of this author! It should be recollected, that Mr. Snape and his persecuted brethren did not positively engage to answer, even upon the sight of the interrogatories; they only refused to take the oath, and to give their answer, till they had seen those interrogatories; and, after they had seen them, they should be better able to judge whether it was lawful or unlawful.

Mr. Snape's letters having been intercepted, were produced against him; and when he refused to accuse himself and his brethren, he was immediately sent to prison. Our author adds, "This struck great terror into all the brethren, who now began to apprehend the dangers into which they were fallen by their former insolences.‡ A pitiful triumph, indeed!—Another writer observes, that when Mr. Snape was examined before the high commission at Lambeth, in

\* Btayne's Whitgift, p. 329—331.

† The following curious tale is told of Mr. Snape:—"There goes a story," says Dr. Heylin, "that one Hodgkinson of Northampton, having a child to be baptized, repaired to Snape, to do it for him; and he consented to the motion, but with promise that he should give it some name allowed in scripture. The holy action being so far forwards, that they were come to the naming of the infant, they named it Richard, being the name of its grandfather. Upon this a stop was made, and he would not be persuaded to baptize the child, unless its name were altered; and the god-father refusing to do this, the child was carried home unchristened."—*Heylin's Hist. of Pres.* p. 293.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 302, 303.

April, 1580, *thirty-six* articles were delivered to him in writing, which, as an inducement to take the oath, he was allowed to read. These articles related to the persons, places, and times of their associations, and the subjects discussed on those occasions. Upon a second examination, and still refusing the oath, he was committed close prisoner.\*

Though we are unable to learn whether he continued to refuse the oath, he certainly gave his answer to at least part of the interrogatories. He underwent many severe examinations before the high commission, and the star-chamber; and on one of these occasions, he gave the following answers, containing, it is said, "a true account of that which Edward Snape confesseth, he wrote and gave forth:"

1. "Touching the substance of my calling to the ministry, I affirm, that I had it of the church of God, being approved by the godly and learned neighbouring ministers, and chosen to the function by the people of my charge. Touching that allowance which I had of the bishop, I take it to be a thing *merely civil*, belonging to a civil magistrate, which authority he hath by act of parliament; and which, therefore, I might lawfully receive at his hands, for the peaceable execution of my ministry.

2. "Touching the use of the Book of Common Prayer, I will use it only in those things which are justifiable by the word of God. And if it can be proved unto me, by sound reasons out of that word, that it is utterly unlawful to use any part of it, I will cease to use it at all.

3. "Touching the calling of elders, I do promise to use all holy and lawful means, for the procuring of it.

4. "Touching the surceasing of my ministry, I do also promise, that though I shall be inhibited by the bishop, yet, if the greater part of the communicants of my charge, shall require the continuance of my ministry; and shall also bind themselves to minister competently to my necessities; and shall have the consent of the godly neighbouring ministers, bonds or liberty, I will not surcease.

5. "Touching obedience to the bishops, I promise not to yield myself subject to them, in any things but such as are *civil*; and otherwise to disclaim any of their authority over me, as they are taken for ministers.

6. "To conclude. Whatever I use in my ministry,

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 435. (2.)

which shall be proved out of the word of God, to be unlawful, I will leave it: and whatsoever I use not, which may be also proved out of the word of God that I ought to use, I will, God willing, use it.\*

Also, on one of these occasions, when Mr. Snape appeared before his ecclesiastical inquisitors, he confessed, and said, "It was agreed upon in the classical and general assemblies, that *dumb* ministers were no ministers of Christ, and that the ministers should preach to promote a pure ecclesiastical government."†

Mr. Snape is said to have confessed in effect the whole of that with which he and his brethren were charged. He acknowledged that he moved the mayor of Northampton to unite with other towns, in presenting a supplication to the queen, humbly beseeching her majesty to hear their cries, and grant them a more pure ecclesiastical discipline. He joined with his brethren in their association at Warwick, in 1588; when they declared against private baptism, reading apocryphal books and homilies in the church, communicating with unlawful ministers and the government of bishops and archbishops, and for the erection of a better discipline.

He is said, also, to have used the following rash expressions, against the persecuting prelates:—"I pray God strengthen our faith, and arm us with patience; and then let the devil and his deputies the bishops, do what they can. In the mean time let us take our pennyworths of them, and not die in their debt. It fareth with us as with the prisoners in popery. God send us their comfort." And he compared the established church, under the oppressions of the bishops, "to Babel and the Red Dragon, dyed red with the blood of the saints."‡ Oppression will make a wise man mad.

At one of Mr. Snape's examinations, the following curious interrogatory was proposed, to which he was required to give his answer:—"Have you said and signified this, viz. 'How say you, if we devise a way to take off all the anti-christian yoke and government of bishops, and will jointly erect the discipline and government all in one day, in such sort as they shall never be able to prevail to the contrary? But peradventure, it will not be this year and half?' Or, did you use any words to the like effect, or tending or

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 72.

† Baxter's Second Plea, p. 32.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 73, 74.

sounding that way? To whom, when, and where, and what was your meaning, and only meaning thereby?"\* Such inquisition was certainly designed to ensnare his conscience, and to compel him to become his own accuser, even in the presence of his judges.

After having suffered eleven months' close imprisonment, Mr. Snape united with many others under similar oppressions, in presenting a supplication to the lord treasurer, humbly desiring to be admitted to give bail. At the same time, Archbishop Whitgift sent them a form of submission, which they unanimously rejected. A particular account of these transactions is given in another place.† But when he was released from prison, we are not able to learn.

The following anecdote is related of this persecuted servant of God. Mr. Snape, it is said, being cast into prison by the bishops for nonconformity; and all his money being expended by his long confinement, he met with much unkind usage from the jailer. The good man being one day on his knees in fervent prayer to God, and the window of his chamber being open, observed something thrown into the room; but he resolved to finish his prayer, before he examined what it was. When he rose from his knees, he found, to his great surprize, a purse full of gold lying on his chamber floor. By this unexpected supply; he was more comfortable in his situation, and enabled to make his keeper *better natured* ever after.‡ *The Lord heareth the young ravens when they cry*; how much more will he hear his afflicted people!

JOHN HOLMES was brought up under Bishop Jewel, and was an excellent preacher, and a man of great piety. Bishop Woolton of Exeter having obtained a good opinion of him, presented him to the benefice of Keane in Devonshire. He no sooner entered upon his public charge, than he began to labour as a faithful steward of the manifold mysteries of God. Being deeply concerned for the welfare of his flock, he manifested a strong affection for their best interests. He embraced every opportunity of affording them the best instruction, particularly by his catechetical exercises, a practice to which they had been very little accustomed. He also faithfully reproved their gross vices and disorders; for which he was complained of to the

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 76.

† See Art. Cartwright.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 10.

bishop; who, though he had been minister of the same place, deprived him of the living. In the year 1590, Humphrey Specot, esq. presented Mr. Holmes to the rectory of Tetcote, in the same county; but the above prelate refused him institution, and put him to numerous troubles, pretending that Mr. Holmes was an inveterate schismatic, merely because he could not with a good conscience observe every punctilio of conformity.

**RICHARD GREENHAM, A. M.**—This most excellent servant of Christ was born about the year 1531, and educated in Pembroke hall, Cambridge; where he took his degrees in Arts, and was chosen fellow.\* Upon his removal from the university, he became pastor to the congregation at Drayton, near Cambridge; where he continued many years, not sparing himself to promote the salvation of souls. He was a hard student, and constantly rose, winter and summer, at four o'clock in the morning. He always preached twice on a Lord's day, and catechised the young people of his parish. He usually preached four times and catechised once, during the week; and for the greater convenience of his people, these week-day services were observed early in the morning. He took such uncommon pains, and was so remarkably ardent, in his preaching, that at the conclusion of the service, his perspiration was so great, that his shirt was usually as wet as if it had been drenched in water. He was more concerned to be useful, than to obtain any worldly emolument whatever; therefore, he refused several lucrative preferments when offered him. He naturally cared for souls, and manifested on all occasions a warm concern for their salvation. At the same time, he was not unmindful of their temporal comfort, but abounded in acts of liberality to the poor and distressed; for which he and his family often suffered want. In addition to his public ministerial labours, he had a remarkable talent for comforting afflicted consciences; and in this department the Lord greatly blessed his endeavours. Having himself waded through the deep waters, and laboured under many painful conflicts, he was eminently qualified for relieving others. The fame of his usefulness in resolving the doubts of inquiring souls, having spread through the country,

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 378.

multitudes from all quarters, flocked to him as to a wise physician, and by the blessing of God, obtained the desired comfort. Numerous persons who to his own knowledge had laboured under the most racking terrors of conscience, were restored to joy and peace in believing. When any complained of blasphemous thoughts, his advice was "do not fear them, but *abhor* them."

Mr. Greenham was a man remarkable for peace. He was celebrated for promoting peace among those who were at variance, and in labouring incessantly for the peace of the church of God. He was a most exact and conscientious nonconformist, choosing on all occasions to suffer, rather than sacrifice a good conscience. Though he cautiously avoided speaking against conformity, or those things which to him appeared objectionable in the established church; lest he should give the least offence, he was suspended from his ministry, for refusing to subscribe and wear the habits.† He was of opinion that rites and ceremonies introduced into the church of Christ, without the warrant of scripture, were of no real advantage, but productive of much superstition;‡ therefore, he prayed that all such things, as hinderances to the success of the gospel, might be taken away. To subscribe to any thing besides the word of God, or not collected from that sacred volume, he durst not, but peremptorily refused.§

Whoever will read his letter to Dr. Cox, bishop of Ely, will easily perceive what manner of spirit they were of, who could bear hard upon so excellent and peaceable a divine.¶ When he was called before the bishop, upon a complaint of his nonconformity, he discovered at once, his prudence, peaceableness, and good sense. His lordship observing that there was a great *schism* in the church, asked him whether the blame was attached to the conformists, or nonconformists. To which Mr. Greenham immediately replied, "that it might be attached to *either*, or to *neither*. For," said he, "if both parties loved each other as they ought, and did acts of kindness for each other, thereby maintaining love and concord, the blame would be on *neither* side; but which party soever made the rent, the charge of schism belonged to them." The bishop is said to

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 12—14.

† Parte of a Register, p. 86—93.

‡ Greenham's Works, p. 278. Edit. 1601.

§ Parte of a Register, p. 88, 89.

¶ This letter is preserved; but too long for our insertion.—*Ibid.* p. 86—93.

have been so well satisfied with this answer, that he dismissed him in peace.\* Mr. Greenham united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."†

This worthy divine having laboured in the ministry at Drayton about twenty-one years, removed to London, and became minister at Christ-church, where, in about two years, he finished his labours. He died a most comfortable and happy death, in the year 1591, aged sixty years. Fuller, who says he died of the plague, observes, that he was an avowed enemy to non-residents, and wondered how such men could find any comfort in their wealth. "For," he used to say, "they must see written upon all they have, *this is the price of blood.*" Our author adds, that he was most precise in his conversation, a strict observer of the Lord's day, and that no book made a greater impression upon the minds of the people, than his "Treatise on the Sabbath," which greatly promoted the observance of it through the nation.‡ Mr. Strype denominates him a pious minister, but not well affected to the orders of the established church.§

Mr. Greenham was an excellent writer, for the time in which he lived. His works, including Sermons, Treatises, and a Commentary on Psalm cxix., came forth at different times, but were collected and published in one volume folio, in 1601. The excellent Bishop Wilkins speaks in high commendation of his sermons, classing them with the most valuable in his day.|| And his commentary, says Dr. Williams, is admirable, for the time in which it was written, both for style and method; and, like all the productions of this author, is full of spiritual unction.¶

The above edition of Mr. Greenham's works was published by Mr. Henry Holland, and dedicated to the Countess of Cumberland and the Countess Dowager of Huntington. In this dedication, it is observed as follows: "I come as in the name of the faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Richard Greenham, a man well known unto your honours, and to those most religious patrons of all piety and good learning, the Right Honourable Earls of Huntington, Warwick, and Bedford, of blessed memory, which now sleep in the Lord. Of them was he much revered in his life-time; of your honours much lamented after death; for you know the loss of such to be no small rack unto the church and people of God. Such experience and good liking

\* Clark's Lives, p. 13.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 219, 220.

§ Strype's Aylmer, p. 152.

|| Discourse on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

¶ Christian Preacher, p. 481.

have your honours had of this man of God, of his godliness and gravity, and of the manifold gifts of God in him, that I need say no more, as any way doubting of your honourable acceptance."

In the edition of his works, published in 1612, there is a dedication by Mr. Stephen Egerton, another excellent puritan, to Sir Marmaduke Darrell and Sir Thomas Bloother, knights, part of which is as follows:—"Surely, if one heathen man could gather gold out of the writings of another, how much more may we, being christians, gather not gold only, but pearls and precious stones out of the religious and holy labours of Mr. Richard Greenham, being a most godly brother; yea, more than a brother, even a most painful pastor, zealous preacher, and reverend father in the church of God; of whom I am persuaded that for practical divinity he was inferior to few or none in his time."

This pious divine had a strong and an unceasing attachment to the house of God. He used to say that ministers ought to frequent those places most where God hath made them most useful. Having once found the sweetness of gaining souls, thither should they be most desirous to resort. He had so conscientious a regard for the ordinance of public worship, that, however weak might be the talents of the preacher, he constantly esteemed it his duty, as well as his happiness, to resort to the house of the Lord.

**GILES WIGGINTON, A. M.**—This zealous puritan was born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, and, in 1566, made second scholar in the college. He went to the university under the patronage and recommendation of Sir Walter Mildmay,\* and was educated under Dr. Beaumont, master of the above college. Afterwards, he was chosen fellow of the house, though much opposed by Dr. Whitgift, then master of the college. He took his degrees in arts in 1571, having made great progress in the knowledge of divinity and the Greek and

\* Sir Walter Mildmay was a constant friend to the persecuted nonconformists, and founder of Emanuel college, Cambridge, which afterwards became the very nursery of puritanism. He was surveyor of the court of argumentation in the reign of Henry VIII., and privy counsellor, chancellor, and under-treasurer of the exchequer to Queen Elizabeth. He is celebrated by Camden, and other historians, for his uncommon merit in his private and public character.—*Fuller's Hist. of Cam.* p. 146, 147.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 233.

Hebrew languages. He continued some years longer at Cambridge, and, when he quitted the university, was possessed of great learning and many excellent endowments.

Mr. Wigginton having completed his studies at the university, was presented to the vicarage of Sedburgh, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; but being a zealous non-conformist, he became a great sufferer in the common cause. In the year 1581, Archbishop Sandys, writing to the Bishop of Chester, in whose diocese our divine lived, thus reproaches his nonconformity:—"Your lordship," says he, "shall do well to better Mr. Wigginton, a young man very far out of frame; who, in my opinion, will not accept of you as his ordinary or bishop; neither would I accept of him being in your place, as a preacher of my diocese. He labourerth not to build, but to pull down, and, by what means he can, to overthrow the state ecclesiastical."\* He probably thought the ecclesiastical state so far corrupted and decayed, that it was incapable of the amendment that was desired; and, therefore, he might wish and endeavour by all peaceable means, to have it pulled down, and a more pure discipline and government erected.

Being afterwards in London, he was appointed in the year 1584, to preach before the judges, in St. Dunstan's church. Information of this coming to the ears of Whitgift, then Archbishop of Canterbury, he sent a pursuivant to Mr. Wigginton's lodgings in the dead of the night; and, finding him in bed, forbade him preaching, and required him to give bond for his appearance the next day, at Lambeth. All this he did without any written warrant. Upon his appearance at Lambeth, and refusing the oath *ex officio*, to answer certain articles altogether unknown to him, the archbishop, after using much reviling and reproachful language, committed him to the Gatehouse, where he remained nine weeks within one day. At the expiration of this period, the merciful archbishop released him, and gave him canonical admonition, charging him not to preach in his province without further license.†

In the year 1585, upon the information of one Edward Middleton, a man of profane character, and a suspected papist, Whitgift gave orders to his brother Sandys of York, to proceed against Mr. Wigginton, even to deprivation. He was therefore cited before Chadderton, bishop of

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxviii. p. 366.

† MS. Register, p. 759.

Chester, when *twelve* charges were exhibited against him; and, in the end, he was deprived of his ministry; and one Colecloth, a minister of immoral character, was sent to take possession of the living. Afterwards, by the favour and influence of several persons of quality, he was again restored.

In the year 1586, our divine, being in London, was again apprehended by one of Whitgift's pursuivants, and carried before his grace at Lambeth; who, for refusing the oath to accuse himself as before, committed him to the White-lion prison, where he was treated with the utmost barbarity. We shall give the account in his own words. "In the month of May," says he, "I was in London; and was sorely vexed by the archbishop's pursuivants, who apprehended me, and took me to Lambeth. At Lambeth, I was shamefully reviled and abused by the archbishop and those about him, as if I had been the vilest rebel against my prince and country. He then committed me to the keeper of the prison in Southwark, who, by the archbishop's strict charge, so loaded me with irons, confined me in close prison, and deprived me of necessary food, that in about five weeks, I was nearly dead." Such were the unfeeling and inhuman proceedings of this persecuting arch-prelate.

While in this deplorable condition, Mr. Wigginton wrote to a certain nobleman, soliciting him to use his utmost endeavours to obtain his deliverance from such cruel usage. In this letter, dated from the White-lion, June 1, 1586, he expressed himself as follows:—"I desire you to make known my lamentable case to her majesty's honourable privy council, or to her majesty herself, that the cause of my imprisonment may be examined, and that I may be delivered from this hard usage. For I desire *justice*, and not *mercy*, being conscious of my own innocency. My old adversary, the archbishop, hath treated me more like a *Turk*, or a *dog*, than a man, or a minister of Jesus Christ. I heartily commend you to God."

GILES WIGGINTON.\*

He further proceeds in this account of himself, and says, "At length, my life being in so great danger, I was removed to another prison in London. And some time after this, I was brought again to Lambeth; when, for refusing to answer as before, after much slanderous usage, the archbishop suspended me from preaching in his province,

\* MS. Register, p. 769.

and, in a certain way, deprived me of my living at Sedburgh: but for my final deprivation, he sent me to Sandys, archbishop of York.

“When by the extremity of my sickness in prison, I was constrained still to abide some time in the city; and when, in the opinion of learned physicians, I was on my death-bed, the archbishop sent two pursuivants, commanding me to appear before him again at Lambeth; which I being unable to do, he pronounced against me the sentence of deprivation and degradation.\* After my departure, the Earls of Warwick and Huntingdon, without my solicitation, did earnestly sue unto him for my restoration; but he absolutely refused, signifying, that he had already written to the patron of the living, for the presentation of another to the place.”†

Upon Mr. Wigginton's recovery from sickness, he returned to Sedburgh, and offered himself to preach in the church, but was refused the pulpit. He, therefore, preached in various places, and particularly in his own house, where he had a considerable assembly; and looking upon himself as the pastor set over the people by the Lord, he administered both the ordinances of the gospel. This coming to the knowledge of Whitgift, by his instigation an attachment was sent forth from Archbishop Sandys, “To all justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her majesty's officers and subjects, within the province of York, or to any of them, to apprehend him, and commit him to the castle of Lancaster, in the province of York.”‡ Accordingly, Mr. Wigginton being soon after on a journey, was apprehended at Boroughbridge, arrested by a pursuivant from the archbishop, and carried to Lancaster castle, being the distance of fifty miles, in a severe, cold winter. There he was shut up in close prison among felons and condemned prisoners, and more basely used than they, or the recusant papists. From hence he sent an account of his case to Sir Walter Mildmay, his worthy patron, and one of the privy council; wherein he expressed himself as follows:§

\* Whitgift, says Hume, was a zealous churchman, who had signalized his pen in controversy; and who, having in vain attempted to convince the puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power, and by the execution of penal statutes.—*Hist. of Eng.* vol. v. p. 188.

† The person presented to the living, was one Edward Hampton, a man unlearned, and openly profane.—*M. S. Register*, p. 760—768.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 767.

§ *Ibid.* p. 753, 754.

“ Right honourable and beloved in Christ.

“ Since my late deprivation at Lambeth, I have both preached and ministered the sacraments, to my flock at Sedburgh; nor could I find any rest in my conscience till I had done this.\* And as I have not depended on any man’s opinion, in what I have done, so the Lord hath abundantly blessed me with heavenly comforts in my own soul, and under my painful sufferings; and abundantly blessed my labours among those whom he committed to my care.

“ I have turned my back upon those antichristian and unlawful proceedings which were used against me, my ministry, and my flock. This was necessary in these days of prelatical and popish superstition. But I must inform you, that as I was lately on my journey as far as Boroughbridge, my wife big with child, and the other branches of my family being with me, I was there arrested by a pursuivant, and brought to this place, a distance of fifty miles, in this cold winter. The chief cause of this usage, is my preaching and administrating the sacraments among my flock, after my deprivation. Dr. Sandys used me hardly, in causing me, and those who were with me, to remain four days at Boroughbridge, and in sending me this distance, to this noisome prison, in cold winter, when there were better prisons near at hand. I am here within the iron gate, in a cold room, among felons and condemned prisoners, and in various ways, worse used than they, or recusant papists. Therefore, my suit to your honour, is, that it would please your honour to use some means, as God shall direct you, whereby I may be delivered out of the hands of my cruel enemies. And that it may please your honour to further the reformation of our English church, especially in this present parliament; that the faithful ministers of Christ may not be silenced by the prelates; that good christians may not be brought into trouble, for refusing those rites and ceremonies which are the inventions of men; and that a learned and godly minister may be appointed to every congregation.

“ You are now one of the oldest nobles in our land. Your days are few and wearing out; therefore, let them be spent to the honour of Christ. Thus we shall pray for

\* About one hundred and forty of Mr. Wigginton’s people, for the sad crime of hearing him preach after his deprivation, were cited to appear at York and other places, at the distance of sixty or eighty miles, most of whom were excommunicated by the ecclesiastical commissioners.—*MS. Register*, p. 770.

you, while you live, and esteem your posterity when you are with Christ in the kingdom of heaven. The Lord both guide and bless your honour, and his whole church. From Lancaster castle, February 28, 1587.

“GILES WIGGINTON, pastor of Sedburgh.”

It does not appear what effect was produced by the above letter, nor how long Mr. Wigginton remained a close prisoner; but in about two years, he was brought into other troubles by Whitgift, his old adversary. In the month of December, 1588, being in London, the archbishop's pursuivant apprehended him at his lodgings, while he was in bed, and carried him to Lambeth, upon suspicion of being one of the authors of Martin Mar-Prelate. At Lambeth, he appeared before the Archbishop, the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Cosin, Dr. Goodman, and other high commissioners; when he underwent the following examination:

Archbishop. There is a book, called Martin Mar-Prelate, a vile, seditious, and intolerable book; and you are suspected to be one of its authors. Therefore, you are to swear what you know concerning it.

Wigginton. You do well to let me know what I have to swear to. But let me know, also, who are my accusers. For I do not mean to accuse myself.

A. We will take your answers upon your word alone. What say you to these articles following? Have you any of those books? or have you read or heard any of them read, or any part of them, at any time?

W. I will not answer to accuse myself. Let my accusers stand forth and proceed against me. You have known my mind upon this point, many years.

A. Have you had any of them, and how many? How came you by them? What did you do with them? In whose hands are they? And by whose means did you obtain them?

W. I had rather accuse myself, than other persons; but I will accuse neither. Let mine accusers, and proper witnesses according to the laws of God and the realm, proceed against me. I expect no comfort in accusing myself, or my neighbour.

A. Have you bought, sold, given, dispersed, handled, or any way dealt in any of them? and in what sort?

W. I account it as unnatural for me to accuse myself, as to thrust a knife into my thigh. The matter, I understand, is doubtful and dangerous; therefore, I will accuse neither

myself nor others. "In the mouth of two or three witnesses, let every word be established." The heathen judge said, "I will hear thee when thine *accusers* are come."

A. Do you know the author, writer, or printer of that book? Did you make or help to make, write, or print it, or any part of it, or see any part of it before it was printed?

W. I did neither make, write, nor print it, nor any part of it, nor see any part of it before it was printed.

A. Did you not deliver some copies of it in the country, one to Mr. Moore, and another to Mr. Cartwright?

W. I understand, what you well know, that many lords, and other persons of quality, have obtained and read the book. And supposing I have done the same, it will, in my opinion, be more to your credit, to examine all sorts about it, and not poor persons only, according to your custom.

A. Whom do you believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, to be the author, writer, or printer of it, or any part of it, or any way helper towards it? Did you make any oath, or vow, or promise, to conceal the same?

W. What I believe, think, suspect, or conjecture, or have vowed or promised, I am not bound to make known. I answer as before, I would rather accuse myself, than my neighbour.

A. What printing press, or furniture for printing, have you known, within the two years last past?

W. I know of none, as I told you before.

A. Yes, but you are verily suspected of it. Public fame is against you.

W. I thank God, I am not infamous; nor will I borrow of any man. But, by the grace of God, I will live a true subject, the benefit of whom I claim, and wish to enjoy.

A. But what do you say about the case of Atkinson of Sedburgh, as mentioned in the book? Did not you minister this report of Atkinson, nor any thing else towards the book? Have you the note of Atkinson's hand for it, or who hath it?

W. I did not minister any such thing. For if I had done it, I would have reported the same story in another form. Atkinson told it to many others besides me, whose names I reserve in silence.

A. Did you not say to the pursuivant, as you came in the boat, that you had seen the second Martin, called "The Epitome?"

W. Let the pursuivant stand forth, and accuse me, if he will.

**Bishop.** You have preached pernicious doctrine.

**W.** What do you mean by pernicious doctrine? I preach that doctrine which promotes the glory of God, and the salvation of his people.

**B.** We have the queen's authority and commission in our hands.

**W.** I pray for you, that you may do well; but this I tell you, that while I profess to serve God, all that I do is not the service of God: so while you challenge the queen's authority and commission, all that you do is not the queen's authority and commission.

**A.** The papists answer altogether like you.

**W.** The papists eat bread, and so do I: and I fear not to do like them in any good thing. Yet I hope you will make a difference betwixt me and papists.

**A.** Not in that point.

**W.** It is well known that you mistake my design, and I yours; but I wish you well.

**A.** I care not for your wishes.

**W.** My wishes and prayers, though they be sinful, will do you no harm.

**A.** I desire them not, and would be loath to come under them.

**W.** Love me not the worse for being plain with you.

**Cosin.** No; you are not so plain; for you do not directly answer.

**W.** Martin himself, I understand, will come forth, and defend his matters, if he may have fair trial.

**A.** Record that, Mr. Hartwell.

**W.** It is well known that I am as ready to read and lend that book as any person, in a good and lawful manner. Yet I will not accuse myself, and thus do myself hurt, and you no good. And I would rather have to speak well, than ill of you hereafter.

**Goodman.** If we be ill, whom do you mean?

**W.** All are ill, and need reformation.

**Aubery.** Did not you tell Mr. Martin, your keeper at the Compter, that he could not find out the author of the book?

**W.** Mr. Martin is a simple man, and imagines from the title of the book, that I am the author.

**A.** Is Mr. Perry then the author of the "Demonstration," or of Martin Mar-Prelate?

**W.** I think he is not. And I think you are greatly deceived in charging him with it.

**A.** There are many lies in Martin.

W. You must then confute them.

A. You despise the high commission. Why do you wear a cloak above your gown?

W. As a woman just come out of child-bed, I am just come out of the Compter, and dress thus, fearing the cold.

A. You make a wise comparison of yourself. Such women must be kept warm.

W. Then let them be kept warm.\*

The commissioners having finished the examination of Mr. Wigginton, and finding him, after using all the inquisition their wits could devise, unwilling to accuse himself or others, they dismissed him from their presence, while they consulted what they should do. And being again called in, the meek and lowly archbishop thus addressed him:—"Forasmuch as you have refused to swear, and to answer as we have required you, and so, by law, have confessed yourself to be guilty of the accusations charged against you; and as you have at sundry times, and in divers ways, shewed your contempt of our ecclesiastical authority, and of this our high commission, which the queen hath given unto us, and which you shall obey and yield unto, before I have done with you; therefore, your former enlargement shall now be taken away, and you shall be kept close prisoner in the Gatehouse, until you shall yield in these matters; and when you are so disposed, you may send us word. In the mean time go your way. Away with him pursuivant."† He was then carried to the Gatehouse,‡ where he remained a long time; and though repeated intercessions were made to the archbishop for his release, it was all to no purpose. Mr. Wigginton was a pious man, a zealous minister, and a learned divine, and was living in the year 1591; but he most probably continued in the Gatehouse for several years, until the general banishment of the puritans.§

This great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity, during

\* MS. Register, p. 843—848.

† Ibid.

‡ The warrant sent to the keeper of the Gatehouse, was as follows:—"Herewith we send you one Giles Wigginton, whom we will and require you, and in her majesty's name, do strictly charge and command you to retain in your custody, by virtue of her highness's commission for causes ecclesiastical to us and others directed, and him safely to keep and detain, until you shall have further direction from us. And hereof fail you not, as you will answer to the contrary at your peril. Given at Lambeth, December 6, 1588."—*Ibid.* p. 848, 849.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 441. (8.)

his confinement in prison, had some correspondence with Hacket, the zealous enthusiast, who is said to have devised mad plots against the government; for which he was hanged, drawn and quartered. Whatever acquaintance or correspondence he had with this man, he never approved of his opinions and practice. However, from his slight connection with Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, his memory has suffered greatly from the scurrilous pen of Dr. Cosin, one of the high commission in the above examination; and herein he is followed by other historians.\* On this account, it will be proper to give a circumstantial statement of the case, even allowing his enemies to be judges.

That Wigginton held correspondence with these men in the matters of their conspiracy, and that there was mutual correspondence betwixt him and them in all their plots for advancing their discipline, is manifest, says our author, by the confession of Arthington, who said, "That he heard Hacket singing certain songs, who wished that Arthington had some of them. For it was a very special thing, and, said he, Mr. Wigginton hath a great many of them." This is one evidence of their mutual and united conspiracy!

Coppinger, it is said, had once a conference with Wigginton, in the presence of Arthington, concerning his extraordinary calling. On this occasion, Mr. Wigginton refused to be made acquainted with Coppinger's secrets, saying, "You are known to be an honest gentleman, and sworn to the queen, and therefore I will not be acquainted with those things which God hath revealed unto you for the good of your sovereign."† Hacket also declared, that he heard Mr. Wigginton say, "That if the magistrates do not govern well, the people might draw themselves together, and see to a reformation."‡ This dangerous opinion, it is said, may be gathered from one of his letters, in which he said, "Mr. Cartwright is in the Fleet, for refusal of the oath, and Mr. K. is sent for, and sundry worthy ministers are disquieted. So that we look for some bickering 'ere long, and then a battle, which cannot long endure." Coppinger and Arthington told Wigginton, "That reformation and the Lord's discipline should now forthwith be established, and therefore charged him in the Lord's name, to put all christians in comfort, that they should see a joyful alteration in the state of church government shortly."‡

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 395.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 327—329.

† Cosin's Conspiracy, p. 57. Edit. 1699. ‡ Ibid. p. 56, 62.

They also told him, "That they were provoked to pronounce him the holiest minister of all others, for dealing so plainly and resolutely in God's cause above all ministers, which God would manifest one day to his comfort." At another time, they came to him and said, "We are come to you now to bring you certain news of great comfort, viz. That we have seen Jesus Christ this day, in lively and extraordinary shape or fashion presented unto us, not in his body; for he sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, until the last judgment; but in his effectual or principal spirit, whereby he dwelleth in William Hacket, more than in any creature upon the earth."\* Such are the grievous crimes with which Mr. Wigginton is charged! These facts, with a few others equally ridiculous, contain all the evidence of his uniting with Hacket and his companions, in their mad plots to overturn the government! As our information is from the pen of one of his bitterest enemies and persecutors, we may presume it is not given at all in his favour, but in some degree to his disadvantage: the impartial reader will, therefore, judge for himself, how far he was guilty.

After the most minute investigation, it appears to me that Mr. Wigginton's character and memory have suffered great injury from the above bigotted historian, and from those who imitated his example. One of them, speaking of Hacket and his companions, observes, "that one of this good brotherhood was Wigginton, as brainsick a teacher as any of the club, and as staunch an enemy to government."<sup>4</sup> The reader will easily perceive the injustice and falsehood of this representation. For, if this statement be correct, why did not his enemies proceed against him, as well as against the other conspirators? They were in possession of all the evidence that ever appeared against him, and he was now a prisoner in the Gatehouse; why then did they not punish him according to his deserts? This, surely, was not owing to their *too great lenity*, or their want of inclination.

During Mr. Wigginton's imprisonment, he published two pamphlets. One was on "Predestination;" the other was entitled "The Fools Bolt; or, a Fatherly Exhortation to a certain Young Courtier." The latter is said to have been "conceived into an *hulling rhyme*;" and written chiefly against the governors of the church.

\* Cosin's Conspiracy, p. 87, 88. + Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 563.

THOMAS BARBER was many years the learned and pious minister of Bow-church, London; where he preached four times a week, to a large and affectionate congregation. But his excellent learning, piety, and labours, could not protect him from the persecution of the times. In the month of June, 1584, he was called before Archbishop Whitgift and other high commissioners, and required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer the interrogatories of the court. Knowing that by taking this oath, he should be liable to accuse himself; therefore, to avoid further trouble, he refused, and was immediately suspended. After receiving the ecclesiastical censure, his parishioners, to the number of one hundred and twenty, whose names are now before me, signed a petition to Sir Edward Osborne, the lord mayor, and the court of aldermen, to procure his release. But that court could do nothing for them.\*

Mr. Barber having continued in a state of suspension several years, the archbishop, at length, offered to release him, on condition that he would subscribe with his own hand, the following protestation, dated December, 1587:—  
 “ I do faithfully promise, and by these presents subscribed  
 “ with mine own hand, do testify, that I will not, by word  
 “ or deed, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly,  
 “ impugn, deprave, or reprehend, any government, rite,  
 “ order, or ceremony, by law established, and retained in this  
 “ church of England: But, on the contrary, to my power,  
 “ will, by God’s grace, observe and seek the peace of the  
 “ church of England, and will from time to time, adjoin  
 “ myself in public prayer, preaching, and admonitions  
 “ thereunto, and will frequent them diligently, and none  
 “ other assemblies, meetings, or conventicles.”† Mr. Barber was a man of too much learning, piety, and good sense, to bind himself from exercising the right of private judgment, in things sacred. This godly and peaceable divine, therefore, claiming the right of thinking and acting in these things according to the dictates of truth and his own conscience, firmly refused to be tied down with such episcopal cords. But how much longer he continued under suspension, it does not appear.

Mr. Barber was one of the additional members of the presbyterian church erected at Wandsworth in Surrey; and his name is among those learned divines who subscribed the “ Book of Discipline.”‡ About the year 1591, he was

\* MS. Register, p. 458, 459.

† Ibid. p. 588, 826.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

taken into custody, and examined, with several of his brethren, relative to the associations of the puritans; and being required to take the oath *ex officio*, he openly confessed, and discovered their assemblies, with the manner in which they were conducted.\*

**ROBERT CAWDREY.**—He was a divine of good reputation for learning and piety, but a great sufferer for nonconformity. Having entered into the sacred function about the year 1566, he was presented by Secretary Cecil, to the rectory of South Luffenham in Rutlandshire; but afterwards brought into manifold troubles for refusing to conform. After he had been employed in the ministry about twenty years, he was cited before Bishop Aylmer and other high commissioners; when he was charged with having omitted some parts of the Book of Common Prayer in public worship and the administration of the sacraments, and with having preached against certain things contained in the book. Though he only omitted the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage, having used the greatest part of the service, he was required to take the oath *ex officio*, to answer all such articles as the tyrannical commissioners should propose; which, says Mr. Strype, he refused; and was, therefore, not only suspended, but utterly deprived of his ministerial exercise.†

He might, indeed, at first refuse the oath; and the statement of our learned historian might so far be correct: yet it is evident from the case at considerable length, now before me, that he afterwards complied, and, accordingly, gave his answers to the various articles. These articles, dated November, 1586, together with his answers, were the following:

1. "That you are a deacon or minister and priest admitted. Declare by whom, and what you were ordered; and likewise that your ordering was according to the book in that behalf by law provided.

Ans. "I am both deacon and priest. I was made deacon by Dr. Bullingham, late bishop of Lincoln, and was made priest by Dr. Scambler, late bishop of Peterborough. I was made deacon about twenty years ago, and minister about sixteen, which, I believe, was done according to the book in that behalf provided.

\* Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 159—166.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 129, 130.

2. "That you deem and judge your ordering, admission, and calling into the ministry, to be lawful, and not repugnant to the word of God.

Ans. "If I were now to be made a minister, I would not enter into the ministry according to that order.

3. "That you have sworn as well at your ordering; as at your institution; duty and allegiance to the queen's majesty, and canonical obedience to your ordinary and his successors, and to your metropolitan and his successors, or some of them.

Ans. "When I was instituted, I took an oath, but do not remember the tenour of it; and whether I was sworn at my ordering, or not, I do not remember.

4. "That by a statute made in the first year of the queen's majesty, a virtuous and godly book, entitled 'The Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments, and of other rites and ceremonies in the Church of England,' was authorized and established in full force, and so remaineth.

Ans. "I believe this article to be true in every part.

5. "That by the said statute, all and singular ministers within her majesty's dominions, are bound to say and use a certain form of morning and evening prayer, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such form and order as is mentioned in the said book, and not otherwise.

Ans. "I believe this article to be true in every part.

6. "That in the said statute, her majesty and parliament assembled, do in God's name, earnestly charge and require all the archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavour, to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of the said act may be had throughout their dioceses and charges, as they shall answer before Almighty God.

Ans. "I believe this article to be true.

7. "That within the space of three years, two years, one year, half a year, three months, two months, or one month, last past, you have baptized divers infants, or at least one infant, otherwise and in other manner than the said book prescribeth; and have wittingly added thereunto, diminished therefrom, or altered according to your own fancy, divers or some parts thereof; and especially you have not used the sign of the cross upon the forehead, with the words in the said Book of Common Prayer prescribed to be used. Declare how many you have so baptized; and for what

cause, consideration, and intent, with the circumstance of the words by you used or diminished.

Ans. " I have not used the sign of the cross in the sacrament of baptism. And in reciting the interrogatories to the godfathers, I spoke in the plural number, saying you, instead of ΤΗΟΥ. I could not have done it according to the order of the said book, or otherwise than as I have done, I think, with a safe conscience. And since I entered upon my benefice, I have baptized divers children, but I cannot remember how many.

8. " That within the time aforesaid, you have divers and sundry times, or at least once, ministered the sacrament of the Lord's supper to the communicants or some of them, standing or walking, and have not used the form of words in that behalf appointed and prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer. Declare the circumstances thereof, and for what cause or consideration you have done this.

Ans. " I have often ministered the sacrament of the Lord's supper within the time mentioned; and therein I have distributed the bread and wine to the communicants as I found them, some standing, some sitting, and some kneeling; but never to any walking. And as to the prayers appointed in that behalf, and the words at the institution, I have followed the exact order of the book.

9. " Within the time aforesaid, you have used either no form at all, or have used some other than that which the said book prescribeth, in the burial of the dead; and have refused or omitted using or saying divers words appointed and prescribed in that behalf, in the said book. Declare the circumstances thereof, and for what cause or consideration you have done this.

Ans. " Within this year or two, in the burial of the dead, I have not read the whole service; because I am persuaded that some parts of it do nourish superstition. I have omitted this clause, *In sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life*, and some others of the like tendency. And besides reading the chapter appointed, I have expounded some part of the scripture appointed to be read at funerals.

10. " That within the time aforesaid, you have openly in your sermons or sermon, preached or rather inveighed against the Book of Common Prayer, and the authority of archbishops and bishops. You said that the Book of Common Prayer is a wicked thing, fie upon it! fie upon it! that lords spiritual ought not to be lords over their brethren;

and that nonresident ministers are ministers of antichrist. Declare as before, the circumstances thereof, and for what cause or consideration you have done this.

Ans. "About six weeks since, I preached the lecture at Uppingham, being thereto appointed, taking for my text Col. i. 3—7. I then observed, as naturally arising from the words, that there was an equality among the ministers of Christ; and that Epiphras, the faithful minister of Christ, as mentioned in the text, was not a nonresident, and had not one charge in this country and another in another country. I then spoke of the benefits of a faithful ministry, and said that the want of it is the cause of ignorance, superstition, atheism, conspiracy, and rebellion. And in the warmth of my zeal, seeing the book tolerateth an ignorant and unfaithful ministry, I said, 'it is a vile book, fie upon it!'"

Mr. Cawdrey delivered the above answers upon his oath, in the presence of Bishop Aylmer, Dr. Stanhope, and Dr. Walker. These spiritual rulers thus obliged the good man to take an oath, with a view of making him accuse himself. This was the constant practice of the high commission court. Mr. Cawdrey having given his answers to the charges brought against him, he was ordered to appear again in the month of December, to answer certain articles, mostly the same as those already noticed. Upon his appearance at the time appointed, after a long examination, without coming to any conclusion, he was cited to appear a third time in the month of February following. Upon his third appearance, being required to subscribe, and to enter into an engagement to wear the surplice, he refused, and was kept some time in a state of confinement. During his examination, the Bishop of London, urging him to wear the surplice, thus addressed him :

Bishop. Suppose you were able to keep four or six servants in livery, and one or two of them should refuse to wear your livery, would you take it all in good part? Are not we the queen's servants? And is not the surplice the livery which she hath appointed to be worn? And do you think she will be content if we refuse to wear it? Besides, the long prayer which you use before your sermons, is nothing but *bibble babble, bibble babble.*

Cawdrey. Every kingdom divided against itself must needs come to desolation. So when protestants set themselves

\* MS. Register, p. 790—792.

against protestants, and deal more severely with them than with papists, confusion must follow.

B. We do not deal hardly with you, but the laws of the realm. We are only ministers to execute the law.

C. You turn those laws against us, which were made against the papists. We think it is very hard dealing that you and your brethren, the bishops, do punish us for not observing the Book of Common Prayer in every point, especially as neither you, nor most of the bishops in England, have observed it in all points these twenty-eight years.

B. Wherein do we not observe it?

C. Because you do not confirm children, as the book enjoins you to do. By the book we are charged not to receive persons to the communion, until they have been confirmed by the bishop: so we are brought into a painful extremity, and must either offend God, by keeping the people from the communion, or the book, by admitting them without confirmation. If persons can examine themselves, and be able to give a reason of their faith, we may not, we dare not, refuse them the communion, though the book forbids us to admit them till after they have been confirmed by the bishop.

B. Why, what canst thou say against it?

C. More than can be said for it. For, you well know it is a popish ceremony, and not warranted by the word of God; therefore, you justly omit it. And why may not we omit other points, more superstitious and offensive than this, without being brought into trouble?\*

B. You shall not depart unless you will subscribe to use the book in every point, and engage to wear the surplice.

C. These are things in which I am not yet resolved. I have not wore the surplice since I entered into the ministry; and if I could be persuaded to wear it, my parishioners would be offended, and all the papists and atheists in the country would triumph. Therefore, I pray you, give me sufficient time to deliberate upon it.

B. I will, if you will give sufficient security for your appearance here next sitting.

C. That I will do.

B. But if thou go home, thou wilt confer with thy fellows, and they will persuade thee not to wear the surplice. Therefore, I will keep thee here, and will not let thee go.†

\* Here the bishop was much offended, and immediately suspended Mr. Cawdrey from preaching in any part of the kingdom.

† MS. Register, p. 793—794.

Mr. Cawdrey being kept for some time in a state of confinement, was brought before the high commission, May 5, 1587. Though his case was not then considered; yet seeing a worthy minister out of Essex deprived, for not observing in every point the Book of Common Prayer, and not wearing the surplice; and fearing that he should himself soon share the same fate, he presented a supplication to his worthy friend and patron, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh. This supplication, dated May 10, 1587, was as follows:\*

“ In most humble and dutiful manner, may it please your honour to be advertised, that as your poor orator, in November last, preaching a sermon at Uppingham, in a lecture regularly holden there, happened to speak against a point of the communion book, and was forthwith accused to the high commissioners; (though by whom he knoweth not) and being sent for by them, was compelled against the law to swear to answer such articles or interrogatories as they ministered unto him. This being done, your humble suppliant did appear again; and after conference with the Bishop of London, he suspended him from his ministry, and so hath been suspended these twelve weeks. And because your said orator hath so answered the said interrogatories, as that by law no advantage can be taken against him, the said bishop doth now urge him to subscribe, and wear the surplice; for refusing to do which, he threateneth to deprive your suppliant, as of late he hath done some others. And seeing that is the only living he hath enjoyed for above sixteen years, and was thereunto presented by your honour, may it please your good lord, even out of a tender regard to the cause of God and his poor suffering church, to extend your lawful favour towards him in this behalf, who hath behaved himself so honestly and uprightly during these sixteen years at Luffenham, every way according to his calling, and as becometh his profession; as, your honour allowing him a convenient time, he doubteth not to procure sufficient testimony from the worshipful and ministers of that county. And so your said orator shall be most dutifully bound to pray unto Almighty God for your good health, with much increase of honour, and your everlasting comfort. Your honour's most obedient servant,

“ ROBERT CAWDREY.”

The treasurer, upon the reception of this supplication,

\* MS. Register, p. 796, 797.

sent to the bishop, inquiring what were the charges against Mr. Cawdrey, and wishing to know the reasons of his hard dealing with him. He requested, at the same time, that his grace would send him the articles, and Mr. Cawdrey's answers, before any further steps were taken. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Cawdrey appearing before the commission the very same day, and his answers being read, the bishop demanded what he had to say. He then said, "If my answers there set down will not sufficiently acquit me of all accusations, I then crave, as I have a right to do, that I may enjoy the benefit of her majesty's gracious pardon." Dr. Stanhope, the bishop's chancellor, observed, as there was an exception against him in the statute, that would do him no good. But the exception, replied Mr. Cawdrey, related to the papists and recusants only; and the statute being produced and examined, his statement was found correct.

This disappointment being extremely vexatious to his tyrannical persecutors, the angry prelate addressing his brethren upon the commission, said, "It is no matter whether it be so, or not; he shall be sworn to answer new articles." Accordingly, he was constrained to swear, and give direct answers to the two articles following:—"Whether he would hereafter observe the Book of Common Prayer in every point, or not.—And whether he would wear the surplice, or not." To the former of these articles, he said, "I will so far as I may according to the word of God, and with a good conscience." And to the latter, he said, "I am not yet resolved so to do." The bishop then appointed him to appear again on the 30th of the same month. But previous to his next appearance, the lord treasurer, after an impartial hearing of both parties, sent an express order to the bishop, to dismiss him, and trouble him no more. This was extremely galling to Aylmer, who replied, that as he was only one of the commission, he could do nothing without the other commissioners; adding, "he must appear on the day appointed, and we will consider his case according to equity and conscience."\* But little equity and conscience was to be expected from Bishop Aylmer and his brethren of the high commission. This will, indeed, appear before the close of the present narrative.

Mr. Cawdrey, in the above painful circumstances, made

\* MS. Register, p. 794, 795.

a second application to the treasurer, giving him a correct account of the bishop's proceedings, and further soliciting his favour and assistance. His letter, dated nine days after the former, was as follows :\*

“ My honourable lord, I am bound most humbly to thank God for your honourable and good favour in this my great vexation, having now for the space of more than nine weeks, been bound over to answer from time to time. It grieveth me to be importunate with you in the midst of so many of your affairs, especially as you are in a poor state of health, from which I beseech God to restore you; but, my good lord, my miserable state even forceth me. Notwithstanding your favourable message and letters to the Bishop of London in my behalf, he still keepeth me from performing those duties which I owe to God, my people, and my wife and children; and he seems as if he meant to wear me out. I having lately claimed before the high commission, the benefit of her majesty's gracious pardon, the bishop then caused me to take a new oath, and to answer new articles; namely, whether I would in every point observe the Book of Common Prayer; and whether I would wear the surplice. These being answered, he appointed me to appear again the 30th of this month, when my case will be further considered. Will it, therefore, please your good lordship, even at this time, to use such means to procure my discharge, as to your godly wisdom shall appear most proper? To you, next under God, I fly for refuge in this case. I protest, I am not obstinate in any one thing, as He knoweth whom I am most loath to displease. I am your honour's, &c.

“ ROBERT CAWDREY.”

But the treasurer being sick, Mr. Cawdrey could receive no answer to the above letter; therefore, upon the arrival of the day appointed, he appeared again before the commission. When he was called, and his accusations were read, the bishop asked him what he had to say against their proceeding to pronounce upon him the sentence of deprivation. “ To which I answered,” says the good man, “ that so far as my knowledge and counsel serve, I cannot see how you can deal so hardly with me. For if the rigour of the law should be extended against me for speaking against the book, the penalty, as set down in the statute, is only half a year's imprisonment, and the loss of my living to her

\* MS. Register, p. 797.

majesty for one whole year: and the same statute saith it must be wilfully and obstinately persisted in, which is not the case with me. Besides, the said trespass is already remitted by her majesty's gracious pardon; therefore, you have no just cause of deprivation." The bishop, addressing Mr. Cawdrey, said, "If you will abide by such order as I and the other commissioners shall appoint; and will openly recant, in such places as we shall determine, those blasphemous speeches which you have uttered against that holy book, and use it in every point, then we will stay our proceedings." To this tyrannical proposal, Mr. Cawdrey only said, "I would not do that for all the world."

One of the commissioners entreated him not to be obstinate, but to submit to their order; "for," said he, "we hear that you live honestly, are well thought of in your country, are a good housekeeper, and have a wife and many children; therefore, take our good advice." To which he thus replied: "Both my wife and children shall go a begging, rather than I will offend God and my own conscience. And further, if you can justly charge me with any one instance of wickedness in life, or any false doctrine, during the time I have been in the ministry, or at any time before, let the sentence of the law be inflicted with the utmost severity." "False doctrine!" said the angry prelate, "I will stand to it, that whosoever shall say the book is a vile and filthy book, which hath epistles and gospels, psalms and holy prayers in it;\* I say flatly he is an *heretic*, take the law upon me who will."

Afterwards, Mr. Cawdrey requested to have some time for further deliberation, but it could not be granted. Then, to give them all the satisfaction in his power, he made the following protestation:—"If you can charge me with holding any point of doctrine, which I cannot prove to be true, both by the word of God, and the judgment of those learned writers, whose works you, the high commissioners, have authorized to be printed and allowed in England; then let me have no favour at all." Notwithstanding all that he could say, the excellence of his character and doctrine was utterly disregarded, so long as he refused to come up to the standard of conformity. The bishop, therefore, pronounced upon him the sentence of deprivation, discharging him from the ministerial exercise in any

\* His lordship might, with equal propriety, have observed the same of the popish mass book. For, as our author justly affirms, it contains epistles and gospels, psalms and holy prayers.

part of the kingdom.\* Mr. Strype, indeed, observes, that he was not only deprived, but continuing in his disobedience, he was also degraded by the high commission at Lambeth; and that he was charged, not only with nonconformity, but want of learning.†

Mr. Cawdrey, aware of the two-fold charge, presented the following humble vindication of himself to the lord treasurer: "As to my learning," says he, "though I have none to boast of; yet, seeing I have been employed in study, and have exercised myself in expounding the scriptures and preaching the word of God, almost twenty years, I hope God hath blessed me with some small measure of knowledge. I appeal to the people of my charge, and the good success of my ministry among them, which is a great comfort to my soul. I desire your lordship to examine me upon some portion of scripture, and I hope you will not find me so utterly void of learning, as to be wholly unfit to be exercised in the ministry. Indeed, I acknowledge, that, with respect to my important calling, and the ability that is requisite to a proper discharge of it, I am very unfit for the sacred function. Yet it affordeth me some comfort, that God in mercy hath so far blessed my labours, that I hope my people know as well as most, how to "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's."—And as to the charge of not using the Book of Common Prayer, I have always used it, and still purpose to use it. Only I humbly request, that I may not be more narrowly searched into, and more hardly dealt with, than many others ministers in England."‡

Mr. Cawdrey having received the sentence of deprivation, and being dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical censure, was urged to submit his case to the further determination of Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Aylmer; but he utterly refused, for the following reasons:—"Because he was persuaded in his conscience, and it was manifest from lamentable experience, that the lord bishops countenanced nonresidents, made many ignorant and idle shepherds, and dealt with great severity against many godly ministers for not observing the popish ceremonies:—Because they would allow any papist or atheist, being accused before them, to have a copy of their interrogatories and other proceedings; but the ministers, who could not in conscience observe some

\* MS. Register, p. 705.

† Life of Aylmer, p. 130, 131.

‡ Ibid. p. 132, 133.

ceremonies, could neither know their accusers, nor enjoy the benefit of subjects:—Because, though the bishops condemned nonresidence as odious in itself, and injurious to the church of God; yet they tolerated it, and dispensed with it:—And because the said bishops did molest and deprive ministers for preaching the very same doctrines which they had themselves printed and published to the world.” On these grounds, he was unwilling to submit his case to the determination of the two ecclesiastical judges, whose tender mercy was cruelty.\*

It will be proper also to observe, that he was no sooner brought under the ecclesiastical censure, than he made fresh application to the treasurer. He wrote two letters, the one dated May 31st, being the day following his censure, and the other the 3d of the following month. In these letters he gave an impartial account of the hard usage he had met with, earnestly soliciting his lordship’s favourable attention to his unhappy case.† Upon the reception of these letters, the lord treasurer, convinced of the injuries he had received, warmly espoused his cause; and engaged Attorney Morrice,‡ to undertake Mr. Cawdrey’s defence, even after his suspension and deprivation. The learned lawyer, therefore, held the bishop’s sentence to be null and void in law; because Mr. Cawdrey’s benefice was not in Aylmer’s diocese, and so not within his jurisdiction; and that the sentence was his lordship’s sentence alone, and not the sentence of the commissioners. For by law the sentence should have been given in the name of all the commissioners present, and not in the name of one of them by the consent of the others, as in the present case. In addition to this, the bishop had declared expressly in his decree, that the cause was controverted before him by virtue

\* Life of Aylmer, p. 134—138.

† MS. Register, p. 797, 798.

‡ Attorney James Morrice was a most able and learned barrister, a man of great piety, a zealous opposer of vice, and an avowed friend to the reformation. He was attorney of the court of wards, a member of parliament, and a zealous and courageous defender of the rights and liberties of the people, against all oppression. In the parliament of 1592, he moved the house to inquire into the proceedings of the bishops in spiritual courts, and how far they could justify their inquisition, their subscriptions, and their binding the queen’s subjects to their good behaviour, contrary to the laws of God and the realm; their compelling men to take oaths to accuse themselves; and to deprive, degrade, and imprison them, and keep them in prison during their own pleasure. At the same time, he offered two bills to the house; one against the oath *ex officio*, and the other against the illegal proceedings of the bishops, in which he was supported by Sir Francis Knollys and other great statesmen.—*Styep’s Whitgift*, p. 387, 388.

of his office, which could not be before the commissioners. And if the cause were depending before his lordship, by virtue of his office, how could the judgment, said Morrice, be any other than his own?

And as to the sentence itself, the attorney held it to be contrary to law. For by law several other censures and punishments, as admonition, excommunication, and sequestration, were to be inflicted previous to deprivation. But in Mr. Cawdrey's case, that sentence which is the most severe, and ought to have been inflicted last, was inflicted first. This, therefore, was contrary to the statute, and not warranted by any of the queen's ecclesiastical laws.\* Thus Mr. Attorney Morrice endeavoured to make it appear, that the bishop's proceedings were illegal and oppressive.

But the arguments of the learned barrister proved ineffectual. They were too weak to soften the mind of this relentless prelate. Mr. Cawdrey refusing to submit himself to the illegal and severe proceedings, was brought before Archbishop Whitgift and other high commissioners. He appeared at Lambeth, May 14, 1590; and after being severely threatened, he was degraded and deposed from the ministry, and made a mere layman. On this occasion, Whitgift urging him to conform, Mr. Cawdrey replied, saying, "I never refused to conform, as far as the law requires, and as a minister of Christ is in conscience bound." And one of the commissioners observing, that he was deprived for speaking against the Book of Common Prayer, our divine replied, "that is not true; for it appears from my answers to the articles upon my oath, that it was for speaking against an inconvenience attending the book. If it were taken," says he, "as you have represented, and taken in the worst sense it could be, there was no deprivation by law, for the first offence. And according to law, I should have been indicted at the next assizes following, but was not; therefore, I am clear by the statute."†

Upon these tyrannical proceedings, Mr. Attorney Morrice recommended the lord treasurer to make the Bishop of London feel his lawless severities; and, said he, happily some remorse of conscience may move him to be more favourable. Though it might be offensive, he observed, to find fault with judicial proceedings, there was no evil in seeking to help the injured, to maintain law and justice, and to make ecclesiastical judges more careful of their

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 131, 132.

† Ibid. p. 139, 140.

proceedings in future. You need not be afraid of their frowns, especially as you have the law on your side.\* But the attorney soon drew down their vengeance upon his own head.† For this bold adventure in defending Mr. Cawdrey against the oppressions of the prelates, and for the motions which he made in parliament, as intimated in the above note, he was seized in the house by a serjeant at arms, discharged from his office in the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, disabled from any practice in his profession as a barrister at law, and kept some years prisoner in Tutbury castle, Staffordshire.‡

Mr. Cawdrey having experienced the above illegal and cruel usage, was advised to appeal to the court of exchequer, and proceed against his diocesan's chaplain, who had taken possession of his living. He made his appeal; and in the year 1591, the jurisdiction of the high commission court, together with its severe proceedings against Mr. Cawdrey, was argued before all the judges. Dr. Aubery, a learned civilian, and one of the high commissioners, confessed that their proceedings were not warrantable by the letter of the statute, and that no statute of the realm would justify the said proceedings; but what they had done was founded upon the *old canon law* still in force. And though their proceeding by way of inquisition, forcing the man to accuse himself, was warranted by no law whatever, the judges being of the same mind as the commissioners, confirmed their tyrannical proceedings, and left Mr. Cawdrey, with his family of eight children, to starve as a mere layman. Besides the good man having *twenty-two* journies to London, the suit cost his friends a round sum of money.§ But, as Mr. Neal justly observes, it was

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 143, 144.

† Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 320.

‡ This castle, now in a state of ruin, was formerly a spacious and strong place. Here Mary Queen of Scots, was, for a considerable time, in a state of confinement. This was occasioned by a jealousy and a quarrel arising betwixt her and Queen Elizabeth, when the latter, for her own safety, caused the former to be imprisoned. But what is most curious, during the queen's imprisonment in this castle, her extravagance was so great, that when she bathed, she bathed in wine. And in addition to the immense quantity of wine required for bathing, *two tons a month* were not sufficient for her ordinary use. The Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose custody the queen was kept, and who appears then to have been governor of the castle, therefore applied to the lord treasurer, stating her extraordinary expenses; at the same time, soliciting some favourable allowance from the public treasure. Also there is preserved a most curious letter, from the Queen of Scots, to Queen Elizabeth, dated from Tutbury castle, March 14, 1569.—Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 538, 539. Appen. p. 61, 62.

§ Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 317.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 143, 146.

a brave stand for the rights and liberties of the subject; and it so much staggered the archbishop, that he afterwards declined the business of the commission, and sent most of his prisoners to the star-chamber.

Mr. Cawdrey having endured these troubles for the space of five years, and being almost ruined; the treasurer, his constant friend, compassionately feeling his manifold calamities, still warmly espoused his cause. He not only urged his diocesan, who had sequestered his living, and given it to his chaplain, to allow him some annual pension; but requested that so excellent and useful a preacher might be again restored to his ministry; in each of which, however, he most probably failed.\* Mr. Cawdrey united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."†

He was author of "A Treasure or Store-house of Similies, both Pleasaunt, Delightfull and Profitable for all Estates of Men in generall, newly collected into Heades and Commonplaces," 1609. In the preface to the reader prefixed to this work, the author observes that he had begun another work, which he at first purposed to have united with it. This he calls "A Treatise of Definitions of the principal words, points, and matters that a preacher shall have occasion to speak of;" which he promised, God sparing his life, to publish in a separate work, soon after the former; but whether it ever came forth, or what other things he published, we have not been able to learn.

In the above work, Mr. Cawdrey openly declares his sentiments on the necessity and importance of an exact christian discipline among the churches of Christ, and gives his opinion with great freedom concerning ignorant, idle and insufficient ministers. The minister, says he, who undertakes to feed the flock of Christ, by preaching and catechising, and who has no knowledge to perform this duty, or having sufficient knowledge, yet is nonresident, and absent from them, and thus suffereth the people to perish for want of knowledge, such a one before God, is a *soul-murderer*. Mr. Daniel Cawdrey, ejected in 1662, was his son.‡

\* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 140, 147.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 493.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 27.

LEVER WOOD was minister at Brenchley in Kent, but was much persecuted for nonconformity. Upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, in 1583, he and sixteen of his brethren, all ministers of Kent, waited upon the archbishop at Lambeth. When they appeared before his grace, they declared that they could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to his articles, and desired to know whether they might still proceed in their ministry.\* But, instead of obtaining his lordship's approbation, they were all immediately suspended, and Mr. Wood, with some others, if not the whole, was cast into prison, where he continued twelve months. At the expiration of that period, upon his subscription *as far as the law required*, and promising to use the Book of Common Prayer, and no other, he was released from prison.+

His troubles, however, were not over. He still continued under suspension. Therefore, he made interest at court, that he might be restored to his former labours. He applied to Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state,‡ who interceded with the archbishop for his restoration to his ministry, but without success. Whitgift would not remove the ecclesiastical censure, and allow Mr. Wood to preach, unless he would subscribe without the least reserve, and practise a perfect conformity.§ And the good man's conscience not allowing him to do this, he remained under suspension at least eight years. He was under his lordship's censure in the year 1591, and whether he was ever restored is extremely doubtful.]

HUMPHREY FENN.—This most learned and venerable divine was several years minister at Northampton, and above forty years a laborious and faithful preacher in Coventry, and uncommonly successful in his ministry; yet

\* See Art. Dudley Fenner.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 406.

‡ Sir Francis Walsingham was a steady promoter of the reformation; a zealous and constant friend to the puritans; and a most celebrated statesman. His talent for business, his eloquence, insinuating address, universal intelligence, and profound secrecy, are mentioned by all our historians. He was employed by Queen Elizabeth in the most important embassies, and advanced to the post of secretary of state; notwithstanding which, he was so far from accumulating a fortune, that he spent his patrimony in the service of the public, and was buried in the night, at the expense of his friends, through fear of his corpse being arrested for debt: a fault which few statesmen since his time have been guilty of. He died April 6, 1590.—*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 9—12.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 233.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 162, 163.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 226, 227.  
] MS. Register, p. 585.

he underwent many troubles for nonconformity. While in the former situation, he experienced the cruel oppressions of the times, and was apprehended and committed to close prison, where he remained a long time. During his confinement, the inhabitants at Northampton presented a supplication to Queen Elizabeth, humbly and earnestly beseeching her majesty to grant his release, and his restoration to his beloved ministry. In this supplication they affirmed upon their dutiful allegiance, that during his abode in that place, he had lived an honest and a peaceable life, and gave a high character of his diligence in preaching, his obedience to God, and to those in authority. It does not appear, however, whether this application was at all successful. It is very probable he never returned to his charge at Northampton.

Having at length obtained his release, he most probably entered upon his ministerial charge in the city of Coventry. The oppressed puritans being desirous to be eased of their heavy burdens, Mr. Fenn was unanimously chosen by the London ministers, to accompany the Earl of Leicester, in a presentation of their afflictions and desires to those in authority; but with what success, we have not been able to learn. He consented to this appointment, saying "that he was ready to run, whenever the church commanded him." It is said to have been his opinion, that impropriations, which were attached to her majesty, to colleges, &c. ought to be set to the pastors; and that all tythes, which are appendages by some composition, should be paid to the ministers in specie. It is also observed, that he accounted it unlawful to receive the sacrament at the hands of a dumb minister, or to attend the ordinary service of the church without a sermon.\*

Upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, and the persecutions which followed, he was cited to Lambeth, and, refusing to subscribe, was immediately suspended. When he appeared before the archbishop, he was urged by many arguments, to subscribe; and he, on the contrary, endeavoured to answer those arguments, stating his reasons for refusal. This was as follows:

Archbishop. Your subscription is required by the statute of 13 Eliz.

Fenn. That statute extendeth no further than the confession of christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments.

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 73, 74.

A. There is provision in the statute of 7 Eliz., that the queen, with her high commissioners, or the archbishop, may take further order.

F. The proviso of 7 Eliz. can have no relation to 13 Eliz., which was some years after. And the proviso expresseth how far it is to be extended: not to taking away and establishing ceremonies.

A. But so much of the canon law is still in force, as is not contrary to God's word; and you have promised canonical obedience.

F. But the question is, whether the things required be agreeable to God's word? And not only so, there is no canon which requires us to subscribe to the judgment of our ordinary.

A. That I allow; but the law hath charged the bishop to see that all things for the ministry be duly observed, as by law established; and I take this order for the more effectual execution of things already established.

F. Your care and diligence in the execution of laws must be according to law, and not contrary to law; that is, by admonition, by suspension, by sequestration, or by deprivation, as the case may require. But these proceedings are not according to law; but an inquisition into our hearts and consciences, for which there is no law.

A. I make this a decree and order for the whole of my province, and, therefore, is to be observed as if it had been made before.

F. No one person, nor any number of persons, hath authority to make decrees or constitutions, except in convocation; which must be called together by the king's writ: As 25 Henry VIII. and 1 Eliz., which is entitled, "The Submission of the Clergy."

A. I have the queen's consent.

F. But that consent was not according to law provided in this behalf. Nor was it done in convocation.

A. I have the consent of my brethren and some others.

F. That was not according to the order of convocation, wherein we are to have our free choice of clerks.\*

Mr. Fenn remained under suspension a long time, during the whole of which period his cure was totally neglected.† But by the kind favour of the Earl of Leicester, as appears from his letter to the archbishop, dated July 14, 1585, he was at length restored to his ministry, when he returned to

\* MS. Register, p. 392.

† Ibid. p. 745.

his charge in Coventry.\* The same honourable person also promised, that he would treat with the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to obtain his favourable allowance. Though this excellent divine might probably enjoy peace and quietness for a season, his troubles were not ended. In the year 1591, an information was exhibited against him and many of his brethren, for being concerned in the classis, attending their associations, and subscribing the "Book of Discipline;" when they were all apprehended, and committed to prison. A circumstantial account of these proceedings, together with their examinations and endeavours to procure their deliverance, is given in another place.† These worthy sufferers, during their confinement, presented a long letter to the queen, dated April, 1592, in vindication of their own innocency.‡ It does not, indeed, appear how long a time they remained in prison, after that period.

Upon Mr. Fenn's release, he most probably returned to Coventry, where he spent the rest of his days. He died in a firm attachment to those principles for which he suffered. Mr. Clark observes, that he was famous for his ministry and nonconformity in the city of Coventry; and that in his last will and testament, he made so full and open a protestation against the hierarchy and ceremonies, that when his will was tendered to be proved, the prelates, or those of their party, would not allow it to have a place among the records of the court.§

DANIEL WIGHT was a zealous minister of Christ, but greatly harassed for many years, on account of his nonconformity. It is very probable that he preached at some place in London or its vicinity. In the year 1573, when Mr. Johnson and others were sent to the Gatehouse, Mr. Wight and several of his brethren were committed to Newgate. We do not, however, find how long he remained under the bondage of his enemies.¶ As Mr. Johnson afterwards died under the pressure of his rigorous confinement; so Mr. Wight afterwards obtained his liberty, and was restored to his ministry. He subscribed the "Book of Discipline," and took an active part in the associations; for

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 226.

† See Art. Thomas Cartwright.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 85.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 160.

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 441, 442.

which his study was broken open, and searched, and his private papers were carried away. Those papers contained some of the resolutions agreed upon at their associations; among which were the following:—"That private baptism is unlawful.—That the sign of the cross ought not to be used in baptism.—That the calling of bishops is unlawful.—That the people ought to be taught church discipline.—That ministers ought to be called by their flocks.—And that no minister ought to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer."\* These were the dangerous resolutions and opinions of Mr. Wight and his brethren, for which they were apprehended and cast into prison. They were most shamefully reproached and insulted in the high commission and star-chamber; and were under confinement in the year 1592, having been in prison nearly two years. Whether Mr. Wight continued much longer in bondage, we cannot ascertain.†

**WILLIAM PROUDLOVE** was a respectable puritan minister, who, about the year 1562, became vicar of Fansley in Northamptonshire; and in 1577, he became rector of Lamport in the same county.‡ He united with his brethren in their private associations, and took an active part in promoting the desired ecclesiastical discipline; for which, in the year 1590, he was apprehended and cast into prison, where he remained a long time.§ He was often carried before the high commission and the star-chamber, when he underwent the severe scrutiny and examination of his ecclesiastical inquisitors; but refused the oath *ex officio*. On one of these occasions, the following interrogatories were proposed to him:

"Whether have not you put in practice that opinion or determination of those that labour for a discipline and government by eldership, whereby they hold, that a godly minister is not to rest in or obey the suspension or deprivation of bishops or their officers, as it is practised in the church of England?—Whether were you suspended or excommunicated by your ordinary, and, nevertheless, did preach and execute your ministry, during such suspension or excommunication; and what moved you so to do?—Whether have you besides the presentation by the patron,

\* Strype's Whitgift, p. 291, 292.

† See Art. Cartwright.

‡ Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 95, 113.

§ See Art. Cartwright.

and institution of the bishop, unto your late benefice, a trial, examination, ordination, calling, and approbation by some of your brethren and neighbouring ministers assembled in classes or conference? In what manner and form was it performed? By whom, when, and where?"\* What could his tyrannical judges mean by these iniquitous proceedings, unless it was to force him to become his own accuser, and prove him guilty from his own confession?

JOHN MORE.—This learned and pious divine was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. After his removal from the university, he became a very popular and useful preacher at St. Andrew's church in the city of Norwich; but here he met with persecution on account of his nonconformity. Having refused to wear the surplice, principally on account of the offence which it gave to others, he was convened before the bishop of the diocese, who told him that it was better to offend a few private persons, than to offend God and disobey the prince. His lordship, indeed, gives him this honourable character: "I have not known that he has at any time spoken against her majesty's book of Injunctions, nor can I find any manner of stubbornness in him. And surely," adds the bishop, "he is a godly and learned man, and hath done much good in this city."† He was a zealous champion for the purity of the gospel, and a bold opposer of all false doctrine, as appears from his public contest with the famous Dr. Pern of Cambridge.‡ What a pity then was it, that a divine, endowed with such excellent qualifications, should have been interrupted in his public ministry.

The prelates rigorously imposing the ceremonies upon the clergy, Mr. More, with his brethren in and about Norwich, were among the numerous sufferers. These divines, seeing the approaching storm, prepared for it by presenting their humble supplication to the lords of the council, dated from Norwich, September 25, 1576. In this supplication they declare their great readiness to yield their bodies, their goods, and their lives in the service of

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 76, 77.

† Strype's Parker, p. 452.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 282.

their prince; yet they dare not yield to the intended conformity. Having enlarged upon the manifold evils necessarily arising from such rigorous impositions, they conclude in these words: "As to ourselves," say they, "we dare not for all the world yield to those ceremonies. And if the bishop proceed to urge them upon ministers, as he hath begun, it will bring the most awful ruin upon the church. There are already *nineteen* or *twenty* exercises of preaching and catechizing put down, by the silencing of ministers in this city. We, therefore, humbly crave your assistance, both with our prince and the bishops. The Lord God direct your honours in this affair, and in all your other concerns, that they may be for the profit of the church of God and the advantage of our land. Yours most humbly in the Lord,

" JOHN MORE,  
" RICHARD CRICK,  
" THOMAS ROBERTS,

GEORGE LEEDS,  
RICHARD DOWE,  
WILLIAM HART.\*

If Mr. More and his brethren were not brought into trouble previous to their application to the council, it is certain they were suspended not long after. This will appear from their own words, in the following submission, dated from Norwich, August 21, 1578, and presented to their diocesan:—"The ministers," say they, "whose names are underwritten, humbly crave favour to be restored to their preaching, upon subscription to all those articles which concern the confession of the true christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, according to the words of the statute. And concerning ceremonies, order, and government, they acknowledge that they are so far tolerable, that for the same, no man ought to withdraw himself from hearing the word of God, and receiving the sacraments; nor, on the same account, ought any minister to refuse to preach the word of God, and to administer the sacraments,

" JOHN MORE,  
" RICHARD CRICK,  
" THOMAS ROBERTS,  
" VINCENT GOODWIN,

RICHARD DOWE,  
GEORGE LEEDS,  
JOHN MAPES.†

\* MS. Register, 256.

† Ibid. p. 285.

From the above submission it is obvious that Bishop Maddox had not sufficiently examined the subject, or that his materials of information were defective, when he affirms that Mr. More does not appear to have been suspended.\* It is not, indeed, equally clear how long he remained under the episcopal censure, nor whether his submission was at all available. About the year 1584, after the publication of Whitgift's three articles, we find this excellent divine and upwards of sixty others, all ministers of Norfolk, not resolved to subscribe. And about the same time, the ministers of Norwich, being grievously oppress'd with the severities laid upon them, presented to the archbishop their reasons for refusing subscription, earnestly soliciting the resolution of their scruples and objections; but I do not find what satisfaction they obtained.† Dr. Ames styles Mr. More a most heavenly man, and the light and glory of the church.‡ Mr. Granger gives the following account of him: "This worthy person," says he, "was about twenty years minister of St. Andrew's in Norwich; where he was held in great veneration for his general knowledge in the sciences, his exact skill in the learned languages, and, above all, for his extensive learning and indefatigable labours as a divine. He constantly preached thrice every Sunday, and was much admired for his excellent talent that way. He refused very considerable preferments, which would have been attended with less labour than his cure at Norwich, only because he thought he could be more useful in that city." This author, giving an account of the different modes of dress at this period, observes, that "Mr. John More of Norwich, one of the worthiest clergymen in the reign of Elizabeth, gave the best reason that could be given for wearing the longest and largest beard of any Englishman of his time; namely, 'That no act of his life might be unworthy of the gravity of his appearance.'"§ He died in the year 1592. Fuller includes him among the learned writers, being fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge; and says, he made the excellent map of the Land of Palestine.||

In the last will and testament of Mr. Thomas Merburie,

\* Vindication of the Church of England, p. 341.

† MS. Register, p. 286, 436.

‡ Ames's Fresh Suit, Appen. p. 18.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 217, 218, 288.

|| Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 92.

of the above college, dated December 1, 1571, and proved the 5th of the same month, honourable mention is made of Mr. More; and Mr. Merburie bequeathed to him all his books in divinity, and made him one of the supervisors of his will.\*

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 314.

END OF VOL. I.

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Staatsbibliothek  
München

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HUGHES, PRINTER, MAIDEN-LANE, COVENT-GARDEN.

THE  
LIVES  
OF  
THE PURITANS:

CONTAINING

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THOSE DIVINES WHO  
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE

OF

**Religious Liberty,**

FROM THE REFORMATION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH,  
TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY,  
IN 1662.

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BY BENJAMIN BROOK.

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*IN THREE VOLUMES.*

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VOL. II.

Of whom the world was not worthy.—HEBREWS.

The Nonconformists have suffered what is next to death, and too many have suffered even unto death: of whom then shall their deaths be required?—BISHOP MORTON.

London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,
YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN.

1813.

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LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

JOHN UDAL.—This celebrated puritan was educated in the university of Cambridge, and was a man of excellent parts, great learning, genuine piety, and untarnished loyalty to Queen Elizabeth, but a great sufferer on account of his nonconformity. He was preacher about seven years, at Kingston-upon-Thames; but afterwards deprived, imprisoned, and condemned; and, at last, he died quite heart-broken in prison. Some of his hearers at Kingston, taking offence at his faithful warnings and admonitions, brought complaints against him to those in power, when he was put to silence by the official, Dr. Hone, and committed to prison. But by the unsolicited favour and influence of the Countess of Warwick, Sir Drue Drury, and other excellent persons, he was released, and restored to his ministry.

September 26, 1586, he was convened before the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of Windsor, when they entered upon the following conversation :

Bishop. Mr. Udal, you are beholden to my lady of Warwick. She hath been earnest for you, and telleth me, that you will submit yourself.

Udal. I thank God for her ladyship's care. I am contented, and always have been, to submit to any thing that is just and godly.

B. What you will do, I know not. Hitherto you have not done it; for you refused to swear according to law.

U. By your honour's favour, I never refused to swear, so far as the law doth bind me.

B. No! Wherefore then were you committed?

U. You know best. I was contented to swear, if I might first see the articles.

B. That is a slender foundation to stand upon.

U. It is to me a matter of great importance. For with what conscience can I call the Lord to witness, and protest by his name, that I will answer I know not what?

Dean. Mr. Udal, the things objected against you, I dare say, are against your doctrine, or your life, which are no secrets.

B. Nay, they charge nothing against his life, but his doctrine only.

U. The greater is the mercy of God towards me. For I have given the greater offence by my life; but it hath pleased him so to keep my sins from their sight, that I might suffer for his sake. Your restraining me from my ministry, makes the world believe, that the slanders raised against me are true; the ignorant call in question the gospel which I have preached; and thus a door is widely opened for every wicked man to contemn the doctrine of our Saviour.

Here the bishop laid all the blame on Mr. Udal, and discovered so hard a heart against the suffering church of God, that Mr. Udal burst into a flood of tears, and was constrained to turn aside, to weep for the space of half an hour. Upon his return, he was addressed as follows:

B. Will you answer the articles charged against you, that these things may be redressed?

U. If I may first see them, I shall be satisfied.

B. Mr. Hartwell, write to the register to let him see them; then go with him to some of the commissioners to swear him.

U. This will be a long course. I pray you, that, in the mean time, I may continue my ministry, for the good of the poor people.

B. That you may not. Now that you are suspended, you must so abide, until you be cleared.

U. Then whatsoever becomes of me, I beseech you, let the poor people have a preacher.

B. That is a good motion, and I will look after it.

Mr. Udal then receiving the letter, departed; and the articles being shewn him, he was taken to Dr. Hammond to be sworn, who said, "You must swear to answer these articles, so far as the law bindeth you." "Do you mean," said Mr. Udal, "that I shall answer them, so far as it appeareth to me, that I am by law required?" And finding that he might, he took the oath, and delivered to the register his answers to all the articles in writing. These articles, with the answers, are now before me, and are

thirty-six in number; but too long for insertion.* They contain the charges which certain ill-disposed persons, in the parish of Kingston, brought against him to the high commission. His answers, indeed, furnished the commissioners with sufficient matter for animadversion, when he underwent his next examination. October 17th he was convened before the high commission, at Lambeth; when Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishops of Winchester and Hereford, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Lewin, Dr. Cosin, Mr. Hartwell, and others, were present. Upon the reading of the articles and his answers, they made their remarks as follows:

Archbishop. You are not to judge, Mr. Udal, *who walk disorderly*; nor account any so to do, till it be proved.

U. How shall I count him to do otherwise, who giveth himself up to notorious sins; and after being admonished, not only amendeth not, but goeth on more stubborn than before?

B. You must do more than that.

U. You mean, we must present them; and so we have done several; but presentment is of no use.

A. You must expect what will follow, and not appoint your own time.

U. We may do this long enough before we see any redress, so long as things are managed thus. I have seen malefactors presented two or three years ago, but of whose trials we have heard nothing.

A. You say, Christ is the only archbishop. Why do you not call him arch-pastor and arch-shepherd?

U. As I am at liberty to call the ministers of Christ by those titles given them by the Holy Ghost, as pastors, shepherds, and watchmen; so, I think, I may Jesus Christ.

A. No, no; the archbishop was in your way, and it troubled you to think of him. But there will be an archbishop when you shall be no preacher at Kingston.

B. The rest of that article is *sophistical*, or like Apollo the oracle.

U. Perhaps I have taken some advantage of the words, and not answered according to the meaning thereof, as the law requireth.

A. Those elders of which you speak, were bishops, and not any other.

U. In I. Cor. xii. governors are mentioned as distinct from teachers.

* MS. Register, p. 774—778.

A. That is meant of *civil* governors, and not of a company of unlearned, simple men, as you would have it.

U. The apostle there speaketh of those who were ordained in the church. But it is of no use to dispute these matters in this place.

A. When you say, that pastors may do nothing by their own discretion, but only by the direction of the word of God, you say true; but in this, you strike at something else.

B. Many things are lawful, and may be done, that have no direct warrant from the word.

U. If that can be proved, it is sufficient, and agreeable to my answer.

B. What occasion had you to speak of such matters as officers, orders, canons, &c. ?

U. I have not chosen those subjects on purpose, and have spoken upon them only as they came in my way. This I must do, or I could not declare all the council of God.

Dr. Cosin. That you will never do while you live.

U. But I must deliver as much as I know.

A. It is because you would rail against authority.

B. Why do you wish that the public service were abridged? It may all be read in three quarters of an hour.

U. But I have known it, with other business to be done before sermon, to last about two hours.

A. They who are wearied with it, are your scholars, who can away with nothing but your sermons.

U. My scholars never keep out till the sermon begins; but if any of them be weary of the service, I never taught them so to be.

A. All the service might be read well enough; but you will stand in your vain repetitions, both in your prayers and your sermons, and make no account of so doing.

U. I pray you have a better opinion of me, unless you know that what you say is true.

A. Nay, I speak not of you alone, but all of your sort: this is your manner. Why should you preach, that some persons make but small account of sermons?

U. Because I know it to be true.

B. Though persons may have been of that mind, they may be altered.

A. When you spoke of Christ's descent into hell, that which you said is most absurd.

B. The places in Peter and Acts, are monstrously abused by Calvin and others, who hold that opinion. For who ever knew sepulchre mean hell?

U. The original word there used, is often taken for grave, though it also means hell?

Hartwell. Shew me one place, if you can.

U. That I can easily do; for as often as the Hebrew word in the Old Testament, meaneth grave, so does also the Greek.

H. How can that be? The Old Testament was written in Hebrew, and not in Greek.

U. Do you not know that the Septuagint is in Greek, in which you will find what I say is true?

A. How can the soul go into the grave? What an absurd thing is that!

U. The Hebrew word usually signifieth the whole man: as Gen. xvi. it is said, "There went seventy souls, that is, seventy persons, into Egypt."

A. Do you then believe that Christ, both soul and body, went into the grave?

U. No. But it is, also, often taken for the body; and whenever it is thus taken, it is so translated in the Septuagint: as Lam. i. 19.

H. I wish I had a book, that I might see it.

A. The human soul of Christ after his death, descended into the place of the *damned*; and whosoever believeth not this, but denieth it, is an *heretic*.

U. The church of England is taught, and also believeth, that which you account heresy.

A. No matter for that. We receive nothing for the doctrine of the church of England, but that which is authorized by act of parliament.

U. Then your doctrine is not the doctrine of the church. For one of her articles saith only, that Christ descended into hell, without expressing how.

A. You speak of unpreaching ministers being foisted in by satan, that you may disgrace authority.

B. If a minister be learned, yet hath no utterance, will you disallow him as unfit?

U. Yes, that I will; because the word of God disalloweth him.

B. Where, I pray you, that I may know it?

U. In 1 Tim. iii. 2., 2 Tim. ii. 24. He must be *apt to teach*, which implieth not only knowledge, but *utterance*,

and *willingness*, by which he may be able to communicate his knowledge to others.

B. He may catechise.

U. That is not sufficient.

B. You say it was not made the office of a minister to bury the dead, till the time of popery. In this you lie, sir.

A. It appeareth that ministers did bury the dead in the time of Jerome, which was within four hundred years of Christ.

U. Popery began before Jerome's time.

B. That is untrue; nor many years after. Herein you shew what knowledge you have.

U. I boast not of my knowledge; yet what I say is true. For doth not St. Paul say, that the mystery of iniquity began to work even in his time? And all approved writers expound this of the kingdom of antichrist.

C. Mr. Hartwell, he is beholden to you; for your reason will help him to overthrow Mr. Jewel's challenge.

U. Not a whit. For Jewel's challenge concerns only certain points of popery, and this is none of them. Popery was long a patching together, and is still going forwards at this day.

A. Why may not many persons as well pray together aloud, as sing psalms.

U. Because the one hath better warrant from the word of God, than the other.

B. Ah, sirrah! You wish you had allured ten times more disciples to Christ than you have done.

Dr. Aubery. Had you then your license from me?

U. No; I had nothing from you, except the parchment and the wax.

C. He answereth you foolishly.

U. It is not so. I speak thus to shew the meaning of what I said the last time I was here, with which the idle by-standers made themselves sport.

A. What was that?

U. I say, I took myself to be as lawfully licensed to preach as any man could be. For my sufficiency was approved by the archbishop, and I had no more from his officers than as I said.

Aub. I remember not that you had any thing of me.

U. I have it to shew; and it is no counterfeit.

A. In speaking upon confirmation, which is doubtless still profitable, did you teach the right use of that office?

U. I taught that which the text afforded me.

B. My lord, he hath, indeed, great injury done him, if the charges be not true. Let a commissioner be sent to examine witnesses.

A. You had best name some yourself, Mr. Udal.

U. I will name for one, Mr. Thomas Vincent.

A. He is thought to be too partial to your side.

U. Then I will name Mr. William Walter, the younger.

A. He may be too partial also.

U. You may appoint two of my greatest foes, so that I may have my friends, who will deal uprightly; but if these may not be admitted, I will appoint none.

A. Stand aside. We will consult of this matter.

Upon their consultation, they concluded to appoint no fresh witnesses; but to have those who were present brought forwards. It was very remarkable, that the man who had lodged the information against Mr. Udal, and who meant to have appeared as a witness against him, was, at this very juncture, seized with a dreadful disease, of which he presently died. His case was, therefore, deferred for some time. The Countess of Warwick applied to the archbishop, who gave order for Mr. Udal to appear before him; but he had to wait upon his lordship four different times, before he could obtain any satisfactory answer. At length, he attended while the commissioners were sitting, when they proceeded as follows:

A. Mr. Beadle, is there any thing written down in proof of those articles?

Beadle. If it please your grace, the man who should have followed this matter, is dead.

A. Is he of the guard, dead?

U. Yes, he is dead; but I wish, if it had been the will of God, that he might have lived longer; both that it might have appeared what he could prove against me, and that he might have had time to repent of his sin. But God is just, and knoweth what he hath done.

A. My lord of Winchester, here is a copy of the articles. Deal you with him.

U. I pray you let it not be deferred, but an end made one way or other, that I may take some course with the living.

A. You may take what course you please. Who hindereth you?

U. Surely, I sought not after you, but being sent for, I came.

B. You must abide by the course of the law.

U. I think I have cleared myself by my answers.

B. Nay, by your leave, you have not. Your answers accuse you.

U. Then dispatch me accordingly. It is chargeable and burdensome to attend so often from day to day.

A. My lord of Winchester, appoint him to attend on Friday come sevensnight.

B. I am content. Come in the afternoon.

Mr. Udal then departed, intending to appear according to appointment. In the mean time, the Countess of Warwick wrote a pressing letter to the bishop, in his behalf. Upon his appearance, after long attendance, he was called before the bishop, who thus addressed him :

B. The articles brought against you, are not to be proved ; for the witnesses fear the displeasure of your numerous friends, which is a very hard case.

U. It is hard, if it be true. But there is no such fear, only they are unable to prove more than I have already confessed.

B. You have, indeed, confessed sufficient against yourself.

U. Let it then appear. For I must justify all that I have confessed, until it be refuted ; and when it is refuted, I shall be willing to recant, in the same place in which it was spoken.

B. I will not deal with you in that way. But for the sake of your friends, and other causes, I am willing to restore you to your preaching, if you will assure me under your own hand, that you will speak no more against any thing by authority established.

U. I will promise you to preach nothing but the word of God.

B. The word of God, as you are pleased to call it !

U. If I be unable to understand what is, and what is not, the word of God, I am unfit to be a preacher, and so you may finally dismiss me. It were better for me to be a ploughman, than a preacher, under any other conditions.

B. Then I may not admit you. This would help to increase controversies.

U. I will promise you to promote the peace of the church, all that I can. More I cannot do.

B. Well, I will seek advice about it. In the mean time you may depart.

Mr. Udal, having departed, communicated an account of these transactions to his friends, and the Countess of Warwick sent a messenger to the bishop for a decisive answer. Therefore, by her godly and zealous importunity, his lordship sent for Mr. Udal, when he thus addressed him :

B. I am to restore you, Mr. Udal, to your former place of preaching; yet I must admonish you to refrain from speaking against things by law established. For, surely, if you give occasion to be again deprived, no subject in England shall obtain your restoration.

U. Surely, I have not at any time, purposely said any thing tending thereunto. But I may never conceal the truth which my text offereth me.

B. We had need walk warily. Things are out of square. There is much inquiry where is the cause. Some blame us bishops; but God knoweth where the blame is. I think it is in the controversy among ourselves.

U. So do I. But in whom is the cause of the controversy, I shall not now dispute. I came for another purpose.

B. Take heed you do not triumph over your enemies. This will create greater variance and dissention.

U. If I should be restored, I am determined to pass it over in silence, and leave my enemies to their maker and judge. I must suffer greater things than these for Christ's sake.

B. Well, this is all I have to say to you at this time.

Mr. Udal then departed, having obtained his liberty to continue preaching; for which he blessed and praised God, and prayed that these troubles might be over-ruled for the advancement of God's glory, and the further prosperity of his church.*

Thus, after much trouble and expense, with the loss of much time, this learned and excellent divine was restored to his ministry. About the same time, he united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† His troubles, however, were not ended. In the year 1588, he was again suspended and deprived of his living. Having received the ecclesiastical censure a second time, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne prevailed upon the Earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, to send him to preach the word of life among them. Therefore, being driven from his living and his flock at Kingston, he went

* MS. Register, p. 772—781.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 422.

to Newcastle, where his ministerial labours, during his continuance, were greatly blessed to many souls. But Mr. Udal had not been there above a year, (the plague being in the town all the time, which carried off two thousand of its inhabitants,) when, by an order from the privy council, he was sent for to London. He immediately obeyed the summons, and appeared at Lord Cobham's house, January 13, 1589. The commissioners present were Lord Cobham, Lord Buckhurst, Lord Chief Justice Anderson, the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Aubery, Dr. Lewin, Mr. Fortesque, and Egerton the solicitor. The lord chief justice then entered upon his examination in the following manner :

Anderson. How long have you been at Newcastle ?

Udal. About a year, if it please your lordship.

A. Why went you from Kingston-upon-Thames ?

U. Because I was silenced there, and was called to Newcastle.

Bishop. What calling had you thither ?

U. The people made means to my lord of Huntingdon, who sent me thither.

B. Had you the allowance of the bishop of the diocese ?

U. At that time, there was none.

A. You are called hither to answer concerning certain books, which are thought to be of your making.

U. If it be for any of Martin's books, I have already answered, and am ready so to do again.

A. Where have you answered, and in what manner ?

U. At Lambeth, a year and a half ago, I cleared myself not to be the author, nor to know who he was.

A. Is this true, Mr. Beadle ?

Beadle. I have heard that there was such a thing, but I was not there, if it please your lordship.

Aubery and Lewin. There was such a thing, my lord's grace told us.

U. I am the hardlier dealt with, to be fetched up so far, at this time of the year. I have had a journey, I would not wish unto my enemy.

B. You may thank your own dealing for it.

A. But you are to answer concerning *other* books.

U. I hope your lordship will not urge me to any others, seeing I was sent for about those.

A. You must answer to others also : What say you of "A Demonstration" and "A Dialogue?" did you not make them ?

U. I cannot answer.

A. Why would you clear yourself of Martin, and not of these, but that you are guilty?

U. Not so, my lord. I have reason to answer in the one, but not in the other.

A. I pray let us hear your reason; for I cannot conceive of it, seeing they are all written concerning one matter.

U. This is the matter, my lord. I hold the matter proposed in them to be all one; but I would not be thought to handle it in that manner, which the former books do; and because I think otherwise of the latter, I care not though they should be fathered upon me.

Buckhurst. But, I pray you tell me, know you not Penry?

U. Yes, my lord, that I do.

Buck. And do you not know him to be Martin?

U. No, surely, nor do I think him to be Martin.

Buck. What is your reason?

U. This, my lord: when it first came out, he, understanding that some gave him out to be the author, wrote a letter to a friend in London, wherein he denied it, in such terms as declare him to be ignorant and clear in it.

Buck. Where is that letter?

U. Indeed I cannot tell you. For I have forgotten to whom it was written.

Buck. You will not tell where it is.

U. Why, my lord, it tendeth to the clearing of one, and the accusation of none.

Buck. Can you tell where Penry is?

U. No, surely, my lord.

Buck. When did you see him?

U. About a quarter of a year ago.

Buck. Where did you see him?

U. He called at my door and saluted me.

Buck. Nay, he remained belike with you.

U. No, indeed; he neither came into my house, nor did he so much as drink with me.

Buck. How came you acquainted with him?

U. I think at Cambridge; but I have often been in his company.

Buck. Where?

U. At various places.

A. What say you? did you make these books? or know you who made them?

U. I cannot answer to that question, my lord.

A. You had as good say you were the author.

U. That will not follow.

Cobham. Mr. Udal, if you be not the author, say so; and if you be, confess it: You may find favour.

U. My lord, I think the author, for any thing I know, did well; and I know he is inquired after to be punished; therefore, I think it my duty to hinder the finding of him out, which I cannot do better than thus.

A. And why so, I pray you?

U. Because, if every one that is suspected do deny it, the author at length must needs be found out.

A. Why dare you not confess it, if you be the author? Dare you not stand to your own doings?

U. I professed before, that I liked of the books, and the matter handled in them: but whether I made them or no, I will not answer. Besides, if I were the author, I think that by law I need not answer.

A. That is true, if it concerned the loss of your life.*

Fortesque. I pray you by what law did you preach at Newcastle, being forbidden at Kingston?

U. I know no law against it, seeing it was the official, Dr. Hone, who silenced me; whose authority reacheth not out of his own archdeaconry.

F. What was the cause for which you were silenced?

U. Surely I cannot tell, nor yet imagine.

A. Well, what say you of those books? who made them? and where were they printed?

U. Though I could tell your lordship, yet dare I not; for the reasons before alleged.

B. I pray you let me ask you a question or two concerning your book.

U. It is not yet proved to be *mine*. But I will answer to any thing concerning the *matter* of the book, so far as I know.

B. You call it a Demonstration. I pray you what is a Demonstration? I believe you know what it is.

U. If you had asked me that question when I was a boy in Cambridge of a year's standing, it had been a note of ignorance in me, to have been unable to answer you.

Egerton. Mr. Udal, I am sorry that you will not answer, nor take an oath. You are like the seminary priests; who say, there is no law to compel them to accuse themselves.

* His judges actually tried him for his life, and condemned him.

U. Sir, if it be a liberty by law, there is no reason why they should not challenge it.

Back. My lord, it is no standing with him. What sayest thou, wilt thou take the oath?

U. I have said as much thereunto as I can, my lord.

Aubery and Lewin. You have taken it heretofore; and why will you not take it now?

U. I was called to answer certain articles upon mine oath, when I freely confessed that against myself, which could never have been proved; and when my friends laboured to have me restored, the archbishop answered, that there was sufficient matter against me, by my own confession, why I should not be restored: whereupon I covenanted with mine own heart, never to be mine own accuser in that sort again.

B. Will you take an oath?

U. I dare not take it.

B. Then you must go to prison, and it will go hard with you. For you must remain there until you be glad to take it.

U. God's will be done. I had rather go to prison with a good conscience, than be at liberty with an ill one.

B. Your sentence for this time is, to go close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and you are beholden to my lords here, that they have heard you so long.

U. I acknowledge it, and do humbly thank their honours for it.

In the conclusion, Mr. Udal was sent to the Gatehouse. Take the account in his own words. "I was carried to the Gatehouse by a messenger, who delivered me with a warrant to be kept close prisoner; and not to be suffered to have pen, ink, or paper, or any person to speak to me. Thus I remained half a year, in all which time, my wife could not get leave to come to me, saving only that in the hearing of the keeper, she might speak to me, and I to her, of such things as she should think meet: although she made suit to the commissioners, and also to the council, for more liberty. All this time, my chamber-fellows were seminary priests, traitors, and professed papists. At the end of half a year, I was removed to the White-lion in Southwark; and then carried to the assizes at Croydon."†

July 24th, Mr. Udal, with fetters on his legs, was taken to Croydon, and indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 3.

* State Trials, vol. i. p. 144—146. Edit. 1719.

† Peirce's Vindication, part I. p. 132.

before Baron Clarke and Serjeant Puckering, for writing a wicked, scandalous, and seditious libel, entitled "A Demonstration of the Truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of his Church, in all Times and Places, until the end of the World." It was dedicated "To the supposed governors of the church of England, the archbishops, lord-bishops, archdeacons, and the rest of that order." In the dedication of the book, are these words, as inserted in the indictment, and upon which the charge against him was founded: "Who can, without blushing, deny you (the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness: seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, saving a sound christian? For certainly it is more free in these days, to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of love; yea, any most wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be. And I could live these twenty years, any such in England; (yea in a bishop's house, it may be) and never be much molested for it. So true is that which you are charged with, in a 'Dialogue' lately come forth against you, and since burned by you, that you care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite millions more."* His indictment said, "That he not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being stirred up by the *instigation of the devil*, did maliciously publish a scandalous and infamous libel against the queen's majesty, her crown and dignity."†

Mr. Udal being brought to the bar, and his indictment read, humbly requested their "lordships to grant him to answer by counsel;" which the judge peremptorily refused, saying, "You cannot have it. Therefore answer your indictment." He then pleaded *not guilty*, and put himself upon the trial of his country.‡ In opening the case, Mr. Daulton, the queen's counsel, made a long invective against the new discipline, as he was pleased to call it, which, he affirmed, was not to be found in the word of God. When he had done, Mr. Udal observed, that, as this was a controversy among learned divines, he thought Mr. Daulton might have suspended his judgment, especially as he himself had formerly shewed some liking to the same cause. Upon which the judge said, "Sirrah! sirrah! answer to the

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 221, 222.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 348.

† State Tryals, vol. i. p. 147.

‡ Ibid.

matter." "Mr. Daulton," said he, "go on to prove the points in the indictment;" which were the following:

1. That Mr. Udal was the *author* of the book.
2. That he had a *malicious intent* in making it.
3. That the matters in the indictment were *felony* by the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 2.

The first point to be proved, was, that Mr. Udal was the author of the book; and here it is observable, that his judges did not stand upon the formality of bringing him and his accusers face to face, and cause them to appear as witnesses against him in open court; but only their examinations were produced, to which the register swore. And, first, Stephen Chatfield's articles were brought forwards, containing a report of certain papers he had seen in Mr. Udal's study. Upon seeing them, and asking whose they were, Mr. Udal answered, "a friend's." Chatfield then desired him to get rid of them; for he feared they concerned the state. He added, that Mr. Udal told him at another time, that if the bishops put him to silence, he would give them such a blow as they never had. Chatfield was then called to witness these things, but he did not appear. Daulton said, he went out of the way on purpose. And when the judge said, "Mr. Udal, you are glad of that;" the prisoner replied, "My lord, I heartily wish he were here. For, as I am sure he could never say any thing to prove this point; so I am able to prove, that he is very sorry that he ever made any complaint against me, confessing he did it in anger when Martin first came out, and by their suggestions whom he has since proved to be very bad men." Mr. Udal added, "That the book was published before he had this conversation with Chatfield." And as he proceeded, the judge interrupted him, saying, the case was sufficiently clear.

The examination of Nicholas Tomkins was next produced. This Tomkins was now beyond sea, but the paper said, that Mr. Udal had told him, he was the author. But Tomkins himself afterwards said, "That he would not for a thousand worlds affirm any more, than that he heard Mr. Udal say, that he would not doubt, but set his name to the book, if he had indifferent judges." When Mr. Udal offered to produce his witnesses to prove this, the judge said, "That because the witnesses were against the queen's majesty, they could not be heard."

The confession of Henry Sharp of Northampton, was next read, who, upon his oath before the lord chamberlain,

had declared, "That he heard Mr. Penry say, that Mr. Udal was the author of the *Demonstration*."^{*}

This was all the evidence of the *fact*, upon which he was convicted, not a single living witness being produced in court. The poor man had, therefore, no opportunity to ask any questions, or refute the evidence. And what methods were used to extort these confessions, may be easily imagined from their non-appearance in court, and having testified their sorrow for what they had done. What man of common understanding, would hang his dog on such evidence as this?

To prove Mr. Udal guilty of sedition, and bring him within the statute, the counsel insisted, that his threatening the *bishops*, who were the queen's officers, was, by construction, threatening the queen herself. The prisoner desired liberty to explain the passage; when he insisted, that offence against the *bishops* was not *sedition* against the queen. But all that could be said, was set aside, and the judge gave it for law, even without allowing the two remaining points of the indictment to be examined, "That they who spake against the queen's government in causes ecclesiastical, or her ecclesiastical laws, proceedings, and officers, defamed the queen herself." Upon this the jury were directed to find him guilty of the *fact*, and the judges taking upon themselves the point of law, condemned him as a felon. Fuller even confesses, that the proof against him was not pregnant; for it was generally believed, that he wrote not the book, but only the preface.⁺ His enemies might as well have condemned him without the formality of a trial. The statute was undoubtedly strained beyond its meaning, and evidently with a design to reach his life. The good man behaved himself with great modesty and discretion at the bar; and having said as much for himself as must have satisfied any equitable persons, he submitted to the judgment of the court.

"The case of Mr. Udal seems singular," says Hume, "even in the arbitrary times in which he lived. He was thrown into prison on suspicion of having published a book against the bishops, and brought to his trial for this offence. It was pretended that the bishops were part of the queen's political body; and to speak against them, was to attack her, and was, therefore, felony by the statute. This was not

^{*} Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 202.—State Trials, vol. i. p. 147—152.

[†] Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 222.

the only iniquity to which Udal was exposed. The judges would not allow the jury to determine any thing but the *fact*, of his being the author of the book, without examining his intention, or the import of his words. In order to prove the fact, they did not produce a single witness to the court: they only read the testimony of two or three persons absent. They would not allow Udal to produce any exculpatory evidence, saying, it was not permitted against the crown. His refusing to swear that he was not the author of the book, was employed against him as the strongest proof of his guilt. Notwithstanding these multiplied iniquities, the verdict of the jury was brought against him. For, as the queen was extremely bent upon his prosecution, it was impossible he could escape.”*

Mr. Udal was convicted at the summer assizes, 1590, but did not receive sentence till the Lent following. In the mean time, pardon was offered him, if he would sign the following recantation, dated February, 1591:

“ I, John Udal, have been heretofore, by due course of law, convicted of felony, for penning or setting forth a certain book, called ‘ The Demonstration of Discipline ;’ wherein false, slanderous, and seditious matters are contained against her majesty’s prerogative royal, her crown and dignity, and against her laws and government, ecclesiastical and temporal, by law established under her highness, and tending to the erecting a new form of government, contrary to her laws. All which points, I do now, by the grace of God, perceive to be very dangerous to the peace of this realm and church, seditious in the commonwealth, and infinitely offensive to the queen’s most excellent majesty. So as thereby, now seeing the grievousness of my offence, I do most humbly, on my knees, before and in this presence, submit myself to the mercy of her highness, being most sorry that I have so deeply and worthily incurred her majesty’s indignation against me; promising, if it shall please God to move her royal heart to have compassion on me, a most sorrowful, convicted person, that I will, for ever hereafter, forsake all undutiful and dangerous courses, and demean myself dutifully and peaceably; for I acknowledge her laws to be both lawful and godly, and to be obeyed by every subject.”†

No arguments or threatenings of the judges could prevail upon Mr. Udal to sign the above recantation. He could

* Hume’s Hist. of Eng. vol. v. p. 345, 346.

† Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 26, 27.—Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 45.

not, for the world, subscribe to that as *true*, which he knew to be *false*. He, therefore, resolved to suffer on the gallows, rather than be guilty of such prevarication and hypocrisy. But the day before sentence was to be passed upon him, he offered the following submission, drawn up by himself, dated February 19, 1591 :

“ Concerning the book whereof I was by due course of
 “ law convicted, by referring myself to the trial of the law,
 “ and that by the verdict of twelve men, I am found to be
 “ the author of it, for which cause an humble submission is
 “ worthily required and offered of me. Although I cannot
 “ disavow the cause and substance of the doctrine debated
 “ in it, which I must needs acknowledge to be holy, and (so
 “ far as I can conceive of it) agreeable to the word of God ;
 “ yet I confess, the manner of writing it is such, in some
 “ parts, as may worthily be blamed, and might provoke her
 “ majesty’s indignation. Wherefore the trial of the law
 “ imputing to me all such defaults as are in that book, and
 “ laying the punishment of the same in most grievous
 “ manner upon me ; as my most humble suit to her most
 “ excellent majesty is, that her mercy and gracious pardon
 “ may free me from the guilt and offence, which the said
 “ trial of the law hath cast upon me, and further, of her
 “ great clemency, to restore me to the comfort of my life
 “ and liberty ; so do I promise, in all humble submission to
 “ God and her majesty, to carry myself in the whole
 “ course of my life, in such humble and dutiful obedience,
 “ as shall besit a minister of the gospel and a dutiful
 “ subject, fervently and continually praying for the good
 “ preservation of her highness’s precious life and happy
 “ government, to the honour of God, and comfort of her
 “ loyal and dutiful subjects.”*

Previous to this, Mr. Udal had often, and with great earnestness, petitioned his judges for their mediation with the queen.† In his letter to Puckering, dated November 11, 1590, he thus expressed himself:—“ I resolved to call to your remembrance my hard estate, which I pray you to accept as proceeding from him who wisheth as well to you as to his own soul. I need not offer to your lordship’s consideration of the miserable state I am in, being deprived of that living by which myself, my wife and children, should be supported ; and spending the little substance which God has given me, in this tedious state of imprisonment ;

* Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 27.—State Tryals, vol. i. p. 152—155.

† Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 50—52.

and thus exposing both me and them to beggary and misery. I pray you call to mind, by what course this misery was brought upon me; and if you find, by due consideration, that I am worthy to receive the punishment from the sentence of upright justice, I pray you hasten the execution of the same: for it were better, in this case, for me to die than to live. But if it appear to your consciences, as I hope it will, that no malice against her majesty can possibly be in me, seeing I pray daily for her majesty's prosperity and happiness, both in soul and body, then I do humbly and heartily desire you to be a means that I may be released. In doing this, I shall not only forget that hard opinion conceived of your courses against me, but also pray heartily unto God to bury the same, with the rest of your sins, in the grave of his son, Jesus Christ." Mr. Udal wrote several other letters, expressed in most humble and dutiful language.* But all these applications were to no purpose. The court would do nothing till he signed their submission; which, being directly contrary to the convictions of his conscience, he utterly refused.

At the close of the Lent assizes, Mr. Udal, being called to the bar, with the rest of the felons, and asked what he had to say, why judgment should not be given against him, according to the verdict, delivered a paper to the court, consisting of certain reasons; the principal of which were the following:

1. "Because the jury were directed only to find the *fact*, whether I was the author of the book; and were expressly freed by your lordship from inquiring into the *intent*, without which there is no felony.

2. "The men on the jury were not left to their own consciences, but were wrought upon, partly by *promises*, assuring them it should be no further danger to me, but tend to my good; and partly by *fear*, as appears from the grief some of them have manifested ever since.

3. "The statute, in the true meaning of it, is thought not to reach my case, there being nothing spoken in the book concerning her majesty's person, but in *duty* and *honour*; I beseech you, therefore, to consider, whether drawing it from her royal person to the bishops, as being part of her body politic, be not a violent depraving and wresting of the statute.

4. "But if the statute be taken as it is urged, the felony must consist in the *malicious intent*; wherein I appeal first

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 28—30.

to God, and then to all men who have known the course of my life, and to your lordships' own consciences, whether you can find me guilty of any act, in all my life, that savoured of any malice or malicious intent against her majesty. And if your consciences clear me before God, I hope you will not proceed to judgment.

5. "By the laws of God, and, I trust also, by the laws of the land, the witnesses ought to have been produced in open court before me; but they were not, nor any thing else, only certain papers and reports of depositions. This kind of evidence is not allowed in the case of lands, and, therefore, it ought much less to be allowed in the case of life.

6. "None of the depositions directly prove me to be the author of the book in question; and the principal witness is so grieved for what he has done, that he is ashamed to come where he is known.

7. "Supposing I were the author of the book, let it be remembered that the said book, for substance, contains nothing but what is taught and believed by the best reformed churches in Europe; so that in condemning me, you condemn all such nations and churches as hold the same doctrine. If the punishment be for the *manner* of writing, this may be thought by some worthy of an *admonition*, or *fine*, or *some short imprisonment*; but *death* for an error of such a kind, cannot but be extreme cruelty, against one who has endeavoured to shew himself a dutiful subject, and a faithful minister of the gospel.

"If all this prevail not," says Mr. Udal, "yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say, as Jeremiah once said, in a case not much unlike mine, 'Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land.' As the blood of *Abel*, so the blood of *Udal*, will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land will require it at the hands of all who shall be found guilty of it."*

All that he could say proved unavailable. His reasons were rejected; and his judges remained inflexible, unless he would sign the recantation drawn up for him; which his conscience not suffering him to do, sentence of death was passed upon him February 20th, and execution openly awarded. When he received the unjust and cruel sentence,

* *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 21—23.

he was not in the least dismayed, but with great seriousness, said, "God's will be done."* The next morning, the judges, by direction from court, gave private orders to put off his execution, until her majesty's pleasure was further known. All this was done by the particular appointment of Whitgift. "For Dr. Bancroft, by his order, wrote to Puckering, signifying, that, if Udal's submission did not satisfy him, it was the archbishop's pleasure that he should proceed to judgment, and command his execution; but afterwards defer the same, till her majesty's pleasure be consulted."† In the mean time, the Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews were sent to persuade him to sign the recantation; which he still peremptorily refused. And, because the queen had been misinformed of his opinions, Mr. Udal, by the motion of Sir Walter Rawleigh, who highly esteemed him, sent her majesty a short confession of his faith, as follows:

"I believe, and have often preached," says he, "that the church of England is a part of the true visible church, the word and sacraments being truly dispensed; for which reason, I have communicated with it several years at Kingston, and a year at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and do still desire to be a preacher in the same church. Therefore, I utterly renounce the schism and separation of the Brownists.—I do allow the articles of religion, as far as they contain the doctrine of faith and sacraments, according to law.—I believe the queen's majesty hath, and ought to have, supreme authority over all persons, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil. And if the prince command any thing contrary to the word of God, it is not lawful for subjects to rebel or resist, but, with patience and humility, to bear the punishment laid upon them.—I believe the church, rightly reformed, ought to be governed by ministers, assisted by elders, as in the foreign reformed churches.—I believe the censures of the church ought merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any subject, much less any prince, in liberty of body, goods, dominion, or any earthly privilege: nor do I believe that a christian prince ought otherwise to be subject to church censures, than our gracious queen professes herself to be by the preaching of

* State Tryals, vol. i. p. 157.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 105.—Notwithstanding these barbarous proceedings, Whitgift is styled a pious and a prudent prelate, and a man not given to boisterous things, but one just and fair in all his ways.—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 80.

the word and the administration of the sacraments. My desire is, that her majesty may be truly informed of every thing I hold, that I may obtain her gracious favour; without which, I do not wish to live.”*

This declaration of his faith, Mr. Udal sent to Sir Walter Rawleigh, requesting him to present it to her majesty. In the letter enclosing this declaration, dated February 22, 1591, he earnestly solicits this honourable person to be a means with the queen in procuring his pardon, or changing his sentence into banishment, that the land might not be charged with his blood. In this letter he says, “I beseech you to be a means of appeasing her majesty’s indignation, conceived against me from false accusation. For God is my witness, that no earthly thing was ever so dear to me, as to honour her majesty, and to draw her subjects to do the same: and of the truth of this, I trust, my very adversaries will be witnesses when I am dead.”†

King James of Scotland wrote, also, to the queen, in behalf of Mr. Udal, most earnestly requesting, that, for the sake of *his* intercession, the good man might be spared, promising the same favour to her majesty in any matter she might recommend to his attention. This letter, dated June 12, 1591, is still preserved.‡ The Turkey merchants, about the same time, offered to send him as chaplain to one of their factories abroad, if he might have his life and liberty; to which Mr. Udal consented, as appears from his letter to the lord treasurer. He says, “My case is lamentable, having now been above three years in durance, which makes me humbly desire your lordship’s favour, that I may be released from my imprisonment, the Turkey merchants having my consent to go into Syria or Guinea, there to remain two years with their factories, if my liberty can be obtained.” The archbishop, it is said, yielded to this petition; the keeper promised to further it; and the Earl of Essex had a draught of his pardon ready prepared, with this condition, that he should never return without the queen’s license. But her majesty never signed it; and the Turkey ships departing without him, poor unhappy Udal died a few months after, in the Marshalsea, quite heart-broken with sorrow and grief, towards the close of the year 1592.§

Fuller denominates Mr. Udal a learned man, blameless in

* Strype’s Whitgift, p. 375, 376.—Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 54.

† Strype’s Whitgift, p. 376.

‡ Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 903, 904.

§ Strype’s Whitgift, p. 377.

his life, powerful in prayer, and no less profitable than *painful* in preaching.* This is certainly a very high character from a zealous conformist; and what a pity it was, that so excellent a minister of Christ should meet with such cruel treatment! His remains were decently interred in the church-yard of St. George's in Southwark, near to the grave of the famous Bishop Bonner. His funeral was attended by great numbers of the London ministers, who, having visited him in prison, now wept over the mortal remains of that man, whose faith and patience were long and severely tried, and who died for the testimony of a good conscience, and stands as a monument of the oppression and cruelty of the government under which he suffered.

Upon King James's accession to the crown of England, it is said, the first person he inquired after when he came into this country, was Mr. Udal; and when he found that he was dead, he replied, "By my soul then the greatest scholar in Europe is dead."†

His WORKS.—1. The Key of the Holy Tongue, with a short Dictionary, and a Praxis on certain Psalms, 1593.—2. A Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah.—3. Various Sermons.—4. The State of the Church of England laid open in a Conference between Diotrephes a Bishop, Tertullus a Papist, Demetrius an Usurer, Pandochus an Inn-keeper, and Paul a Preacher of the Word of God.‡

JOHN GREENWOOD was a most distinguished puritan, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. The earliest account of him we meet with, is, that he was for some time chaplain to Lord Rich; but afterwards renounced his episcopal orders, and became a rigid Brownist. The congregation of Brownists about London, becoming pretty numerous, formed themselves into a church, Mr. Greenwood being chosen doctor or teacher, and Mr. Francis Johnson pastor, by the suffrage of the brotherhood.§ This, according to our historians, appears to have been about the year 1592, or 1593; though it was probably a few years earlier.¶

Upon Mr. Greenwood's espousing the opinions of the

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 222, 223.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 2060. Edit. 1747.

‡ The first of these articles, Mr. Udal wrote in prison, and he is only supposed to be the author of the last.—*Parte of a Register*, p. 333.

§ For a circumstantial account of this, see Art. Francis Johnson,

¶ Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 124. iv. p. 175.

Brownists, he became intimately acquainted with Mr. Henry Barrow, a lawyer, and a zealous Brownist. Their history is so closely interwoven, that we shall consider them in connexion. They were very contracted in their principles, and fellow-sufferers in the same cause: yet, with the allowance of some mistaken notions, they were eminently good men, and very zealous christians. In November, 1586, having been some time confined in prison, they were brought before the high commission, for holding and propagating schismatical and seditious opinions, as they are called; the most remarkable of which were the following:—“That the church of England is no true church.—That its worship is downright idolatry.—That the church admits unsanctified persons to her communion.—That the conformable ministers have no lawful calling.—That the government of the church is ungodly.—That no bishop, or preacher in the church, preacheth sincerely and truly.—That the people of every parish ought to choose their own bishop.—That every elder, though he be no doctor or pastor, is a bishop.—That all the precise, (meaning those puritans who were not Brownists,) who refuse the ceremonies of the church, strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel, and are hypocrites.—That all who make or expound any printed or written catechisms, are idle shepherds.—That the children of ungodly parents ought not to be baptized.—And that to use set forms of prayer is blasphemous.”* As we have this catalogue of schismatical and seditious opinions, from those who would not be at all disposed to favour them, we conclude that those positions, with their endeavouring to propagate them, were the worst crimes with which they could be charged. Some of their sentiments were, undoubtedly, very erroneous and uncharitable; but others were true and important, shewing their views of religious liberty.

When Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow appeared before the high commission, they underwent very close examinations; and it was from these examinations their dangerous doctrines were collected. The examination of Mr. Barrow, now before me, is an article so little known, yet so curious, that I have given it, though at considerable length, in the following note.† It appears that Mr. Greenwood was

* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 322, 323.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 638.

† November 19, 1586, Mr. Barrow appeared at Lambeth, before Archbishop Whitgift, his archdeacon, and Dr. Cosins. On that day, being the Lord's day, he went to visit Mr. Greenwood, and the other brethren, imprisoned in the Clink; where he had no sooner arrived than

imprisoned before Mr. Barrow; and that, in the month of November, 1586, he was confined in the Clink. How long he had been in a state of imprisonment, previous to that period, it is now difficult to ascertain. We are told,

Mr. Shepherd, the keeper, locked him up in the prison, saying he had orders from the archbishop so to do. When Mr. Barrow demanded a sight of his warrant, he said he should detain him; and if he were wronged, he might bring an action against him. Upon this, the keeper immediately went to the archbishop at Lambeth, and presently returned with two pursuivants. Mr. Barrow was then put into a boat, and carried to Lambeth. On their way, Watson, one of the pursuivants, pulled out a paper from the high commission court at Lambeth, signifying to Mr. Barrow, that he had a long time sought him. "I told him," says Mr. Barrow, "his pains deserved thanks neither of God nor me. I refused his letter, and would not read it, being under the arrest of the keeper of the Clink, who then sat by me." Upon their arrival at the archbishop's palace, after Watson had informed his master of what had passed in the boat, Mr. Barrow was brought into his presence, when the following conference took place.

Archbishop. Is your name Barrow?

Barrow. Yes.

A. It is told me, that you refuse to receive or obey our letter. Know you what you do? It is from the high commissioners, and this man is a pursuivant.

B. I refused to receive or obey that letter, at that time.

A. Why so?

B. Because I was under arrest, and imprisoned without warrant, and against law; it was, therefore, too late to bring the letter.

A. Why, may not a counsellor commit to prison by his bare commandment?

B. That is not the question, what a counsellor may do; but whether this man (pointing to the keeper of the Clink) may do it, without warrant, by the law of the land.

A. Know you the law of the land?

B. Very little. Yet I was of Gray's-inn, some years. (Here Whitgift and the two Doctors derided his unskilfulness in the law, when Mr. Barrow said.) Let this pass. I look for little help, by law, against you. I pray you, why have you imprisoned me, and sent for me in this manner?

A. That shall you know upon your oath. Will you swear?

B. I hold it lawful to swear, if it be done with due order and circumstances.

A. Reach a book, and hold it him.

B. What shall I do with it?

A. Lay your hand upon it, man.

B. For what purpose?

A. To swear.

B. I use to swear by no books.

A. You shall not swear by the book, but by God only.

B. So I purpose, when I swear.

Cosins. Did you never take an oath at the assize, before the judges?

B. No.

C. Would you there refuse to lay your hand on a book, and swear?

B. Yes.

C. Then your testimony would not be taken.

A. Why, man, the book is no part of the oath: it is but a ceremony.

B. A needless and wicked ceremony.

A. Why, know you what you say? Know you what book it is? It is the Bible.

indeed, that pursuivants entered, at a late hour of the night, into an honest citizen's house, in Ludgate-hill; and having used their own pleasure, in searching all places, boxes, chests, &c. in the house, they apprehended, even

B. I will swear by no Bible.

C. Schismatics are always clamorous. It is a perpetual note to know them by.

A. Dr. Cosins saith true. Such were the Donatists of old. And such art thou, and all other schismatics, such as thou art.

B. Say your pleasure. God forgive you. I am neither schismatic, nor clamorous. I only answer your demands. If you will, I will be silent.

A. Well, will you lay your hand upon the Bible, and take an oath?

B. I use to join no creatures to the name of God, in an oath.

A. Neither shall you. This is only a custom commanded by law.

B. The law ought not to command a wicked custom.

A. Why, is it not lawful to lay your hand on a book?

B. Yes, but not in an oath.

A. Will you lay your hand in my hand and swear?

B. No.

A. Will you lay your hand on the table and swear.

B. No.

A. Will you hold up your hands towards heaven and swear?

B. That is not amiss. But I will use my liberty.

A. Why, you hold it lawful to lay your hand on the table and swear.

B. Yes, if it be not commanded and made necessary.

A. Why, the book is the same. It is no part of the oath, but a thing indifferent.

B. If it be not of the oath, why do you so peremptorily enjoin it? And if it be indifferent, as you say it is, then I do well in not using it.

A. Nay, you do not well in refusing it. For therein you shew yourself disobedient to the higher powers, set over you by God.

B. You have even now said it is a thing indifferent. If it be, there is no power that can bring my liberty into bondage.

A. Where find you that?

B. In 1 Corinthians.—Here a Testament was given him, but the arch-bishop and the others so interrupted him, that he could not find the place.

A. Your divinity is like your law.

B. The word of God is not the worse for my ill memory.

A. You speak not as you think, for you are proud.

B. I have small cause to be proud of my memory: you see the fault of it. But the apostle saith it. And you have no cause to condemn my memory, seeing you have all utterly forgotten this saying, "All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any."

A. I would like it well, if you cited your place in Greek or Latin.

B. Why, you understand English. Is not the word of God in English?

A. Were you of Cambridge?

B. Yes, I knew you there.

A. Have you read Calvin, Beza, and others?

B. I have read more than enough. Yet, I know not why I am imprisoned.

A. It is reported, that you come not to church, are disobedient to her majesty, and say there is no true church in England. What say you? have you not at any time said this?

B. These are reports. When you have produced your testimony, I will answer.

A. But I will better believe you upon your oath, than others. How say you? will you answer?

without warrant, Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Francis Johnson, whom they carried, between one and two o'clock at night, to the Compter in Wood-street. Mr. Edward Boys, the owner of the house, remained a prisoner till the next day ;

B. I will know what I swear to, before I swear.

A. Swear first; and then, if any thing unlawfully be demanded, you shall not answer.

B. I have not learned so to swear. I will first know and consider of the matter, before I take an oath.—Here the archbishop commanded Dr. Cosins to record, "That Mr. Barrow refused to swear upon a book."

B. Yes, and set down that I will not answer thus at random; but I will first know and consider of the things I swear to, whether they require an oath.

A. Well, when were you at church ?

B. That is nothing to you.

A. You are a schismatic, a recusant, and a seditious person.

B. Say what you will of me, I freely forgive you.

A. I care not for your forgiveness.

B. But if you offend me, you ought to seek it, whilst you are in the way with me.

A. When were you at church ?

B. I have answered that already; it belongeth not to you.

A. Are you indicted ?

B. I am.

A. It belongeth to us, and I will not only meddle with you, but arraign you before me as an *heretic*.

B. You shall do no more than God will. Err I may; but an heretic I will never be.

A. Will you hereafter come to church ?

B. Future things are in the Lord's hands. If I do not, you have a law.

A. Have you spoken this of the church of England ?

B. When you have produced your witness, I will answer.

A. Upon your oath, I will believe you.

B. But I will not accuse myself.

A. You are lawless.

B. I had rather you produced your witness.

A. What occupation are you of ?

B. I am a Christian.

A. So are we all.

B. I deny that.

A. Are you a minister ?

B. No.

A. Are you a schoolmaster ?

B. No.

A. Then what trade are you ?

B. In your letter, you know my trade in the subscription.

A. You are then a gentleman.

B. After the maner of our country, a gentleman.

A. Do you serve any man ?

B. No, I am God's freeman.

A. Have you any lands ?

B. No, nor fees.

A. How do you live ?

B. By God's goodness, and my friend's.

A. Where dwelleth he, in Norfolk ?

B. Yes.

A. Where dwell you, in London ?

when, by the archbishop and others, they were committed close prisoners, two of them to the Clink, and one to the Fleet. It does not appear, however, whether this was Mr. Greenwood's first or second imprisonment. In the year

- B. No.
- A. Can you find sufficient security for your good behaviour?
- B. Yes, as sufficient as you can take.
- A. You cannot have the queen.
- B. Neither can you take her: she is the judge of the law. Yet, for my good behaviour, I suppose, I could get her word.
- A. Doth she then know you?
- B. I know her.
- A. Else, were it a pity of your life.
- B. Not so.
- A. Can you have any of those who came with you, to be bound for you?
- B. I think I can.
- A. Do you know them?
- B. I know one of them.
- A. What is he?
- B. A gentleman of Gray's-inn.
- A. What do you call him?
- B. Lacy.
- A. Do you know what bond you are to enter into? You are to be bound to frequent our churches.
- B. I understood you of my good behaviour.
- A. That is contained in it, and you had forfeited your bond at first.
- B. Now that I know your mind, I will enter into no such bond.
- A. Will you enter your bond to appear at our court on Tuesday next; and so on Thursday, if you be not called; and be bound not to depart, until you be dismissed by order of our court?
- B. No.
- A. Then I will send you to prison.
- B. You shall not touch one hair of my head, without the will of my heavenly Father.
- A. Nay, I will do this to rectify you.
- B. Consider what you do. You shall one day answer for it.
- A. You will not swear, nor enter a bond for your appearance.
- B. I will put in bond for my bail in the prison, and for my true imprisonment.
- A. Nay, that will not serve the turn. Mr. Doctor, enter these things. I will send some to confer with you.
- B. That were more requisite before my imprisonment.
- Mr. Barrow was then delivered to the pursuivant, who immediately carried him to the Gatehouse, where he remained for some time, not knowing the cause of his imprisonment. November 27th, he appeared a second time, before the high commission at Lambeth; upon which, the archbishop, with a black and an angry countenance, beholding him, inquired whether he would then swear, which introduced the following conference:
- B. I would not refuse to swear on a proper occasion.
- A. Will you now swear?
- B. I must first know to what.
- A. So you shall afterwards.
- B. I will not swear unless I know before.
- A. Well, I will thus far satisfy your humour.
- Here the archbishop pulled out a paper, containing many things confusedly put together, according to the malicious humour of his accuser: As, "That he denied God to have a true church in England.—That the

1592, Mr. Greenwood and his companion Mr. Barrow, had been confined at least four or five years in *close prison*, with miserable usage.*

Mr. Greenwood, as well as Mr. Barrow, underwent a

worship of the established church is idolatry.—That the ministry is idolatrous and antichristian.—That the archbishop, and all the bishops in the land, are antichrists.—That all the ministers in the land are thieves, murderers, hirelings, and hypocrites.—That Mr. Wigginton and Mr. Cartwright strain out a gnat and swallow a camel.—That he condemneth all writers, as Calvin, Beza, &c. and saith, that all catechisms are idolatrous, and not to be used."

Bishop of London. How say you, Mr. Dean of Paul's, here is for you. You have written a catechism.

A. This fellow deals indifferently, and makes us all alike. Thus far I have satisfied you. Now you know what you shall swear to. How say you? will you now swear?

Bp. My lord's grace doth shew this favour to many.

A. Fetch a book.

B. It is needless.

A. Why, will you not swear now?

B. An oath is a matter of great importance, and requireth great consideration. But I will answer you truly. Much of the matter in this bill is true. But the form is false.

A. Go to, sirrah, answer directly. Will you swear? Reach him a book.

B. There is more cause to swear mine accuser. I will not swear.

A. Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here. Away with him. Clap him up *close, close*: let no man come to him. I will make him tell another tale, ere I have done with him.

Mr. Barrow was then immediately carried again to prison, where he remained in *close confinement* till March 24th following; when he was brought before the two Lord Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Winchester, and many others. Upon his appearance, he was commanded to lay his hand upon the Bible, which led to the following conversation:

B. For what end must I do this?

A. To swear.

B. I have not learned to swear by any creatures.

A. This is the word of God, the Bible.

B. The book is not the eternal God himself, by whom only I must swear, and not by any books or bibles.

A. So you shall swear by God.

B. To what purpose then is the book urged? I may swear by nothing besides him, and by nothing with him.

Bishop of Winchester. How prove you that?

B. It is so commanded in the book of the law, Deut. vi. 10., and so expounded by several of the prophets, by Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles.

A. Well, will you swear that you will answer nothing but the truth, and the whole truth, to such interrogatories as we shall demand of you?

B. I will know the matter, before I either swear or answer.

A. Set down, that he will not swear.

L. C. Justice. You shall only swear to answer to the truth. If any unlawful thing be demanded of you, you need not answer.

B. My lord, every truth requireth not an oath. An oath requireth

* *Styrie's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 95, 96.

close examination. He appeared at London palace, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Winchester, the two Lord Chief Justices, the Lord Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, and others. Upon his

great regard and reverence, and being designed for confirmation, ought to be the end of all strife. My lord, if I should err, and deliver it upon my oath for truth, it would be a double sin. And if I should either not know, not remember, or not deliver the whole truth, I should, by such a rash oath, be forsworn. But, by God's grace, I will answer nothing but the truth.

A. A christian man's word ought to be as true as his oath. We will then proceed with you without your oath. What say you to this question? Is it lawful to say the *Pater-noster* publicly, as a prayer in the church, or privately, or not?

B. I know not what you mean by your *Pater-noster*, unless you peradventure mean the form of prayer which our Saviour taught his disciples, commonly called the Lord's prayer.

A. So I mean.

The following articles of inquiry were then proposed to Mr. Barrow, to which he gave the answers annexed.

1. May the Lord's prayer be used in the church?

In my opinion it is rather a summary than an enjoined form; and not finding it used by the apostles, I think it may not be constantly used.

2. May liturgies or forms of prayer be used in the church?

In the word of God, I find no authority given to any man to impose them upon the church; and it is, therefore, high presumption to impose them.

3. Is the Common Prayer idolatrous, superstitious, and popish?

In my opinion, it is.

4. Are the sacraments of the church of England true sacraments?

As they are publicly administered, they are not true sacraments.

5. Are the laws and government of the church of England unlawful and antichristian?

As the decrees and canons of the church are so numerous, I cannot judge of all; but many of them, and the ecclesiastical courts and governors, are unlawful and antichristian.

6. Are such as have been baptized in the church of England rightly baptized? or should they be baptized again?

They are not baptized according to the institution of Christ; yet they may not need it again.

7. Is the church of England the true church of Christ?

As it is now formed, it is not; yet there are many excellent christians in it.

8. Is the queen supreme governor of the church, and may she make laws for it?

The queen is supreme governor of the whole land, and over the church, bodies and goods; but may not make any other laws for the church of Christ, than he hath left in his word.

9. Is it lawful for the prince to alter the judicial law of Moses?

I cannot see it lawful for any one to alter the least part of that law, without doing injury to the moral law, and opposing the will of God.

10. May a private person reform the church, if the prince neglect it?

No private persons may reform the state, but they ought to abstain from all unlawful things commanded by the prince.

11. Ought every particular church of Christ to have a presbytery?

The government of the church of Christ belongeth not to the ungodly, but every particular church ought to have an eldership.

After giving these answers, he was sent back to prison, where he was closely confined, no one being allowed to see him, or speak to him. And

appearance, certain interrogatories were put to him, as follows :

Q. What is your name ?

G. John Greenwood.

though he earnestly requested a copy of his answers, the favour could not be obtained.

June 18, 1587, Mr. Barrow was again brought up, and underwent another examination, before the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Bockhurst, the Bishop of London, Justice Young, Dr. Some, and others. The Lord Treasurer introduced his examination as follows :

Treasurer. Why are you in prison, Barrow ?

B. I am in prison, my lord, upon the statute made for recusants.

T. Why will you not come to church ?

B. My whole desire is to come to the church of God.

T. I see thou art a fantastical fellow. But why not come to our churches ?

B. My lord, the causes are great and many : as,—1. Because all the wicked in the land are received unto the communion.—2. You have a false and an antichristian ministry set over your church.—3. You do not worship God aright, but in an idolatrous and a superstitious manner.—And, 4. Your church is not governed by the Testament of Christ, but by the Romish courts and canons.

T. Here is matter enough, indeed. I perceive thou takest delight to be an author of this new religion.

Chancellor. I never heard such stuff in all my life.

London. Is the worship of the church idolatrous ?

B. In the Book of Common Prayer, there is little else : as, the saints'-days, eves, fasts, idol-feasts, &c.

Lord. Stay there. Is it not lawful to keep a memorial of the saints in the church ?

B. Not after this manner. It is idolatry.

Lord. How prove you that ?

B. By the first commandment.

Lord. Why, that is, "Thou shalt have no other Gods before me." What of that ?

B. The words are, "Thou shalt have no other Gods *before my face.*" We are, therefore, forbidden to give any part of God's worship to any creature.

Lord. Why, neither do we.

B. Yes, you celebrate a day, and sanctify an eve, and call them by the names of saints ; and thus you make a feast, and devise a worship unto them.

T. Why, may we not call the day by their names ? Is not this in our liberty ?

B. No, my lord.

T. How do you prove that ?

B. In the beginning of the Bible, it is written, that God himself named all the days, the first, the second, &c.

T. Then we may not call them Sunday, Monday, &c.

B. We are otherwise taught to call them, in the word of God.

T. Why, thou thyself callest Sunday, *the Lord's day.*

B. And so the Holy Ghost calleth it, in the first of Revelation.

Lord. We have nothing in our saints'-days, but what is taken forth of the scriptures.

B. In that, you say true ; for you find no saints'-days in the scriptures.

Lord. We find their histories and deeds in the scripture.

B. But not their days and festivals.

Buckhurst. He is a proud spirit.

Lay your hand upon the book. You must take an oath.

G. I will swear by the name of God, if there be any need; but not by, or upon, any book.

T. He has a hot brain. How do you like the collects, and epistles and gospels, for the saints'-days, as they are in the Book of Common Prayer?

B. I dislike all. We ought not so to use prayers and scriptures.

Lond. May we not make commemoration of the saints' lives in the church?

B. Not after your manner, by giving peculiar days, eves, fasts, feasts, and worship, unto them.

T. What is there idolatrous in this?

B. It is all idolatrous. We ought not so to use the scriptures.

Lond. What not in commemoration of the saints?

B. As I have said, not after your manner.

T. What evil is there in it?

B. It is all evil, my lord. For, by thus abusing the scripture, we make it an idol. Things in themselves good, thus become evil. As, in the mass-book, whence this stuff is taken, there are sundry good collects and places of scripture, which superstitious abuse renders abominable.

Buck. He is out of his wits.

B. No, my lord, I speak the words of truth and soberness, as I could make appear, if I might be suffered.

T. Here we pray, that our lives may be such as theirs were, void of covetousness.

B. So we ought to do. Yet not to use the scriptures in this manner to days and times, nor to be so restrained or stinted in our prayers, as to be tied to this form of words, time, place, manner, kneeling, standing, &c.

Buck. This fellow delighteth to hear himself talk.

A. He is a sower of errors; and, therefore, I committed him.

B. You, indeed, committed me half a year close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and I never until now understood the cause, neither do I yet know what errors they are. Shew them, therefore, I pray you.

Buck. He has a presumptuous spirit.

B. My lord, all spirits must be tried and judged by the word of God. But if I err, my lord, it is meet I should be shewn wherein.

Chan. There must be stricter laws made for such fellows.

B. Would to God there were, my lord, our journey would then be the shorter.

T. You complained to us of injustice; wherein have you received wrong?

B. By being imprisoned, my lord, without due trial.

T. You said you were condemned upon the statute.

B. Unjustly, my lord. That statute was not made for us.

T. There must be stricter laws made for you.

B. O, my lord I speak more comfortably. We have sorrows enow.

T. Indeed, thou lookest as if thou hadst a troubled conscience.

B. No, my lord, I praise God for it. But it is an awful thing, that the sword of our prince should thus be drawn against her faithful subjects.

T. The queen's sword is not yet drawn against Mr. Barrow and his fellow-prisoners.

B. We have been long confined in close prison.

T. Have you not had a conference?

Lond. Several have been with them, whom they mocked.

B. We have mocked no man. Miserable physicians are you all. We desired a public conference, that all might know our opinions, and wherein we err.

A. You shall have no such conference, you have published too much already; and, therefore, I committed you close prisoners.

Q. We will examine you then without an oath. Are you a minister?

G. I was one, according to your orders.

Q. Who degraded you?

B. But contrary to the law.

T. On such occasions it may be done by law. Have you any learning?

B. The Lord knoweth I am ignorant. I have no learning to boast of. But this I know, that you are void of all true learning and godliness.

Buck. See the spirit of this man.

A. I have matter to call you before me as an *heretic*.

B. That shall you never do. You know my former judgment in that matter. Err I may; but heretic, by the grace of God, I will never be.

Buck. That is well said.

T. Do you not hold, that it is unlawful to enact a law for ministers to live by tithes, and that the people be required to pay them?

B. My lord, such laws are abrogated and unlawful.

T. Thou wouldst have the minister to live upon something. What should he live of?

B. Wholly of alms, as Christ hath ordained, and as he and his apostles lived.

T. How if the people will not give?

B. Such are not the people of God.

T. But what shall the ministers do, in the mean time?

B. Not stand as ministers to such, neither receive the goods of the profane.

T. Where canst thou shew me, from scripture, that ministers ought not to live by tithes?

B. Heb. vii. 12., Gal. vi. 6. In the one place tithes are abrogated; in the other, another kind of provision is made for ministers. The words of the former text are these: "For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law;" and you cannot deny, that tithes were a part of that law: as Numb. xviii.

T. Wouldst thou have the minister then to have all my goods?

B. No, my lord. But I would have you not withhold your goods from helping him: neither rich nor poor are exempted from this duty.

T. Ministers are not now called priests.

B. If they receive tithes, they are priests. They are called priests in the law.

Lord. What is a presbyter, I pray thee?

B. An elder.

Lord. What in age only?

B. No. Timothy was a young man.

Lord. Presbyter is Latin for priest.

B. It is no Latin word; but is derived from the Greek, and signifieth the same as the Greek word, which is elder.

Lord. What then dost thou make a priest?

B. One that offereth sacrifices; for so it is always used in the law.

Chan. Do you not know those two men? pointing at the bishop and archbishop.

B. Yes, my lord, I have cause to know them.

Chan. Is not this the Bishop of London?

B. I know him for no bishop, my lord.

Chan. What is he then?

B. His name is Aylmer, my lord. The Lord pardon my fault, that I did not lay him open as a wolf, a bloody persecutor, and an apostate.

Chan. What is that man, pointing to the archbishop?

B. He is a monster; a miserable compound; I know not what to make of him. He is neither ecclesiastical nor civil, but that second beast spoken of in Revelation.

G. I degraded myself, through God's mercy, by repentance. (Meaning when he renounced his episcopal orders, and separated from the established church.)

Q. Is it lawful to use the Lord's prayer, publicly or privately, as a prayer?

G. It is a doctrine by which to direct all our prayers; but, for certain reasons, no man can use it as a public or private prayer.

Q. Is it lawful, or not? I will hear no prattling.

G. From any thing I can see in scripture, it is not lawful. There is no command to say the very words; and Christ and his apostles prayed in other words, according to their necessities.

Q. Is it lawful to use any stunted forms of prayer, in public or private?

G. They are apocrypha, and may not be used in public assemblies. The word, and the graces of the spirit of God, are only to be used there.

Q. Answer directly. Is it lawful to use them publicly or privately?

G. Paul saith, "The spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the spirit maketh intercession for us."

Q. What say you? Answer directly.

G. It does not appear lawful to use stunted prayers, invented by men, either publicly or privately, from any thing I can see in the scriptures.

Q. What say you then of the Book of Common Prayer? Is it superstitious, popish, and idolatrous?

G. I beseech you, that I may not be urged by your law. I have long been a close prisoner, and, therefore, desire you will shew me wherefore I am treated thus, and not entangle me by your law.

Q. Is it not your law, as well as ours? It is the queen's law. You are a good subject.

G. I am a true and obedient subject. But I thought we were reasoning about your popish canons.

T. Where is the place? Shew it.

When Mr. Barrow turned to Rev. xiii., with a view to shew the treasurer, the archbishop arose, and in anger gnashing his teeth, he said, "Will you suffer him, my lords?" Then by the wardens, Mr. B. was immediately plucked from off his knees, and carried away. As he departed, he desired of the treasurer, that, during his confinement in prison, he might enjoy the liberty of the air, but received no answer. He was, therefore, carried to prison, and closely confined for several years, and met with the most cruel usage.—*Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry*, p. 3—21.

Q. Is not the Common Prayer Book established by the queen's laws?

L. C. Justice. Tell us what you think of the Book of Common Prayer: you shall have liberty to call back what you will.

G. If it were in a free conference, as we have often desired, I would do it.

Bishop of Winchester. Have you not used these words a year ago, "It is popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?"

G. Yes, I think I have. For it was taken out of the pope's portuis.

Q. Why would you not answer thus before?

G. Because I see you go about to bring me within the compass of your law, by making me accuse myself.

J. Anderson. What do you say of it now?

G. That there are many errors in it; and the form of it is disagreeable to the scriptures.

A. Is it *contrary* to the scriptures?

G. It must needs be contrary, if it be disagreeable.

Winch. Do you hold it to be popish, superstitious, and idolatrous?

G. I have told you what I think of it. I hold it is full of errors, and the form of it disagreeable to the scriptures.

Q. What say you of marriage? Did you not marry one Boman and his wife in the Fleet?

G. No. Neither is marriage any part of the minister's office.

Q. Who used prayer?

G. I think, that I used prayer, at that time.

Q. Who joined their hands together?

G. I know no such thing. They publicly acknowledged their consent before the assembly.

Stanhope. I will make them do penance for it.

G. There are others who have more need to shew open repentance than they.

Winch. They make such marriages under a hedge. It hath been an order long received, to marry by a minister.

G. There were many faithful witnesses of their mutual consent. And if it were not lawful, we have many ancient fathers, who, by your judgment, did amiss.

Q. What say you of the church of England? Is it a true established church of God?

G. The whole commonwealth is not a church.

Ander. But do you know any true established church in the land?

G. If I did, I would not accuse it unto you.

Q. But what say you? is not the whole land, as now ordered, a true established church?

Q. No, not as the assemblies generally are. If it please you, I will shew you the reasons.

Jus. No, you shall have enough to shew hereafter. It is not to be stood upon now.

Q. What do you say of the church of England, as it is governed by bishops? Is it antichristian?

G. According to the bishops, and laws it is now governed by, it is not according to the scriptures.

Winch. Thou hast the scriptures often in thy mouth. Is it antichristian?

G. Yes, I hold it is contrary to Christ's word.

Q. What say you then of the sacraments? Are they true sacraments?

G. No. They are not rightly administered, according to the institution of Christ, nor have they the promise of grace; because you keep not the covenant.

Q. Speak plainly. Are they true sacraments, or not?

G. No. For if you have no true church, you can have no true sacraments.

Q. How say you, are we baptized?

G. You have the outward sign, which is washing; but no true sacrament.

Q. How can that be?

G. Very well.*

Q. Is it lawful baptism?

G. Yes.

Q. Need we then be baptized again?

G. No.

Q. Should we be baptized at all?

G. Yes. For if we condemn it, we deny the possession of grace.

Q. Do you hold it lawful to baptize children?

G. I am no anabaptist, I thank God.

Q. How far do you differ from them?

G. As far as truth is from error.

Q. You have a boy unbaptized. How old is he?

G. A year and a half.

Q. What is his name?

G. Abel.

Q. Who gave him that name?

* Here Mr. Greenwood attempted to assign reasons for what he said, but was not suffered to proceed.

G. Myself, being father.

Q. Why hath he not been baptized ?

G. Because I have been in prison, and cannot tell where to go to a reformed church, where I might have him baptized according to God's ordinance.

Q. Will you go to church, to St. Bridges ?

G. I know of no such church.

Q. Will you go to St. Paul's ?

G. No.

Q. Do you not hold a parish to be the church ?

G. If all the people were faithful, having God's law and ordinances practised among them, I do.

Q. Do you then hold, that the parish doth make it no church.

G. No. But the profession which the people make.

Q. Do you hold that the church ought to be governed by a presbytery ?

G. Yes, every congregation of Christ ought to be governed by that presbytery which Christ hath appointed.

Q. What are those officers ?

G. A pastor, teacher, and elder.

Q. And must the church be governed by no other officers ?

G. No, by no others than Christ hath appointed.

Q. May this people and presbytery reform such things as are amiss, without the prince ?

G. They ought to practise God's laws, and correct vice by the censure of the word.

Q. What if the prince *forbid* them ?

G. They must, nevertheless, do that which God *commandeth*.

Q. If the prince offend, may the presbytery excommunicate him ?

G. The whole church may excommunicate any member of that church, if the party continue obstinate in open transgression.

Q. May the prince be excommunicated ?

G. There is no exception of persons; and I doubt not that her majesty would be ruled by the word. For it is not the *men*, but the *word of God*, that bindeth and looseth.

Q. May the prince then make laws for the government of the church ?

G. The scripture hath set down sufficient laws for the

worship of God, and the government of the church; so that no man may add unto it, nor diminish from it.

Q. What say you of the prince's supremacy? Is her majesty supreme head of the church, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical, as civil?

G. She is supreme magistrate over all persons, to punish the evil, and defend the good.

Q. Is she over *all causes*?

G. No. Christ is the only head of his church; and his laws may no man alter.

Q. But the pope giveth this to princes, doth he not?

G. No, he doth not. He setteth himself above princes, and exempteth his priesthood from the magistrate's sword.

Q. What say you of the oath of supremacy? Do you approve of it?

G. If these ecclesiastical orders mean such as are agreeable to the scriptures, I do. For I deny all foreign power.

Q. It means the order and government, with all the laws in the church, as it is now established.

G. Then I will not answer to approve of it.*

From the above examination, the reader will clearly see, that Mr. Greenwood's judges designed to make him accuse himself. Though he positively refused to take the oath *ex officio*, they certainly intended to make him an offender by what they could force from his own mouth. Cruel inquisitors! What would they have thought, if they themselves had been treated thus, in the bloody days of Queen Mary? Such shocking barbarities will be a stigma upon the ecclesiastical rulers of this protestant country, to the latest posterity.

At the close of the above examination, Mr. Greenwood was carried back to prison, where he remained a long time under close confinement. Here he had many companions in bondage, as appears from a paper now before me, entitled, "The names of sundry faithful Christians imprisoned by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, for the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." In this paper it is observed, that Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow had been imprisoned thirty weeks in the Clink, for reading a portion of scripture in a friend's house on the Lord's day, but were removed by an *habeas corpus* to the Fleet, where they lay upon an execution of two hundred and sixty pounds

* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 22—25.

a-piece. Henry Thompson and George Collier were committed to the Clink by the Bishop of London, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read a portion of scripture as above observed; and had remained prisoners nineteen months without being called to answer. Jerome Studley was sent to the Compter, by his lordship, for refusing to answer interrogatories, where he remained fifteen months. Christopher Roper was committed close prisoner by the Bishop of London. Edward Boys was nineteen months in Bridewell, and afterwards close prisoner in the Clink. John Chamber was committed to the same prison, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read as above, where he died. Roger Jackson was sent close prisoner to Newgate, where he died. George Bright, for commending a faithful christian under persecution, was committed to Newgate, where he died. Maynard, Roe, and Barrow, three aged widows, were cast into Newgate, by the Bishop of London, for hearing Mr. Greenwood read a portion of scripture, and two of them died of the infection of the prison. Quintin Smyth was committed to Newgate, confined in a dungeon, loaded with irons, and his Bible taken from him. John Purdye was sent to Bridewell by the Archbishop of Canterbury, where he was confined in a place called *Little Ease*, and beaten with cudgels, for refusing to attend the service of the parish church. There are many others who underwent similar barbarous usage; but these are given as a specimen, shewing the spirit of the times, and the cruel oppressions of the lordly prelates.

During these inhuman proceedings, the Bishop of London, and others of the high commission, appointed forty-three ministers to confer with the same number of Brownists confined in the different prisons in and about London; (the names of whom, as well as the prisoners, are now before me;) and delivered unto them for their direction, "A Brief of the Positions held by the new Sectaries, being twelve in number." These twelve positions, as charged against them by their adversaries, are full of erroneous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; but they contain little more than misrepresentation. Therefore, to these positions they published a reply, entitled "A brief Answer to certain slanderous and ungodly Calumniation spread abroad by the Bishops and their Adherents, against divers faithful and true Christians," 1590. In this piece, they absolutely denied the most odious charges brought against them, and openly

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xiv. p. 311.

declared what they believed in all the twelve particulars; and it appears, my author adds, that they held very few or none of those false doctrines or positions with which they were charged.*

Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow united with about sixty other prisoners, in laying their case at the feet of the lord treasurer. This they did by presenting a petition to this honourable person, called "The humble Petition of many poor Christians, imprisoned by the Bishops in sundry Prisons in and about London." In this petition, they earnestly beseech this great statesman, either to grant them speedy trial, or some christian conference; or, in the mean time, that they might be bailed according to law: or, that he would move their cause before the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy council. They then state their case in the following very moving language:—"May it please your lordship to understand, that we, her majesty's loyal, dutiful, and true-hearted subjects, to the number of three-score persons and upwards, have, contrary to all law and equity, been imprisoned, separated from our trades, wives, children, and families; yea, shut up close prisoners from all comfort: many of us the space of two years and a half, upon the bishops' sole commandment, in great penury, and noisome prisons; many ending their lives, never called to trial; some haled forth to the sessions; some put in irons and dungeons; some in hunger and famine. All of them debarred from any lawful audience before our honourable governors and magistrates, and from all help and benefit of the laws: daily defamed and falsely accused, by published pamphlets, private suggestions, open preaching, slanders, and accusations of heresy, sedition, schism, and what not. And above all, (which most toucheth our salvation,) they keep us from all spiritual edification and comfort, by doctrine, prayer, or mutual conference."† This petition, however, did not succeed according to their wishes.

During their long and severe imprisonment, various pamphlets were published against them, whereby their characters were foully aspersed, and their sentiments exceedingly misrepresented. In reply, they published several pamphlets, in defence of themselves and their opinions, and endeavoured to set forth the truth in its proper light. Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow were supposed to be the authors

* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 425. (2) (3.)

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 91—93.

of these publications, in which they expressed themselves with considerable freedom against the bishops, and the established church. Therefore, March 21, 1592; they, together with Mr. Saxio Bellot, gent., Daniel Studley, girdler, and Robert Bowle, fishmonger, were indicted at the Old Bailey, upon the statute of 23 Eliz. "For writing and publishing sundry seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the queen and government;" when, in fact, they had written and published only against the church. Upon their trial, they behaved with great constancy and resolution, shewing no token of recognition, nor prayer for mercy. They protested their inviolable loyalty to the queen, and obedience to her government: that they never wrote, nor so much as ever intended to write, any thing against her highness, but only against the bishops and the established church; which was, indeed, sufficiently manifest. The jury, however, savouring too much of the spirit of their judges, brought them all in guilty.* Bellot, with tears, desired a conference, and confessed with sorrow what he had done; and Studley and Bowle being looked upon as accessaries only, though they continued firm, declaring their unshaken loyalty to the queen, and refusing to ask for mercy, were reprieved, and sent back to prison. Studley, after four years' imprisonment, was banished from the country, and Bellot and Bowle, not long after, died in Newgate.† In the mean time, Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Barrow were reserved for public examples.‡ Accordingly, sentence of death was passed upon them March 23d, when several divines were appointed to persuade them to recant. But remaining steadfast, they were carried, on the last of March, in a cart to Tyburn, and for some time exposed

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 414, 415.

† MS. Remarks on Hist. p. 454.

‡ About this time, Mr. Barrow presented a petition to the Attorney-General Egerton, in which, after humbly requesting the favour of an impartial conference, in behalf of himself and his brethren then confined in prison, he thus addressed him:—"I protest to your worship, in the sight of God, at whose judgment I look hourly to stand, that I hold not any thing out of singularity, or pride of spirit; but am certainly persuaded by the grounds of God's word, the profession and practice of the reformed churches, and learned men of other countries. I, for my own part, avow unto your worship, that, through God's grace, I will utterly forsake any error I shall be proved to hold, and will humbly submit in all matters proved by the word of God.—By this charitable act, your worship may put an end to the present controversies, reduce all wherein we err, and appease many christian souls.—Signed your worship's humble suppliant,
HENRY BARROW."

Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 171.

under the gallows before the people, to see whether the terrors of death would not frighten them. They, nevertheless, continued firm even in the immediate prospect of death, and were brought back to Newgate. April 6, 1593, they were carried to Tyburn a second time, and there executed.* At the place of execution, they gave such testimonies of their unfeigned piety towards God, and loyalty to the queen, praying so earnestly for her long and prosperous reign, that when Dr. Rainolds, who attended them, reported their behaviour to her majesty, she repented of having consented to their death.† The doctor signified to her majesty, “that he was persuaded, if they had lived, they would have been two as worthy instruments for the church of God, as any that had been raised up in that age.” The queen, afterwards riding by the place of their execution, called to mind their suffering death, and, desirous to obtain some further information concerning them, demanded of the Earl of Cumberland, who was present at their death, what kind of end they made. He answered, “A very godly end, and prayed for your majesty, state, &c.” Also, Mr. Philips, a most worthy and famous preacher, having conferred with Mr. Barrow, and beheld his holy preparation for death, said, “Barrow, Barrow, my soul be with thine.”‡ And we learn from the famous Mr. Hugh Broughton, who lived in these times, “that though Barrow and Greenwood were condemned for disturbance of the state; this would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they would have promised to come to church.”§ Thus they suffered for their nonconformity!

Their trial for offences against the state, when they had written against the bishops and the church only, was undoubtedly the artful contrivance of Archbishop Whitgift; who, by so doing, cast the odium of their death from himself upon the civil magistrate. Indeed, this charge is fairly brought against him by one of the sufferers. Mr. Barrow, having suffered confinement in close prison several years, exposed to all the severities of cold, nakedness, and famine, at length presented a supplication to the queen, earnestly desiring to be delivered from their present miseries, though it were by death. The paper was, however, intercepted by the archbishop, who endeavoured to prevent

* Heylin's Hist. of Presby. p. 324, 325.

† Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. i. p. 884. 4to. Edit.

‡ Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 141.

§ Broughton's Works, vol. ii. p. 731. Edit. 1662.

a knowledge of their situation from coming to the ears of the queen. Mr. Barrow, therefore, exposed his grace's behaviour, in the following smart language:—"The arch-bishop," says he, "having sent so many men to divers prisons, as Bridewell, Newgate, the two Compters, the White-lion, and the Fleet, now posted these things to the civil magistrate. He hath destined brother Greenwood and myself to death, and others to close prison; their poor wives and children to be cast out of the city, and their goods to be confiscated. Is not this," says he, "a christian bishop? Are these the virtues of him, who takes upon himself the care and government of the churches in the land, to tear and devour God's poor sheep, to rend off their flesh and break their bones, and chop them in pieces as flesh for the cauldron? Will he thus instruct and convince gainsayers? Surely he will persuade but few, who fear God, to his religion, by this evil dealing. Does he consult his own credit, or the honour of his prince, by this tyrannical havock? For our parts, our lives are not dear unto us, so that we may finish our testimony with joy. We are always ready, through the grace of God, to be offered up upon the testimony of the faith that we have made."* When, therefore, their whole case is impartially considered, we think there was not much cause for Mr. Strype to call these *passionate* and *angry* expressions. These unhappy men undoubtedly fell a sacrifice to the resentment of an angry prelate; who is, nevertheless, denominated "a very worthy man."†

In the mean time, while we condemn the severity with which these men were treated, we do not mean to palliate their errors. Their rigid and narrow sentiments concerning discipline; their denying the church of England to be a true church; their maintaining that her government was so wholly popish and antichristian as to render all her ordinances and sacraments invalid; and their not only renouncing communion with her, but with all other reformed churches, excepting such as were according to their own model, are sufficient proofs how strongly they were tinged with bigotry. The true grounds of religious freedom were, at this period, so little understood, that it is exceedingly probable, that, if the Brownists had risen in power, they would have exercised it in a very unjustifiable manner. The condemnation and execution of Mr. Barrow and

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 415, 416.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 206.

Greenwood, were acts of flagrant injustice and cruelty, and will stand as monuments of disgrace to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as durable as time.*

Upon this part of our English history, the judicious Rapin observes, "That the queen hearkened to the suggestions of the clergy, who represented the puritans as seditious persons; who rebelled against the laws, and, by their disobedience, shook the foundations of the government. This is not the only time, nor is England the only state, where disobedience in point of religion, has been confounded with rebellion against the sovereign. There is scarcely a christian state, where the prevailing sect will suffer the least division, or the least swerving from the established opinions; no, not even in private. Shall I venture to say, it is the *clergy chiefly* who support this strange principle of non-toleration, so little agreeable to christian charity? The severity of which, from this time, began to be exercised upon the nonconformists in England, produced terrible effects in the following reigns, and occasioned troubles and factions which remain to this day."†

Mr. Greenwood published "A Briefe Refutation of Mr. George Gifford;" and "An Auswer to George Gifford's pretended Defence of Read-Prayers and Devised Liturgies;" in the titles of which, he calls himself "Christ's poor afflicted Prisoner in the Fleet, for the Truth of the Gospel."

WILLIAM SMYTH was born about the year 1563, and educated, most probably, in the university of Cambridge. On his entrance upon the sacred function, he was ordained by the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and licensed to preach by the Bishop of Sarum, when he became minister at Bradford in Wiltshire. Having continued in this situation for some time, he went to London, attended the private assemblies of the Brownists' congregation, and probably became a zealous and active member of the church; for which he was cast into prison, where he remained a long time. During his confinement, he was frequently carried before the inquisitors of the high commission and the star-chamber, and after examination, with a view to make him confess and accuse himself and his brethren, he was sent back to prison. On one of these

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 621. Edit. 1778.

† Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 141.

occasions, April 5, 1598, he was convened before the Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dale, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Young, when he underwent an examination, of which the following particulars are preserved:—He said he had been in prison about two months, committed by Dr. Stanhope and others, on suspicion of being privy to the matters concerning the coffin, (referring, no doubt, to the coffin of Mr. Roger Rippon,) carried to Mr. Young's door. He said also that he had been examined first before Mr. Young and Mr. Townsend; next before the Bishop of London and others; and lastly before the Lord Chief Justice and Judge Anderson, but never, to his knowledge, was indicted. He confessed that he had been at an assembly, in the house of Mr. Lees, near Smithfield; but when he was asked whether he belonged to that church, of which Mr. Johnson was pastor, he refused to answer. Also, when it was demanded whether he had ever any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books in his possession, he again refused to answer. He acknowledged that he came up to London to confer with Mr. Johnson, Mr. Greenwood, and others, and that he attended the assembly in Lees's house, on purpose to hear and see their orders in church matters. He refused the oath *ex officio*; and when he was asked whether he would go to the parish church, he refused to be bound, but was desirous to have a conference.* Great numbers of Brownists were now confined in the different prisons in and about London, many of whose names, and their crimes, with their cruel usage, are now before me. The two principal crimes with which they were charged by their enemies, were, their having seen or possessed certain books supposed to have been published by Barrow, Greenwood, or Penry; and their having joined the congregation of Brownists, which, to avoid the persecution of the bishops, assembled in private houses, in the fields, and in woods. For these significant offences, they were stigmatized as rebels, and committed to filthy prisons, where many of them died, and others, after a miserable imprisonment of four or five years, were banished from the country. Mr. Smyth was probably of this number.†

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 111, 112.

† Ibid. p. 59—117.

THOMAS SETTLE was born about the year 1535, and most probably educated in the university of Cambridge. He was ordained by Bishop Freak, after which he became minister of Boxted in Suffolk, and a zealous nonconformist; but was roughly used by Archbishop Whitgift. In May, 1586, being cited before his grace at Lambeth, the following charges were exhibited against him:—"That he did not observe the order in the Book of Common Prayer.—That he did not use the cross, nor admit the promise and vow in baptism.—That he did not marry with the ring, and say, 'With this ring I thee wed.'—That he frequented conventicles.—That he denied the lawfulness of private baptism by women, and the baptism of ministers who could not preach.—And that he denied that the soul of our Saviour went into hell, or the regions of the damned."

Upon the exhibition of these charges against Mr. Settle, he was first examined upon our Lord's descent into hell; when he confessed it was his opinion, that Christ did not descend locally into hell, and that Calvin, Beza, and other learned men, were of the same opinion. This put the archbishop into so violent a passion, that he called him *ass, dolt, fool*, and added, *they are liars.** Mr. Settle said, "You ought not to rail at me, being a minister of the gospel." "What," replied his lordship, "dost thou think it much to be called *ass* and *dolt*? I have called many of thy betters so." "True," observed Mr. Settle; "but the question is, how lawfully you have done that." The lordly archbishop then said, "Thou shalt preach no more in my province." Mr. Settle answered, "I am called to preach the gospel, and I will not cease to preach it." The archbishop, with a stern countenance, replied, "Neither you, nor any one in England, shall preach without my leave;" and immediately commanded him to be carried close prisoner to the Gatehouse. Before his departure, the Dean of Westminster asking him whether he had subscribed, Mr. Settle replied, "Yes; I have subscribed, and am ready to subscribe again, to the doctrine of faith and sacraments, being as much as the law requires: but to other rites and ceremonies, I neither *can* nor *will* subscribe." "Then," said the angry archbishop, "thou shalt be subject to the ecclesiastical

* This prelate is commended as a worthy and prudent governor of the church; and his mild and moderate carriage, it is said, was well worthy of imitation! This good man expired in David's fulness of days, leaving a name like sweet perfume behind him! *Paul's Life of Whitgift, Prof.—Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 665.*

Authority." Mr. Settle replied, "I thank God, you can use no violence only upon my poor body." So Whitgift committed him close prisoner to the Gatehouse, where the good man continued about six years;† till the year 1592,† when he was released.

After his deliverance from this cruel bondage, Mr. Settle became a member of the Brownists' congregation, which assembled in private places in and about London. His troubles, however, were not ended: bonds and afflictions were still awaiting him. For, towards the close of the above year, he was apprehended at a private assembly, held in the school-house of Mr. George Johnson, in Nicholas-lane, and committed to prison. After remaining under confinement for fifteen weeks, without either examination or indictment, he was carried before the high commission, April 6, 1593, when he was required to take the oath *ex officio*, but he absolutely refused. Though he would not accuse either himself or his brethren; yet, during his examination, he acknowledged certain things, from which we have collected the following particulars:—He confessed that he had held his opinions, and separated himself from the established church, for about a year; but had not received the sacrament in the parish church for three years. He acknowledged that he had opposed the discipline of the church for seven years; but he refused to say by what means he had been induced to imbibe these opinions. When he was commanded to say whether he possessed, or had ever read, any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books, he refused to give a direct answer, but said, he would not be his own accuser. Being asked how many he had persuaded, and brought over to his opinions, he said, he was firmly fixed in what he professed, and was desirous of bringing over as many others as he was able; but more he would not answer.

He, moreover, confessed, that he was present at the assembly in a house in Aldgate, when Robert Stokes was excommunicated for his apostacy; and that he was excommunicated by Mr. Francis Johnson the pastor, when the rest of the officers and congregation were present, and consented to what was done. He said, also, that he had never served in any office in the congregation; but had occasionally taught or prophesied in the assembly. He likewise confessed, that he had received the Lord's supper in

* MS. Register, p. 798.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 96.

their congregation, in a house near Smithfield, but he knew not whose the house was. He, at the same time, refused to attend the public service of the parish churches; because, he thought, they had not a true ministry.*—This was the result of the inquisition of his spiritual judges; but it does not appear how long he remained in prison: most probably he was released upon the general banishment of the puritans.

JOHN PENRY, A. M.—This distinguished puritan was born in Brecknockshire, in the year 1559, and educated first at Cambridge, then at St. Albans-hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of Master of Arts in 1586. "When he first went to Cambridge," says Wood, "he was as arrant a papist as ever came out of Wales, and he would have run a false gallop over his beads with any man in England, and help the priest sometimes to say mass at midnight." Admitting he was then much inclined to popery, being only about eighteen years of age, we need not wonder, especially when it is recollected, that the country whence he came was then wholly overspread with popish darkness. However, as our author intimates, he soon renounced popery; and, after taking his degrees, became an esteemed preacher in both universities, where he was accounted "a tolerable scholar, an edifying preacher, and a good man." This, from so bitter an author, is certainly a very high character of so rigid a puritan. "But," he adds, "being full of Welsh blood, and of a hot and restless head, he changed his course, and became a notorious anabaptist, and in some sort a Brownist, and a most bitter enemy to the church of England."† He was, undoubtedly, an enemy to the hierarchy, and the persecution of the prelates, and a zealous promoter of a further reformation.

Upon Mr. Penry's leaving the university, he settled for some time at Northampton, where he was most probably employed in the ministry. About the year 1587, he entered upon his sufferings in the cause of nonconformity, being convened before Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Cooper, and other high commissioners. The charge brought against him was, that in a book he had published, he had asserted, "That mere readers, meaning such as could not, or would not preach, were no ministers. Reading homilies only, or

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 108. † Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 227.

any other books," he said, "was not preaching the word of God, and so the ordinary means of salvation was wanting." During his examination, the Bishop of London asking him what he had to say against nonresidents, he said, "They are odious in the sight of God; because, to the utmost of their power, they deprive the people of the ordinary means of salvation, which is the word preached." When the bishop demanded whether preaching was the *only* means of salvation, Mr. Penry replied, "It is the *only ordinary* means." This he endeavoured to confirm, from the following portions of scripture: "How shall they hear without a preacher?—It pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.—In whom also ye trusted, after ye heard the word of truth." Having, for a considerable time, discussed Mr. Penry's assertion, that the word is the only ordinary means of salvation, the Bishop of Winchester arose, and said, "I assure you, my lords, it is an execrable heresy." "An heresy!" replied Mr. Penry, "I thank God that I ever knew that heresy. It is such a heresy, as I will, by the grace of God, sooner leave my life than leave it." The bishop then said, "I tell thee, it is a heresy; and thou shalt recant it as a heresy." "Never," replied Mr. Penry, "God willing, so long as I live." Though his lordship afterwards endeavoured to defend himself against what is here ascribed to him, he seems to have been very unsuccessful.* It also appears, that Whitgift supported his brother of Winchester in his assertion, that Penry's opinion was an execrable heresy, and that he should recant it as such; adding, "that such heathenish untruth is to be pitied rather than answered."† Mr. Penry was, therefore, committed to prison; and, after about a month's confinement, was discharged without any further proceeding. But presently after his release, they sent their pursuivants with warrants to apprehend him, and commit him to prison. Walton, one of their pursuivants, went immediately to Northampton; and upon entering Mr. Penry's house, ransacked his study, and took away all the books and papers which he thought proper; but Mr. Penry was not to be found.‡

Upon the publication of Martin Mar-Prelate, and other satirical pamphlets, a special warrant was issued from the council, in 1590, under several hands, of which Whitgift's was one, to seize and apprehend Mr. Penry, as an enemy to

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 573, 574. † Strype's Whitgift, p. 306.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 487. (2.)

the state ; and that all the queen's good subjects should take him so to be. But Mr. Penry, about the same time, went into Scotland, not merely for safety from the storm, but as a student in divinity, where he remained till the year 1593. While he was in the north, he made many observations relative to religion, for his own private use ; and, at length, prepared the heads of a petition or an address to the queen. This petition was designed to represent to her majesty the true state of religion, and how ignorant she was of the many abuses in the church. Likewise to intercede with her, that he might, by her authority, have liberty to go into Wales, and preach the gospel in his native country, where, indeed, it was much wanted. He intended himself to deliver it to the queen, as he should find opportunity. The heads of the petition, clothed in plain and smart language, were as follows :

“ The last days of your reign are turned rather against
 “ Jesus Christ and his gospel, than to the maintenance of
 “ the same.

“ I have great cause and complaint, *madam* ; nay, the
 “ Lord and his church have cause to complain of your
 “ government, because we, your subjects, this day, are not
 “ permitted to serve our God, under your government,
 “ according to his *word*, but are sold to be bondslaves, not
 “ only to our affections, to do what we will, so that we
 “ keep ourselves within the compass of established civil
 “ laws, but also to be servants to the *man of sin* (the pope)
 “ and his ordinances.

“ It is not the force that we seem to fear that will come
 “ upon us, (for the Lord may destroy both you for denying,
 “ and us for slack seeking of his will,) by strangers : I
 “ come unto you with it. If you will hear it, our cause
 “ may be eased ; if not, that posterity may know that you
 “ have been dealt with, and that this age may know that
 “ there is no expectation to be looked for at your hands.

“ Among the rest of the princes under the gospel, that
 “ have been drawn to oppose it, you must think yourself to
 “ be one ; for until you are this, *madam*, you see not
 “ yourself ; and they are but sycophants and flatterers
 “ whoever tell you otherwise : your standing is and has been
 “ by the gospel. It is little beholden to you for any thing
 “ that appears. The practice of your government shews,
 “ that if you could have ruled without the gospel, it would
 “ have been doubtful whether the gospel should be estab-
 “ lished or not ; for now that you are established in your

“ throne by the gospel, you suffer it to reach no farther than
 “ the end of your sceptre limiteth unto it.

“ If we had had Queen Mary’s days, I think that we should
 “ have had as flourishing a church this day as ever any ;
 “ for it is well known that there was then in London, under
 “ the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more flourishing
 “ churches than any now tolerated by your authority.

“ Now, whereas we should have your help both to join
 “ ourselves with the true church, and reject the false, and
 “ all the ordinances thereof ; we are in your kingdom per-
 “ mitted to do nothing, but accounted *seditions* ; if we
 “ affirm either the one or the other of the former points ;
 “ and therefore, *madam*, you are not so much an adversary
 “ to us poor men, as unto Jesus Christ, and the wealth of
 “ his kingdom.

“ If we cannot have your favour, but by omitting our
 “ duty to God, we are unworthy of it ; and, by God’s
 “ grace, we mean not to purchase it so dear.

“ But, *madam*, thus much we must needs say, that, in all
 “ likelihood, if the days of your sister Queen Mary, and
 “ her persecution, had continued unto this day, that the
 “ church of God in England had been far more flourish-
 “ ing than at this day it is : for then, *madam*, the church
 “ of God within this land, and elsewhere, being strangers,
 “ enjoyed the ordinances of God’s holy word, as far as
 “ then they saw.

“ But since *your majesty* came unto your crown, we
 “ have had whole Christ Jesus, God and man ; but we
 “ must serve him only in heart.

“ And if those days had continued to this time, and those
 “ lights risen therein which by the mercy of God have
 “ since shined in England, it is not to be doubted but the
 “ church of England, even in England, had far surpassed
 “ all the reformed churches in the world.

“ Then, *madam*, any of our brethren durst not have been
 “ seen within the tents of antichrist : now they are ready
 “ to defend them to be the Lord’s, and that he has no other
 “ tabernacle upon earth but them. Our brethren then durst
 “ not temporize in the cause of God, because the Lord
 “ ruled himself in his church, by his own laws, in a good
 “ measure ; but now, behold ! they may do what they will,
 “ for any sword that the church has to draw against them,
 “ if they contain themselves within your laws.

“ This peace, under these conditions, we cannot enjoy ;
 “ and therefore, for any thing I can see, Queen Mary’s days

“ will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. The whole truth we must not speak; the whole truth we must not profess. Your *state* must have a stroke above the truth of God.

“ Now, *madam*, your majesty may consider what good the church of God hath taken at your hands, even outward peace with the absence of Jesus Christ in his ordinance; otherwise, as great troubles are likely to come as ever, even in the days of your sister.

“ As for the council and clergy, if we bring any such suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which Pharaoh gives to the Lord’s messengers, touching the state of the church under his government.

“ For when any are called for this cause before your council, or the judges of the land, they must take this for granted, once for all, that the uprightness of their cause will profit them nothing, if the law of the land be against them; for your council and judges have so well profited in religion, that they will not stick to say, that they come not to consult whether the matter be with or against the *word* or not, but their purpose is to take the penalty of the transgressions against your laws.

“ If your council were wise, they would not kindle your wrath against us; but, *madam*, if you give ear to their words, no marvel though you have no better counsellors.”

Though these things contained in Mr. Penry’s intended petition, were certainly expressed in rude and offensive language; yet they were only written upon a private paper in his own possession; and how much truth they contained is left with the impartial reader to determine.* With this petition, he, therefore, returned from Scotland, having also his observations with him. But presently after his arrival in London, he was seized in Stepney parish, by the information of the vicar, in the month of May; and arraigned, condemned, and executed, the very same month!

The charges brought against him were collected from the above petition and private observations. He was indicted upon the statute of 23 Eliz. chap. 2. *For seditious words and rumors uttered against the queen’s most excellent majesty, tending to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects*; and was convicted of felony, May 21, in the King’s-bench, before the Lord Chief Justice Popham.†

* Strype’s Whirgift, p. 410—412. † Wood’s Athens Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

During Mr. Penry's confinement, he underwent an examination before the Worshipful Mr. Fanshaw and Justice Young, which was as follows :

Fanshaw. It is strange to me, that you, Mr. Penry, hold such opinions as none of the learned men of this age, nor any of the martyrs in former times, maintained. Can you shew any writers, either ancient or modern, who have been of your judgment ?

Penry. I hold nothing besides what I will be bound to prove out of the written word of God, and will shew to have been maintained by our holy martyrs, Wickliff, Brute, Purvy, White, Tindal, Lambert, Barnes, Latimer, and others.

F. Do the martyrs then teach you, that there is no church of Christ in England ?

P. If, by a church, you mean that public profession whereby men profess salvation to be had by the death and righteousness of Jesus Christ, I am free from denying that there is a church of Christ in this land.

F. What then do you dislike in our church ? and why will you not partake of these truths and the sacraments with us ?

P. I dislike, 1. The false ecclesiastical officers.—2. The manner of calling those officers.—3. A great part of the works wherein these false officers are employed.—4. Their maintenance or livings. All of which I will be bound to prove, by the Lord's assistance, to be derived, not from Jesus Christ, but from antichrist. Therefore, as I cannot be partaker of those holy things of God, except under the power of antichrist, and by bearing those marks by which he is known, I am bound to seek the comfort of the word and sacraments where I may have them without submitting to any other ecclesiastical government than that which is derived from Jesus Christ.

F. What officers do you mean ?

P. I mean archbishops, *lord* bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, deans, canons, prebendaries, priests, &c. all of which properly belong to no other body, whether ecclesiastical or civil, but only to the Romish church, where they were first invented, where they still are, and from thence were left in this land when the pope was cast out by her majesty's royal father. The church of Christ, in all its offices, is perfect without them : the state, being a civil community, is perfect without them : heathen idolatry hath them not, and requireth them not. Only the

kingdom of antichrist can in no wise be whole and entire without them. And if it be not lawful for the members of Christ to be subject to the ceremonies of the Jews, which God himself once appointed, how can it be otherwise than a great sin, to subject ourselves to the appointments of antichrist, the Lord's great adversary? The Lord hath not delivered us from the yoke of his own law, that we might be in bondage to the inventions and impositions of antichrist.

F. Would you then have no other offices in the church, now in time of peace and prosperity, than were in the days of the apostles under persecution?

P. There is certainly great reason we should not. For if the order left to the church by Moses was not to be altered, except by the special command of God; then may neither man nor angel, except by the same warrant, add any thing to that holy form which the Son of God hath appointed for his own house: As, Heb. iii. 3., Rev. xxii. 19.

F. I am sure you allow of Luther. What office had he?

P. He was first a monk, and so a member of the kingdom of antichrist. He was afterwards degraded and deprived: At length, he was, as he called himself, "A preacher of Christ's blessed truth and gospel." And I think he had the pastoral office in the church at Wertemburg; but whether he had, or had not, his example is no law for the church. It is Jesus Christ *alone*, whom we must hear and follow. We must walk according to his will and word; and if an angel from heaven would draw us aside, we dare not give ear unto him: As, Gal. i. 8, 9.

F. And what office had you in your church, which meets in woods, and I know not where?

P. I have no office in that poor congregation. And as to our meeting in woods, or elsewhere, we have the example of Jesus Christ, and his church and servants in all ages, for our warrant. It is against our wills, that we go into woods and secret places. As we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, so our desire is to profess it openly. We are ready, before men and angels, to shew and justify our meetings, and our behaviour in them, earnestly desiring that we may serve God with peace and quietness; and that all men may witness our upright walking towards our God, and all the world, especially towards our prince and government. We know the meeting in woods, in caves, in mountains, &c. is a part of the cross of the gospel, at which the natural man will easily stumble; but we rejoice to be in

this mean estate for the Lord's sacred truth. The question should not so much be, *where we meet*, as *what we do* at our meetings; whether our meetings and doings be warranted by the word of God, and what constraineth us to meet in those places.

F. We will speak of your unlawful assemblies afterwards. What calling have you to preach? Were you never made a minister according to the order of this land?

P. Had I been willing, I might have been made either deacon or priest; but, I thank the Lord, I ever disliked those popish orders: and, if I had taken them, I would utterly refuse them. I have taught publicly in the church of Scotland, being thereunto earnestly desired, and called by the order of that church. I never had any charge; and, therefore, I never bare any office, either there or in any other church.

F. Did you not preach in these your secret meetings? What warrant had you so to do, if you never had any public office in your church?

P. Whether I did or not, I do not at present tell you. But this, I say, that if the same poor congregation desired to have the use of my small gifts, for edification and consolation, I would, being thereunto prepared, most willingly bestow my poor talent for their mutual edification and mine.

F. And may you teach publicly in the church, having no public office therein?

P. I may, because I am a member thereof, and requested thereunto by the church, and judged to be, in some measure, endowed with suitable gifts for handling the word of God. The church or body of Christ, ought to have the use of all the gifts that are in any of its members, and the member cannot deny unto the body the use of those graces with which it is furnished, without breaking the laws and order of the body, and thus become unnatural: As, Rom. xii., 1 Cor. xii.

* Mr. Penry was a member of the church of Brownists, meeting about London, sometimes in the fields and woods in the dead of the night, to avoid the fury of the prelates. During his confinement in prison, he wrote a most pious, affectionate, and encouraging letter, to Mr. Francis Johnson, the pastor, and the rest of the brethren. It is addressed "To the distressed and faithful Congregation of Christ in London, and all the Members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty." And he concludes by subscribing himself "Their loving brother, in the patience and sufferings of the gospel, JOHN PENRY. A witness of Christ in this life, and a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed."—*Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry*, p. 46—48.

F. Then every one that will, may preach the word in your assemblies.

P. Not so. For we hold it unlawful for any man to intermeddle with the Lord's holy truth, beyond the bounds of his gifts; or for him who is endowed with gifts, to preach or teach in the church, except he be desired and called thereto by the body of the church.

F. May any person then preach, who hath no office so to do?

P. Yes, that he may; and the word of God bindeth every one to preach who intendeth to become a pastor or teacher in the church of Christ, even before he take upon him this office.

F. What office then hath he all this time?

P. No other office than the other members of the body have, who are bound to perform their several operations in the body, according to that measure of grace which they have received from the Lord Jesus. And, indeed, it is a common practice in our colleges and universities, for those to preach who have no office.

F. Yes, it is in the schools.

P. If this exercise, according to your own confession, be warrantable in the schools and colleges, it is certainly much more so in the church and congregation.

F. Well, then, you bear no office in your church. You will not tell us whether you taught among them; but you say you would if they required you.

P. True.

F. But how came it to pass that you were not made an officer among them?

P. Doubtless I was desired to take a charge, and to continue among them, but I would not; because I have always purposed to employ my small talent in my poor country of Wales, where, I know, the poor people perish for lack of knowledge.

F. You labour to draw her majesty's subjects from their obedience to her laws, and from the church of England, to hear you, and such as you, teaching in woods.

P. Nay; I persuade all men to obey my prince and her laws. Only I dissuade all the world from yielding obedience and subjection to the ordinances of antichrist, and persuade them to be subject to Jesus Christ and his laws: I know this to be agreeable to the laws of her majesty.

F. What! Is it meet that subjects should charge their

prince to kee pcoenant with them? Where do you find this warranted in scripture?

P. The subjects are in a most lamentable state, if they may not allege their prince's laws for what they do; yea, and shew what their prince hath promised to the Lord, and to them, when this is done to prove their own innocency. It is the honour of princes, so to hold and be in covenant with their subjects, that they will preserve them from violence and wrong. And I am assured, that, if her majesty knew the equity and uprightness of our cause, we should not receive the hard treatment we now sustain. We and our cause are never brought before her, except in the odious names of sedition, rebellion, schism, heresy, &c. It is, therefore, no wonder to see the edge of the sword turned against us.

F. Hath not her majesty, by her laws, established the offices and order now in the church of England?

P. I grant her laws have, but of oversight; taking them for the true offices and order of the church of Christ. And because we see this oversight, we therefore fly to her former promise and act, by which she granteth all the privileges of the church of Christ.

F. Why go you about then to pull down bishops?

P. Alas! be it far from us, ever to attempt any such thing. We only put her majesty and state in mind of the wrath of God that is likely to come upon the land, for upholding many popish inventions. We labour for the salvation of our own souls, and all those who will be warned by us, by avoiding all corruptions in religion, and practising, so far as we know, the whole will of God. Further than this, we cannot go; and, therefore, dare not so much as in thought, attempt to alter or pull down any thing established by her laws.

F. Why then do you meet in woods, and such secret and suspicious places, if you purpose no insurrection for pulling down the bishops?

P. I told you the reason already. Our meetings are for the true worship of God, and there is not so much as one word or thought about bishops in our assemblies, except in praying for them as we do for our own souls. We hold our meetings in secret, because, as I before told you, we cannot have them in public without disturbance. We do not wish to withdraw ourselves from the sight of any creature; but we are bound to observe the pure worship

of God, though it be in woods, in mountains, or in caves.

F. Then you are privy to no practice or intent of any sedition or commotion against her majesty and the state, or for pulling down the bishops?

P. No, I thank God, I never was. And I protest before heaven and earth, that, if I were, I would disclose and withstand the same, to the utmost of my power, in all cases whatsoever.

Young. But what meant you, Penry, when you told me at my house, that I should live to see the day when there should not be a lord bishop left in England?

P. You, sir, do me great injury, but I am content to bear it. I said, "because God hath promised to overthrow and consume the remnants of the kingdom of antichrist, you may live to see all the offices, callings, livings, and works, belonging to that kingdom, utterly overthrown." This is what I said, and I beseech and charge you, as you shall answer in the day of judgment, not to misreport my speech.

Y. I conceived some great matter of your speech, I tell you.

P. In this you did me the greater wrong. I pray you, hereafter, take my words according to my meaning, and their natural signification.

F. You say, that these offices and livings, derived, according to your conceit, from the body of antichrist, shall be overthrown by the Lord: we would know how this will be accomplished.

P. The work, I am assured, will be accomplished; because the Lord hath said it in his word. But the manner how, and the time when, it shall be done, I leave to him "who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will," and whose "ways and judgments are past finding out."

F. What you now do, or what you mean to do, in your assemblies, we cannot tell; but this is sure, that the papists seem to take encouragement by your dealing. They are now become very numerous; and they say, that your separation from the church is a great stumbling-block to them.

P. What we do in our meetings, and what are our purposes, I have faithfully told you; and we are ready to approve our purposes and actions to be in all good con-

science towards the Lord, our prince, and all mankind. And if the number of ignorant and idolatrous priests greatly increase, it is nothing wonderful, seeing there are so many remnants of popery left unbanished from the land: these are their baits and encouragements.

F. What are the baits that you mean?

P. I mean the popish offices and livings of archbishops, lord bishops, deans, archdeacons, canons, priests, &c.: the continuance of which, and the popish corruptions belonging to them, keepeth the pope and his sworn subjects in daily hope of replanting the throne of iniquity in the land; but I trust in the Lord, they will be utterly disappointed. If these offices and livings were once removed, the pope and his emissaries would have no hope left, of again setting up the standard of the man of sin, in this noble kingdom. I wonder not, that the papists dislike our separation; for they know, that of all the men under heaven, we are the greatest enemies to popery: we would leave them neither root nor branch; but would have the world as much cleared of the remains of antichrist, as it was on that day when the Lord Jesus ascended up on high, and led captivity captive.

F. But why do you refuse a conference, that you may be reformed in those things in which you err?

P. I refuse none. I most readily and willingly yield to any, as Mr. Young hath it under my own hand to testify. Only my desire and request is, that some equal conditions may be granted to me and my brethren. But if this cannot be obtained, I am ready to yield to any conference, though the conditions be ever so unequal. And I beseech you, be a means with her majesty and their honours, that my case may be weighed in an even balance. Imprisonments, indictments and death, are no proper weapons to convince men's consciences.*

Here the examination closed. We leave the reader to make his own remarks upon it, and proceed in the history of this distinguished sufferer for Christ. It was at first designed to indict Mr. Penry for the books published in his name; but, by the advice of counsel, he drew up a paper, which proved the means of putting a stop to the proceeding. This paper, dated May 10, 1593, is entitled "Mr. Penry's Declaration, that he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name." In this declaration,

* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 25—26.

he observes, that the statute was not intended to include such as wrote against the ecclesiastical establishment *only*. For, in this case, it would condemn many of the most learned protestants, both at home and abroad: but that it relates to persons who, shall defame her majesty's *royal person*. Whereas he had always written most dutifully of her person and government, having never encouraged sedition or insurrection against her majesty, but the contrary. Nor had he ever been at any assembly or conventicle, where any, under or above the number of twelve, were assembled, with force of arms or otherwise, to alter any thing established by law. Nor was it his opinion, that private persons should, of their own authority, attempt any such thing: he had always spoken and written the contrary. Nevertheless, if he had been guilty of all these, he ought to have been accused within one month of the crime, upon the oath of two witnesses, and have been indicted within one year; otherwise the statute clears him, in express words.*

When he came to the trial, the court, being apprehensive that his declaration would occasion an argument at law, set aside his printed books, and indicted and convicted him upon the contents of his *petition* and *private observations*, as already observed. This rendered his case still harder, as he himself represented in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, with his protestation enclosed, immediately after his condemnation; in which he thus expressed himself:—
“ Vouchsafe, I beseech your lordship, right honourable, to read, and duly weigh, the enclosed writing. My days, I see, are drawing to an end, and, I thank God, an undeserved end, except the Lord God stir up your honour, or some other, to plead my cause, and to acquaint her majesty with my guiltless state.

“ The cause is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student, being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end; especially, seeing they are most private, and so imperfect, that they have no coherence at all in them; and, in most places, are no true English.

“ Though my conscience may stand me in no stead before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have the reward thereof before the judgment-seat of the great King; and the merciful Lord, who relieves the widow and the

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 412, 413.

fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and friendless widow, whom I leave behind me, and even hear their cry, for he is merciful. And being likely to trouble your lordship with no more letters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge your honour's favour towards me, in receiving the *writings*, which I have presumed to send unto you from time to time; and in this my last, I protest before the Lord God, that, so far as I know, I have written nothing but the truth.

"Thus preparing myself, not so much for an unjust verdict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as for that blessed crown of glory, which, of the great mercy of my God, is ready for me in heaven, I humbly commit your lordship into the hand of our righteous Lord. In great haste, from close prison, this 22d of the fifth month, May, 1593.

"Your lordship's most humble servant in the Lord,

"JOHN PENRY."

In his protestation, enclosed in the above letter, Mr. Penry declares, "That he wrote the petition and private observations while he was in Scotland. That what he had written was confused, unfinished, and perfectly secret. That it was the sum of certain objections made by others, against her majesty and her government, which he had intended to examine at some future period, but had not so much as looked into them for the last fourteen or fifteen months. And that even in these writings, so imperfect, unfinished, and enclosed within his private study, he had shewn his duty and true loyalty to the queen, nor had he ever the most secret thought to the contrary." Here he also expressed himself as follows:†

"These my writings" (meaning those from which the charges against him were collected) "are not only the most imperfect, but even so private, that no creature under heaven, myself excepted, was privy to them, till they were seized. Mine, I dare not acknowledge them to be, for a thousand worlds; because I should thereby most wickedly sin against God and my own conscience, by bearing false witness against myself. I never conceived that any man would have made any sense of them; especially against myself, by whomsoever they might be intercepted.

"Now that secret, confused, and unadvised observations are brought against me, even to the spilling of my blood;

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 413, 414.

† Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 176—181.

I humbly crave that these my papers may also be looked upon, and brought to light, as well as the others, by which my adversaries think to impeach my allegiance; which, I thank God, neither man nor angel shall ever be able to effect. Though I be condemned as a felon, or as a traitor to my natural sovereign, I thank God, that heaven and earth shall not be able to convict me of it. I remember not the day that has passed over my head, since, under her government, I came to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not commended her estate to God. And I thank God, that whensoever the end of my days comes, and I expect not to live to the end of this week, I shall die Queen Elizabeth's most faithful subject, even in the consciences of mine enemies.

“ I never took myself for a rebuker, much less for a reformer of states and kingdoms: far was that from me. Yet, in the discharge of my conscience, all the world must bear with me, if I prefer my testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ before the favour of any creature. The prosperity of my prince and the state, was always most dear to me, as HE knoweth, by whom states are preserved and princes bear rule. An enemy to good order and policy, whether in church or commonwealth, I never was. I never did any thing in this cause, (Lord! thou art witness,) for contention, vain-glory, or to draw disciples after me.

“ Whatsoever I have written or made known, contrary to the written word, I have warned the world to avoid. My confession of faith, and allegiance to God and the queen, written since my imprisonment, I take, as I shall answer before Jesus Christ and the elect angels, to contain nothing but God's eternal truth. And, therefore, if my blood were an ocean, and every drop were a life to me, I would, by the help of the Lord, give it all in defence of the same. Yet, if any error can be shewn therein, that I will not defend.

“ Great things in this life I never sought for. Sufficiency I have had, with great outward trouble: but most content I have been with my lot. And content I am and shall be with my undeserved and untimely death, beseeching the Lord, that it may not be laid to the charge of any person in the land. For I do, from my heart, forgive all those that seek my life, as I desire to be forgiven in the day of strict account; praying for them as for my own soul, that though we cannot accord upon earth, we may meet together in heaven, to our eternal unity and happiness. And if my death can procure

any quietness to the church of God, and the state of my prince and kingdom, glad I am that I have a life to bestow in this service. I know not to what better use it could be employed, if it were preserved; and, therefore, in this cause, I desire not to spare it. Thus have I lived towards the Lord and my prince; and, by the grace of God, thus I mean to die. Many such subjects I wish unto my prince; though no such reward to any of them. My earnest request is, that her majesty may be acquainted with these things before my death, or, at least, after my departure.

“Subscribed with the heart and hand that never devised or wrote any thing to the discredit or defamation of my sovereign, Queen Elizabeth.

“This I take on my death, as I hope to live hereafter,

“JOHN PENRY.”

In his excellent Confession of Faith, referred to in the above protestation, Mr. Penry openly declares his religious sentiments, and most warmly avows his loyalty to the queen and government. Though the whole is too long for insertion, we cannot forbear transcribing a part of it, particularly that relating to his allegiance to her majesty. Because this was called in question, he declares, “I am not at this day, nor ever was in all my life, either guilty or privy, in any purpose, consultation, or intention, of any sedition against, or disturbance of, her majesty’s royal state and government. And if I were privy unto any such ungodly, undutiful, and wicked actions or purposes, as might any way impair or disturb the peaceable state of my prince and country, I would reveal, disclose, and withstand the same, to the utmost of my power, in all persons, foreign and domestic, of what profession or religion soever they might be.

“Her supreme authority, within her realms and dominions, I acknowledge to be such, over all persons, and in all causes, as no person, whether civil or ecclesiastical, may exempt himself or his cause from the power and censure of her laws and sword. I do also acknowledge, that her majesty hath full authority from the Lord, to establish and enact by her royal power, all laws, both ecclesiastical and civil, among her subjects: in the making of which laws, the Lord requireth that those which are ecclesiastical be warranted by his own written word, which contains whatsoever belongeth to his worship; and those which are civil are founded on the rules of justice and equity. This sovereign prerogative and authority of her highness,

“ I am most willing and ready to defend and maintain, against all the persons and states under heaven, to the loss of my life ten thousand times, if it were required. And I take the Lord to record, that, to my knowledge, I am sure that day hath not passed over my head, since the Lord, under her gracious reign, hath brought me to the knowledge of the truth, wherein I have not prayed for the blessing of God, both external and internal, to be fully poured forth upon her right excellent majesty’s throne, government, and dominions : and that he would convert, or speedily overthrow all his and her enemies, with their enterprises, whether they be domestic or foreign : hereof I call the Searcher of hearts in witness of the truth against my soul, if I either dissemble or forge in these premises.”

After giving a particular account of his religious opinions, he adds : “ Death, I thank God, I fear not. I know that the sting of death is taken away. And ‘ blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.’ Life I desire not, if I be guilty of sedition, or defaming and disturbing her majesty’s quiet and peaceable government. Imprisonments, indictments, arraignments, and death, are no meet weapons to convince the conscience grounded upon God’s word.— Subscribed with heart and hand, by me JOHN PENRY, now in strict bonds for the testimony of Christ.”*

Mr. Penry, during his imprisonment, was particularly desirous to obtain a conference in the presence of her majesty and the council. In one of his petitions, addressed to the council, he therefore says, “ A conference we are most willing to yield unto. Our humble request unto her majesty and your honours, is, that if it so stand with your pleasure, we may have but this equity yielded unto us :—1. That the questions on both sides be set down in writing, and the reasons briefly annexed to them ; that the answers also, with like brevity, be returned in writing, and so every thing will be the more deliberately set down, and all other speeches and matters be avoided.—2. That such of us as are scholars, may confer together (having also the use of books) about the answers and replies that we shall make.—3. That those of the ecclesiastical state, with whom we are to deal, may only be parties in this conference, and not judges. And that some of the civil state may be appointed by your honours (if your lordships will not take the hearing of the cause yourselves, which we had rather and earnestly crave,)

* Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, p. 39—45.

to see that both parties do contain themselves within bounds : lest otherwise the holy truth of God should not be so dealt in as becometh the same ; or so holy and necessary an action should be unprofitably broken up by the infirmities, or other greater wants, of either party.”*

This generous proposal, however, was wholly rejected. His wife, Mrs. Helen Penry, at the same time presented a most moving petition to the Lord Keeper Puckering, for access to her poor distressed husband ; but it was attended with no better success.† All Mr. Penry’s intercessions, and the intercessions of his friends, proved altogether ineffectual. It was, indeed, never known till this time, that a minister and a scholar was condemned to death for private papers found in his study ; nor do I remember, says Mr. Neale, more than one instance since that time, in whose case it was given for law, that to write has been construed an overt act. But it seems *Mr. Penry must die, right or wrong*. This his enemies appear to have fully determined ; and herein their wishes were soon gratified. Archbishop Whitgift was the first man who signed the warrant for his execution, and after him, Puckering and Popham. The warrant was immediately sent to the sheriff, who, the very same day, erected a gallows at St. Thomas Waterings, and, while the prisoner was at dinner, sent his officers to bid him make ready, for he must die that afternoon. Accordingly, he was carried in a cart to the place of execution ; and when he came there, was not allowed to speak to the people, nor to make any profession of his faith towards God, or his loyalty to the queen ; but was hastily turned off, about five o’clock in the afternoon, May 29, 1593, in the thirty-fourth year of his age.‡ He left a widow and four poor children, the eldest of which was not more than four years old, to feel and bemoan the painful loss.

In the preface to Mr. Penry’s “ History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram,” published after his death, it is said, “ That Mr. John Penry was a godly, learned, and zealous man, and of a christian carriage and courage. That he was born and bred in the mountains in Wales ; and, with all godly care and labour, endeavoured to have the gospel preached among his countrymen, whose case he greatly seemed to pity, wanting all the ordinary means of salvation. That, being used by God for a special instrument in the manifestation of his truth, he was hardly used, imprisoned,

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 380.

† Ibid. p. 378.

‡ Wood’s Athens Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

condemned, and executed; and so suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ. And more particularly, that he was adjudged by Sir John Popham, and the rest of the judges, on the 25th of the fifth month, and executed at St. Thomas Waterings, near London, the 29th of the same, in the year 1593. That he was not brought to execution immediately, as most persons expected; but, when they least looked for it, he was taken while he was at dinner, and carried secretly to his execution, and hastily bereaved of his life, without being suffered to make a declaration of his faith towards God, or his allegiance to the queen, though he very much desired it." And in the postscript, it is added, "That he was apprehended, adjudged, and executed for writing the truth of Christ, whatever other things were pretended against him."* He was undoubtedly a man of great learning and piety; but these excellent qualifications could make no atonement to the prelates for his zeal in the cause of nonconformity, and for expressing his disapprobation of the constitution and corruptions of the established church. "By his death, with the condemnation of John Udal and Henry Barrow," says the Oxford historian, "the neck of the plots of the fiery nonconformists was broken, and their brags were turned into prayers and tears, as the only means for christian subjects."† Another author of the same spirit, says, "The pressing of the law thus close, struck terror into the party, and made the dissenters of all sorts, less enterprizing against the government."‡ These, surely, are pitiful triumphs among professed protestants!

Mr. Penry was author of several learned pieces on controversy, particularly against Dr. Some. In one of them he endeavours to prove "that there is no church at all in popery, and that all popish priests are out of the church," by a direct appeal to the conduct of all protestants in their separation from the church of Rome. "If there be a church in popery, or if all popish priests be not out of the church," says he, "then those magistrates and their subjects who have separated from the Romish religion, to say the least, are *schismatics*. It is schism to make this separation from the church. We may detest the corruptions thereof; but we ought not to make such separation from the church, unless we would be accounted schismatics. But those magistrates and their people who made this separation

* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 325, 336.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 640.

are not schismatics. Therefore the foundation of popery is overthrown, and consequently there is no church in popery." To prove that ministers who do not preach, are not ministers, he reasons thus:—"They are no ministers," says he, "because their ministry is evil and profane; and their ministry is evil and profane, because there is no mention made of it in the word. A ministry not mentioned in the word, is no ministry, but a profane constitution. The Lord hath expressly set down every ministry of the New Testament, that should be in the church unto the world's end. But he hath not once mentioned the ministry of mere readers; because it is not a preaching ministry, and therefore no ministry at all."*

Dr. Some, it is said, wrote with great vehemence against him. According to my author, "He called this worthy man, *proud Penry*. Penry had a dignity to which Some was a stranger. His dignity stood in a superior habit of thinking: Some's in gown, title, and bluster. Some wrote like a man who meant to bring Penry into hemp, and himself into lawn."†

Mr. Penry felt deeply concerned for the conversion and salvation of his countrymen; on which account he was anxiously desirous to have a learned ministry in Wales. His laudable desires and endeavours to promote this great object, are applauded even by Dr. Some, his great antagonist.‡ He is supposed to have been the first, since the commencement of the reformation, who preached the gospel in Wales. Some suppose that he laboured in the ministry chiefly in his native country, and that he went thither upon his leaving the university. This, however, appears very improbable. Mr. Thomas intimates, that he was probably the first, since the reformation, who openly and publicly preached adult baptism. "And," says he, "I am inclined to think, that he was the first who administered that ordinance by immersion, and upon a profession of faith, in and about Olchon, in the principality."§ Though Wood denominates him a *notorious anabaptist*, it does not appear from his Confession of Faith, or from any other source of information we have met with, that he ever espoused the sentiments of the baptists. Nevertheless, if what the writer above cited observes, be correct, Mr. Penry was of the

* *Some's Defence*, p. 175, 183. Edit. 1588.

† *Life of Ainsworth*, p. 68.

‡ *Some's Godly Treatise*, p. 33. Edit. 1588.

§ *Thomas's MS. History*, p. 43.

denomination of particular baptists. Mr. Strype writes of Mr. Penry with very great acrimony.* Mr. Foulis, with great injustice and falsehood, says, "He was a man so much guilty of his own villainies, that, with Cain, he feared death from every man's hand; and, therefore, was forced to skulk and ramble amongst his friends for protection."† These accounts of so learned, laborious, and pious a man, remind us of the case of some of the primitive christians, who, being dressed in bears' skins, were cast among wild beasts to be torn in pieces. Mr. Penry was the author of several learned works; but it was never proved that he had any hand in the writings under the title of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. Though most of the high churchmen ascribe them to him and several others, it is well known the real authors were never found out; consequently, the charge is without foundation. The following is supposed to be a correct list of his writings, though we dare not warrant them all to have been his.

HIS WORKS.—1. *A Treatise containing the Equity of an Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited unto her Gracious Majesty and this High Court of Parliament, in the behalf of the Country of Wales, that some Order may be taken for the Preaching of the Gospel among those People, 1587.*—2. *A View of some part of such Public Wants and Disorders as are in the Service of God, within her Majesty's Country of Wales; with an Humble Petition to the High Court of Parliament for their speedy Redress, 1588.*—3. *A Defence of that which hath been written in the Questions of the Ignorant Ministry, and the Communicating with them, 1588.*—4. *Exhortation unto the Governors and People of her Majesty's Country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the Preaching of the Gospel planted among them, 1588.*—5. *Dialogue; wherein is plainly laid open the Tyrannical Dealings of the Lords Bishops against God's Children, 1589.*—6. *Treatise, wherein is manifestly proved, that Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are unjustly charged to be Enemies to her Majesty and the State, 1590.*—7. *The State of the Church of England.*—8. *Petition of Peace.*—9. *His Apology.*—10. *Of public Ministry.*—11. *History of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, applied to the Prelacy, Ministry, and Church-Assemblies of England, 1609.*

THOMAS GATAKER, A. B.—He was descended from a very ancient and respectable family at Gatacre-hall, in Shropshire. His parents, who were zealous papists, designed him for the law; for which purpose, he was entered a student at the Temple. While in this situation,

* Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 346—350.—*Annals*, vol. iii. p. 611—616.

† Foulis's *Hist. of Plots*, p. 61.

he occasionally visited his friends and relations at court, and was often present at the examinations of the pious confessors of truth, under the barbarous severities of popery. The shocking spectacle had the happiest effect on his mind. For, while he beheld the constancy of the sufferers, who, with invincible patience, and for the testimony of a good conscience, endured the most relentless and cruel usage; the tragic scene proved the happy means of awakening his mind, and of leading him to reject popery and embrace the protestant religion. His parents, apprehensive of the change in his opinions, sent him to Louvain, in Flanders; and, to wean him effectually from his new thoughts about religion, settled upon him a considerable estate: but he counted all worldly allurements and advantages as nothing in comparison of Christ. His father at length perceiving him to be immoveable, called him home, and revoked his grant; which, however, could not take effect without his son's consent. Young Gataker counted the cost. He had already learned the hard lesson of self-denial, and of forsaking all for Christ and a good conscience; therefore, he voluntarily gave up that which had been the bait of his apostasy. This was in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary.*

Mr. Gataker being cast off by his unnatural parents, was enabled to put his trust in the Lord, who, in a very remarkable manner, raised up friends, by whom he was sent to the university of Oxford, and supported by their great generosity. After having spent eleven years in that seat of learning, he entered at Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he continued about four years. In the year 1668, he entered upon the ministerial function, and was ordained both deacon and priest by the Bishop of London; and, in 1576, was admitted vicar of Christ's church, London, which he resigned in 1578, probably on account of his puritanical principles. He became rector of St. Edmunds in Lombard-street, June 21, 1572, but resigned it by death, previous to June 2, 1593, when the next incumbent entered upon the benefice.† He was a minister of puritanical principles, furnished with excellent parts, a zealous preacher, a most conscientious divine, firm in his attachment to the protestant religion, and some time domestic chaplain to the Earl of Leicester. Though he left behind him only a small fortune, he left many friends, particularly among the great men of

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 248, 249.

† Newcourt's Eccl. Repert. vol. i. p. 344.

the law, with whom he had been, in the earlier part of his life, a fellow-student; and who, on that account, were afterwards ready to testify their respect to his memory, by affording their countenance and expressing their kindness to his son.* His son was the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, another puritan divine, who was first chosen lecturer at the Temple, then minister at Rotherhithe, near London.

ARTHUR WAKE.—This excellent person was son of John Wake, esq. and descended from a very ancient and honourable family. He was canon of Christ's Church in Oxford, and a most popular and useful preacher. In the year 1565, he was preferred to the benefice of Great-Billing, in Northamptonshire; † and several times he preached the sermon at Paul's cross. In one of these sermons, delivered in the year 1573, he boldly defended the sentiments of Mr. Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift, and openly declared his objections against the established church. Bishop Sandys, of London, the very next day, sent a pursuivant to apprehend him; but he had left the city, and returned to Oxford, where his lordship's authority could not reach him. The bishop, meeting with this sore disappointment, wrote to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh and the Earl of Leicester, the latter being at that time Chancellor of Oxford, urging them to take the case into consideration. ‡ It does not appear, however, that the two honourable persons were at all disposed to comply with his lordship's solicitations.

Though Mr. Wake escaped the snare of the Bishop of London, he fell, the same year, into the hands of Scambler, Bishop of Peterborough, when he received the ecclesiastical censure. He was rector of the above place; and being cited before the bishop's chancellor, he was first suspended for three weeks, then deprived of his living. Mr. Eusebius Paget, § and several other worthy ministers, were suspended and deprived at the same time. They were all laborious and useful preachers. Four of them were licensed by the university, as learned and religious divines; and three of them had been chosen moderators in the religious exercises.

The reason of Mr. Wake's deprivation, and that of his brethren, was not any error in doctrine, nor any depravity of life; but because they could not, with a good conscience,

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2155, 2156. Edit. 1747.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 407.

‡ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 19. § See Art. Eusebius Paget.

subscribe to two forms devised by the commissioners. In one of these forms, called *forma promissionis*, they were required to subscribe and swear, "That they would use the Book of Common Prayer, and the form of administration of the sacraments, invariably and in all points to the utmost of their power, according to the rites, orders, forms, and ceremonies therein prescribed; and that they would not hereafter, preach or speak any thing to the degradation of the said book, or any point therein contained."—In the other form, called *forma abjuracionis*, they were required to subscribe and swear, "That the Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and of the ordering of priests and deacons, set forth in the time of King Edward VI. and confirmed by authority of parliament, doth contain in it all things necessary to such consecration and ordering, having in it, according to their judgment, nothing that is either superstitious or ungodly; and, therefore, that they who were consecrated and ordered according to the said book, were duly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordained. And that they acknowledge their duty and obedience to their ordinary and diocesan as to a lawful magistrate under the queen's majesty, as the laws and statutes do require; which obedience they do promise to perform, according as the laws shall bind them. In testimony whereof they do hereunto subscribe their names."*

Mr. Wake and his brethren, refusing to be tied by these fetters, offered to use the Book of Common Prayer and no other, and promised not to preach against it before the meeting of the next parliament; but they apprehended both the subscription and the oath to be contrary to the laws of God and the realm. In these painful circumstances, being all deprived of their livings, they appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he rejected their appeal. Upon this, having suffered deprivation about two years, they presented a supplication to the queen and parliament; in which, after presenting an impartial statement of the tyrannical oppressions under which they laboured, they give the following reasons for refusing the subscription and the oath:—"That they should thereby have allowed, contrary to their consciences, that it was lawful for women to baptize children:—That they would have exposed themselves to much danger:—That any man, though ever so unable to preach the word, might be made a minister, according to

* MS. Register, p. 198.

the said book :—And that they should have given their consent to the unlawful form of ordination, wherein are these words, *Receive the Holy Ghost, &c.*” They conclude by expressing their concern for their bereaved flocks, and how desirous they were of being restored to their former labour and usefulness, earnestly soliciting the favour of the queen, and the lords and commons in parliament.*

Though the case of these pious divines was deserving the utmost compassion, they could not obtain the least redress. They had wives and large families of children, now reduced to extreme poverty and want, and, as they expressed in the above supplication, if God in his providence did not interfere, they should be obliged to go a begging; yet they could procure no relief. The distress of these zealous and laborious servants of Christ, was greatly increased by the ignorance and insufficiency of their successors. They could scarcely read so as to be understood, and the people were left in a great measure untaught. Instead of two sermons every Lord’s day, which each of them had regularly delivered, the new incumbents did not preach more than once in a quarter of a year, and frequently not so often. The numerous parishioners among whom they had laboured, signed petitions to the bishop for the restoration of their former ministers; but all to no purpose. They must subscribe and take the oath, or be buried in silence.+

It does not appear how long Mr. Wake remained under the ecclesiastical censure, or whether he was ever restored to his benefice. He was living in the year 1593, and at that time minister at St. John’s Hospital in Northampton.‡ He was a divine of good learning, great piety, and a zealous, laborious, and useful preacher. He was father to Sir Isaac Wake, a learned and eloquent orator at Oxford, afterwards ambassador to several foreign courts, and a member of parliament.§

WILLIAM WHITAKER, D. D.—This most celebrated divine was born at Holme, in the parish of Burnley, in Lancashire, in the year 1547, and descended from an ancient and a respectable family. His mother was Elizabeth Nowell, sister to Dr. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul’s, who married Thomas Whitaker, in 1530, and survived her

* MS. Register, p. 202.

+ Ibid. p. 198, 199.

‡ Bridges’s Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 457.

§ Wood’s Athens Oxon. vol. i. p. 491.

marriage the wonderful period of seventy-six years.* Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, young Whitaker was sent for to London by the dean his uncle. He was by this means taken from his parents, by whom he had been nursed in the superstitions of popery, and trained up in the public school founded by Dr. Colet, who was Nowell's pious predecessor. There he so profited in good literature, and gave such presages of his excellent endowments, that at the age of eighteen, his pious kinsman sent him to the university of Cambridge, and he was admitted into Trinity college; where his further progress being answerable to his beginning, he was first chosen scholar, then fellow of the house. He soon procured high esteem and great fame by his learned disputations and other exercises, which were performed to the great admiration of the most eminent persons in that seat of learning.† He was a person of extraordinary talents and uncommon application, and it was his general practice, and that of several other eminent persons of his time, to stand while employed in study.‡

As a proof of his great proficiency, and as a token of gratitude to his generous kinsman, he translated Nowell's Catechism into Greek, which he performed with the greatest accuracy, and presented it to him. He, at the same time, translated into Latin the English Liturgy, and Bishop Jewel's Reply to Harding, by which he obtained a distinguished reputation.§ Indeed, his great fame was not confined to the learned in Cambridge; but having taken his various degrees with great applause in that university, he was incorporated doctor in divinity at Oxford.||

Upon the preferment of Dr. William Chadderton to the bishopric of Chester, our learned divine succeeded him in the office of regius professor in the university of Cambridge. He was, indeed, very young for such a place; yet, on account of his great literary accomplishments, he was unanimously chosen to this high office, though some

* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 64.—Dean Nowell was prolocutor of the lower house of convocation, in 1562, when the articles of religion were agreed upon. In 1564, when the debates ran high about the use of the clerical garments, he discovered great moderation. He consented to the use of them, but with a protestation that he wished them taken away, for the following reasons:—1. "For fear of the abuse they might occasion.—2. To express more strongly a detestation of the corruptions and superstitions of the papists.—3. For a fuller profession of christian liberty.—4. To put an end to the disputes among brethren."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 3258. Edit. 1747.

† Knight's Life of Colet, p. 397. Edit. 1724.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 99. § Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 814.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 744.

were much vexed to see a man, whom they deemed unfit for the situation, preferred before those who were more advanced in years. He no sooner entered upon his official duties, in the delivery of public lectures, than he gave the most perfect satisfaction to all his hearers. There was in him nothing wanting which could be found in the best divine, and the most accomplished professor. He at once discovered much reading, a sharp judgment, a pure and easy style, with sound and solid learning, by which his fame spread in every direction, and multitudes resorted to his lectures, and reaped from them incalculable advantage.*

To qualify himself for these public exercises, he directed his studies, with uncommon application, to all the useful branches of human learning. He was a great proficient in the knowledge of philosophy. With uncommon diligence he studied the sacred scriptures, to which he invariably appealed, not only in matters of faith, but in the determination of all doubts and controversies. He turned over most of the modern commentators and faithful interpreters of the word of God. With incredible industry, and in the space of a few years, he read over most of the fathers, both Greek and Latin. He attended to his studies with the greatest regularity, and appointed himself every morning what exercises he should pursue during the day; and if he was at any time interrupted in his engagements, he always protracted his studies to a late hour, and so deprived himself of his natural rest and sleep, in order to finish his appointed task. By this course of labour and watching he very much increased in learning, but greatly impaired his health, which he never after perfectly recovered.

In the public exercises in the schools, his great learning and singular eloquence gained the admiration of all his auditors. When he read in rhetoric and philosophy, he seemed to be another Basil; when he catechised, another Origen; and when he preached his *Conceo ad Clerum*, it abounded with sanctity and all kinds of learning. In the office of professor, he delivered public lectures first upon various select parts of the New Testament, then he entered upon the controversies between the papists and protestants. He first encountered the vain-glorious Campian, who set forth his ten arguments, proudly boasting that he had utterly ruined the protestant religion. Whitaker so learnedly and so completely refuted the haughty Jesuit,

* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 816.

that all his boasting vanished into smoke. Afterwards came forwards Dury, another Jesuit, who undertook to answer Whitaker, and to vindicate Campian. As Campian had set forth his work with great ostentation and youthful confidence; so Dury carried on the controversy with much railing and scurrility. Whitaker admitted his opponent to have the pre-eminence in calumny and abuse; but he refuted all his arguments, and discovered all his fallacies, with such good sense and sound judgment, that it is said, "the truth was never more fully cleared by any man." His next antagonist was Nicolas Saunders, who boasted that by forty demonstrative arguments, he had proved that the pope was not antichrist. Whitaker examined these arguments, and answered them with great learning and solidity, retorting many of them upon the author himself. After this, Rainolds, another apostate, pretended to reply, and, with subtilty and malice, represented the English divines to be at variance among themselves; and by this means, he endeavoured to expose protestantism to the greater hatred and contempt. But our learned Whitaker at once perceived, and with great judgment, exposed his crafty insinuations and falsehoods; yet, he declared that the book was so vain and foolish, that he scarcely thought the author worthy of an answer.*

Dr. Whitaker was afterwards preferred to the mastership of St. John's college, Cambridge, though not without much opposition from the ill-affected in the university, of which Fuller gives the following curious account:—"He was appointed by the queen's *mandamus*; and Dr. Cap-coat, the vice-chancellor, went along with him, being attended by a goodly company, solemnly to induct him to his place, when he met with an unexpected opposition. They could not gain admittance. The gates were shut, partly *manned* and partly *boyed* against him. The vice-chancellor retreated to Trinity college; and after consulting the lawyers, he, according to their advice, created Dr. Whitaker master of St. John's in his own chamber, by virtue of the queen's mandate. This done, he re-advanceth to St. John's, and with a *POSSE ACADEMIÆ*, demands admission. The Johnians having intelligence by their emissaries, that the property of the person was altered, and Dr. Whitaker invested with the mastership, and knowing the queen would

* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 15—17.

maintain her power from her crown to her foot, took wit in their anger, and received him."*

Notwithstanding the above opposition, the new master, by his clemency, his equity, and his goodness, presently overcame their exasperated minds, and turned their enmity and prejudice into love and admiration. He always governed the college with great prudence and moderation, and sacrificed his own interest for the advantage of the public, as appeared by his own frugality and the testimony of those who lived with him. In the choice of scholars and fellows, he was always impartial and unblameable, and would never suffer any corruption to creep into the elections. If he found any who by bribes had endeavoured to buy suffrages, they, however deserving in other respects, of all others, should not be chosen.† This account of his great integrity, and his particular care in the government of his college, affords a complete refutation of the great neglect, with which he is charged by the insinuation of another historian.‡

Under the mastership of Dr. Whitaker, all worthy scholars and fellows received the encouragement due to their character and desert. He distributed the rewards of learning with an impartial hand; but all indiscreet and improper measures were justly discountenanced. There was only one way to preferment, and that was founded upon merit and real worth. This made the college flourish in sound learning, and swarm in the number of its members. There were no less than thirty-eight fellow-commoners in the house at one time, which, upon a moderate computation, are said to have been more than at any other period since the foundation, or than probably ever will be again. This, for the purpose of their accommodation, led to several considerable enlargements of the college. His learning was not confined to himself: it was diffusive. It spread itself through the whole society; and, by his example, instruction, and encouragement, he raised so much emulation among the fellows, as to make others learned as well as himself. Indeed, the society in his time was looked upon as something more than a private college. He himself, who was no boaster, used to style it a little university.§

Bellarmino, the Romish disputant, growing famous

* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 96, 97. † Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 818.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 97.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 217—219.

about this time, and being looked upon by his own party as an invincible champion, Dr. Whitaker undertook to defend the bulwarks of protestantism against the assaults of the popish adversary; and it is observed, "that he cut off the head of his antagonist with his own weapons." The first part of this controversy was concerning the holy Scriptures; then about the Church, the Councils, the Bishop of Rome, the Ministers, departed Saints, the Church Triumphant, the Sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper; some of which he published; but he had not leisure to print them all. During the whole controversy, he treated his Romish opponent, not with keen reproach, or under the influence of passion, but as one who sought to promote the truth. Bellarmine being completely silenced, Thomas Stapleton, a superstitious old man, and professor at Louvain, undertook to answer Whitaker, which he performed in a volume sufficiently large, but in most abusive and scurrilous language. Therefore, lest the angry and bigotted old man should seem wise in his own eyes, Whitaker answered him according to his deserts, and in keener language than usual.*

Dr. Whitaker was a man of the most the greatest celebrity, and was, for many years, concerned in most of the public transactions in the university of Cambridge. His name is often mentioned by historians, especially by an invaluable collector of scarce and curious information,† as taking a most zealous and active part in promoting the peace and prosperity of this seat of learning. In the year 1580, he was presented by the queen to the chancellorship of St. Paul's, London, which he resigned in 1587; but on what account we cannot learn.‡ In the year 1591, Dr. Goad, provost of King's college, Cambridge, presented a request to Dean Nowell, in behalf of Dr. Whitaker, that he might be preferred to some more valuable benefit. The venerable dean, anxious to serve his friend and kinsman, forwarded Dr. Goad's letter, the day he received it, together with one of his own, to the lord treasurer; reminding his lordship of Dr. Whitaker's great learning, well known at Cambridge by the productions of his pen in Greek and Latin; and not unknown to his lordship, to whom several of his works had been dedicated. His fitness for presiding over a learned society had partly appeared, from the quietness and good order which had been established in St. John's college since he became master; and as to his circumstances, they

* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 818.

† Baker's MS. Collections.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 213.

were so far from being affluent, that the dean, in consideration of his poverty, had now for two years past taken upon himself the maintenance of one of his sons. This application, however, in behalf of Dr. Whitaker, whatever might be the reason of it, proved unsuccessful.*

Some of our historians affirm, that this celebrated divine was not a puritan; for which, indeed, they produce very little evidence, or rather no substantial evidence whatever. That which is commonly pleaded for evidence in this case, is Dr. Whitaker's letter to Dr. Whitgift, in which he gives his sentiments with great freedom, concerning Mr. Cartwright and his opinions, as follows:—"I have read," saith he, "a great part of that book (Cartwright's second Reply) which Mr. Cartwright lately published. I pray God I live not, if ever I saw any thing more loosely and almost more childishly written. It is true that for words, he hath great store, and those both fine and new: but for matter, as far as I can judge, he is altogether barren. Moreover, he doth not only think perversely of the authority of princes, in causes ecclesiastical, but also flieth into the holds of the papists, from whom he would be thought to dissent with a mortal hatred. But in this point he is not to be endured: and in other parts also he borroweth his arguments from the papists. He playeth with words, and is lame in his sentences, and is altogether unworthy to be confuted by any man of learning." Our author adds, that Dr. Whitaker wrote this letter about the time that he began to write against Campian.† And what does the whole of it prove? It is designed to reproach Mr. Cartwright, his book, and his sentiments, and to prove Dr. Whitaker to have been no puritan, of which it certainly contains no substantial evidence. For, admitting the letter to be genuine, it only contains Dr. Whitaker's opinion of Mr. Cartwright and his publication, and no evidence either for or against the puritanism of the writer. But there is some reason to suspect that the letter is a forgery, and devised only to blacken the memory of the puritans. It rests upon the sole authority of Dr. Bancroft, one of the bitterest and most violent of all their enemies; and is said to have been written near the time when Dr. Whitaker united with other learned divines in soliciting Mr. Cartwright to undertake an answer to the Rhemist translation, in which, among other commendations, they addressed him as follows:—"It is not for every one rashly

* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 322, 323. † Bancroft's Survey, p. 379, 380.

to be thrust forth into the Lord's battles ; but such captains are to be chosen from amongst David's worthies, one of which we acknowledge you to be, by the *former battles undergone for the walls of our city, the church*. We doubt not, if you will enter this war, but that you, fighting for conscience and country, will be able to tread under foot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the tower of David."*

The former battles which Mr. Cartwright is here said to have undergone for the walls or discipline of the church, and for which he received so high a commendation from Dr. Whitaker and his brethren, were the controversies he had with Dr. Whitgift: but when the same controversies are described by the unworthy pen of Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Whitaker is made to speak the language of keen reproach, both of Mr. Cartwright and of his former battles. How can the two things be reconciled? Shall we conclude that Whitaker was guilty of such palpable inconsistency? This was no trait in his character. Did he then completely change his opinion of Cartwright and his controversy, during the short interval of joining in the address to this divine, and writing the foregoing letter to Whitgift? This would be contrary to numerous facts, as will presently appear. Did he address Whitgift, now Archbishop of Canterbury, merely to flatter him, and procure his favour? He never lost his favour, and no one was ever less guilty of flattery.

In the year 1589, an assembly was held in St. John's college, Cambridge, of which Dr. Whitaker was master. Mr. Cartwright and many others were present on this occasion, and the meeting was designed to promote a purer form of discipline in the church. At the same time, "divers imperfections in the Book of Discipline were corrected, altered and amended; and they did not only perfect the said book, but did then and there voluntarily agree, that as many as were willing should subscribe the said Book of Discipline."† Therefore, among the learned divines who subscribed, was the renowned Dr. Whitaker.‡ He is also said to have united with other puritan divines in promoting the reformed discipline, and to have assembled with them for this purpose in their private associations.§

The year following, this learned divine was charged with holding or forming a presbytery in his college, and with

* See Art. Cartwright.

† Bancroft's Survey, p. 67.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 79.

other unjust accusations, when he went up to London, and wrote the following letter to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university.*

“ My humble duty to your honourable lordship.

“ I will not complain to your lordship, of those that have complained of me ; who, seeing me resolved to come up about my necessary defence, and fearing that the complaint made concerning a *presbytery* would be easily disproved, have devised other matters, which either touch me nothing at all, or else are most frivolous; and yet, being thus heaped together, seem to be of some weight. Although I foresee the inconvenience of a new visitation, which is the only thing they shoot at ; yet I fear not any course of justice whatsoever; and I do willingly submit myself to what order your lordship shall take for due trial of these matters. In one thing for a taste, your lordship may judge of the rest. I am charged that I lay at my brother Chadderton’s, the night before I came up. Indeed the truth is, I lay in the college, as I ever do : but this was only a slight to bring in some mention of my brother, whom they hate as much as me. If it may stand with your honour’s good pleasure, to let me have that writing that was exhibited against me, I will set down mine answer to every particular point, and return the same again to your lordship. Thus I humbly take my leave. From the Dean of Paul’s house, October 24, 1590.

“ Your lordship’s to serve in the Lord,

“ WILLIAM WHITAKER.”

We have not been able to learn what answer Dr. Whitaker gave to the accusations of his enemies, nor how long his troubles continued ; but he most probably obtained his release, and, without much interruption, returned to his wonted exercises in the university. He was a divine who had a correct view of the genuine principles of protestantism, and would appeal to the authority of the holy scriptures alone, in the decision of all religious controversy. “ We may warrantably enough,” says he, “ reject all human testimonies, and insist upon some clear scripture testimony. For this is the constant sense of the catholic fathers, that nothing is to be received or approved in religion, which is not bottomed on the testimony of scripture, and cannot be proved and confirmed out of those sacred writings : and

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 558.

very deservedly, since the *scripture is the absolute rule of truth.** From these generous principles, he was induced, with several other excellent divines, to write against the superstitious and ridiculous practice of bowing at the name of Jesus.+ Upon the same generous principles, he was no friend to episcopacy, but a decided advocate for the eldership, which the puritans sought to have established. "Episcopacy," saith he, "was invented by men as a remedy against sin; which remedy many wise and holy men have judged to be worse than the disease itself, and so it hath proved by woeful experience."‡ In his answer to Campian's ten arguments, he says, "A presbyter and a bishop are by divine right the same; and if Arius was an heretic for saying so, Jerome certainly was akin to the same heresy."§ And in his reply to Dury, he avows the same sentiment, saying, "Presbyters being by divine right the same as bishops, might warrantably set other presbyters over the churches."¶ He was decidedly of opinion, that all ecclesiastical persons should confine themselves to their ecclesiastical functions, without the exercise of any temporal authority.‡ On these accounts, Mr. Strype very justly observes, that though he was a learned and pious man, a public professor of divinity, and a good writer against the church of Rome; yet "he was no friend to the church of England."**

Dr. Whitaker, Dr. Fulke, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Dod, and other learned puritans, held their private meetings in the university, with a view to their own improvement in a knowledge of the holy scriptures. Our divine married for his first wife, the pious sister of the two famous preachers, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Ezekiel Culverwell, and Dr. Lawrence Chadderton married another sister. For his second wife, he married the grave and pious widow of Mr. Dudley Fenner; and by both of them he had eight children, to whom he gave a religious education.†† "It must be confessed," says Mr. Baker, "he had somewhat of the old leaven," meaning his puritanism. "His marriage into the families of the Culverwells and Fenners, and his acquaintance with Cartwright, Fulke, Chadderton and Dod, might give him

* Calamy's Defence of Noncon. vol. i. p. 127. Edit. 1703.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 469.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Leighton's Sion's Plea, p. 18: from Whitaker.

§ Petition of Prelates Examined, p. 15. Edit. 1641.

¶ Calamy's Defence of Noncon. vol. i. p. 71.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xx. This vol. is not paged.

** Strype's Whitgift, p. 355.

+ † Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 817.

an insensible bias that way ; yet the meetings he held with these persons, were not intended to introduce a new discipline, but to expound the scripture.*

In the year 1595, there were many warm disputes about points of christian doctrine. The fire of contention broke out in the university of Cambridge, in which Dr. Whitaker was deeply involved. He shewed himself the zealous advocate of the supralapsarian sentiments, and was warmly opposed by Dr. Baro and others of the same party. To put an end to these disputes, the heads of the university sent Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal up to Lambeth, for the purpose of consulting with the archbishop, and other learned divines, upon these points ; when they concluded upon nine propositions, commonly called the *Lambeth articles*, to which the scholars in the university were enjoined an exact conformity.†

Dr. Whitaker, during his journey to Lambeth, fell sick, occasioned by his unusual fatigue and want of sleep, and died soon after his return to Cambridge. Through the whole of his affliction, he discovered great submission to the divine will. With holy and happy composure, he said, "O Lord my God, though thou kill me ; yet, I am sure, that with these eyes I shall see thee ; for in thee do I hope." To a friend, who asked him one morning how he did, he replied, "O happy night ! I have not taken so sweet a sleep since my disease fell upon me." His friend afterwards finding him in a cold sweat, and telling him that signs of death were upon him, he immediately answered, "Life or death is welcome to me, which God pleaseth ; for death shall be an advantage to me. I desire not to live, but only

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 214. vol. xx.

† These articles were the following :—"God hath, from eternity, predestinated certain persons to life ; and hath reprobated certain persons unto death.—The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the persons predestinated : but only the good will and pleasure of God.—There is pre-determined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented nor diminished.—Those who are not predestinated to salvation, shall inevitably be condemned for their sins.—A true, lively, and justifying faith, and the spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not utterly fail, doth not vanish away, in the elect, either finally or totally.—A true believer, that is, one who is endued with justifying faith, is certain with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.—Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.—No man is able to come unto Christ, unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him : and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.—It is not in the will or power of every man to be saved."—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 230—231.

so far as I may do God and his church service;” and soon after quietly departed in the Lord, December 4, 1595, in the forty-seventh year of his age, having filled the professor’s chair about sixteen years, and that of master almost nine.

Dean Nowell, in his last will and testament, made the following bequest: “To his cousin, Dr. Whitaker of Cambridge, he gives twenty books of his own choosing:” but the venerable dean survived him some years.† In the above year he was preferred to a prebendary in the church of Canterbury. He certainly deserved greater preferment, and he stood in need of it; for he died poor, considering the family he left behind him. It was some reproach to the nation, that the two greatest men that ever filled the professor’s chair in the university of Cambridge, should have been no better provided for: these were Dr. Whitaker, and the celebrated Martin Bucer, who was forced to borrow money with his last breath.‡ Dr. Whitaker’s library was very choice and valuable, which the queen designed to obtain for herself, and Archbishop Whitgift wished to procure his numerous and valuable manuscripts. At his death, the college conferred upon him the honour of a public funeral, an account of which is still preserved among the records of the society, where so much is put down for his funeral feast, so much for his tomb, and so much for the other necessary expenses. Mr. Bois delivered a funeral oration at his grave, and the vice-chancellor and public orator or his deputy at St. Mary’s church.§ His corpse was, with very great solemnity and lamentation, carried to the grave, and was interred in the chapel of St. John’s college. Near the place of his interment was a costly monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:¶

This Monument is erected
to the memory of DOCTOR WHITAKER,
formerly the royal interpreter of Scripture.
His interpretations were adorned with elegance of language;
his judgment was acute,
his method beautiful,
his memory strong,
his labours and perseverance invincible,
and his life most holy.
With these very rare endowments of mind,
his candour, virtue, and humility,

* Clark’s Eccl. Hist. p. 819. † Churton’s Life of Nowell, p. 354, 356.

‡ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 224. § Ibid. p. 221.

¶ Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 398.

shone with the greatest splendour.
 He was a prudent Master of this College
 more than eight years,
 being a firm defender of all that was right,
 and an avenger of whatever was wrong.

Dr. Whitaker, through the whole of his life, both in public and private, discovered great piety and holiness. He was most patient under insults, and easily reconciled to those who injured him. He was very bountiful to the poor; especially to pious and industrious students. He was always modest in giving his judgment upon mens' opinions and actions. Among his friends, he was courteous and pleasant; faithful in keeping secrets; prudent and grave; and always ready to assist them with counsel or money. He was of a grave aspect, a ruddy complexion, a strong constitution, a solid judgment, a liberal mind, and an affable disposition; but that which added the greatest lustre to his character, was his great meekness and humility.* "He was one of the greatest men his college ever produced; and," says Wood, "the desire and love of the present times, and the envy of posterity, that cannot bring forth a parallel."† "The learned Whitaker," says Leigh, "was the honour of our schools, and the angel of our church; than whom our age saw nothing more memorable. What clearness of judgment, what sweetness of style, what gravity of person, what gracefulness of carriage, was in the man!" "Who ever saw him without reverence!" said Bishop Hall, "or heard him without wonder?"‡ He was styled "the oracle of Cambridge, and the miracle of the world."

It was a maxim with this celebrated divine, "that refreshing the memory was a matter of great importance in every kind of learning, but especially in the most useful parts of it. He therefore read over his grammar and logic once every year.§ He was the greatest champion in the cause of the protestants, even by the confession of Cardinal Bellarmine, who, though he had been so often baffled by him, procured his picture from England, and preserved it in his study. When his friends were introduced to him, he used to point to the picture and say, that though Whitaker

* Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 819, 820.—Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 406.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 213.—Wood's Athens, vol. i. p. 744.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 363, 364.

§ Grainger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 213.

was an heretic, " he was the most learned heretic he ever read."*

HIS WORKS.—1. Translation of Nowell's Catechism into Greek.—2. Translation of the English Liturgy into Latin.—3. Translation of Bishop Jewel's Dispute against Harding into Latin.—4. Answer to Edmund Campian his Ten Reasons.—5. A Defence of his Answer against John Durey.—6. A Refutation of Nicolas Saunders his Demonstration, whereby he would prove that the Pope is not Antichrist.—7. A Collection thereto added of ancient Heresies raked up again to make up the Popish Apostacie.—8. A Thesis propounded and defended at the Commencement in 1582, that the Pope is the Antichrist spoken of in Scripture.—9. Answer to William Rainolds against the Preface to that against Saunders in English.—10. A Disputation concerning the Scripture against the Papists of these times, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton.—11. A Defence of the Authority of the Scriptures, against Thomas Stapleton his Defence of the Authority of the Church.—12. Lectures on the Controversies concerning the Bishop of Rome.—13. Lectures on the Controversie concerning the Church.—14. Lectures on the Controversie concerning Councils.—15. A Treatise of Original Sin, against Stapleton's three former books of Justification. The four articles last mentioned were published after the author's death by John Allenson.—16. A Lecture on the first of Timothy, ii. 4. read on February 27, 1594; before the Earl of Essex, and other Honourable Persons.—17. Lectures concerning the Sacraments in general, and the Eucharist and Baptism in particular. This last was taken down by John Allenson, and published by Dr. Samuel Ward.† His " Works" were afterwards collected and published in Latin, at Geneva, in two volumes folio, in 1610.‡

HENRY ALVEY, B. D.—This zealous puritan was a learned divine, and fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was tutor to the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, junior, and other excellent divines. During the contention about the visitation of the university, he subscribed to the following protestation, dated February 20, 1587, and found in the Bishop of Ely's register-office:—" I, Henry Alvey, do protest, with dutiful obedience, that, in respect to the oath which I have taken to the college, I dare not acknowledge the jurisdiction of any but of our appointed visitors: and that by my personal appearing and answering, I do not renounce that right or benefit that I may have by them; but that it may be lawful, whensoever just occasion shall be found, to appeal unto them. Which protestation reserved unto

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 303.

† Fuller's Abel Red. p. 407, 408.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 744.

me in all and every point, I am most ready and willing to answer.”*—The year following, upon the severe proceedings against Mr. Francis Johnson, another zealous puritan, he united with upwards of sixty others, all learned men and fellows of the university, in presenting a supplication to Chancellor Burleigh, in behalf of this persecuted servant of Christ.†

Mr. Alvey united with his brethren in their endeavours to promote a more pure ecclesiastical discipline; and when they were apprehended and carried before their spiritual judges, he was one of those who took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered the associations. In the year 1595, when Barret was called to an account for his dangerous sentiments, he was one of the learned divines of St. John’s college, who openly declared their disapprobation of his opinions, and their dissatisfaction with his pretended recantation.‡ Towards the close of this year, complaints were brought against him and several others of the fellows, concerning their nonconformity. These complaints, or rather slanderous and false accusations, were laid before Archbishop Whitgift; against which, he justified his conduct, and vindicated his character, at considerable length.§ Though it does not appear what further troubles he endured, he probably found it necessary to leave the university; for he was soon after chosen provost of Trinity college, Dublin; in which office he succeeded the celebrated Mr. Walter Travers.¶

Mr. Alvey is called a worthy benefactor to St. John’s college, Cambridge. By his last will and testament, he gave, out of a house in Jesus-lane, four nobles, to be annually paid to a Nottinghamshire scholar, living under a fellow; and in default of such scholar, the four nobles to be given to the college one year, and to the tenant another, alternately. He also made some other bequests of a similar kind, for the encouragement of learning and the advantage of learned men in the university.‡

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 92. † See Art. Francis Johnson.

‡ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 27, 28.

§ Ibid. vol. xii. p. 210—213.

¶ MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1655. (72.)

‡ Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xiii. This vol. is not paged.

JOHN PRIME, B. D.—He was born at Oxford, received his grammar learning at Wickham school, and afterwards entered at New College, Oxford, where he took his degrees, and was chosen fellow of the house. Upon his entrance into the sacred function, he became a zealous and popular preacher in the city of his nativity, being much favoured by Dr. Cooper, bishop of Winchester. Afterwards, he became vicar of Adderbury in Oxfordshire, where he was much followed for his edifying way of preaching. The Oxford historian denominates him a noted puritanical preacher.* He died at Adderbury, in the prime of life, April 12, 1596, and his remains were interred in his own church.

His **WORKS**.—1. A short Treatise of Sacraments generally, and in special of Baptism and of the Supper, 1582.—2. A Treatise of Nature and Grace, 1583.—3. A Sermon briefly comparing the State of King Solomon and his Subjects, together with the condition of Queen Elizabeth and her People, preached at St. Mary's in Oxon. Nov. 17, 1585, on 1 Kings x. 9.—1585.—4. An Exposition on the Galatians, 1587.—5. The Consolations of David applied to Queen Elizabeth, in a Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxon. Nov. 17, 1588, on Psalm xxiii. 4.—1588.

RICHARD ALLEN.—He was minister at Ednam in Lincolnshire, a good preacher, and much beloved, but greatly harassed for nonconformity. In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, he was suspended from his ministerial exercise, for refusing the imposed subscription. There were upwards of twenty others, all ministers in Lincolnshire, suspended at the same time. Having received the ecclesiastical censure, they presented a supplication to the lords of the council, earnestly wishing to procure their favourable mediation; but, probably, without any good effect: the ruling prelates usually remained inflexible. In this supplication, they express themselves as follows:

“For as much, right honourable, as we whose names are underwritten, whom the Lord in rich mercy hath placed over some of his people in Lincolnshire, as pastors to feed them with the word of truth, do humbly beseech your honours to regard the pitiful and woeful state of our congregations in those parts; which being destitute of our ministry, by means of the subscription now generally and

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 247.

strictly urged by the bishops, do mourn and lament. It is well known to all your honours, that an absolute subscription is required through the whole province of Canterbury, to three articles. As to the first and third, relating to her majesty's supreme authority and the articles of religion, we most willingly offer our subscription, as always heretofore we have done; but cannot be accepted without an absolute subscription to the other, to which we dare not condescend, being all of us unresolved and unsatisfied in our consciences about many points in the Common Prayer. May it further please your honours favourably to consider, that, in refusing an absolute subscription, we do it not out of arrogance, or singularity, but because we are in doubts about divers weighty matters: and fearing to subscribe as we were urged, we are all suspended from exercising the function of the ministry among our people, to the great damage of their souls, and our great injury. Wherefore, being persuaded that our cause is the cause of Christ and his church, we humbly beseech your honours, that with favour it may be considered. And seeing we cannot be impeached of false doctrine, nor of contempt of her majesty's laws, nor of refusal to use the book of prayer, nor of breeding contention or sedition in the church, we crave that we may be restored to our flocks; and that with all peace of conscience, we may go forwards in the Lord's work, in our several places. Signed by

“ RICHARD ALLEN,
JOHN DANIEL,
THOMAS TRIPLER,
MR. SHEPHERD,
HENRY NELSON,
MATTHEW THOMPSON,
THOMAS BRADLEY,
THOMAS FULBECK,
HUGH TUKE,
JOSEPH GIBSON,
JAMES WORSHIP,

JOHN PRIOR,
CHARLES BINGHAM,
JOHN SUMMERSCALES,
ANTHONY HUNT,
REINOLD GROME,
WILLIAM MUNNING,
JOHN WINTLE,
HUMPHRID. STRAVERS,
RICH. HOUSWORTH,
RICH. KELLET.”*

Though it does not appear how long Mr. Allen remained under the episcopal censure, he was at length restored to his ministry, and was preacher at Louth, in the above county; but in the year 1596, he was brought into fresh troubles by Judge Anderson. Having sometimes omitted part of the prayers for the sake of the sermon, he was

* MS. Register, p. 331.

indicted at the assizes, for not reading them all. He was obliged to hold up his hand at the bar; when Anderson standing up, addressed him with a most fierce countenance. The angry judge, after insinuating that he was guilty of some most grievous crimes, though he mentioned none, oftentimes called him *knave*, and *rebellious knave*, and treated him with many other vile reproaches, not allowing him to speak in his own defence. Under this opprobrious treatment, Mr. Allen behaved himself with all humility and submission; not rendering railing for railing, but the contrary. Anderson in his charge said, that he would hunt all the puritans out of his circuit.

In Mr. Allen's arraignment, one thing was very remarkable. During his trial, some point coming under consideration, wherein *judgment in divinity* was required, the good man referred himself to his ordinary, the bishop, then sitting on the bench; but the judge, with marvellous indignation, interrupted him, saying, *I am your ordinary and bishop too, in this place*, and challenged any one to take his part. He was, indeed, so enraged against the good man, that when Sir George Sampol signified very softly to the judge, that Mr. Allen was an honest man and of a good conversation, his lordship could not help manifesting his displeasure.* It does not appear what followed this prosecution, or whether Mr. Allen was released. We may see, however, from this instance, as well as many others, that the puritan ministers were set on a level with the vilest criminals, to the great disgrace of their office, and the loss of their reputation and usefulness.

FRANCIS JOHNSON.—This celebrated puritan was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, a very popular preacher in the university, and afterwards a leading person among the Brownists in London. In the year 1588, for a sermon which he preached in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, which was said to contain certain erroneous and dangerous doctrines, he was convened before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Nevil, and the heads of colleges, and committed to prison. The various proceedings of these ecclesiastical rulers engaged the attention of the university for a twelvemonth; and while some warmly approved of the rigorous measures, others severely censured them, as reproachful to a protestant

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 265, 266.

country. His text was 1 Pet. v. 1—4. "The elders which are among you, I exhort, who am also an elder," &c. That the reader may have a clear and correct view of the whole proceedings, it will be proper to state those erroneous and dangerous positions, said to be collected from his sermon, which were the following:—1. "That the church of God ought to be governed by elders.—2. That a particular form of church government is prescribed in the word of God.—3. That no other form ought to be allowed.—4. That the neglect to promote this government is one chief cause of the present ignorance, idolatry, and disobedience.—5. That we have not this government.—6. That ministers ought to live upon their own cures.—7. That there ought to be an equality among ministers, which the popish hierarchy, and all who belong to it, do not like.—8. That we have an Amaziah among us, who forbiddeth Amos to preach at Bethel: they do not exhort to feed the flock, but hinder those who would."*

Admitting that these articles were impartially collected from his sermon, they do not appear to be of any very dangerous tendency, and, therefore, not deserving of any very severe punishment; but of this every candid reader will judge for himself. Mr. Johnson was commanded to answer them, and declare what he had delivered in his sermon, upon his oath; which, because he was unwilling to accuse himself, he absolutely refused. He underwent several examinations, and was cast into prison, where he remained a long time. Mr. Cuthbert Bainbrigg, another zealous puritan, and prosecuted on a similar account, was his fellow-prisoner. These two persecuted servants of Christ, after suffering a long and painful imprisonment, laid their case at the feet of Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university, a particular account of which is given in another place.†

Though Mr. Johnson refused to answer upon his oath, lest, as observed above, he should prove his own accuser, he delivered his answer to each of the articles in writing. As these articles are now before me, it will be proper to favour the reader with a sight of them. "That which I spake in my sermon," says Mr. Johnson, "was the following:

1. "I proved, by divers reasons, that as the church to which Peter wrote, and the other churches then fully established, had, for their instruction and government, this

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 186.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 296, 299.

† See Art. Cuthbert Bainbrigg.

one uniform and prescribed order of teaching and ruling elders; so the same, by the word of God, are still necessary to the right instruction and government of his churches.

2. "The Apostle Paul having spoken of the ordinances and officers of the church, as of prophesy and others, he concludes, *If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.* Upon this, I said, if they be the commandments of the Lord, then, till repealed, we are to hold them.

3. "When further speaking of elders, seeing God hath set them in his church, I asked, Who hath authority to put them out, and set others in? For they were appointed, not only for a few years, but to be continued to the end of the world. This we see in the apostle's charge, 1 Cor. xii. 28, 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. Also our Saviour gave his commission and promise to all his faithful ministers, to the end of the world. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Acts xiii. 36.

4. "When speaking of the necessity of elders, I said, I doubt not that the want of them, seeing they are appointed of God, is the occasion of ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the sabbath, disobedience to superiors, &c. as we find too lamentably proved by experience.

5. "I said, it would be objected, that there is not a sufficient number fit for this office. To which I answered, that many who are fit, are not employed. And inquiring where the fault was, I said, it was not in the Lord, who is most ready to set watchmen upon the walls of his church, which is his city; and to give pastors unto his flock, to feed it with knowledge and understanding. Shall we think that God is not able and willing to qualify men for the ministry of the gospel, as he was Aholiab and Bezaleel for the work of the tabernacle, and Hiram for the temple? Doubtless he is the same God, able and willing: but the fault is in ourselves. If you, indeed, desire that sinners should be awakened and arise from the dead, labour by all means of petition to God, and supplication to those in authority, that Christ Jesus may be heard in our congregations.

6. "Having proved that elders ought to be with their own flocks, and to feed them, I said, that Christ would call those elders to give an account. In the application, I exhorted those who have particular flocks committed to them, and still live in the university, to retire into their

chambers, and examine their hearts before the Lord, and to act according as the case required.

7. "I said, that if Peter had possessed such authority as the papists ascribe to him, he might have *commanded* these elders to do that, which, as a fellow-elder, he *exhorts* them. But he was so far from thinking himself the chief of the apostles, that he accounts himself a *fellow-elder* with the ordinary elders of other congregations. Yet the popish hierarchy accounts otherwise, both of his superiority over the rest of the apostles, and of themselves as bishops of bishops : but we are to like a godly equality.

8. "I shewed, that as it was the duty of all christians, so also of all the ministers of God's word, to exhort and stir up one another. And that this practice of the apostle condemned those, who are so far from exhorting others to feed the flock, that they hinder those who would feed them."*

His answers, however, gave not the least satisfaction. After repeated examination, and remaining a long time in prison, he was enjoined, October 19, 1589, to make the following recantation :—"Whereas, January 6th, last past, "I taught that our uniformity and prescribed order by "teaching and ruling elders, by the word of God, is "necessary for the teaching and ecclesiastical government "of the church of God, and is the commandment of the "Lord, and to be kept until the appearing of our Lord "Jesus Christ : and seeing God, as the apostle saith, hath "set them to be elders in the church, who hath authority "to set them out or others in ? I therefore being given to "understand, that the said speeches of mine were so "construed by some, as though I had thereby greatly "derogated from her majesty's authority in causes ecclesi- "astical, do now more plainly express my meaning, that I "do not think, that there is set down by the word of God, "any stinted and precise form of external government of "the church, which must of necessity be observed in all "times and places without exception : but am persuaded, "that, for the better government of particular congregations, "her majesty may establish such orders, as, by her godly "wisdom, with the advice of her godly and learned prelates, "she shall find most expedient for the state of her country, "according to her majesty's pre-eminence in the church "established by the laws of the realm, and expressed in

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 267—269.

“ her most just title, which is most agreeable to the word of
“ God, and conformable to the example of most ancient
“ churches, which have been ruled by christian magistrates.

“ And whereas I did affirm the want of elders (being the
“ ordinary means appointed by God) to be the cause of
“ ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the sabbath,
“ and disobedience to superiors ; and these words of mine
“ seemed to some, injurious to the present state of the
“ church and commonwealth of the land and magistrates
“ of them both, as not having care so to establish the
“ government as might root out such great enormities : for
“ the better explanation of my mind on this subject, I
“ cannot say of my certain knowledge, that these vices are
“ more abounding here in our churches than in such
“ churches where elders are at this day placed. And I am
“ of opinion that her majesty, and such as are in authority
“ under her, have by wholesome laws provided against
“ such evils.”*

Mr. Johnson was required to make the above ridiculous recantation in the pulpit of St. Mary's church ; and because he performed it “ in mincing terms, and did not fully revoke his opinions,” according to the form given him, he was, October 30th, in the above year, expelled from the university : and because he did not depart from the place, he was, December the 18th, again cast into prison.† By the recommendation of Burleigh the chancellor, he made an appeal to the university against these illegal and cruel proceedings, and wrote a long and excellent letter to the chancellor, of which the following is a copy :

“ To the right honourable the Lord Burleigh.

“ I came hither to Cambridge, as I was by your lordship advised, to follow my appeal to the university. I went in a quiet manner to Mr. Vice-chancellor and to Dr. Bying, to desire that either some law might be shewed to cut off my appeal, or else my appeal not hindered, further than was alleged by your lordship ; which I then answered, there hath been no one clause of law shewed me, sufficient to debar me from the benefit of appeal. I requested the proctor to prosecute my appeal, and to procure delegates to be chosen according to the statute, which was all I could here do. And now not only have I profited nothing, but being called before Mr. Vice-chancellor and the heads, the 18th of the present month, I was there, (for any thing I

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 187.

+ Ibid.

heard,) by the sole authority of the vice-chancellor, charged the next day to depart the university, except I would there desire some longer respite for the ridding away of my stuff. Whereunto I making answer, that I waited for the prosecution of my appeal made to the university, which depending, I was by law to remain in state as before. I was again required to answer whether I would depart the next day, or ask respite for the removal of my stuff: whereunto I answering that I was not so minded to let fall my appeal, and was by the vice-chancellor committed to close prison, without bail or mainprize, until such time as I would yield to let fall my appeal, and give over my title to the university and to my fellowship; where I did continue three days in the Tolbooth, in a close and cold corner, straitly kept, that none of my friends might come at me, nor comfort come to me from them. And now, because of the extremity of the weather, I am removed to the bailiff of the Tolbooth's house, with most strait charge, that none at all are suffered to come unto me.

“ Neither doth this most violent dealing only fall upon me. But I beseech your lordship also to consider, whether the sovereign authority of our gracious queen (whom God long continue among us with much glory) be not impugned, by making themselves without, nay against law and statute, *supreme judges* and *governors* not to be appealed from; the honourable protection of your lordship over us trampled under their feet, by most straitly imprisoning me, for that which your lordship permitted and advised me to do; and the express statute of our whole university by all violence broken and disannulled, for the maintaining of their own indiscreet and unlawful proceedings. And, touching myself and my cause at this time, I most humbly beseech your lordship also to consider, what injustice it is to wring from me by violence and forcible imprisonment, in more strait manner than is usual to felons, and like malefactors, that which by law I might rightfully maintain.

“ To God, who judgeth right, I commit my cause, being in myself persuaded, and rejoicing, that I have received honour to suffer for the truth of the eternal God; which at first and now still, they persecute in me the unworthiest of the servants of God. O, my God! look down from heaven: stay the fury of men: strike thy fear into their hearts, that they may consider their last end.

“ Now to your lordship, I, a poor prisoner, overthrown by the power of mine adversaries in a just cause, being put

out of doubt that here I shall find no more justice, the proctor being checked for dealing in my appeal, and threatened to be called to his answer, do most instantly in God's behalf, and for righteous dealing, beg and beseech you to take my cause to your lordship's hearing, and to rescue me from this grievous imprisonment, which, undeservedly, the Lord of heaven knoweth, I sustain. I do appeal unto your lordship's wisdom, justice and authority, as being honourable chancellor of this our university. The Lord give me favour in the sight of your honour, and the Lord move your honour's heart to have compassion on my calamity. Unto his will and wisdom I humbly submit myself, and my cause, making my humble prayer to Almighty God, to endue your lordship with godly wisdom and zeal for his glory, both in this and all other causes.

“Your honour's humble supplicant,

“FRANCIS JOHNSON.

“Cambridge, December 22, 1589.”*

Two supplications, subscribed by sixty-eight scholars, all fellows of the university, were at the same time presented to Burleigh, in behalf of Mr. Johnson and his appeal. In the latter, dated December 23, 1589, they observe, that the privileges granted by the queen's majesty, and the statutes of the university, were violently torn from them, by those who ought to have shewn them a better example; and then add,—“Mr. Francis Johnson, a man whose cause and estate, by reason of his long trouble and other grievances, are well known unto your lordship, being prohibited by Mr. Vice-chancellor and some others from presenting his lawful appeal to the university, made and intimated to the proctor, according to statute, from the sentence of expulsion given by the late vice-chancellor; and not finding any means here to help himself, repaired unto your honour for succour, and was, as we understand, remitted to the university, to which he had appealed. Now since his last return, Mr. Vice-chancellor that now is, citing him before the heads, charged him to depart the university; but he still challenging the benefit of his appeal, was by the vice-chancellor committed to close prison without bail or mainprize. We doubt not that your lordship soon perceiveth how unequal it is that the parties, from whom the appeal was made, should be judges whether the appeal be lawful or not: as also how the statute of appeal is utterly made void, if for appealing

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 85, 86.

the vice-chancellor may commit to prison him that resteth not in his sentence. For of the close prison, without bail, we say nothing, leaving it to your lordship's wisdom, and to the laws of the land: we do not deny that our hearts are greatly moved with this strange example of extraordinary violence and extremity. Our great grief and distress of heart hardly suffereth to make any end of complaining, and what to ask of your lordship we well know not; but we beseech the Lord our God to affect your honour's heart, with a tender compassion of the great affliction of this our dear brother and faithful servant of God, Mr. Johnson.*

Among those who subscribed the two supplications, are the names of William Perkins, Thomas Brightman, and Anthony Wotton, all divines of great celebrity in their day. Indeed, the most pious and learned men in the university disapproved of the above illegal and inhuman proceedings; and Dr. Goad, provost of King's college, Dr. Whitaker, master of St. John's college, and Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, all protested against them.† We do not find, however, that these supplications and protestations were at all effectual. How long Mr. Johnson remained under his barbarous confinement, we have not been able to learn; but, as he failed to obtain redress, he, being wearied by the fatigue of the prison, most probably consented to leave the university. A divine of his name, and probably the subject of this narrative, subscribed the "Book of Discipline."‡

The tyrannical and cruel persecution of the puritans, instead of bringing them to conformity, only drove them further from the established church. They could not in conscience comply with such measures, nor much less could they approve of a church fighting with such weapons. Therefore, at this period, many pious and learned persons were driven to a total separation from the ecclesiastical establishment, among whom was Mr. Johnson, who espoused the sentiments of the Brownists, and joined their congregation which assembled privately in and about London. About the year 1592, the members of this congregation, having become rather numerous, formed themselves into a church; when Mr. Johnson was chosen pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, Mr. John Greenwood, doctor or teacher, Messrs. Bowman and Lee, deacons, and Messrs. Studly and Kinaston, elders. The whole of this service

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 87, 88.

† Ibid. p. 85.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

was performed in one day, at the house of Mr. Fox in Nicholas-lane. At the same time, seven persons were baptized, without godfathers or godmothers, Mr. Johnson only washing their faces with water, and pronouncing the form, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father," &c. The Lord's supper was also administered in the following manner: five white loaves being set upon the table, the pastor implored the blessing of God; and after breaking the bread, he delivered it to part of the company, and the deacons to the rest, some standing and others sitting around the table, using the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 24, *Take, eat, &c.* In like manner he gave the cup, saying, *This cup is the New Testament, &c.* At the close, they sung an hymn, and made a collection for the poor. Afterwards, when any one entered into the church, he made this single protestation or promise, "That he would walk with them, so long as they walked in the way of the Lord, and as far as might be warranted by the word of God."*

This congregation, of which Mr. Johnson was pastor, was obliged, in order to avoid the bishops' officers, to meet in different places, and sometimes in the dead of the night; but was at length discovered on a Lord's day at Islington, in the very place in which the protestant congregation met in the reign of Queen Mary. About fifty-six persons were taken into custody, and sent, two by two, to the different prisons about London, where several of their friends had been confined a considerable time. Upon their examination, they acknowledged that they had met in the fields, in the summer season, by five o'clock on a Lord's day morning, and in winter in private houses; that they continued all the day in prayer and expounding the scriptures, dined together, and afterwards made collection for their food, and sent the remainder of the money to their brethren in prison; and that they did not use the Lord's prayer, apprehending that our Saviour did not intend it to be used as a form, after the pouring out of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost.† Also, during their imprisonment, their adversaries having charged them with holding many extravagant opinions concerning baptism, marriage, lay-preaching, and other particulars, they vindicated themselves in a very solid and judicious reply, shewing how far they were falsely accused.‡

Though it does not appear whether Mr. Johnson was apprehended and cast into prison at the same time with the

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 175.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 579.

‡ MS. Register, p. 850—855.

congregation; yet, during the present year, both he and Mr. John Greenwood, were seized by Archbishop Whitgift's pursuivants, without warrant, at a certain citizen's house in Ludgate-hill; and in the midst of the night, after the pursuivants had searched all the chests, boxes, and other private places in the house, they were carried to the Compter, and the next day Whitgift and the other high commissioners committed them to close prison.*

Mr. Johnson underwent many examinations before his ecclesiastical inquisitors; and though he absolutely refused the oath *ex officio*, he confessed, April 5, 1593, "That he was first taken in an assembly in St. Nicholas-laue, and committed to the Compter in Wood-street; that afterwards he was apprehended in Mr. Boys's house," (as mentioned above,) "and committed to prison by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others; and that he had been twice examined before the Lord Chief Justice and Lord Anderson." Being asked how long he had held the opinions of the Brownists, he said, he could not definitely answer, but signified that he had been committed to prison four years before, for a sermon delivered in St. Mary's church, Cambridge. He confessed, that he had baptized divers children in the congregation; but, as to marriage, he did not account it an ecclesiastical service, or at all belonging to the ministerial function. He observed, that it was not indispensably requisite to use the very words of the Lord's prayer; and that the Lord's supper was not to be confined to any particular time, but might be received at any time of the day or night, when the congregation is assembled and prepared for it. Being required to shew in what places they had assembled, he refused to answer; and being asked whether he possessed or had possessed any of Barrow's, Greenwood's, or Penry's books, he also desired to be excused making any reply. When he was asked whether he had not persuaded others to the assembly of the congregation of which he was pastor, and how many he had so persuaded; he said, he had done, and must do, that which God, according to his holy word, required of him; but refused any further answer. And being asked whether he would reform himself, and attend upon the service of the parish church, he refused to give a direct answer; but said, he could not join in the ecclesiastical ministry and state of archbishops, bishops, parsons, vicars, &c. &c.†

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 96. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 23, 24.

Mr. Johnson, having lain in close confinement fourteen months, wrote a letter to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, entreating his compassionate influence to procure for him and his fellow-prisoners, a friendly conference, that their real sentiments might be known, and that all impartial men might judge whether they deserved such hard treatment. In this letter, he observes, "That his brother George had been confined eleven months in the Clink.* And," says he, "when our poor old father applied to Justice Young, for us to have the liberty of the prison, he and the Dean of Westminster, would have sent him to prison, had not Justice Barnes interposed and prevented them.—We are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ. We suffer these things only for refusing to have communion with the antichristian prelacy; and for labouring, in a holy and peaceable manner, to obey the Lord Jesus Christ in his ministry and worship, as prescribed in his last Testament, and sealed with his own precious blood. If we err in these things, prisons and the gallows are no fit means to convince and persuade our consciences: but rather a quiet and godly conference, or a discussion of the matter by writing, before equal and impartial judges. This we have often sued for, but could never yet obtain. We now, therefore, in a humble manner, solicit your lordship to procure this for us. Not that we doubt the truth of our cause. We are fully persuaded of this from the word of God, and are ready, by the grace of God, to seal it with our own blood. But we desire it, that the truth being discovered and made manifest, the false offices, callings, livings, and possessions of the prelacy, might be converted to her majesty's use, as were not long since the livings of the abbots, monks, and friars in these dominions; and that by these means the gospel of Christ may have free course, and the peace of the church be promoted." In the conclusion, he subscribes himself, "pastor of that poor distressed church, and still a close prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ."†

Inclosed in this letter, Mr. Johnson sent a paper to the treasurer, signifying, that, for his writings, he was in no

* Mr. George Johnson, member of the Brownist congregation, late schoolmaster in St. Nicholas-lane, London, born at Richmond in Yorkshire, was convened, April 2, 1593, before the high commission, when he underwent an examination, but refused to take the oath. He had at that time been some weeks a prisoner in Newgate, and had already undergone several examinations before the Bishop of London and others.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xv. p. 107.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 133—136.

danger of the statute of 35 Eliz. "To retain the queen's subjects in their due obedience." In this paper, he professedly acquits himself on the following grounds:

1. He had only inquired of the prelates and ministers, whether her majesty, with the consent of parliament, might not abolish the present prelacy and ministry of the church, and transfer their revenues and possessions to her own civil uses, as her father, Henry VIII., did with abbots, monks, and others, and their livings.

2. His writings are only in defence of such doctrines of Christ as are against the canonical function of the pope, and were professed by the holy martyrs of Christ, accounted lollardy and heresy: as, for instance, John Wickliffe held, that archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, officials, deans, &c. were disciples of antichrist.

3. If the statute of 35 Eliz. be against such writings and books as reprove the ecclesiastical ministry and government of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, &c. then the writing and the printing of the confessions of the reformed churches of Helvetia, Tigur, Geneva, &c. wherein they write, that archprelates, metropolitans, archpriests, deans, subdeans, and others of the same kind, pass not a rush. And the confessions of the reformed French and Belgick churches say, that the church ought to be governed by pastors, elders, and deacons, as Christ hath appointed.

4. In his writings, he hath proved his assertions by the word of God, which her majesty protesteth and defendeth; and they are written in defence of the liberty and privilege of the church of Christ, which the great charter of England granteth and preserveth inviolable.

5. If all who forsake the communion of the established church, be in danger of this statute; then any one forsaking the church, and joining the French, Dutch, or Italian churches, allowed by her majesty in London, Norwich, or Sandwich, would also incur the penalty of this statute.

6. He never maliciously persuaded any to abstain from the church, much less to deny, withstand, or impugn her majesty's authority.

7. He never did, obstinately, and without lawful cause, but upon conscience, grounded upon the word of God, and approved by the confessions of the reformed churches, and the faithful servants and martyrs of Christ, refuse to hear, and have communion with the ministry of the church as now established.

8. He, having been a close prisoner a long time before the said statute was made, cannot be lawfully convicted of having broken it.*

These reasons, however, prevailed not. Whether the treasurer made any use of them, we are not able to learn. But Mr. Johnson was brought to trial; and though his crime was merely that of writing against the established church and the oppressions of the prelates, and was committed even *some time before the statute was made*, he was found guilty by the said statute, and condemned to perpetual banishment from his country. Messrs. Barrow, Greenwood, Penry, and some others, having suffered death on account of their firm attachment to their religious sentiments, Archbishop Whitgift and the other ruling prelates, who were the chief promoters of these barbarous proceedings, became, at length, ashamed of hanging men for propagating their religious principles, and contrived this engine to have the Brownists and other puritans swept out of the land. This act, therefore, condemned them to banishment without discrimination; and the gaols were soon cleared of them. Yet the overbearing, tyrannical prelates took care to have them filled again in the following year.†

Mr. Johnson being condemned to suffer perpetual banishment, retired to Amsterdam, many of his friends accompanying him. There he formed a church after the model of the Brownists, having the learned Mr. Henry Ainsworth for its doctor or teacher. The grand principle on which this church was founded, may be expressed in Mr. Johnson's own words. "The church," says he, "ought not to be governed by popish canons, courts, classes, customs, or any human inventions, but by the laws and rules which Christ hath appointed in his Testament."‡ "Every particular church, with its pastors, stands immediately under Christ, the arch-pastor, without any other ecclesiastical power intervening; whether it be of prelates, synods, or any other invented by man."§ In 1598, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth drew up a confession of their faith in Latin, which they dedicated to the universities of St. Andrews, Leyden, Heidelberg, Geneva, and the other universities of Scotland, Holland, Germany, and France. It was afterwards translated into English, and does not differ much in doctrine from the "Harmony of Confessions."¶

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 137, 138.

† Ainsworth's Counterpoison, p. 40.

‡ Baillie's Discursive, p. 35.

§ Paget's Church Gov. p. 211.

¶ Life of Ainsworth, p. 18.

Although Mr. Johnson was a learned and religious man, he was rigid in his principles;* and his people entertaining discordant sentiments, it was not long before they split into parties. That which first occasioned this dissention was Mr. Johnson's marriage to a widow of competent fortune, whom his brother George Johnson and his father thought an improper match in those times of persecution. George Johnson represents her as addicted to luxurious living, excess of finery in dress, and a lover of ease. Frequent disputes, therefore, took place from 1594, the time of marriage, till about 1598, when George Johnson, his father, and some other members who adhered to them, were cut off from the church, chiefly on account of their behaviour in this affair. The greater part, among whom was Mr. Ainsworth,† took part with Francis the pastor. Much reproach has, by various writers, been cast upon them on account of this censure.‡ The excommunication of a brother and an aged father, appears an harsh and unnatural proceeding: however, the grounds, circumstances, and ends of it, should be examined before we condemn what was done. Most probably the censure was by the suffrage of the church, and appeared to a majority of its members, to be according to the will of God; and, therefore, they preferred the will of God, more than any natural affection; and regarded the spiritual welfare of those whom they cast out, more than any temporal ease or advantage. Mr. Johnson says, "Those whom we have cast out, it hath been partly for revolting from the truth, to the corruptions of other churches, and partly for other sins."§ And Mr. Ainsworth says, "That George Johnson and his father were cast out for lying, slandering and contention."||

Mr. Neal confounds this unhappy controversy with another which happened many years afterwards, between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, about matters of discipline.¶ Mr. Johnson placed the government of the church in the eldership alone; Ainsworth in the whole church, of which the elders are a part. The event, accord-

* Bishop Hall charges him with saying, "That the ministry and worship of the church of England were taken out of the whore's cup. He styles our church, the daughter of Babylon, the mother of whoredoms and abominations; and says, that the constitution, worship, and government, are directly antichristian."—*Apologie against Brownists*, p. 742. Edit. 1614.

† See Art. Ainsworth. ‡ Baillic's Dissuasive, p. 15. § Ibid. p. 37.

|| Life of Ainsworth, p. 30.

¶ Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. ii. p. 44, 45.

ing to the opinion of some,* was, that Johnson excommunicated Ainsworth and his part of the church, and that Ainsworth returned the compliment upon the opposite party: but for the latter charge there appears no foundation.+ On the contrary, Mr. John Cotton, who was no Brownist, but was contemporary with Ainsworth and Johnson, and lived among those who had been concerned in this affair, observes, "That Mr. Ainsworth and his company did not excommunicate Mr. Johnson and his party, but withdrew, when they could no longer live peaceably together."‡ Ainsworth and those who adhered to him, held a separate assembly at Amsterdam, and the two congregations were afterwards distinguished as Johnsonian and Ainsworthian Brownists.§ But Mr. Johnson and his friends, at length, removed to Embden, where he afterwards died, and his congregation dissolved.

In the year 1599, there was a long controversy carried on in print, between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Henry Jacob, concerning certain tenets of the Brownists. The same year the whole was collected and published at Middleburgh, by Mr. Johnson, consisting of ninety-one quarto pages, entitled, "A Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England, against the reasons and objections of Maister Francis Johnson, and others of the separation commonly called Brownists. In two Treatises. Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries." In one of these treatises is a recapitulation of all the chief objections raised by the Brownists against the church of England; from which we may gather a much more complete account of their tenets and doctrines, than from any thing else ever published; and it is truly authentic, because it was written by one of the leaders of the Brownists. It is called, "Antichristian Abominations yet retained in England," and enumerates the following particulars:

"The confusion of all sorts of people in the body of

* Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 15.

† Life of Ainsworth, p. 31, 33.

‡ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 6.

§ The Johnsonian Brownists commenced a suit, it is said, against the Ainsworthians, for the meeting-house granted to the Brownists at Amsterdam. The Johnsonians pleaded that it belonged to them, being the ancient Brownists, to whom it was originally given: but the Ainsworthians, on the contrary, pleaded it was theirs, seeing they were the true Brownists, holding the ancient faith of that church, from which the Johnsonians are said to have apostatized. How far this account is correct, or how this dispute was ended, we are not able to learn.—*Page's Heresiography*, p. 67, 68.

their (the English) church; even the most polluted, and their seed, being members thereof.—Their ministration of the word, sacraments, and government of the church, by virtue of antichristian officers.—The titles of primate, metropolitan, lords, grace, lordship, &c. ascribed to the prelates.—The inferior prelates swearing obedience to the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York.—The inferior ministers, when they enter into the ministry, promising obedience to the prelates, and their ordinances; and when they are inducted to benefices, confirming with an oath.—The canon's and priest's presentation to a lord bishop, by an archdeacon.—Their receiving orders of the prelates, or their vicars.—Their pontifical, or book of consecrating bishop's orders of ordering priests and deacons, taken out of the popish pontifical, where their abuse of scripture to that end, the collects, epistles, &c. may be seen.—Their making, and being made, priests, with blasphemy; the prelates saying to those whom they make priests, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven, &c.*—Their confounding of civil and ecclesiastical offices and authorities in ecclesiastical persons.—Their retaining and using in their public worship the apocryphal books, which have in them divers errors, untruths, blasphemies, and contradictions to canonical scriptures.—Their stunted prayers and liturgy, taken out of the pope's mass-book, with the same order of psalms, lessons, collects, pater-nosters, epistles, gospels, versicles, responds, &c.—The cross in baptism.—The hallowed font, and questions to the infants in baptism.—The godfathers and godmothers promising that the child doth believe, forsake the devil and all his works, &c.—Women's baptizing of children; which maintaineth that heresy, that the children are damned which die unbaptized.—Their *howseling* the sick, and ministering the communion to one alone. The ministering it, not with the words of Christ's institution, but with others taken out of the pope's portuis.—They sell that sacrament for two-pence to all comers.—The receiving of it kneeling, which maketh it an idol, and nourisheth that heresy of receiving their Maker, of worshipping it, &c.—Their ring in marriage, making it a sacramental sign, and marriage an ecclesiastical action; thereby nourishing the popish heresy, that matrimony is a sacrament.—Their praying over the dead, making it also a part of the minister's duty, and nourishing the heresy of prayer for the dead.—Their churching or purifying of women, then also abusing that

scripture, *The sun shall not burn them by day, nor the moon by night.*—Their Gang-week,* and then praying over the corn and grass.—Their forbidding of marriage in Gang-week, in Advent, in Lent, and on all the Ember-days; which the apostle calleth a *doctrine of devils*, 1 Tim. iv. 1—3.—Their saints, angels and apostles' days, with their prescript service.—Their fasts, and abstaining from flesh, on their eves, on Fridays, Saturdays, Ember-days, and all the days of Lent.—Their dispensations from the prelates' courts of faculties to eat flesh at these times.—Their dispensations to marry in these times forbidden.—Licenses from the same authority to marry in places exempt.—Dispensations also from thence for boys and ignorant fools to have benefices.—Dispensations also for nonresidents.—For having two, three, four, or more benefices.—Tolerations.—Patronages of, and presentations to, benefices, with buying and selling advowsons.—Their institution into benefices by the prelates, their inductions, proxies, &c.—Their suspensions, absolutions, degradations, deprivations, &c.—The prelates, chancellors, commissioners' courts, having power to excommunicate alone, and to absolve.—Their penance in a white sheet.—Their commutation of penance, and absolving one man for another.—The prelate's confirmation, or bishopping of children, to assure them of God's favour, by a sign of man's devising.—The standing at the gospel.—The putting off the cap, and making a leg, when the word Jesus is read.—The ring of peals at burials.—Bead-men at burials, and hired mourners in mourning apparel.—The hanging and mourning of churches and hearses with black at burials.—Their absolving the dead, dying excommunicate, before they can have, as they say, Christian burial.—The idol temples.—The popish vestments, as rocket, horned cap, tippet, the surplice, and the cope.—The visitations of the lord-bishops and archdeacons.—The prelates' lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue.—The priests' maintenance

* Gang-week, or rogation-week, was that particular season of the year, in which, according to popish custom, was observed "the perambulation of the circuits of parishes." Queen Elizabeth retained the same practice, and enjoined, "That the people should once a year, at the accustomed time, with the minister and substantial men of the parish, walk round the parish as usual, and at their return to church make the common prayers; provided that the minister, at certain convenient places, shall admonish the people to give thanks to God for the increase and abundance of the fruits of the earth, repeating the 103d Psalm; at which time also the minister shall inculcate this and such like sentences, *Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark.*"—Sparrow's Collection, p. 73.

by tithes, Christmas offerings, &c.—The oaths *ex officio* in their ecclesiastical courts, making men swear to accuse themselves.—The churchwarden's oath to present to the prelates all the offences, faults, and defaults, committed in their parishes against their articles and injunctions.—The prelates ruling the church by the pope's cursed canon law.—Finally, their imprisoning and banishing such as renounce and refuse to witness these abominations aforesaid, and the rest yet retained among them.”*

As our author very justly observes, they might well find fault with the church in the article last mentioned, since they had smarted so severely under it. The foregoing particulars contain the general principles of the Brownists, or their chief reasons for a total separation from the established church, and are undoubtedly the most complete and correct account of their opinions, that was ever published. We forbear making any comments, but leave the whole to the reader's own judgment.

His WORKS.—1. *Certayne Reasons and Arguments, proving that it is not lawful to hear, or have any spiritual Communion with, the present Ministry of the Church of England, 1601.* This is perhaps the same as that of which an abstract is given above.—2. *An Answer to White's Discoverie of Brownism, 1606.*—3. *A Christian Plea, 1617.*—4. *A Tract on Matt. xviii.*—He also published some other pieces on the controversies of the times.

WILLIAM COLE, D.D.—This learned divine was most probably educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, where he took his doctor's degree. Upon the commencement of Queen Mary's bloody persecution, he fled from the storm, and retired to Frankfort. He was there involved in the troubles among the English exiles; and the first settlers being excluded from the privileges of the place, by the officiousness of Dr. Cox and his party, he retired, with several of his brethren, to Zurich.† He went afterwards to Geneva, where he was highly esteemed by his fellow-exiles. He united with the venerable Miles Coverdale and other learned divines, in publishing the Geneva translation of the Bible.‡ Upon his return from exile, he sat in the convocation of 1562, and subscribed the articles of religion.§ He was in high favour with Queen Elizabeth, who, on account

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 618, 619. Edit. 1778.

† Troubles at Frankeford, p. 13.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 153.—See Art. Coverdale.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 329.

of his great celebrity, preferred him, in 1568, to the presidentship of Corpus Christi college, Oxford, in which office he continued at least thirty years. A divine of the same name, and very probably the same person, was cast into prison for nonconformity. Though it does not appear how long he remained under confinement; yet, upon the earnest intercession of friends, a letter from the court at Greenwich, dated April 4, 1574, was addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signifying, that, in consideration of his great years, her majesty was willing for him to be released from his present confinement: but that he should remain within twenty or thirty miles of London, in some honest person's house, as his lordship should think most convenient; and should obtain sureties, that he would not henceforth meddle, by teaching or otherwise, in matters of religion.† In the year 1599, he exchanged this preferment with Dr. John Rainolds, for the deanery of Lincoln; but died at an advanced age, in the year 1600.‡ Mr. Strype denominates him a sober and religious nonconformist; and observes, that being chosen chaplain to the Earl of Leicester or some other great courtier, he attended at court in his *hat* and *short cloak*, and endeavoured to overthrow all attempts to enjoin the clerical habits.§

JOHN HOLLAND was a minister of great piety, and apparently one of the old puritans. But we have very little account of him till the time of his death, which being rather peculiar, we cannot withhold it from the reader's consideration.

The day before he died, having called for the Bible, he said, "Come, O come; death approaches. Let us gather some flowers to comfort this hour." And having turned to Rom. viii. he gave me the book, says Mr. Leigh, (who preached his funeral sermon,) and bade me read. At the end of every verse he required me to pause, when he gave the sense of the passage, to his own comfort and to the great wonder and joy of his friends. Having continued his meditations on the above chapter, above two hours, he suddenly cried out:—"O, stay your reading. What brightness is this I see? Have you lighted any candles?" To which Mr. Leigh answered, "No; it is the sunshine;"

* Strype's Parker, p. 266. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxi. p. 384.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 289, 736.

§ Strype's Parker, p. 213, 219, 266.

being about five o'clock on a clear summer's evening. "Sunshine," said he, "nay, my Saviour's shine. Now farewell, world: welcome, heaven. The Day-star from on high hath visited my heart. O speak when I am gone, and preach at my funeral, *God dealeth familiarly with man.* I feel his mercy; I see his majesty; and whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell: God knoweth. But I see things that are unutterable." In these transports of joy, his spirit soared towards heaven; but afterwards shrinking down, he sighed and said, "Ah! it will not be yet. My sins keep me back from my God." The next morning, he closed his eyes in death, using these expressions:—"O what a happy change shall I make! from death to life! from sorrow to solace! from a factious world to a heavenly state! O, my dear brethren, sisters, and friends, it pitieth me to leave you behind. Yet remember my death when I am gone; and what I now feel, I hope you will find before you die, that God doth and will deal familiarly with men. And now, thou fiery chariot, that camest down to fetch up Elijah, carry me to my happy home. And all ye blessed angels, who attended the soul of Lazarus to bring it to heaven, bear me, O bear me, into the bosom of my best beloved. *Amen, amen. Come, Lord Jesus; come quickly.*" He died about the year 1600.*

HENRY SMITH, A. M.—This zealous and eloquent divine was born at Withcock in Leicestershire, in the year 1550, and educated in Lincoln college, Oxford; where he became well furnished with useful learning. He was descended from a wealthy and honourable family, was possessed of a plentiful estate, and was heir to a large patrimony. But he resolved to employ his talents to the utmost of his power, by labouring for the glory of God and the conversion of souls, in the work of the ministry; and therefore he left the rich patrimony to a younger brother.† Upon his removal from Oxford, he pursued his studies under the care of Mr. Greenham, whose principles and piety he appeared afterwards to have imbibed. When the Lord Treasurer Burleigh applied to Mr. Greenham for a testimonial of Mr. Smith's character, this excellent divine observed, "that he

* Ambrose's Works, p. 800. Edit. 1701.

† This younger brother was Sir Roger Smith of Edmondthorp in Leicestershire, who died about the restoration,

was well versed in the holy scriptures, religious and devout in his character, moderate and sober in his opinions, discreet and temperate in his behaviour, industrious in his studies and pursuits, and of a humble spirit and upright heart, joined with a fervent zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of souls.*

Though Mr. Smith was eminently qualified for the sacred function, he was dissatisfied with the subscription imposed upon ministers, and the lawfulness of certain ceremonies. He was loath to make a rent, either in the church or in his own conscience. But, during this perplexity, he resolved not to undertake any pastoral charge, but to content himself with a lecturer's situation. Accordingly, in the year 1587, he became lecturer at St. Clement Danes, near Temple-bar, London. He was chosen to this public situation by the parishioners, and by the favour of the Lord Treasurer, who lived in the parish, and assisted in raising the contribution for his support. Here he set himself to do the work of the Lord faithfully. He was greatly beloved, and his ministry highly admired by his numerous hearers. But the year following, complaint being made to Bishop Aylmer, that he had spoken in his sermon some words derogatory to the Common Prayer, and that he had not subscribed to Whitgift's three articles, his grace suspended him from preaching. The reasons alleged by the bishop, with Mr. Smith's answers, were the following :

1. "That he was chosen by a popular election ; that is, by the minister and congregation, without his lordship's license."

"I was recommended to the parish by certain godly ministers," says Mr. Smith, "who had heard me preach in other places in this city, and thereupon accepted by the parish, and entertained with a stipend raised by voluntary contribution. In which sort they had heretofore entertained others, without any such question or exception. And his lordship calling me to preach at Paul's cross, never moved any such question to me. Nevertheless, if any error have been committed by me or the parish, through ignorance, our joint desire is to have his lordship's good allowance and approbation, for the said exercise of my function in his lordship's diocese."

2. "That he hath preached against the Book of Common Prayer."

* Strype's Aylmer, p. 162, 163.

“ However his lordship may have been informed against me,” observes Mr. Smith, “ I never used a speech in any of my sermons, against the Book of Common Prayer; whereof the parish doth bear me witness in this my supplication to your lordship.”

3. “ That he hath not yielded his subscription to certain articles which his lordship required at his hands.”

“ Concerning the third,” says he, “ I refuse not to subscribe to any articles, which the law of the realm doth require of men in my calling; acknowledging, with all humbleness and loyalty, her majesty’s sovereignty in all causes, and over all persons, within her highness’s dominions; and yielding my full consent to all articles of faith and doctrine, taught and ratified in this church, according to a statute in that behalf provided, the 13th year of her majesty’s reign. And therefore I beseech his lordship, not to urge upon me any other subscription than the law of God and the laws positive of this realm do require.”*

The above charges, with the answers subjoined, Mr. Smith presented to the treasurer, accompanied with a supplication to his lordship, humbly requesting his favour and influence at this painful juncture. This great statesman had the highest respect for him; and, as Mr. Smith was not long deprived of his lecture, he most probably espoused his cause, applied to the bishop, and procured his restoration. It is, indeed, observed, “ that the lord treasurer looked very favourably upon Mr. Smith; and that he was often the *screen* to save him from *scorching*, by interposing his greatness betwixt him and the anger of certain episcopal officers.”†

In the year 1589, upon the death of Mr. Harewood, the incumbent of Clement Danes, the churchwardens and parishioners petitioned the treasurer to bestow the living upon our pious divine. In their petition, they observe, “ that by his excellent preaching, his exemplary life, and his sound doctrine, more good had been done among them, than by any other who had gone before, or, as they feared, would follow him.”‡ But Mr. Smith, for the reasons already mentioned, was most probably unwilling to accept the benefit, if it was offered him. He does not appear ever to have enjoyed any greater preferment than that of his lectureship.

* Strype’s Aylmer, p. 155, 156.

† Fuller’s Life of Mr. Smith prefixed to his sermons.

‡ Strype’s Aylmer, p. 157.

Mr. Smith was a preacher uncommonly followed by persons of piety, especially those of the puritanical party. He was generally esteemed the first preacher in the nation; and, on account of his prodigious memory, and his fluent, eloquent, and practical way of preaching, he was looked upon as the very miracle and wonder of the age.* It may be truly said of him, that he was a man peaceable in Israel. For though he scrupled conformity himself, and utterly disapproved the imposition of it on others; still he could live on terms of intimacy with those from whom he dissented. His fame was so great, that he was usually called the *silver-tongued preacher*, as if he was second even to Chrysostom. His church was so crowded with hearers, that persons of quality, as well as others, were frequently obliged to stand in the aisles; and his wonderful dexterity in preaching was such, that, by his solid reasons, he fastened conviction upon the judgments of his auditory; by his apt similitudes, upon their fancies; by his orderly method, upon their memories; and by his close applications, upon their consciences.+ He died apparently of a consumption, about the year 1600, aged fifty years. Mr. Smith was author of many Sermons and Treatises, published at various times. They passed through many editions, and some of them were carried abroad and translated into Latin. His sermons were so universally admired, that they were for many years used as a family book in all parts of the kingdom. They are so solid, says Fuller, that the learned may partly admire them; yet so plain, that the unlearned may perfectly understand them.‡ His "Sermons, with other his learned Treatises," and his Life by Fuller, were collected and published in one volume quarto, in 1675.

ARTHUR DENT was the learned and pious minister of South Soubery in Essex, but persecuted by Bishop Aylmer for nonconformity. About the year 1584, he endured many troubles from this prelate, for refusing to wear the surplice, and omitting the sign of the cross in baptism.§ He afterwards united with his brethren, the persecuted ministers of Essex, in presenting a petition to the lords of the council, in which, say they, "We have received the

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 231.—Nichols's *Hist. of Leicestershire*, vol. ii. p. 390.

† *Life of Mr. Smith.*

‡ *Church History*, b. ix. p. 142.

§ *MS. Register*, p. 741.

charge to instruct and teach our people in the way of life; and every one of us hearing this sounded from the God of heaven, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel*, we have all endeavoured to discharge our duties, and to approve ourselves both to God and man. Notwithstanding this, we are in great heaviness, and some of us already put to silence, and the rest living in fear; not that we have been, or can be charged, we hope, with false doctrine, or slanderous life: but because we refuse to subscribe that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God. We do protest in the sight of God, who searcheth all hearts, that we do not refuse from a desire to dissent, or from any sinister affection; but in the fear of God, and from the necessity of conscience." A circumstantial account of this petition, signed by *twenty-seven* ministers, is given in another place.*

Mr. Dent was author of a work, entitled "The Ruine of Rome; or, an Exposition of Revelation;" in the dedication of which, Mr. Ezekiel Culverwell gives the following account of the author:—"To give some public testimony of my love towards him, and reverence of the rare grace which we all, who enjoyed his sweet society, did continually behold in him, whose learning his labours do shew; and whose diligence, yea extreme and unwearied pains in his ministry, publicly, privately, at home and abroad, for at least four and twenty years, all our country can testify. All which being adorned with such special humility, do make his name the greater, and our loss the more grievous. I may not leave out this, which I avow to be as certain as it is singular, that, besides all others his great labours, he had a special care of all the churches, night and day, by study and fervent prayer, procuring the prosperity of Zion, and the ruin of Rome. And to end with his blessed end: his life was not more profitable to others than his death was peaceable to himself; scarcely a groan was heard, though his fever must needs have been violent which dispatched him in three days. Having made a pithy confession of his faith, 'this faith,' said he, 'have I preached; this faith have I believed in; this faith I do die in; and this faith would I have sealed with my blood, if God had so thought good; and tell my brethren so.' He afterwards said, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid

* See Art. George Gifford.

up for me the crown of righteousness; and with his last breath added, 'I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy law is exceeding broad.'" He died most probably some time after the year 1600.

WILLIAM CHARKE was fellow of Peter-house, Cambridge, in 1572, where, most probably, he received his education. Cambridge, at this time, was a nest of puritans; but Dr. Whitgift, with the other heads of colleges, laboured to expel the growing faction, as it was called. Many of the students and fellows were disaffected to the ceremonies and discipline of the church, among whom was Mr. Charke. He did not, therefore, remain long unobserved; for the heads of colleges, of whom Whitgift was chief, presently brought complaints against him to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university.

Mr. Charke, in his sermon at St. Mary's, December 3, 1572, asserted, 1. "That the states of bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and popes, were introduced into the church by Satan.—And, 2. That the ministers of the church ought not to be superior one to another." For divulging these sentiments, he was the very next day cited before Drs. Whitgift, Pern, Howford, Kelk, and Bying, the vice-chancellor; before whom he acknowledged the delivery of the two propositions, the former directly, the latter implicitly. He was brought before them a second time, in February following, and was often admonished and commanded to revoke his errors publicly at St. Mary's, on a Lord's day, which he absolutely refused: only he acknowledged that there ought to be some superiority among ministers, in matters of jurisdiction. Upon which, the vice-chancellor, with the consent of the heads, pronounced sentence upon him of exclusion from the college, and banishment from the university. He was, therefore, excluded and expelled from the place.* Whether his punishment was not greater than the crime with which he was charged, is left with the candid reader to determine.

Mr. Charke, upon his departure from Cambridge, appealed from the judgment of the vice-chancellor and heads, to Burleigh, the chancellor. This he did, says Mr. Strype, in a well-penned epistle, written in a good Latin style, desiring, by his lordship's means, to be again restored to his

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 43, 44.

college, promising to conduct himself quietly and peaceably. In this letter, he said, "That he denied not himself to be one, who, being led by argument taken from scripture, and the example of foreign churches, thought something to be wanting, whereby our church, lately rescued from darkness, might come nearer the original pattern. That when he was aware how his opinion might prove dangerous to be divulged among the unskilful multitude, because it appeared something new to the common people, and was different from the ordinances, he kept to himself the knowledge of the truth, and had ever studiously avoided the promulgation of it in his sermons; but that in a private senate, and in the Latin tongue, he thought he might use greater liberty. He had, therefore, in a very learned and wise assembly, explained his opinion more freely in those matters. And that, by so doing, he had ignorantly fallen into the crime of violating a law; and so was cited to appear in judgment. And that his judges had forbidden him not only the use of water and fire, by which men live; but the use of learning too, by which they live *well*. He, therefore, humbly appealed to his equity and goodness, as the only hope he had left of recovering his place; praying him to write to the university for his restoration; and that hereafter he might be wholly rejected, if he violated the peace either of the church, the state, or the university."*

The chancellor, knowing him to be a good scholar, and that he was treated with tyrannical severity; upon receiving this humble and peaceable supplication, made intercession for him, by addressing the following letter to the vice-chancellor and heads of houses:†

"After my very hearty commendations.

"Whereas you have expelled William Charke, late fellow of Peter-house, for some speeches used in a sermon which he lately had *ad clerum*, tending to the disturbing the quietness and peace of the church, and manifestly contrary to the orders taken for the maintenance of the same peace. For as much as the said Charke hath been with me, and partly wisely extenuating his fault, and partly very honestly acknowledging that he committed the same by overmuch vehemency of spirit, and promising faithfully never hereafter to deal in this or the like again, that may be offensive, hath shewed some good parts, affect-

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 43, 44.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxix. p. 373.

tion, and good gifts to be in him, the which, in mine opinion, it were great charity and good wisdom, by gentle usage and persuasion, to reduce to be profitable in the church, rather than by too suddenly cutting him off from the course of his studies, utterly to lose. These are heartily to pray you, the rather for my sake, and for proof of him hereafter, to receive him again into the university and his fellowship within the college, upon his like promise made to you not to meddle hereafter in such kind of doctrines. Wherein, if you shew some indulgence for this time, and rather suppress the memory of his said speech and doctrine, for it was delivered in the Latin tongue, and not popularly taught, in my judgment you shall do well; and so praying you to do, I bid you hearty farewell. From my house, Feb. 20, 1572.

“Your loving friend,

“WILLIAM BURLEIGH.”

This intercession, however, was to no purpose. It does not appear that Mr. Charke was ever restored to his fellowship. He was, about the same time, one of the super-added members of the presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey.* In the year 1580, we find him employed, with other learned men, in a conference with Campian, the famous popish priest. He was engaged in the fourth day's dispute, when the subjects of discussion were,—1. “Whether the scriptures contain sufficient doctrine for salvation. And, 2. Whether faith alone justifieth.” These conferences were afterwards collected and published, by the consent of both parties.+

Upon Mr. Charke's banishment from the university, he was countenanced and entertained by several of the nobility, and patronized by persons of learning and real worth. He was domestic chaplain first to Lord Cheyny, then to the Duchess of Somerset, at Chelsea, and was with her when she died. In the year 1581, he was chosen constant preacher to the society of Lincoln's-inn. But, to succeed effectually in their choice, the society applied to the Bishop of London, for his approbation and allowance. The bishop, knowing Mr. Charke's great abilities, and that he was eminently qualified for a situation of so much learning, did not refuse; but signified that application should be first made to the lords of the council, for their allowance. This was accordingly done, and the lords

* Kingdom's MSS. p. 39.—Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

+ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 646.

signified their full approbation; so that he was chosen and admitted.* He afterwards united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."†

In the above respectable situation, Mr. Charke, by the favour of his learned patrons, was protected some years from the tyrannical oppressions of the times; and though a zealous nonconformist, he enjoyed his lecture at Lincoln's-inn till the year 1593. The period at length arrived when they could no longer screen him from the fury of the prelates; for in that year, it appears, he was silenced by Archbishop Whitgift.‡ Notwithstanding the treatment he met with, he was greatly admired and commended, even by rigid conformists, on account of his distinguished learning and great moderation. After his suspension, pleading his cause before the archbishop, that he conducted himself peaceably, &c. his grace replied, "This is not enough. It is not sufficient, that you do not preach *against* the bishops: you do not preach *for* them."§

Mr. Strype denominates him a man of eminent parts, and a chief leader among the puritans.¶ Dr. Nowell styles him a person of great learning and godliness.‡ The Oxford historian, speaking of the various books of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," observes, "That the three books, (meaning the three last,) which Hooker completed before his death, were, with the consent of his unlucky widow, seized upon in his study, soon after his decease, by William Charke, a noted puritan, and another minister that lived near Canterbury; who, making the silly woman believe that they were writings not fit to be seen, did either burn them in the place, or carry them away."** Admitting this statement to be correct, the whole, it seems, was done by the permission of that *silly woman*, the *unlucky widow*; and if Mr. Charke and his companion persuaded her that the papers *were not fit to be seen*, all this might be perfectly just and true. But our historian's sole authority is the letter of Dr. King, bishop of Chichester, dated November 13, 1664, above sixty years after the event; and he has made considerable additions to it.†† Mr. Charke was

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 313. (4.)

§ Minister's Reasons against Subscrip. part ii. p. 173. Edit. 1609.

¶ Strype's Whitgift, p. 43. — Annals, vol. ii. p. 533.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 278, note.

** Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 263.

†† King's Letter, prefixed to the Life of Hooker. Edit. 1665.

living towards the close of the year 1600; but when he died we have not been able to learn. He published several pieces against the papists.

JOHN DARRELL, A. B.—He was minister at Nottingham, but a person in some respects of very peculiar sentiments. He believed, that by fasting and prayer evil spirits might be cast out of persons possessed. Dr. Heylin, defaming his memory, says, that he set up the trade of lecturing at Nottingham, without any lawful calling; and, to advance his reputation, pretended to cast out devils.* Mr. Strype, also, with a design to reproach the puritans as a body, observes, that when the open practices of the puritans for setting up their discipline did not prevail, some of their ministers had recourse to a more secret method, by doing something which looked little less than miraculous. They pretended, by fasting and prayer, to cast out devils; by which the multitude became so amazed, and were led so to venerate them, that they were the more readily inclined to submit to their opinions and ways. This was a practice borrowed from the papists, to make their priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions.† From these base insinuations, we might be led to suppose, that some plot of considerable magnitude was laid by the puritans, to conjure the ignorant multitude into a belief of their discipline, and the practice of nonconformity: but all this vapour and smoke at once vanishes, and we only hear of the principles and practice of a solitary individual, in connexion with two or three others of less note, but of similar sentiments.

What we have to say is not intended as a defence of Mr. Darrell's peculiarities. He appears to have been a weak, but zealous and honest man; and, therefore, undeserving of the cruel usage which he received from Archbishop Whitgift and others. But because he was a puritan, and a sufferer for nonconformity, it will be proper to give an impartial statement of facts.

The learned historian observes, that, in the year 1586, Mr. Darrell professed to cast a devil out of one Katharine Wright, a young woman about seventeen years of age, living in Derbyshire. But the evil spirit afterwards returning into her, he cast out eight other devils, with which

* Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 348.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 492.

she pretended to have been possessed. Also, he wrote an account of these things at some length, and communicated copies of his performance to persons of distinction; and, among others, to the excellent and pious Lady Bowes: "hoping hereby," says our author, "to obtain applause, and to accomplish other ends."* There is not, however, the least shadow of evidence, that Mr. Darrell sought after any human applause. This does not appear to have formed any part of his character, or at all to have entered into his desigus. And what other ends he meant to accomplish, we are left to conjecture. If the historian here designed to insinuate, that he intended to promote puritanism, and overthrow the church of England, it may be confidently affirmed, that his prospects were not the most flattering.

In the year 1596, Mr. Darrell pretended to cast out many more devils. Among the persons who were on this account indebted to his piety, was one Thomas Darling, a boy about fourteen years of age, at Burton-upon-Trent. This occasioned a person of the town to publish an account of it, entitled "The Book of the Dispossession of the Boy of Burton." This greatly increased his popularity; and caused his fame to spread so much abroad, that he was sent for into Lancashire, and there cast out many other devils. Afterwards, upon his return to Nottingham, one of the ministers of the town, and several of its inhabitants, urged him to visit one William Somers, a boy who was so deeply afflicted with convulsive agonies, that they were thought to be preternatural. When Mr. Darrell had seen the boy, he concluded, with others, that he was certainly possessed, and, accordingly, recommended his friends to obtain the help of godly and learned ministers, with the view of promoting his recovery, but excused himself from being concerned; lest, as he observed, if the devil should be dispossessed, the common people should attribute to him some special gift of casting out devils. At length, however, by the urgent solicitation of the mayor of Nottingham, he complied; and having agreed with Mr. Aldridge and two other ministers, together with about one hundred and fifty christian friends, they set apart a day of fasting and prayer, to entreat the Lord to cast out Satan, and deliver the young man from his present torments. Having continued in their devotions for some time, the Lord is said to

* Strype's Annals, vol. lii. p. 432.

have been entreated, and to have cast out Satan, for which they blessed his holy name. This was in the year 1597.*

In a few days after this event, the mayor and several of the aldermen began to suspect that Somers was an impostor; and, to make him confess, they took him from his parents, and committed him to prison; where, by the threatenings of his keeper, he was led to acknowledge, that he had dissembled and counterfeited what he had done. Upon this confession, being carried before a commission appointed to examine him, he at first owned himself to be a counterfeit, then presently denied it; but being so exceedingly frightened, he fell into fits before the commissioners, which put an end to his examination. After some time, being still kept in custody, and further pressed by his keeper, he returned to his confessing, charging Mr. Darrell with having trained him up in the art for several years. Mr. Darrell was then summoned to appear before the commissioners, when sufficient witnesses were produced to prove that Somers had declared, in a most solemn manner, that he had not dissembled; upon which he was dismissed, and the commission was dissolved.

This affair becoming the subject of much conversation in the country, Mr. Darrell, in 1598, was cited before Archbishop Whitgift, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth. Upon his appearance, after a long examination, he was deprived of his ministry, and committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he continued many years. Mr. George Moore, another puritan minister, for his connexion with him, was, at the same time, committed close prisoner to the Clink. The crime with which Mr. Darrell was charged, and for which he received the heavy sentence, was "his having been accessory to a vile imposture."†

Indeed, Bishop Maddox highly commends the conduct of these ecclesiastical judges, in this unchristian censure.

* Dr. Heylin, contemptuously speaking of Mr. Darrell's pretensions, observes, "that whenever the conformable ministers visited these demons, and used the form of prayer according to the established liturgy, the devil was as quiet as a lamb, there being nothing in those prayers to disturb his peace. But when Mr. Darrell and his nonconformist brethren approached, who used to fall upon him with whole volleys of raw and undigested prayers of their own devising, then were the wicked spirits extremely troubled and perplexed; so that the puritans, lest the papists should in any thing have the start of them, had also a kind of holy water, with which to frighten away the devil."—*Heylin's Miscel. Tracts*, p. 156.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 492—494.

“Any one,” says he, “who considers the state of the town of Nottingham, will applaud the proceedings of the high commission.” Then, in the words of Mr. Strype, he gives an account of the state of the town, as if Mr. Darrell had prompted the people to quarrel one with another; or, as if his deprivation and severe imprisonment were likely to allay the difference. “By this time,” says he, “it came to pass, that the people of Nottingham were become violent against one another, and the whole town divided as they stood affected. The pulpits rang of nothing but devils and witches; and men, women, and children, were so affrighted, that they durst not stir out in the night; nor so much as a servant, almost, go into his master’s cellar about his business, without company. Few happened to be sick, or ill at ease, but strait they were deemed to be possessed. It was high time,” adds the learned prelate, “to put a stop to this practice of dispossessing, whether the authors were knaves, or enthusiasts, or both.”* And could neither the Bishop of Worcester, nor yet the high commissioners at Lambeth, think of a more equitable method of punishing the contentious inhabitants of Nottingham, than by inflicting so heavy a sentence upon Mr. Darrell? But Mr. Darrell was a puritan; therefore, right or wrong, he must needs be punished.

Somers and Darling were also brought before the high commission. During their examinations, though the former returned to his accusation of Mr. Darrell, declaring that he himself had, in what he had done, been guilty of dissimulation, the latter stood firm; and, notwithstanding the entreaties, threatenings, and fair promises of the archbishop and others, he could not be prevailed upon to accuse him, but maintained to the last, that the evil spirit had been cast out of him. It does not appear, however, that either of them were cast into prison.†

The prosecution of Mr. Darrell led to a new controversy, when Mr. Harsnet, chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, and afterwards Archbishop of York, published a work, entitled, “A Discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell, Bachelor of Arts, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dispossession of William Somers of Nottingham: of Thomas Darling, the boy of Burton at Caldwell: and of Katherine Wright at Mansfield and Whittington: and of his dealings with one Mary Couper

* Vindication of the Church, p. 360.

† Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 32.

at Nottingham, detecting in some sort the deceitful trade in these latter days of casting out devils," 1599. This induced Mr. Darrell to publish a reply, entitled, "A Detection of that sinful, shameful, lying, and ridiculous Discours, of Samuel Harshnet.* Entitled: A Discoverie of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell. Wherein is manifestly and apparently shewed in the eyes of the world. Not only the unlikelihoode, but the state impossibilitie of the pretended counterfaying of William Somers, Thomas Darling, Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, together with other 7 in Lancashire, and the supposed teaching of them by the saide John Darrell," 1600. The same year, Mr. Darrell also published, "A true Narration of the strange and grevous Vexation by the Devil, of 7 Persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham. Wherein the doctrine of Possession and Dispossession of Demoniakes out of the word of God is particularly applied unto Somers, and the rest of the persons controverted: together with the use we are to make of these workes of God." Mr. George Moore, his intimate friend, and fellow-sufferer in the same cause, likewise published a reply to Harsnet, entitled, "A true Discourse concerning the certaine Possession and Dispossession of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire, which also may serve as part of an Answer to a fayned and false *Discoverie* which speaketh very much evill, as well of this, as of the rest of those great and mightie workes of God, which be of the like excellent nature," 1600.†

Mr. Darrell, upon his imprisonment, published another work particularly in his own defence, entitled, "The Trial of John Darrell, or a Collection of Defences against Alligations not yet suffered to receive convenient Answer, tending to clear him from the Imputation of teaching Somers and others to counterfeit Possession of Devils," 1599. Also, while he was in prison, he published "An Apology or Defence of the Possession of William Somers, &c. Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting. And thereupon also it is shewn, that in these days men may be possessed with devils; and that being so, by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out." At the close of this work, Mr. Darrell made the

* Harsnet was one of the principal persecutors of Mr. Darrell, and was advanced to the bishopric of Norwich, as the just reward of this meritorious service. But our author, by mistake, calls Mr. Darrell a *popish* priest.—*Bloomfield's Hist. of Norfolk*, vol. ii. p. 403.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2547. Edit. 1747.

following protestation:—"If what I am accused of be true, even that I have been accessory to a vile imposture, with a design to impose on mankind, let me be registered to my perpetual infamy, not only for a notorious deceiver, but such an hypocrite as never trod on the earth before. Yea, Lord! for to *Thee* I direct my speech, who knoweth all things, if I have confederated more or less, with Somers, Darling, or any others; if ever I set my eye upon them before they were possessed, then let me not only be made a laughing-stock, and a by-word to all men, but raze my name also out of the book of life, and let me have my portion with hypocrites."*

While Mr. Darrell was suffering in close prison in the Gatehouse, the productions of his pen were spread through the kingdom. His books found their way to the two universities, particularly Cambridge, where many of them were purchased by the learned collegians. This presently roused the attention of the ecclesiastical governors; when the bookseller was convened before Dr. Jegon, the vice-chancellor, as will appear from the following letter, addressed "To the right Rev. Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London:"†

"Right reverend, my very good lord, my duty most humbly premised. May it please you to be advertised, that certain books of Darrell's, in two volumes, the one "A Detection of the shameful, lying Discoverie," &c. the other "A true Narration of the strange Vexation," &c. have been sold underhand, by a taylor, since Christmas last, to the number of sixty books, as the party before me hath confessed. To whom he hath sold them in particular, he will not confess: whereupon I have bound him here, with surety, to be forth coming until I know your lordship's pleasure, thinking it my duty to signify the same; knowing that Darrell hath been censured for a dissembler, and supposing that such books come not out with allowance and privilege. The examination I send here inclosed.

"JEGON, Vice-chancellor of the
University of Cambridge."

What further prosecution the poor man underwent, or when Mr. Darrell was released from his cruel imprisonment, it is very difficult to ascertain,

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 495. † Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxvii. p. 11.

CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, B. D.—This distinguished puritan was born in the city of Chester, about the year 1519, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. After taking his degrees in Arts, he was constituted one of the senior students of Christ's Church, then newly founded by Henry VIII. Towards the close of the reign of King Edward, he was admitted to the reading of the sentences, and chosen divinity lecturer in the university. But upon the accession of Queen Mary, and the return of popery and bloody persecution, he withdrew from the storm, and went into exile. He retired, with many of his brethren, to Frankfort, and was deeply involved in the troubles of that place, occasioned chiefly by the officious interference of Dr. Cox and his party. Here, when it was proposed to make choice of officers for the church, Mr. Goodman gave it as his opinion, "That they ought first to agree to some godly order for the church; and, in agreeing to this order, to obtain the consent of the congregation, whereby it might appear that they contemned not the rest of their brethren: and further, to proceed to the election, which he thought, also, ought not to be attempted without the consent of the whole church." In neither of these proposals, however, did Mr. Goodman succeed. For it was replied, that they should have no other order than the English Book of Common Prayer; and Dr. Cox had assembled the ministers, at his lodgings, to make choice of a bishop and other officers.* Upon the separation at Frankfort, Mr. Goodman went to Geneva, where he and Mr. John Knox, the famous Scotch reformer, were chosen pastors of the English church, and there remained till the death of Queen Mary. While at Geneva, he assisted Mr. Knox in composing "The Book of Common Order," which was to be used as a directory of worship in the protestant congregations.+ Upon receiving the news of the queen's death, Mr. Goodman and his brethren at Geneva, wrote a most affectionate, healing letter to their fellow-exiles at Frankfort. This letter, with the answer, is still preserved.‡

It will be proper here to observe, that during Mr. Goodman's exile, and some time before the queen's death, a report came to them that she was dead. The rumour occasioned him to write to Mr. Bartlet Green, a lawyer, a pious professor of the gospel, and his former acquaintance

* Troubles at Frankford, p. 39, 40.

† Scott's Lives of Reformers, p. 250. Edit. 1810.

‡ Troubles at Frankford, p. 160—163.

at Oxford, inquiring whether the report was true. His worthy friend replied, *The queen is not yet dead.* The letter, however, being intercepted, Mr. Green was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and, after lying a long time in prison, condemned and committed to the flames, under the cruel severities of Bonner, bishop of London.* While our divine remained at Geneva, he took an active part, with several of his learned brethren, in writing and publishing the Geneva translation of the Bible.†

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Goodman, after finishing the Translation, returned from exile, but did not immediately come to England. He went to Scotland; and, for several years, was actively employed in promoting the reformation, and preaching the gospel, in that country. In the year 1560, having preached for some time at Ayr, the committee of parliament, who nominated the ministers for the principal towns in Scotland, appointed him to be minister at St. Andrews, where it was thought expedient that the officiating minister should be a man of established reputation.‡ About the same time, he was employed in a public disputation at Edinburgh, betwixt the papists and protestants. Those on the side of the papists were Dr. Lesley, Dr. Anderson, Mr. Mirton, and Mr. Stracquin; who disputed with Mr. Knox, Mr. Willock, and Mr. Goodman. The points of disputation were, "The holy eucharist, and the sacrifice of the altar." In the conclusion, though the papists gave it out, that the protestants were completely baffled, and declined the contest in future, the nobility, who attended the dispute, were certainly of another mind.§

As minister of St. Andrews, Mr. Goodman was present in the assembly, December 20, 1560, with the assistant elders, David Spens and Robert Kynpont, who accompanied him. In 1562, he and Mr. John Row, minister of Perth, were appointed to assist John Erskine of Dun, in the visitation of the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff. And in 1563, he argued in opposition to Mr. Secretary Lethington, that the tithes ought to be appropriated to the clergy. Lethington was on this occasion much chagrined; and ungenerously said, that it was not fit that a stranger should meddle with the affairs of a foreign commonwealth. Mr. Goodman calmly, but firmly, replied, "My lord secretary,

* Fox's Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 523—526.—Strype's Cranmer, p. 370.

† See Art. Coverdale.

‡ Hist. of Church of Scotland, p. 253. Edit. 1644.

§ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 476.

though in your policy I be a stranger, yet I am not so in the kirk of God; and, therefore, the care thereof appertaineth no less to me in Scotland, than if I were in the midst of England.”*

In the year 1564, he was appointed to preach for the space of a month, at Edinburgh, in the absence of Mr. John Craig, one of the ministers of that city, who had been commissioned to visit some of the southern parts of the kingdom. Also, the assembly, June 25, 1565, laid many appointments upon him, some of which he did not fulfil; for, before the assembly again met, December 25th, in the same year, he had left the kingdom; which is thus noticed in the church-register:—“Commissioners from St. Andrews appeared, who requested that Mr. John Knox should be transplanted, and placed at St. Andrews. The assembly refused their request, and desired them to choose a minister out of their own university, in the room of Mr. Christopher Goodman, who had lately departed into England.”†

Dr. Heylin, with his wonted peevishness and slander, says, “It cannot be denied, that Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, and the rest of the Genevean conventicle, were very much grieved, at their return from exile, that they could not bear the like sway here as Calvia and Beza did at Geneva. They not only repined and were envious at the reformation of the English church, because not fitted to their fancies, and Calvin’s platform; but laboured to sow those seeds of heterodoxy and disobedience, which brought forth those troubles and disorders that afterwards followed.”‡ So much reproach, misrepresentation and falsehood, is seldom found within so small a compass.

About the year 1568, our celebrated divine became chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, in his expedition against the rebels in Ireland, and shewed his great diligence and faithfulness in that service.§ And in 1571, he was cited before Archbishop Parker, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth. He published a book, during his exile under Queen Mary, entitled, “How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully, by God’s Word, obeyed and resisted: Wherein also is declared the Cause of all the present Misery in England, and how the same may be remedied,” 1558. In this work, he spoke with some freedom against the government of women, but especially the severe proceedings of Queen

* Scott’s Lives of Reformers, p. 251.

† Ibid. p. 252.

‡ Heylin’s Hist. of Pres. p. 28.

§ Troubles at Frankford, p. 168.

Mary. From this book, the archbishop, after so many years, collected certain dangerous and seditious articles, as they are called; and required Mr. Goodman to revoke his opinions.* Though he refused for some time, yet, before his release could be procured, he was obliged to subscribe the following recantation:

“For as much as the extremity of the time, wherein I did write my book, brought forth alteration of religion, setting up of idolatry, banishment of good men, murdering of saints, and violation of all promises made to the godly; I was, upon consideration of present grief, moved to write many things therein, which may be, and are, offensively taken, and which also I do mislike, and wish they had not been written. And notwithstanding the book, by me so written, I do protest and confess, ‘That good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations; and do, from the bottom of my heart, allow the queen’s majesty’s most lawful government, and daily pray for the long continuance of the same. Neither did I ever mean to affirm, that any person or persons, of their own authority, ought or might lawfully have punished Queen Mary with death. Nor that the people, of their own authority, may lawfully punish their magistrates, transgressing the Lord’s precepts. Nor that ordinarily God is the head of the people, and giveth the sword into their hands, though they seek the accomplishment of his laws.’ Wherefore, as many of these assertions as may be rightly collected out of my said book, them I do utterly renounce and revoke, as none of mine, promising never to write, teach, nor preach, any such offensive doctrine. Humbly desiring, that it may please your lordships to give me your good and favourable allowance; whereby I shall, by God’s grace, endeavour to labour in furthering the true service of God, and obedience to her majesty, to the utmost of my power, during my whole life: to the satisfaction of all good men, and to the contentment of her majesty and your good lordships.

“CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.”†

“This is a lame recantation,” says one of our learned historians. “For Goodman founds the queen’s title upon her *moral*, and not upon her *civil* qualifications. *Godly women*,” he says, “may lawfully govern. By this doctrine, where there is no virtue, there can be no claim to authority; and when their godliness is at an end, their government must

* Strype’s Parker, p. 325, 326. † Strype’s Annals, vol. i. p. 126.

be so too: this is founding dominion on grace. And when the prince has so precarious a title, and the subjects are made judges of the forfeiture, peace and public order must be weakly established. The next part of the recantation is not one jot better. For by only denying that *private* people may execute their princes, he seems to allow that magistrates and parliaments may do it. And by saying, that God does not *ordinarily* put the sword into the hands of the people, what can be inferred, but that in some cases it is lawful for the people to rise against their sovereign, and reform the church and state at discretion.* How much better would the learned writer have ordered this recantation, if he had fortunately been one of the high commissioners at Lambeth! If the form of it was really faulty, surely this attaches no evil to Mr. Goodman. He only complied with the impositions of his ecclesiastical judges. In this, as in numerous other instances, we see the extreme madness of any man, or any body of men, attempting to impose their own opinions upon their fellow-creatures.

When Mr. Goodman was cited before the archbishop and other commissioners, he was required to subscribe, not only the above recantation, but the following protestation of his loyalty to the queen and government:

“ I, Christopher Goodman, preacher of God’s word in this realm of England, have protested, the day and year above written, before the reverend fathers aforesaid, and in this present writing, do unfeignedly protest and confess before all men, that I have esteemed and taken Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. ever since her coronation, as now, and shall during life, and her grace’s government, for my only liege lady, and most lawful queen and sovereign. Whom I truly reverence in my heart, love, fear, and obey, as becometh an obedient subject, in all things lawful; and as I have at sundry times in the pulpit, willingly and of mine own accord, declared in great audience, who can and will bear me sufficient record, exhorting and persuading all men, so far forth as in me did lay, to the like obedience to her majesty. For whose preservation, and prosperous government, I have earnestly and daily prayed to God, and will, being assisted by his holy spirit, during my life. In witness whereof, I the said Christopher,

* Collier’s Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 440.

have subscribed this protestation with mine own hand, the 26th day of April, 1571, by me,

“CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN.”*

In the year 1584, Mr. Goodman, we find, lived in his native county, where he was most probably silenced for nonconformity. During that year, Archbishop Whitgift having pressed subscription to his three articles, upon the godly ministers in those parts, Mr. Goodman wrote to the Earl of Leicester, informing him how the papists in Cheshire and elsewhere, rejoiced at the proceedings and severities of the archbishop. This the archbishop, indeed, resented and denied, and charged Mr. Goodman with perverseness, in refusing subscription, and an exact conformity to the established church.†

We have not been able to obtain any further account of this excellent divine, till the pious and learned Mr. James Usher, afterwards the famous archbishop, came to England to purchase books for the college library at Dublin, when he visited him on his death-bed. Usher was so deeply impressed with the holy conversation of this venerable divine, that, when he himself became an old man, and the Archbishop of Armagh, he often repeated the wise and grave speeches which he had heard from him.‡ Mr. Goodman died in 1602, aged eighty-three years, and his remains were interred in St. Werburg's church, in the city of Chester. Fuller denominates him a leader of the fierce nonconformists.§ Wood says, he was a most violent nonconformist, and more rigid in his opinions than his friend John Calvin, who speaks of him in his epistles.¶ Mr. Leigh calls him a learned, good, and holy divine.‡ Dr. Bancroft says, that he, with the rest of the Geneva accomplices, urged all estates to take up arms, and by force to reform religion themselves, rather than to suffer superstition and idolatry to remain in the land.**

Mr. Thomas Merburie of Christ's college, Cambridge, in his last will and testament, dated December 1, 1571, and proved the same month, appointed “his well-beloved in Christ, his father-in-law, Mr. Christopher Goodman, preacher

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 95, 96.

† Ibid. vol. iii. p. 245, 246.

‡ Bernard's Life of Usher, p. 42. Edit. 1656.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 77.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol i. p. 273.

‡ Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 211.

** Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 62. Edit. 1640.

of God's word," one of the supervisors of his will.* Mr. Goodman published the two following articles: "How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may be lawfully, by God's Word, disobeyed and resisted," 1548.—"A Commentary on Amos." Wood ascribes to him, "The first Blast of the Trumpet against the Menstrous Regiment of Women," 1558: But it is well known that Mr. John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, was its author: our divine only wrote the preface to that work.

WILLIAM PERKINS was born at Marton in Warwickshire, in the year 1558, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. For some time after his going to the university, he continued exceedingly profane, and ran to great lengths in prodigality. While Mr. Perkins was a young man, and a scholar at Cambridge, he was much devoted to drunkenness. As he was walking in the skirts of the town, he heard a woman say to a child that was froward and peevish, "Hold your tongue, or I will give you to drunken Perkins, yonder." Finding himself become a by-word among the people, his conscience smote him, and he became so deeply impressed, that it was the first step towards his conversion. After he was called by divine grace, and become a preacher of the gospel, he laid open the workings of sin and vanity in others, exercised a spirit of sympathy over perishing sinners, and upon their repentance and faith in Jesus Christ, led them to the enjoyment of substantial comfort. He gave, at the same time, strong proofs of his great genius, by his deep researches into nature, and its secret springs of operation. When the Lord was pleased to convert him from the error of his ways, he immediately directed his attention to the study of divinity, and applied himself with such uncommon diligence, that in a short time, he made an almost incredible proficiency in divine knowledge.

At the age of twenty-four, he was chosen fellow of his college, when he entered upon the sacred function. Having himself freely received, he freely gave to others; and in imitation of our Lord, he went and preached deliverance to captives. Feeling bowels of compassion for the poor prisoners confined in Cambridge, he prevailed upon the jailer

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 314.

to collect them together in one spacious room, where he preached to them every sabbath, with great power and success. Here the prison was his parish; his love to souls, the patron presenting him to it; and his work, all the wages he received. No sooner were his pious labours made known, than multitudes flocked to hear him from all quarters. By the blessing of God upon his endeavours, he became the happy instrument of bringing many to the knowledge of salvation, and to enjoy the glorious liberty of the sons of God, not only of the prisoners, but others, who, like them, were in captivity and bondage to sin. His great fame, afterwards known in all the churches, was soon spread through the whole university; and he was chosen preacher at St. Andrew's church, where he continued a laborious and faithful minister of Christ, till called to receive his reward.

Mr. Perkins being settled in this public situation, his hearers consisted of collegians, townsmen, and people from the country. This required those peculiar ministerial endowments which providence had richly bestowed upon him. In all his discourses, his style and his subject were accommodated to the capacities of the common people, while, at the same time, the pious scholars heard him with admiration. Luther used to say, "that ministers who preach the terrors of the law, but do not bring forth gospel instruction and consolation, are not wise master-builders: they pull down, but do not build up again." But Mr. Perkins's sermons were *all law*, and *all gospel*. He was a rare instance of those opposite gifts meeting in so eminent a degree in the same preacher, even the vehemence and thunder of *Boanerges*, to awaken sinners to a sense of their sin and danger, and to drive them from destruction; and the persuasion and comfort of *Barnabas*, to pour the wine and oil of gospel consolation into their wounded spirits. He used to apply the terrors of the law so directly to the consciences of his hearers, that their hearts would often sink under the convictions; and he used to pronounce the word *damn* with so peculiar an emphasis, that it left a doleful *echo* in their ears a long time after. Also his wisdom in giving advice and comfort to troubled consciences, is said to have been such, "that the afflicted in spirit, far and near, came to him, and received much comfort from his instructions."*

* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 431—434.—Clark's *Marrow of Eccl. Hist.* p. 551.

Mr. Perkins had a surprising talent for reading books. He perused them so speedily, that he appeared to read nothing; yet so accurately, that he seemed to read all. In addition to his frequent preaching, and other ministerial duties, he wrote numerous excellent books; many of which, on account of their great worth, were translated into Latin, and sent into foreign countries, where they were greatly admired and esteemed. Some of them being translated into French, Dutch, and Spanish, were dispersed through the various European nations. Voetius and other foreign divines, have spoken of him with great honour and esteem. Bishop Hall said, "he excelled in a distinct judgment, a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the schools, and in an easy explication of the most perplexed subjects." And though he was author of so many books, being lame of his right-hand, he wrote them all with his left. He used to write in the title of all his books, "Thou art a Minister of the Word: Mind thy business."

This celebrated divine was a thorough puritan, both in principle and in practice, and was more than once convened before his superiors for nonconformity; yet he was a man of peace and great moderation. He was concerned for a purer reformation of the church; and, to promote the desired object, he united with his brethren in their private associations, and in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."* Complaint was, however, brought against him, that he had signified, before the celebration of the Lord's supper, that the minister not receiving the bread and wine from the hands of another minister, but from himself, was a corruption in the church:—that to kneel at the sacrament was superstitious and antichristian;—and that to turn their faces towards the east, was another corruption. Upon this complaint, he was convened before Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, and heads of colleges; but refusing to answer, unless he might know his accusers, it was thought expedient to bring certain persons who had heard him, and examine them upon their oaths. Therefore, Mr. Bradcock, Mr. Osborne, Mr. Baines, and Mr. Bainbrigg, were produced as witnesses against him, and required to answer the three following interrogatories:—1. "Whether Mr. Perkins, in his common place, made at the time before mentioned, did teach, that it was a corruption in our church, that the minister did not receive the communion at

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

the hands of another minister, because that which is used in our church is without warrant of the word?—2. Whether he did name kneeling when we receive the sacrament, as superstitious and antichristian?—3. Whether he did not denominate kneeling towards the east to be a corruption?"—The witnesses mostly answered in the affirmative; but, in several particulars, they could not give any testimony. Mr. Bainbrigg closed the evidence by observing, with respect to kneeling at the sacrament, "He thought our Saviour sat, and," in his opinion, "it was better to come near to that which He did, than that which was done in time of popery." He thought also that it was better not to kneel towards the east.

After the examination of the witnesses, Mr. Perkins was allowed to speak in his own defence, when he addressed his spiritual judges as follows:—"As this doctrine of faith and a good conscience is to be applied to the congregation, so it is by God's providence come to pass that I must apply it to myself. I am thought to be a teacher of erroneous doctrines. I am enjoined to satisfy, and, in truth, I am now willing with all my heart to do it.—Of ministering the communion to a man's own self, this was my opinion, that in this place it was better to receive it from another, because we are thirteen ministers; and, by this means, the minister would not only receive the sacrament, but also the approbation of his brother, that he was a worthy receiver. It is observed, that I said this action was unlawful, and a corruption of our church. I said it not; and truly, I protest before God, if I had said it, the same tongue which had said it, should unsay it; that God might have the glory, and that shame and confusion might be unto me.

"I said not that kneeling was idolatrous and antichristian. I do remember it. My opinion was this, that of the two gestures which we used, sitting and kneeling, sitting is more convenient, because Christ sat, and the pope kneeleth, as Jewel observes against Harding. And in things indifferent we must go as far as we can from idolatry. Mr. Calvin taught me this, in his sermon on Deut. vii. I think a man may use it with a good conscience; for I am far from condemning any. And I beseech you how can we altogether clear ourselves, who, sitting before, fall down on our knees when the bread cometh, and, having received it, rise up again, and do in like manner with the wine.

"I hold looking unto the east or west to be indifferent, and to be used accordingly: but this I marvel at, why the

cross still standeth in the window, and why we turn ourselves toward the end of the chapel, at the end of the first and second lesson. We are commanded to flee from every appearance of evil.—These things I have said to satisfy every man in the congregation, and to shew that I despise not authority: which, if this will do, God be praised; but if not, God's will be done. I confess most freely this thing. I did not seek the disquiet of this congregation; yet I might have spoken these things at a more convenient time.”*

It does not appear whether Mr. Perkins's defence gave satisfaction to his ecclesiastical judges, or whether he suffered some particular censure or further prosecution. This, however, was not the end of his troubles. He was apprehended, with many others, and carried before the star-chamber, on account of the associations. Upon his appearance before this high tribunal, he took the oath *ex officio*, discovered the associations, and confessed that Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Snape, and others, had met at Cambridge, to confer about matters of discipline.† He was once or twice convened before the high commission; and though his peaceable behaviour, and great fame in the learned world, are said to have procured him a dispensation from the persecutions of his brethren,‡ he was, nevertheless, deprived by Archbishop Whitgift.§ Mr. Perkins, writing at the above period, in 1592, when many of his brethren were cruelly imprisoned for nonconformity, styles it, “The year of the last patience of the saints.”¶

Towards the close of life, Mr. Perkins was much afflicted with the stone, the frequent attendant on a sedentary life, which he bore with remarkable patience. In the last fit of his complaint, a little before his death, a friend praying for the mitigation of his pains, he cried out, “Hold, hold! do not pray so; but pray the Lord to give me faith and patience, and then let him lay on me what he pleases.” At length his patience had its perfect work. He was finally delivered from all his pains, and crowned with immortality and eternal life, in the year 1602, aged forty-four years.¶ He was born in the first, and died in the last year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He left the world rich

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxx. p. 292, 293.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 354, 371, 372.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 509.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 219.

¶ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 323. ¶ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 157.

in grace, and in the love of God and good men; and was instrumental in making many rich. His ministerial labours were signally blessed to multitudes, both townsmen and collegians. His remains were interred in St. Andrew's church with great funeral solemnity, at the sole expense of Christ's college; the university and the town striving which could shew the warmest gratitude for his faithful labours, and pay the greatest respect to his memory. Dr. Montague, afterwards successively Bishop of Bath and Wells, and of Winchester, preached his funeral sermon from Joshua, i. 2. *Moses my servant is dead*; and spoke in high commendation of his learning, piety, labours, and usefulness.*

Mr. Perkins was so pious and exemplary in his life, that malice itself was unable to reproach his character. As his preaching was a just comment upon his text; so his practice was a just comment upon his preaching. He was naturally cheerful and pleasant; rather reserved towards strangers, but familiar upon their further acquaintance. He was of a middle stature, ruddy complexion, bright hair, and inclined to corpulency, but not to idleness.† He was esteemed by all, says Fuller, as a painful and faithful dispenser of the word of God; and his great piety procured him liberty in his ministry, and respect to his person, even from those who differed from him in other matters. He is classed among the fellows and learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge.‡ Churton styles him "the learned and pious, but Calvinistic Perkins;" as if his Calvinism was a considerable blemish in his character.§ Toplady, on the contrary, applauds him on account of his Calvinistic opinions, and denominates him "the learned, holy, and laborious Perkins."¶ The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and often expressed his wish to die as holy Mr. Perkins did, who expired crying for mercy and forgiveness. Herein he was, indeed, gratified; for his last words were, "Lord, especially forgive my sins of omission."‡

The works of this excellent divine are numerous and highly esteemed, especially in foreign countries. They were published at various times, but were collected and printed in three volumes folio, in 1606, entitled "The

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 371.

† Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 436.—Clark's Eccl. Hist. p. 851.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 211.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 323.

¶ Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. ii. p. 179.

‡ Bernard's Life of Usher, p. 100. Edit. 1656.

Workes of that Famous and Worthie Minister of Christ, in the Universitie of Cambridge, M. W. Perkins." Mr. Job Orton had an high opinion of him and his writings, and gives the following account both of the author and the productions of his pen:—"I am now reading the works of Mr. William Perkins, an eminent tutor and divine at Cambridge, in Queen Elizabeth's reign. They are three volumes folio, and I have got through one of them. What led me more particularly to read him was, that his elder brother was one of my ancestors, from whom I am in a direct line, by my mother's side, descended. I think him an excellent writer: his style is the best of any of that age, or the next, and many passages in his writings are equal to those of the best writers in modern times. He is judicious, clear, full of matter, and deep christian experience. He wrote all his works with his *left* hand, being lame of the *right*, and died about forty-four. I could wish *all* ministers, especially *young* ones, would read him, as they would find large materials for composition. He hath some tracts against the papists; and appears to have been a pretty high Calvinist; but he hath many admirable things in *practical* divinity. His works are little known in England, but they are still in estimation in Germany, *many* of them being written in elegant Latin, and others translated into German."*

Mr. Perkins made his last will and testament a little before his death, dated Cambridge, October 16, 1602, and it was in substance as follows:—First, he bequeaths to the poor of the parish of St. Andrews, where he then dwelt, the sum of forty pounds. Also to his worshipful and loving friends, Mr. Edm. Barwell, Jam. Montague, D. D. Mr. Law. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, Rich. Foxcroft and Tho. Copley, M. A. and Nath. Cradock his brother-in-law, all the messuage or tenement wherein he then dwelt, with the houses, yards, &c. adjoining thereto, in the town of Cambridge, to be sold, and the money divided into three equal parts, one part to go to his wife Timothye, the other two amongst his children, born or unborn. He also wills that the price of all his moveable goods and chattels be divided amongst his wife and children.

"He appoints his wife Timothye his sole executrix, or in case of failure by death, then he makes Nath. Cradock

* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 312. Edit. 1778.

aforesaid, executor. He also bequeaths to his father, Tho. Perkins, and his mother, Anna Perkins, ten pounds a piece, and to every of his brethren and sisters, five pounds a piece, and to his son-in-law, John Hinde, his English Bible.”*

JOSIAS NICHOLS was a worthy minister of the gospel, an humble servant of Christ, and a man of distinguished eminence in his day. Certain writers in defence of the church and its ceremonies, having charged the puritans with being as factious, seditious, and as great enemies to the queen, as the papists; Mr. Nichols, in answer to these malicious imputations, published a book, entitled “A Plea for the Innocent; or, a Defence of the Puritans,” 1602. The author proves that the charges against the puritans were malicious and false. He fully answers all the calumnies and slanders cast upon them, and, with great impartiality, blames both parties in those things wherein they were culpable. The book is written with great modesty, humility, and temper, and with great reverence of the bishops; in soft and gentle language, with good strength of argument, liveliness of affection, and a deep sense of the common danger then threatening both the church and the state.+ In this work, he observes, in defence of himself and his brethren, “We subscribe willingly to the book of articles, according to the statute in that behalf provided: viz. to those articles which only concern the confession of the true faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as the statute expressly commandeth and limiteth.”‡ Mr. Nichols subscribed the “Book of Discipline.”§

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, B. D.—This most celebrated person was born in Hertfordshire, about the year 1535, and educated in St. John’s college, Cambridge. He possessed excellent natural parts, applied to his studies with uncommon assiduity, and made amazing progress in the various branches of useful literature. He allowed himself only five hours’ sleep in the night, to which custom he closely adhered to the end of his days. Having been about three years at the university, upon the death of King Edward,

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 544.

† MS. Remarks, p. 535.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Plea for the Innocent, p. 21.

and the return of popery, he quitted that seat of learning, and became clerk to a counsellor at law. This employment, however, did not prevent the prosecution of his former pursuits. The study of divinity, and those branches of knowledge most calculated for usefulness to a divine, were his chief delight; and to which he still directed the closest application. In this situation he remained till the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he returned to St. John's college, and in the year 1560, was made fellow of the house. In about three years, he was removed to Trinity college, where, on account of his great learning and worth, he was chosen one of the eight senior fellows.

In the year 1564, when Queen Elizabeth visited the university of Cambridge, uncommon preparations were made for her entertainment, and the most learned men were selected for the public disputations. Among these was Mr. Cartwright, whose performance on this occasion discovered such extraordinary abilities, as gave the greatest satisfaction, both to the queen and the other auditors.* But many writers have asserted, that he received neither reward nor commendation; and that he was presumptuous of his own good learning, but deficient in a comely grace and behaviour. Indeed, it is added, that he was so vexed by her majesty's neglect of him, that he immediately began to wade into divers opinions relative to the new discipline, and to kick at the government of the established church; growing conceited of his own learning and holiness, and becoming a great contemner of those who differed from him.† That this is a most notorious slander, appears partly from the account already given; but especially from the words of another learned historian. From the relation of the queen's reception at Cambridge, says he, there appears no clear ground for any such discontent, as that which is charged against Mr. Cartwright; for, as this relation informs us, the queen approved of them *all*.‡

In the year 1570, Mr. Cartwright was chosen Lady Margaret's professor of divinity. It is particularly mentioned, that he delivered lectures upon the first and second chapters of the Acts of the Apostles; which he performed with such acuteness of wit, and such solidity of judgment, that they excited the admiration of those who attended. He was also become so celebrated a preacher, that when it

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 16, 17.

† Paule's Life of Whitgift, p. 9, 10.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 403.

was his turn to preach at St. Mary's, the sexton, on account of the multitudes who flocked to hear him, was obliged, for their accommodation, to take down the windows of the church.*

Mr. Cartwright took occasion, in his lectures, to deliver his sentiments concerning church discipline; and because they were unfavourable to the hierarchy, public accusations were soon exhibited against him.† Archbishop Grindal wrote a letter, dated June 24, 1570, to Sir William Cecil, chancellor of the university, urging him to take some course with Mr. Cartwright; alleging, that in his lectures he constantly spoke against the external policy, and the various offices of the church; in consequence of which, the young men of the university, who attended his lectures in great numbers, were in danger of being poisoned by his doctrines. He, therefore, recommended to the chancellor to silence Cartwright and his adherents, and to reduce them to conformity, or expel them from the college, or from the university, as the cause should require. He also urged that Mr. Cartwright might not be allowed to take his degree of doctor in divinity, at the approaching commencement, for which he had made application.‡ Dr. Whitgift also zealously opposed Mr. Cartwright, and wrote at the same time to the chancellor, communicating not only what Mr. Cartwright had openly taught, but also what he had spoken to him in private conversation.§

Mr. Cartwright vindicated his conduct in a letter to Sir William Cecil; in which he declared his extreme aversion to every thing that was seditious or contentious; and affirmed, that he had taught nothing but what naturally flowed from his text. He observed, that he had cautiously

* Clark's Lives, p. 17.

† It is said, with a design to reproach Mr. Cartwright, that he and his adherents having delivered three sermons in the college chapel, on one Lord's day, they spoke so vehemently against the ceremonies and the use of the surplice, that, at evening prayer, all the collegians, except three, cast off their surplices, and appeared in the chapel without them!—*Paul's Life of Whitgift*, p. 12.—*Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 140.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 162.

§ It is observed, that what Mr. Cartwright delivered in his sermons on one Lord's day, Whitgift, in the same place, always refuted the Lord's day following, to his great commendation and applause. How far this was to his commendation or applause, we do not determine; but how to reconcile Whitgift's practice, in this case, with his own conduct afterwards, when in the most cruel manner he censured the excellent Mr. Walter Travers for the very same thing, will be found, we think, extremely difficult.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 10, 11.—*Paul's Whitgift*, p. 13.—*See Art. Travers.*

avoided speaking against the habits; but acknowledged his having taught, that the ministry of the church of England had declined, in some points, from the ministry of the apostolic church, and that he wished it to be restored to greater purity. But these sentiments, he said, he had delivered with all imaginable caution, and in such a manner as could give offence to none, excepting the ignorant, the malignant, or those who wished to catch at something to calumniate him; of which things, nearly all the university, if they might be allowed, would bear witness. He, therefore, entreated the chancellor to hear and judge the cause himself.* Mr. Cartwright had, indeed, numerous friends, ornaments to the university, by whom he was exceedingly admired, and who now stuck close to him. They came forwards at this juncture; and declared in their testimonial sent to the chancellor, "That he never touched upon the controversy of the habits; and though he had advanced some propositions respecting the ministry, according to which he wished things might be regulated, he did it with all possible caution and modesty." This was signed by fifteen hands; and other letters of commendation were written in his favour, signed by many names, some of whom afterwards became bishops;† but all was to no purpose. It was too obvious, that his adversaries were resolved to make him a public example.

Chancellor Cecil was, indeed, inclined to treat Mr. Cartwright with candour and moderation;‡ but his opponents were determined to prosecute him with the utmost rigour and severity. He was cited before the vice-chancellor, Dr. May, and other doctors, and examined upon sundry articles, which he was said to have delivered. The points alleged against him, they affirmed to be contrary to the religion established by public authority; and, therefore, demanded whether he would revoke his opinions, or abide by them. Mr. Cartwright desiring to be permitted to commit his sentiments upon these points to writing, was allowed the favour. He then drew up his opinions in six propositions, and presented them to the vice-chancellor, who admonished him to revoke them; and, upon his refusal, deprived him of his stipend, but allowed him to continue his lecture.§

During this year, Dr. Whitgift was chosen vice-chan-

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 3. † Ibid. p. 2—4. Appen. p. 1—4,

‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 586, 587.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 17.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 11.

cellor, when Mr. Cartwright was presently convened before him. Upon his appearance, Whitgift required him to revoke those opinions contained in his six propositions, to which he had subscribed; and upon Mr. Cartwright's refusal, he pronounced upon him the following definitive sentence:—"That seeing no admonition would help, but that he still persisted in the same mind, he did therefore pronounce him, the said Mr. Cartwright, to be removed from his said lecture; and by his final decree or sentence, did then and there remove him, and declare the said lecture void; and that he minded, according to the foundation thereof, to proceed to the election of a new reader. And further, he did then and there, by virtue of his office, inhibit the said Mr. Cartwright from preaching within the said university, and the jurisdiction of the same."

The six propositions which Mr. Cartwright delivered under his own hand to the vice-chancellor, and which were said to be both dangerous and untrue, were the following:—

1. That the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished.

2. That the offices of the lawful ministers of the church, viz. bishops and deacons, ought to be reduced to their apostolical institution: bishops to preach the word of God and pray, and deacons to be employed in taking care of the poor.

3. That the government of the church ought not to be entrusted to bishops' chancellors, or the officials of archdeacons; but every church ought to be governed by its own minister and presbyters.

4. That ministers ought not to be at large, but every one should have the charge of a particular congregation.

5. That no man ought to solicit, or to stand as a candidate for the ministry.

6. That ministers ought not to be created by the sole authority of the bishop, but to be openly and fairly chosen by the people.†

In addition to these *heterodoxies* and *misrepresentations*, as the learned historian is pleased to call them,‡ other articles were collected from Mr. Cartwright's lectures; and, as they were accounted both *dangerous* and *seditions*, it will

◊ Clark's Lives, p. 17.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 11.

† Ibid.

‡ Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 525.

be proper to give the substance of them, which was as follows :

1. That in reforming the church, it is necessary to reduce all things to the apostolic institution.

2. That no man ought to be admitted into the ministry, who is not capable of preaching.

3. That popish ordinations are not valid. And only canonical scripture ought to be publicly read in the church.

4. That equal reverence is due to all canonical scripture, and to all the names of God ; there is, therefore, no reason why the people should stand at the reading of the gospel, or bow at the name of Jesus.

5. That it is as lawful to *sit* at the Lord's table, as to *kneel* or *stand*.

6. That the Lord's supper ought not to be administered in private ; nor should baptism be administered by women or lay-persons.

7. That the sign of the *cross* in baptism, is superstitious.

8. That it is reasonable and proper, that the parent should offer his own child in baptism, without being obliged to say *I will, I will not, I believe, &c.*

9. That it is papistical to forbid marriages at certain times of the year ; and to give licenses for them at those times, is intolerable.

10. That the observation of *Lent*, and fasting on Fridays and Saturdays, is superstitious.

11. That trading or keeping markets on the *Lord's day*, is unlawful.

12. That in ordaining ministers, the pronouncing of those words, *Receive the Holy Ghost*, is both ridiculous and wicked.*

These were the dangerous and seditious doctrines, which Mr. Cartwright occasionally touched upon in his public lectures, but evidently without the least design of promoting discord. However, those who sought his ruin, having already deprived him of his lecture and professorship, procured his expulsion from the university. This was undoubtedly a short and easy method of refuting his opinions ! The pretended occasion of his expulsion was, indeed, looked upon as a crime of no small magnitude. Mr. Cartwright, a senior fellow of the college, was only in deacon's orders. Whitgift was no sooner informed of this,

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 589.

and that the statute required such to take upon them the order of priests, than he concluded he was perjured; upon which, without any further admonition, he exerted his interest to the utmost among the masters, to rid the place of a man whose popularity was too great for his ambition, declaring he could not establish order in the university, while a man of his principles was among them.*

The friends of Mr. Cartwright complained of this hard usage. They looked upon it as extreme severity, and savoured too much of antichrist, for a man to be thus censured, without being allowed to have a conference before impartial judges. Whitgift and his friends, therefore, to make their case appear plausible, signed the following testimonial, signifying, "That Mr. Cartwright never offered any disputation, only on condition that he might know his opponents and his judges; nor was this kind of disputation denied him, only he was required to obtain a license from the queen or council;"† which his adversaries knew he could never procure. Here it is evident Mr. Cartwright did not stand on equal ground. The reader will easily perceive, that his proposals of a public dispute, even according to the statement of his enemies, were most equitable and just; but theirs were inequitable, and not within his power to observe.

After Mr. Cartwright's expulsion from the university, "Whitgift accused him of going up and down idly, and doing no good, but living at other mens' tables."‡ How ungenerous was this! After the doctor had taken away his bread, and stopped his mouth from preaching, how unkind was it to reproach him with doing no good, and with depending on his friends for a dinner! Mr. Cartwright himself says, "After he had thrust me out of the college, he accused me of going up and down, doing no good, and living at other mens' tables. That I was not idle, I suppose, he knoweth too well. Whether well occupied, or no, let it be judged. I lived, indeed, at other mens' tables, having no house, nor wife, of my own: but not without their desire, and with small delight of mine, for fear of evil tongues. And although I were not able to requite it; yet towards some I went about it, instructing their children partly in the principles of religion, partly in other learning."§

Mr. Cartwright being expelled from the university, and

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 47.

† Paule's Whitgift, p. 16—18.

‡ Strype's Whitgift, p. 64.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. liii. p. 282. Edit. 1778.

out of all employment, went abroad, and settled a correspondence with some of the most celebrated divines in the foreign protestant universities. During his abode on the continent, he was chosen minister to the English merchants at Antwerp, then at Middleburg, where he continued about two years, the Lord greatly blessing his labours. But by the importunity of his old friends, Messrs. Deering, Fulke, Wyburn, Løver, and Fox, he was at length prevailed upon to return home.* Several of our historians affirm of him, even before his troubles at Cambridge, "that he might the better feed his humour with conceited novelties, he travelled to Geneva; where he was so enamoured with the new discipline, that he thought all churches and congregations were to be measured and squared by the practice of Geneva."† For this reproachful insinuation, however, there is no sufficient evidence. It is pretty certain he never went to Geneva till after his expulsion from the university.

About the time of Mr. Cartwright's return to England, was published, "An Admonition to the Parliament, for the Reformation of Church Discipline;" to which were annexed Beza's Letter to the Earl of Leicester, and Gaulter's to Bishop Parkhurst. Mr. Cartwright was not the author, as many writers have asserted; but Mr. John Field, assisted by Mr. Thomas Wilcocks, for which they were both committed to Newgate, where they continued a long time.‡ Upon the imprisonment of these two excellent divines, Mr. Cartwright was induced to publish a "Second Admonition, with an humble Petition to both Houses of Parliament, for relief against Subscription." The first Admonition was answered by Dr. Whitgift. Mr. Cartwright then published a Reply to Whitgift's Answer; which he is said to have done so admirably well, that his very adversaries commended him for his performance.§ In 1573, Whitgift published his Defence against Mr. Cartwright's Reply. And in 1575, Mr. Cartwright published a Second Reply to Whitgift's Defence, in two parts. But the second part did not come out till 1577. Fuller is, therefore, mistaken, when he says, that Whitgift kept the field, and received no refutation; for it is certain Mr. Cartwright had the last word.¶

* Clark's Lives, p. 18.

† Paule's Whitgift, p. 11.—Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 292.

‡ See Arts. Field and Wilcocks.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 18.

¶ Strype's Whitgift, p. 50—60.—Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

It was impossible for these divines to settle the controversy; because they were not agreed about the standard or rule of judgment. Mr. Cartwright maintained, that the *holy scriptures* were the *only standard* of discipline and government, as well as of doctrine; and that the church of Christ in all ages ought to be regulated by them. He would, therefore, consult the Bible *only*, and reduce all things, as near as possible, to the apostolic standard. The less our religion was incumbered with the inventions of men, in his opinion, the more it would resemble the simplicity that is in Christ. "We mean not," said he, "to take away the authority of the civil magistrate, to whom we wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness we daily pray: but that *Christ*, being restored to his kingdom, may *rule* in the same by the sceptre of his *word*."* Whitgift, on the other hand, maintained, that though the holy scriptures were a perfect rule of faith, they were not designed as the standard of church discipline; but that this is changeable, and may be accommodated to the government under which we live. Therefore, instead of reducing the external policy of the church to the simplicity of *scripture*, the doctor took in the opinions and customs of the fathers, in the four first centuries.†

These points were disputed, as might be expected, with some degree of sharpness. While Mr. Cartwright thought he had reason to complain of the hardships which he and his brethren suffered; Whitgift, having the government on his side, thought he stood on higher ground, and might assume a superior air. When Mr. Cartwright and his friends pleaded for indulgence, because they were brethren; Whitgift replied, "What signifies their being brethren: anabaptists, arians, and other heretics, would be accounted brethren. Their haughty spirits will not suffer them to see their error. They deserve as great punishment as the papists; because they conspire against the church. If they be shut up in Newgate, it is a meet reward for their disorderly doings; for ignorance may not excuse libels

* Bishop Maddox warmly censures Mr. Cartwright for maintaining, that the supreme magistrate is only the head of the commonwealth, not of the church; and that the church may be established without him.—*Vindication of the Church*, p. 271.

† The words of Ballard, a popish priest, before Sir Francis Kuollys, concerning Whitgift's writings, are remarkable. "I would desire no 'better books,'" said he, "to prove my doctrine of popery, than Whitgift's 'against Cartwright, and his injunctions set forth in her majesty's name.'"—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 265.

against a private man, much less when they slander the whole church."* How would the doctor have liked this language in the mouth of a papist sixteen years before? It has too often been the method of warm disputants, when they could not untie the knots with their fingers, to cut them with the sword of the civil power.

In this controversy, the two parties complained of each other. Whitgift thus observes to Cartwright: "If you should have written against the veriest papist in the world, the vilest person, the ignorantist dolt, you could not have used a more spiteful and malicious, more slanderous and reproachful, more contemptuous and disdainful kind of writing, than you use throughout your whole book." On the other hand, Cartwright says to Whitgift, "If peace had been so precious to you, as you pretend, you would not have brought so many hard words, bitter reproaches, enemy-like speeches, (as it were sticks and coals,) to double and treble the heat of contention." Mr. Strype, speaking of Cartwright's reply, says, "Great was the opinion, both of the man and of his book, at this time in London, as well as at Cambridge: many of the aldermen of London openly countenanced him. He was secretly harboured in the city, and had a great many admirers and visitors there, and wanted not for presents and gratuities."† Whether, therefore, Mr. Cartwright got the better of his adversary, or not, in sound learning and strength of argument, Whitgift assuredly got most by it: for he was soon after made Archbishop of Canterbury, while Cartwright was persecuted from place to place, as if he were not fit to live.

The chief of the puritans, being now deprived of the liberty of preaching and publishing, wished to obtain a public disputation with their adversaries. Though this privilege had been allowed the protestants in the days of Queen Mary, and the papists at the accession of Elizabeth, the queen and council took a shorter method, and summoned the disputants to appear before the ecclesiastical rulers, to answer such articles as should then be exhibited against them. Mr. Cartwright was summoned by a special order from the high commission, addressed, "To all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and to all the

* Whitgift acknowledged, that, by the word of God, the office of bishops and priests were the same; yet, in his controversy with Cartwright, he made it heresy to believe and teach this doctrine.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. i. p. 260.—*Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 124.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 284. Edit. 1778.

queen's majesty's officers, unto whom it may come or appertain." The order itself, dated London, December 11, 1573, was as follows:—"We do require you, and therewith straitly command you, and every of you, in the queen's majesty's name, that you be aiding and assisting to the bearer and bearers hereof, with all the best means you can devise, for the apprehension of one Thomas Cartwright, student in divinity, wheresoever he be, within the liberties or without, within this realm. And you having possession of his body by your good travail and diligence in this business, we do likewise charge you, (for so is her majesty's pleasure,) that he be brought up by you to London, with a sufficient number for his safe appearance before us, and other her majesty's commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, for his unlawful dealings and demcanours in matters touching religion, and the state of this realm. And fail you not so to do, every one of you, with all diligence, as you will answer to the contrary upon your utmost peril." This order was signed by the Bishop of London, and eleven others of the high commission.*

Mr. Cartwright, however, wisely concealed himself, till he found an opportunity of leaving the kingdom. And God, who provides for the young ravens when they cry, provided for his persecuted servant in this gloomy season. For at this critical juncture, he was unexpectedly invited, together with Mr. Snape, to assist the ministers in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, in framing the requisite discipline for their churches. This was a favourable dispensation to Mr. Cartwright; who, being forced to abandon his native country, found there a refuge from the storm. These two islands were the only places within the British dominions, where the out-stretched arms of the high commissioners could not reach him. During Mr. Cartwright's abode here, besides attending to the special object of his mission, he laboured in his public ministry, particularly at Castle-Cornet in Guernsey. It appears that he afterwards went again to Antwerp, and a second time became preacher to the English merchants.†

Mr. Cartwright continued at Antwerp several years, but his health having greatly declined, the physicians recommended him, as the most likely means of his restoration, to try his native air. His complaint at length

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 262. † Kingdom's MS. Collec. Prof. p. 32.

increasing to so great a degree that his life was thought to be in danger, he wrote to the lords of the council, the Earl of Leicester, and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, for permission to come home. These two noblemen made honourable mention of him in Parliament. They also interceded with the queen, but could not procure her favour and consent. Nevertheless, he ventured to return once more to his native country. But it was no sooner known that he was landed, than he was apprehended by Bishop Aylmer, and cast into prison.* When he appeared before Whitgift, now made Archbishop, he behaved with so much modesty and respect, as greatly softened the heart of his adversary; who, upon the promise of his quiet and peaceable behaviour, suffered him, after some time, to go at large. For this favour, both the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Cartwright thanked the archbishop; but all the endeavours they used could not obtain him a license to preach.† The earl did every thing for him in his power, and made him master of the hospital at Warwick; where, for some time, he preached without a license, being exempt from the jurisdiction of the prelates.‡ This noble earl, and his brother, the Earl of Warwick, were his constant friends and patrons as long as they lived.§

Mr. Cartwright was so celebrated, that King James of Scotland offered him a professorship in the university of St. Andrews; but he modestly declined it. Afterwards, Mr. Cartwright, in the dedication of his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes" to that king, made thankful acknowledgment of the royal favour. The Archbishop of Dublin invited him into Ireland, offering him considerable preferment; and it is said he went into Ireland, but soon returned to England.¶ Indeed, such was his distinguished reputation, that the most celebrated divines, both at

* The bishop, to cast the reproach of this from himself, proceeded against Mr. Cartwright, not in his own name, but in the name of the queen; with which her majesty no sooner became acquainted, than she was greatly incensed against him. Aylmer, poor man! to make up the breach, wrote to the treasurer, entreating him to use his utmost endeavours to appease the queen's indignation.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 225.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 117.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 340, 341.—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 225, 226.

‡ *Clark's Lives*, p. 19.

§ The Earl of Warwick, who died of an amputation of his leg, was a person of great sweetness of temper, and of unexceptionable character. He was affectionate to his relations, kind to his domestics, and grateful to his friends. He was called by the people, long before and after his death, THE GOOD EARL OF WARWICK.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 443, 444. Edit. 1778.

¶ *Kingdom's MS. Colles. Pref.* p. 33.

home and abroad, frequently sought his advice in the most weighty matters.*

In the year 1583, Mr. Cartwright was earnestly pressed by many learned persons, to publish a refutation of the "Rhemist Translation of the New Testament." That translation being looked upon by all true protestants, as a work of a very dangerous tendency, designed to promote the errors and superstitions of popery, most persons wished it to be answered by the ablest pen that could be found. And no man was thought so suitable to undertake the laborious work as Mr. Cartwright. Indeed, the queen applied to the learned Beza of Geneva, soliciting him to undertake the answer; but he modestly declined, saying, she had a person in her own kingdom far better qualified to perform the work than himself: and declared that this was Mr. Thomas Cartwright.† Sir Francis Walsingham, who in this affair, as well as many others, was accounted the mouth and hand of the queen, wrote to Mr. Cartwright, earnestly entreating him to undertake the work, sending, at the same time, one hundred pounds towards the expense, with assurance of such further assistance as he might afterwards deem necessary. The ministers of London and Suffolk, in like manner, urged him to undertake it. He was also warmly solicited by some of the most learned and celebrated divines of Cambridge.‡ In their letter to him, they express themselves in the following manner:—"We are earnest with you, most reverend Cartwright, that you would set yourself against the unhallowed endeavours of these mischievous men, either by refuting the whole book, or some part thereof. It is not for every one rashly to be thrust forth into the Lord's battles; but such captains as are to be chosen from amongst David's worthies, one of which, we acknowledge you to be, by the former battles undergone for the walls of our city, the church. We doubt not, if you will enter this war, but that you, fighting for your conscience and country, will be able to tread under foot the forces of the Jebusites, which set themselves to assault the tower of David.—You see to what an honourable fight we invite you. Christ's

* Clark's Lives, p. 19.

† During Mr. Cartwright's exile, travelling to Geneva, he became particularly intimate with Beza; who, at that time, writing to his friend in England, gave him the following character: "Here is now with us your countryman, Thomas Cartwright, than whom, I think, the sun doth not see a more learned man."—*Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 171.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 253, 254.

“ business shall be undertaken against Satan’s champions.
 “ We stir you up to fight the battles of the Lord, where
 “ the victory is certain, and which the triumph and applause
 “ of angels will ensue. Our prayers shall never be wanting
 “ to you. Christ, without doubt, whose cause you defend,
 “ will be present with you. The Lord Jesus much
 “ increase your courage and strength, and keep you very
 “ long in safety for his church’s good.”* From all these
 solicitations, Mr. Cartwright was at length induced to
 undertake the laudable and arduous work; and having once
 entered upon it, he spared no pains to carry it on to
 perfection. But, marvellous as it will appear to all
 posterity, Archbishop Whitgift, by his own sovereign
 authority, forbade him to proceed.† Mr. Cartwright
 meekly obeyed the tyrannical prohibition. The book was
 left unfinished, to the unspeakable regret of the learned
 world, but to the lasting reproach of the archbishop, and was
 not published till the year 1618. Fuller says, Mr.
 Cartwright perfected the work to the seventeenth chapter
 of Revelation. But the excellent performance being laid
 aside many years, became in part *mouse eaten*; and was
 not published till the above year. Notwithstanding these
 defects, says he, it is so complete a refutation, that the
 Rhemists durst never answer it.‡

Mr. Cartwright was severely persecuted on account of
 his nonconformity. Although his hospital at Warwick was
 exempt from the jurisdiction of the prelates, their out-
 stretched and tyrannical power would not suffer him to
 enjoy peace. He was accused to Bishop Freke of Wor-
 cester, a zealous advocate for the church,§ and summoned
 to appear in the consistory at Worcester, to answer such
 charges as were alleged against him. Upon his appearance
 before his lordship and others, he was addressed as follows :
 —“ Mr. Cartwright, you are here accused of disturbing
 the peace and quietness of the church, by innovations, and
 obtruding fancies and devices of your own or others. You
 have brought over with you the dregs of Geneva, whereby
 you would instil into the minds of the queen’s subjects, that
 your doctrine is the only truth to be embraced and

* This letter was subscribed by Roger Goad, William Whitaker, Thomas Crook, John Ireton, William Fulke, John Field, Nicholas Crane, Giles Saintler, Richard Gardiner, William Charke, and others, celebrated for their learning and piety.—*Clark’s Lives*, p. 20.—*Letter prefixed to Cartwright’s Refutation*.

† *Strype’s Whitgift*, p. 253, 254. ‡ *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 171, 172.

§ *Wood’s Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 732.

entertained. You had best take heed, that you run not upon the same rock, which the papists themselves split upon, and draw upon yourself the same penalty ordained for those who alienate the hearts of the subjects both from their prince and religion." To these accusations and foul aspersions, Mr. Cartwright, with becoming christian meekness, only said, "I have the word of God for my warrant, and the example of the reformed churches for my guide, in what I have done." Dr. Longworth, on this occasion, boldly challenged him to a public disputation, but Mr. Cartwright wisely declined. He was, therefore, dismissed without receiving any ecclesiastical censure.*

Mr. Cartwright was undoubtedly concerned for the reformation of the church; and he laboured, in the most peaceable manner, to promote it to the utmost of his power. For the accomplishment of this great object, he joined with his brethren in their associations, and united with them in perfecting and subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† He was one of the heads in these assemblies, and was sometimes chosen moderator. Though, upon his release from prison, he could not obtain his liberty to preach, but still continued under suspension, he constantly attended to his ministerial exercise in his hospital, and preached occasionally at other places, particularly at Banbury. His endeavours to carry on the English reformation towards perfection, were considered as a violation of established customs, and disobedience to the ecclesiastical laws; therefore, in the year 1590, he was summoned to appear before the high commission. Previous to his appearance before this terrible tribunal, he wrote the following excellent and generous letter, addressed "To the right worshipful Mr. Puckering, one of her majesty's serjeants at law:"‡

"Having received Mr. Puckering's letter on Wednesday, I came no sooner with it: the cause hath been in part a strain of one of my legs, and in part the importunity of my friends, begging me to stay until I had gotten some ability of my leg, to travel with more commodity. And now that I am come to the town, I bring not the letter myself. The cause is, that being sent for by a pursuivant, I was loath to be attached before I had made my appearance without attachment, and that I might as it were be mine own

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxviii. p. 443, 444.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 105, 106.

pursuivant: and partly also because I was loath that your favour toward me should any way appear to any manner of hurt of yours, and no good of mine.

“ And now, good sir, confessing myself greatly beholden unto you in my behalf and the behalf of my wife, my humble desire is, that I may yet further be beholden unto you in the behalf of the poor church at Warwick, that likely enough may be deprived of all manner of tolerable ministry, both for the good of your own family, which is great, and in regard of other poor souls there: that if the times will not bear us who are there now; yet there may be some such provided, as, differing in judgment from us, may notwithstanding, both in some good skill and care, proceed in the edification of the church, without bitterness of spirit against other poor men who are otherwise minded. This I am bolder to crave at your worship's hand, as I understand, and was glad of, that the town hath chosen you to the recordership, which may be a singular means of doing much good unto the town, and amongst others, that good which it pleased you to talk with me of. This I was bold to write in fear of being severed from doing any more service there, and yet not known to myself of any breach of law, whereby I may be touched. Only I fear to be committed for refusing the oath *ex officio mero*. Thus I humbly commend you to the gracious keeping and blessing of God in Jesus Christ. May 20, 1590.

“ Yours to command in the Lord,

“ THOMAS CARTWRIGHT.”

Thus our divine prepared for the approaching storm. He was immediately convened before the high commission, and cast into prison; and, September 1st, in this year, *thirty-one* articles were exhibited against him, the substance of which is the following:

1. That Mr. Cartwright, being lawfully made deacon according to the church of England, hath forsaken and renounced the same.

2. That, to shew his contempt of this calling, he hath obtained a new ordination in foreign parts, not according to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm.

3. That, by virtue of this vocation, he hath established at Antwerp and Middleburg, a certain presbytery and eldership ecclesiastical.

4. That, by the said eldership, certain persons, being Englishmen, were ordained to be ministers, not according to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm.

5. That this eldership, so established, hath used ecclesiastical censures.

6. That the said Thomas Cartwright, in his public ministry there, hath not used the Book of Common Prayer, but conformed to some of the foreign churches.

7. That since his return from beyond seas, he hath promised, to the utmost of his power, to promote the peace of the church.

8. That he, having no ministry in this church, and without any license, hath taken upon him to preach at Warwick and other places.

9. That at sundry times, he hath shewed his dislike of the government of this church, and various parts of the liturgy; and hath persuaded others to do the same.

10. That he hath traduced and spoken against the bishops, and other governors of this church.

11. That he hath such hatred against them, he hath prayed publicly to this effect: "Because they who ought to be pillars in the church, do bend themselves against Christ, and his truth, O Lord, give us grace, and power, all as one man, to set ourselves against them."

12. That at sundry times and places he hath spoken against the laws, government, orders, prayers, and ceremonies of the church.

13. That preaching at the baptism of one of Job Throgmorton's children, he spoke much in justification of government by the eldership in every congregation.

14. That he could not endure those who defended the laws, government, and orders of the church.

15. That in his sermons at Warwick and elsewhere, he hath often delivered many frivolous and indiscreet positions.

16. That by his persuasions, sundry persons refused to give thanks after child-birth, according to the order prescribed.

17. That at sundry times, when he communicated at the Lord's supper, he sate, or stood upon his feet, and persuaded others to do the same.

18. That before the bishop he spoke in justification of these things; and declared the Book of Common Prayer was not established by law.

19. That in contempt of the ecclesiastical authority, he hath preached since he was under the sentence of suspension.

20. That his man-servant having a bastard child fathered

upon him, he caused him to perform penance, taking upon him the authority of the ordinary.

21. That he and some others have kept divers public fasts, and have invited more to join them, without the authority of the queen.

22. That since he came to Warwick, he hath caused much faction, by distinguishing the people into *godly* and *profane*.

23. That he doth know who were the writers, printers, or dispersers of the writings under the name of Martin Mar-Prelate.

24. That being asked his opinion of these books, he insinuated, that as the bishops would not amend by grave writings, it was meet they should be dealt with to their great shame and reproach.

25. That he penned or procured to be penned, all or some part of the book, entitled *Disciplina Ecclesie sacra verbo Dei descripta*; and he recommended the same to the judgment and censure of others.

26. That the said Thomas Cartwright and sundry others have met in assemblies, termed synods, in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, &c.

27. That at such synods, it hath been concluded, that all ministers should subscribe the said "Book of Discipline," and be governed by it.

28. That at such synods, a moderator was by him and them chosen, according to the order of the said book.

29. That at such assemblies, he did, with others, dispute upon certain articles, and set down their determinations.

30. That he, with others, in an assembly at Cambridge, did conclude upon certain decrees, which were afterwards considered and allowed at Warwick.

31. That all the proceedings of such meetings have been set down, from time to time, by the said Thomas Cartwright and others.*

These articles are presented to the reader as a curious specimen of the charges alleged against the puritans, that he may judge of their evil nature and dangerous tendency. We may suppose this long list of crimes contains all the evil things that even his enemies could bring against him. They were exhibited against Mr. Cartwright by Bishop Aylmer and other commissioners, who required him to take the oath *ex officio*. He, indeed, offered to clear himself of

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 198—202.

some of the charges upon his oath; but because he thought it wrong to accuse himself, or to bring his friends into trouble, he refused to answer the rest: and if this would not give satisfaction to his spiritual judges, he was resolved to submit to whatever punishment they might be disposed to inflict upon him. He was, accordingly, sent to the Fleet; but by the advice of the treasurer, the archbishop, his old adversary, was not present at his commitment. During the following month, Mr. Cartwright appeared twice before the high commission; when the above oath was again required of him, but he still refused to take it, because, in his opinion, it was contrary both to the laws of God and the realm. Yet, he was still willing to answer part of the charges upon his oath, and would give them reasons for refusing the rest.* But his judges remaining inflexible, he was sent back to prison, where he continued a long time. Mr. Cartwright was not alone in these sufferings. The rest of his brethren were at the same time called before the same tribunal; and refusing the oath, for the same reasons, were committed to various prisons, where they remained several years.

May 13, 1591, Mr. Cartwright and his brethren were brought before the star-chamber, where they were treated with much abuse, for refusing the above oath. And when Counsellor Fuller stood up to plead in behalf of the prisoners, he was commanded to be silent; and told, that far less crimes than theirs had been punished with the galleys or perpetual banishment, the latter of which, the attorney-general thought proper for them, provided it was to some remote place from whence they might not return.† From the star-chamber, they were sent back to the high commission, where Bancroft and others had a long and warm dispute with Mr. Cartwright about the oath.‡ Bishop Aylmer, on this occasion, threw out several reproaches against Mr. Cartwright, still requiring him to take the oath.§ The attorney-general did the same; and declared how dangerous a thing it was, that men, upon the conceit of

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 337, 338.

† Ibid. p. 360, 361.

‡ Ibid. p. 362—366.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 310—319.

§ One of the reproaches which Aylmer cast upon Cartwright, was, that he had deceived the privy council, by informing them that he was afflicted with the gout and sciatica, when that was not the case. Cartwright, however, proved by a written testimonial from his physician, that this accusation was false: but the Archbishop of Canterbury afterwards took this testimonial from Mrs. Cartwright, and refused to restore it again.—*Steg. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 286. Edit. 1778.

their own heads, but under pretence of conscience, should refuse to receive those things which had been so long a time established by law. Mr. Cartwright then assigned various reasons for his refusal, desiring permission to vindicate himself against the reflections of the bishop and the attorney. And though he reminded the bishop, that he had promised him the liberty of answering for himself, his lordship refused, saying, "that he had no leisure to hear his answer."* This oppressive prelate had found time to accuse and reproach Mr. Cartwright, but, contrary to his own promise, could find no time to hear his vindication!

From the high commission, Mr. Cartwright and his friends were again sent to the star-chamber, when a bill was exhibited against them, containing *thirty-four* articles, chiefly relating to their associations and discipline, and, in substance, the same as those already mentioned.† They underwent many examinations. On one occasion, the following articles of inquiry were administered:‡ "Where are the assemblies held?—When, and how often?—Who attended the said assemblies?—What matters were treated of in them?—Who made, set forth, or corrected the Book of Discipline?—Who subscribed, or submitted to the said book?—Is the king to be accounted among the governors of the church, or among those which are to be governed by pastors, doctors, or such like?—Is it lawful for the sovereign prince to appoint orders and ceremonies to the church?—Is the ecclesiastical government established by her majesty's authority within the church of England, lawful and allowed by the word of God?—Are the sacraments, as ministered according to the Book of Common Prayer, godly and rightly ministered?" On another occasion, eighteen articles of inquiry were administered, relating to Messrs. Thomas Cartwright, Humphrey Fenn, Edward Lord, Edmund Snape, Andrew King, Daniel Wight, William Proudlove, Melancthon Jewel, and John Payne; when their brethren, Messrs. Henry Alvy, Thomas Edmunds, William Perkins, Edmund Littleton, John Johnson, Thomas Barber, Hercules Cleavelly, Anthony Nutter, and Thomas Stone, considered it their duty to take the oath, by which they discovered many things relative to their associations.§

* Strype's Aylmer, p. 319.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 67—69.

‡ Strype's Aylmer, p. 321, 322.

§ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 157—164.

The above prisoners, in answer to the charges brought against them, maintained, "That their associations were very useful, and not forbidden by any law of the realm:—That they exercised no jurisdiction, nor moved any sedition, nor transacted any affairs, inconsistent with their duty to their prince, and the peace of the church:—That they had agreed upon some regulations to render their ministry more profitable, but all was voluntary, and in breach of no law:—And as to the oath, they refused it, not in contempt of the court, but as contrary to the laws of God and nature."* But their answers proving unsatisfactory, they were sent back to prison, where they continued two years without any further process, or being admitted to bail.

During their confinement in prison, King James of Scotland, afterwards the inveterate enemy to the puritans, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated June 12, 1591, warmly interceded for them. In this letter, the king most earnestly requested her majesty to shew favour to Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, on account of their great learning and faithful travels in the gospel.† Mr. Cartwright himself, being exceedingly afflicted with the gout and sciatica, which were much increased by lying in a cold prison, petitioned for his liberty. He wrote a most humble and pious letter to Lady Russel, and another to Treasurer Burleigh, beseeching them to intercede with the queen for his enlargement, though it were upon bond. He expressed, on this occasion, his very great concern, that her majesty should be so highly offended at him, seeing he had printed no books for the last thirteen years, that could give the least uneasiness; and having already declared his dislike of Martin Mar-Prelate, and that he never had a hand in any of the books under his name, nor in any other satirical pamphlets; and that in the course of his ministry at Warwick, during the last five years, he had avoided all controversy.‡ Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and other celebrated persons, wrote an excellent letter to the treasurer, in favour of the prisoners, earnestly beseeching that they might not be more hardly dealt with than papists.§ After waiting six months longer, they presented a petition to the lords of the council, dated December 4, 1591, to be enlarged upon bail. They wrote, at the same time, to the treasurer, with their request that he would

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 142—152.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 203, 204.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 48—53.

§ Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 155, 156.

forward it, assuring him of their loyalty to the queen, and their peaceable behaviour in the church. "We doubt not," say they, "but your lordship is sensible, that a year's imprisonment and more, must strike deeper into our healths, considering our manner of life, than a number of years to men of a different occupation. Your lordship knows, that many papists, who deny the queen's supremacy, have been enlarged; whereas we have all sworn to it; and if the government so require, are ready to take the oath again." This petition was subscribed by the following ministers, all prisoners for the truth of Christ:

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT,	EDWARD LORD,
HUMPHREY FENN,	EDMUND SNAPE,
ANDREW KING,	WILLIAM PROUDLOVE,
DANIEL WIGHT,	MELANCHTON JEWEL.*
JOHN PAYNE,	

The prisoners also applied to the archbishop, who refused to consent to their enlargement, unless they would, under their own hands, declare the church of England to be a true church; that the whole order of public prayers and ceremonies might be lawfully observed; and renounce in future all their assemblies, classis, and synods, as unlawful and seditious; which they utterly declined.† These applications proving ineffectual, they resolved at length to address the queen herself; for which purpose they drew up a declaration, dated April, 1592, containing an impartial statement of their case, and a full answer to the several charges brought against them.‡ Notwithstanding all these endeavours, Mr. Cartwright did not obtain his release for some time. But at length, by the favour of the archbishop, who it was said, "feared the success of so tough a conflict;"§ he was released upon promise of his quiet and peaceable behaviour, and restored to his hospital at Warwick, where he made his promise good,|| and continued without further molestation the rest of his days. His fellow-prisoners were released most probably about the same time; but of this we have obtained no certain information. It is, indeed, observed of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, "That it pleased God so to order it, that those very witnesses who were brought to accuse them, did so clear them, that they were

* Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 72, 73.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 370; Appen. p. 153—156.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 85—91.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 204.

|| Paule's Whitgift, p. 72.

dismissed and sent home, much more honoured and beloved than before.”*

The pardon and release of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren was procured of the queen, as Sir George Paule asserts, by the intercession of Archbishop Whitgift. He also observes, that when Mr. Cartwright was freed from his troubles, he often repaired to the archbishop, who used him kindly, and for several years tolerated his preaching at Warwick, upon his promise not to impugn the laws, orders, and government of the church of England, but promote, both publicly and privately, the estimation and peace of the same. With these terms, it is said, he complied. Notwithstanding, when the queen understood that he preached again, though in a temperate manner, according to his promise, she would not permit him any longer without subscription; and she was not a little displeased with the archbishop for his past connivance.†

Though Mr. Cartwright never groaned any more under the iron rod of persecution, his character was afterwards slanderously aspersed. Many writers of the episcopal party, have reproached him as being concerned with Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington, in their mad conspiracy and other singularities. This reproach was, however, made abundantly manifest, to the great honour of Mr. Cartwright and his brethren, and the shame of their enemies. He published an “Apology” of himself, against the slanders of Dr. Sutcliff; and, says my author, “I have Mr. Cartwright’s own answer to Dr. Sutcliff, in manuscript, which doth so fully confute the shameful story of his confederacy with these men, as will shame the slanderer to any impartial reader.”‡ Fuller himself acquits Mr. Cartwright and his brethren in these words: “True it is,” says he, “they as cordially detested Hacket’s blasphemies, as any of the episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket the *nonconformist*, abhorred Hacket the *heretic*, after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety.”§

Mr. Cartwright, in his old age, was much afflicted with the stone and gout, by lying in cold prisons; yet he did not relinquish his public labours; but continued to preach when, with the utmost difficulty, he could scarcely creep into the pulpit. The Lord’s day before his death, he preached his last sermon, from Eccl. xii. 7:—*Then shall the dust return to the earth, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it.*

* Clark’s Lives, p. 18.

† MS. Remarks, p. 176.

‡ Paule’s Whitgift, p. 70—72.

§ Church Hist. b. ix. p. 206.

The Tuesday morning following, after spending two hours upon his knees in private prayer, he signified to Mrs. Cartwright that he had found unutterable joy and comfort, and that God had given him a glimpse of heaven before his departure; and in a few hours he departed in peace, enjoying the salvation of Jesus Christ. He died December 27, 1603, aged sixty-eight years.* His mortal remains were interred in his own hospital at Warwick, when Mr. John Dod preached his funeral sermon. He married the sister of the famous Mr. John Stubbs, whom he left to bemoan her painful loss.

During the whole of his life, Mr. Cartwright was indefatigably laborious. He was a constant preacher when he enjoyed his liberty. During his abode at Warwick, besides taking the most exact care of the hospital, he often preached at both the churches on the Lord's day, and at one of them on the Saturday. This he did without receiving any reward for his services. It does not, therefore, appear very probable, that before his death he was *grown rich*, as some of our historians insinuate;† especially as the income of his hospital was only about one hundred pounds a-year. Indeed, he was not concerned to be rich in this world. For when he was preacher to the merchants at Antwerp, and found by their losses that their estates were decreased, he returned them the salary which they allowed him. And when he was a prisoner in the Fleet, a present of thirty pounds was sent him by one of the nobility, but he took only ten shillings, returning the rest to the donor, with many thankful acknowledgments. Also, when the Earl of Leicester offered him the provostship of Eton college, saying, it was one hundred pounds more than enough, besides the conveniency of the place; Mr. Cartwright replied, "that the hundred pounds more than enough was enough for him."‡

Few persons whose names are handed down to posterity have been treated by party historians with greater misrepresentation and abuse. Some of them have ventured to intimate, that before his death he changed his sentiments about nonconformity; for which, however, there is no certain evidence; at least, they have produced none. Dugdale calls him the standard-bearer of the puritans, and says, he was the first in the church of England, who began to pray extempore before sermon. Mr. Strype very unjustly denominates

* Clark's Lives, p. 21.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 2.—Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 216.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 19—21.

him, "the first broacher of puritanism."* Mr. Clark, who treats his memory with great impartiality, says, "he was a hard student, continuing his assiduity and close application to the end of his days. Although, on account of excessive pains and bodily infirmities, he was obliged, towards the close of life, to study continually upon his knees, he rose as usual, at three o'clock in the morning; which practice he continued to the last. His humility and meekness were not the least conspicuous features in his character. He was far from courting the applause of men; nor could he endure to hear himself commended, or to hear any titles ascribed to himself, which at all savoured of ambition. Though he was uncommonly popular, he did not seek popularity, but laboured to avoid it as much as possible. With these thoughts of himself, it is added, he could not endure to hear even his adversaries reproached; and if any persons spoke disgracefully of them in his presence, he would sharply reprove them, saying, 'It is a christian's duty to pray for his enemies, and not to reproach them.'"+ With what degree of truth then does a late writer assert, "that he was highly conceited of his own talents and learning?"‡ Indeed, his highest ambition was to debase himself, and to advance the glory and kingdom of Jesus Christ. He was an acute disputant, an admired preacher, and eminently liberal, especially to poor scholars; and, says Fuller, "he was most pious and strict in his conversation, a pure Latinist, an accurate Grecian, an exact Hebrean, and, in short, a most excellent scholar."§

Notwithstanding all these excellent qualifications, his piety, his learning, and his good sense are most warmly censured by a modern writer. He charges Mr. Cartwright, in his correspondence with Sir Michael Hicckes, with saying, "that prayer was as it were a bunch of keys, whereby we go to all the treasures and storehouses of the Lord; his butteries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe." Mr. Cartwright might use these words in a familiar correspondence; and what does it prove? This, it is readily admitted, was too much the taste of those times: but our author makes almost every thing that is bad of these few words. For he immediately breaks forth into a strain of most triumphant

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 554.—Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 3.—Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, vol. i. p. 443. Edit. 1780.—Strype's Parker, Pref. p. 5.

† Clark's Lives, p. 18—21.

‡ Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 193.

§ Church Hist. b. x. p. 3.

interrogation, saying, "Does fanaticism extinguish all taste and judgment? or is it only in minds originally weak, that the infection can fix itself? Which ever way the reader may solve the problem, he will naturally ask, Was this the man that was to improve what had been done by Cranmer and Ridley, by Parker and Nowell, and their coadjutors? to give us a form of worship more pure and edifying, more dignified and devout?" But this eloquent calumniator does not stop here. He felt the poetic flame arise; and therefore immediately asks,*

"Is this the region, this the soil, this the clime,
That we must change for heaven? this mournful gloom
For that celestial light?"

We do confess, that so much bombast, scurrility, and bare-faced misrepresentation were scarcely ever found within so small a compass. The reader will at the same time easily perceive, that the whole is designed to extol the church of England, if not above perfection, at least beyond the possibility of amendment; and to blacken the character and disgrace the memory of that man, who was justly esteemed one of the most celebrated divines of the age in which he lived. But whether the treatment which Mr. Cartwright received, was not extremely unjust and cruel; and whether it does not stand as a monument of lasting reproach to those prelates who took an active part in promoting it, is left with every impartial reader to judge. Dr. Thomas Cartwright, bishop of Chester in the reign of James II., and who went the most infamous lengths in support of that monarch's measures, is thought, with some appearance of probability, to have been the grandson of our famous puritan. †

His WORKS, in addition to those whose titles have been already given.—1. A Brief Apology against all such Slanderous Accusations as it pleaseth Mr. Sutcliff, in his pamphlets, most injuriously to load him with, 1598.—2. A Body of Divinity, 1616.—3. A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses, and Annotations on the New Testament, 1618.—4. *Commentaria practica in totam Historiam Evangelicam, ex quatuor Evangelistis harmonice continnatam*, 1630. (An elegant edition of this work was printed at Amsterdam, in 1647, entitled, "*Harmonia Evangelica, Commentario, analytico, metaphrastico, practico, illustrata, &c.*")—5. *Commentarii succineti & dilucidati in Proverbia Solomonis*, 1638.—6. *Metaphrasis & Homiliæ in librum Solomonis qui inscribitur Ecclesiastes*, 1647.—7. *Glosses and Annotations.*

* Churton's Life of Nowell, p. 225.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 297. Edit. 1778.

‡ Ibid. p. 286.

EDWARD PHILIPS, A. M.—This zealous puritan was educated in Pembroke college, Oxford. Afterwards he settled in London, and became preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he had a large congregation, mostly persons of puritan principles, by whom, says Wood, he was esteemed "a person zealous for the truth of God, powerful in his calling, faithful in his ministry, careful of his flock, peaceable and blameless in his life, and constant and comfortable in his death." And surely the people of his own particular charge were as likely to know these things as any others. Our author denominates him a zealous Calvinist, an avowed enemy to popery, and constantly laborious in the propagation of puritanism and practical religion.*

His excellent endowments were not, indeed, a sufficient protection against the oppressions of the times. For, in the year 1596, he was cited before Archbishop Whitgift and other high commissioners, when he was suspended from his ministry and committed to the Gatehouse. The crimes for which he was thus punished, were contained in the following articles:—1. "That he broke the order appointed, by preaching on a *Thursday*, instead of *Wednesday*, which was appointed to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer.—2. That by preaching on *Thursday*, he turned a day of rejoicing and feasting into a day of mourning and abstinence; which, by hindering hospitality, made the case worse.—3. That he continued the service much *too long*, even from nine o'clock till one.—4. That as soon as the service was ended, he very schismatically led many people to hear Mr. Downham's sermon.—5. That he agreed with Mr. Downham to keep his exercise with fasting in the afternoon." These were the marvellous charges alleged against him, for which he met with the above oppressive treatment. Our learned historian, indeed, says, "It is but just to observe, that Mr. Philips did observe the *Wednesday*, only he preached on the *Thursday*, because, being his regular lecture day, he was likely to have a larger congregation: that he went not to Mr. Downham's church till an hour and a half after he had finished at his own: that when he went he had only the company of Mrs. Ratcliff and his fellow minister, and both their wives; and that he did not persuade Mr. Downham to keep his exercise in the afternoon; but he had purposed so to do, even before he spoke to him about it, as Mr. Downham himself confessed before the high commissioners."†

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 276, 277.

† Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 490, 491.

From this impartial statement, it may be doubted whether so excellent and useful a minister of Christ was ever suspended and cast into prison upon such trivial and ridiculous charges before.

It does not appear how long the good man continued in a state of confinement. If his persecutors considered the above charges so dangerous to the episcopal authority and the church of England, as to justify their proceedings, he might remain a long time. He died about the year 1603. Mr. Philips most probably never published any thing himself; but after his death, in 1605, Sir Henry Yelverton, afterwards judge, who having been his constant hearer, had taken down some of his sermons as they were delivered, published a volume, entitled, "Two and thirty godly and learned Sermons."

MR. MIDGLEY was many years vicar of Rochdale in Lancashire, and a man of high reputation in his time. He is denominated a grave and godly minister, whose praise was great in the gospel.† In the year 1585, he was appointed by the Bishop of Chester, to be one of the moderators of the religious exercises in that diocese.‡ He was greatly admired and beloved by the puritans. Dr. Chaderton made mention of him, at the Hampton-court conference, in 1603. He requested on that occasion, that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain ministers in Lancashire, and particularly upon the vicar of Rochdale. The request was no sooner presented, than Archbishop Whitgift replied, saying, "You could not have light upon a worse. For not many years ago it was proved before me, that by his irreverent usage of the eucharist, in dealing the bread out of a basket, every one putting in his hand and taking out a piece, he made many loathe the communion, and refuse to come to church."§ His grace in this statement was certainly mistaken. It could not be Mr. Midgley's "irreverent usage of the eucharist," in the way described, but their own ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, which produced those evils.

Mr. Midgley was the pious and laborious minister of Rochdale nearly fifty years, and is said to have been instru-

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 277.

† Clark's *Lives* annexed to *Martyrologic*, p. 68.

‡ Strype's *Annals*, vol. ii. Appen. p. 75.

§ *Fisher's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 20.

mental in the conversion of thousands of souls; yet he was silenced and deprived by the Bishop of Chester for nonconformity.* He was the happy means in the conversion of Mr. Richard Rothwell, another worthy puritan divine. Mr. Midgley's son was also vicar of Rôchdale, and a man of distinguished eminence. He presented "The Abridgment of the Lincolnshire Ministers' Reasons" to Bishop Morton, who afterwards published an answer to it. Both father and son were deprived for nonconformity. The latter, after his deprivation, turned physician, and was afterwards prosecuted for refusing to kneel at the sacrament.†

WILLIAM HUBBOCK, A. M.—He was born in the county of Durham, in the year 1560, and educated first in Magdalen-hall, then in Corpus Christi college, Oxford. Afterwards entering upon the sacred function, says the Oxford historian, he was in great repute for his learning;‡ and he might have added, that he was a divine of distinguished worth, on account of his christian piety, his excellent preaching, and his manifold labours; and that he was highly esteemed and admired by some of the most worthy persons in the nation. Mr. Strype denominates him one of Mr. Cartwright's fraternity, yet a modest nonconformist.

In the year 1590, Mr. Hubbock was cited before Archbishop Whitgift, and other high commissioners, at Lambeth, when he was charged with having preached a sermon at Oxford, in which he made some reflections upon a certain great person (this was the archbishop,) which the commissioners held to be undutiful and seditious. He was therefore required, as a just punishment of his crime, to enter into bonds that he would preach no more, nor come again within ten miles of Oxford. Upon the proposal of these demands, he thus replied, in the presence of his judges: "I cannot, with a safe conscience, enter into any such bonds, nor do any thing by which I should willingly exclude myself from the exercise of my ministry. Nevertheless, if I must be put to silence, I had rather be committed to prison, than thus silence myself; especially unless I had committed some fault, by preaching some false doctrine, or by publishing some offence, for which I justly deserved to be punished." Whitgift, at the same time, required him to subscribe, signifying, that, if he would comply, he should be dismissed,

* Burges's Answer Rejoined, p. 218. Edit. 1631.

† Paget's Defence, Pref.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 281.

and his troubles ended. But the good man refused subscription, as well as entering into bonds; and, accordingly, received the ecclesiastical censure.*

In this state of perplexity and distress, Mr. Hubbock made application to Sir Francis Knollys; who, most warmly espousing his cause, immediately wrote to the Lord Treasurer Barleigh, recommending his distressing case to his lordship's consideration. But the zealous intercessions of these great statesmen were of no avail whatever. Whitgift and his brethren had passed a decree against Mr. Hubbock, which, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, could not be altered. With this decree, however, the treasurer was much displeased. Though our learned historian has altogether failed in saying what the decree was, we may easily conjecture, that, as it proceeded from Lambeth, and was against a divine of puritan principles, it savoured not of the things of Jesus Christ.

But the treasurer did not immediately relinquish the cause of this injured servant of Christ. One repulse from the archbishop did not discourage him. Beholding the severity with which the good man was treated, he still took his part, and wrote again to the archbishop, boldly declaring, "That Mr. Hubbock had committed no offence, only he had said in his sermon, *that a great nobleman* (meaning the archbishop) *had kneeled down to her majesty, for staying and hindering her intent to reform religion.*" Sir Francis Knollys also wrote again to the treasurer in these words: "You know how greatly and how tyrannically the archbishop hath urged subscription to his own articles *without law*; and that he has claimed a right of superiority in the bishops over the inferior clergy, from God's own ordinance, to the great injury of her majesty's supreme government. Though at present he does not profess to claim it; yet I think he ought openly to retract it."†

The worthy endeavours of these illustrious statesmen proved altogether ineffectual. The inflexible prelates would not alter their purpose. The good man continued under the sentence of his spiritual judges; but how long, or whether he was ever restored, our materials fail to afford sufficient information. Mr. Hubbock published "An Oration Gratulatory upon King James's Coronation," 1604; and several sermons.

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 341.

† Ibid. p. 341, 342.

THOMAS CAREW was born of the ancient and worthy family of his name in Cornwall, educated in the university of Oxford, and, entering upon the sacred function, became a frequent and zealous preacher. He received ordination from the Bishop of Worcester, and was licensed by Archbishop Grindal and Bishop Aylmer, from whom, on account of his excellent preaching, he received high commendations. He afterwards became minister at Hatfield Peverel, in Essex; but having acquainted the bishop by letter, that in the county of Essex, within the compass of sixteen miles, there were twenty-two nonresidents, thirty insufficient and scandalous ministers, and, at the same time, nineteen ministers silenced for refusing subscription; his lordship, instead of being pleased with the information, convened Mr. Carew before the high commission, and charged him, without the smallest evidence, with setting up a presbytery, and contemning ecclesiastical censures. It was further alleged against him, "That he was chosen by the people; that he had defaced the Book of Common Prayer; that he denied that Christ descended into the regions of the damned; and that he kept persons from the communion, when there was more need to allure them to it."* These charges being brought against him, the bishop, to make short of it, tendered him the oath *ex officio*; upon the refusal of which Mr. Carew was immediately committed to the Fleet, and another minister sent to supply the place. His successor was soon found guilty of adultery; and when the parishioners petitioned Bishop Aylmer for his removal, and the restoration of their former minister, his grace said, "That he would not, for all the livings he had, put a poor man out of his living for the fact of adultery."†

Mr. Carew having left an account of his troubles, let us hear him speak for himself. "The bishop," says he, "first granted me a license to preach, and much commended my preaching; but afterwards, upon the complaint of secret enemies, he sent for me, and took it from me. Before I had been at Hatfield above seven weeks, because I would not wear the surplice, he suspended me, and I continued under suspension half a year. My parishioners were at considerable expense and trouble in presenting many supplications unto him, that I might be released from suspension and restored to my ministry, but without success. Afterwards

* MS. Register, p. 651, 652.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 120, 121.

† MS. Register, p. 653, 654.

I went to his lordship myself, to know the reasons of his displeasure; and when I said I would yield in all things according to the word of God, he replied, 'That addition, according to the word of God, is your *knaveish trick*; but you shall observe *all things*.' At length," says Mr. Carew, "in about a twelvemonth after, by the kind favour of one who was intimate with the bishop, my liberty was obtained. Nevertheless, by further complaints of known enemies, I was again suspended; and after I was cleared by my judges, I obtained my release from suspension. Soon after this, I was again brought into trouble; and refusing to take the oath to answer their articles against myself, I was committed to the Fleet.* His commitment was dated November 16, 1585.

Mr. Carew, and Mr. Allen, his patron, were both committed to prison at the same time. They both offered bail, but it was refused. Afterwards, it was offered them by the bishop, upon these conditions: "That Allen, the patron, would not disturb the minister who was appointed to preach there, nor disquiet him in reading the service; and that Mr. Carew would preach no more in his diocese, without a further license."† These conditions did not, however, meet their approbation. During their imprisonment in the Fleet, Mrs. Carew presented a supplication to the queen, for the release of her husband, in which she addressed her majesty as follows:—"This most humbly beseecheth your most royal majesty, to relieve the distressed state of your poor handmaid, who sueth to your highness in behalf of her husband, a minister of the gospel, who hath been accused by certain papists, and who incensed the Bishop of London against him. And for refusing to subscribe to two of the archbishop's articles, which appear to him to be contrary to the word of God and the laws of the realm, the bishop hath suspended, deprived, and twice committed him to prison; and hath now a third time committed him, because he is unwilling to give up preaching till the bishop license him. Wherefore, I heartily beseech your majesty, that you will set my husband at liberty; that, by preaching the word, he may further instruct the people how to pray for the present peace and everlasting felicity of your most excellent majesty."‡

Mr. Carew and his worthy patron, having suffered imprisonment for some time, made application to the privy council,

* MS. Register, p. 653—655.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 121, 122.

‡ MS. Register, p. 658, 659.

and were both released from prison. This so greatly displeased Bishop Aylmer, that he sent to the council a very angry letter, calling the prisoners *knaves, rebels, rascals, fools, petty gentlemen, precisians, &c.*;* and told their honours, that if such men were countenanced, he must yield up his authority. But the bishop never left our pious divine till he had hunted him out of his diocese.† Mr. Carew was author of "Several Sermons," 1603; and "Four Godly Sermons," 1605. He was living at the period last mentioned.

GEORGE CORYAT, B. D.—He was born at Salisbury, educated in grammar learning at Wickham school, and admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford. In the year 1566, when Queen Elizabeth visited the university, he, together with Mr. William Rainolds, received her majesty and her train at New College; on that occasion he delivered an oration, for which he received great applause and a handsome purse of gold.‡ He afterwards took his degrees, and, in 1570, became rector of Odcomb, in Somersetshire, where he continued to the end of his days. In 1594, he was preferred to the prebend of Warthel, in the cathedral of York. He was a person much admired for his refined taste in Latin poetry, and his excellent productions are often quoted by the learned men of those times. He died at Odcomb, March 6, 1606, and his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church. Wood denominates him a most accomplished scholar, and an excellent and admired poet;§ but says, he was a puritan, and no true son of the church of England.¶ Mr. Coryat had a son called Thomas, author of "Crudities hastily gobbled up in five Months Travels," and some other pieces; but was a man of great eccentricity, having much learning, especially in the original and eastern languages, but wanted judgment. He travelled through a great part of Europe, and the various countries of the east, on foot; and distinguished himself by walking nine hundred miles in one

* While this tyrannical prelate abused and persecuted the pious and useful puritans with the utmost cruelty, he made his own porter minister of Paddington, who, in a few years, through blindness and old age, became unable to serve the cure.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 212, 213.

† *Strype's Aylmer*, p. 122.—*Neal's Hist. of Puritans*, vol. i. p. 378.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 273. Edit. 1778.

§ *Wood's Hist. et Antiq. lib. ii.* p. 141.

¶ *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 286, 346.

pair of shoes, which, as he informs us, he got mended at Zurich. He did not live, however, to complete his travels, but died at Surat in India.* He was author of "Poemata varia Latina," 1611; and "Descriptio Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ."

FRANCIS TRIGGE, A. M.—He was born in Lincolnshire, in the year 1544, and educated in University college, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Afterwards, he entered upon the christian ministry, and became rector of Welborn, near Buckingham. He was the founder of the public library at Grantham in Lincolnshire, on the wall of which is a Latin inscription descriptive of his great charity and other excellencies. He gave a certain sum to the town of Grantham, to be distributed annually among its poor inhabitants. He died May 12, 1606, aged sixty-two years; and his remains were interred in the chancel of Welborn church. Wood styles him a noted and godly preacher, but a very strict puritan.†

His Works.—1. An Apology, shewing that the days wherein we live are more good and blessed than those of our Forefathers, 1589.—2. Comment in cap. 12. ad. Rom., 1590.—3. Comment in Rev. S. Job., 1590.—4. Analysis capituli 24 Evangelii secundum Matthæum, 1591.—5. A Sermon preached at Grantham, 1594.—6. Touchstone of Catholic Faith, 1599.—7. The true Catholic formed, according to the Truth of the Scriptures, 1602.

PERCIVAL WYBURN, D. D.—The earliest account we meet with of this excellent divine, is in March, 1560, when, by an order from Bishop Grindal, he was ordained by Bishop Davies.‡ He was chosen proctor of the cathedral of Rochester, in the convocation of 1562; when he sat in that learned assembly, and subscribed the articles of religion.§ During the same year he became prebendary of Westminster, and, the year following, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London.|| The last he did not hold very long; for in 1564, being convened before Archbishop Parker, and refusing subscription, he was sequestered and deprived.¶ He remained under his lordship's censure till

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 358—362.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 35.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 283, 284.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 39.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 290.

|| Newcourt's Reper. Eccl. vol. i. p. 534.

¶ Strype's Grindal, p. 89.

the year 1567, at which time, because he was of the number of those divines who were styled peaceable nonconformists, he was treated with some degree of gentleness, and obtained a license to preach; or, at least, a connivance to continue in the ministry.*

In the year 1571, he was again convened before the archbishop and other high commissioners, at Lambeth, when he underwent an examination. Mr. Christopher Goodman, Mr. Edward Deering, and Mr. John Field, were convened at the same time. Dr. Wyburn, together with his brethren, presented on this occasion the following proposals to their lordships:—1. "I am ready to subscribe to the true christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as contained in the Book of Articles.—2. As to the Book of Common Prayer, appointed by public authority, it contains, even as you confess yourselves, some imperfections; and I confess the same. Yet, that I may testify my great desire of brotherly concord, I will subscribe to the doctrine of faith, and administration of the sacraments, in the same book; so far as they make for edification, and are agreeable to the fore-said Book of Articles.—And, 3. As to the apparel appointed, because it seemeth not unto me to be sufficiently authorized by the word of God, for the ministers to be required to use it, I dare not use it, for fear of offence, humbly beseeching your honours' consideration thereof. Yet I do not judge or condemn others in using the same; for to the Lord they stand or fall, as I also do. Neither would I break the unity of the christian faith, by withdrawing my duty from preaching the truth and faith, as in the Book of Articles contained: to the end, that we may not go backwards, but forwards to perfection."† It does not, however, appear what was the result of his examination, or of these proposals.

In the year 1573, Dr. Wyburn, with many of his brethren, was again brought before the high commission, and convened before the council, when certain articles were presented to him, requiring his subscription. But, after a long examination, refusing to subscribe, he was suspended from preaching.‡ About the same time, he wrote the excellent letter generally ascribed to him, in defence of himself and his brethren, who were deprived by the arbitrary proceedings of the prelates.§

* Strype's Parker, p. 249, 325, 413.

† MS. Register, p. 117.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 534.

§ Parts of a Register, p. 1—12.

Though it does not appear how long he continued under the above suspension, he was afterwards restored to his ministry, and was preacher at Rochester. In the year 1581, he was one of the learned divines who were deemed most proper to dispute with the papists, and was nominated for that purpose.* However, the peaceable exercise of his ministry was not of long continuance. The extended arms of the high commissioners soon again laid hold of him. He was again suspended, and continued under suspension at least five years.† Towards the close of life, he preached stately at Battersea, near London, where, by a fall, he broke his leg, and was for some time disabled from attending to the public duties of his ministry; but had the assistance of Mr. Richard Sedgwick, another puritan divine.‡ He was a learned and pious divine, a zealous enemy to popery, a constant advocate for a further reformation, and a firm and peaceable nonconformist. He died about the year 1606, at an advanced age.§ He seldom or never wore the hood and surplice for the space of forty years.]

NICHOLAS BOUND, D. D.—This learned and religious divine was educated at Cambridge, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards beneficed at Norton in the county of Suffolk. A divine of the same name was rector of Wickford in Essex; but whether the same person, we cannot fully ascertain.¶ In the year 1583, when subscription to Whitgift's three articles was rigorously imposed upon the clergy, about sixty worthy ministers in Suffolk refused to subscribe, and were, therefore, suspended from the exercise of their ministry. Dr. Bound was one of those who received this ecclesiastical censure.**

That which rendered him most famous, was the publication of his book, entitled "Sabathum veteris et novi Testamenti; or, the true Doctrine of the Sabbath," about the year 1595. In this book, he maintained that the seventh part of our time ought to be devoted to the service of God; that christians are bound to rest on the Lord's day, as much as the Jews were on the Mosaical sabbath, the commandment about rest being moral and

* Strype's Parker, Appen. p. 116.

+ MS. Register, p. 585.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 158.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 129. (2. 1.)

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 634.

¶ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 656.

** MS. Register, p. 436, 437.

perpetual; and that it was not lawful for persons to follow their studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such pleasures and recreations as were lawful on other days. The book soon obtained an extensive circulation, and produced a most pleasing reformation in many parts of the kingdom. The Lord's day, formerly profaned by interludes, may-games, morrice-dances, and other sports and recreations, now began to be observed with greater exactness, especially in corporations.* "This doctrine," says Dr. Heylin, "carrying such a fair shew of piety, at least in the opinion of the common people, and such as did not examine the true grounds of it, induced many to embrace and defend it; and, in a very little time, it became the *most bewitching error*, and the *most popular infatuation*, that ever was embraced by the people of England!"† In this, the zealous historian at once discovers what manner of spirit he was of.

Dr. Bound's book had not been long published before it excited the enmity of persons of a contrary opinion, especially among the ruling clergy. They exclaimed against it, as putting a restraint upon christian liberty, as putting too great a lustre upon the Lord's day, and as tending to eclipse the authority of the church in appointing festivals. This was a shorter and an easier method of contending with an author, than by publishing an impartial answer to his work. And, indeed, though there was so great an outcry against the book, no one even attempted to publish any sort of a reply for several years. The first who took up his pen against it, was Mr. Thomas Rogers, in his "Exposition of the thirty-nine Articles." In the preface he declared, "It is a comfort to my soul, and will be to my dying hour, that I have been the man and the means of bringing the sabbatarian errors and impieties to the light and knowledge of the state."‡ But, surely, it would have looked as well in a clergyman, and would have afforded him an equal degree of comfort on a dying bed, if, instead of opposing an exact regard to the sabbath, he had spent his zeal in recommending a religious and holy observance of that day!§

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 227. † Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 340.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 228.

§ Mr. Rogers was beneficed at Horningsheath in Suffolk, and once a professed puritan, when he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. In 1563, he was suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles; but afterwards he altered his mind, and became a zealous conformist.—*M.S. Register*, p. 457.—*Wood's Athene Oxon.* vol. i. p. 341.

Dr. Bound might carry his doctrine too high by advancing the Lord's day in all respects to a perfect level with the Jewish sabbath. But it was certainly unworthy the character of divines, to encourage men in shooting, fencing, bowling, and other diversions on the Lord's day, especially as they were sufficiently forward in such practices without the countenance and example of their spiritual guides. Nevertheless, in the year 1599, Archbishop Whitgift called in Dr. Bound's book, and commanded that it should not be reprinted; and the year following, the Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same. These, indeed, were good remedies, says Dr. Heylin, had they been soon enough applied: yet not so good as those which were formerly applied to Copping and Thacker, who were hanged at Bury, for spreading Brown's books against the church.* Did Dr. Bound then deserve to share the same fate, for writing in defence of the sabbath? This, however, was the shortest way of refuting his arguments. They both declared, that the doctrine of the sabbath agreed neither with the doctrine of the church of England, nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom; and that it disturbed the peace of the church and commonwealth, and tended to promote *schism* in the one, and *sedition* in the other.† Nothing, surely, could appear more absurd, or more contrary to truth. Notwithstanding all this care and labour to suppress the book, it was read and circulated in private more than ever. Many persons who never heard of it when printed, inquired for it when prohibited.

The archbishop's head had not long been laid in the dust, when Dr. Bound prepared his book for another impression; and in 1606, he published a second edition with large additions. And, indeed, such was its reputation, that scarcely any comment or catechism was published by the stricter divines, for many years, in which the morality of the sabbath was not strongly recommended and enforced.‡ But to counteract the influence of this sabbatarian doctrine, about twelve years after the above period, came forth the Declaration for Sports upon the Lord's day. This, having the sanction of public authority, opened a flood-gate to all manner of licentiousness.

His WORKS.—1. The Holy Exercise of Fasting, in certain Homilies or Sermons, 1604.—2. A Storehouse of Comfort for the Afflicted in Spirit, in Twenty-one Sermons, 1604.—3. The Unbelief of St. Thomas the Apostle laid open for Believers, 1608.

* Heylin's Tracts, p. 491.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 531.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 229.

EZECHIAS MORLEY was minister at Walsham in the Willows in Suffolk, and afterwards at several other places. He was a zealous and laborious preacher, but suffered numerous oppressions on account of his nonconformity. Mr. Morley has left a circumstantial account of the troubles he underwent, which it may not be improper to lay before the reader.

“For three years,” says he, “I have been so molested by the commissary, that I could not remain to do the work of God, for any long time in any one place. They first arrested me by a warrant from the bishop, when they said, I must be bound to appear before him at Norwich by ten o’clock next morning, or go to prison. The time appointed being so very short, I yielded my body to the prison. This was in the year 1582.

“Having obtained my liberty, I became minister of Denton; then the commissary caused an act of excommunication to be entered against me, of which I had no knowledge till about a week after. I then resorted to Dr. Day, and desired he would not proceed against me, seeing he had already done me so much injury. Therefore, after much entreaty, he promised that he would not hinder me in my ministry, and so gave me his word to stay the excommunication. Notwithstanding this, in six weeks after my removal to Denton, he published an excommunication against me, and fixed it upon the door of the church at Walsham, being unknown to me, and fifteen miles from the place of my abode. Afterwards, I was arrested on the Lord’s day in the church-yard, when the Lord’s supper was about to have been administered. When the warrant was read, I told the officer, that I would remain in a bond of twenty pounds to appear the next day, which he utterly refused. When a friend offered his bond of twenty pounds, he refused this also. And when my friends proposed to enter a bond of three hundred pounds for my appearance the next day, this in like manner was refused. As I prepared to go with him, he would have taken bond; but I, being ignorant of the law, refused his offer, and, therefore, went with him to the high sheriff to Bury. Here nothing was objected against me, only I was bound over to the assizes.

“At the assizes, I was indicted for having deviated from the order of baptism, in baptizing a child a long time before I left Walsham. In this indictment, I was charged with having said, ‘do you forsake the devil?’ instead of

saying, 'dost thou forsake the devil?'—and 'will you have this child baptized in this faith?' for 'will thou be baptized in this faith?' Upon the reading of the indictment, the judge asked me what I had to say why sentence should not be executed against me. I answered, that I had endured punishment already from the commissary. And when the judge inquired whether I had been so punished, the commissary said I had; but he did not know whether it was for this offence or some other. I was, therefore, committed to prison."*

In the year 1584, Mr. Morley made the following record:—"The first day of June was two years, I was committed to the Clink, by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. I was there confined seven weeks, and to this hour, I know not for what cause. I was fetched by the pursuivant upwards of forty miles, which was attended with great expense, as well as hinderance of my usefulness. I have never received any recompence for false and unjust imprisonment; neither can I obtain liberty to use my ministry with a good conscience. So that I am now ready to go a begging; yet, if allowed, I might, through the blessing of God, do some good to myself and the afflicted church of Christ, of which I am a poor member.

"EZECHIAS MORLEY."†

It appears from the above, that Mr. Morley was for a long time suspended from the exercise of his ministry. Afterwards, being driven out of Norfolk, he preached at Ridgwell in Essex. And during the above year, warrants were issued by Archbishop Whitgift, the Bishop of London, and other ecclesiastical commissioners, requiring certain laymen to appear before them at St. Paul's, to prove several charges against Mr. Morley. Upon their appearance before their lordships, they were required to answer the following articles of inquiry:

1. "Do you, and all of you, know Ezechias Morley, preacher; and how long have you known him?"
2. "It is objected against you, that you have been at divers preachings and lectures of the said Morley, in the church of Ridgwell in Essex, since Easter.
3. "That you have often, or some times, been, within these two years, at the said Morley's lectures, preachings

* MS. Register, p. 480—482.

† Ibid.

and expositions, in some house or other place, out of any church or place appointed for public prayers. Where are those places? Who were present? And how often have you been?

4. "That you did hear or know, that the churchwardens of Ridgwell in Essex, or some other who had authority so to do, did give admonition and warning to the said Morley, that he should not preach in the said church until he had shewed sufficient license, and brought authority from the ordinary so to do."*

Mr. Morley was convened, at the same time, and, for refusing to subscribe, was obliged to enter into a bond of one hundred pounds not to preach any more in the diocese of London.† But it does not appear what other hardships he endured.

He became rector of Roding-Alta in Essex, July 23, 1601; but resigned it by death, previous to February 18, 1607, when the next incumbent entered upon the benefice.‡

JOHN RAINOLDS, D. D.—This celebrated divine was born at Penhoe, near Exeter, in the year 1549, and educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford. At first he was a zealous papist, and his brother William a professed protestant; but engaging in conference and disputation, the brothers, it is said, converted each other; William becoming a most inveterate papist, and John an avowed protestant.§ The latter no sooner changed his views, than he applied himself to the study of the holy scriptures, and soon became a celebrated preacher.

In the year 1578, he was chosen to perform the two acts of the university, which gained him great applause; and the year following was appointed to the reading of the sentences. By these exercises he was soon drawn into the popish controversy, when the papists sought to eclipse his reputation. This did not in the least discourage him in his pursuits; but, in order that he might be the better qualified for discussing this subject, he read, with indefatigable pains, all the Greek and Latin fathers, and perused all the ancient records of the church he could meet with. By these

* MS. Register, p. 420—422.

† Ibid. p. 742.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 301.

§ Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 478, 479.

Herculean labours, he shortly became so well acquainted with the errors and superstitions of popery, that he was accounted a complete master of the controversy.

About this time, the famous John Hart, a zealous papist, had the boldness to challenge all the learned men in the nation, to try the doctrine of the church. No one was thought better qualified to encounter the daring champion than Rainolds; who was, therefore, solicited by one of her majesty's privy council. After several combats, the popish antagonist was obliged to quit the field; as appears from his own letter written from the Tower.* This conference, subscribed by both parties, was afterwards published; which gave abundant satisfaction to all unprejudiced readers, and so greatly raised the fame of Rainolds, that he was immediately taken notice of at court. After taking his degrees in divinity, the queen appointed him divinity lecturer at Oxford. In these lectures he encountered Bellarmine, the renowned champion of the Romish church. Bellarmine was public reader in the English seminary at Rome; and as he delivered his popish sentiments, they were taken down and regularly sent to Dr. Rainolds; who from time to time commented upon them, and refuted them at Oxford. Thus Bellarmine's books on controversy were answered, even before they were printed.

We are informed, indeed, 'that this divinity lecture was set up on purpose to widen the breach, and increase the difference betwixt the church of England and the church of Rome; and, to accomplish this design, Dr. Rainolds, a violent anti-papist, was first placed in the chair. His lectures were numerous attended and highly applauded. But it is further observed, "that Dr. Rainolds made it his business to read against the hierarchy, and weaken the authority of the bishops."† How far this account is correct, we shall not attempt to determine; but the queen, hearing of his great fame, and his good services in opposing the church of Rome, preferred him to a deanery, in Lincoln, and even offered him a bishopric. The latter he modestly refused, choosing an academical life rather than the riches and splendour of any ecclesiastical preferment whatever. ‡

Dr. Bancroft, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, in a sermon, January 12, 1588, maintained, "that bishops were a

* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 482.

† Collier's *Ecl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 597.

‡ Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 482, 483.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 290.

distinct order from priests; and that they had a superiority over them by *divine right*, and directly from God." In those times this was new and strange doctrine, even to churchmen themselves. Hitherto it had been maintained, that all the superiority of bishops over pastors or presbyters, was wholly of human appointment, devised in the third or fourth century. While his sermon was highly gratifying to most of the ruling prelates, it gave great offence to many of the clergy, and to all the friends of the puritans at court. Sir Francis Knollys* told the archbishop, that Bancroft's opinion was contrary to the command of Christ, who prohibited all superiority among the apostles. But this gentleman, not relying on his own judgment, requested Dr. Rainolds to give his opinion of this new doctrine; which he did in a letter at considerable length.

Dr. Rainolds, in this letter, observes, "that all who have laboured in reforming the church, for five hundred years, have taught that all pastors, whether they are entitled bishops or priests, have equal authority and power by God's word: As, the Waldenses, next Marsilius Patavinus, then Wickliffe and his scholars, afterwards Husse and the Hussites; and Luther, Calvin, Brentius, Bullinger, and Musculus. Among ourselves, we have bishops, the queen's professors of divinity, and other learned men: as, Bradford, Lambert, Jewel, Pilkington, Humphrey, Fulke, &c. But why do I speak of particular persons? It is the opinion of the reformed churches of Helvetia, Savoy, France, Scotland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the Low Countries, and our own. I hope Dr. Bancroft will not say, that all these have approved that for sound doctrine, which was condemned by the general consent of the whole church as heresy, in the most flourishing time. I hope he will acknowledge that he was overseen, when he avouched the superiority of bishops over the rest of the clergy, to be *God's own ordinance*."†

About the year 1599, Dr. Rainolds gave up his deanery of Lincoln, and his mastership of Queen's college, when he was chosen president of Corpus Christi college. Though in the last situation he did not continue above eight years, his presidency was rendered eminently useful. In 1603, he

* Sir Francis Knollys was one of her majesty's privy council, a man of distinguished learning and piety, a most able statesman, and a constant patron of the persecuted nonconformists; on which account he was not well esteemed by some of the prelates.—*Fuller's Abel Red.* p. 248.—*British Biog.* vol. iii. p. 371.

† *Strype's Whitgift*, p. 292, 293.—*Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 577, 578.

was nominated one of the puritan divines to attend the conference at Hampton-court. On the side of the episcopalians, were Archbishop Whitgift, eight bishops and eight deans, with the king at the head; and on the side of the puritans, were Dr. Rainolds, Dr. Thomas Sparke, Mr. Lawrence Chadderton, and Mr. John Knewstubs, all nominated by the king.* Dr. Rainolds, in the name of his brethren, humbly presented the following requests:

1. "That the doctrine of the church might be preserved pure, according to God's word.

2. "That good pastors might be planted in all churches, to preach the same.

3. "That church government might be sincerely ministered, according to God's word.

4. "That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety."

These requests contained all or most of what the chief puritans desired; and however reasonable they may appear, not one of them was granted. When the puritan ministers wished to discuss those things, for which they were professedly called together, the king would not allow them to proceed: but rising from his chair, he said, "If this be all that your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will hurry them out of the land, or else do worse." They were much insulted, ridiculed, and laughed to scorn.† Sir Edward Peyton confessed, that our divine and his brethren had not freedom of speech; and finding it of no use to attempt a reply, they held their peace.‡ This conference was therefore justly called, *The mock conference of Hampton-court*; and, says the judicious historian, was only a blind to introduce episcopacy into Scotland.§

In the year 1604, the king appointed Dr. Rainolds, on account of his uncommon skill in Greek and Hebrew, to be one of the translators of the Bible; but he did not live to see the work completed.¶ He was seized with the consumption of which he died, when in the midst of this laborious undertaking; yet he continued to afford his assistance even to the last. During his sickness, his learned

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 7.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 237.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 19.—Barlow's Account, p. 170.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 18.

§ Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 162.

¶ This was the present authorized translation, which his majesty committed to the care of forty-seven reverend and learned persons, divided into six companies, to whom he gave the requisite instructions for the work.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 528. Edit. 1778.

brethren in Oxford met at his lodgings regularly once a week, to compare and perfect their notes. This learned man was thus employed in translating the word of life, even till he himself was translated to life everlasting.*

In his last sickness, all his time was spent in prayer to God, in hearing persons read, and in conferring with the translators. He remained in a lingering state till Ascension-day, when he addressed his friends, saying, "I hoped to have ascended on the very day of our Lord's ascension; but I shall stay with you a little longer, in which time I entreat you to read nothing to me, only such chapters of scripture as I shall appoint."

This reverend and learned divine, during his life, had been a famous opposer of the errors of popery; and now upon his death-bed, the papists propagated scandalous reports concerning the nature of his complaint, and began to insinuate that he now recanted. To counteract this vile calumny, his friends desired him to give some testimony of his faith, previous to his departure. This being signified to him, he shook his head, and seemed much affected, but was not able to speak. His friends, observing this, asked him whether a form might be drawn up in writing, to which God might enable him to set his hand; and he signified, by certain signs, his full approbation. Then they drew up the following paper:—"These are to testify to all the world, that I die in the profession of that faith which I have taught all my life, both in my preaching and in my writings, with an assured hope of my salvation, only by the merits of Christ my Saviour."—This paper being twice distinctly read to him, and having seriously pondered every word of it himself, he put on his spectacles, and subscribed his name in very fair characters.† The day following, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, he breathed his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer. He died May 21, 1607, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His remains were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in the college chapel, being attended by the vice-chancellor, the heads of colleges, and the mayor and aldermen of the city. Dr. Henry Airay, the vice-chancellor, preached his funeral sermon; and Mr. Isaac Wake, the university orator;‡

* Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 487, 488.

† *Ibid.* p. 499.

‡ Wake is said to have been an elegant scholar, and no mean orator; but King James thought Sleep of Cambridge much superior to him; which occasioned his saying, "That he was inclined to sleep, when he heard Wake; and to wake, when he heard Sleep."—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 212.

Delivered a funeral oration, in which he gave him the following character :

“ However others admired his knowledge, lowliness of mind, and incredible abstinence, in all which he excelled, as even exceeded wonder ; yet I do, and ever shall, chiefly admire his slighting and neglecting all ways of preferment. Neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Beza, nor Whitaker, can challenge any honour which Rainolds hath not merited. I cannot but exceedingly congratulate our country, where he was born, our mother the university, where he was educated, and that most pregnant house of excellent wits, where he learned the first rudiments of most exquisite literature.”* Dr. Crackenthorp, his intimate acquaintance, gave this account of him : “ He turned over all writers, profane, ecclesiastical, and divine ; and all the councils, fathers, and histories of the church. He was most excellent in all tongues, useful or ornamental to a divine. He had a sharp and ready wit, a grave and mature judgment, and was indefatigably industrious. He was so well skilled in all arts and sciences, as if he had spent his whole life in each of them. And as to virtue, integrity, piety, and sanctity of life, he was so eminent and conspicuous, that to name Rainolds is to commend virtue itself.”† Bishop Hall used to say, “ That Dr. Rainolds alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, all studies, and all learning ; and that his memory and reading were nearly a miracle.” And our author adds, “ he was a prodigy in reading, famous in doctrine, and the very treasury of erudition ; and in a word, nothing can be spoken against him, only that he was the *pillar of puritanism*, and the *grand favourer of nonconformity*.”‡ Indeed, Fuller insinuates, and Dr. Crackenthorp laboured to prove, that he was not a puritan, but an exact conformist.§ In this, however, they have proved unsuccessful. For, besides subscribing the “ *Book of Discipline*,” he utterly disapproved of certain ecclesiastical ceremonies ; and though he wore the round cap as a *collegian*, he refused wearing the *clerical habits*.|| Granger says, that Dr. Rainolds was generally reputed the greatest scholar of his age and country ; that his memory was so retentive, he hardly knew what it was to forget ; that he

* Fuller's Abel. Red. p. 496.

† Ibid. p. 483, 484.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 280.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 48. — Barksdale's Remembrancer, p. 6—11. Edit. 1670.

|| MS. Remarks on Hist. p. 88. (8.)

was esteemed a match for Bellarmine, the Goliath of the church of Rome; and that he was styled a living library, or a third university.*

His WORKS.—1. Two Orations, 1576.—2. Six Theses, 1579.—3. A Sermon on the Destruction of the Idumeans, 1584.—4. A Sermon to the Scholars of the University, 1586.—5. The Sum of a Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart, 1588.—6. De Romana Ecclesiæ Idolatria, 1596.—7. The Overthrow of Stage-plays, 1599.—8. An Apologie of his Theses, 1602.—9. An Epistle to Thomas Pye, 1606.—10. A Defence of the Judgment of the Reformed Churches, 1609.—11. Censura Librorum Apocryphorum veteris Testamenti, 1611.—12. The Prophesie of Obadiah opened and applied, 1613.—13. Letter to his Friend, concerning the Study of Divinity, 1613.—14. Orationes Duodecem, 1638.—15. The Discovery of the Man of Sin, 1641.—16. A Letter to Sir Francis Knollys, 1641.—17. The Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid open, 1641.—18. Judgment concerning Episcopacy, 1641.—19. The Prophesie of Haggai interpreted and applied, 1649.—20. Commentarii in tres bib. Aristot. De Retorica.—21. Answer to Nich. Saunders his Books, *De Schismate Anglicano*, in Defence of our Reformation.—22. A Defence of our English Liturgy against Rob. Browne his Schismatical Book.—23. A Treatise of the Beginning and Progress of the Popish Errors.—He also published several Translations of the works of other learned men.

THOMAS BRIGHTMAN was born at Nottingham, in the year 1556, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge, where he became fellow. Though he was a champion in the cause of nonconformity, he did not despise those of the contrary sentiments, but was charitable to all who differed from him in matters of discipline and ceremonies.† Upon his leaving the university, he was presented by Sir John Osbourne, a man of great learning and piety, to the rectory of Hawnes in Bedfordshire, where he spent the remainder of his days in hard study, and a constant application to his pastoral duties. Sir John was his constant and liberal benefactor. He was a man of a most angelical life, and uncommon learning, which was acknowledged even by his enemies. He lived so much under the influence of divine grace, that he was never known to be angry; and always carried with him his Greek Testament, which he read through regularly once a fortnight. His daily conversation was against the episcopal government, which he declared would shortly come down.‡ Though Mr.

* Biographical Hist. vol. i. p. 212.

† He is, by mistake, called William.—*Fuller's Worthies*, part ii. p. 319, 320.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 49, 50.

Brightman wrote against the prelacy and ceremonies of the church, and subscribed the "Book of Discipline,"* he was no friend to separation. He published a "Disputation about Antichrist;" a "Refutation of Bellarmine;" a "Commentary of the Song of Solomon;" and another on the "Revelation of St. John." "This last," says Granger, "made a great noise in the world." In that book, he makes Archbishop Cranmer the angel having power over the fire, the Lord Cromwell the angel which came out of the temple of heaven, having the sharp sickle, and the Lord Treasurer Cecil the angel of the waters, justifying the pouring out the third vial. The church of England is the lukewarm church of Laodicea; and the angel that God loved, is the anti-episcopal church of Geneva, and that of Scotland: and the power of the prelacy is antichrist. In the reign of Charles I. he adds, when the bishops were expelled the house of peers, and several of them imprisoned, Brightman was cried up for an inspired writer, and an abridgment of his book was printed in 1644, entitled "The Revelation of the Revelation."† He desired to die a sudden death, and the Lord granted him his desire. He died very suddenly, as he was travelling with Sir John Osbourne in his coach, with a book in his hand, August 24, 1607, aged fifty-one years. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Queen's college, Cambridge.‡ He was a most pious, laborious, and learned divine; whom Mr. Cartwright used to denominate "the bright star in the church of God."§ Dr. Buckley preached his funeral sermon.

RICHARD MAUNSEL was minister of Yarmouth, and severely persecuted, together with Mr. Thomas Lad, a merchant of that place. They were brought before the Chancellor of Norwich, for a supposed conventicle; because, on the Lord's day, after public worship, they joined with Mr. Jackler, their late minister, in repeating the heads of the sermons which had that day been preached in the church. Mr. Lad was compelled, upon his oath, to answer certain articles relating to the supposed conventicle, which he could not see till after he had taken the oath. Having been twice convened before the chancellor, he was carried before the high commission at Lam-

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 220.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 143.

§ Hist. of Cam. p. 8.

beth, and required to answer, upon a new oath, such inquiries as his ecclesiastical judges were pleased to propose. This; indeed, he refused without a sight of his former answers; and was, therefore, cast into prison, where he remained a long time, without being admitted to bail. Mr. Maunsel was further charged with signing a petition to the house of commons, and with refusing the oath *ex officio*; for which he was treated in the same manner. Having suffered a long and painful confinement, the prisoners, about the year 1607, were brought to the bar upon a writ of *habeas corpus*; and having Nicholas Fuller, esq. a brencher of Gray's-inn, and a most learned man in his profession, for their counsel, he moved, that the prisoners ought to be released; because the high commissioners were not empowered by law to imprison, or to administer the oath *ex officio*, or to fine any of his majesty's subjects. These points he laboured to prove in a most learned, argumentative, and perspicuous manner, which was looked upon as an unpardonable crime;* and instead of serving his clients, brought the heavy indignation of the commissioners upon himself. Archbishop Bancroft, now at the head of the high commission, told the king, that Fuller was the champion of the nonconformists; and, therefore, ought to be made a public example, to terrify others from appearing hereafter in defence of the puritans.† Accordingly, he was shut up in close prison; from whence, neither by the intercession of friends, nor by his own most humble supplications, could he obtain release; but after close confinement about twelve years, he died in prison, February 23, 1619, aged seventy-six years.‡ What became of Mr. Maunsel and Mr. Lad, his clients; whether after their trial they were released, or suffered some other punishment, we have not been able to learn.

* Fuller's Argument in the case of Thomas Lad and Richard Maunsel, edit. 1607.—This most learned, curious, and valuable Tract, consisting of 32 pages in quarto, was republished in 1641.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 56.

‡ Nicholas Fuller was member of the parliament of 1603, when he brought in two bills: the one concerning Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the other concerning Subscription; both with a view to ease the burdeus of the persecuted puritans. He was a person of great learning and piety; and finding the nonconformists grievously oppressed in their liberties, their estates, and their consciences, contrary to law, he laboured both in the house of commons, and in the courts of judicature, to procure their deliverance from the cruel oppressions of their persecutors.—MS. *Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 667. (2.)

THOMAS WILCOCKS, A. M.—This celebrated divine was born about the year 1549, and educated in St. John's college, Oxford. Upon his leaving the university, he became a learned, zealous, and useful preacher in Honey-lane, London. In the year 1572, he was an active person in the erection of the presbyterian church at Wandsworth in Surrey. During the same year he was brought into much trouble for his nonconformity. The puritans having for a long time sought in vain to the queen and prelates, for a further reformation of the church, now resolved to apply to the parliament. Accordingly, Mr. Wilcocks and Mr. John Field published "An Admonition to the Parliament," which they presented to the house of commons with their own hands. Though the book was much esteemed, and soon passed through four editions, the authors were apprehended and committed to Newgate, where they remained a long time, in close and miserable confinement.* A particular account of these cruel proceedings, together with their other troubles, will be found in another place.†

The character and sentiments of these excellent divines having greatly suffered by reproach, they published a vindication of themselves, against the false imputations of unsound doctrine, and disloyalty to the queen. The piece is entitled "A Copie of a Letter, with a Confession of Faith, written by two faithful Servants of God, unto an honourable and virtuous Ladie."‡ It is subscribed with their own hands; but whether it was published before, or during their imprisonment, we are not able to learn. It is, however, a different confession from that which is noticed in the place referred to above, but was penned most probably on the same occasion. During their confinement in Newgate, Archbishop Parker sent his chaplain, one Pearson, to confer with them. This conference, dated September 11, 1572, was in the presence of Mr. Mondes their keeper, and is as follows:

Pearson. Is your name Wilcocks?

Wilcocks. Yes, verily.

P. I desire to become acquainted with you; for I know you not.

W. Neither do I know you.

* Mr. Thomas Woodcock, a bookseller in London, for vending the *Admonition*, was, at the same time, committed to Newgate by Bishop Aylmer.—*Styve's Aylmer*, p. 57.

† See Art. Field.

‡ Parte of a Register, p. 528—546.

P. I am come to converse with you, by warrant from my lord of Canterbury.

W. Indeed it is high time. I have been in close prison almost three months, and no one has yet been sent to confer with me, and reclaim me from error, if I be in any.

P. I am come to you, and your companion, Mr. Field, about a letter from you, delivered by your wives to his grace of Canterbury; wherein you charge him with unjust dealing and cruelty. He would gladly know in what particular instance you can accuse him of injustice and cruelty.

Field. To charge him with cruelty we mind not: neither did we write any such thing. But we may justly charge him with unjust dealing.

P. Why so? What is the special cause of it?

W. Because he hath kept us in close prison almost three months without a cause.

P. I judge it is not so.

F. We wrote a book in time of parliament, justly craving a redress and reformation of many abuses, for which we are thus imprisoned and uncourteously treated.

P. That book I read over at the time of its first coming out; but since that time I have not read four lines of it. To speak my mind, though some things in it be good, I dare not justify all.

W. What are the points which you so much dislike? Mention some, and we will gladly talk about them.

P. So far as I can gather, you would have in the church an equality of ministers.

W. We would not have it of ourselves; but God's word requireth it.

P. No: God's word is against it.

F. I pray you let us see the place.

P. Before I proceed, let me ask you one question. Do you both agree in this point? For if you do not agree, I shall labour in vain.

F. We agree both in this point, and all others. For, the Lord's name be praised, there is no contrariety of judgment.

P. You will allow of the name of a bishop.

W. Yes, verily.

P. And why so?

W. Because God's word alloweth the same, in the ordinary government of the church.

P. You will, also, allow the name of an apostle.

F. In one respect we do, and in another respect we do not. As it signifieth one sent of God to preach the gospel, we allow it.

P. And in what respect do you not allow it ?

W. As it signifieth one sent to preach to all creatures, it hath no place in the church.

P. Why so ?

W. Because the calling of the Gentiles is ended, and that office was only temporal, enduring only for a season.

P. I know many good writers are of your opinion. But how do you prove that from scripture ?

W. Easily enough. It is scripture itself.

P. Let this be granted. Doth an equality of ministers, therefore, follow ? St. Paul saith, God gave to his church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors, and some teachers.

F. That place maketh most for us, as, by the assistance of God, we hope to make evidently appear.

W. Seeing we are dealing in matters which concern God's glory, and we cannot of ourselves speak to his praise, nor without the teaching of his Spirit, let us crave his divine assistance in the exercise of prayer.

P. Will you use private or public prayer ?

W. Nay, in my judgment, the more public the better.

[Mr. Field then engaged in prayer, which being finished, they resumed the conversation as follows :]

W. Now, if it please you, let us begin where we left off.

P. From the words of Paul, I reason thus : In his day there was a distinction of callings ; therefore, there can be no parity of ministers.

F. That place of Paul proveth no such thing. For he there speaketh of those *extraordinary* offices which were peculiar to the state of the church in the time of the apostles : as apostles, prophets, and evangelists. Also he speaks of those offices which are *ordinary*, and to continue to the end of time : as pastors and teachers, which differ not in authority and dignity, though they may in gifts and graces.

P. I understand your meaning. I perceive you will have no minister to preach out of his own charge.

F. That is our opinion.

P. And why so ?

F. Because every pastor hath work enough to take proper care of his own flock ; therefore, he needeth not to thrust himself upon another man's labour.

P. It is not thrusting himself upon another, provided he cometh called?

F. Indeed, if the minister had nothing more to do than to preach a sermon or two a week, this might be pleaded; but seeing he must visit the sick, comfort the mourners, strengthen the weak, and admonish and instruct all from house to house, through the whole of his charge, I warrant you he will have little desire, and less leisure, to preach in other men's cures.

P. It is said, in the acts of the apostles, that when the apostles laboured to appease the contention betwixt the Greeks and the Jews, deacons were chosen to provide for the poor, that they might give themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word.

W. That is not contrary to what my brother hath said, but serveth very aptly to confirm it; for there the Holy Ghost includes their whole office in two particular duties. And if the apostles did well in communicating the temporal part of their office to others, that they might give themselves the more to prayer and preaching, what can we judge of those who unite *civil* functions to their ecclesiastical offices? But a wandering ministry is to be avoided, because it is an ignorant and unlearned ministry, the reformation of which, with the banishment of the pope's canon law, we have particularly set forth in our late book. And because it is directly contrary both to reason and scripture.

P. I wish to hear that reason, and see that scripture.

F. You know that a father hath much regard for his children, because they are nearly related to him: so, on the same account, hath a pastor for the children of his flock. And the scripture saith, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God. Feed the flock of God which is among you."

P. May I not then preach in other men's charges?

F. Upon certain conditions you may.

P. If I see the people lacking instruction, and out of compassion preach to them, do you think I do evil?

F. It is not for us to condemn another man's servant: to his own master he standeth or falleth. Yet you will do well to take heed to your own calling. But having your own flock, and intermeddling with other mens' charges, which God hath not commanded, you do not well. If, indeed, there be a defection among the churches, either in faith or practice, and God stir you up by an extraordinary

calling, though you preach in other places, I condemn you not.

P. What are the reasons why I may not come into another man's charge?

W. If our church were so reformed, that there was a learned and painful ministry, with a godly sincerity in every congregation, then, with a view to end a controversy, confirm a doctrine, or refute an error, you might preach in another man's charge: yet you might not do this, unless you were requested by the minister and seniority of the church, and permitted by your own.

P. You seem to have written your book in choler against some persons, rather than to promote a reformation of the church.

W. I suppose you are displeased with the sharpness of the language. We are willing to bear the blame of that.

P. I think it did not proceed from a spirit of love, and charity, and meekness.

F. That toucheth me, and therefore I answer; as God hath his Moses, so he hath his Elijah. Isaiah calleth the rulers of his time, princes of Sodom. John calleth the scribes and pharisees, a generation of vipers. Jesus Christ calleth them adders, and an adulterous generation. And the scriptures, especially the prophets, are full of such warm expressions. We have used gentle words too long: we perceive they have done no good. The wound is become desperate; it therefore needeth a strong corrosive. It is no time to flatter men in their sins. Yet God knoweth, we meant to speak against no man's *person*, but their *places*, and *existing corruptions*.

P. Will you then take away all ecclesiastical policy? It pleaseth the prince, in policy, to make the ministers *lord-bishops* and *archbishops*. I confess this cannot be warranted by God's word; but as the christian magistrate, in policy, esteemeth it good, and not against God's word, I doubt whether they may not do it.

W. We praise God for having made you confess this truth. But, from your words, we must consider whether the policy concerning ecclesiastical matters, as contained in God's word, be not all-sufficient, and that alone which is to be followed. The ministers of Christ may take unto themselves no other titles than those which are allowed and appointed in God's word, though the christian prince would, in policy, make them ever so liberal an offer of them.

F. No. Though the prince would give them such

offices and titles, they ought, according to the word of God, to refuse them.

P. When in honour they are offered, would you have them wilfully and unthankfully to refuse them?

F. Whenever the prince is so disposed, they, in the fear of God, should say, "A greater charge is already laid upon us than we are well able to fulfil. We cannot labour so faithfully in this function as the Lord requireth; therefore, we most humbly desire your majesty to lay the charge of *civil* matters upon those who have time and skill to manage them, and to whom in duty they belong; and let us exercise ourselves in the office of the ministry alone." No names can be more blasphemous than those of *lord-bishops* and *archbishops*. They take that honour to themselves which belongs to Jesus Christ alone, as lord and king in Zion.

P. If for religion the prince appoint fasts, we ought not to obey; but if, in policy, when victuals are dear, he appoint them, we are bound in conscience to obey.

F. As you plead so much for policy, we suffer imprisonment for opposing the popish hierarchy, the policy of which is directly contrary to that which was used in the primitive church.

P. Must we then in every point follow the apostles and primitive church?

W. Yes; unless a better order can be found. In matters of government and discipline, the word of God is our only warrant; but rites and ceremonies not mentioned in scripture, are to be used or refused, as shall best appear to the edification of the church.*

Here the conversation closed; and soon after this Mr. Wilcocks and Mr. Field presented a supplication to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, written, says Mr. Strype, in a good Latin style. In this they vindicate their own innocence, and petition his lordship to procure their liberty, by addressing him as follows:—"Confiding in your singular benevolence, we were induced to address you, hoping to obtain our liberty, and to propagate the truth. We are aware that we are spoken against and slandered by many. But let the truth speak for itself—it never seeks to be hid in corners. While we commend the innocency and equity of our cause to your consideration, we humbly and earnestly beseech you to grant us favour. We have, indeed, lately written a book, urging the reformation of horrid abuses; and

* MS. Register, p. 132—137.

that true religion may be freed from popish superstition, and, with the queen's approbation, be again restored by the parliament. But of ourselves we have never attempted to correct or change any thing. We referred all to their judgments, according as the case may seem to them to require. And we hoped that, by this means, the peace of the church, and the reconciliation of brethren, might have been happily promoted.

"By this ecclesiastical establishment, which is so contrary to the word of God, we have all seen a sad schism in the church; and that most desirable blessing of peace, which ought to abound among those of the same religion, has been destroyed. We said nothing of the contempt of good learning, the corruption of true religion, the depraving of the ministry, and the increase of sin which it hath occasioned. All this is a sufficient justification of our book. And the corruptions and abuses which we have mentioned, are unanimously acknowledged by all the foreign reformed churches, and by the writings of men of eminent learning, to be very foul."

In the conclusion they humbly and earnestly entreat him to be a means of procuring their liberty. They also presented other petitions to other persons of distinction, but apparently to little effect: for they were confined in close prison in Newgate at least fifteen months. A further account of these proceedings will be found in another place.†

Mr. Wilcocks at length obtained his release from prison, but was at the same time deprived of his living in Honey-lane. Being driven from his flock and his benefice, he preached where he could, as he found an opportunity, though not without frequent molestation from the persecuting prelates. For the greatest part of ten years he preached very frequently at Bovington, in Hertfordshire. He spent a considerable portion of his time and pains in his epistolary correspondence with his numerous friends; and in his letters he commonly subscribed himself, "Thomas Wilcocks, the Lord's unworthy servant." Among his numerous and learned correspondents, was the venerable Mr. Anthony Gilby, of Ashby de la Zouch, in Leicestershire, to whom he addressed the following epistle, descriptive of the cruel oppressions of the time:‡

"Good Father Gilby, since my separation from you I have received letters from London, wherein was certified the

* Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 186.

† See Art. Field.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxiii. p. 441, 442.

stirs and troubles there. When I had read them, I thought it meet to make you partaker of such news as was sent unto me, to the end that you and all the godly there with you may pour forth earnest supplications for our brethren who are now in bonds, and under the cross, for the testimony of the truth. Thus standeth the case. Mr. Fulwer, our dear friend and brother in the Lord, with divers others, are prisoners in the same Compter, and for the same cause that our brother Edmunds is. Our brother Johnson, minister of the church without Temple-bar, and others with him, are laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster. Our brother Wight and others with him are committed to Newgate.

“ The ministers of London were called by the archdeacon and Dr. Hames, the bishop’s chancellor, to Lawrence church in the Jewry, and then subscribed, and were commanded to put on their trash; as surplices, &c. on the Sunday following. Amongst them, none had more deceived the godly than one Wager, who had many times been, but only in words, against the popish regimen and ceremonies retained and used in the English church; but now by his subscription hath allowed all. The Lord grant that, as he hath fallen with Peter, and denied the truth, so he may, if it be his will, rise with him again. This subscription is required, not of ministers alone, but of the common people, such as they call *puritans*. Scribbled in haste from Coventry, this 21st of December, 1573.

“ By yours to command in the Lord Jesus,

“ THOMAS WILCOCKS.”

Mr. Wilcocks, in about six weeks after the above, addressed another epistle to the same venerable divine, containing a further account of oppressions and cruelties exercised upon the poor persecuted puritans. It contains, indeed, some other interesting facts worthy of being communicated to posterity; and the whole is so excellent, and so exactly characteristic of the writer, that it would be an inexcusable omission to withhold it from the inquisitive reader. The following is an exact copy:*

“ Grace and peace from God.

“ Father Gilby, news here is none good; for how may we look for good in these evil times? The commissioners go forwards in their haughty proceedings: God, if it be his will, stay their rage. Three of them that they have imprisoned are dead already. What shall become of the rest

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 439, 440.

the Lord knoweth. We here persuade ourselves of nothing but great extremity. The Lord grant us patience and strength in his truth for ever. The godly here desire your earnest prayers to the Lord for them, and heartily salute you in the Lord, especially my brother Edmunds, the Lord's prisoner, unto whom you promised, at my being with you, to write some letter of comfort. Surely a letter from you to him would much encourage him in the ways of the Lord; and, therefore, I desire you at your convenient leisure to write somewhat as it shall please the Lord to move you.

"Dr. Whitgift's book is not yet come out, but we look for it daily. Our brother Cartwright is escaped, God be praised, and departed this land since my coming up to London, and, I hope, is by this time at Heidelberg. The Lord bless him, and direct him in all things by his Holy Spirit, that he may do that which may serve for the advancement of his glory, and the profit of his church. His earnest desire is, that you and all the godly should remember him in your earnest and hearty prayers; therefore, I the more boldly and willingly now make mention of him.

"The commissioners caused Beza's Confession, translated into English, to be burnt in Stationers'-hall, on Thursday the 28th of January last. The pretence was, that it was ill translated: but I suppose rather because it over plainly dissolveth the popish hierarehy, which they yet maintain. From my house in Coleman-street, this 2d of February, 1574. Yours assured in the Lord,

"THOMAS WILCOCKS."

Many of the letters written by Mr. Wilcocks were answers to cases of conscience. He was highly celebrated for his knowledge of casuistical divinity. Multitudes who applied to him under spiritual distress, obtained, through the blessing of God, both peace and comfort. Most of his epistles were written particularly to promote family and personal religion among his numerous connexions. Our author observes, that he had seen a large folio volume of his letters in manuscript; and, from the long list now before me, it appears that many of them were addressed to persons of quality. Mr. Wilcocks was intimate with the celebrated Sir Peter Wentworth, who had the highest respect and esteem for him.*

* Sir Peter Wentworth, member in several of Queen Elizabeth's parliaments, was a man of great piety, strong resolution, excellent abilities, and always zealous for the privileges of parliaments and a further reformation

Though our divine was a decided nonconformist, he was a person of great moderation. He acknowledged the church of England to be a true church, and her ministry to be a true ministry, but greatly encumbered with the superstitions and corruptions of popery. He also occasionally attended the public service of the church, and was a divine of great learning and piety; yet, for the single sin of nonconformity, he was often prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and often suspended and deprived. In the year 1581, he was convened before his superiors and suspended from his ministry; and, in 1591, he was cast into prison. He died in the year 1608, and the fifty-ninth of his age.* Wood, not knowing that he was a puritan, gives a very high character of him, styling him a frequent writer and translator, a laborious preacher, a noted casuist, a grave divine, and a person greatly esteemed in his day.†

His Works.—1. An Exposition on the book of Canticles, or Solomon's Song, 1585.—2. An Exposition on part of Romans viii., 1587.—3. A short and sound Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon, 1589.—4. An Exposition on the whole book of Psalms, wherein is contained the division and sense of every Psalm, &c., 1591. (These four articles were collected and published, in 1694, under the care of Dr. John Burgeas, who married the author's daughter. It was in one volume folio, entitled, "The Works of the Reverend Divine, Mr. Tho. Wilcocks.")—5. A Summary of short Meditations, touching certain Points of the Christian Religion, 1579.—6. A Concordance or Table, containing the principal Words and Matters which are comprehended in the New Testament, 1579.—7. An Answer to Banister the Libertine, 1581.—8. A Glass for Gamesters, or such as delight in Cards and Dice, wherein they may see not only the Vanity, but also the Vileness of those Plays, plainly discovered and overthrown by the Word of God, 1581.—9. A Form of Preparation for the Lord's Supper, 1581.—10. The Substance of the Lord's Supper shortly and soundly set forth, 1581.—11. A comfortable Letter for afflicted Consciences, written to a godly Man greatly touched that way, 1584.—12. Three large Letters for the Instruction and Comfort of such as are distressed in Conscience, 1589.—13. The Narration of a fearful Fire at Woburn in Bedfordshire, 1595.—He also published the following translations into English:—1. A Catechism, 1578, by Fountain.—2. Three Propositions, 1580, by Calvin.—3. A Treatise of the Church, wherein the godly may discern the true Church from the Romish, 1582, by Bertrand de Loques.—4. A Discourse of the true visible Marks of the Catholic Church, 1588, by Beza.—5. Two Sermons on the Sacrament of the

of the church. In the year 1592, for making a motion in the house of commons for entailing the succession, he was, by the queen's tyrannical order, committed to the Fleet, and three other members to the Tower, for the same offence.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 417. (90.) 617. (2.)

* *Ibid.* p. 617. (4.) † *Wood's Athens Oxon.* vol. i. p. 861. ‡ *Ibid.*

Lord's Supper, 1680, by Bena.—6. Bertram the Priest concerning the Body and Blood of Christ, 1682.—7. Meditations on Psalm c., 1690, by Phil. Morney Lord of Plessis.

JOHN SMYTH, A. M.—This zealous puritan was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and a great sufferer for non-conformity. He was a popular preacher; and having, in one of his sermons before the university, maintained the unlawfulness of sports on the Lord's day, he was summoned before the vice-chancellor. During his examination, he offered to prove, that the christian sabbath ought to be observed by an abstinence from all unnecessary worldly business, and spent in works of piety and charity; though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him.* A divine of his name, beneficed at Mitcham in Surrey, was a member of the presbyterian church erected at Wandsworth in that county, in the year 1572; but it is not easy to ascertain whether he was the same person.+

Mr. Smyth afterwards separated from the established church, and embraced the principles of the Brownists. In the year 1592, he was one of their leaders, and cast into prison, with many of his brethren, for their nonconformity. After being confined more than eleven months, he was called before the tribunal of the high commission, when he expressed his great surprise, that in matters of religion and conscience, his spiritual judges should censure men with imprisonment and other grievances, rather than some more christian and equitable methods. In the course of his examination, one of the commissioners asking him, *whether he would go to church*, he answered, that he should dissemble and play the hypocrite, if he should do it to avoid trouble; for he thought it was utterly unlawful. The commissioner then said, "Come to church and obey the queen's laws, and be a *dissembler*, an *hypocrite*, or a *deceit*, if thou wilt."‡ Upon his refusal, he was sent back to the Marshalsea, some of his brethren to the Clink, and others to the Fleet; where they were shut up in close rooms, not being allowed the common liberty of the prison. Here they died like rotten sheep, some through extreme want, some from the rigour of their imprisonment, and others of infectious distempers. § Though Mr. Smyth

* Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 341.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 103.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 134.

§ Ibid. p. 134—136.

survived these calamities, it does not appear at what period he was released from prison.

Previous to his total separation from the church of England, he spent nine months in studying the grounds of conformity and nonconformity;* and held a disputation with Messrs. Dod, Hildersham, and Barbon, on the points of conformity, and the use of prescribed forms of prayer.+ He was preacher in the city of Lincoln, and afterwards beneficed at Gainsborough. In the county of Lincoln, and on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, the principles of the Brownists gained considerable ground. Two churches were formed, over one of which Mr. Smyth was chosen pastor; and over the other Mr. Richard Clifton, who was succeeded by Mr. John Robinson.‡ After enduring numerous hardships and incessant persecution from the high commission, they fled from the storm, and went to Holland. Mr. Smyth and his followers settled at Amsterdam, in the year 1606, and joined themselves to the English church at that place, of which Mr. Francis Johnson was pastor, and Mr. Henry Ainsworth teacher. It was not long, however, before a very serious breach took place. The subjects of debate, which gave rise to this division, were certain opinions very similar to those afterwards espoused by Arminius. Mr. Smyth maintained the doctrines of free-will and universal redemption; opposed the predestination of particular persons to eternal life; as also the doctrine of original sin; and maintained that believers might fall from that grace which would have saved them, had they continued in it. He seems, indeed, to have entertained some very singular notions: as, the unlawfulness of reading the scriptures in public worship; that no translation of the Bible was the word of God; that singing the praises of God in verses, or set words, was without authority; that flight in time of persecution was unlawful; that the new-creature needed not the support of scripture and ordinances, but was above them; and that perfection was attainable in this life.§

Mr. Smyth differed also from his brethren on the subject of baptism. The Brownists, who denied the church of England to be a true church, maintained that her ministers acted without a divine commission; and, consequently, that

* Life of Ainsworth, p. 36.

† Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 7.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 19, 20.—Morse and Parish's New Eng. p. 6.

§ Life of Ainsworth, p. 38.

every ordinance administered by them, was null and void. They were for some time, however, guilty of this inconsistency, that while they re-ordained their pastors and teachers, they did not repeat their baptism. This defect was easily discovered by Mr. Smyth; whose doubts concerning the validity of baptism, as administered in the national church, paved the way for his rejecting the baptism of infants altogether. Upon further consideration of the subject, he was led to conclude, that immersion was the true and only meaning of the word baptism; and that the ordinance should be administered to those only who appeared to believe in Jesus Christ. But the absurdity of Mr. Smyth's conduct certainly appeared in this, that, refusing to apply to the German baptists, and wanting a proper administrator, according to his views of the ordinance, he baptized himself; on which account he was stigmatized by the name of a *Se-baptist*. This is related as a fact by most of our historians; and one of them affirms, that he was baptized no less than *three* times.* Crosby has, however, taken great pains to vindicate him from the charge of having baptized himself; yet it does not appear that he has been very successful.†

Mr. Smyth's principles and conduct deeply involved him in public controversy, and soon drew upon him an host of opponents, the chief of whom were Messrs. Robinson, Ainsworth, Johnson, Jessop, and Clifton. The controversy commenced soon after his settlement at Amsterdam, and was carried on with too much asperity by both parties.‡ Many writers observe, that soon after this unhappy controversy broke out, Mr. Smyth and his followers removed from Amsterdam, and settled at Leyden; whereas it is extremely obvious, from the testimony of persons who lived in those times, and even in those places, that both he and his people continued at Amsterdam till the day of his death,§ which happened about the close of the year 1610. The year following appeared, "A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam, in Holland," being the remainder of Mr. Smyth's company: with an appendix, giving some account of his sickness and death.

* Paget's Heresiography, p. 66.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 46.—Life of Ainsworth, p. 38—42.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrology, p. 56.

† Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 95—98.

‡ Life of Ainsworth, p. 42.

§ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 7.—Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 27.

A copy of this declaration is still preserved.* Soon after his death, his followers returned to England; and, as it is generally supposed, they were the first of those now called *general baptists* in this country. Mr. Smyth possessed good abilities, was a learned man, and an able preacher, but he often changed his opinions, even to the very close of life. This, however, was undoubtedly from conviction, as he himself declared. "To change a false religion," says he, "is commendable, and not evil; and to fall from the profession of Puritanism to Brownism, and from Brownism to true Christian baptism, is not evil or reprobable in itself, except it be proved that we fall from true religion."†

Mr. Smyth and his company were certainly very much reproached by their enemies. This, as well as their defence, we have from his own pen. "We," says he, "disclaim the errors commonly, but most slanderously imputed unto us. We are, indeed, traduced by the world as atheists, by denying the Old Testament and the Lord's day; as traitors to magistrates, in denying magistracy; and as heretics, in denying the humanity of Christ. Be it known, therefore, to all men; first, that we deny not the scriptures of the Old Testament, but, with the apostle, acknowledge them to be inspired of God; and that we have a sure word of the prophets whereunto we ought to attend as to a light shining in a dark place; and that whatsoever was written aforetime was written for our instruction, that we, through patience and comfort of the scriptures, might have hope.—Secondly, we acknowledge, that, according to the precedent of Christ's disciples and the primitive churches, the saints ought, upon the first day of the week, which is called the Lord's day, to assemble together to pray, prophesy, praise God, break bread, and perform other parts of spiritual communion, for the worship of God, their own mutual edification, and the preservation of true religion and piety in the church.—Thirdly, concerning magistrates, we acknowledge them to be the ordinance of the Lord; that every soul ought to be subject unto them; that they are the ministers of God for our good; that we ought to pray for them that are in authority, and not speak evil of them, nor despise government, but pay tribute, custom, &c.—Finally, concerning the flesh of Christ, we do believe that Christ is the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of David, according to the prophecies of the scriptures; and that he is the son of Mary

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. and ii. Appen.

† Smyth's Character of the Beast, Pref. Edit. 1610.

his mother, made of her substance, the Holy Ghost overshadowing her: also that Christ is one person in two distinct natures, the Godhead and manhood; and we detest the contrary errors.”*

HIS WORKS.—1. *Parallels and Censures*, 1609.—2. *The Character of the Beast: or, the false Constitution of the Church, discovered in certain Passages betwixt Mr. R. Clifton and John Smyth, concerning true Christian Baptism of New Creatures, or new-born Babes in Christ, and false Baptism of Infants born after the Flesh*, 1610.—3. *Differences of the Churches of the Separation*.—4. *A Dialogue of Baptism*.—5. *A Reply to Mr. Clifton's Christian Plea*.

RICHARD CLIFTON was a person of a grave deportment, and a successful preacher, but severely persecuted for non-conformity.† He was pastor to one of the Brownist churches in the north of England, and by his ministerial labours, many souls were converted to Christ. The celebrated Mr. John Robinson was a member of his church, and afterwards his successor in the pastoral office.‡ These worthy persons endured most cruel persecution, and for a long time were exceedingly harassed by the high commission, and were at length driven out of the kingdom. About the year 1606, Mr. Clifton removed to Holland, and settled at Amsterdam;§ where he became teacher to the church of which Mr. Francis Johnson was pastor. He carried his views of separation much farther than Mr. Robinson, and imbibed many of the opinions of Mr. John Smyth; but it appears that he was afterwards reclaimed from so rigid a separation.¶ He is denominated the principal scribe among the separatists, and is said to have written most to the purpose in defence of separation.‡ As his writings were published during his exile in a foreign land, we have not been able to collect the title of more than one of his pieces; which was, “*A Plea for Infants and elder People concerning their Baptism; or, a Process of the Passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clifton*,” 1610. Having renounced the principles of rigid separation, he wrote, as in the work just mentioned, with great warmth against Mr. Smyth. He is said to have been one of Mr. Smyth's most violent adver-

* Smyth's *Character of the Beast*, Pref.

† Cotton's *Congregational Churches*, p. 7.

‡ Morse and Parish's *New Eng.* p. 6. § *Life of Ainsworth*, p. 37.

¶ Clark's *Lives annexed to Martyr*, p. 56.

‡ Paget's *Arrow against Separation*, p. 8.

saries.* Mr. Clifton was probably living when the above piece was published; but when he died we cannot ascertain.

NICOLAS RUSH was fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university, but persecuted for his nonconformity. In his sermon at St. Mary's church, September 10, 1609; it is said that he delivered divers opinions contrary to the religion of the established church; for which he was convened before the vice-chancellor, Dr. Jegon, and the heads of houses, and required to deliver up a copy of his sermon. Having complied with their demands, certain offensive opinions were extracted from his sermon, for which he was immediately suspended from preaching, and enjoined to make a public recantation from the pulpit of the above church. This degrading recantation, containing an account of his offensive crimes, was the following:

“ Whereas many christian auditors, wise, godly and religious, have been offended with many things which I not long since uttered in a sermon in this place, justly reprehending not only my great indiscretion, presumption, uncharitableness, rash and bold censuring, but also some strange and erroneous opinions I then was taken to deliver; I am now come to the same public place (after sundry conferences had with divers grave and learned divines of this university) to acknowledge my fault and make satisfaction.

“ And, first, in my prayer, where I used very irreverent and reproachful speech against the clergy, or some of them, terming them gorbellied clergy; and also some offensive speeches, which might be taken to touch authority, or some attending at court, calling them devilish parasites, in flattering and attributing overmuch to some in higher place: upon better advice, I now acknowledge my presumptuous boldness therein. Further, in that I did then deliver three opinions in these words, viz. that St. Paul and Moses did faulty and err in their desires, it coming from a scourge and force of a passion too earnest and hot, and not sufficiently bounded with the true limits of pure charity. And also even our Saviour Christ's prayer (Father if thou wilt, let this cup pass from me, yet not my will, but thy will be done,) came from nature only,

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 92.

"without reason attending, his understanding all the while
 "being otherwise busied, and his reasonable deliberation
 "not concurring therewith; for it is not necessary that the
 "reasonable mind should always concur with the tongue,
 "men speaking in their sleep, and parrots also learning that
 "faculty. And that his mouth, with all the instruments of
 "speech, were writhed as it were, and wrested to utter the
 "same, and substance of his natural instinct and inclination.
 "And further, that our Saviour Christ's prayer, though it
 "were uttered by a person reasonable, yet it was nothing
 "in substance but a nature desired prayer: it being
 "directly and originally the proper cause of it. And
 "further, that the words of Christ were as the words of a
 "man in sleep. Whereas in my confutation of Mr. Beza's
 "judgment, (being that the prayer of Christ came from a
 "reasonable will,) I uttered these words in answer: 'As I
 "take it, it cannot stand; for how could he, without tedious
 "and untimely troubling and obtruding his Father's ears,
 "(as I may so speak,) pray that the cup should pass from
 "him.'

"I now, upon better deliberation, do, with grief and
 "sorrow of heart, confess before God and his angels, and
 "this whole assembly, that I have greatly erred in my
 "said opinions publicly delivered, and especially touching
 "the points about the most holy, earnest, meritorious, and
 "heavenly prayer of our Saviour in that bitter agony suf-
 "fered for our sins; wherein my said speeches were not only
 "erroneous, rash, and presumptuous, but also such as might
 "be taken to be dishonourable to our Saviour, impious and
 "profane, giving just scandal both to such as then heard
 "me, and those to whom the report hath come. Where-
 "fore I humbly beseech, first, Almighty God, and next
 "you all whom I have offended, to forgive me, promising,
 "by God's grace, to be more vigilant and circumspect
 "hereafter in what I shall publicly utter, either in this
 "or any other place: which, that I may the better perform,
 "I humbly desire you to pray for me, and now to join with
 "me in that most absolute form of prayer which our
 "Saviour Christ himself hath taught us."

Mr. Rush absolutely refused to make this degrading
 recantation; for which, February 8, 1610, he was expelled
 from the university;* and this is all that we know of him.

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 189, 190.

Mr. LANCASTER was born of good family, and for some time was fellow of King's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was a man of great humility, faith, and self-denial, and an excellent scholar, especially in Latin. The famous Dr. Collins used to say, "he delivered his public lectures in as pure Latin as Tully, having no other notes than what he wrote on the nails of his fingers." With his great learning, and other ornamental accomplishments, his preaching was plain, and easy to be understood; and he was content to live among plain people, with a living of less than forty pounds a year. He was beneficed at some place near Banbury, in Oxfordshire; but, about the year 1610, was suspended both from his office and benefice, by the tyrannical oppression of Archbishop Bancroft. Mr. Clark gives the following account of this excellent divine: "When I was young," says he, "I knew Mr. Lancaster. He was a little man, but eminent, as for other things, so especially for living by faith. His charge was great, and his means small. When his wife was about to send her servant-maid to buy provision at Banbury market, she would many times come to him, and tell him she had no money; his usual answer was, *Send your maid, and God will provide.* And though she sent her maid without money, she never returned empty; for one or other, who knew her to be Mr. Lancaster's maid, would give her money, by which their present wants were supplied."

THOMAS PEACOCK, B. D.—This learned and pious divine was born in Cheshire, and educated most probably in Brasen-nose college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was the learned tutor, the familiar friend, and the spiritual father to the famous Mr. Robert Bolton, of Broughton in Northamptonshire, who, at his death, left an account of him in manuscript, which was intended for the use of the public, and afterwards published by his friend Mr. Edward Bagshawe. Thence the following singular narrative of Mr. Peacock is collected; and it contains a pretty copious abstract of the whole. As the piece is written throughout nearly in the form of a dialogue, the same method is observed in the abstract, with as little alteration as possible.

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 318, 319.

Mr. Peacock was a very godly minister of Christ, and a rare example of humility and holiness in the religious education of his scholars, and in his extraordinary concern for both the bodies and souls of poor distressed christians. Notwithstanding his eminent grace and excellent piety, he endured, in his last sickness, the most remarkable spiritual conflict. He was brought even to the suburbs of hell, and thence plucked as a brand from the fire. The enemy of his peace was permitted to come upon him as an armed man; but God restored comfort to his dejected soul, bound up his broken spirit, and poured the precious balm of Gilead into his wounded and bleeding conscience. For nearly three weeks after the commencement of his affliction, his time was almost wholly employed in serious devotion and holy converse with God, and he was full of most heavenly consolations. He said his hope was firmly fixed on the rock Christ Jesus. He hoped the Lord would give him a place among his saints, though it were in the lowest room. He thanked God, that he had no trouble of conscience; and that the Lord did not suffer Satan to vex him. But afterwards calling to some of his friends, he addressed them as follows:

Peacock. I thought I had been in a good state, but I see it now far otherwise. My conscience lays these things against me. I brought up my scholars in gluttony, letting them eat their fill of meat when they lived with me. While I was talking, they did undo themselves. I did unadvisedly expound places of scripture at the table; and for these things I now feel a hell in my conscience. I have procured my own death, by often eating like a beast.

Friend. How do you do?

P. Sin, sin, sin!

F. What doth any lie on your conscience?

P. Yea, my inconsiderateness: I did cut too much meat to breakfast. But God be thanked there is no greater. As we must not extenuate, so neither must we too much aggravate our sin. Let drunkards and gluttons have those terrible horrors. I thank God, I never continued in any known sin against my conscience.—(He afterwards with bitterness exclaimed,) A damnable wretch. Oh, how woeful and miserable is my state, that I must converse with hell-hounds. The Lord hath cursed me: the event sheweth it. I have no grace. I was a foolish, vain-glorious hypocrite. It is against the course of God's proceeding to save me. He hath otherwise decreed: he cannot.

- F. Put your trust in God.
- P. I cannot; no more than a horse.
- F. Do you desire to believe?
- P. No more than a post, or an horse-shoe. I have no more sense of grace than these curtains; than a goose; than a block.
- F. Let the testimony of your life past comfort you, especially in the calling of a tutor.
- P. I did the business thereof negligently. When I handled hard authors, I came often unprepared, and read shamefully.
- F. Be of good courage, and the Lord will comfort your heart.
- P. It is ended: there is no such matter.
- F. Why do you think so? You shall see the event. God will yet bring it to pass.
- P. Tush, tush, trifles.
- F. What do you think of your former doctrine?
- P. Very good.
- F. Let it now comfort you.
- P. It cannot.
- F. You desire it could. There is nothing impossible with God, which stands with his decree.
- P. Oh! Oh! miserable and woeful. The burden of my sin lieth heavy upon me. I doubt it will break my heart.
- F. Behold your comforts.
- P. That is nothing to me. I pray you hold your peace. You vex me. Your words are as daggers in my heart.
- F. Remember, sir, the good counsels you have given us.
- P. Those were ordinary.
- F. You may see many others in the like estate. See David.
- P. Not such as mine. Why do you speak to me of David?
- F. Good sir, endeavour to settle your mind.
- P. Yes, to play with hell-hounds.
- F. Will you pray.
- P. I cannot.
- F. You were wont heretofore.
- P. Yes, by a custom and vain-glory.
- F. Suffer us to pray for you.
- P. Take not the name of God in vain, by praying for a reprobate.
- F. Suffer us to pray for ourselves.

P. Look to it; you would now shew your faculty in praying.—(After prayer was ended, he said, do not trouble yourselves in vain.)

F. Let not the devil delude you, abusing your mind and tongue. I know you speak not these words.

P. I wonder that intelligent scholars should speak thus.

F. We are persuaded you are in as good a state as ourselves.

P. Look how it is with yourselves, in truth.

F. How can you discern this change by the absence of God, if you never enjoyed his presence?

P. I thought I had it once; but now I see it is far otherwise. Oh, me! Wretch that I am!

F. Be of good comfort.

P. I cannot. I have no more grace than a back-stock.

F. Do you desire grace?

P. I cannot. I can as well leap over the church.

F. Would you not be in heaven?

P. I would not.

F. The devil himself would if he could. You have the testimony of faith: you love the brethren.

P. I do not.

F. Do you not love us?

P. No.

F. What is it that most troubles you?

P. I took too much upon me foolishly. I had got a little logic and Greek; and, meanly instructed in the rules, I set myself to read to scholars; and afterwards undertook other business which drew my attention from them. I have destroyed a thousand souls.

F. You may see the falsehood of him that suggesteth this unto you. You never had a thousand. The good effect of your pains appears in many of your scholars.

P. They were of themselves capable.

F. Name one in whom they do not appear.

P. There is one, (pointing at a master of arts.)

F. I thank God, that I ever came to you.

P. It is not so. I did foolishly.

F. You confess you did foolishly; therefore, not of malice. Consider what would have become of them, if you had not taken them.

P. Better, far better.

F. All the college know the contrary.

P. But I feel it.

F. It is false: believe not the devil.

P. It is too true.

F. When will you make amends? God will give you your desire.

P. Never.

F. Are you sorry that he will not?

P. No. There is no grace in my heart: it is dead.

F. Whom God loveth once, he loveth to the end.

P. But he never did love me. I deceived myself by a certain vain-glory.

F. You could say the Lord's prayer, and, therefore, call him Father.

P. That I did hypocritically.

F. You must trust in the Lord.

P. I cannot: I cannot. He will not have me saved. His sentence is passed.

F. Do you desire to be saved?

P. No.

F. Do you desire to desire?

P. No.

F. Would you be damned?

P. No.

F. Look at the sins of other men, as great as yours; and yet they are saved.

P. They are good and godly. They have found grace: here is the difference. My sins are horrible.

F. I see now how it is. You strictly look back to your own actions for your justification, and will have none of God's mercy; and now he hath justly met with you. Your judgment is just. Do you hope to be justified by your own merits?

P. I fear to be damned for my sins. Oh! if you did but feel my grief only one hour, you would have compassion.

F. If you were in the fire, you would wish to get out.

P. I had rather be in the fire than here. I took many things upon me too proudly, and, being negligent, performed nothing. Cursed be the day when I took scholars. If I had not taken them, I had been happy. I was an hypocrite, and now there is no hope of comfort for me in God's presence.

F. What would you counsel me to do?

P. Abide within the bounds of your calling. Take not too much upon you, and the Lord will bless you.

F. Will it avail me to hear sermons?

P. Yes, if you mean to be saved.

F. What good shall I reap thence?

P. Nothing from bare hearing.

F. You know the poor in spirit are blessed.

P. I am not such.

F. You see you are empty of all good: you feel your burden.

P. I pray you, go your way. (He turned his head aside, and stopped his ears.)

F. What though you have done but little good; yet, if you have only given a cup of cold water, in the name of a disciple, it will be accepted.

P. Oh! if God—

F. He will give you grace.

P. I doubt it. Oh God, give me a spark of grace, and enlarge my heart to apprehend it.

P. Oh, Mr. Dod! I have no grace.

Dod. I will not believe every one who saith he hath grace, nor every one who saith he hath none. A man must not always be led by sense. You forgive your enemies and love them, and would do them no hurt, if you could.

P. Yes.

D. Then your sins are forgiven: an hypocrite may give alms and fast, but this he cannot do.

P. That is a small matter.

D. I think it to be a great one; yea, such a one as I had need to pray for. That is put for a reason in the Lord's prayer; and if Christ had thought of any more forcible, he would have given it.

P. Sir, that is true, in those who are elected.

D. Do not you put an exception where God hath put none. I came hither to cherish you; and you love your friends.

P. I cannot.

D. Would you rather have bad or good men to be with you?

P. Good.

D. Yet you say you do not love them. There is no fellowship between light and darkness. Doth your sickness or your sin most trouble you? And would you have grace, rather than health?

P. Grace: but it cannot be.

D. Do you desire to be saved?

P. Infinitely! Oh! if God would give me a drop. But I feel horror.

D. Do not you search into the secrets of God?

P. It is too true and manifest.

D. Sir, do not always be digging at your sins. A wound continually rubbed cannot be cured. Suffer the plaster of the word of God to rest upon it, that it may be healed.

P. Oh, if I had! Oh, if it would please God! I had rather than any thing in this or three thousand worlds.

D. Who now giveth this desire unto you? Of ourselves we cannot think a good thought. God giveth both the will and the deed. A desire is a sure token.

P. But I cannot truly desire. Oh, if he would enlarge my heart.

D. Cast your burden upon the Lord.

P. He hath rejected me.

D. Who made you his counsellor? Secret things belong to God, but things revealed to us. Will you make almanacs?

P. He doth manifest it. Oh, mine abominable bringing up of youth!—(He groaned most bitterly.)

D. Behold we make your state our own—we have part in your sorrow. Who hath thus disposed our hearts?

P. God.

D. And do you think that he who causeth us to love you doth not love you himself?

P. I fear I did too much glory in matters of private service of God.

D. The devil hath now winnowed you, and you think all is gone out; but God holdeth what is his. When an earthly father setteth his son on work, he must do it in his own strength: but the Lord setteth on work, and giveth strength.

P. Oh, my heart is miserable.

D. What then? A father loveth his son as well when he is sleeping as when he is waking. Sir, I have known you heretofore, and although, if I were in your case, I might do as you do; yet I should remain the servant of God, as you certainly do. If Jacob could say of Esau, I have seen thy face as though I had seen the face of God; how much more should you think so of the children of God who come to you.

P. I think God hath begun to give me ease.

D. He will in his good time.

P. God grant it.

D. Although we depart from our friends in the way, we shall meet at the end.

After Mr. Dod was departed, he received a letter from his

affectionate friend Mr. Bolton, in which he thus addressed him :—" I heard, I know not how, that my dear christian friend Mr. Peacock is in great distress, which hath much grieved and afflicted my heart, and wrung from me many bitter tears. If his extremities be such, his temptations are likely to be very sore. Tell him from me, as from one who did ever with dearest intimacy know and converse with him, that I can assure him in the word of life and truth, from a most holy and just God, whose minister I am, that he is undoubtedly one of his saints, designed for immortality, and the endless joys of another world."

Upon the reading of Mr. Bolton's letter, at those words, " I can assure him," he said, " Oh, take heed, take heed. I did deceive myself: now God hath revealed more. My heart is broken." " Then," observed one of his friends, " the promise is yours." " Oh," said he, " I love your company, for the grace that is in you." He then cried to the Lord, saying, " Oh God, reconcile me unto thee, that I may taste one dram of thy grace, by which my miserable soul may receive comfort. Satan hath borne me in hand, and hath deluded me." A person afterwards coming to him, and asking him how he did, he replied, " My mind was grievously puzzled with sundry distractions in the night; but now, I thank God, I feel my burden more light. Lord, grant me the comfort of thy deliverance, and forgive me my foolishness, that I may praise thy name." An intimate friend taking his final leave of him, and asking his counsel, he said, " Look to your calling; that it be as well inward as outward;" and he urged others to be diligent in promoting God's glory. Being asked how he did, he said, " Oh! if it would please God that I might live with him:" then added, " I have been thinking of arguments by which I might plead my cause with God, and I have found them. But what if dying thus I should be found an apostate! Truly," said he, " my heart and soul have been far led, and deeply troubled with temptations and strifes of conscience; but, I thank God, they are in a good measure eased: wherefore I desire that I may not be branded as a reprobate."

Afterwards, when he was asked what he thought of his former doctrine, he said, " It is most true. In it I have lived, and in it I will die: I have not dealt hypocritically in it." Being asked whether he was willing to die, he said, " I truly submit to the will of God." When it was inquired whether he forgave all offences, he replied, " Yes,

and desire that mine may be forgiven. I heartily and humbly ask forgiveness." When it was intimated that his conversation had been unblameable, he said, "No; I dare not affirm it. I trust in nothing but in the name of Jesus Christ; yet I would not be pressed to a particular assurance in this grievous agony. Indeed," said he, "I have been bold to argue thus with God: if he hath shewed mercy to such and such, why should not I likewise have hope. The Lord is merciful to me, and I have cause of rejoicing."

Dr. Airay coming to see him, he complained of his sin and misery; and when the doctor signified that he looked not for any thing in himself to recommend him to God, he said, "No, nothing." To a number of young gentlemen who came to see him, he said, "Live in the fear of God, that you may die in his favour. Otherwise the ox and the ass will condemn you. I spent my time foolishly and prodigally." When it was observed that he had remembered this sufficiently, and was advised to remember Christ also, he said, "That is true. Christ is to be remembered, and our sins are to be remembered also."

About two hours before his death he expressed himself to those about him as follows:—"You all expect that I should declare what I think of my own salvation. Truly God is for ever so endearingly tender, and so inconceivably merciful to all those whom he hath once loved, that he doth never finally forsake them. Therefore I am assured that I shall go to heaven. Happy, thrice happy are those fetters of affliction in which my gracious God hath tied and bound me." A friend having said to him, "You have fought a good fight," he answered, "It is requisite, it is requisite that I should contend for heaven. Lift me up; help me out; carry me hence that I may go to heaven. God doth favourably accept the endeavours of his saints." Being reminded of God's great mercy to him, he said, "Oh, the sea is not so full of water, nor the sun of light, as God is of goodness. His mercy is ten thousand times more. I do, God be praised, feel such comfort in this, that if I had five thousand worlds, I could not make recompense for such an issue. How shall I extol the munificence of God, which is unspeakable, and more than any heart can conceive? Let us, with humble reverence, acknowledge his great mercy. What great cause have I to magnify the goodness of God, who hath humbled, nay, rather hath exalted so wretched a miscreant, and of so base a condition, to an estate so glorious and stately! The Lord," said he, "hath honoured me

with his goodness. I am sure he hath provided a glorious kingdom for me. The joy that I feel in my soul is incredible. Blessed be God, blessed be God! I am a thousand times happy to have such felicity thrown upon me, a poor wretched miscreant." After panting a little for breath, he said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, receive my soul. Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon me, and be merciful unto me;" and then fell asleep in the Lord, December 4, 1611. His remains were interred in St. Mary's church, Oxford.*

Mr. Peacock was greatly beloved by many persons of real worth, on account of his great learning, piety, and usefulness. Sir Robert Harley,† his constant friend and worthy patron, was particularly kind to him during his heavy affliction, and promised, if the Lord should restore him, to do great things for him. The learned divines who attended Mr. Peacock in his sickness, as Mr. Dod, Dr. Airay, and others, were all decided puritans. The author and publisher of his life were persons of the same stamp. The latter employed his printer to procure a license for the work, during the severe persecution of the puritans, in 1635, but in this he was absolutely refused; because "it was too precise (meaning too puritanical) for those times." It was afterwards licensed by Mr. Edmund Calamy, the celebrated nonconformist, and published in 1646. From all these circumstances, we conclude that Mr. Peacock was a divine of puritanical principles, and ought in justice to be classed among the puritan worthies.‡

GABRIEL POWEL, B. D.—This learned person was the son of Dr. David Powel, the famous antiquary; born at Ruabon, in Denbighshire, in the year 1575, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became master of the free-school at Ruthen, in his native county. During his abode in the country, he

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 802.

† Sir Robert was knight of the shire for the county of Hereford, and master of the Mint, to which office was annexed a salary of four thousand pounds a year. In 1641 he received a commission from the house of commons, to demolish all images, crucifixes, and other obnoxious relics of popery; and his commission was punctually executed. He had considerable influence in the house; and, like others of his illustrious family, was a great friend and patron of learning. He died November 6, 1656.—*Whitlocke's Mem.* p. 47. Edit. 1732.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 269.

‡ Bolton's *Last Visitation, Conflicts, and Death of Mr. Peacock.* Edit. 1660.

paid a close application to the writings of the fathers, and to the study of philosophy, and laid a foundation for several works which he intended to publish. But this not being a suitable situation for the accomplishment of his wishes, he again returned to Oxford, entered St. Mary's-hall, and wrote and published several learned books. He was one of those learned divines who wrote against Bishop Bilson, concerning Christ's descent into hell. On account of the admirable productions of his pen, he obtained great fame, especially among the puritans. His high reputation having spread through the country, Dr. Vaughan, the pious and learned Bishop of London, who was a decided friend to the puritans, invited him to London, made him his domestic chaplain, and, had he lived much longer, would have done great things for him. A minister of the same name, and most probably the same person, was made prebendary of Portpool, in the year 1609; but resigned it by death previous to December 31, 1611.* Wood says he was esteemed a prodigy of learning, though he died when a little more than thirty years old; and had he lived to a greater maturity of years, it is thought he would have exceeded the famous Dr. John Rainolds, or any of the learned heroes of the age: but he adds, "that he was a zealot, and a stiff puritan."†

His Works.—1. The Resolved Christian, 1602.—2. Prodomus: or a Logical Resolution of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, 1602.—3. Theological and Scholastical Positions concerning Usury, 1602.—4. The Catholics' Supplication to the King for Toleration of Catholic Religion, with Notes and Observations in the Margin, 1603.—5. A Supplication parallel-wisè, or Counterpoise of the Protestants to the said King, 1603.—6. A Consideration of Papists Reasons of State and Religions, for a Toleration of Popery in England, intimated in their Supplication to the King's Majesty, and the State of the present Parliament, 1604.—7. The Unlawfulness and Danger of Toleration of divers Religions, and Connivance to contrary Worship in one Monarchy or Kingdom, 1605.—8. A Refutation of an Epistle Apologetical, written by a Puritan-papist to persuade the Permission of the promiscuous use and profession of all sorts of Heresies, 1605.—9. A Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers' Arguments for their Restitution to the use and liberty of their Ministry, exhibited in their late Supplication to this present Parliament, 1606.—10. Disputationes Theologicæ de Antichristo, 1606.—11. De Adiaphoris theses Theologicæ et Scholasticæ, 1606.—12. Rejoinder unto the Mild Defence, Justifying the Consideration of the Silenced Ministers' Supplication to the Parliament.—13. A Comment on the Decalogue.—Most of the above articles passed through several editions.

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 201.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 294, 394.

THOMAS HOLLAND, D. D.—This celebrated scholar and divine was born at Ludlow in Shropshire, in the year 1539, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford; where he took his degrees with great applause. In 1589 he succeeded Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, as king's professor of divinity; and in 1592, was elected master of Exeter college, being accounted a prodigy in almost all kinds of literature. His distinguished reputation was not confined to his own country. He was highly admired in the foreign universities, as well as in our own public seminaries. During his professorship, many persons eminent for learning and piety were his scholars, who afterwards became conspicuous ornaments in the church and the commonwealth.

Dr. Holland was a thorough Calvinist in his views of the doctrines of the gospel, and a decided nonconformist in matters of ceremony and discipline. In one of his public acts at the university, he boldly maintained that bishops were no distinct order from presbyters, nor at all superior to them, according to the word of God. He was a most zealous opposer of the innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, intended to be introduced into the university of Oxford, by Bancroft, Neile, and Laud.* In the year 1604 Mr. William Laud, afterwards the famous archbishop, performing his exercise for bachelor of divinity, maintained, "That there could be no true churches without diocesan episcopacy;" for which, it is said, Dr. Holland sharply rebuked, and publicly disgraced him, as one who endeavoured to sow discord among brethren, and between the church of England and the reformed churches abroad.† During the above year, Dr. Holland was one of the Oxford divines appointed by King James to draw up a new translation of the Bible; and he had a considerable hand in that learned and laborious work. This is the translation now in use.‡

Towards the close of life, this celebrated divine spent most of his time in meditation and prayer. Sickness, old age, and its infirmities, served only to increase his ardour for heaven. He loved God, and longed to enjoy him. His soul was formed for heaven. He could find no rest out of heaven; and his end was peace. Finding the hour of his departure near at hand, he exclaimed, "Come, O come

* M8. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 635. (2.)

† M8. Remarks, p. 583.—Canterburies Doome, p. 390.

‡ Barnet's Hist. of Refor. vol. ii. Rec. p. 367.

Lord Jesus, thou bright Morning Star ! Come, Lord Jesus : I desire to be dissolved, and be with thee." Herein his request was granted. Jesus crowned him with glory, immortality, and eternal life, March 17, 1612, aged seventy-three years. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Mary's church, Oxford, with great funeral solemnity and universal lamentation. He was succeeded in the professor's chair by Dr. Robert Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.*

Dr. Kilby, who preached his funeral sermon, gives the following account of him : " He had a wonderful knowledge of all the learned languages, and of all arts and sciences, both human and divine. He was mighty in the scriptures ; and so familiarly acquainted with the fathers, as if he himself had been one of them ; and so versed in the schoolmen, as if he were the seraphic doctor. He was, therefore, most worthy of the divinity chair, which he filled about twenty years, with distinguished approbation and applause. He was so celebrated for his preaching, reading, disputing, moderating, and all other excellent qualifications, that all who knew him commended him, and all who heard of him admired him.

" His life was so answerable to his learning, that it was difficult to say which was most to be admired. He was not like those, who when they become learned cease to do well ; nor like those, who by their learning, aspire after riches, honours, or preferments ; but his learning was so sanctified by the Holy Ghost, that he ever aspired towards the kingdom of heaven. His life and conversation were so holy, upright and sanctified, that in him the fruits of the Spirit greatly abounded : as, love, joy, peace, gentleness, meekness, temperance, and brotherly kindness. He was so zealous an advocate for the purity of the gospel, both in faith and worship, and had so great an aversion to all innovation, superstition and idolatry, that previous to his going a journey, he constantly called together the fellows of the college, and delivered to them this charge : ' I commend

* This most pious and learned prelate, brother to Archbishop Abbot, distinguished himself by writing in defence of Mr. William Perkins's " Reformed Catholic," against Dr. William Bishop, then a secular priest, but afterwards, in the pope's style, a titular bishop of Chalcedon. When Abböt was offered the bishopric of Salisbury, it was with great difficulty he could be pressed to accept it ; insomuch, that when he attended at court, to do his homage after his consecration, King James pleasantly said to him, " Abbot, I have had very much to do to make thee a bishop ; but I know no reason for it, unless it were because thou hast written against one."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 22, 23. Edit. 1778.

you to the love of God, and to the hatred of all popery and superstition.'* The Oxford historian denominates him "a solid preacher, a most noted disputant, and a most learned divine."† It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Holland, another excellent puritan divine.

Dr. Holland published several learned orations, and a sermon on Mat. xii. 42, printed 1601; and left many manuscripts ready for the press, which, falling into the hands of those unfriendly to the puritans, were never published.

HUGH BROUGHTON.—This celebrated person was born at Oldbury in Shropshire, bordering on Wales, in 1549, and descended from an ancient and a wealthy family. He received his grammar learning under the famous Mr. Bernard Gilpin, at Houghton in the Spring, near Durham; who sent him to Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was afterwards chosen fellow.‡ He was also elected one of the taxers of the university, preferred to a prebend in the church of Durham, and chosen reader of divinity at Durham. In the year 1579, after enjoying his fellowship several years, he was deprived of it by the vice-chancellor and others. Though he was censured in this manner, it was not for want of learning, or for any blemish in his character, but on account of some trivial irregularity in his admission to, or continuance in, that preferment. Mr. Broughton was a man of great celebrity; and he had many able friends, who, at this juncture, pleaded his cause, and gave high commendations of his character. The Bishop of Durham became his zealous advocate, and wrote a letter, dated December 14, 1579, to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of

* Kilby's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Holland.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 320.

‡ The following anecdote is related of Mr. Broughton:—As the celebrated Bernard Gilpin was once travelling to Oxford, he observed a boy before him, sometimes walking, and sometimes running. When he came up to him, observing him to be a youth of an agreeable and promising aspect, he asked him whence he came, and whither he was going. The boy told him, that he came out of Wales, and was going to Oxford, in order to be a scholar. Mr. Gilpin having examined him, found him expert in the Latin, and possessed of a smattering of Greek; and was so pleased with his appearance, and the quickness of his replies, that he inquired if he would go with him, and he would provide for his education. The youth agreed to the generous proposal, and went with him to Houghton; where he made wonderful proficiency both in Greek and Hebrew; and Mr. Gilpin afterwards sent him to finish his education at Cambridge.—*Fuller's Abel Red.* p. 358.—*Clark's Eccl. Hist.* p. 764.

the university, earnestly soliciting that Mr. Broughton, notwithstanding his preferment at Durham, might still continue to hold his fellowship. The Earls of Huntingdon and Essex, at the same time, warmly espoused his cause, and jointly addressed a letter, dated February 24, 1580, to the worthy chancellor, in his favour. The two noble persons speak in this letter in high commendation of Mr. Broughton's learning; obedience and circumspection; and observe, that only want of maintenance in the university had induced him to accept of the above prebend, which, however, he was more willing to resign than lose his place in the university. "This," it is added, "shewed the good mind that was in him."* Lord Burleigh addressed a letter, dated October 20, 1580, to Dr. Hatcher, the vice-chancellor, and Dr. Hawford, master of the college, in which he expresses with great warmth his disapprobation of their conduct, and the conduct of the fellows, in their unjust treatment of Mr. Broughton.† Therefore, after much opposition, he was, in 1581, by an order from this generous and worthy statesman, again admitted to his fellowship; though it does not appear whether he returned any more to the college.‡ In the mean time he very generously resigned the office of taxer of the university.§

Mr. Broughton having left the university, removed to London, where he had many worthy friends, among whom were the two earls already mentioned; also Sir Walter Mildmay, and others. About the same time, he entered upon the ministerial function; but still pursued his studies with uncommon assiduity, usually spending fourteen or sixteen hours a day in the most intense application. In his preaching, he commonly took a text out of the Old Testament, and a parallel text out of the New Testament, and discoursed pretty largely upon them in their connexion, then concluded with a short and close application of the doctrine. His preaching soon rendered him exceedingly popular, and he was very much followed, particularly by persons celebrated for learning. But that which rendered him most known to the world was the publication of his book, entitled, "A Consent of Scriptures." It was the fruit of immense labour and study, and is a kind of system of scripture chronology and genealogy, designed to shew from the scriptures, the chronological order of events from

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 91.

† Ibid. vol. x. p. 306.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 612—614.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 423.

Adam to Christ. The work was published in the year 1588; and, while it was printing, the famous Mr. John Speed superintended the press.* It was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, to whom it was presented by himself the 17th of November, 1589. In this dedication he says, "The whole Book of God, most gracious sovereign, hath so great an harmony, that every part of it may be known to breathe from one Spirit. All soundeth the same point, that by Christ the Son eternal, we are made heirs of life: whom they that know not abide always in wrath. Prophecies in every age, (the first ages larger, the later narrower,) all briefly told, all events fully recorded: these shew the constancy of this truth. The like revolutions are of Abraham, Jacob, and his children, together of Shem's house: and again to Japheth's sons, and all families: wherein the former be stamps of the latter: so that in one speech another thing also is spoken. These shew the eye of Jehovah, and his Spirit. The kindreds, places, and times (the lights of narrations) are registered so profitably, that it should be a blasphemy to affirm any one to be idle. Our Lord's fathers are recorded from Adam, by David and Nathan, to his grandfather Ely: likewise they, after whom he is heir to the kingdom of David: Solomon's line so long as it continued, and afterwards they who from Nathan were heirs to Solomon's house. So other families, who came all of one, as from them all come: they by Moses and the prophets be plentifully expressed. In like sort the places of their dwellings are clearly taught. The course of time is most certainly to be observed; even to the fulness, the year of salvation, wherein our Lord died. Of which time the very hour was foretold by an angel, not seven years before, but seventy times seven years, Dan. ix. 24. To this all other Hebrews, and profane Greeks, bear witness strongly against themselves. These helps be stars in the story. The frame

* Mr. Speed, who was brought up a tailor, was, by his acquaintance with Mr. Broughton, become particularly studious, and, by his directions, was deeply versed in a knowledge of the scriptures. Also, by the generosity of Sir Fulke Gravile, his patron, he was set free from a manual employment, and enabled to pursue his studies, to which he was strongly inclined by the bent of his genius. The fruits of them were his "Theatre of Great Britain; Genealogies of Scripture; and History of Great Britain," works of immense labour; the last of which, in its kind, was incomparably more complete than all the histories of his predecessors put together. Mr. Broughton had a considerable share in the "Genealogies;" but when the work came to be published, "because the bishops would not endure to have Mr. Broughton's name prefixed, Mr. Speed went away with all the credit and profit."—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. part i. p. 2.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 320.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 67. Edit. 1778.

of all this, with coupling of joints and proportion of body, will much allure to study, when it is seen how about one work, (religion and God's way of salvation,) all families, countries, and ages, build or pull down: and find the kindness or severity of God."*

The learned author took great pains to shew, that the heathen chronology contained numerous inconsistencies and contradictions, while the sacred history was perfectly clear from these imperfections. However, no sooner was his book published, than it met with great opposition. Archbishop Whitgift, at first, so exceedingly disliked the performance, that he would have called the author to an account for some things contained in it; but, to avoid the high commission, Mr. Broughton fled into Germany. This, indeed, greatly excited the general clamour against the book, and very much increased the number of its adversaries; nevertheless, Bishop Aylmer, in commendation of the work, said, "That one scholar of right judgment, would prove all its adversaries foolish."† Notwithstanding this, Dr. Rainolds of Oxford, and Mr. Lively of Cambridge, both learned professors in those universities, read publicly against the book.

Mr. Broughton used to call this work, "his little book of great pains:" for it cost him many years study; and when it was published, he had to write and publish in defence of it, against the exceptions of the above divines. By the allowance of the queen and council, he entered upon its defence, in public lectures in St. Paul's church, when the lord mayor, some of the most learned of the bishops, and other persons of distinction, were of his audience. Others of the bishops, however, could not endure these exercises, calling them *dangerous conventicles*; and therefore brought complaints against him, and put down his lecture. He and his friends afterwards assembled privately, at various places in the city, as they found opportunity.‡ During Mr. Broughton's continuance in London, he mostly resided in the house of Mr. William Cotton; whose son, afterwards Sir Rowland Cotton, he instructed in the Hebrew language. His young pupil obtained so exact a knowledge of the language, that at the age of seven or eight years he could translate almost any chapter of the Bible into English,

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 606. † Strype's Aylmer, p. 249.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 3.

§ Mr. Roger Cotton, brother to this person, was one of Mr. Broughton's true scholars. He read the whole Bible through *twelve* times in one year.—*Ibid.* p. 4.

and converse with the greatest ease in Hebrew.* Mr. William Cowper, afterwards Bishop of Galloway, was another of his pupils.†

Mr. Broughton was a zealous advocate for the purity of the sacred text both of the Old and New Testament. "In the prophet Daniel's time, and afterwards," says he, "the sacred tongues were changed: it will not therefore be amiss to speak something of God's counsel in this matter. Adam and Eve's tongue continued, commonly spoken by the Jews, until the captivity of Babylon, and the understanding thereof, when Haggai and Zachary prophesied, in the next age. In this tongue every book of the Old Testament is written in a style inimitable. The characters and points are the same as those written by God on the two tables. The Masorites, of whom Ezra was chief, with an Argus-eyed diligence so keep the letters and words, that none of them can perish. The sense of the tongue is preserved for us by the LXX, the N. T. And the Talmudic phrase by them, who in their schools still kept their tongue. By the help of the LXX. and N. T. we may excel all the rabbins. For their study is more easy to us than to them, in regard that they imitate the Greeks in their fables and expressions, and we have above them God, an heavenly interpreter for us in all the N. T. which, both for the infinite elegance and variety of its words, is most divinely eloquent. In it are the choice words of all kind of all Greek writers, nor can they all, without some fragments of the ancients, and the LXX. shew all the words in it. It hath also some new-framed words, as all chief authors have, and all brave expressions; so that if any one would study in another tongue to express the like elegancy, he may as well fly with Dædalus's wax-wing, and miscarry in the attempt. In the N. T. is a fourfold Greek, 1. common; 2. the LXX. Greek; 3. the Apostolic; 4. the Talmudic. The uncorruptness of the N. T. text is undoubted to all who know the Hebrew tongue, history, and the exact Athenian eloquence. And such as pretend to correct it, do debase the majesty of both

* This account may appear to some almost incredible. Mr. Broughton's method of instruction was singular. He had his young pupil constantly with him, and invariably required him to speak, both to himself and others, in Hebrew. He also drew up a vocabulary, which young Cotton constantly used. In this vocabulary he fixed on some place, or thing, then named all the particulars belonging to it: as, heaven, angels, sun, moon, stars, clouds, &c.; or, a house, door, window, parlour, &c.; a field, grass, flowers, trees, &c.—*Ibid.*

† Clark's *Ecl. Hist.* p. 809.

Testaments, by unskilful altering what God spake most divinely. The reading, therefore, of the apostles in these matters will call together Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Pindarus, and others of the coasts of Illyricum: as also Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Aratus, Menander, Callimachus, Epimenides, Plato, Aristotle, and all the orators and historians of Grecian writing in the time when this tongue flourished.”*

He maintained that the gospel of St. Matthew was originally written in Greek. “The New Testament,” says he, “was all originally in Greek. St. Matthew’s gospel was written at the first in that heavenly oratorious Greek which we now have: and if the Holy Ghost had written it in the Jews’ Jerusalem Hebrew, the holy learned of old time would have kept it with more care than jewellers all precious stones. We accuse antiquity of great ungodliness, when we say St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but antiquity lost that gospel. So St. Paul wrote in Greek to the Hebrews, in those syllables which we have to this day; and the style hath allusions, which the Jews’ tongue hath not: which sheweth the original to be in Greek. The apostles wrote the New Testament in Greek, with such skill, that they go through all kind of Greek writers. They have words in their little book, good Greek, which Greeks have only in fragments, reserved by God’s providence to honour the New Testament.”†

This is the high character which our divine gives of the elegance and purity of the apostolic writings. His sentiments were equally exalted concerning the sacred records of the Old Testament. He made the following observations upon the Book of Job: “There never was a book written,” says he, “since the pen became the tongue of a writer, of a more curious style than Job; in verse of many sorts, and use of words more nice than any Greek or Latin writeth; and for grammar, hath more tricks and difficulty than all the Bible beside, Arabizing much; but fuller of Hebrew depth of language. God saw it needful to honour with a style of all ornaments the particular case of Job, lest it should be despised or thought a feigned matter; and, therefore, gave that book a more curious style than any other part of the Bible; and such depth of skill in the tongue, as no rabbin could be thought ever to have in the holy tongue.”‡

Mr. Broughton, as we have already intimated, fled to

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 606.

† Ibid. p. 607.

‡ Ibid. p. 609.

Germany, where he had many disputations with Jews and Papists. Previous, however, to his departure, he wrote a letter, dated March 27, 1590, to his worthy friend Lord Burleigh, desiring permission to go abroad, particularly with a view to make use of King Casimir's library; and he no doubt obtained the favour.* He was always firm and courageous in the defence of truth; on which account he sometimes brought himself into danger, by openly exposing the errors and superstitions of popery. He had a public disputation with Rabbi Elias, a learned Jew in the synagogue at Frankfort. They disputed under an oath, that God might immediately strike him dead who should, on that occasion, speak contrary to the dictates of his conscience. In the conclusion, the Jew departed not without some proofs of advantage, desiring to be taught by his writings. An account of this conference was carried to Constantinople, where it excited very considerable attention among the Jews.† Not only did Mr. Broughton's arguments in favour of christianity make a deep impression upon Rabbi Elias; but he also adds, "After my return from Zurich, two Italian Jews came thither, and seeing what I had printed, especially upon Daniel, believed and were baptized, and came to Basil to see me." "Another," says he, "is now in England, as I hear; who, by my occasion, embraced the gospel."‡

In the year 1591, Mr. Broughton returned from Germany, particularly with a view to settle the controversy betwixt himself and Dr. Rainolds. He had an earnest but absurd desire to have the dispute settled by public authority. In one of his addresses to the queen, he says, "Your majesty's signification of your princely determination would break young braving students, whom reason in such unexpected soils cannot bend." Speaking of himself and his opponent, he says, "His fame of learning, and my more confident resistance, maketh many think that the scripture is hard, where our long labours differ. The fault is intolerable, either in him or in me; and the faulty should be forced to yield, that none may think amiss of God's word. While divines jar in their narrations, faith is weakened, and all study of scripture; and old confirmed errors have disgraced all the holy story, that without the *enforcement of authority*, students will hardly yield to the truth." He solicited the queen to command the archbishops, and both universities,

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 92.

† Clark's Lives, p. 6.

‡ Blog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 308.

to determine the points in contest between him and his learned opponent.* Most persons at this period, and, among others, the learned Hugh Broughton, had very erroneous conceptions of the grand principles of protestantism; and their views of religious freedom were extremely inconsistent and absurd.

The controversy, however, was not determined by public authority, but referred to the arbitration of Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Aylmer. Though an entire pacification could not be effected, the result appears to have been greatly in favour of Mr. Broughton. For, although the archbishop exceedingly disliked Broughton's book, when it was first published; yet, upon cool and mature deliberation, he openly declared on this occasion, "That never any human pains were of greater travail and dexterity, to clear up the holy story, and against errors of fifteen hundred years standing, than appeared in the book of Consent."†

The following year Mr. Broughton again retired to Germany. He had a powerful adversary at court, who hindered him from obtaining those preferments which, it is said, the queen designed to confer upon him. Notwithstanding Whitgift's high opinion of his book, this potent adversary was the archbishop himself; who, it is positively affirmed, laid wait for him, and even offered a sum of money to any who would apprehend him.‡ Mr. Broughton, in one of his addresses to the queen, complains that her majesty was prejudiced against him by means of the archbishop, whom he represents as a person of no great learning, and speaks of his *bare Latin studies*.§

Mr. Broughton, during his abode on the continent, formed an acquaintance with the learned Scaliger, Rephelengius, Junius, Beza, and other celebrated scholars. He received great favour from the Archbishop of Mentz, to whom he dedicated his translation of the prophets into Greek. He was highly esteemed by many of the learned Jesuits; and though he was a bold and inflexible enemy to popery, he was offered a cardinal's cap.||

The article of our Saviour's local descent into hell began about this time to be questioned. It had hitherto been the received doctrine of the church of England, that the soul of Christ, being separated from his body, descended *locally* into hell; that, as he had already conquered death

* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 607.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 5.

|| Clark's Lives, p. 5.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 383.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 610.

and sin, he might triumph over Satan. But Mr. Broughton, accounted the very rabbi of the age, convinced the world that the word *hades*, as used by the Greek fathers for the place into which Christ went after his crucifixion, did not mean *hell*, or the place of the damned, but only the state of the dead, or the invisible world.* He was the first of our countrymen who gave this explanation; which he did in a piece that he published, entitled, "An Explication of the article of Christ's Descent to Hell." This proved the occasion of much controversy, and his opinion, now generally and justly received, was vehemently opposed. His two principal opponents in this controversy were Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bilson; the latter of whom, in the warmth of disputation, he treated with some degree of contempt, and said of him, "Verily I was amazed, when I read his words, to see what a very infant in his mother's lap he is in the Greek tongue."†

On this subject he addressed "An Oration to the Geneveans," which was printed in Greek. In this piece he treats the celebrated Beza with much severity; but he supports his opinion, concerning the meaning of the word *hades*, in the most satisfactory and conclusive manner, by many quotations from Homer, Plato, Pindar, Diogenes, Laertius, and other Greek writers. Bayle says, that our author "was prodigiously attached to the discipline of the church of England, and he censured, in very bitter language, that of the presbyterians. The oration which he addressed to the Geneveans, is a very strong proof of this assertion." It is observed, however, in reply, that this oration does not, by any means, prove all that Bayle supposes. Allowance being made for Mr. Broughton's rough method of expressing himself, says the learned biographer, we think it does not appear from his Oration to the Geneveans, that he had any great aversion to them or their discipline. Excepting a few sarcastic sentences, we can discern little animosity against them but with respect to the particular subject of which he treated, the interpretation of the word *hades*, in which the church at Geneva differed from what he justly supposed to be the truth. He intimated also to the Geneveans, that they spoke unguardedly and improperly on the subject of predestination; and that their desire to overthrow Pelagius made them deal their words with more heat than discretion.‡ Mr. Broughton was so celebrated

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 482, 483.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 246, 247.

† Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 609.

‡ Ibid.

in all kinds of Hebrew learning, that he was invited to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Jews in the christian religion; and King James of Scotland invited him to become professor of Hebrew in one of the Scotch universities.*

Mr. Broughton, after his second return to his native country, wrote two letters to Lord Elsmere, the lord chancellor of England; in which he gives a circumstantial account of his various literary pursuits, and warmly censures the ungenerous and cruel treatment he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury. "I have," says he, "compiled two books, a beginning for many in the kind. One is Hebrew, exactly in the prophets' Hebrew, with a rabbin epistle, in rabbin style. The other is Ecclesiastes applied to that question, Wherefore was the book made? I was greatly injured. For the rabbin, Archbishop Whitgift, sent me word, that he would allow for answering, if I would entreat him. I returned, entreated I will, but not entreat to have a burden, which I wish others would bear. Soon after, he libelleth that I forged the epistle. If for that he had been rent in pieces by wild horses, his punishment had been too little, as a forgerer deserved. So since he borrowed the oath to that villany, God never ceased to plague the realm, and not a little by giving bishops over to teach that our Lord went down hence to hell. To repent of that, and promise £400 per annum to their teacher to confirm the truth, and then to bark like a Cerberus against the truth and themselves. Then to feign an impossibility in Greek, that our Lord went from paradise to hades, which no Grecian would ever say."†

Mr. Broughton was a most profound scholar, particularly in critical and exact knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. He directed his elaborate studies chiefly to a minute examination of the scriptures in their original languages. He found the authorized English translation extremely defective, and therefore used his utmost endeavours to obtain a new translation. With a view to accomplish this great object, he addressed the following letter "To the right honourable Sir William Cecil, lord high treasurer:"‡

"Right Honourable.

"Sundry lords, and amongst them some bishops, besides doctors and other inferiors of all sorts, have requested me:

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 432, 526—530.

† Harleian MSS. No. 787.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 94.

to bestow my long studies in Hebrew and Greek writers, upon some clearing of the Bible's translation. They judg'd rightly that it must be amended; but in what points, I think it not good largely to tell in words till it be performed in work; that it be less disgrac'd which we now use. All of knowledge and conscience will grant, that much better it may be. This motion hath been made long ago; and her majesty sent word and message to Sir Francis Walsingham, that it must be considered. His highness meant to take opportunity, but other weighty affairs suffered him not. All this while my prayer and charge have been spent in preparation that way. And, furthermore, I thought good myself to make motion to such as I held worthiest and fittest to be contributors to the charge, finding by experience that public motions take further time of delay than the whole work requireth: and your lordship I held one of the worthiest to be a contributor, for the maintenance of some six of us, the longest students in the tongues, to join together; as well not to alter any thing which may stand still, (as in Moses and all the stories needeth not much amendment,) as to omit nothing which carrieth open untruth against the story and religion, or darkness disannulling the writer. In which kind, Job and the prophets may be brought to speak far better unto us; and all may have short notes of large use, with maps of geography and tables of chronology. To this, if it please your lordship to be a ready helper, your example will stir others to a more needful concern than was the amendment of the temple in King Josiah's time.

“Your lordship's to command,

“HUGH BROUGHTON.”

In the above generous proposal, Mr. Broughton had to encounter insurmountable difficulties; and however desirous the treasurer might be to promote so excellent and laudable an undertaking, the worthy design utterly failed. Not long after he addressed another letter to this celebrated statesman, of which the following is a copy:*

“To the Right Honourable my Lord Treasurer.

“My duty remembered to your lordship. I have two petitions at once to your honour; but such as neither, I now, need greatly trouble you. I have been requested by others, for myself, to make motion for the archbishopric of Tuam (not worth above £200) in Ireland. By reason

* Baker's MSS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 94.

that five years ago, I took a little soil there, I could accept of it, if her majesty will, and it be no trouble to your honour to speak to her highness for it. But I leave it to your sage direction. The other petition is of somewhat less pains. The reverend and learned man, Dr. Rainolds, who, as I think, hath greatly hindered all his own and our religion, is now, I think, in London; with whom, if I might talk but two words, before your lordship, a pacification, as I judge, might be made. I would demand what one word of my book he dare blame, with any colour of reason; and shew that if his course had not been stayed, he offered advantage to turn all the sway of the Bible against him. By open speech it may best be declared. Your honour best knoweth your own leisure. So I commend both the causes to yourself, and your health to God. London, May 16, 1595.

“Your lordship’s to command,

“HUGH BROUGHTON.”

It does not appear what answer Mr. Broughton received to this letter; but he certainly failed of gaining the object of his former petition, if not of the latter also. His second return to England was at the time when the plague was in London. His old friends were much surprised to see him in a season of so much affliction. He was particularly cheerful and happy, and not the least afraid of the distemper. His conversation very much savoured of the kingdom of God, and he spoke upon divine subjects greatly to their edification. In the year 1603, he preached before Prince Henry at Oatlands. He did not, however, continue long in his native country, but went abroad a third time, and was chosen preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg. During his abode at this place, he sent a curious petition to King James, now of England, requesting the favour of a pension, as the reward of his manifold labours and sufferings; of which the following is a copy:*

“Most gracious Sovereign.

“Your majesty’s most humble subject, Hugh Broughton, having suffered many years danger for publishing your right and God’s truth, by your unlearned bishops, who spent two impressions of libels to disgrace their Scottish mist; which libels their stationers deny that ever they sold. He requesteth your majesty’s favour for a pension

* Harleian MSS. No. 787.

fit for his age, study, and past travels, bearing always a most dutiful heart to your majesty. From Middleburg, Aug. 1604.

“ Your most humble servant,

“ HUGH BROUGHTON.”

While our divine was at Middleburg, besides the care of his congregation, he published his smart discourse against Archbishop Bancroft, and sent the whole impression to Mr. William Cotton, younger brother to Sir Rowland Cotton, living in London; with a request, if he dare venture, to deliver a copy into the hands of the archbishop. Mr. Cotton was not without apprehension of danger; yet he could not well deny Mr. Broughton's request. Therefore, he waited upon the archbishop, and, after making the requisite apology, delivered a copy of the book into his hands, politely asking pardon for his great boldness. Though his grace treated him with all the civility that could have been desired, he was no sooner dismissed than the archbishop's officers came to his lodgings, seized all the books they could find, and carried them away. This was Bancroft's short and easy method of refuting the arguments of his learned opponent!*

Mr. Broughton having a complaint settled on his lungs, and being desirous of dying in his own country, returned at length the third and last time to England. In the month of November, 1611, he landed at Gravesend; and upon his arrival in London, told his friends that he was come to die in his native country; and if it was the will of God, he wished to die in Shropshire, his native county. Therefore, Sir Rowland Cotton, formerly his pupil, provided suitable accommodations for him, at his house in Shropshire. Herein, however, both the pupil and the tutor were disappointed. He continued in London during the winter, and in the following spring removed to a suitable situation in the vicinity.

During his confinement under affliction, Mr. Broughton gave his friends many pious and profitable exhortations. He often urged them to observe practical religion, saying, “ Study your Bible. Labour for the salvation of one another. Be peaceable. Meddle with your own matters. Some judgment will come upon this kingdom. Never fear popery: It will never overflow the land. But the course which the bishops take will fill the land with

* Clark's Lives, p. 6.

“atheism. Meddle not in the quarrel.” As he drew near his end, he said, “Satan hath assaulted me: but the Son of God hath rebuked him, and spoken comfortable words to my soul.” A little before his departure, he became speechless: yet his friends asking whether they should pray with him, he signified his warmest approbation by lifting up both his hands. Soon after the prayer was ended; he breathed his last, August 4, 1612, aged sixty-three years. His remains were interred in St. Antholin’s church, London, with great funeral solemnity; and his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Speght, from John xi. 8; but the bishops would not allow it to be printed.*

Mr. Broughton was an indefatigable student, and a most celebrated scholar, which rendered his temper too austere; yet, to his friends, his spirit was sweet, affable, and affable. He was bold and severe in opposing all error and impiety, and would sharply reprove them, whatever it cost him. He was free and communicative to all who wished to learn; but sometimes offended when his scholars did not understand him, accounting it a shame to live in ignorance.† As a writer, his style is rather harsh and obscure. He appears too vain and too severe against his opponents. But when it is recollected what kind of treatment he met with; how he was tossed to and fro, and often obliged to remove from one place to another, it will not appear surprising, that so great a scholar sometimes forgot himself. Upon his death-bed, he confessed and lamented his infirmity. In his writings, adds our author, the impartial reader will find as much light thrown upon the scriptures, especially the most difficult passages, as can be found in any other author whatever; and they carry in them so happy a fascination, that the serious reader is constrained, by a sort of holy violence, to search the sacred scriptures.‡

This learned divine has been reproached with great

* Clark’s Lives, p. 6, 7.

† This was exemplified in the following anecdote.—While Mr. Broughton was at Metz in Germany, a young man of the name of Morton, from England, came to him continually, asking him questions, and receiving instructions. When the young pupil understood not his answers, but desired further explanation, Mr. Broughton would be angry, and call him *dull* and *unlearned*. Upon this, when Morton asked him any question, he used pleasantly to say, “I pray you, whatsoever *dolts* or *dullards* I am to be called, call me so before we begin, that your discourse and mine attention be not interrupted:” which, it is said, Mr. Broughton took as pleasantly from him. This person, it is added, was afterwards the famous Dr. Morton, bishop of Durham.—*Ibid.* p. 6.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 7, 8.

severity by some of our historians; and by none with greater rancour than by Mr. William Gilpin.* This writer says, "that Mr. Broughton acted the basest and most ungrateful part towards Mr. Bernard Gilpin, who had educated and maintained him, both at school and the university. He was vile enough to endeavour to supplant the very patron who had raised him up." If Mr. Broughton really acted in the manner here represented, it would be difficult to censure him with too much severity: but, we think, there is no sufficient evidence for the charges alleged; at least Mr. Gilpin hath not produced it; and it seems hardly just to bring such black charges against a man without some substantial proof. Bishop Carlton, the first writer by whom any accusation appears to be brought against Mr. Broughton, speaks of his exciting the Bishop of Durham against Bernard Gilpin merely as a report; and, if this report were true, though there is no proof alleged, it seems very doubtful whether he was excited to it from a design of obtaining Gilpin's living.

Mr. Gilpin says of Broughton, "that London was the scene where he first exposed himself. Here, for some time, he paid a servile court to the vulgar, in the capacity of a popular preacher." But of this we can meet with no evidence. Indeed, servility to persons of any class, does not appear to have been any part of Mr. Broughton's character; and the charge, we think, is sufficiently refuted in the foregoing narrative, as collected from the most authentic records.

Mr. Gilpin says, that Broughton had "lived out all his credit, and became even the jest of the stage." It is certain, as our author observes, that he was satirized on the stage. But a man's being ridiculed in a dramatic exhibition, is no proof of his having out-lived either his credit or his friends; nor does this appear to have been the case, but the contrary, with Mr. Broughton.†

He also says, "Broughton was, indeed, famous in his time, and as a man of letters esteemed by many, but in every other respect despicable." The numerous authentic testimonies given in the foregoing narrative, afford a sufficient refutation of this charge. The learned Dr. Lightfoot, who wrote Mr. Broughton's life, declares himself a mere child in comparison of this great master of Hebrew and

* Gilpin's *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 233, 234, 295, 300. Edit. 1780.

† *Biographia Britannica*, vol. ii. p. 605—610.

rabbinical learning.* Mr. Strype declares that he was one of the greatest scholars in Christendom, in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and all Talmudical literature.†

Most of his works were collected and printed in London, in 1662, with his life prefixed by Dr. Lightfoot, entitled, "The Works of the great Albionean Divine, renowned in many Nations for rare Skill in Salems and Athens Tongues, and familiar Acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning, Mr. Hugh Broughton." This edition of his works, though bound in one large volume folio, is divided into four tomes. Towards the last tome is Mr. Broughton's funeral sermon by Mr. Speght, in which the preacher says, "Touching the fruit of his sowing, viz. his private reading in the time, and with the approbation of the reverend and learned Bishop Aylmer; and of his public preaching in Christ's church, in St. Peter's, and in my church; how many are there (yea some alive) who may thank God daily, that ever they knew and heard him? For myself, I confess, and profess so much, and shall ever do so whilst I breathe."‡

There are many of Mr. Broughton's manuscripts, in his own hand, still preserved in the British Museum. Some of them are the literary productions of his pen; others relate to the controversies in which he engaged; and the rest are miscellaneous. These, in all thirty-five, are bound in one volume quarto.§ There is also his manuscript "Harmony of the Bible."¶

WILLIAM BURTON, A. B.—This pious minister was born in the city of Winchester, and educated first at Wickham school, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was afterwards beneficed in the city of Norwich, where Sir William Perryman, afterwards lord chief baron, a worthy religious person, and a great promoter of christian piety, was his great friend and patron. In 1583, his name is among the Norfolk divines, above sixty in all, who scrupled subscription to Whitgift's three articles.‡ Whether, on account of his nonconformity, he felt the iron hand of the archbishop, by suspension, deprivation, or imprisonment, as was the case with many of his brethren,

* British Biography, vol. iii. p. 120.

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 612.

‡ Sloane's MSS. No. 3068.

¶ MS. Register, p. 436.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 612.

¶ Harleian MSS. No. 1525.

we have not been able to learn. His being under the wing of so honourable and worthy a patron, might prove a sufficient protection. One of the same name, and probably the same person, was afterwards a minister in Bristol, then at Reading in Berkshire, and lastly at St. Sepulchre's, London, where he died about November, 1612.* There were two other Mr. William Burtons, both persons of distinguished eminence, who lived about the same time.†

HIS WORKS.—1. A Sermon preached at Norwich, on Jer. iii. 14., 1589.—2. A Catechism containing certain Questions and Answers concerning the Knowledge of God, and the right use of the Law, 1591.—3. David's Evidence; or, the Assurance of God's Love, 1592.—4. A Caveat for Sureties, 1593.—5. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, drawn into Questions and Answers, 1594.—6. The Rousing of the Sluggard, 1595.—7. Conclusions of Peace between God and Man, containing comfortable Meditations for the Children of God, 1595.—8. Sermons on the Church's Love to Christ her Husband, 1595.—9. David's Thanksgiving for the Arraignment of the Man of Earth, 1598.—10. Ten Sermons on Matt. v. 3, 4., 1602.—11. The Anatomy of Belial, 1602.—12. Certain Questions and Answers concerning the Attributes of God, 1602.—13. Questions and Answers concerning the right use of the Law of God, 1602.—14. An Abstract of the Doctrine of the Sabbath, briefly, yet fully and plainly set forth, 1606.

RICHARD ROGERS.—This excellent divine was educated at Cambridge, and was afterwards for many years the laborious and useful minister of Wethersfield in Essex. He was a zealous, faithful, and profitable labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, for the space of forty-six years. He was a man of considerable learning, and of a most humble, peaceable, and exemplary life; but a great sufferer for nonconformity. In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, and the severities which accompanied them, Mr. Rogers, with twenty-six of his brethren, all ministers of Essex, presented their petition to the lords of the council for relief; an abstract of which is given in another place.‡

This petition does not seem to have produced the desired effect: for Whitgift suspended and silenced them all, and protested that not one of them should preach without subscription and an exact conformity. What kind of treat-

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 286, 287.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. iii. p. 42. Edit. 1778.

‡ See Art. George Gifford.

ment they afterwards met with, appears from an account now before me, wherein it is said, "that thirty-eight ministers, denominated the learned and painful ministers of Essex, were oftentimes troubled and molested, for refusing to subscribe, to wear the surplice, or use the cross in baptism."* Though our divine had his share in these tyrannical proceedings, he was afterwards sheltered under the wing of a most worthy patron. Sir Robert Wroth warmly espoused his cause; who, notwithstanding the protestation and censure of the archbishop, ordered him to renew his preaching, and he would stand forwards in his defence. After enduring suspension about eight months, he was restored to his ministry. He continued for many years under the protection of Sir Robert, enjoying the peaceable exercise of his ministry. He was particularly anxious to obtain a more pure reformation of the church; he therefore united with many of his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† In the year 1598, one Mr. Rogers, most probably this pious divine, was cited to appear before the high commission; but whether he received any ecclesiastical censure, we are unable to ascertain.‡

In the year 1603, Mr. Rogers and six other ministers felt the weight of the archbishop's outstretched arm; and for refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, he suspended them all. Upon their suspension they were further summoned to appear before his lordship; but it is said the archbishop died on the very day of their appearance; when they were discharged by the rest of the commissioners. But in the following year they were exceedingly molested by Bancroft, Whitgift's successor. During the whole summer they were continually cited before him, which, in addition to many other hardships, caused them to take numerous, long, and expensive journeys. In these tribulations Mr. Rogers bore an equal share with his brethren.

Dr. Ravis succeeded Bancroft in the diocese of London, and appears to have been of the same cruel, persecuting spirit as his predecessor. He was no sooner seated in his episcopal chair, than he began to prosecute the nonconformists. Among others, he cited Mr. Rogers to appear before him, and protested in his presence, saying, "By

* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (10.)

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 429.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xi. p. 244.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 503. (7.) 509. (16.)

the help of Jesus, I will not leave one preacher in my diocese who doth not subscribe and conform." But, poor man! he died soon after, and so was disappointed.*

Mr. Rogers, in his own private diary, April 25, 1605, makes the following reflections: "I was much in prayer about my troubles, and my God granted me the desire of my heart. For, by the favour and influence of William Lord Knollys, God hath, to my own comfort, and the comfort of my people, delivered me once more out of all my troubles. Oh that I may make a holy use of my liberty! But it greatly troubles me," adds the good man, "that after labouring betwixt thirty and forty years in the ministry, I am now accounted unworthy to preach; while so many idle and scandalous persons enjoy their ease and liberty."†

Upon Dr. Vaughan's translation to the see of London, and his restoration of many of the suspended ministers, Mr. Rogers makes these reflections, May 30, 1606: "If I preach no more, I heartily thank God for my liberty, both at home and abroad, for this year and a half, and I hope with some fruit. The bishop has been my friend. April 2, 1607, this week came the painful news of our Bishop Vaughan's death; who, for twenty-eight months, being all the time he continued, he permitted all the godly ministers to live peaceably, and to enjoy liberty in their ministry."‡ On another occasion, Mr. Rogers having been in great danger of suspension, and many of his brethren being silenced, makes this reflection: "By God's great mercy, I have gained twelve weeks more liberty than I looked for. Therefore I have the greater cause to be content when silencing cometh, especially as many are silenced before me."§ Mr. Rogers was living in the year 1612; but we are unable to ascertain the exact period of his death.

* Wood says, that this prelate was preferred first to the see of Gloucester, on account of his great learning, gravity, and prudence; and that, though his diocese "was pretty well stocked with those who could not bear the name of a bishop, yet, by his episcopal living among them, he obtained their love and a good report from them." He seems, however, to have changed his course upon his translation to the see of London; where he presently died, "having," it is said, "for many years, with much vigilance, served his church, his king, and his country."—*Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 617.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (10.)

‡ Dr. Richard Vaughan, successively Bishop of Bangor, Chester, and London, was a person of great learning, piety, and moderation, and an admired preacher. As Fuller says, "he was a very corpulent man, but spiritually minded," and a person of an excellent character.—*Strype's Aylmer*, p. 295.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 343, 344.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 589. (12.)

Mr. Knewstubs preached his funeral sermon. Messrs. Daniel and Ezekiel Rogers, both eminent puritan divines, were his sons. Mr. Stephen Marshall was his immediate successor at Wethersfield.

He was eminently faithful and laborious in the ministry; and it is said, "the Lord honoured none more in the conversion of souls." He was styled the *Enoch* of his day, a man walking with God; and he used to say, *I should be sorry if every day were not employed as if it were my last.* He was an admired preacher;* and Bishop Kennet says, "that England hardly ever brought forth a man who walked more closely with God."† Mr. Rogers was always remarkable for seriousness and gravity, in all kinds of company. Being once in company with a gentleman of respectability, who said to him, "Mr. Rogers, I like you and your company very well, only you are *too precise*:" "Oh, sir," replied Mr. Rogers, "*I serve a precise God.*"‡ Mr. Rogers was author of "The Seven Treatises," 1603; which was highly esteemed. "A Commentary upon the whole Book of Judges," 1615. In his dedication of this work, he says he had been in the ministry forty years.

RANDALL BATES was a most holy man, an excellent preacher, and a zealous nonconformist, for which he was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, and committed to the Gatehouse; where, after a confinement of twenty months, he died through the hardships of the prison. Mr. John Cotton, who was his contemporary, denominates him "an heavenly saint;" and says, "he suffered in the cause of nonconformity, being choked in prison." Nor could his release be obtained, though Dr. Hering, a learned and excellent physician, earnestly solicited Bishop Neile for his enlargement, declaring that his life was in danger.§ But the suit of the physician was repulsed with reproaches, and the blood of his patient was spilt through the extreme rigour of his confinement. He died in the year 1613.¶ During Mr.

* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 219. † Kennet's Chronicle, p. 593.

‡ Firmin's Real Christian, p. 67. Edit. 1670.

§ Bishop Neile, it is said, "was always reputed a popish and Arminian prelate, a persecutor of all orthodox and godly ministers, and one who preferred popish and Arminian clergy, making choice of them for his chaplains." He was accused of these things to his majesty by the house of commons, in 1628, and complained of in several parliaments.—Prynne's *Cant. Dooms*, p. 531.

¶ Cotton's Answer to Williams, p. 117.—Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 28.

Bates's imprisonment he wrote a book, entitled, "Meditations whilst he was prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster," which shews him to have been a person of great humility and piety. It discovers a mind strongly attached to the author's views of christian doctrine and church discipline. His views of the latter appear to have been a compound of presbyterianism and independency, as some of his expressions favour the one, and some the other form of church government.

DANIEL DYKE, B. D.—This excellent divine was born at Hempstead in Hertfordshire, where his father was a worthy minister, and silenced for nonconformity.* He received his education at Cambridge, and became a most faithful and useful preacher; but, like his honoured father, was exceedingly persecuted by the intolerant prelates. He was for some time minister of Coggeshall in Essex; but, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, in 1583, he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, and driven out of the county.† Afterwards he settled at St. Albans, in his native county, where his ministry was particularly acceptable and profitable to the people. He united with his brethren in attempting to promote a more pure reformation of the church, and, with this object in view, assembled with them in their private associations.‡ But in this, as in his former situation, the watchful eye of Aylmer was upon him, and he was involved in fresh troubles. Because he continued a *deacon*, and did not enter into *priests'* orders, which the bishop supposed he accounted popish; and because he refused to wear the surplice, and troubled his auditory, as his grace signified, with notions which thwarted the established religion, he was again suspended, and at last deprived. This was in the year 1589.§ The distressed parishioners being concerned for the loss of their minister, petitioned the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, who had been Mr. Dyke's great friend, to intercede with the bishop in their behalf. This petition sets forth, "That they had been without any ordinary preaching till within this four or five years; by the want of which they were unacquainted with their duty to God, their sovereign, and their neighbours: and so ignorance and disorder had greatly prevailed among them, for want of

* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 28.

† MS. Register, p. 741.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xv. p. 79.

§ MS. Register, p. 585.—Strype's Aylmer, p. 159.

being taught their duty : but that of late it had pleased the Lord to visit them with the means of salvation, by the ordinary ministry of Mr. Dyke, an authorized minister, who, according to his function, had been painful and profitable, and had carried himself so peaceably and dutifully among them, both in his life and doctrine, that no man could justly find fault with him, except of malice. There were some, indeed, who could not bear to hear their faults reproved ; but through his preaching many had been brought from their ignorance and evil ways, to a better life ; to be frequent hearers of God's word ; and their servants were in better order than heretofore."

They then inform his lordship, " that their minister was suspended by the Bishop of London ; and that they were as sheep without a shepherd, exposed to manifold dangers, even to return to their former ignorance and cursed vanities. That the Lord had spoken it, therefore it must be true, *Where no vision is, the people perish.* And having experienced his honourable care for them in the like case heretofore, which they thankfully acknowledged, they earnestly pray his lordship, in the bowels of his compassion, to pity them in their present misery, and become a means that they may again enjoy their preacher."

The treasurer, upon the reception of this petition, wrote to the bishop, and requested Mr. Dyke's restoration to his ministry, promising that if he troubled his congregation with innovations in future, he would join his lordship against him ; but the bishop excused himself, insinuating that Mr. Dyke was guilty of incontinency. This occasioned a further investigation of his character. He was tried at the sessions at St. Albans, when the woman herself who accused him, confessed her wicked contrivance, and asked him forgiveness in open court. Mr. Dyke being thus publicly cleared and honourably acquitted, the treasurer was the more urgent with the bishop to restore him ; " because," said he, " the best minister in the nation may be thus slandered ; and the people of St. Albans have no teaching, only they have for their curate an insufficient dotting old man. For this favour," said the worthy treasurer, " I shall thank your lordship, and will not solicit you any more, if he shall hereafter give just cause of public offence against the orders of the church established."† But all that the treasurer could do proved ineffectual. The good man was therefore

* MS. Register, p. 303—306.

† Ibid. p. 306—308.

left under the unmerciful censure of this prelate. But how long he remained so, or whether the bishop ever restored him, we are not able to learn. He died about the year 1614.* His name, or the name of his brother, Mr. Jeremiah Dyke, another excellent puritan divine, is among those who subscribed the "Book of Discipline."† Mr. Dyke was a man of an unblemished character, a divine of great learning and piety, and a preacher of sound, heart-searching doctrine.‡ Wood denominates him an eminent preacher.§ His writings are excellent for the time, and are still much admired. Bishop Wilkins classes his sermons among the most excellent in his day.¶ His works, containing various pieces, were collected and published in 1635, in two volumes quarto. His "Mystery of Self-deceiving," was often published, and was translated into High Dutch. "It is a book," says Fuller, "that will be owned for a *truth*, while men have any *badness* in them; and will be owned as a *treasure*, while they have any *goodness* in them."‡ This work, and his "Treatises on Repentance," are very searching. His doctrine falls as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass.**

ROBERT PARKER.—This learned and celebrated puritan became rector of North-Benfleet in Essex, in the year 1571; but, resigning the benefice the year following, he became rector of West-Henningfield, in the same county, which he held several years.†† Afterwards he became pastor of the church at Dedham, in the same county, where he was predecessor to the famous Mr. John Rogers. He was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. Being afterwards, by some means, restored to his ministry, a day was appointed when he should be deprived, if he still persisted in refusing to wear the surplice; when he most probably received the ecclesiastical censure.‡‡ Having endured these troubles, he left the county, and was afterwards beneficed at Wilton in Wiltshire, where he continued many years.

In the year 1598, Bishop Bilson having published to the

* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 29. † Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Mr. Dyke's "Deceitfulness of the Heart," Dedic. Edit. 1633.

§ Athens Oxon. vol. i. p. 788. ¶ Discourse on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

‡ Worthies, part ii. p. 29.

** Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 454.

†† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 46, 310.

‡‡ M.S. Register, p. 564, 741.

world that Jesus Christ, after his death upon the cross, actually descended into the regions of the damned ; many learned divines undertook a refutation of his opinion, and to establish the contrary sentiment. Among these was Mr. Parker, who published a learned piece, entitled, " De descensu Christi ad Infernos." In the year 1607 he published a Treatise on the Cross in Baptism, entitled, " A Scholasticall Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies, especially the Signe of the Crosse." Dr. Grey is pleased to treat Mr. Peirce and Mr. Neal with considerable ridicule for calling it a *very learned work*, and the author himself with much contempt, because he was obliged to leave the country for publishing that which in his opinion contains things *very scandalous* and *offensive*.* That the work contains things *very scandalous*, except to those who tyrannize over the consciences of their brethren, was never yet proved ; but that it contains things *very offensive* to all who persecute their brethren for refusing to observe their antichristian impositions, was never doubted. The celebrated Dr. Ames says, " It is a work, in truth, of such strength and beauty, that it dazzles the eyes even of envy itself."† The learned prelates would, indeed, have done their cause no harm, if, when it was published, or at any future period, they had shewn themselves able to answer it. But they went a shorter way to work ; and, instead of attempting any answer, they persuaded the king to issue his royal proclamation, with the offer of a reward, for apprehending the author, which obliged him to hide himself for a season, and then retire into a foreign land.

These troubles came upon him chiefly by the instigation of Archbishop Bancroft ; who receiving information that he was concealed in a certain citizen's house in London, immediately sent a person to watch the house, while others were prepared with a warrant to search for him. The person having fixed himself at the door, boasted that he had him now secure. Mr. Parker, at this juncture, resolved to dress himself in the habit of a citizen, and venture out, whereby he might possibly escape ; but if he remained in the house he would be sure to be taken. Accordingly, in his strange garb he went forth ; and God so ordered it, that just at the moment of his going out, the watchman at the door spied his intended bride passing on the other side the street ; and while he just stepped over to speak to her,

* Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 50.

† Ames's Fresh Suit, Pref.

the good man escaped. When the officers came with the warrant to search the house, to their great mortification he could not be found.*

After this signal providential deliverance, he retired to the house of a friend in the neighbourhood of London, where a treacherous servant in the family gave information to the bishop's officers, who came and actually searched the house where he was; but, by the special providence of God, he was again most remarkably preserved. For the only room in the house which they neglected to search, was that in which he was concealed, from whence he heard them swearing and quarrelling one with another; one protesting that they had not searched that room, and another as confidently asserting the contrary, and refusing to suffer it to be searched again. Had he been taken, he must have been cast into prison; where, without doubt, says our author, he must have died.†

Mr. Parker having been favoured with these remarkable interpositions of providence, fled from the storm and went to Holland, and would have been chosen pastor to the English church at Amsterdam, had not the magistrates been afraid of disobliging King James. For the burgomasters of the city informed them, "that, as they desired to keep friendship with his majesty of Great Britain, they should put a stop to that business."‡ His settlement at Amsterdam being thus prevented, he went to Doesburg, and became preacher to the garrison; where, about eight months after his removal, he died, in the year 1614.§ During his short abode at Doesburg, he wrote several very affectionate letters to Mr. John Paget, minister at Amsterdam; in which he discovers a becoming resignation to the will of God, saying, "I thank you for the pains you have taken for me, though without success; at which I am not dismayed, nor at all moved. I am assured it is come to pass by the will of the Lord; who, I know, will be my God, as well out of Amsterdam as in it."¶ Mr. Parker was an able writer, a man of great learning and piety, a judicious, faithful, and laborious preacher.‡

In addition to the work already noticed, Mr. Parker was author of "De Politia Ecclesiastica;" in which he main-

* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 22, 23.

† Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 170, 171.

‡ Paget's Ans. to Best and Davenport, p. 27.

§ Paget's Defence of Church Gov. Pref.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Clark's Lives, part i. p. 22.—Ames's Fresh Sait, Pref.

tains, that whatever relates to the church of Christ, must be deduced from scripture. "We deny no authority to the king in matters ecclesiastical," says he, "but only that which Jesus Christ, the only head of the church, hath directly and precisely appropriated unto himself, and hath denied to communicate to any creature or creatures in the world. We hold that Christ alone is the doctor or teacher of the church in matters of religion; and that the word of Christ, which he hath given to his church, is of absolute perfection, containing all parts of true religion, both for substance and ceremony, and a perfect direction in all ecclesiastical matters whatsoever, unto which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add, or from which to detract."*

Mr. John Paget of Amsterdam, who was well acquainted with him, gives the following account of his views of church government: "When he came from Leyden, where he and Mr. Jacob had sojourned together for some time, he professed at his first coming to Amsterdam, that the use of synods was for counsel and advice only, but had no authority to give a definitive sentence. After much conference with him, when he had more seriously and maturely considered this question, he plainly changed his opinion, as he professed, not only to me, but to others: so that some of Mr. Jacob's opinion were offended at him, and expostulated not only with him, but also with me, for having occasioned the alteration of his judgment. I had the means of understanding his mind aright, and better than those who pervert his meaning, since he was not only a member of the same church, but a member of the same family, and lived with me under the same roof; where we had daily conversation of these things, even at the time when Mr. Jacob published his unsound writing upon this question. He was afterwards a member of the same eldership, and, by office, sat with us daily to hear and judge the causes of our church, and so became a member of our classical combination; yet did he never testify against the *undue power* of the classis, or complain that we were not a *free people*; though the classis exercised the same authority then as it doth now. He was also for a time the scribe of our consistory, and the acts of our eldership and church were recorded by his own hand."†

Mr. Thomas Parker, another excellent puritan, of whom a memoir will be given, was his son.

* Troughton's Apology, p. 86, 90. Edit. 1684.

† Paget's Defence, p. 105.

RICHARD GAWTON.—This zealous puritan was minister of Snoring in Norfolk, and afterwards in the city of Norwich. Mr. Strype stigmatizes him with having formerly been a man of trade, and then becoming a curate in the church. This may be true, and yet he might be a learned, faithful, and pious minister of Christ, and not enter the church merely for a piece of bread, as was too much the custom of those times. Upon his entrance into the sacred office, he met with barbarous usage from the hands of Archbishop Parker. Having obtained a presentation to the benefice of Snoring, the archbishop peremptorily required him to sign a bond of a hundred marks, to pay Dr. Willoughby, the former incumbent, fourteen pounds a year; though Willoughby, through mere carelessness, had lost the living. If he had refused to pay it, he must have gone to prison. Afterwards, the poor man finding so much difficulty in paying this annuity, was glad to quit the place, and resign the living into the hands of his patron.*

Upon the resignation of his benefice, he became a preacher in the city of Norwich, but, in the year 1576, was cited before Dr. Freke, his diocesan, for nonconformity.† Appearing before the bishop, he was charged with refusing to wear the surplice, and with declining from the exact order of the Book of Common Prayer. He confessed the former, and acknowledged that he did not keep exactly to the rubric, but said, that, in other things, he was conformable. Several other charges were alleged against him, as will appear from the following examination before the bishop and others, dated August 20, 1576:

Bishop. You have taken upon you in your pulpit to confute my chaplain's sermon, and have admonished your parishioners to beware of false doctrine.

Gawton. Was it not meet for me so to do, seeing he preached that man has power sufficient to draw himself unto God?

B. You did this the Sunday after he had preached, though he gave you all reasonable satisfaction.

G. In attempting to do this, he made his case worse than it was at first.

B. Wherein hath he made it worse?

* Parte of a Register, p. 394.—Strype's Parker, p. 375.

† Bishop Freke was so outrageously violent in the persecution of the puritans, that, in the year 1584, the ministers of Suffolk and Norfolk unitedly presented their complaints against him to the privy council.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 439. (10.)

G. In his last sermon, he said, that hearing was calling; and Paul saith, faith cometh by hearing; but hearing is a natural gift; therefore we have faith, and, consequently, are saved by the exercise of our natural powers.

B. I will call him to dispute with you.

G. I am ready at any time to confute his false doctrine.

B. That is not the cause why I sent for you. I have other matters against you. How many benefices have you?

G. I have too many by one; holding one merely by name, and against my will.

B. You have two benefices more.

G. I am sure I have not.

B. Have you not one benefice in Wales?

G. I have not.

B. We shall sequester the first-fruits of Snoring benefice, because you have not compounded for the fruits of a benefice in Wales.

G. Sequester, and spare not; for I have no benefice in Wales.

B. That is not the thing for which I sent for you. But because you do not wear the surplice, nor observe the order of the queen's book, either in public prayers or the administration of the sacraments; but are altogether out of order.

G. I confess that I wear not the surplice; but I am unjustly charged with not observing the order of the book. I was lately told at court, that you did not much like the surplice; and, therefore, I fear that worldly dignity hath led you to act against your own conscience.

B. There is no reason why any persons should think thus of me, seeing I wear the surplice, or that apparel which is the same; and if I were to say the service or administer the sacraments, I would wear the surplice.

G. I am the more sorry for it.

B. Have you served in any cure in Norwich, or in the diocese of Norwich?

G. I have served a cure at Beast-street Gate, in the city.

B. Have you then acknowledged yourself subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop?

G. I do not acknowledge myself subject to that jurisdiction which is claimed and exercised by the bishop.

B. Beware how you deny authority.

G. I am not afraid to deny the unlawful authority of bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, commissaries, and such

like; though to deny their authority, it is said, approaches near to treason.

Dean. They are your fellows who have so reported it.

G. Nay; they are your fellows, who would fain have it so.

D. Their saying was, that whosoever denies that the queen has ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is in danger of treason.

G. Whosoever hath said so, is worthy to be so accounted.

B. Do you allow that the queen hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction?

G. I do.

B. The queen hath ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which jurisdiction she hath committed to me; therefore I have ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

G. Though the queen have ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is not absolute, or to do what she pleases. But with all humble submission, I acknowledge all the jurisdiction she claimeth. For her own words declare, that she claimeth no further jurisdiction than the word of God doth allow.

B. I perceive what you mean, and know where that explanation is given.

G. Did the queen then give that explanation merely as a woman, or as queen? If she gave it as queen, it must needs be a declaration of the authority which she claimeth.

B. What do you dislike in the jurisdiction which I claim?

G. What authority have you from the word of God to claim the title of *lord-bishop*, and to exercise government over your *fellow-ministers*?

B. What part of the word of God is against it?

G. Matthew xx.; where Christ forbids his disciples claiming superior titles, and exercising superior authority over one another.

B. You have read no good expositor who so interprets it.

G. Yes, Calvin, Beza, and Musculus. And Beza upon Acts xiii. declares, that in all the New Testament there are no dignified titles given to the apostles.

B. Doth not Christ say, "Ye call me Master, and Lord; and ye say well; for so I am?" Why then should you so much dislike the name?

G. Though the name be due to Christ, it is not due to any mere man.

B. What not *domine*? Is that so much?

G. The word *domine* signifies sir, as well as lord.

B. The queen in her letters patent, directed to the various

states, willed them to receive me *de domino vistro*, which, if you render sir, will be absurd.

G. The queen accounteth none of you as *lords*; only by custom from your predecessors, the popish bishops, you are called *lords*.

B. In the acts of parliament we are called lords spiritual, as the others are called lords temporal.

G. That is merely through custom, as before.

D. Bullinger, Gaultier, and other learned men abroad, in their late letter to the Bishop of Norwich, called him *lord-bishop*.

G. The bishop shewed me their letters, and they called him not by the name of *lord*.

B. But you observe not the order prescribed in the queen's book.

G. I do not think myself bound by law, to observe precisely every part of the queen's book.

B. You do not read the service as appointed by the book.

G. I say the service as appointed, except, for the sake of preaching, I omit some parts; as I may by law. I observe the rest, except the cross and vows in baptism, which I did not consider myself as bound precisely to observe.

B. But you wear not the surplice.

G. I wear it not; and seeing it was established in the church not according to the word of God, I dare not wear it.

B. There are many godly, zealous, and learned men who wear it. Do you then condemn them all?

G. I utterly dislike their wearing it. And you, Mr. Dean, did publicly preach against it, and condemned those who wore it, calling it a superstitious and popish garment.

B. You have preached without renewing your license, since the day appointed in the canons.

G. I was minister of the word of God, and, therefore, had sufficient authority to preach the word in my parish without any further license. Yet I despised not your licenses, so far as they tend to shut out those who would teach popery and false doctrine.

B. You deny our authority, and wear not the surplice. You shall, therefore, be put from the ministry, and return to your occupation.

G. I thank God that I have an occupation to go to, and am not ashamed of it. Jesus Christ and the apostle Paul had an occupation.

D. That Jesus Christ had an occupation cannot be gathered out of the text. It was only the opinion of the people of Nazareth, who said he was a carpenter.

G. And who could tell better than the people of Nazareth, among whom he lived? I think they could best tell what was his occupation.

Here the bishop pronounced the sentence of suspension upon Mr. Gawton, and the register entered it upon record.

G. I now perceive, that if one had the eloquence of Chrysostom, the learning of Austin, and the divinity of St. Paul, if he did not wear the surplice, you would put him out of the ministry.

B. So we would. And if St. Paul were here, he would wear a *fool's coat*, rather than be put to silence.

G. He would then act contrary to his own doctrine. For he saith, he would eat no flesh while the world standeth, rather than offend a weak brother; and, surely, he would be equally scrupulous in offending his brethren by wearing superstitious and popish garments. Your dealing thus with us in corners, will not further your cause, but hinder it, and further ours; for all men will see you fear the light. You have now authority on your side; but we are not above half a dozen unconfordable ministers in this city; and if you will confer with us by learning, we will yield up our lives, if we are not able to prove the doctrines we hold to be consonant to the word of God.

B. That is uncharitably spoken; for no man sought your lives.

G. The dean here says, that he who seeks our livings, seeks our lives.

D. You are like the apothecaries, setting papers on empty boxes.

G. You, indeed, may very properly be so denominated. For if you were otherwise than as empty boxes, you would not be afraid to have the cause tried.*

The examination thus closed, and the good man, being suspended, was dismissed from his lordship's presence. Upon his suspension, Mr. Neal, by mistake, says, that he sent a bold letter to the bishop. This letter was evidently written by another person.+ We find, however, that after receiving the episcopal censure, Mr. Gawton and several of his brethren, wrote an excellent letter to Mr. Thomas Cartwright, wherein they express, with considerable freedom,

* Parte of a Register, p. 393—400.

+ See Art. R. Harvey.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 896.

their firmness in the cause of nonconformity. This letter, dated from London, May 25, 1577, was as follows:

“ We stand resolved that what we have done concerning the ceremonies, the cross in baptism, &c. is most agreeable to the word of God and the testimony of a good conscience. By the help of God, we will labour even in all things, to the utmost of our power, to be found faithful and approved before God and men; and, therefore, we will not betray that truth which it hath pleased God, in his great goodness, to make known unto us. You will know we do nothing *contentiously*: therein we are clear before God and men. But we wish you to understand, that the iniquitous times in which we live, and the great trials which we, as well as you, have to endure in the cause of God, and a thousand such afflictions, shall not, the Lord helping us, make us shrink from the maintenance of his truth. The same good opinion we have conceived of you, not doubting that he who hath hitherto made you a glorious witness of truth, will still enable you to go forwards in the same course. And yet we think it meet, both on account of our own dulness, and the evil days come upon us, that we should quicken one another in so good a cause. We deal thus with you, whom, both for learning and godliness, we very much love and reverence in the Lord; and we commit you to God, and the word of his grace, which is able, and no doubt will, in due time, further build up both you and us, to the glory of his name, and our endless comfort in Christ.

“ RICHARD GAWTON,	GYLES SEYNTCLER,
“ THOMAS PENNY,	NICHOLAS STANDON,
“ NATHANIEL BAXTER,	JOHN FIELD,
“ GEORGE GYLDRED,	THOMAS WILCOCKS.”*
“ NICHOLAS CRANE,	

It does not appear how long Mr. Gawton continued in a state of suspension; only in the year 1581, he was preacher at Bury St. Edmunds; but I am apt to think, says our learned historian, seeing his opinions and practice were still the same, this was owing to the want of proper discipline, and to the countenance he there met with, notwithstanding his suspension.+ Admitting this account to be correct, his suspension must have continued at least five

* MS. Register, p. 896.

† Strype's Annals, vol. iii. p. 20.

years. In the year 1602, a minister of the same name, and most probably the same person, became vicar of Redburn in Hertfordshire, where he continued till June, 1616, when he died.*

HENRY AIRAY, D. D.—This learned person was born in Westmoreland, in the year 1560, and received his grammar learning under the famous Mr. Bernard Gilpin, who, at the age of nineteen, sent him to Edmund's-hall, Oxford; but afterwards he removed to Queen's college. Having taken his degrees, he became a frequent and zealous preacher, was chosen provost of the college, and afterwards vice-chancellor of the university. In each of these departments, says Wood, he shewed himself a zealous Calvinist, and a great promoter of those of his own opinion, but went beyond the number of true English churchmen. And he adds, that though he condemned himself to obscurity, and affected a retired life, being generally admired and esteemed for his holiness, integrity, learning, gravity, and indefatigable pains in the ministerial function, he could not keep himself from public notice.+ By his singular wisdom, learning, and prudence, in the government of his college, many scholars went forth, who became bright ornaments both in church and state. Another writer observes, that he was so upright and unrebukable through the whole of his conversation, that he was reproached by some as a *precisian*. But how much he condemned the injurious zeal of the separatists; how far he disliked all the busy disturbers of the church's peace; how partially he revered his holy mother, the church of England; and how willingly he conformed himself to her seemly ceremonies and injunctions, his practice and his friends are witness. He was, it is added, an humble and obedient son of the church, and no less an enemy to faction than to separation.‡

However much Dr. Airay might oppose the separatists, or partially reverence the church of England, or willingly conform himself to her seemly ceremonies and injunctions, it is an indubitable fact, that he was a true nonconformist. When he was provost of Queen's college, he was called in question by the vice-chancellor, for his nonconformity to the ceremonies and discipline of the church. And on

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 859.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Airay on Phil. Pref. Edit. 1618.

account of his zeal in the same cause, he very narrowly escaped being constrained to make a public recantation.* He wrote and published a "Treatise against Bowing at the name of Jesus," shewing the superstition and absurdity of that popish relict.

In the year 1606, Mr. William Laud, afterwards the famous archbishop, having preached at Oxford, his sermon contained many scandalous and popish sentiments; for which he was called before Dr. Airay the vice-chancellor, to give an account of what he had delivered. It was the opinion of many that he was a papist, or very much inclined to popery; and he narrowly escaped making a public recantation.† Dr. Airay having accomplished his days upon earth, meekly and patiently surrendered himself to God, earnestly desiring to depart and to be with Christ. And having devoutly committed his soul to the care of his dear Redeemer, he closed his eyes in peace, and was carried to his grave with honour. He died October 6, 1616, aged fifty-six years; and his remains were interred in the inner chapel of Queen's college.

His WORKS.—1. Lectures upon the whole Epistle to the Philippians, 1618.—2. The just and necessary Apology touching his Suit in Law, for the Rectory of Charlton on Otmore, in Oxfordshire, 1621.—3. A Treatise against Bowing at the Name of Jesus.

GEORGE WITHERS, D. D.—This person was a divine of good learning, incorporated in both universities, and afterwards preacher at Bury St. Edmunds; but in the year 1565, refusing to enter into bonds to wear the square cap, he was silenced by Archbishop Parker. Afterwards, however, by the urgent entreaties of his people, he wrote a submissive letter to his lordship, signifying his willingness to wear the cap, rather than the godly people should be discouraged, or the wicked led to triumph.‡

Dr. Withers being a learned and popular preacher, was chosen one of the preachers to the university of Cambridge; and being an avowed enemy to popery, he recommended to the university to pull down the superstitious and ridiculous paintings in the glass windows. This occasioned a considerable noise in the university, and created him

* Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 481.—*Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 288. Edit. 1796.

† *Ibid.*—Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 54.

‡ *Strype's Parker*, p. 187, 188.

great trouble. Archbishop Parker cited him before the high commissioners, to answer for what he had done; and upon his appearance, his lordship demanded his license to preach in that seat of learning. He therefore produced the letters of the university, by which, in the year 1563, he was nominated and appointed one of the twelve university preachers. The archbishop pronounced this license defective, being in the name of the vice-chancellor, masters, and scholars alone, without the name of the chancellor. He wrote, at the same time, to Sir William Cecil, the chancellor, urging him to exercise his authority.* By these proceedings, Dr. Withers was most probably forbidden preaching any more at Cambridge; but it does not appear whether he suffered any other punishment.

Upon the above commotions, he travelled to Geneva, Zurich, and other places, where he became intimately acquainted with Bullinger, Gaultier, and other learned divines. Having remained among his new friends a few years, he returned to England; and, in October, 1570, was made archdeacon of Colchester; and, in November, 1572, was admitted rector of Danbury in Essex. He submitted to the ceremonies for the sake of peace, though he never approved of them.† In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, and the oppressive measures which immediately followed, he wrote to his worthy friend the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, expressing his strong objections against such rigorous proceedings. In this letter, dated from Danbury, February 19, 1583, he addressed the treasurer as follows:‡

“ My duty to your honour in most humble manner promised, with my most earnest prayer to God for you. Your continual care of the church, and the importunity of my friends, have enforced me to write to your lordship concerning the present controversies in the church. I have long wished the church were rid of some things, in the retaining of which I can see no advantage. The silencing of ministers is like a man who, being angry with his shepherd, forbids him to feed his sheep, yet appoints none other in his place, and so the sheep starve in the fold. Your care to have insufficient ministers removed, is commendable and godly.

“ With regard to the subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, now urged, though I think reverently of the book;

* Strype's Parker, p. 192—194.

† Ibid. p. 198, 199.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Appen. p. 62—64.

yet to think that its authors erred in nothing, is a reverence due to the canonical books of scripture alone, and not to any human author whatever. The things in the book which I wish reformed are, first, such as cannot be defended: as private baptism. How to reconcile it to the doctrine of the church as by law established, to me appears impossible. Also the minister receiving the other sacrament with the sick man alone, is contrary to the nature of the communion; contrary to the doctrine established; and is cousin-german to the *private mass*. The other things are taken out of the popish portuis, and translated into the Book of Common Prayer, which serves to confirm our adversaries in popery. I wish the weapon were taken out of their hands.

“It is also an inconvenience, that the translation of the scripture, as corrupted by the bishops, still remaineth in the Book of Common Prayer uncorrected: that the interrogatories in baptism are directed to infants; and that the present urging of subscription, instead of producing greater *unity*, I fear it will make greater *division*. For I think that many who now use the book, and are in other things conformable, will hardly yield to subscribe according to the form now required. Beseeching your lordship to pardon my boldness, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God.

“Your lordship’s in Christ,

“GEORGE WITHERS.”

Dr. Withers quitted the rectory of Danbury in 1605, most probably on account of his nonconformity; but remained archdeacon to his death. He died previous to April 10, 1617.* The Oxford historian denominates him, “The Puritanical Satirist.”† He published “The Layman’s Letters,” 1585.—“A View of the Marginal Notes in the Popish Testament,” 1588.

FRANCIS BUNNEY, A. B.—This person was born at Vach, near Chalfont St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, May 8, 1543, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he became fellow of Magdalen college. He entered upon the ministerial work in 1567, and soon became an admired and a popular preacher. He was for some time chaplain to the Earl of Bedford; but, upon the resignation of his fellowship, he retired into the north of England, where he dis-

* Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 92.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 494.

covered uncommon zeal, constancy, and popularity in his ministerial labours. In the year 1572, he became prebendary of Durham; the year following, upon the resignation of Mr. Ralph Lever, he was made archdeacon of Northumberland; and in 1578, he became rector of Ryton, in the bishopric of Durham. Though he obtained these preferments, he did not hold them all at the same time, but in succession.* Upon his going into the north, the Bishops Pilkington and Barns, successively of Durham, shewed him great favour, and his labours were rendered particularly useful.† The former of these prelates was a great friend to the puritans and silenced nonconformists. He often took them under his patronage and protection. He connived at their nonconformity; and, to the utmost of his power, promoted, encouraged, and sheltered them from the storm. Such appears to have been the conduct of this generous prelate towards Mr. Bunney. Wood says "he was very zealous in his way, (meaning the way of puritanism;) a great admirer of John Calvin, a constant preacher, and much given to charity; but a stiff enemy to popery."‡ He died at Ryton, April 16, 1617, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place; and upon the wall over his grave is a monumental inscription on a brass plate, the first stanza of which is the following:

My bark now having won the haven,
I fear no stormy seas;
God is my hope, my home is heaven,
My life is happy ease.

Mr. Bunney, by his last will and testament, bequeathed thirty-three pounds to Magdalen college, Oxford, and one hundred pounds towards the erection of new colleges in that university. He was brother to Mr. Edmund Bunney, another puritan divine, whose memorial is given in the following article.

His WORKS.—1. A Survey and Trial of the Pope's Supremacy, 1590.—2. A Comparison between the ancient Faith of the Romans and the new Romish Religion, 1595.—3. Answer to a Popish Libel, called *A Petition to the Bishops, Preachers, and Gospellers*, 1607.—4. Exposition on Romans iii. 28, wherein is manifestly proved the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, 1616.—5. A plain and familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments, 1617.—6. In Joëlis Prophetiam enarratio. The last was left in manuscript, and probably never published.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 355, 740.

† *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 353. ‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 355.

EDMUND BUNNEY, B. D.—This zealous minister was born at Vach, near Chalfout St. Giles, in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1540, and educated in the university of Oxford; where, on account of his great knowledge of logic and philosophy, he was elected probationer fellow of Magdalen college. He was the son of Mr. Richard Bunney of Newton, usually called Bunney-hall, near Wakefield in Yorkshire. His father, designing him for the law, removed him from the university, and sent him to the inns of court, where he continued about four years. Mr. Bunney, not liking the law, resolved to study divinity, for which his father cast him off, and disinherited him.* Upon this he returned to Oxford, and in 1565, was elected fellow of Merton college, and admitted to the reading of the sentences. There was not at this time a single preacher in his college, and the greatest scarcity through the whole university; but Mr. Bunney was chosen preacher to the society. In this situation, he soon became a very eminent, constant, and popular preacher.† He used frequently to visit the university, for many years after he left it; when he was constantly engaged in preaching; and, by his sound doctrine and holy life, was the means of doing unspeakable good, especially among the scholars. He also travelled like an apostle, over most parts of England, every where preaching the word. Hereby he incurred the displeasure and censure of many. But, to acquit himself of all blame, he wrote “A Defence of his Labour in the Work of the Ministry.” This he dispersed among his friends, though it does not appear that it was ever published. But because he was a thorough Calvinist, and a zealous puritan, Wood denominates him “a busy, forward, and conceited man, and a most fluid preacher.” According to this writer, he seldom or never studied his sermons, but prayed and preached extempore; and, in the opinion of many, was troubled with the *divinity squirt*: and, he adds, that, by the liberties which he took in his preaching, he did a great deal of harm.‡ The same author, indeed, styles him “an excellent writer, an eminent preacher, and a learned theologian.”§ Mr. Strype calls him “an eminent writer and divine.”¶

About the year 1570, Mr. Bunney became chaplain to Grindal, Archbishop of York, who gave him a prebend in

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 364.

† Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 364, 365.

§ *Ibid.* p. 398, 717.—*Hist. and Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 152.

¶ *Strype's Annals*, vol. iii. p. 609.

that church, and the rectory of Bolton-Percy, near the city of York. After holding the rectory twenty-five years, he resigned the living, when he was made sub-dean of York. He died at Cawood in that county, February 26, 1617, aged fifty-seven years. His remains were interred in the south aisle joining to the choir of the cathedral of York; and over his grave is his effigy carved in stone and fixed in the wall, with a monumental inscription to his memory, of which the following is a translation :

EDMUND BUNNEY,
born of the ancient and noble family of the Bunneys,
was Bachelor of Divinity,
and once Fellow of Merton College, Oxford,
Pastor of the parish of Bolton-Percy,
a very worthy Prebendary of St. Paul's, London;
of St. Peter's, York;
and St. Mary's, Carlisle.
He spent a great part of his time in going about
from place to place in preaching,
leaving, for the love he had to Christ,
the patrimony bequeathed him by his father,
to his brother Richard.
He died February 26,
in the year 1617.

His Works.—1. The Summ of the Christian Religion, 1576.—2. An Abridgment of John Calvin's Institutions, 1580.—3. A Treatise of Purification, 1584.—4. The Coronation of King David, 1588.—5. A necessary Admonition out of the Prophet Joel, concerning the hand of God that late was upon us, and is not clean taken off as yet, 1588.—6. A brief Answer to those idle and frivolous Quarrels of R. P. (Robert Parsons) against the late edition of the Resolution, 1589.—7. Divorce for Adultery, and Marrying again, that there is no sufficient Warrant so to do, 1610.—8. The Corner Stone; or, a form of Teaching Jesus Christ out of the Scriptures, 1611.

EUSEBIUS PAGET.—This excellent divine was born at Cranford in Northamptonshire, about the year 1542, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. He went to the university at twelve years of age, and became an excellent logician and philosopher. During his abode at Oxford, he broke his right arm, and was lame of it ever after. Removing from the university, he became vicar of Oundle, and rector of Langton,* in his native county, but was exceedingly harassed on account of his nonconformity.

* Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 366.

January 29, 1573, he was cited before Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, who first suspended him for the space of three weeks, then deprived him of his living, worth a hundred pounds a year. Several others were suspended and deprived at the same time, because they could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to certain promises and engagements proposed to them by the bishop.* Upon their deprivation, they presented a supplication to the queen and parliament, for their restoration to their beloved ministry; but to no purpose: They must subscribe, or be buried in silence. A circumstantial account of these intolerant proceedings will be found in another place.†

In the year 1576, Mr. Paget was exercised with new oppressions. His unfeeling persecutors, not content with depriving him of his ministry and his living, ordered him to be taken into custody, and sent up to London. He was, therefore, apprehended, with Mr. John Oxenbridge, another leading person in the associations in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, and they were both carried prisoners to the metropolis, by a special order from Archbishop Grindal.‡ It does not, however, appear how long they were kept in custody, nor what further persecutions they suffered.

Mr. Paget was afterwards preferred to the rectory of Kilkhampton in Cornwall. Upon his presentation to the benefice, he acquainted both his *patron* and *ordinary*, that he could not, with a good conscience, observe all the rites, ceremonies, and orders appointed in the Book of Common Prayer; when they generously promised, that, if he would accept the cure, he should not be urged to the precise observation of them. On these conditions, he accepted the charge, and was regularly admitted and inducted.§ He was a *lame man*; but, in the opinion of Mr. Strype, “a learned, peaceable, and good divine, who had formerly complied with the customs and devotions of the church, and had been indefatigable in the ministry.”¶ But Mr. Farmer, curate of Barnstaple, envying his popu-

* Dr. Edmund Scambler, successively bishop of Peterborough and Norwich, was the first pastor of the protestant congregation in London, in the reign of Queen Mary; but was compelled, on account of the severity of persecution, to relinquish the situation. He was a learned man, very zealous against the papists, and probably driven into a state of exile: but, surely, he forgot his former circumstances when he became a zealous persecutor of his brethren in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

† See Art. Arthur Wake.

‡ MS. Register, p. 572.

§ Strype's Grindal, p. 215, 216.

¶ Strype's Whitgift, p. 377.

larity, complained of him to the high commission; when the following charges were exhibited against him:—"That in his prayers he never mentioned the queen's supremacy over *both* estates.—That he had said the sacraments were only *dumb elements*, and would not avail without the word preached.—That he had preached that Christ did not descend, both body and soul, into hell.—That the pope might set up the feast of *jubilee*, as well as the feasts of *Easter* and *Pentecost*.—That holy days and fast days were only the inventions of men, which we are not obliged to follow.—That he disallowed of the use of *organs* in divine worship.—That he called ministers who did not preach, *dumb dogs*; and those who have two benefices, *knaves*.—And that he preached that the late Queen Mary was a detestable woman, and a wicked Jezebel."* These were the crimes exhibited against our divine; though upon his appearance before Archbishop Whitgift and other commissioners, January 11, 1584, he was charged only in the common form, with refusing to observe the Book of Common Prayer, and the ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies; to which he made the following reply:†

"I do acknowledge, that by the statute of the 1 Eliz. I am bound to use the said Book of Common Prayer, in such manner and form as is prescribed, or else abide by such pains as by the law are imposed upon me. I have not refused to use the Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments, in such order as the book appoints, though I have not used *all* the rites, ceremonies, and orders set forth in the said book. 1. Because, to my knowledge, there is no Common Prayer Book in the church. 2. Because I am informed, that you, before whom I stand, and mine ordinary, and greatest part of the other bishops and ministers, do use greater liberty in omitting and altering the said rites, ceremonies, and orders. 3. Because I am not resolved in my conscience, that I may use divers of them. 4. Because, when I took the charge of that church, I was promised by mine *ordinary*, that I should not be urged to such ceremonies; which, I am informed, he might do by law.

"In those things which I have omitted, I have done nothing obstinately; neither have I used any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of administration of the sacraments or open prayers, than is mentioned in the said book; although there are some things which I doubt

* MS. Register, p. 574, 575.

† Ibid. p. 570.

whether I may use or practise. Wherefore, I humbly pray, that I may have the liberty allowed by the said book, of having in some convenient time, a favourable conference, either with mine ordinary, or with some other by you appointed. This I seek not for any desire I have to keep the said living, but only for the better resolution and satisfaction of my own conscience, as God knoweth. Subscribed by me,

“Lame, EUSEBIUS PAGET.”

This answer proving unsatisfactory to Whitgift and his brethren, Mr. Paget was immediately suspended; and venturing to preach after his suspension, he was deprived of his benefice. The principle reasons of his deprivation, were, “The omission of part of the public prayers, the cross in baptism, and the surplice; and the irregularity of dealing in the ministry after his suspension.”

In the opinion of the learned civilians, however, these things were not sufficient cause of deprivation, and, consequently, the proceedings of the high commission were deemed unwarrantable. The case was argued at some length; and being now before me, the reader is here favoured with the reasons on which the opinion is founded. His deprivation was accounted unwarrantable, because he had not time, nor conference, as he desired, and as the statute in doubtful cases warranted. He had not three several admonitions, nor so much as *one*, to observe those things in due time, as the law required. If this had been done, and, after such respite and admonition, he had not conformed, then the law would have deemed him a recusant, but not otherwise. And if the whole of this process had been regularly observed, Mr. Paget's omissions had so many favourable circumstances, as, that the parish had not provided a Prayer Book, and his ordinary had promised that he should not be urged to observe all the ceremonies, that it was hardly consistent with prudence and charity to deprive him so suddenly.

As to his irregularity in preaching after his suspension, the civilians were of opinion, that the suspension was void, because founded upon a process not within the cognizance of those who pronounced the sentence. For the ground of the sentence was his refusing to subscribe to articles devised and tendered by the ecclesiastical commissioners, who had no warrant whatever to offer any such articles. Their authority, as expressed in their commission, extended no farther than to reform and correct those things which were

contrary to certain statutes, and other ecclesiastical laws; there being no clause in the commission allowing them to require subscription to articles of their own invention. They further argued, that, on supposition the suspension had been warrantable, all irregularity was done away by the queen's pardon, long before his deprivation. Besides, Mr. Paget did not exercise himself in the ministry after his suspension, nor even attempt to do it, till after he had obtained from the archbishop himself a release from that suspension; which he apprehended, in such a case, to be sufficient, seeing his grace was chief in the commission. And in addition to this, all the canonists allowed, that mistakes of ignorance, being void of wilful contempt, as in the present case, were a lawful excuse from irregularity.* Notwithstanding these arguments in favour of the poor, lame minister of Christ, the learned prelates remained inflexible; and, right or wrong, were determined to abide by what they had decreed; therefore, the patron disposed of the living to another.

Mr. Paget's enemies were resolved to ruin him. From the above statement, his case was, indeed, very pitiable. This, however, was not the conclusion of his troubles: his future hardships were still more lamentable. After being deprived both of his ministry and benefice, and having to provide for a numerous family, the poor man set up a small school: but there the extended arms of the high commissioners reached him. For, as he was required to take out a license, and to subscribe to the articles of religion, which he could not do with a good conscience, they shut up his school, as they had before shut him out of the church, and left him to suffer in extreme poverty and want. In this painful condition, he sent an account of his case in a letter to the lord admiral, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was much beloved. In this letter, dated June 3, 1591, he expressed himself as follows:†

“I never gathered any separate assembly from the church, nor was I ever present in them; but always abhorred them. I always resorted to my parish church, and was present at service and preaching, and received the sacrament according to the book. I thought it my duty not to forsake the church because it had some blemishes; but while I have endeavoured to live in peace, others have prepared themselves for war. I was turned out of my living by

* MS. Register, p. 572, 573. † Stryce's Whitgift, Appen. p. 166, 167.
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commandment. Afterwards, I preached without living, and without stipend; and when I was forbidden, I ceased. I then taught a few children, to obtain a little bread for myself and my family; and when some disliked this, and commanded me to give it up, I obeyed and gave it up.

“ I beseech your lordship to continue your great favour towards me, that I may not be turned out of house and calling, and be obliged, as an idle rogue and vagabond, to go from door to door, begging my bread, while I am able to obtain it in a lawful calling. And I beseech you to be a means of obtaining her majesty's favour, that I may be allowed to live in some place and calling, as becometh a peaceable subject. And I beseech the Lord God to bless and prosper your honour for ever. Your lordship's most obedient servant,

“ Lame, EUSEBIUS PAGET.”

How long the good man continued under the ecclesiastical censure, we are not able to learn. It is, however, probable he continued some years. Mr. Paget subscribed the “*Book of Discipline*.”* But we find no further account of him till September 21, 1604, when he became rector of St. Ann and Agnes, in Aldersgate-street, London. There he laboured in the Lord's vineyard, till he finished his work, dying in May, 1617, aged seventy-five years. His remains were interred in his own church. Wood says, “he was many years a constant and faithful preacher of God's word.”† And Fuller styles him “the golden sophister, a painful preacher,” and author of an excellent “*History of the Bible*.”‡

HIS WORKS.—1. Sermon on Tithes, 1583.—2. A Catechism, 1591.—3. The History of the Bible, briefly collected by way of Question and Answer, 1627.—4. Sermon on Election.—5. A Translation of Calvin's Harmony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. He was author also of some other pieces.

THOMAS STONE.—This pious divine was educated in Christ's Church, Oxford, chosen one of the proctors of the university, and became rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire. He was a person of good learning and great worth, a zealous puritan, and a member of the classis,

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 357.—Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 278.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 290.

being sometimes chosen moderator. He united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline;"* but was afterwards brought into trouble for nonconformity, and his concern to reform church discipline. July 27, 1590, he was apprehended and brought before Attorney-General Popham, and required to take the oath *ex officio*. The day following he was examined in the star-chamber, from six o'clock in the morning till seven at night; and required upon his oath, to give his answer to *thirty-three* articles.† Some of the puritans thought, that when they were examined before their spiritual judges, it was their duty to confess all they knew. This was Mr. Stone's opinion in the case before us. His examination chiefly related to the classical assemblies; and though he could not give a direct answer to all the interrogatories, he gave an account of the greater and lesser assemblies; where they met; how often; and what persons officiated. He answered several questions concerning the authority by which they met together; who were moderators; upon what points they debated; and what censures were exercised. But, in order that this may appear to greater advantage, it will be proper to give those articles upon which he spoke explicitly, with the substance of his answers; which were the following:

1. Who and how many assembled at their classis? where, and when, and how often were they held?

In answer to this article, he specified the names of about forty ministers ‡ who attended these assemblies, though not all at one time; and that they had held them in London, Cambridge, Northampton, and Kettering.

2. Who called these assemblies, by what authority, and in what manner?

I know not, says Mr. Stone, by whom they were called; nor do I know any other authority therein, only that which was voluntary, by giving one another intelligence sometimes by letter, and sometimes by word of mouth, as occasion served.

3. Who were moderators in them, and what was their office?

I remember not who were moderators in any assembly particularly, excepting once at Northampton, when Mr.

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 206.

‡ From a list of the ministers, now before me, who attended these assemblies, there were, in all, upwards of eighty.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 435. (6.)

Johnson was admonished, and that was Mr. Snape or myself, I am not certain which.

4. What things were debated in those meetings or assemblies?

The principal things considered in those assemblies, were, how far ministers might yield to subscribe unto the Book of Common Prayer, rather than forego their ministry. The "Book of Discipline" was often perused and discussed. Three petitions were agreed upon to be drawn up and presented, one to her majesty, another to the lords of the council, and another to the bishops. As to the particular things debated, I remember only, the perfecting of the "Book of Discipline," and the subscription to it at Cambridge. Also, whether it was convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal the circumstances of the assemblies, a little before he was committed. Likewise the admonition of Mr. Johnson at Northampton. And whether the books of Apocrypha might be warrantably read in public worship, as the canonical scriptures.

5. Were any censures exercised; what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, and for what cause?

I never saw any censure exercised, excepting admonition once given to Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for improper conversation, to the scandal of his calling: nor was that used with any kind of authority, but by voluntary and mutual agreement, as well by him who was admonished, as him who gave the admonition.

6. Have any of the said defendants moved or persuaded any to refuse an oath, and in what case?

I never knew any of the defendants to use words of persuasion to refuse any oath; only Mr. Snape sent me certain reasons gathered out of scripture, which led him to refuse the oath *ex officio*; which, I am persuaded, he sent for no other purpose, than to declare that he refused to swear, not of contempt, but for conscience sake.*

This is the substance of what is preserved by our historians. Mr. Stone, however, by his long examination, brought many things to light, extremely offensive to the ruling prelates; but which, till that time, were perfectly unknown. Though he did not, it seems, give this information out of any ill design, but because he was required upon his oath so to do; yet many of the puritans were inclined to

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 207—209.—Strype's Whitgift, Appen. p. 159—166.

complain of his adding affliction to their bonds, seeing it brought them into many troubles. Mr. Stone, therefore, to acquit himself of the blame attached to him by his brethren, drew up and published a vindication of what he had done. The reasons alleged in his own defence, were in all sixteen; but the principal were, "That he thought it was unlawful to refuse an oath, when offered by a lawful magistrate.—That, having taken the oath, he was not at liberty to say nothing, much less to deliver an untruth.—And he saw no probability, nor even possibility, of things being any longer concealed."*

Mr. Stone, with several others, having fully discovered the classical associations, many of his brethren were cast into prison, where they remained a long time under extreme hardships; but he was himself released. Having obtained his liberty, he returned to his ministerial charge at Warkton; where he continued without further molestation the remainder of his life. He died an old man and full of days, in the year 1617. Bridges observes, that he was inducted into the living of Warkton in the year 1553.† If this statement be correct, he must have been rector of that place sixty-four years. He was a learned man, of great uprightness, and uncommon plainness of spirit, minding not the things of this world; yet, according to Wood, "a stiff nonconformist, and a zealous presbyterian."‡

PAUL BAYNES, A. M.—This excellent divine was born in London, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. His conduct at the university was, at first, so exceedingly irregular, that his father was much displeased with him; and, at his death, left forty pounds a year, to the disposal of his friend Mr. Wilson of Birchin-lane, desiring, that if his son should forsake his evil ways, and become steady, he would give it him; but if he did not, that he should withhold it from him. Not long after his father's death, it pleased God to convince him of his sins, and bring him to repentance. He forsook the paths of vice, and soon became eminent for piety and holiness. Much being forgiven him, he loved much. Mr. Wilson, being taken dangerously ill, and having heard what the

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p: 209, 210.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 274.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 210. —Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 749.

Lord had done for Mr. Baynes, sent for him, when he was much delighted and profited by his fervent prayers and holy conversation. Therefore, according to the trust reposed in him, he made known to Mr. Baynes the agreement into which he had entered with his father, and delivered to him the securities of the above annuity.

Mr. Baynes, it is said, was inferior to none, in sharpness of wit, in depth of judgment, in variety of reading, in aptness to teach, and in holy, pleasant, and heavenly conversation. Indeed, his fame was so great at Cambridge, that, upon the death of the celebrated Mr. Perkins, no one was deemed so suitable to succeed him in the lecture at St. Andrew's. In this public situation, he was much admired and followed; multitudes rejoiced under his ministry; and he so conducted himself, that impiety *alone* had cause to complain.* Here he was instrumental, under God, in the conversion of many souls. Among these was the holy and celebrated Dr. Sibbs.

His excellent endowments, together with his extensive usefulness, could not screen him from the oppressions of the times. Dr. Harsnet, chancellor to Archbishop Bancroft, visiting the university, silenced him, and put down his lecture, for refusing subscription. Mr. Baynes was required to preach at this visitation, when his sermon was sound and unexceptionable. But being of a weak constitution, he retired at the close of the service, for some refreshment; and being called during his absence, and not answering, he was immediately silenced. Nor were his enemies satisfied with this, but, to make sure work of it, the reverend chancellor silenced him over again; all of which Mr. Baynes received with a pleasant smile on his countenance.† Having received the ecclesiastical censure, he appealed to the archbishop; but his grace stood inflexible to the determination of his chancellor, and threatened to lay the good old man by the heels, for appearing before him with a *little black edging on his cuffs*.‡

After receiving the above censure, Mr. Baynes preached only occasionally, as he found opportunity, and was

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 22, 23.

† Baynes's Diocesans Tryall, Pref. Edit. 1621.

‡ Ibid.—How a little black edging could offend his lordship, is certainly not easy to discover. It was not prohibited by any of the canons, nor any violation of the ecclesiastical constitutions. Therefore, unless the archbishop had some enmity against the good man previously in his heart, it seems difficult to say how he could have been offended with so trivial a matter.

reduced to great poverty and want. Notwithstanding this, he never blamed himself for his nonconformity. But of the persecuting prelates he used pleasantly to say, "They are a generation of the earth, earthly, and savour not the ways of God." He was an excellent casuist, and great numbers under distress of conscience resorted to him for instruction and comfort. This the bishops denominated keeping *conventicles*; and for this marvellous crime, Bishop Harsnet, his most furious persecutor, intended to have procured his banishment. He was, therefore, called before the council; and, being allowed to speak in his own defence, he made so admirable a speech, that before he had done, one of the lords stood up, and said, "He speaks more like an *angel* than a *man*, and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any sentence against him." Upon this he was dismissed, and heard no more of it.*

Though Mr. Baynes's natural temper was warm and irritable, no one was more ready to receive reproof, when properly administered. Indeed, by the power of divine grace, the lion was turned into a lamb; and he was become of so holy and humble a spirit, that he was exceedingly beloved and revered by all who knew him. During the summer season, after he was silenced, he usually visited gentlemen in the country; and they accounted it a peculiar felicity to be favoured with his company and conversation. In his last sickness, the adversary of souls was permitted to disturb his peace. He laboured to the last under many doubts and fears, and left the world less comfortable than many others, greatly inferior to him in christian faith and holiness. He died at Cambridge, in the year 1617.

The celebrated Dr. Sibbs gives the following account of this accomplished servant of Christ: "Mr. Baynes," says he, "was a man of much communion with God, and acquaintance with his own heart, observing the daily footsteps of his life. He was much exercised with spiritual conflicts, by which he became more able to comfort others. He had a deep insight into the mystery of God's grace, and man's corruption. He sought not great things in the world. He possessed great learning, a clear judgment, and a ready wit."† Fuller has classed him among the learned writers who were fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.‡ What a reproach was it to the ruling prelates, and what a blow against the church of God, when so excellent a divine was cast aside and almost starved!

* Clark's Lives, p. 23, 24.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

The following anecdote is related of Mr. Baynes, shewing the warmth of his natural temper, with his readiness to receive reproof and to make a proper use of it. A religious gentleman placed his son under his care and tuition; and Mr. Baynes, entertaining some friends at supper, sent the boy into the town for something which they wanted. The boy staying longer than was proper, Mr. Baynes reprov'd him with some sharpness, severely censuring his conduct. The boy remained silent; but the next day, when his tutor was calm, he thus addressed him: "My father placed me under your care not only for the benefit of human learning, but that by your pious counsel and example, I might be brought up in the fear of God: but you, sir, giving way to your passion the last night, gave me a very evil example, such as I have never seen in my father's house." "Sayest thou so," answered Mr. Baynes. "Go to my tailor, and let him buy thee a suit of clothes, and make them for thee, which I will pay for, to make thee amends." And it is added, that Mr. Baynes watched more narrowly over his own spirit ever after.*

HIS WORKS.—1. Holy Helper in God's Building, 1618.—2. Discourse on the Lord's Prayer, 1619.—3. The Diocesans Tryall, wherein all the Sinnewes of Dr. Downham's Defence are brought into three Heads and orderly dissolved, 1621.—4. Help to true Happiness, 1635.—5. Brief Directions to a Godly Life, 1637.—6. A Commentary on Ephesians, 1658.

WILLIAM BRADSHAW, A. M.—This excellent divine, descended from the ancient family of Bradshaws in Lancashire, was born at Market-Bosworth in Leicestershire, in the year 1571, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Having taken his degrees, he went, by the recommendation of Dr. Chadderton, to Guernsey, where he became tutor to the children of Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of the island. In this situation he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Thomas Cartwright, which death alone could dissolve. During Mr. Bradshaw's abode at Guernsey, he maintained an unblemished character, and discovered great piety, industry, and faithfulness in his official-situation. Upon his return to England, on his way to Cambridge, he very narrowly escaped being drowned. He was chosen fellow of Sidney college, then newly erected. Here he discovered much prudence and piety, and was highly respected. He

* Clark's Examples, p. 72. Edit. 1671.

was of so amiable a disposition, that his very enemies were constrained to speak well of him. Upon his settlement at Cambridge, he entered into the ministerial office, when he was not particularly urged to observe those things which he scrupled. He preached occasionally at Abington, Bassingborn, and Steeple-Morton, near Cambridge; but did not settle at any of these places.

In the year 1601, having received a pressing invitation from the people of Chatham in Kent, he became their pastor. In this situation, to his own great comfort, and that of the people, his labours were soon made a blessing to many. Multitudes flocked to hear the word at his mouth, which presently awakened the jealousy and envy of other ministers. It was deemed advisable now to obtain his confirmation from the Archbishop of Canterbury; and to this end, Sir Francis Hastings wrote a most pious and modest letter to His lordship.* At this particular juncture, Mr. Bradshaw's enemies falsely accused him to the archbishop, of preaching unsound doctrine; therefore, instead of obtaining his confirmation, he received a citation from Dr. Buckridge, dated May 26, 1602, to appear by nine o'clock the next morning, before his grace of Canterbury, and his lordship of London, at Shorne, a small distance from Chatham. Mr. Bradshaw appearing at the time and place appointed, the Bishop of London, after asking certain questions, charged him with having taught, "That man is not bound to love God, unless he be sure that God loves him." Mr. Bradshaw denied the charge; and though he offered to produce numerous respectable witnesses in refutation of it, and to prove what he had taught, the offer was rejected. But, to finish the business, and strike him at once dumb, he was required to subscribe; and because he could not, with a good conscience, he was immediately suspended, bound to appear again when called, and then dismissed.†

His unexpected suspension and expulsion from Chatham, caused the friends of Christ to mourn, and his enemies to triumph. His numerous flock, having sat under his ministry with great delight, were peculiarly anxious to have him restored. A supplication was, therefore, drawn up in the name of the parishioners of Chatham, and presented to the Bishop of Rochester, earnestly desiring the restoration

* This excellent letter, dated April 25, 1602, in which Sir Francis gives high commendations of Mr. Bradshaw's character, is still preserved.—*Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie*, p. 37.

† *Ibid.* p. 25—44.

of their silenced pastor. In this supplication, after exposing the false charges of his adversaries, they declare, "That Mr. Bradshaw's doctrine was always sound, holy, learned, and utterly void of faction and contention; that his life was so ornamented with unblemished virtues, that malice itself could not condemn him; and that he directed all his labours to beat down wickedness, to comfort the faithful, and to instruct the ignorant, without meddling with the needless controversies of the day." They conclude by humbly entreating his lordship's favour, that he would be the happy means of restoring to them their virtuous and faithful shepherd.* But the decree of the bishop and archbishop, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, was gone forth; these intercessions were, therefore, ineffectual. The meek and pious divine quietly yielded to be driven from his ministry and his flock.

During these apparently cross dispensations, God, who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, was providing for Mr. Bradshaw a place of rest. Being torn from his beloved and affectionate people, by treachery and episcopal power, he found a comfortable retreat under the hospitable roof of Mr. Alexander Redich, of Newhall, near Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire. This pious and worthy gentleman not only received him into his house, but procured him a license from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to preach in any part of his diocese: this favour was continued as long as the bishop lived. In this retired situation, Mr. Bradshaw preached for some time at the chapel in the park; then, when that became too small, in the parish church of Stapenhil. This he did for about twelve years, receiving nothing from the parish. During the whole of this period, he was supported by his worthy patron, in whose family he lived, and was treated with the utmost kindness. Mr. Bradshaw was afterwards chosen lecturer of Christ's church, London; but the bishop absolutely refused his allowance.

Conformity being now enforced with great rigour, several worthy divines ventured to set forth their grievances, their exceptions, and the grounds of their dissent, and to answer the arguments of their opponents. Among these was Mr. Bradshaw, who published his Reply to Dr. Bilson and Dr.

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 42.

† Dr. Bilson's celebrated work in defence of the national church, is entitled, "The perpetuall Government of Christes Church: Wherein are handled, The fatherly superioritie which God first established in the

Downham, two notable champions for episcopacy and the ceremonies. The puritans being treated with great severity, and stigmatized as fanatics, schismatics, and enemies both to God and the king; Mr. Bradshaw, to remove these slanders, and to give the world a correct statement of their principles, published his "English Puritanism, containing the main Opinions of the rigidest sort of those that are called Puritans in the realm of England." In this excellent performance, to which the learned Dr. Ames wrote a preface, and translated it into Latin, for the benefit of foreigners, it is observed, "That the puritans maintain the absolute perfection of the holy scriptures, both as to faith and worship; and that whatever is required as a part of *divine service*, which cannot be warranted by the word of God, is unlawful." This is the broad basis on which they founded their opinions and practice; and in correspondence with this generous sentiment, they further maintained, "That the pastors of particular congregations are the highest spiritual officers in the church of Christ, over whom there is, by divine ordinance, no superior pastor, excepting Jesus Christ alone.—That they are led by the spirit of antichrist, who arrogate to themselves to be pastors of pastors.—That every particular church hath power to elect its own officers, and to censure its own members.—That, to force a congregation to support a person as their pastor, who is either unable or unwilling to instruct them, is as great an injury as to force a man to maintain as his wife, one who refuseth to perform the duties of a wife," &c.*

All books published in defence of the puritans were, indeed, accounted dangerous both to church and state; and when they came forth, the most diligent search was made for them, as well as for their authors. Therefore, Mr. Bradshaw being in London, two pursuivants were sent to his lodgings to apprehend him, and to search for suspected books. When the pursuivants came, he was not to be found; and, not more than half an hour before their arrival, his wife, to prevent danger, had taken a quantity of those

Patriarkes for the guiding of his church, and after continued in the tribe of Levi and the Prophetes: and lastlie confirmed in the New Testament to the Apostles and their Successors: as also the points in question at this day, touching the Jewish Synedrion; the true Kingdome of Christ; the Apostles Commission; the Late Presbyterie; the Distinction of Bishops and Presbyters, and their succession from the Apostles times and hands:" &c. 1593. This, it is said, is one of the best books written in favour of episcopacy.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 310. Edit. 1778.

* *English Puritanism*, p. 36—42. Edit. 1660.

books out of his study, and cast them into a hole between two chimnies : and though they broke open chests, trunks, and boxes, and searched every corner in the house they could think of, the books remained undiscovered. Nevertheless, they carried Mrs. Bradshaw before the high commission, where she underwent a severe examination, with an evident design to make her betray her husband ; but their purpose having utterly failed, after binding her to appear when called, she was dismissed.*

In the year 1617, Mr. Bradshaw returning from a journey, the bishop's chancellor welcomed him home with a suspension from preaching any more, without his further allowance. But, by the mediation of a worthy friend, the chancellor soon became satisfied ; took off his restraint ; and the good man went forwards in the peaceable exercise of his ministry. Besides preaching constantly at Stapenhill, this learned divine united with his brethren in their associations at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Repton, and Burton-upon-Trent. On these occasions, besides public preaching, for the benefit of the respective congregations, they had private religious conference among themselves. For their mutual advantage, they proposed subjects for discussion ; when Mr. Bradshaw is said to have discovered a depth of judgment, and a power of balancing points of controversy, superior to the rest of his brethren. On account of his great abilities, he was commonly styled *the weighing divine*. He was well grounded in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and well studied in the points about subscription, the ceremonies, the civil power, and the authority of the prelates ; yet he was an enemy to separation.†

Mr. Bradshaw, in his last sickness, had very humiliating views of himself, and exalted views of God and the power of his grace. He exhorted those about him, to learn to die before death approached ; and to lay a foundation in time of life and health, that would afford them comfort in time of sickness and death. At Chelsea, near London, he was seized with a malignant fever, which baffled all the power of medicine, and soon terminated his mortal existence. He died in peace, and in great satisfaction with his nonconformity, in the year 1618, aged forty-seven years : his remains were interred at Chelsea, and most of the ministers about the city attended the funeral solemnity. His funeral sermon

* Clark's Lives, p. 43—46.

† Ibid. p. 49, 52, 56.

was preached by his worthy friend Mr. Thomas Gataker, who gave him the following character: "He was studious, humble, upright, affectionate, liberal, and compassionate. He possessed a sharp wit, a clear apprehension, a sound judgment, an exact method, a powerful delivery, and a singular dexterity in clearing up intricate debates, discovering the turning points in dispute, stating controversies aright, and resolving cases of conscience." The celebrated Bishop Hall says, "He had a strong understanding, and a free spirit, not suffering himself for small matters of judgment to be alienated from his friends; to whom, notwithstanding his seeming austerity, he was very pleasing in conversation, being full of witty and harmless urbanity. He was very strong and eager in argument, hearty in friendship, regardless of the world, a despiser of compliment, a lover of reality, full of digested learning and excellent notions, a painful labourer in God's work, and now, no doubt, gloriously rewarded."*

The productions of Mr. Bradshaw's pen were numerous, and most of them very excellent. His "Treatise of Justification," was much admired by men of learning, as appears from the following anecdote: Some time after Mr. Bradshaw's death, the famous Dr. Prideaux, being in company with his son, and, finding who he was, said, "I am glad to see the son of that man, for the old acquaintance I had, not with your father, but with his Book of Justification."† We shall give a list of his pieces, in addition to those already mentioned, though perhaps not in the exact order in which they came forth, as it is difficult to procure an exact statement of the time of their publication.

HIS WORKS.—1. A Treatise of Divine Worship, tending to prove that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England, in present Controversy, are in their use unlawful, 1604.—2. A Treatise of the Nature and Use of Things Indifferent, tending to prove that the Ceremonies, in present Controversy, are neither in Nature or Use Indifferent, 1605.—3. Twelve Arguments, proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers of the Gospel in England by our Prelates, are unlawful; and, therefore, that the Ministers of the Gospel, for the bare and sole omission of them in Church-service, for conscience sake, are most unjustly charged of Disloyalty to his Majesty, 1605.—4. A Protestation of the King's Supremacy, made in the name of the Afflicted Ministers, and opposed to the shameful Calumniation of the Prelates, 1605.—5. A Proposition concerning Kneeling in the very Act of Receiving, 1605.—6. A short Treatise of the Cross in Baptism.—7. A Consideration of

* Clark's Lives, p. 51, 60.

† Ibid. p. 53.

certain Positions Archbishopal.—8. A Preparation to the Lord's Supper.—9. A Marriage Feast.—10. A Meditation on Man's Mortality.—11. Sermons on the second Epistle to the Thessalonians.—12. A Treatise of Christian Reproof.—13. A Treatise of the Sin against the Holy Ghost.—14. A Twofold Catechism.—15. An Answer to Mr. G. Powel.—16. A Defence of the Baptism of Infants.—17. The Unreasonableness of Separation.

Mr. JENKIN was son to a gentleman of considerable estate at Folkstone in Kent, and educated in the university of Cambridge, with a view to some considerable preferment in the church. Being here cast under the ministry of the celebrated Mr. William Perkins, he soon became impressed with great seriousness, and embarked with the puritans. His father discovering this upon his return home, and disliking that sort of people, was pleased to disinherit him of the greatest part of his estate. Thus young Jenkin was called to bear the yoke in his youth, and to forsake father and mother, houses and land, for his attachment to Christ and his cause. He trusted in the Lord, and found him to be a constant friend. When he found his company disagreeable to his father, he removed to the house of Mr. Richard Rogers, the old puritan minister of Wethersfield in Essex, where he diligently prosecuted his studies. Entering afterwards upon the ministerial function, he settled at Sudbury in Suffolk. In this situation he was laborious in preaching and catechising; and while he was signally useful to many, he adorned the whole by a corresponding holy conversation. After his settlement at this place, he married the grand-daughter of Mr. John Rogers, the famous protomartyr. Mr. Jenkin died about the year 1618.* Mr. John Wilson, another celebrated puritan, was his successor at Sudbury; and Mr. William Jenkin, the ejected nonconformist, was his son.†

SAMUEL HIERON.—This excellent divine was the son of a most worthy minister, who, being much respected by the famous Mr. John Fox, was persuaded to lay aside teaching school, and enter upon the christian ministry. He laboured in the sacred office many years at Epping in Essex, where God was pleased greatly to bless his endeavours. This his son was educated first by his father, then at King's school,

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 17.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 109.

near Windsor, and afterwards at King's college, Cambridge, where he made amazing progress in the various branches of literature. One of his name united with many others of Trinity college, in their invitation to Lord Burleigh, in 1595, to accept the office of treasurer of the college; but it does not appear with certainty whether this was the same person.*

He entered upon his public ministry, and gained, at the age of twenty-four years, a distinguished reputation, and was greatly admired and followed. Having finished his studies at the university, he was presented by Sir Henry Savile to the vicarage of Modbury in Devonshire, where he continued the remainder of his days, the Lord greatly blessing his labours. Here he was revered by the poor, admired by the rich, countenanced by the great, and respected by all.†

Mr. Hieron was a celebrated divine, and a most noted puritan. He wrote several excellent pieces in defence of nonconformity, though they were never collected and published with his other works. One of them is entitled, "A short Dialogue proving that the Ceremonies and some other Corruptions now in question, are defended by no other Arguments than such as the Papists have heretofore used, and our Protestant Writers have long since Answered: whereunto are annexed certain Considerations why the Ministers should not be moved by the Subscription and Ceremonies," 1605. He was also the anonymous author of another piece, entitled, "A Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, and of Conformity, in Answer to Mr. T. Hutton, Dr. W. Covel, and Dr. T. Sparke," 1607. This work was printed in Holland, and sent over packed up with the goods of one Mr. T. Sheveril, an eminent merchant of Plymouth; but, as no bookseller durst sell it, on account of the severity of the times, the whole impression was given away. Some of the copies were sent to the persecuting bishops, some to his antagonists, and some to the universities; but the author was never discovered to his enemies, or to the collectors of his works. Thus Mr. Hieron was deeply engaged in the public controversies of the day, though unknown to his opponents. There was also, "The Second Part of the Defence of the Ministers' Reasons," 1608; and "The Third Part of the Same," 1608; but I am not sure, says my

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 50.

† Hieron's Works, Pref. Edit. 1694.

author, whether Mr. Hieron was the author of them.* He was particularly intimate with some of the most celebrated puritans, especially Dr. Lawrence Chadderton, to whom he dedicated some of his works.

Though Mr. Hieron was a minister of most eminent piety and usefulness; yet, during the greatest part of his last sickness, which continued about a month, his mind was under a cloud, and very uncomfortable. For the most part, he remained altogether silent, oftentimes not answering any question that was proposed to him, and sometimes he wept most bitterly. A brother minister addressing him, with a view to administer comfort to his troubled mind, he said, "There is a great mist betwixt me and the happiness I have looked after. I have judged partially of my own state, and thought better of myself than I deserved." He could not then be prevailed upon to speak any more.

About four days before he died, he began to revive and speak in a more comfortable strain, declaring his great peace and abundant consolation. To a friend who asked him how he did, he said, "A very weak man." When it was recommended that, though he was weak in body, he should labour to be strong in the spirit, he replied, "I thank God, I have laboured, and do labour, and I find my labour is not in vain. I have many things to speak that way, but now I want a tongue to utter them; yet something I must speak: I would not have it thought that my death is hopeless; for though I have lain all this time silent, as you have seen, yet my thoughts have been engaged about matters of great consequence; and now, I thank my God, my soul is full of comfort. I do verily believe I shall see the light of the Lord, in the land of the living. But what am I, or what is my father's house, that God should deal so graciously with my soul? He hath called me unto a state of grace; fitted me in my education for the ministry of the word; brought me in his appointed time to the practice thereof; given me some reputation in it; and blessed my labours in some measure unto his people. He hath not dealt thus with every one; no not of his own chosen. I speak not boastingly, but comfortably; not to extol myself, but to magnify the goodness of my God. I know whom I have professed, whom I have preached, whom I have believed, and now I see heaven open to receive me. I am freed from all care, except for my people. I wish, if God

* M^s. Account of Mr. Hieron.

were so pleased, that nothing I have taught them may prove the savour of death unto death to any of them. But my own sin hath been the cause that I have seen no more fruit of my labour in their conversion; yet, it may be, another may come after me, and, as the apostle says of himself, reap that which I have sown. I confess that, in public, I have been somewhat full in reproof, in admonition, in instruction; but in private my backwardness, my bashfulness, my dastardliness, hath been intolerable; and I may truly say, that if any thing lies as a burden on my conscience, it is this. But I praise my God, I know upon whose shoulders to cast it, with the rest of my transgressions." Many other things, in the same comfortable strain, he spoke previous to his departure. He died in the year 1618; for his funeral sermon was published that year, though it does not contain the least account of the deceased. It is entitled, "Hieron's last Farewell; a Sermon preached at Modbury in Devon, at the Funeral of the Reverend and Faithful Servant of Christ, Master Samuel Hieron, sometimes preacher there, by J. B.," 1618.

Fuller, who has classed Mr. Hieron among the eminent men and learned writers of King's college, Cambridge, styles him "a powerful preacher in his printed works."* The learned and pious Bishop Wilkins has given an honourable testimony of the excellency of his sermons.† His works, consisting of sermons and other pieces, were collected and published after his death, entitled, "The Works of Mr. Sam. Hieron, late Pastor of Modbury in Devon," in two volumes, folio, in 1624. A divine of the same name, who was ejected in 1662, was his grandson.‡

GEORGE GIFFORD, A. M.—This excellent divine was educated in Hart-hall, Oxford, where he continued some years. In the year 1582, he became vicar of Maldon in Essex.‡ The Oxford historian denominates him "a very noted preacher, a man admirably well versed in the various branches of good literature, and a great enemy to popery."§ Mr. Strype says, "he was a great and diligent preacher, and much esteemed by many

* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 75.

† Wilkins on Preaching, p. 83.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 38.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 398.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 387.

persons of rank. By his labours he brought the town to much more sobriety and knowledge of true religion."* Though he was a decided puritan, and scrupled conformity in various particulars, he wrote with great zeal against the Brownists, and in defence of the church. But all these things were mere trifles, so long as he did not admire the ceremonies, nor come up to the standard of conformity required by the prelates. Therefore, having preached the doctrine of limited obedience to the civil magistrate, complaints were brought against him, and he was immediately suspended and cast into prison. This was in the year 1584.

About the same time, this learned divine, and other ministers of Essex, to the number of twenty-seven, presented a supplication to the lords of the council, earnestly soliciting a redress of their grievances; though it does not appear with what degree of success.

The ministers who subscribed this supplication were highly celebrated for learning, piety, and usefulness, many of whom were already suspended for nonconformity. In the supplication they express themselves as follows: "We cheerfully and boldly offer this our humble suit unto your honours, being our only sanctuary upon earth, next to her majesty, to which we can repair in our present necessity: and most of all we are encouraged, when we consider how richly God hath adorned your honours with knowledge, wisdom, and zeal for the gospel, and with godly care and tender love to those who profess the same. Most humbly, therefore, we beseech your honours, with your accustomed favour in all godly and just causes, to hear and to judge of our matters. We have received the charge of her majesty's loyal and faithful subjects, to instruct and teach our people in the way of life; and every one of us having this sounded from the God of heaven, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel*, we have all endeavoured to discharge our duties, and to approve ourselves both to God and men. Notwithstanding this, we are in great heaviness, and some of us already put to silence, and the rest living in fear; not that we have been, or can be charged, we hope, with false doctrine, or slanderous life; but because we refuse to subscribe 'that there is nothing contained in the Book of Common Prayer contrary to the word of God.' We do protest in the sight of God, who searcheth all hearts, that we do not refuse from a desire to dissent, or from any sinister affection;

* Strype's Aylmer, p. 110.

but in the fear of God, and from the necessity of conscience. The apostle teacheth, that a person who doubteth is condemned if he eat. If a man then be condemned for doing a lawful action, because he doubts whether it be lawful; how much more should we incur the displeasure of the Lord, and justly deserve his wrath, if we should subscribe, being fully persuaded that there are some things in the book contrary to his word! If our reasons might be so answered by the doctrine of the Bible, and we could be persuaded that we might subscribe lawfully, and in the fear of God, we would willingly consent. In these and other respects we humbly crave your honourable protection, as those who from the heart do entirely love, honour, and obey her excellent majesty and your honours, in the Lord. Giving most hearty thanks to God for all the blessings we have received from him, by your government, constantly praying, night and day, that he will bless and preserve her majesty and your honours to eternal salvation. Your honours' poor and humble supplicants,

“GEORGE GIFFORD,
RICHARD ROGERS,
NICHOLAS COLPOTTS,
LAWRANCE NEWMAN,
WILLIAM DIKE,
THOMAS CHAPLAIN,
ARTHUR DENT,
THOMAS REDRICH,
GILES WHITING,
RALPH HAWDEN,
JEFFERY JESSELIN,
THOMAS UPCHE,
ROGER CARR,
JOHN WILTON,

SAMUEL COTESFORD,
RICHARD ILLISON,
WILLIAM SERDGE,
EDMUND BARKER,
RICHARD BLACKWELL,
THOMAS HOWELL,
MARK WIRSDALE,
ROBERT EDMONDS,
AUGUSTINE PIGOT,
CAMILLUS RUSTICUS,
JOHN HUCKLE,
THOMAS CAREW,
JOHN BISHOP.”*

When Mr. Gifford was brought to trial before the high commission, his enemies utterly failed in their evidence, and he was accordingly released. This, however, was not the end of his troubles. He did not long enjoy his liberty. Bishop Aylmer appointed spies to watch him, and fresh complaints were soon brought against him on account of his nonconformity; when he was again suspended and cast into prison.† Upon this he made application to the lord treasurer, who endeavoured to obtain the favour of the

* MS. Register, p. 330.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 152.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 379.

archbishop; but his grace having consulted his brother of London, told the treasurer that he was a ringleader of the nonconformists; that he himself had received complaints against him, and was determined to bring him before the high commission.*

Mr. Gifford had many friends, and was much beloved by his numerous hearers. The parishioners of Maldon, therefore, presented a petition to the bishop, in behalf of their minister, signed by *fifty-two* persons, two of whom were bailiffs of the town, two justices of the peace, four aldermen, fifteen head burgesses, and other respectable people. In this petition, they shewed that his former accusations had been proved to be false; that the present charges were only the slanderous accusations of wicked men, who sought to injure his reputation and usefulness; that they themselves and a great part of the town had derived the greatest benefit from his ministry; that his doctrine was always sound and good; that in all his preaching and catechising he taught obedience to magistrates; that he used no conventicles; and that his life was modest, discreet, and unprovable. For these reasons they earnestly entreated his grace to restore him to his ministry.† Indeed, the distresses of the people in Essex were at this time so great, that the inhabitants of Maldon and the surrounding country presented a petition to parliament for the removal of present grievances. In this petition, now before me, they complain, in most affecting language, that nearly all their learned and useful ministers were forbidden to preach, or deprived of their livings; and that ignorant and wicked ministers were put in their places.‡

These endeavours proved ineffectual. Mr. Gifford did not enjoy his liberty for several years, as appears from a supplication of several of the suspended ministers in Essex, presented to parliament, dated March 8, 1587, when he was still under the episcopal censure. It will be proper to give the substance of it in their own words: "In most humble and reverent duty to this high and honourable court of parliament, sundry of the ministers and preachers of God's holy word in the county of Essex, present this our earnest supplication, and lamentable complaint, beseeching you upon our knees for the Lord's sake, and the sake of his

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 152.

† Strype's Aylmer, p. 111, 112.

‡ MS. Register, p. 748.

people, whose salvation it concerneth, to bow down a gracious ear to this our most dutiful suit, and to take such order as to your godly wisdom shall be thought most convenient. Your humble suppliants having, by the goodness of God, conducted themselves at all times, both in their doctrine and life, as becometh their vocation, they submit themselves to any trial and punishment, if it should be found otherwise. Notwithstanding this, they have been a long time, and still are, grievously troubled and molested; of which troubles this is one of the heaviest, that we are hindered from the service of God in our public ministry. To this restraint we have hitherto yielded and kept silence.

“ We hoped, from the equity of our cause, the means that have been used, and the necessities of our people, that our suspension would have been taken off by those whose censure lieth upon us: but they neither restored us to our ministry, nor furnished the people with suitable persons to supply our places. We and our people have been humble suitors to them, desiring that we might be restored to our former service and usefulness among them; and, notwithstanding our cause hath been recommended to them by some of the chief nobility in the land, even of her majesty's honourable privy council, we have obtained no relief for ourselves, nor comfort for our distressed people. Therefore, to appear before this high and honourable court of parliament, is the only means left unto us; that if there be in us no desert of so heavy a sentence, it may please this high court to take such order for the relief of your most humble suppliants as to your godly wisdom shall be thought convenient.

“ We, indeed, acknowledge that divers causes of our restraint are alleged against us; but our earnest desire is, that this high court would by some means be informed of this weighty matter. The chief of them is our refusing to subscribe to certain articles relating to the present policy of the church, that every word and ceremony appointed to be read and used in the Book of Common Prayer, is according to the word of God. We declared that we could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to all that was required of us; and we humbly requested to have our doubts removed, and to be satisfied in the things required; but we have not received one word of answer to this day; and their former rigorous proceedings have not in the least been mitigated.

“ We humbly pray this high court to be assured of our dutiful obedience to all lawful authority, unto which, as

the ordinance of God, and for conscience sake, with all our hearts, we promise and protest our submission. We seek unto you to obtain some relief for us. And we commit our lives and whole estate to Almighty God, to your gracious clemency, and to the care of her right excellent majesty, ceasing not, day and night, to pray that the blessings of grace and glory may rest upon you for ever.*

This supplication was signed by Messrs. George Gifford, Ralph Hawden, William Tunstall, John Huckle, Giles Whiting, and Roger Carr; but whether it proved of any advantage, is extremely doubtful. Most probably they continued much longer under suspension. Mr. Gifford subscribed the "Book of Discipline."† He lived to a good old age, and died about the year 1620.

HIS WORKS.—1. Country Divinity, containing a Discourse of certain points of Religion among the Common sort of Christians, with a plain Confutation thereof, 1581.—2. A Sermon on the Parable of the Sower, 1581.—3. A Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant, applied to the capacity of the Unlearned, 1583.—4. Against the Priesthood and sacrifice of the Church of Rome, wherein you may perceive their Impiety in usurping that Office and Action which ever appertaineth to Christ only, 1584.—5. A Sermon on 2 Pet. i. 11., 1584.—6. A Catechism, giving a most excellent light to those that seek to enter the Path-way to Salvation, 1586.—7. A Sermon on Jam. ii. 14—26., 1586.—8. A Discourse of the subtile Practices of Devils by Witches and Sorcerers, 1587.—9. Sermons on the first four Chapters and part of the fifth Chapter of Ecclesiastes, 1589.—10. A short Treatise against the Donatists of England, whom we call Brownists, wherein, by Answer unto their Writings, their Heresies are noted, 1590.—11. A Plain Declaration that our Brownists be full Donatists, by comparing them together from point to point out of the Writings of Augustin, 1591.—12. A Reply to Mr. Joh. Greenwood and Hen. Barrow, touching read Prayer, wherein their gross Ignorance is detected, 1591.—13. A Sermon at Paul's Cross, on Psalm cxxiii., 1591.—14. A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts; in which is laid open how craftily the Devil deceiveth, not only the Witches, but others, 1593.—15. A Treatise of true Fortitude, 1594.—16. A Commentary or Sermons on the whole Book of Revelations, 1596.—17. Two Sermons on 1 Pet. v. 8, 9, 1596.—18. Four Sermons upon several parts of Scripture, 1596.—19. An Exposition on the Canticles, 1612.—20. Five Sermons on the Song of Solomon, 1620.—21. An English Translation of Dr. Fulke's Prelections on the Holy Revelations.

* MS. Register, p. 818—820.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 420.

JEREMIAH DYKE, A. M. was younger brother to the celebrated Mr. Daniel Dyke, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge. He was beneficed at Epping in Essex, where he entered upon his pastoral charge, in the year 1609.* He was a person of a cheerful spirit, richly furnished with divine grace, and eminently useful in his ministry. He was a divine of great peace and moderation, and is said to have been no zealot for the ceremonies, but to have quietly submitted to the use of them. This he certainly did, for the sake of peace, so far as he could do it with a good conscience. But he was a thorough puritan, and disaffected to the ceremonies. He died a pious death, says our author, in the year 1620, when his remains were interred in his own church.† A minister of the same name became vicar of Stansted-Abbots in Middlesex, in 1640; but resigned it previous to April 23, 1644; and he became rector of Great Parndon in Essex, in 1645. But if the above account of Mr. Dyke's death be correct, this must have been another person.‡ Mr. Dyke published the posthumous works of his brother, and was himself author of several excellent books. He is classed among the learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge;§ and a high excommunication is passed upon his sermons.¶ He was author of a work on the Lord's supper, entitled, "The Worthy Communicant." Mr. Daniel Dyke, the silenced nonconformist, in 1662, was his son.†

THOMAS HELWISSE.—This zealous puritan was a man possessed of good natural parts, and some acquired endowments, though it does not appear whether he received any university education. He was a member of the ancient church of separatists, founded in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and was peculiarly serviceable to those people when, to escape the oppressions of the times, they fled to Holland. There he was esteemed a man of eminent faith and charity, possessing excellent spiritual gifts. When Mr. John Smyth raised the controversy about baptism, Mr. Helwisse became one of his disciples, received baptism from him by immersion, and is said to have been excommuni-

* Newcourt's Repert. Ecol. vol. ii. p. 248.

† Fuller's Worthies, part. ii. p. 29.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Ecol. vol. i. p. 800. ii. p. 466.

§ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 154.

¶ Wilkins's Discourse on Preaching, p. 82.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 304.

nicated by the contrary party. He was one of the first in the constitution of the church to which Mr. Smyth was chosen pastor; and, upon Mr. Smyth's death, he was chosen to the pastoral office. Though he did not go forwards with an equal degree of comfort and success as Mr. Smyth had done, it was acknowledged that his preaching and writings promoted the cause he espoused.

The chief opposers of Mr. Helwisse and his church, according to Crosby, were the Brownists, from whom they had separated. These persons, having incorrect notions of religious liberty, wrote against them with too much warmth, calling them heretics, anabaptists, &c.; yet made several concessions in their favour, clearing them of those extravagant opinions which distinguished the old anabaptists. They acknowledged, that Mr. Helwisse and his people disclaimed the doctrine of free-will; that, though they excluded infants from baptism, they believed in infant *salvation*; and that they even agreed with their opponents in the great truths of the gospel. And with respect to their morals, as our author adds, they confessed that they had attained to some degree of knowledge and godliness; that they had a zeal of God, though, in their opinion, not according to knowledge; and that when they found any person of their communion guilty of sin, they proceeded to censure him. People of whom these things could, with truth, be said, ought not to have received any unkind usage from their brethren, though they differed from them about baptism, or some other subordinate points. It is extremely probable, however, there was fault on both sides; and if each party had been less influenced by a spirit of intolerance, and more by a spirit of forbearance, their history would have appeared no less honourable in the eye of a discerning posterity.

Upon Mr. Smyth's death, Mr. Helwisse and his people published a confession of their faith, entitled, "A Declaration of Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland."* Mr. John Robinson, pastor to the English church at Leyden, published some remarks upon it. About the same time, Mr. Helwisse began to reflect upon himself and his brethren for deserting their country on account of persecution. He resolved, therefore, to return home, that he might share the same lot with that of his brethren who had continued to endure the storm. Being

* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. ii. Appen. p. 1—9.

accompanied by the greater part of his congregation, he returned to England, and settled in London, where they gained many proselytes, and became, as it is conjectured, the first GENERAL BAPTIST society in England. However, to justify their conduct in returning home, Mr. Helwisse published "A Short Declaration," in which he stated in what cases it was lawful to flee in times of persecution. To this, also, Mr. Robinson published a reply.

In the year 1615, Mr. Helwisse and his church in London, published a treatise, entitled, "Persecution for Religion, Judged and Condemned." Though there was no name prefixed to it, they were certainly its authors.* In this work, besides defending their own opinions as baptists, and attempting to clear themselves of several false charges, they endeavour to expose the evil of persecution. They maintain, that every man has an equal right to judge for himself in all matters of religion; and that to persecute any person, on account of his religion, is illegal, and anti-christian. They acknowledge that civil magistrates are of divine appointment; and that kings, and such as are in authority, ought to be obeyed in all *civil* matters. But that against which they chiefly protest, is the pride, luxury, and oppression of the lordly bishops, and their pretended spiritual power, by which many were exposed to confiscation of goods, long and painful imprisonment, hungering, burning, and banishment. "It is no small persecution," say they, "to lie many years in filthy prisons, in hunger, cold, idleness, divided from wife, family and calling, and left in continual miseries and temptations: so that death to many would be less persecution.† How many, only for seeking reformation in religion, have been put to death by your power (meaning the bishops) in the days of Queen Elizabeth? And how many have been consumed to death in prisons? Hath not hungering, burning, exile, imprisonments, and all kinds of contempt been used? It is most grievous cruelty to lie several years in most noisome and

* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. 1. p. 269—273.

† Bishop Warburton's opinion of persecution is very singular. "The exacting conformity of the ministry by the governors of the church," says he, "is no persecution." This is certainly a strange sentiment to come from the pen of a protestant prelate. Admitting this principle, there was no persecution in the reign of Queen Mary. It was no persecution, when the Jewish sanhedrim agreed, "That if any man did confess that Jesus was the Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue." It was no persecution, when the parliament imposed the Scot's covenant.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. i. p. 319.

filthy prisons, and continual temptations, being ruined in their estates, and many of them never coming out till death.”*

This was a bold protestation against the illegal and iniquitous proceedings of the ruling prelates, and a noble stand in defence of religious liberty. For making the above generous principles the foundation of their practice, they were grievously harassed in the ecclesiastical courts; when their goods were seized, and they were many years confined in loathsome jails, being deprived of their wives, children and friends, till the Lord was pleased to release some of them by death. Mr. Helwisse had his share in these barbarous oppressions. Being a leading person among the nonconformists of the baptist persuasion, he felt the inhuman cruelties of the spiritual rulers, but went forwards, as he had opportunity, with courage and success. He died most probably about the year 1620.†

THOMAS WILSON.—This learned and pious divine was many years minister of St. George’s church, Canterbury, one of the six preachers in that city, chaplain to Lord Wotton, and a man of high reputation. He was a person deservedly famous in his time, preaching regularly three times, and occasionally every day, in the week. He was a hard student, endowed with a healthy constitution and a strong memory. As his gifts were more than ordinary, so were his trials. He had to contend with open enemies, false teachers, and notorious heretics, against whom he boldly defended the truth, detecting and refuting their errors. He was troubled with certain false brethren, who secretly endeavoured to promote his ruin; but the Lord delivered him out of their hands. He was once complained of to Archbishop Abbot, for nonconformity; but, through the kind interference and endeavours of Lord Wotton, he escaped the snare. He used to say, “That so long as idolatry is publicly tolerated in the land, public judgments will not cease.” His great concern for the welfare of his flock was manifest by his frequent preaching, expounding, and catechising, for a great number of years. Nor was he un mindful of them on his death-bed. With his dying breath, he charged Dr. Jackson, his chief patron, as he would answer the same at the bar of God, that he would

* Crosby’s Baptists, vol. i. p. 126, 127.

† Ibid. p. 273—276.

provide for them an able and a sufficient pastor. This the doctor promised to do; but added, "that not one of a thousand could be found, like this worthy servant of Christ."

Mr. Swift, who preached Mr. Wilson's funeral sermon, gives the following account of him: "He was a most painful and careful pastor; a man called forth into the vineyard of the Lord, and well qualified for so great a work. He was a judicious divine, sound in the truth, and an excellent interpreter of scripture; a professed enemy to idolatry, superstition, and all false worship; for which he incurred the displeasure of those who were otherwise disposed. He was richly furnished with excellent gifts, which he fully employed in the Lord's work, being incessantly laborious and faithful in his public ministry. Having received ten talents, he employed them all to the use of his Master. He preached at Canterbury thirty-six years, during the whole of which period he was always abounding in the work of the Lord. Being requested, upon his death-bed, to spare himself in future, if the Lord should be pleased to raise him up, he immediately replied, 'Were I in health of body, I should always say with the apostle, *Woe be unto me, if I preach not the gospel.*' He was particularly mindful of his flock to the last; and with his dying breath prayed that God would provide for them a faithful shepherd, to feed them with knowledge and understanding."† He died in January, 1621.

His WORKS.—1. A Commentary on Romans, 1614.‡—2. Christ's Farewell to Jerusalem, 1614.—3. Theological Rules, 1615.—4. Holy Riddles, 1615.—5. A Complete Christian Dictionary, with the Continuation by Bagwell and Symson, sixth edition, 1655.§—6. A Dialogue about Justification.—7. A Receipt against Heresie.

* Christian Dictionary, Pref. Edit. 1655.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Wilson.

‡ This work, which is in the form of a dialogue, abounds with judicious distinctions, and practical uses.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 436.

§ This work is said to have been the first that was ever composed in English, by way of concordance.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 369.

ANDREW WILLET, D. D.—This learned and laborious divine was born in the city of Ely, in the year 1562, and educated first in Peter-house, then in Christ's college, Cambridge. He was blessed with pious parents, who brought him up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. His father, Mr. Thomas Willet, was sub-almoner to King Edward VI., and a painful sufferer during the cruel persecutions of Queen Mary. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he became rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, and was preferred to a prebend in the church of Ely. His son Andrew, while a boy at school, discovered an uncommon genius, and made extraordinary progress in the various rudiments of knowledge. He was so intense in his application, that his parents were obliged to use various methods to divert his attention from his books. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to the university, where he was soon preferred to a fellowship. Here he became intimate with Downham, Perkins, and other celebrated puritans, who encouraged each other in their studies. Willet soon distinguished himself by his exact acquaintance with the languages, the arts, and all the branches of useful literature. He was concerned not to have these things to learn, when he came forth to teach others; wisely judging that youth should prepare that which riper years must use. Among the anecdotes related of him while at Cambridge, shewing the promising greatness of his abilities, is the following:—"The proctor of the college being prevented, by some unforeseen occurrence, from executing his office at the commencement, just at hand, none could be found to take his place excepting Willet, who acquitted himself so well, that his orations gained him the approbation and applause of the university, and the high admiration of all who knew how short a time he had for preparation."* In the year 1586, he united with the master and fellows of Christ's college, in defence of themselves against the accusations of their enemies, in which they acquitted themselves with great honour.†

Having spent thirteen years at the university, he came forth richly fraught with wisdom and knowledge. On the death of his father, the queen presented him to the rectory of Barley, and gave him his father's prebend in the church

* Barksdale's Remembrancer, p. 53—58.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 79.

of Ely. He entered upon his charge at Barley, January 29, 1598.* Though he is said to have sought no other preferment, one of his name became rector of Reed in Middlesex, in the year 1613; and rector of Chishall-Parva in Essex, in 1620.† We cannot, however, learn whether this was the same person. He studied to *deserve* preferments, rather than to *obtain* them. His own observation was, that some *enjoy* promotions, while others *merit* them. He always abounded in the work of the Lord, and accounted the work in which he was engaged as part of his wages. About the time that he entered the ministerial work, he married a near relation to Dr. Goad, by whom he had *eleven* sons and *seven* daughters.

Dr. Willet was a man of uncommon reading, having digested the fathers, councils, ecclesiastical histories, the civil and canon law, and numerous writers of almost all descriptions. Indeed, he read so much, and understood and retained what he had read so well, that he was denominated *a living library*. To secure this high attainment, he was extremely provident of his time. He constantly rose at a very early hour, by which means he is said to have got half way on his journey before others set out. He was laborious in the numerous duties of his ministry; and he greatly lamented the condition of those who sat under idle and ignorant ministers. He also often lamented the state of the prelates of those times, who, after obtaining rich livings, though they were men of talents and learning, would not stoop to labour for the welfare of souls. But he, as a faithful steward of Christ, constantly preached three times a week, and catechised both old and young throughout his parish. And though he was a man of most profound learning, had been some time chaplain to Prince Henry, and had frequently preached at court, his sermons and catechetical instructions were dressed in so plain and familiar a style, that persons of the weakest capacity might easily understand him.‡ He esteemed those the best discourses which were best adapted to the condition of the people, and most owned of God: not those which were most decorated with human ornaments, and most admired among men. Though he could administer all needful reproof and warning to the careless and the obstinate; yet his great talent was to bind up the broken-hearted, and comfort the weary, fainting pilgrim.

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. 1. p. 800. † Ibid. p. 882. li. p. 151.

‡ Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 599.

His external deportment, at home and abroad, was such as became his profession. He *lived*, as well as *preached*, the gospel. His house was the model of a little church and house of God; where morning and evening sacrifices were daily offered unto God. He had laws and ordinances set up in his house, directing all the members of his numerous family to the observance of their respective duties; and he was a pattern to them all in all things. His humility and benevolence were two of the brightest jewels in his crown. Though he had a numerous family of children, he did not consider that a sufficient reason for abridging his constant and extensive liberality. On the contrary, he was of the same mind as one of the fathers, who said, "The more children, the more charity." And it is said of Dr. Willet, that his substance increased with his liberality.* Many poor ministers tasted the sweetness of his bounty.

Dr. Willet obtained a great degree of celebrity by the numerous and valuable productions of his pen. One of his voluminous publications appeared in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, entitled, "Synopsis Papismi; or, a general View of Papistrie." This work, which was dedicated to the queen, contains upwards of thirteen hundred pages in folio. It is perhaps the best refutation of popery that ever was published. In this work, says Mr. Toplady, no less than *fifteen hundred* errors and heresies are charged against the church of Rome, and most ably refuted. It passed through five editions; and was highly approved by many of the bishops; held in great esteem by the two universities; and very much admired, both by the clergy and laity, throughout the kingdom. The author, it is incorrectly added, was most zealously attached to the church of England, and not a grain of puritanism mingled itself with his conformity.+

This celebrated divine continued his numerous and painful labours to the last. He used to say, "As it is most honourable for a soldier to die fighting, and for a bishop or pastor praying; so, if my merciful God will vouchsafe to grant me my request, I desire that I may finish my days in writing and commenting on some part of scripture."

* Dr. Willet's mother was a person who abounded in acts of charity. When her children were gone from her, and settled in life, she used to feed her poor neighbours, saying, "Now I have my children about me again."—*Barkdale's Remembrancer*, p. 55, 64, 65.

† Toplady's *Historic Proof*, vol. ii. p. 191, 192, 303.

Herein God gave him the desire of his heart. He was called to his father's house, as he was composing his "Commentary on Leviticus." Though he did not desire, as good Archbishop Leighton did, that he might die at an inn, the unerring providence of God had appointed that he should. The occasion of his death was a fall from his horse, as he was riding homewards from London, by which he broke his leg, and was detained at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, incapable of being removed. On the tenth day after his fall, having supped cheerfully the preceding evening, and rested well during the greatest part of the night, he awoke in the morning by the tolling of a bell, when he entered into sweet conversation with his wife about the joys of heaven. After singing with melody in their hearts to the Lord, and unitedly presenting their supplications to God, he turned himself in bed, and giving a deep groan, he fell into a swoon. His wife, being alarmed, immediately called in assistance; and upon the application of suitable means, he recovered a little, and raised himself up in bed, but immediately said, "Let me alone. I shall be well, Lord Jesus;" and then resigned his happy soul to God, December 4, 1621, aged fifty-eight years.* His funeral was attended by a great number of knights, gentlemen, and ministers, who, having esteemed and honoured him in life, testified their respect to his memory when dead. Though he wrote against the unmeaning and superstitious practice of bowing at the name of Jesus,† and was a sufferer in the cause of nonconformity;‡ yet, being so excellent a man, so peaceable in his behaviour, and so moderate in his principles, he was enabled to keep his benefice to the day of his death. "He was a person," says Fuller, "of a sound judgment, admirable industry, a pious life, and bountiful above his ability."§ He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.¶ Mr. Strype denominates him "a learned and zealous puritan."‡

Dr. Willet's remains were interred in the chancel of Barley church, where there is a representation of him at full length, in a praying attitude; and underneath is a

* Fuller's *Abel Red.* p. 575.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 139.

§ Church Hist. b. x. p. 91.—Worthies, part i. p. 158.

¶ Fuller's *Hist. of Cam.* p. 92.

‡ Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 441, 490.

monumental inscription erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation :*

Here lies
ANDREW WILLET, D. D.
 once Minister of this Church,
 and a great ornament of the Church in general.
 He died
 December 4, 1621, in the 59th
 year of his age.

Reader, admire ! within this tomb there lies
 Willet, though dead, still living with the wise ;
 Seek you his house :—his polished works peruse,
 Each valu'd page the living Willet shews :
 All that of him was mortal rests below,
 Nor can you tearless from the relics go.

Subjoined to the Latin inscription are the following lines in English :

Thou that erewhile didst such strong reasons frame,
 As yet, great Willet, are the popelings shame ;
 Now by thy sickness thy death hast made,
 Strong arguments to prove that man's a shade.
 Thy life did shew thy deep divinity,
 Death only taught us thy humanity.

HIS WORKS.—1. Synopsis Papismi, 1600.—2. Thesaurus Ecclesie, 1604.—3. De Gratia Generi Humano in primo Parente collata, de Lapsu Adami, Peccato Originali, 1609.—4. Hexapla upon Daniel, 1610.†—5. Hexapla upon Romans, 1611.—6. Hexapla upon Leviticus, 1631.—7. Hexapla upon Genesis, 1632.—8. Hexapla upon Exodus, 1632.—9. De animæ natura et viribus.—10. Sacra Emblemata.—11. De universali Vocatione Judæorum.—12. De Conciliis.—13. De universali Gratia.—14. De Antichristo.—15. Epithalamium.—16. Funebres Consciones.—17. Apologie serenissimi Regio Jac. Defensio.—18. Harmony of the First and Second Book of Samuel.—19. Hexapla upon the Twenty-second Psalm.—20. Upon the Seventeenth of John.—21. Upon the Epistle of Jude.—22. Tetrastylon Papismi.—23. A Catalogue of Good Works.—24. Limbomastix.—25. Funeral Sermons.—26. A Catechism.—27. A Prelection.—28. An Antilogy.—29. Epithalamium in English.—He left an immense quantity of manuscripts behind him.

* Theological and Biblical Magazine, vol. vii. p. 333.

† This work affords much information, as it contains the opinions of many authors on each point of difficulty.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 453.

STEPHEN EGERTON, A. M.—This excellent divine was incorporated in both universities, and afterwards for many years the learned, zealous, and faithful minister of Blackfriars, London. He was a thorough nonconformist, a zealous promoter of a further reformation of the church, and an avowed advocate for the presbyterian discipline. He was a member of the presbytery erected at Wandsworth in Surrey, and frequently united with his brethren in their associations, when he was commonly chosen to the office of moderator.

In the year 1584, he and Mr. John Field were suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. After receiving the censure of this tyrannical prelate, they assigned their reasons for not subscribing to the second article, viz. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Book of Ordination, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God."—"We cannot subscribe to this article," say they, "because the book alloweth a mere reading and insufficient ministry; and, what is still more intolerable, it containeth many things tending to harden obstinate papists, and to encourage ignorance and superstition among the common people. All this is apparent, seeing most of the things contained in the book are translated out of the popish portuis, with little or no alteration. We cannot consent that certain parts of the apocrypha should be used in public worship, and some parts of scripture omitted. In the burial of the dead, every wicked man must be committed to the ground in *sure* and *certain* hope of the resurrection to *eternal* life. The book maketh confirmation, the cross in baptism, and matrimony, to be sacraments. In one of the collects, it is said, 'Give us those things which we dare not ask.' The book maintaineth the offices of archbishops, bishops, &c. as being different from that of ministers." In addition to these, they assign many other reasons.*

It does not appear how long Mr. Egerton remained under the above ecclesiastical censure. We find, however, that about this time he united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."† In the year 1590, during the imprisonment of Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood, our pious divine and other puritan ministers were sent by the Bishop of London to confer with them. Though he was deemed unworthy of the public ministry, the persecuting

* MS. Register, p. 460—463.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

prelates accounted him sufficiently qualified to hold a conference with those whom they stigmatized schismatics and heretics. Mr. Egerton exchanged several letters with the suffering prisoners, one of which was dated April 14, 1590. The rest were written about the same time.* In this year he was still under suspension; having suffered the cruel censure, no doubt, for the space of six years. Nor was this all. For, during the same year, he was summoned, with many of his brethren, before the high commission, and committed to the Fleet, where for several years he suffered the extremity of the prison. An account of these barbarous proceedings is given in another place.†

Mr. Egerton, having at length obtained his release, became minister of Blackfriars in the year 1598, where he continued many years.‡ The celebrated Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, in a letter which he wrote during this year, denominates him "a man of great learning and godliness."§ Upon the accession of King James, numerous petitions were presented to his majesty for a further reformation of the church. In the year 1603, when that which was called "The Millenary Petition," subscribed by upwards of a thousand ministers, was presented to the king and parliament, none were deemed so well qualified to undertake this business as Mr. Egerton and Mr. Hildersham, with some other eminent divines.¶ Mr. Egerton died about the year 1621, and was succeeded at Blackfriars by the famous Dr. William Gouge, who appears to have been for some time his assistant. These two eminently faithful servants of Christ spent about seventy years in their ministerial labours at Blackfriars.‡

HIS WORKS.—1. A Lecture on Gen. xii. 17—20., 1589.—2. A brief Method of Catechizing, 1594.—3. The Doctrine of Subjection to God and the King, 1616.—4. The Boring of the Ear, 1623.—5. Comforts to strengthen the Weak in Faith, 1630.—6. A Description of Uncomeliness.—He published an enlarged edition of Mr. Paul Baines's "Help to True Happiness;" and wrote an Epistle to Mr. Richard Rogers's "Seven Treatises," 1604.

* MS. Remarks, p. 425.

† See Art. Cartwright.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 915.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3259. Edit. 1747.

¶ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 7.

‡ Jenkins on Jude, Pref.

THOMAS PAGET was a zealous and worthy minister in the diocese of Chester, but much persecuted for nonconformity. Through the severity of the times, when he could no longer enjoy the blessing of religious liberty in his own country, he sought refuge in a foreign land; and, to escape the persecuting fury of the prelates, retired to Holland as a place of safety. He had been many years employed in the ministry, in the above diocese, when Dr. Thomas Morton became Bishop of Chester. This learned prelate was no sooner comfortably seated in the episcopal chair, than he began to prosecute the nonconformists within his jurisdiction, and sent forth letters missive, summoning them to appear before the high commission. Among those who were cited was Mr. Paget. This was no sooner known in the country than many of the most worthy knights and gentlemen in the diocese took the matter into serious consideration, espoused the cause of the distressed ministers, and wrote a very appropriate letter to the bishop; in which they expressed themselves as follows:

“Right Reverend, &c. Whereas we understand that divers of our painful and discreet ministers are lately, by letters missive from your lordship and others of his majesty’s high commission for causes ecclesiastical within the diocese of Chester, enjoined to appear before you, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against them. We, whose names are subscribed, have thought fit to acquaint your lordship with our opinion of those ministers, for the preventing, if need require, of such sinister and malicious informations; which, in these cases, are frequently stirred up against men of their sort and quality; sometimes by lewd and profane persons; and many times by the disguised, subtil, and superstitious Romanists and church-papists, whose hearts are wholly against us, all the while their faces are seemingly for us. We have observed, so far as we are able to judge, in these our ministers, integrity of life and conversation, orthodox soundness of doctrine, diligence and painfulness in their places, sobriety and peaceableness in their dispositions, and freedom from faction. Also, as the great good and profit which our congregations where they live have abundantly received from their ministry; therefore we are emboldened to entreat your favour, &c.”*

This letter was delivered to his lordship at Stockport; who, after reading it, said, “They whom the letter con-

* Paget’s Defence, Pref.

cerneth are the worse to be liked, for the good testimony here given of them." Mr. Paget was one of the ministers in whose behalf the letter was written, and being present at the reading of it, the bishop immediately required his arguments against the use of the cross in baptism; that, as he then boasted, he might instantly discover their weakness and folly in refusing to conform. Mr. Paget and his brethren at first declined all disputation, partly because their errand was not to dispute, but to obtain their release from the high commission; and because the bishop was to be the sole judge; so that they might bring themselves into danger. However, the bishop continuing to urge them in the presence of many persons of quality, lest they should seem to betray a good cause by total silence, Mr. Paget at length entered upon a disputation with his lordship; who, in the conclusion, ingenuously acknowledged his own neglect to study the controversy, but resolved in future to direct his attention more that way. And, besides releasing them from the high commission, he frankly owned, that he found in them more learning than he expected. But, in order to bring them to conformity, he commanded each of them to produce in writing, three arguments against the cross in baptism, the use of the surplice, and kneeling at the Lord's supper, and bring them to him in the space of a month. His order was accordingly obeyed; but it failed of the success which his lordship expected.

Soon after, several of the ministers were again cited into the high commission court, and used with great cruelty. Mr. Paget himself met with much unkind treatment, and was under the necessity of making three journies of sixty miles each, within the space of fourteen days, the bishop and other commissioners still deferring the consideration of his case to a future court-day. The bishop's officers treated him with much vile and abusive language, attended with blasphemous cursing and swearing, declaring he should assuredly be damned. On a day appointed, the good man again appeared before the commission at Chester; when the bishop expostulated with him a full hour, concerning the observance of the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and signified that his own remissness in prosecuting the nonconformists, had hindered his preferment to the bishopric of Lincoln. In the conclusion, his lordship being in a violent passion, threatened to suspend, excommunicate, and degrade him; and to make the land too hot for him; and asked him what he would then do. Mr. Paget meekly replied, in the words of

the prophet : " I will look unto the Lord ; I will wait for the God of my salvation. My God will hear me." The bishop immediately retorted, saying, " God will not hear a blasphemer : a blasphemer of his mother the church of England, and one who despiseth her ordinances." Mr. Paget then replied, " I desire to fear God and abhor blasphemy ; and my refusal of conformity to superstitious ceremonies, which even by the prelates themselves are esteemed indifferent, is neither blasphemy nor contempt." The angry prelate at length dismissed him without any censure, but ordered him to pay large fees to the officers of the court.*

In the year 1618, Morton being translated to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr. Bridgman became his successor at Chester. The latter prelate did not, at first, manifest any great opposition against the nonconformists, except by suspending a few of them, together with Knutsford chapel.† Afterwards, however, the bishop took courage, and inhibited most of the puritans in his diocese. Mr. Paget, among the rest, was convened before him, when the good old man humbly desired his lordship's connivance ; which he denied, lest, as he observed, he should lose the favour of his prince. And when he required Mr. Paget to assign his reasons for refusing to kneel at the sacrament, he cited the words of our Lord : " Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." These words, he observed, might be justly applied to the imposition of kneeling at the Lord's supper. The bishop then signified, that he expected a more learned argument, and supposed that Mr. Paget would have insisted upon the posture used

* This learned prelate, writing of these times, says, " The nonconformists have suffered what is next to death ; and too many have suffered unto death in prisons. Imposers," he justly adds, " should not esteem any thing a just cause of bringing any under the censures of silencing of preachers from preaching, for which they may not adventure to take away their lives." Dr. Morton was a bishop forty years ; and during that long period, it is said, there was not his superior in the church, for temperance, industry, and piety. He constantly rose at four o'clock in the morning to his studies, when he was eighty years of age ; usually lay upon a straw bed ; and, through the whole course of his life, seldom exceeded one meal a day.—*Conformist's Plea*, p. 14. Edit. 1681.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 155.

† The curious occasion of the bishop's suspending this chapel, was the following : " A gentleman of Knutsford, being fond of sport, caused a bear, passing along the streets, to be led into the chapel. The bishop no sooner heard of the chapel being thus profaned by the bear, than he suspended it from being used for public worship, and it remained a long time under his lordship's ecclesiastical censure. This was episcopal superstition in perfection !—*Paget's Defence*, Pref.

by Christ and his disciples, at the institution of the ordinance. And, to convince Mr. Paget how unseemly that posture would now be in the church, his lordship gravely laid himself upon a bench by the side of a table, leaning on his elbow, affirming that to have been the posture of Christ at the institution of the supper; which, said he, you cannot contradict, especially if you understand Greek. Mr. Paget replied, that whatever was his knowledge of Greek, doubtless the translators of the New Testament were skilful in that language, and they had rendered it *sitting*. Also, he further observed, that Dr. Morton, his lordship's predecessor, notwithstanding the stir he made about the translation, confessed it was a *kind of sitting*. However, to close the business, Mr. Paget, together with many others, was suspended from the ministry, and remained under his lordship's censure about two years.

In the year 1621, when it was hoped the storm was abated, means were used to obtain his liberty, but without effect. Afterwards, written testimonies were procured from York, signed by the register of the high commission court, in behalf of Mr. Paget and two other ministers in Cheshire, releasing them from suspension, and allowing them to go on in their ministerial work as usual. But within three months, without any previous warning, attachments were issued from the high commission to apprehend them, and bring them to York; when they were ordered to be cast into prison till they could give satisfaction to the court. In these painful circumstances, obtaining information of the approaching storm, and having already too much felt the cruel oppressions of that court, they withdrew, as did the prophet to escape the fury of Ahab. When they could not be found, heavy fines were laid upon them; and, for their non-appearance, their fines were aggravated from one court-day to another; till at length their case was returned into the exchequer. In the end, having suffered great poverty, and many other troubles, they were obliged to compound. But upon no consideration could they obtain their liberty to preach. Therefore, Mr. Paget forsook his native country, and went to Holland, where he most probably spent the remainder of his days. He wrote the preface to Mr. John Paget's "Defence of Church Government," 1641, whence the above account is collected. But whether they were at all related, we have not been able to learn.

MR. KNIGHT was of Pembroke college, Oxford, and one of the preachers to the university. He was a divine of good learning, great moderation, and genuine puritan principles. Having delivered a sermon on the Lord's day, April 15, 1622, before the university, from 2 Kings, xix. 9., he advanced this position, "That subordinate magistrates might lawfully make use of force, and defend themselves, the commonwealth, and the true religion, in the field, against the chief magistrate, within the cases and conditions following: 1. When the chief magistrate turns a tyrant. 2. When he forces his subjects to blasphemy or idolatry. 3. When any intolerable burdens or pressures are laid upon them. And, 4. When resistance is the only expedient to secure their lives, their fortunes, and the liberty of their consciences."* For this proposition in the sermon, Bishop Laud denominates it "a treasonable sermon."† The preacher was, therefore, sent for to court, and asked what authority he had for his assertion. He answered, that it was the opinion of Paræus on Rom. xiii.; but that his principal authority was King James himself, who was then affording assistance to the oppressed Rochellers against their prince. Upon this bold and unexpected answer, Mr. Knight was immediately committed to the Gatehouse; Paræus's‡ Commentary was ordered to be burnt at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paul's cross, London; his assertions were condemned as false and seditious; and the university of Oxford, in full convocation, made the following decrees: "That it is not lawful to resist the sovereign by force of arms, either offensively or defensively, upon any pretence whatsoever: that all doctors, masters of arts, &c. within the university, shall subscribe to these decrees and censures: and that whosoever shall hereafter take any degree, shall first acknowledge the truth and justice of these censures by subscription to the same; and shall take his oath, that he doth from his heart not only condemn the said doctrine of Paræus, but that he will neither preach, teach, nor maintain the same, or any of them, at any time in future."§ Thus all the graduates in this

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 126.

† Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 8.

‡ Paræus was highly celebrated for true christian piety, a most learned professor of divinity at Heidelberg, and rector of the university at that place. He was an admirable writer, a celebrated divine, and appointed by the elector palatine to attend the synod of Dort; but, on account of his age and infirmities, he desired to be excused.—*Fulker's Abel Redivivus*, p. 579, 580.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 607. (26.)

university were bound down as slaves to their tyrannical oppressors, and required to swear, that they would never change their opinions. Was ever any thing more unreasonable? Yet such was the tyranny and barbarity of the times! But how long Mr. Knight remained in the Gatehouse, or what other punishment was inflicted upon him, we have not been able to learn.

JOHN RANDALL, B. D.—This zealous minister of Christ was born at Missenden in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1568, and educated first in St. Mary's-hall, then in Trinity college, Oxford, and afterwards elected fellow of Lincoln college. Having entered upon the ministry, he became one of the most noted preachers in the university. In the year 1598, he removed from Oxford, and became rector of St. Andrews, Little Eastcheap, London. In this situation he continued to the end of his days; and by his constant preaching, resolving cases of conscience, and his other ministerial exercises, he went beyond most of his brethren, to the admiration of all who knew him. Though he was uncommonly laborious in the Lord's vineyard, he was mostly exercised with very painful bodily affliction. His learning and piety were unreservedly devoted to public usefulness. It does not, however, appear whether Mr. Randall was ever prosecuted for his nonconformity. He was accounted a zealous and innocent puritan, a judicious and orthodox divine, a harmless and holy man, and one wholly devoted to usefulness in the church of Christ. By his constant and faithful labours, true religion was greatly promoted, many were reclaimed from the ways of ungodliness, and others established in the truth. He died in the beginning of June, 1622, aged fifty-four years; and his remains were interred in his own church.* Mr. Randall was tutor to the famous Mr. Robert Bolton.

HIS WORKS.—1. Several Sermons, 1623.—2. The Great Mystery of Godliness, 1624.—3. A Treatise concerning the Sacraments, 1630.—4. Catechistical Lectures, 1630.—5. Lectures of the Church, 1631.

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 399, 400.—Newcourt's *Reperit. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 265.

NICHOLAS BYFIELD.—This pious and learned divine was born in Warwickshire, in the year 1579, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. He was son to Mr. Richard Byfield, who became minister of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1596. He was a hard student; and having spent four years in the closest application, he left the university, entered upon the ministerial work, and intended to have gone into Ireland; but preaching at Chester, on his way thither, he received an invitation to be pastor of St. Peter's in that city, where he continued a number of years. He was much followed on account of his pious and profitable preaching, especially by all who had any relish for religion. The excellent and celebrated John Bruen, esq. was one of his hearers, from whom he received many acts of kindness.* In the year 1615, he removed from Chester, and became vicar of Isleworth in Middlesex,† where he continued the rest of his days. He was a divine of “a profound judgment, a strong memory, a quick invention, and unwearied industry.”‡ He was a constant, powerful, and useful preacher; a thorough Calvinist, a nonconformist to the ceremonies, and a strict observer of the sabbath. By his zeal for the sanctification of the Lord's day, his labours in the ministry, and his exemplary life, religion flourished, many were converted, and puritanism gained ground. Yet he was a sufferer with his brethren in the cause of nonconformity §

Mr. Byfield, during the latter part of his life, was exceedingly afflicted with the stone in the bladder, most probably the effect of intense study and hard labour. And

* Mr. Bruen had a servant, named Robert Pasfield, but commonly called *Old Robert*, who was “mighty in the scriptures,” though he could neither write nor read. He was, indeed, as remarkable for remembering texts and sermons, as Judiah Buxton for remembering numbers. For by the help of his memory, he invented and framed a girdle of leather, long and large, which went twice about him. This he divided into several parts, allotting every book in the Bible, in their order, to some of these divisions; then for the chapters, he affixed points or thongs of leather to the several divisions, and made knots by fives or tens thereupon, to distinguish the chapters of that book; and by other points, he divided the chapters into their particular contents or verses, as occasion required. This he used instead of pen and ink, in hearing sermons, and made so good a use of it, that, coming home, he was able by it to repeat the sermon, quote the texts of scripture, &c. to his own great comfort and to the benefit of others. This girdle Mr. Bruen kept after *Old Robert's* death, hung it up in his study, and would pleasantly call it “*The girdle of Verity.*”—Hinde's *Life of Bruen*, p. 58, 135.—Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 251.

† Newcourt's *Repert. Eccl.* vol. i. p. 676.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 402.

§ MS. *Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 699. (2.)

having groaned for several years under the most excruciating pain, it brought him at length to his grave, in the year 1622, and the forty-third of his age: Fuller observes, that for *fifteen years together*, he preached at Isleworth twice every Lord's day, and expounded the scriptures every Wednesday and Friday, till five weeks before his death. If this account be just, the time of his removal from Chester, or the period we have given of his death, must evidently one of them be incorrect.* His body being opened after his death, a stone was taken out of his bladder, which weighed *thirty-three ounces*, and measured about the edges fifteen inches and a half, the length and breadth about thirteen inches, and of a substance like flint. "There are many eye-witnesses, besides myself," says Dr. William Gouge, in his account of this wonderful phenomenon, "who can justify the truth of what I say."† He meekly and patiently endured his torturing pains till death gave him perfect ease. Mr. Byfield published several books during his life, and others came forth after his death, shewing him to have been a person of good parts, great learning, and uncommon industry. Bishop Wilkins passes a high encomium upon his sermons, classing them with the most excellent in his day.‡ He was father to Mr. Adoniram Byfield, another puritan divine, of whom some account will be given. Mr. Richard Byfield, the ejected nonconformist in 1662, was his half-brother.§

His Works.—1. An Essay on the Assurance of God's Love and Man's Salvation, 1614.—2. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Colossians, 1615. ||—3. Directions for the private reading of the Scriptures, 1618.—4. A Treatise shewing how a godly Christian may support his Heart with comfort against all the Distresses which, by reason of any Affliction or Temptation, can befall him in this Life, 1618.—5. The beginning of the Doctrine of Christ, or a Catalogue of Sins, 1609.—6. The Marrow of the Oracles of God, 1620.—7. Commentary or Sermons on the second Chap. of the 1 Epis. of St. Peter, 1623.—8. Sermons on the first ten verses of the third Chap. of the 1 Epis. of St. Peter, 1626.—The two last were published, with additions, entitled, "A Commentary upon the whole First Epistle of St. Peter," 1637.—9. An Exposition of the Apostle's Creed, 1626.—10. Answer to Mr. Breerwood's Treatise of the Sabbath, 1630.—11. The Light of Faith and Way of Holiness, 1630.—12. The Signs of

* Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 127.

† Ibid.—Evangel. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 416.

‡ Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 301.

|| This work is full of good sense and spiritual savour, and abounds with pertinent citations of scripture, without any pretensions to oratorical dress. *Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 437.

God's Love to us, 1630.—13. The Practice of Christianity; or, an Epitome of Mr. Rich. Rogers's Seven Treatises.—14. The principal Grounds of the Christian Religion.—15. Several Sermons.

HENRY AINSWORTH.—This person was a celebrated scholar, an excellent divine, and a painful sufferer for nonconformity. Though little is known of him, especially during the early part of his life, his uncommon skill in Hebrew learning, and his excellent commentaries on the sacred scriptures, are held in high reputation to this day. About the year 1590, we find him a distinguished leader among the Brownists, to whom he adhered, and with whom he bore his share of grievous persecution. About the same period, among the books that were written against the church of England, and seized by authority, was one entitled "Counter-Poyson."* The author of this work, though not mentioned in the first edition, was Mr. Ainsworth; and as it probably drew upon him the vengeance of the ruling prelates, so it might hasten his departure into a foreign land. Though he was a native of England, this is all that we know of him till he became a resident in Holland; but at what period he removed thither, cannot be exactly ascertained. It is most probable, however, that he accompanied the Brownists in their general banishment, in the year 1593.+ And it is most certain that he was in Holland in 1596, when he carried on a correspondence with the celebrated Junius. Hoornbeck relates, that during Mr. Ainsworth's abode in Holland, he made a voyage to Ireland, and there left some disciples. †

Mr. Ainsworth lived at Amsterdam, where his external circumstances, like those of the church in general, were very low. He is said to have been porter to a bookseller, who, having discovered his skill in the Hebrew language, made it known to his countrymen. Mr. Roger Williams, founder of Providence Plantation in New England, in whose testimony we have reason to confide, informs us, "that he lived upon nine-pence a week, and some boiled roots."§ The account which the Brownists give of themselves is, "that they were almost consumed with deep poverty; loaded with reproaches; despised and afflicted by all."|| The reception which they met with from a

* Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 441.

† Ibid. p. 468, 495.—Life of Ainsworth, p. 13.

‡ Ibid. p. 14.

§ Cotton's Answer to Williams, p. 119.

|| Life of Ainsworth, p. 15.

people just emerging from civil and ecclesiastical oppression, was very different from what might have been expected. The civil power, commonly more friendly to a toleration than the ecclesiastical, does not, indeed, seem to have troubled them. But the Dutch clergy regarded them with a jealous eye; and they appear to have been screened from persecution chiefly by their own insignificance.* During this season of tribulation, Mr. Ainsworth did not remain idle; for most of his books, which are evidently the fruit of good learning, much reading, and close application, were written at this period.

After the publication of the above piece, the next work in which we find him to have been engaged was a translation of the Brownists' Confession of Faith into Latin. It appeared in 1598, and was dedicated to the universities of Leyden, Heidelberg, Geneva, St. Andrews, and the other public seminaries of Holland, Germany, France, and Scotland. It was afterwards translated into English, and does not differ much in doctrine from the Harmony of Confessions.† In this confession the Brownists did not intend to erect a standard of faith for others, and impose it upon them; but merely to vindicate themselves from the odium under which they laboured, as discontented and factious secretaries. Their conduct was very different from that of the most famous councils or synods, which, while they have compiled systems of faith and tests of orthodoxy for ages and nations, have seldom failed to sow the seeds of discord and enmity among men.

After the Brownists were first settled at Amsterdam, they erected a church, as they thought, according to the model of the New Testament, choosing Mr. Francis Johnson for their pastor, and Mr. Ainsworth for doctor or teacher. The church, however, did not continue long in peace, but was torn in pieces by several unhappy divisions, as will be found particularly noticed in another place.‡ In the first of these divisions Mr. Ainsworth took part with Mr. Johnson the pastor; but was so much grieved at the unnatural heats which the controversy excited, that he spoke of laying down his office as teacher. In the next controversy, Mr. Ainsworth took an active part against Mr. John Smyth, who had espoused sentiments similar to those of Arminius, and who rejected infant baptism. And of the third division, in which he was personally concerned, he

* Life of Ainsworth, p. 16.

† Ibid. p. 15, 18.

‡ See Art. Francis Johnson.

published a particular account in a book entitled "An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, who, under pretence of answering Mr. Chr. Laune's book, hath published another man's private letter, with Mr. Francis Johnson's Answer thereto. Which letter is here justified; the answer thereto refuted; and the true causes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled church at Amsterdam, manifested," 1613.* The occasion of this breach appears to have been a difference of opinion respecting church discipline. Upon this division, a second congregation was raised at Amsterdam under the superintendence of Mr. Ainsworth, who is said to have been succeeded by the famous Mr. John Canne, author of marginal references to the Bible.+ Mr. Ainsworth's enemies, to cast an odium on his memory, have been pleased to say, that, after his death, his people continued many years without a pastor, and without the administration of the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper; and that they were rent by another division, one half following Mr. John de Cluse, and the other Mr. Canne.‡ But these representations, evidently designed to reproach these persecuted people, are unsupported by sufficient evidence, and several particulars are denied and refuted by one who lived in those times, and obtained the most correct information.§ With regard to Mr. Ainsworth himself, he is reproachfully charged with having changed his opinions from a conformist to a separatist, and from a separatist to a conformist, no less than six times; but, as there does not appear the least shadow of truth in the charge, the deserved odium will doubtless fall upon its bigoted author.¶

It is a circumstance which deserves to be recorded to the honour of Mr. Ainsworth, that in the midst of the above unhappy controversies, in which his own pen was actively employed, he preserved a meek and true christian spirit. Though he is represented by his enemies to have been extremely rigid, intemperate, and severe, the contrary is very evident. Mr. John Paget having challenged him to a disputation upon points of church discipline, Mr. Ainsworth, in a letter dated July 12, 1617, returned the following mild and peaceable answer:—"If any thing pass betwixt you and me about those points, you shall be the first

* Life of Ainsworth, p. 28—38.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 45.

‡ Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 15.—Paget's Answer to Best and Davenport, p. 134.—Paget's Defence, p. 33.

§ Cotton's Congregational Churches, p. 6.

¶ Baillie's Vindication, p. 7.

“provoker of it. And if you desire it, I will not refuse. It shall be at your own choice. As I love not to begin controversy, so I will not be wanting to do any good I can, to you or any other; or to defend any point of truth which God hath given me to see and witness, when I am duly called thereunto.”*

Mr. Ainsworth cultivated, at the same time, those studies which were more congenial to his profession, and more beneficial to the best interests of men. His great work, the “Annotations on the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon,” was published separately, in the year 1612, and several following years; and afterwards collected and printed in London, in one volume folio, 1627, and again in 1639. This last edition is said to be very scarce. As to the execution of the work, its great worth has been established by the strongest testimonies of foreign as well as British divines. Succeeding critics have adopted his remarks, and he is frequently cited by modern commentators. Dr. Doddridge says, “Ainsworth on the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Solomon’s Song, is a good book, full of very valuable Jewish learning; and his translation is, in many places, to be preferred to our own, especially on the Psalms.”†

The manner of Mr. Ainsworth’s death, as related by Mr. Neal, was sudden and singular, and not without strong suspicion of violence. For it is observed, that he, having found a diamond of great value in the streets of Amsterdam, advertised it in print; and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he desired. Mr. Ainsworth, however, though poor, would accept nothing except only a conference with some of the rabbies, upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah, which the other promised; but not having sufficient interest to obtain the favour, it is thought he caused him to be poisoned.‡ Other accounts say, that he obtained the conference, and so confounded the Jews, that, from spite and malice, they in this manner put a period to his life. Some writers, however, doubt the truth of this account, because it is never mentioned by any of the editors of his posthumous pieces. His death, by whatever cause it was produced, happened about the close of the year 1622, or the beginning of 1623.§

* Paget’s Arrow against Separation, p. 2.

† Doddridge’s Works, vol. v. p. 472. Edit. 1804.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. ii. p. 45.

§ Life of Ainsworth, p. 60, 61.

Mr. Ainsworth was a man of great piety, uncommon erudition, and extraordinary abilities. Whatever engaged his pen was treated with proper respect, even by his adversaries; who, while they disapproved his sentiments, could not fail to admire his abilities. The famous Bishop Hall, who wrote against the Brownists, always speaks of him as the greatest man of their party; and refers to him as their doctor, their chief, their rabbi.* He was unquestionably a person of profound learning, exquisitely versed in a knowledge of the scriptures, and deeply read in the Jewish rabbins. He possessed a strong understanding, a quick penetration, and wonderful diligence. His temper was meek and amiable, his zeal for divine truth fervent, and he conducted himself with great moderation towards his adversaries. The following account is given of Mr. Ainsworth, by one of his contemporaries, and one unfriendly to his peculiar sentiments: "For the life of the man, myself being eye-witness, living some time with him at Amsterdam, of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeal in the point and practice of separation, he lived and died unblamably to the world; and I am thoroughly persuaded that his soul rests with his Saviour."†

HIS WORKS.—1. Counter-Poyson, 1590.—2. A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministry, used in the Christian churches separated from Antichrist, against Mr. Smyth, 1609.—3. An Animadversion on Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, 1613.—4. The Trying out of the Truth, begun and prosecuted in certain Letters and Passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth: the one pleading for, the other against the present Church of Rome, 1615.—5. A Reply to the pretended Christian Plea for the Antichristian Church of Rome, published against Francis Johnson, 1620.—6. Certain Notes of Mr. Ainsworth's last Sermon, on 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5., 1630.—7. The old orthodox Foundation of Religion, 1641.—8. A reasonable Discourse; or, a Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, 1643.—9. The Book of Psalms Englished both in prose and metre, 1644.—10. A Guide to Zion.—11. An Advertisement touching some Objections against the sincerity of the Hebrew text; and the Allegations of the Rabbins.—12. A Treatise of the Communion of Saints.—13. An Arrow against Idolatry.—The two last were reprinted together in 1789, with a copious and interesting account of the author prefixed.—14. His Annotations already mentioned, and probably some others.

* Hall's Apologie against the Brownists.

† Life of Ainsworth, p. 62.

WILLIAM PEMBLE, A. M.—This learned divine was the son of a minister, born at Egerton in Kent, in the year 1591, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where Mr. Richard Capel was his tutor. From a child he was trained up in good literature, and profited in all kinds of knowledge, more than most others. From the tender years of infancy he was constantly taught in the school of Christ; so that, under the influence of divine grace, together with the sanctified use of his manifold afflictions and temptations, he attained a high degree of heavenly wisdom. Though he was young in years, he offered to God a more excellent sacrifice than many of his elder brethren.* At the university he acquired a most distinguished reputation, and became a celebrated reader of divinity in Magdalen college. According to our author, "he was a zealous Calvinist, a famous preacher, an excellent artist, a skilful linguist, a good orator, an expert mathematician, and an ornament to the society to which he belonged." Adrian Heereboord, the famous professor of philosophy at Leyden, was very profuse in the commendation of his learning and learned works.+ Another writer observes, "that he thoroughly traced the circle of the arts; and attained a degree of eminence, not only in the sciences, but even in those more sublime speculations of which many are not capable."‡

Magdalen college was the very nursery of puritans. Mr. Pemble was justly denominated one of them, though he did not carry his nonconformity, in certain points, quite so far as some of his brethren. He laboured openly to promote the reformation of the church, and encouraged the relaxation of subscription and other points of conformity. He was tutor to many puritans, who afterwards became distinguished ornaments for learning, piety, and usefulness. This divine, with many others, affords sufficient proof that the puritans were not all unlearned, or at all inferior in learning to those who conformed.§

Mr. Pemble going on a visit to Mr. Capel, formerly his tutor, but now minister at Eastington in Gloucestershire, was taken ill, and died at his tutor's house, in the thirty-second year of his age. His remains were interred in the

* Pemble's Works, Pref. Edit. 1627.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 405.

‡ Pemble on Justification, Pref. Edit. 1625.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 705. (4.)

church-yard at that place, and over his grave was the following plain monumental inscription :

Here lieth
the Body of
WILLIAM PEMBLE,
Master of Arts and Preacher,
who died April 14,
1623.

He left the world in the comfortable and full persuasion of justification by faith in the righteousness of Jesus Christ.* Bishop Wilkins, in his list of the most excellent sermons in his time, includes those of Mr. Pemble.†

HIS WORKS.—1. A Treatise of Justification by Faith, 1625.—2. A Treatise of Providence.—3. The Book of Ecclesiastes Explained, 1628.—4. A Plea for Grace, more especially the Grace of Faith, 1629.—5. An Exposition of the first Nine Chapters of Zechariah, 1629.—6. Five godly and profitable Sermons, 1629.—7. Fruitful Sermons on 1 Cor. xv. 18, 19., 1629.—8. An Introduction to the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper, 1629.—9. De formarum origine, 1629.—10. De Senibus internis, 1629.—11. A Sum of Moral Philosophy, 1630.—12. The Period of the Persian Monarchy, 1631.—13. Enchiridion Oratorium, 1633.—14. An Introduction to Geography, 1685.—The above articles in English were collected and published in one volume folio, 1635, being much esteemed and often reprinted.

JOHN SPRINT, A. M.—This learned person was the son of Dr. John Sprint, dean of Bristol, a frequent Calvinistic preacher; was born in or near that city, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. After taking his degrees in arts, he became vicar of Thornbury in Gloucestershire; but afterwards removed to London, where he became a very popular preacher. Wood says, "he was a grave and pious divine, but for the most part disaffected to the ceremonies of the church of England, at least, while he continued at Thornbury. He was, indeed, called in question for uttering certain things against the ceremonies and discipline of the established church." This writer also adds, that he not only conformed himself, but was the great instrument in persuading others to do the same, by his book, called "Cassander Anglicanus." Fullers says, he put in the one scale the woe pronounced against those who preach not the gospel, or desert their flocks upon pretended scrupulosity; and in the other, the nature of those ceremonies that were enjoined by lawful authority; and finding the former to preponderate, he concluded it to be unlawful, on any such

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 405.

† Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

account, for any one to leave or lose his ministerial function.* Dr. Calamy, having mentioned Mr. Sprint's "Cassander Anglicanus," adds, "I think it not improper to communicate to the world a paper concerning it, which was written by the hand of his own son; a copy of which was sent me by the grandson of the author, with assurance that it was drawn up by his father, Mr. Samuel Sprint of Tidworth." The paper was as follows:

1. "This book meddles not with *subscription*, but disclaims it, p. 237.

2. "In all the arguments, it supposeth, that the ceremonies imposed are inconveniencies, and the church's burdens.

3. "By the quotations, p. 194, 196, and elsewhere, he adviseth us to bear witness against them, and to express our *dissent* from them, and then conform: Which is not to *assent*; and much less, to declare our *unfeigned assent*, as well as *consent* to them.

4. "Bishop Laud said, 'It had been no great matter, if this book and the author had been burnt together.'

5. "This book is not fully comprehensive of the author's judgment: for, besides what is extant of his in print, (viz. his 'Bellum Ceremoniale,' printed by another,) and what he hath left in manuscript, this book, as he hath acknowledged to his acquaintance, hath suffered much by the hands of the bishop's chaplain, who was appointed the reviser of books to be printed."†

From this account, and even from the words of Fuller, as cited above, it appears that Mr. Sprint was a puritan in principle and a nonconformist in practice; only he would conform, and recommended others to conform, rather than suffer deprivation. "To speak my free thoughts," observes Calamy, "I take that book of Mr. Sprint's to be a defence of *occasional* conformity to the church, in evidence of charity, while a testimony is publicly borne against its remaining corruptions; rather than a plea for entire conformity."‡ He was a man of excellent wisdom and great moderation. He died in London, May 7, 1623, and his remains were interred at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, where he appears to have been for some time minister. Mr. Samuel Sprint and Mr. John Sprint, jun. both ejected in 1662, were his sons.§

His WORKS.—1. Propositions tending to prove the necessary Use of the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's Day, 1607.—2. The practice of

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 406.—Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 360.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 343.

‡ Moderate Nonconformity, vol. i. p. 27. Edit. 1703.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 282, 456.

that Sacred Day, framed after the Rules of God's Word, 1607.—3. The Summ of Christian Religion by way of Question and Answer, 1613.—4. Cassander Anglicanus: or, the Necessity of Conforming to the prescribed Ceremonies of the Church, in case of Deprivation, 1618. 5. The Christian's Sword and Buckler; or, a Letter sent to a Man seven years grievously afflicted in Conscience and fearfully troubled in Mind, 1638.—6. *Bellum Ceremoniale*, already mentioned.

JOHN GEE, A. B.—This zealous person was the son of a minister, born in Devonshire, in the year 1597, and educated first in Brazen-nose college, then in Exeter college, Oxford. Entering upon the ministerial work, he was beneficed at Newton, near Winwick, in Lancashire. Being at this period much inclined to popery, he left the place, and retired to London, where he became intimately acquainted with several leading persons of the popish persuasion. October 26, 1623, Mr. Gee was in the assembly of above three hundred persons, collected in an upper room, in Blackfriars, London; when, about the middle of the sermon, the floor giving way, Drury, the Roman catholic priest, and nearly one hundred of the congregation, were killed, and many others severely bruised.* This he considered a most alarming and awakening providence. Having already received many urgent letters from his father, and by means of a conference which he had with Archbishop Abbot, he renounced the errors of popery, and became a zealous protestant. Some, it is said, thought he became *too zealous* a protestant. For he embraced the principles of the puritans, and wrote with great spirit and ability against the papists, exposing their errors and superstitions. The papists, however, in return, loaded him with much slander and abuse. After renouncing popery, he preached at Tenterden in Kent, where he died, but at what particular time we are not able to learn.† He had a younger brother, called Orlando Gee, who was afterwards knighted.

His WORKS.—1. The Foot out of the Snare, with a Detection of sundry late Practices and Impostures of the Priests and Jesuits in England, 1624.—2. A gentle Excuse to Mr. Greg. Musket for styling him Jesuit, 1624.—Both these passed through four editions this year.—3. Hold fast, a Sermon at Paul's cross, on Rev. iii. 11., 1624.—4. New Shreds of the old Snare, containing the Apparitions of two Female Ghosts, the copies of divers Letters, and Indulgences purchased at Rome, 1624.

* Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 338, 339.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 427.

JOHN KNEWSTUBS, B. D.—This learned divine was born at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, in the year 1540, and chosen fellow of St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge,* where he was much esteemed for his great piety, abilities, and learning. During his abode in the university, he united with Dr. Andrews, afterwards bishop of Ely, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Carter, and other distinguished persons, in the observance of weekly meetings for conference upon certain portions of scripture. These meetings were conducted with great decorum, and found of signal advantage to all.

In the year 1579, Mr. Knewstubs, upon his removal from Cambridge, became minister at Cockfield in Suffolk. Here he was labouring in the vineyard of Christ, when sixty ministers, from the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, assembled in his church to confer about the Book of Common Prayer, with the view of coming to an agreement concerning what things might be tolerated, and what were to be refused. They consulted also about the clerical apparel, holidays, fasts, injunctions, and other matters.† Dr. Heylin says, this meeting was held May 8, 1582.‡

In the year 1583, upon the publication of Whitgift's three articles, Mr. Knewstubs and sixty other ministers of Suffolk, whose names are now before me, were not resolved to subscribe, and, for further satisfaction, wrote to their diocesan, desiring the resolution of their doubts, some of which were the following:—"The administration of baptism in private.—The use of the cross in baptism.—The interrogatories proposed to the infants.—The burial service, requiring us to commit to the ground *all characters*, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life.—And the reading of apocryphal books in public worship, to the exclusion of some parts of canonical scripture."§ Their application, however, proved unsuccessful, and they were all suspended from their ministerial work, upwards of forty of whom received the ecclesiastical censure on one day.¶

This excellent divine being laid aside from his beloved work, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh wrote to him and Mr. John Oxenbridge, another suspended minister, requesting them to declare, "That they would use the Book of Common Prayer; and that in their public ministry they

* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. b. vi. p. 22.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 135.

‡ Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 292.

§ MS. Register, p. 434, 435.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 436, 437.

would not preach against it." Upon the reception of this, they returned his lordship the following open and generous declaration, earnestly soliciting his favourable attention to their case, as the silenced ministers of Christ:—"Right honourable and very good lord," say they, "we find it is your lordship's pleasure that we should declare in writing our consent to these two points: That we will use the Book of Common Prayer; and that we will not inveigh against it in our public ministry.—In the first place, as we have hitherto used the said book in our public worship, so we do purpose to use it, and no other, except some other shall be established by public authority. And, secondly, we always have had a special regard, both in our public ministry and private life, for the peace of the church and our duty to her majesty, and to walk in all quiet and christian behaviour towards all who use the book in some things more strictly than we can do: and we mean always to act thus in future.

"Seeing these are the things which your honour thinketh good to request at our hands, we most humbly beseech your lordship's favour, that we may be relieved from that subscription, which, as we verily think, the states of the realm have not required of us; and that we may be restored to our ministry, as in times past. Which, if we obtain, we shall be bound both to praise God for your clemency and to pray for the increase and continuance of your honour's estate and happiness."*

It does not appear how long these learned divines remained under the bishop's censure, nor whether their application to the treasurer proved at all available. Mr. Knewstubs joined with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline." He laboured with great zeal and moderation to carry on the work of reformation in the church, and frequently met with his brethren at their associations in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge. Being a known and decided nonconformist, though a man of no severe principles, his house was narrowly watched, and afterwards strictly searched, by the prelate's officers.†

In the year 1603, Mr. Knewstubs was one of the puritan divines appointed by King James to attend the Hampton-court conference. He signified, on this occasion, his objections against the *interrogatories* in baptism. But Dr. Barlow, who published "The Sum and Substance of the

* MS. Register, p. 587, 588.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 593. (4.)

Conference," instead of informing us what he said upon this point, is pleased to observe, that his discourse was so extremely perplexed that it was very difficult to be understood.* This, surely, is a short and easy method of answering an argument, and of reproaching an adversary. Mr. Knewstubs also excepted against the *cross* in baptism;† because, as he observed, it gave offence to many weak brethren, contrary to Rom. xiv. and 2 Cor. viii., where their consciences are not to be offended. He inquired whether the church had power to add external significant signs. Then, if it had such power, whether it might add them where Christ hath already ordained one. To attempt this, appeared to him no less derogatory to the institution of Christ, than if any person in the land should presume to add his own seal to the great seal of England. But if the church had this power also, Mr. Knewstubs further inquired, How far is such an ordinance to bind us, without impeaching our christian liberty? The king, hearing this, was greatly moved, and said it smelt rankly of anabaptism; and, therefore, he would not argue the point with him! "I will," added his majesty, "have one doctrine, one discipline, and one religion, in substance and in ceremony; and, therefore, I charge you never more to speak upon that point, how far you are to obey, when the church hath ordained it!"‡ Such was the logic of that prince who was styled the Solomon of the age!

Towards the close of the conference, Dr. Chadderton having requested that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain pious and painful ministers in Lancashire, Mr. Knewstubs, upon his knees, requested the like favour and forbearance for certain of his brethren in Suffolk, saying, it would be much against them to require these things. "Sir," replied the king, "you shew yourself to be uncharitable. We have taken pains, and in the end have concluded on unity and uniformity; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credit of a few private men, before the peace

* Barlow's Account, p. 163.

† He might with propriety have asked, Why may not any other sign be used in baptism, as well as the sign of the cross? If it had been said, Because our Saviour was crucified upon the cross; he might have inquired of what shape or figure was the Saviour's cross; lest, in making the sign of it, they should not make the sign of *that* cross, but of some other. And how shall we know the exact figure of our Saviour's cross? The original word, as used in the New Testament, according to the opinion of the learned, signifies a *stake* or *post*, as well as a cross.

‡ Ibid. p. 164—166.

of the church. I will none of that; and, therefore, let them either conform themselves, and that shortly, or they shall hear of it."* Some further account of this *mock* conference, as it is very commonly and very justly denominated, is given in another place.†

Mr. Knewstubs was a learned and celebrated divine, and though the productions of his pen do not appear to have been very numerous, Fuller denominates him one of the learned writers of St. John's college, Cambridge.‡ He continued his zealous and faithful ministry at Cockfield to the day of his death, having laboured at that place forty-five years. He died May 29, 1624, aged eighty years, when his remains were interred at Cockfield, and over his grave a monumental inscription was erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation:§

IN MEMORY
of that most humble
and affectionate Servant of God,
JOHN KNEWSTUBS,
forty-five years the very watchful
and faithful pastor of the church of Cockfield;
a teacher of the church, and an excellent scholar;
a firm asserter and defender of Christian Truth,
the wholesome doctrines of the Gospel,
and uncorrupted Religion,
against the Roman Antichrist and his emissaries.

He bravely withstood the storms of life,
and patiently endured the greatest sufferings
for the glory of God.

At length, worn out with infirmities,
in the 80th year of his age,
with divine serenity,
he withdrew from this mortal life,
and entered the celestial Country,
on the 29th of May, 1624.

As there are
never-fading monuments of his Genius,
lest posterity should wish
for some memorial of his body also;
this Monument,
too small for so great a man,
contains the mortal part of
JOHN KNEWSTUBS.

Friends maye awile by Arte our Viewe commende,
But tys not longe eare all Things heere shall ende.
The Arte of Artes is so to lyve and dye,
As we may lyve in Heav'n eternally.

* Barlow's Account, p. 176, 177.

† See Art. Dr. John Rainolds.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 95.

§ Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. i. b. vi. p. 22.

Mr. Knewstubs is classed among the generous benefactors of St. John's college, Cambridge. September 1, 1623, he founded two exhibitions for two poor scholars; for which purpose he gave to the college eleven pounds a year, out of certain lands, called squires' lands, at Southminster and Steeple in Essex. He appointed twenty shillings of this annuity for the use of the college, and ten pounds for two poor scholars, to be elected at the general election of scholars, one of them to be out of the north, the other from the south. The former of these was to be a person born within the parish of Kirkby Stephen; or, in case of the want of such a one, any one born in the county of Westmoreland, or educated in the school at Kirkby Stephen: but in the want of such a one, then a person to be chosen out of the school at Appleby. The scholar from the south was to be a person born within the parish of Cockfield in Suffolk; and in the want of such a one, then a person to be chosen from the school at Sudbury. He appointed the nomination of the one to the vice-chancellor, or the incumbent of Kirkby Stephen and the schoolmaster for the time being; and of the other to the incumbent of Cockfield for the time being. He further ordered, that if either of the scholars should be absent from the college upwards of *fifty* days together, the allowance, during that period, should go to the use of the college; and if absent *ninety-one* days, he should forfeit his exhibition.*

His WORKS.—1. A Confutation of certain Monstrous and Horrible Heresies, taught by H. N. (Henry Nichols) and embraced by a number who call themselves *The Family of Love*, 1579.—2. Lectures on Various Portions of Scripture.—3. An Answer to certain Assertions.

RICHARD CRAKENTHORP, D. D.—This learned divine was born of respectable parents near Strickland in Westmoreland, in the year 1577, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. About the year 1603, he became chaplain to Lord Evers, in his mission as ambassador to the court of Germany, by which he became acquainted with many persons celebrated for learning, and visited several of the foreign universities. Upon his return to England he became chaplain in ordinary to King James; and, by the favour of Sir John Levesen, was presented to the rectory of Black-Notely,

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxiii. This volume is not paged.

near Braintree in Essex. In the year 1617, he became rector of Packelsham.*

This learned divine attempted to vindicate the famous Dr. John Rainolds from the reproachful imputation of puritanism, but evidently with very little success; and, in fact, while he laboured to clear his friend and favourite of the reproachful charge, he was himself found guilty. He was justly denominated a puritan, as well as Rainolds. The Oxford historian says, "he was a noted preacher, a profound disputant, and a good divine, and was greatly admired and venerated by all great men, especially by those of the puritanical party, being himself a zealot among them." He further adds, "that Dr. Crakenthorp was esteemed by most to have been replenished with all kinds of virtue and learning; to have been a profound philosopher and theologian, a great canonist, and so familiar in the fathers, councils, and schoolmen, that scarcely any in his time went beyond him; and that few authors have written with greater diligence and success."† He died at Black-Notely, says this writer, "for want of a bishopric," as King James used to say in reproach of such men; and his remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place, November 25, 1624, aged forty-seven years. Dr. John Barkham, dean of Bocking, preached his funeral sermon, and gave the deceased high commendations for learning and piety. Dr. Crakenthorp sometimes preached the sermon at Paul's cross, and one or more of these sermons was afterwards published.

His WORKS.—1. Sermons on several Occasions, 1608.—2. Justinian the Emperor defended, against Card. Baronius, 1616.—3. Introductio in Metaphysicam, 1619.—4. A Defence of Constantine, with a Treatise of the Pope's Temporal Monarchy, 1621.—5. *Logicæ libri quinque, de prædicalibus, prædicamentis, etc.*, 1622.—6. *Tractatus de Providentia Dei*, 1622.—7. *Defensio Eccl. Anglicanæ contra M. Anton. de Dominis Archiep. Spalatensis injurias*, 1625.‡—8. *Virgilius dormitans*; or, a Treatise of the first General Council held at Constantinople, an. 553, under Justinian the Emperor, 1631.—Though he left numerous manuscripts, it does not appear whether any other articles were ever published.

* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 443, 459.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 417, 418.

‡ Archbishop Abbot calls this work "the most exact piece of controversy since the reformation."—*Leigh on Religion and Learning*, p. 172.

WALTER TRAVERS, B. D.—This celebrated divine was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge; where he took his degrees in arts, and was incorporated in the same at Oxford. Afterwards he travelled to Geneva, where he formed an intimate and abiding acquaintance with Beza and other learned divines. Upon his return to Cambridge, where he remained for some time, he took his degree in divinity. In 1572, he was member of the first presbyterian church in England, erected at Wandsworth in Surrey.* While the prelates rigorously imposed subscription upon ministers, and required an exact conformity to the established church, many learned persons, who had conscientious objections against the English mode of ordination, went abroad to Middleburg, Antwerp, and other places, and received ordination according to the foreign reformed churches; which, in their opinion, was much more agreeable to the word of God. Among those whose convictions led them to adopt this course was Mr. Travers, who went to Antwerp, and was there ordained by the presbytery. His honourable testimonial, dated May 14, 1578, is the following :—“ For as much as it is just and reasonable, “ that such as are received into the number of the ministers “ of God’s word should have a testimonial of their vocation ; we declare, that, having called together a synod of “ twelve ministers of God’s word, and almost the same “ number of elders, at Antwerp, on May 8, 1578, our very “ learned, pious, and excellent brother, the reverend Doctor “ *Gaulter Travers*, was, by the unanimous votes and ardent “ desires of all present, received and instituted into the “ ministry of God’s holy word, and confirmed according “ to our accustomed manner, with prayer and imposition “ of hands; and the next day after the sabbath, having “ preached before a full congregation of *English*. at the “ request of the ministers, he was acknowledged and “ received most affectionately by the whole church. That “ Almighty God would prosper the ministry of this our “ reverend brother among the English, and attend it with “ great success, is our most earnest prayer, through Jesus “ Christ. Amen.

“ Given at Antwerp, May 14, 1578, and signed,

“ JOHANNES TAFFINUS, V. D. M.

“ LOGELERIUS VILERIUS, V. D. M.

“ JOHANNES HOHELCUS, V. D. M.”

* See Art. John Field.

† Fuller’s Church Hist. b. ix. p. 214.

Mr. Travers, soon after his ordination, became assistant to Mr. Cartwright, then preacher to the English merchants at Antwerp. He was a person highly distinguished for prudence, learning, and piety; and, therefore, upon his return to England, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh made choice of him for his domestic chaplain, and as tutor to his son Robert, afterwards Earl of Salisbury. The treasurer was, indeed, a constant friend and patron of the nonconformists, and discovered his affectionate regard for them through the whole of his life.* In the face of the whole nation, therefore, he countenanced this learned and excellent divine, and received him into his family, notwithstanding his nonconformity. Mr. Travers could not conscientiously subscribe; on which account he was incapable of any considerable preferment in the church, which, we may suppose, his noble patron was ready to bestow upon him. The lecturer's place at the Temple becoming vacant, the learned gentlemen of that society invited him to accept it; and, as no subscription was requisite for that office, he complied with their invitation.

In the year 1584, a short time before Dr. Alvey, master of the Temple, closed his eyes in death, the doctor, with the learned gentlemen of that society, recommended Mr. Travers for his successor. Dr. Alvey the master, and Mr. Travers the lecturer, lived together some years in great amity and love. They mutually united in carrying on the work of reformation in the place; and, with much zeal, wisdom, and resolution, they joined in promoting true christian piety among the learned benchers, by whom they were both very highly esteemed.† The above recommendation was presented to the treasurer, who communicated the same to the queen, signifying to her majesty his approbation of their choice. But, by the powerful endeavours and superior influence of Archbishop Whitgift, he was rejected, and Mr. Richard Hooker, author of "Ecclesiastical Polity," was nominated to the office. Whitgift most vigorously opposed the admission of Mr. Travers, and signified to the queen, "that he was one of the principal authors of dissension in the church; that he contemned the Book of Common Prayer, and other orders as by authority established; that he sought to promote innovation; and that he was only ordained abroad, and not according to the form of the church of England." Mr. Travers, however,

* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 513. (14.)

† Ibid. p. 431. (8.)

justified himself against all the false charges which were brought against him, and proved, at some length, the validity of his ordination.*

During the above year, our learned divine was engaged in a public conference holden at Lambeth. The first day's conference, December 10th, was betwixt Archbishop Whitgift and the Bishop of Winchester, on the one part; and Mr. Travers and Dr. Thomas Sparke, on the other, in the presence of the Earl of Leicester, Lord Gray, and Sir Francis Walsingham. The subject of discussion was confined to those things in the Book of Common Prayer which appeared to require a reformation. The conference was opened by the following declaration made by the archbishop:—"My lord of Leicester having requested, for his own satisfaction, to hear what the ministers could reprove, and how their objections might be answered, I have granted his request. Let us then hear what things in the Book of Common Prayer you think ought to be mended. You now appear before me, not judicially, nor as called in question by authority, but by way of conference. You shall, therefore, be free (speaking in duty) to charge the book with those things in which it is faulty."

Though the conference is of considerable length, the substance of it will, no doubt, be gratifying to the inquisitive reader. Whitgift, therefore, having finished, Dr. Sparke replied as follows:—"We give most humble and hearty thanks to Almighty God, and to these honourable persons, that after so many years, wherein our cause could never be admitted to an impartial hearing, it hath pleased God of his gracious goodness so to order things, that we now enjoy that equity and favour, before such honourable personages, as may be a worthy means with her most excellent majesty, of promoting a further reformation of such things as are needful: and that it is now lawful for us to declare freely, for the satisfaction of those in authority, what things ought to be reviewed and reformed in the public service of God. As the favourable issue depends on the blessing of God, I desire, before we proceed further, that we may seek his gracious direction and blessing." Then attempting to begin to pray, the archbishop interrupted him, saying, "You shall make no prayers here. You shall not turn this place into a *conventicle*."

The two chief points which these divines urged

* Strype's Whitgift, p. 173—176.

against the Book of Common Prayer, were, " Its appointing certain apocryphal writings to be read in public worship, in which were several errors and false doctrines, and omitting many parts of canonical scripture: and, the doctrine of the sacraments." Concerning the first, they observed, that to appoint various parts of the apocrypha to be read publicly in the church, and omitting many parts of the Old and New Testament, made the apocrypha equal, and even superior, to the canonical scriptures; to which the archbishop made the following reply :

Archbishop. The books called apocrypha, are, indeed, parts of the holy scripture. They have been read in the church in ancient times, and ought to be now read among us.

Travers. The title of holy scripture is that by which the Holy Ghost distinguisheth the canonical scriptures from the apocrypha, and all other writings. This appears from Romans i. And such are the holy scriptures alone, as were given by the inspiration of God. This appears from 2 Tim. iii., 2 Pet. i.

A. The apocrypha was given by the inspiration of God ; as were also whatsoever the heathens have written well.

T. In the general sense of the word *inspiration*, what you have said of the apocrypha is true. For no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. But the question relates to such an inspiration as moved and governed the holy men of God, in reporting and setting down those things in which they could not possibly err; and in this sense, the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are holy, and given by the inspiration of God. Herein they widely differ from the apocrypha.

A. You cannot shew that there is any error in the apocrypha. And it has been esteemed a part of the holy scriptures by the ancient fathers.

T. If the apocrypha could not be charged with error, yet its authors were not so far directed by God, that they might not have erred ; and it has not always had that credit in the church which you have represented. Jerome declareth that it was the opinion of the church, in his time, as well as his own opinion, that some things were fictitious.

A. Let us hear some of the errors in the apocrypha.

Sparke. We mention Eccl. xlvii., where the writer, having commended Samuel for his numerous worthy deeds, addeth in the conclusion, that he also prophesied *after he was dead*. This is contrary to the sacred story, which declareth it not

to have been Samuel, but a spirit raised by the witch, assuming the *appearance* of Samuel.*

Bishop. If it be no error in the canonical scripture calling that which was raised up Samuel; then it could be no error in Ecclesiasticus calling it Samuel.

T. In the holy story it is plain that the spirit is called Samuel, because it appeared *like* him, as declared out of Peter Martyr; but in Ecclesiasticus it is quite the contrary. For the whole chapter is employed in commendation of the *true* Samuel, for his famous and worthy actions while he lived; and then, to finish the praise due to so good a man, it is added, that he also prophesied after his death. This, therefore, could not apply to a spirit assuming his likeness; but to Samuel himself, however contrary it is to sound gospel doctrine, and the true story of scripture.

Earl of Leicester. Is the chapter giving this account of Samuel one of those appointed by the Prayer Book to be read in public worship?

A. Yes, it is.

Lord Gray. What error will the people be in danger of, who hear this read, and believe it? And is it an error to think that witches have power to raise the bodies of the dead?

A. Whether they have or have not, such power is a question among the learned.

S. In Judith, chap. ix., the doings of Simeon and Levi are commended, which is directly contrary to Genesis xlix.; where Jacob utterly condemns what they did. There must, therefore, in such repugnancy against the canonical scriptures, necessarily be an error in the apocrypha.

B. Judith commends only the *manner* of the deed, and Jacob condemns only the deed *itself*.

T. Jacob condemned what they did, not only in substance, but in every circumstance, as wicked and abominable. It was murder committed in wilful opposition against the eternal law of God; and the circumstances under which it was committed, as well as the number who suffered, greatly increased the aggravation of their crime.

B. Comparing the words of Judith, where it is said, "God gave them the sword," with the case of Nebuchadnezzar, who is called the servant of God, they did not deserve to be condemned.

* Here the archbishop, in reply, read out of his note-book the opinion of Peter Martyr, who said, that the spirit in the sacred story was called Samuel, because it *seemed* to be Samuel.

T. The cases are very different. In the one, Simeon and Levi, being private men, rose up against the magistrates; but in the other, Nebuchadnezzar, coming to destroy Jerusalem, was their king, to whom they were tributary, and to whom they swore obedience. In the one case, they were sojourners in a strange country, and rose up and killed both the people and the magistrates of the country; but, in the other, the king Nebuchadnezzar only punished those who rebelled against him.

S. Private baptism appears, in several respects, not agreeable to the word of God. It is *private*, and performed by *laymen*, yea, even by *women*; and the *doctrine* it implies, even that children dying unbaptized are in danger of damnation, and that outward baptism saveth the child that is baptized.

A. The place is not of the substance of the ordinance. It has been administered privately in time of persecution, and may be again.

T. That is no part of the question. We are now speaking of baptism to be administered in time of peace.

A. The persons, in like manner, are not of the substance of baptism; and in time of persecution, as well as in some other cases, private men have baptized, and may do it again. As for the baptism of women, though I would not allow them to baptize, neither doth the book appoint them so to do; yet I will not deny their baptism to be lawful. I would rather have a child so baptized than die without baptism. Though I do not affirm that children dying without baptism, will certainly be lost; yet, because I should fear and doubt the safety of their state, I would have them baptized by a woman, rather than not at all. (Here the first day's conference closed.)

On December 12th they assembled again, when the lord treasurer and the archbishop of York were added to their number. When the company was assembled, Archbishop Whitgift rehearsed what had been discussed on the first day, and then ordered Mr. Travers and Dr. Sparke further to enumerate their objections. But the recapitulation being very partial and imperfect, Dr. Sparke made some amendment, by adding what his lordship had omitted. This being done, they proceeded as follows:

A. Ciprian and some other of the fathers vouch the apocrypha as part of the holy scripture.

* MS. Register, p. 502—508.

T. Some of the fathers having alleged the apocrypha to belong to the holy scriptures, is not so strong a proof that it does belong to them, as the total silence of Jesus Christ and his apostles is, that it does not.

Lord Treasurer. That is no good argument, You can never make a syllogism of that.

T. Whatsoever our Saviour and his apostles alleged not, (allowing that they alleged all the prophets,) is no part of the prophetic writings. But it is true that our Saviour and his apostles alleged all the prophetic writings, and yet never alleged any of the apocryphal. Therefore, the apocryphal writings are no part of the prophetic. *All the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have foretold the days of Christ.*

S. Romans, chap. iv., is so far mistranslated, that the meaning of the apostle is wholly perverted. For where the apostle saith, "Cometh this blessedness upon the circumcisan only, or upon the uncircumcisan also?" the book appointed to be used readeth the contrary: and Psalm cv., which in the original, and in all good translations, it is, "They were not *disobedient* to his word: but in the Book of Prayer it is, "They were not *obedient*," which is its very opposite.

A. There may be some ambiguity in the Hebrew word. This I cannot tell, having no knowledge of the language. You can tell.

T. and S. There is no ambiguity at all in the word.

A. In baptism there is nothing of the substance of that sacrament, but the *element* and the *word*. With regard to the *place*, you will allow, that in time of persecution it is not unlawful to baptize in private places.

T. The question applies to a peaceable state of the church, as that now enjoyed in the church of England.

A. In like manner the *person* is not of the substance of the sacrament; but at some times, and in some cases, laymen, yea, even women, may baptize. May not a christian baptize in time of persecution, or when living in the West Indies?

T. Your remarks are not pertinent. The question relates to a time of peace, and a christian country. But even in the cases you have supposed, it is not lawful for any one to minister the sacraments without some extraordinary call from God, or some ordinary call from the church. This appears from Hebrews v., where it is said, "No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron."

A. May not a person, being a layman, administer the communion to himself?

T. He cannot: nor could that be deemed a sacrament, because he is no minister. They who administer this ordinance according to its nature, and agreeable to the will of God, must have the authority and commission of God so to do; otherwise they are not within the promise of God, and there can be no sacrament.

Archbishop of York. I disallow of private baptism altogether, and have forbidden the use of it in all my diocese. I have spoken to the queen about it, and I will not suffer it.

A. Calvin held that baptism was necessary, and reproved the anabaptists for deferring it so long.

T. Calvin did not otherwise account baptism necessary than it might not be omitted through neglect or contempt. He never acknowledged any other necessity, nor did any of the reformed churches abroad.

S. Circumcision was the same to the Jews as baptism is to us, which, by the appointment of God, was not to be performed till the child was eight days old; and if that sacrament was so necessary as some suppose, the child was all this time in great danger. If the want of the sacrament of baptism expose the child to endless misery, it were better to have it administered as soon as the child is born.

A. As to the doctrine charged upon the necessity of private baptism, it is so guarded in the articles, as will sufficiently clear the church of England of those errors.

T. The doctrine in the articles is good and holy; but the necessity of baptism, as laid down in the Prayer Book, is so great, that in a private place, by a private person, yea, by a woman, in a settled and peaceable state of the church, it may be administered, when, at the birth of the child, there is not so much time as to repeat the Lord's prayer, lest the child should be dead; nor, in some cases, hardly so much time as even to pour the water upon it, and to repeat those words, *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, &c.* To reconcile all this with the doctrines of scripture, appears impossible.

S. The interrogatories proposed in baptism, and another person's saying for the child, *I believe*, being a thing which the child cannot do, is extremely repugnant to scripture.

A. Augustin says, "The child may be said to believe, because it receives the sacrament of faith."

S. The question in baptism is asked before the sacrament is received.

A. Because the child is in the action of receiving, it may be said to have received.

T. This question and answer in baptism is an untruth; because the sponsor professeth, in the name of the child, that the child believeth, when in all ordinary cases it does not, and cannot believe.

A. The interrogatories are ancient; and it was the custom in the primitive church to have sponsors, who, in the name of the child, did promise and profess that the child did believe.

T. Can it then be credible to any man that children newly born do believe? How can they believe that which they have not heard? And if they had heard, how could they so understand, as with the heart to believe unto righteousness? And concerning the cross in baptism, and other ceremonies, were they ever so ancient, or ever so good in the institution, if they be now abused to idolatry, and unnecessary, or of no use in the church, they ought to be abolished. This appears from the case of the brazen serpent, which, though set up originally by the command of God, and a monument of his special favour; yet, being abused to idolatry, was afterwards broken in pieces and utterly destroyed; and all this was done according to the will of God. So the cross, being never of any use in baptism, and being as much abused to idolatry as ever the brazen serpent was, and always tending to promote superstition and give offence to persons of tender consciences, surely it ought to be abolished. To impose the necessity of the cross in baptism, is not only unsupported by scripture, and wholly founded in superstition, but a dangerous human appendage added to what God has wisely and graciously appointed. And this is not my opinion only, but the opinion of the foreign reformed churches, as appears from the Harmony of Confessions.

A. You are wont to find fault with dumb ceremonies, and you blame those which have any signification. But in the use of the cross, the learned Beza left the churches to their own liberty.

Treasurer. That was wisely done.

T. Beza would not condemn the churches for using the cross, nor oppose their liberty. But his opinion is, that it ought to be abolished; nay, he adviseth the ministers to

forego their ministry, rather than subscribe to the allowance of it.

Leicester. It is a pity that so many of the best ministers, and those who are the most painful preachers, have stood to be deprived for these things.

T. My lord, we acknowledge that the peace of the church ought to be dearer to us than our lives. But with your lordship's favour, I must say, in conscience towards God, and in the duty I owe to her excellent majesty, to your good lordships, and to the whole church and state, that the ministers, in so doing, have acted well. The things to which they were required to subscribe being so grievous, they ought not to have yielded, though they were deprived of their ministry.

A. From the letter of Dr. Ridley, now read to you, you see that he approved of the habits.

S. Mr. Fox, in his "Book of Martyrs," reporteth that Ridley, at his degradation, scorned the habits, saying, "They are foolish and abominable, and too fond for a vice in a play."*

A. You will call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the bishops, as well as many other things.

T. We object against the Prayer Book, because it allows and attempts to justify an insufficient ministry, directly contrary to the word of God. This appears from 1 Tim. iii. and Titus i.

Treasurer. What scripture is there to prove that he who administers the sacraments should also preach?

T. "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. And Jesus Christ having joined these things together, it is not lawful for men to put them asunder. This is not our opinion only, but the opinion and practice of all the foreign reformed churches.

A. The apostolic rule which you have alleged, is an *idea* of a minister.

T. To make it merely an *idea* would overturn the religion of God's word; because, for the same reason, the duties of magistrates, churches, parents, children, and all others, might be made duties merely in *idea*.

Treasurer. That is impossible.

T. If the churches, even in times of bloody persecution, have observed this order, that they who minister the sacraments shall also preach; it cannot be difficult for us in a

* See Fox's Acts and Monuments of Martyrs, vol. iii. p. 427.

state of peace. (Here the conference closed, and the company departed.)*

Mr. Strype observes of this conference, that the ministers were convinced of their error, and persuaded to conform; but it is evident he knew not the persons, and he even acknowledges that he never saw the debate.† Mr. Travers continued a decided nonconformist to his death; and Dr. Sparke appeared at the head of the nonconformists at the Hampton-court conference, nearly twenty years after this period.‡

Mr. Travers continued lecturer at the Temple, with Mr. Hooker the new master, about two years, though with very little agreement, the former being a strict Calvinist, and the latter a man of larger principles; after which, he was at length brought into trouble. Many of their sermons were upon points of controversy, relative to the doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies of the church. The forenoon sermon often spoke the language of Canterbury, and the afternoon that of Geneva.§ Fuller observes of Mr. Travers, "that his utterance was agreeable, his gesture graceful, his matter profitable, his method plain, and his style carried in it the flowings of grace from a sanctified

* MS. Register, p. 508—514.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 170.

‡ Dr. Thomas Sparke was born at South Somercoates in Lincolnshire, and was chosen perpetual fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford. He was afterwards presented by Lord Gray to the rectory of Bleachley in Buckinghamshire, where he was held in great esteem on account of his piety and diligence. About the year 1575 he became chaplain to Bishop Cooper of Lincoln, who preferred him to the archdeaconry of Stow; but this he resigned "for conscience sake," and contented himself with his parsonage. He was a learned man, a solid divine, well read in the fathers, and much esteemed for his gravity and exemplary life and conversation. He united with the leading puritans in subscribing the "Book of Discipline." For writing a book upon the succession, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, he was brought into trouble; but, on the accession of James, "his majesty gave him a most gracious countenance for what he had done." He died at Bleachley in the year 1616, when his remains were interred in his own church. Wood denominates Dr. Rainolds and Dr. Sparke "the pillars of puritanism, and the grand favourers of nonconformity." But Sparke afterwards renounced his nonconformity, and published a book upon the subject, entitled, "A Brotherly Persuasion to Unity and Uniformity in Judgment and Practice, touching the received and present Ecclesiastical Government, and the Authorized Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," 1607. This was answered by "The Second Part of the Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for refusal of Subscription and Conformity to the Book of Common Prayer," 1608. Also by a work entitled, "A Dispute upon the Question of Kneeling in the Act of receiving the Sacramental Bread and Wine," &c 1608.—Wood's *Athene Oxon.* vol. i. p. 290, 351, 352.—Neal's *Puritans*, vol. i. p. 423.

§ Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 90. Edit. 1665.

heart.”* This is certainly a very high character from a zealous conformist.

The sermon in the morning was oftentimes controverted in the afternoon, and again vindicated the following Lord's day. Mr. Hooker, therefore, complained of this usage, when Archbishop Whitgift, without the least warning, silenced Mr. Travers from preaching at the Temple, or at any other place in the kingdom. The manner in which the archbishop proceeded to inflict this heavy sentence, proved no small reproach to his episcopal character, and gave great offence to most men of wisdom and moderation. For as Mr. Travers was ascending the pulpit to preach on the Lord's day afternoon, Whitgift's officer served him with a prohibition on the pulpit-stairs; upon which, instead of a sermon, he acquainted the congregation with his suspension, and dismissed them. The reasons given for this proceeding were, “That Mr. Travers was not ordained according to the rites of the church of England.—That he had preached without a license.—That he had broken the orders of the queen, ‘That disputes should not be brought into the pulpit.’”† But the chief reason, says Mr. Strype, was the first.

Mr. Travers, in vindication of himself, presented “A Supplication to the Council,” in which he complains of being judged and condemned before he was heard; and of being silenced, which to him was the most grievous of all, before he was examined, contrary to reason and equity. He then proceeds to answer the objections alleged against him in the prohibition as follows:

“First, it is said, that I am not lawfully called to the ministry, according to the laws of the church of England.

“To this, I answer, that my call was by such methods as are appointed in the national synods of the foreign reformed churches, testimonials of which I have shewn to my lord of Canterbury; so that if any man be lawfully called to the ministry in those countries, I am.

“It is further said, that I am not qualified to be a minister in England, because I am not ordained according to the laws of this country.

“I beseech your lordships to weigh my answer. Such is the communion of saints, that whatever solemn acts are done in one true church of Christ, according to his word, are held lawful in all others. The making of a minister,

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 216.

† Ibid. p. 217.

being once lawfully done, ought not to be repeated. The pastors and teachers in the New Testament hold the same kind of calling that I had. To repeat our ordination would make void our former ordination; and, consequently, all such acts as were done in virtue of it, as baptisms, marriages, &c. By the same rule, all people coming out of a foreign land ought to be rebaptized and married over again. Besides, by the statute of 13 Eliz., those who have been ordained in foreign protestant churches, upon their subscribing the articles therein specified, are qualified to enjoy any benefice in the kingdom, equally with those who have been ordained according to the laws now in force; which, seeing it comprehends all who are priests according to the order of the church of Rome, must necessarily be as favourable to ministers who are ordained among foreign protestants. In consequence of this law, many Scots divines are now in possession of benefices in the church; as was Mr. Whittingham, who, though he was called in question in this case, enjoyed his benefice as long as he lived.

“ It is, moreover, said, that I preached without presentation or license.

“ To this, I answer, that the place in which I exercised my ministry required no presentation, nor had I a title, nor did I reap any benefit by law; but only received a voluntary contribution, and was employed in preaching only: and as to a license, I was recommended to be minister of that place, by two several letters from the Bishop of London to the gentlemen of the Temple, without which letters, those gentlemen would not have permitted me to officiate.

“ I am charged with indiscretion, and want of duty to Mr. Hooker; and with breaking the queen’s order against bringing disputes into the pulpit.

“ As to want of duty, I answer, though some have suspected my want of good-will to Mr. Hooker, because he succeeded Dr. Alvey in that place which I desired for myself; this is a mistake, for I declined the place, because I could not subscribe to my lord of Canterbury’s late articles, which I would not do for the mastership of the Temple, or any other place in the church. I was glad the place was given to Mr. Hooker, as well for the sake of old acquaintance, as because there is some kind of affinity between us, hoping we should live peaceably and amicably together, as becometh brethren. But when I heard him preach against the doctrine of assurance, and for salvation in the church of Rome, with all its errors and idolatry, I thought myself

obliged to oppose him. And when I found it occasioned a pulpit war, I declared publicly that I would concern myself no further about it, though Mr. Hooker went on with the dispute.

“It is said that I should have complained of him to the high commission.

“To this, I answer, that it was not out of contempt or neglect of lawful authority; but because I was against all methods of severity; and, therefore, I declared my resolution to trouble the pulpit with those debates no more.

“Upon the whole, I hope it will appear to your lordships, that my behaviour has not deserved so severe a punishment as hath been inflicted upon me; and, therefore, I humbly pray that your lordships would restore me to my ministry, by such means as your wisdoms shall think fit: this will lay me under further obligations to pray for your temporal and eternal happiness. But if your lordships cannot procure me this favour, I recommend myself to your lordships’ protection, under her majesty, in a private life; and the church to Almighty God, who in justice will punish the wicked, and in mercy reward the righteous with a blessed immortality.”*

Mr. Hooker wrote an answer to the above supplication, addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, his patron, in which he takes no notice of Mr. Travers’s ordination, but confines his remarks to his objections against his doctrine; some of which he attempts to refute, and complains in other cases of misrepresentation. “But let all be granted that he would have,” says Mr. Hooker, “what will it advantage him? He ought to have complained to the high commissioners, and not have refuted me in the pulpit. Schisms and disturbances will arise in the church, IF ALL MEN MAY BE TOLERATED TO THINK AS THEY PLEASE, AND PUBLICLY SPEAK WHAT THEY THINK. Therefore, by a decree agreed upon among the bishops, and confirmed by her majesty, it was ordered, that if erroneous doctrine was taught publicly, it should not be publicly refuted, but complained of to such persons as her majesty should appoint to hear and determine such causes; for the breach of which order, he is charged with want of duty; and all the faults which he alleges against me can avail nothing in his own defence.”†

The lords of the council, to whom Mr. Travers presented

* Travers’s Supplication, printed 1612.—And annexed to Hooker’s *Eccl. Polity*. Edit. 1631.

† Hooker’s Answer annexed to *Eccl. Polity*.

his supplication, did not, however, choose to interfere, but left him wholly to the unmerciful controul of the archbishop, who could never be prevailed upon to remove his suspension, or license him to preach in any part of the kingdom. Mr. Travers had, indeed, many great and powerful friends at court, and even the lords themselves were greatly divided in their sentiments about his case; and all who opposed Whitgift's intolerant measures were his zealous friends. But all power was in the hands of the archbishop, "whose finger," as it is humorously expressed, "moved more in ecclesiastical matters than all the hands of all the council besides; therefore, no favour must be afforded to Travers on any terms."*

Mr. Travers had a principal hand in writing and publishing the celebrated work, entitled, "De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo descripta," commonly called the "Book of Discipline." It was designed as a platform of church discipline, and subscribed by Mr. Travers and many of his learned brethren.† It was translated into English, and printed at Cambridge; but the vice-chancellor obtaining intelligence of it, caused the whole impression, or the greatest part of it, to be seized, and announced the same to the chancellor, who communicated it to Archbishop Whitgift: upon which his grace returned the following answer: "That ever since they had a printing press at Cambridge, he feared that this and greater inconveniencies would follow. Though the vice-chancellor was a very careful man, and in all respects greatly to be commended; yet he might be succeeded by one of another temper, not so well affected to the church, and that if he (the chancellor) thought fit to continue that privilege to the university, sufficient bonds with heretics ought to be taken by the printer not to print any books unless they were allowed by lawful authority; for," says he, "if restraint be made *here*, and liberty granted *there*, what good can be done?"‡ This zealous prelate was always a violent enemy to the liberty of the press. It may be proper here to observe, that, in the year 1644, when the Book of Common Prayer was abolished by order of the parliament, the Book of Discipline was republished, and appointed to be observed in all ecclesiastical matters. It was printed under this title, "A Directory of Government anciently contended for; and, as far as the time

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 218.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4246.

would suffer, practised by the first nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth, found in the study of that most accomplished divine, THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this."

About the time that Mr. Travers was silenced at the Temple, he was invited, together with Mr. Cartwright, to become divinity professor in the university of St. Andrews; which he modestly refused, but returned his humble and thankful acknowledgments for so dignified an offer.* His celebrity was universally known, both in England and in other countries; therefore, Dr. Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, who had been his colleague at Cambridge, and who knew his great worth, invited him to accept the provostship of Trinity college, Dublin. Mr. Travers having no prospect of a restoration to his beloved ministry, or any further public usefulness in his native country, accepted the invitation. He was greatly admired in his new situation, and had for one of his pupils Mr. James Usher, afterwards the famous archbishop of Armagh, who entertained the highest esteem for him. Nor did this esteem wear out by time, or decline by a change of circumstances; for after Usher was preferred to a bishopric; and Travers was grown old and poor, the pious and learned prelate paid him several visits, offering him presents of money, which the good old man thankfully declined to accept.†

Mr. Travers continued provost of the above college several years; but upon the commencement of the wars in Ireland, he was constrained to quit his station, when he returned to England, and spent the remainder of his days in silence, poverty, and obscurity. He was living in the year 1624, as appears from the following curious fact: Mr. John Swan, of Cannock in Staffordshire, a religious man, left in his last will and testament the sum of fifty pounds, to be given, by direction of Mr. Hildersham, to ministers silenced for nonconformity. From a manuscript receipt now before me, it appears that Mr. Travers partook of the bounty. It is in these words: "March 5, 1624, received of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, five pounds, being part of a legacy of John Swan. I say, received by me,

"WALTER TRAVERS."‡

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 215, 216.

† Ibid. p. 218.

‡ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 431. (12.)

It does not appear how long Mr. Travers survived the above period. He was a learned man, a polite preacher, an admirable orator, and one of the most celebrated divines of the age: but all these excellent endowments could not atone for the single sin of nonconformity. His name is enrolled among the eminent persons and learned divines of Trinity college, Cambridge.* He gave part of his library, and plate worth fifty pounds, to Zion college, London. Many persons of the greatest respectability were his constant friends. In addition to the lord treasurer, who was his advocate and his patron, we ought not to omit Sir James Altham, a member of parliament, and a person eminent for religion and learning, who manifested the highest esteem for him; as did Sir Edward Cook, a zealous advocate for a further reformation of the church, and a constant patron of the puritans.†

His Works.—1. A Justification of the Religion now Professed in England.—2. An Answer to the Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholics.—3. De Disciplina Ecclesiastica ex Dei verbo descripta.

HENRY JACOB, A. M.—This distinguished person was born in Kent, in the year 1563, and educated in St. Mary's-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. Entering upon the ministerial work, he became precentor of Christ's Church, and was afterwards beneficed at Cheriton in his native county; but he quitted his living previous to the year 1591. "He was a person," says Wood, "most excellently well read in theological authors, and a most zealous puritan."‡ About this period, he embraced the principles of the Brownists; though he never carried them to that uncharitable extent which was the worst feature in the character of that people. Upon the general banishment of the Brownists, in 1593, Mr. Jacob retired to Holland,§ but probably returned to England before the year 1597. At this time, the controversy arose about the true interpretation of that article in the apostle's creed, which relates to Christ's descent into hell. Bishop Bilson, in his sermons at Paul's cross, maintained the literal sense of the passage; and affirmed that he went thither not to suffer, but to wrest the keys of hell and death out of the hands of the devil.¶ The

* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 123.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1628, 1641.

‡ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 394.

¶ Ibid. p. 502.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 495.

bishop's sermons were no sooner published to the world, than Mr. Jacob drew up a reply, entitled, "A Treatise of the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption, written against certain Errors in these points, publicly preached in London," 1598. The two principal points defended by Mr. Jacob, in this treatise, were, "That Christ suffered for us the wrath of God, which we may well term the pains of hell, or hellish sorrows. And that the soul of Christ, after his death on the cross, did not actually descend into hell." In the year 1600, he came forwards in vindication of what he had written on these points, by publishing his "Defence of a Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the work of our Redemption."*

The writings of Mr. Jacob and other puritans upon this subject, roused the attention and indignation of Queen Elizabeth, who commanded the bishop "neither to desert the doctrine, nor let the calling which he bore in the church of God be trampled under foot by such unquiet refusers of truth and authority."† This, instead of putting them to silence, only awakened them the more, and occasioned Mr. Jacob to publish his "Survey of Christ's Sufferings for Man's Redemption: and of his descent to Hades, or Hell, for our deliverance," 1604. Prior to the publication of this last piece, it appears that Mr. Jacob removed to Amsterdam, where he was engaged in some disputes with the more rigid Brownists. The principal question then agitated, was, "Whether the church of England be a true church." This most of the Brownists denied; but it was affirmed and defended by Mr. Jacob, who was less rigid in his opinions. The particulars of this controversy may be collected from a book entitled "A Defence of the Church and Ministry of England, written in two Treatises against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson," 1599; a circumstantial account of which is given in another place.‡

Mr. Jacob was commonly denominated a semi-separatist. As he did not utterly refuse communion with the church of England; so he rejected all her corruptions. And once, for refusing to kneel at the sacrament, the minister prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical court; and having taken great pains to carry on the prosecution, but with little success, he asked the bishop what he should do, who told him to go home,

* Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 394, 395.

† *Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 311. Edit. 1778.

‡ See Art. Francis Johnson.

and trouble himself no more about it, but leave such kind of work to his churchwardens.* During the above debates, and about the year last mentioned, Mr. Jacob settled at Middleburg, in Zealand; where he collected a church among the English exiles, over which he continued pastor for several years. Though he considered the church of England to be a true church, he believed there were many things in her discipline and worship, which, savouring too much of the church of antichrist, stood in need of reformation. Accordingly, he published his thoughts upon this subject, in a treatise entitled "Reasons taken out of God's word and the best human Testimonies, proving a necessity of Reforming our Churches in England," 1604. In this work he maintains,—1. "The absolute perfection of the holy scriptures, in all matters of faith and discipline, without any human traditions.—2. That the ministry and ceremonies of the church of England stood in need of reformation.—3. That for two hundred years after Christ, the churches of Christ were not *diocesan* churches, but *congregational*.—4. That the New Testament contains a particular form of church government.—5. That this form of church government is not changeable by man; and, therefore, no other form is lawful." The book was dedicated to King James.†

About the year 1610, Mr. Jacob performed a journey to Leyden, where he enjoyed much familiar intercourse with Mr. John Robinson, and embraced his opinions relative to church government, since known by the name of Independence.‡ This change in his sentiments appears to have been the effect of cool and deliberate inquiry; and he published to the world the result of his convictions, in a treatise entitled "The Divine beginning and institution of Christ's true, visible, and material Church," 1610. Soon after the publication of this piece at Leyden, he returned to his charge at Middleburg. The following year he drew up another treatise, designed to explain and confirm the former one, entitled, "A Declaration and opening of certain Points, with a sound Confirmation of some others, in a Treatise entitled "*The Divine beginning, &c.*" 1611.§

Mr. Jacob, after being absent several years from his native country, returned to London in the year 1616. There he formed a design of raising a separate congregation, similar to those in Holland; and communicated his intention

* Paget's Heresiography, p. 72.

† Strype's Whitgift, p. 566.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 47, 100.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 395.

to Mr. Dod, Mr. Throgmorton, and some other learned puritans, who, seeing no prospect of a reformation of the national church, expressed their approbation of his design. He accordingly called several of his friends together, when he obtained their consent to unite in church fellowship for a purer administration of divine ordinances; and it is generally supposed, though Mr. Edwards asserts the contrary,* that he laid the foundation of the first *independent* or congregational church in England. The method of proceeding on this occasion was as follows:— Having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, for the blessing of God upon their undertaking, each member of the society made a public confession of his faith in Jesus Christ. Then standing together, they joined hands, and *solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make known to them.* Mr. Jacob was chosen their pastor by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and proper persons were chosen to the office of deacons, with fasting and prayer, and the imposition of hands. About the same time, our divine published “A Protestation or Confession, in the name of certain Christians, shewing how far they agreed with the Church of England, and wherein they differed, with the reasons of their Dissent drawn from Scripture,” 1616. To this was added a petition to the king for the toleration of such christians. This was soon after followed by another piece, entitled, “A Collection of sound Reasons, shewing how necessary it is for all Christians to walk in all the ways and ordinances of God in purity, and in a right way.”†

Mr. Jacob continued with his congregation about eight years; but, in 1624, being desirous to extend his usefulness, he, with the consent of his church, went to Virginia, where he soon after died, aged sixty-one years. Mr. John Lathorp, another distinguished puritan, succeeded him in the pastoral charge of his church in London. In addition to the articles already mentioned, Mr. Jacob was author of the following works:—“A Position against vain-glorious, and that which is falsely called, learned Preaching,” 1604.—“A Christian and modest Offer of Conference with the Prelates,” 1606.—“A Counterpoison,” 1608.—“A plain and clear Exposition of the Second Commandment,” 1610.

Mr. Jacob had a son of the same name, a man of

* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 165.

† Neal's *Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 100, 101.

uncommon erudition, and entirely devoted to literary pursuits, but totally ignorant of the world. He was innocent, harmless, and careless, and lived principally on the benefactions of friends, particularly the celebrated Mr. Selden. He died at Canterbury in September, 1652.*

JOHN ROBINSON.—This celebrated puritan was born in the year 1575, educated in the university of Cambridge, and beneficed near Yarmouth. In the year 1602, a number of people in that part of the country, finding their ministers urged with illegal subscription, or silenced, and themselves grievously oppressed in the ecclesiastical courts; and discovering, at the same time, numerous popish relics and superstitions retained in the church of England, they were led to a total separation from the ecclesiastical establishment, and to organize churches according to their views of the model laid down in the New Testament. They entered into a covenant with each other, "to walk with God and one another, in the enjoyment of God's ordinances, according to the primitive pattern, whatever it might cost them." Among the ministers who entered into this association was Mr. Robinson, who became pastor of one of their churches.†

Mr. Robinson and his people having renounced the antichristian yoke, and being resolved to enjoy liberty of conscience, and worship God without the impositions of men, the spirit of persecution came against them with renewed fury. Besides the trial of cruel mockings, they were watched by officers, and often imprisoned, or obliged to flee from their houses and means of subsistence. Under these cruel oppressions they groaned about seven or eight years, assembling together in private houses as they found opportunity. In this deplorable situation, many of them, who were almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts, resolved, with joint consent, to seek an asylum in Holland, where they understood they could enjoy religious liberty. Hard, indeed, was their lot, to leave their dwellings, their lands and relatives, to become exiles in a strange land! Though persecuted, they were not destroyed; though distressed, their zeal and courage did not forsake them; and though in

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 395.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 179. Edit. 1778.

† Morse's *American Geog.* p. 150. Edit. 1792.—Morse and Parish's *New England*, p. 6.

trouble, trusting in God, they were not dismayed. They made no disturbance in the state, but were peaceable members of society. Yet, because they could not in conscience submit to unscriptural impositions, nor bow their necks to the yoke of human inventions, they were loaded with heavy fines and forfeitures; nay, hunted about like partridges on the mountains, and persecuted as pests of society.

Though the pastor and his people were determined to remove into the Low Countries, another affliction, still more unreasonable, if possible, presented itself to them. Their enemies watched them continually, and did every thing in their power to prevent their departure. The ports and harbours were narrowly watched; and strict orders were given, by authority, not to suffer them to go. What a painful situation were they in! They were not suffered to live in peace at home, nor allowed to go where they could enjoy peace. They could effect their escape only by secret means, having to bribe the mariners; and even then they were often betrayed, their property seized, and themselves punished. The following facts, extracted from the original record belonging to the church at Plymouth in New England, will shew how distressing was their situation:

A large company, intending to embark at Boston in Lincolnshire, hired a ship, and agreed with the master to take them on board on a certain day, and at an appointed place. They were punctual to the engagement; yet he kept not the day, but finally came and took them on board in the night: then, having previously agreed with the searchers and other officers, he delivered the passengers and goods to them. These persons immediately put them in boats, rifled and searched them even "to their shirts;" and treating the women with indelicacy and rudeness, carried them back to the town, where they were made spectacles of public scorn to the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to behold them. They were then taken before the magistrates, and cast into prison, where they continued for a month, and some of them much longer; while others were bound over to the next assizes.

The following spring Mr. Robinson and his friends made another attempt to get away. They made known their situation to a Dutch captain, and agreed with him to carry them to Holland. He was to take them from a large common between Grimsby and Hull, a place remote from

any town. The women, children, and goods, were sent to the place in a small barque; the men travelled by land; but the barque arriving a day before the ship, the sea being rough, and the women very sick, the scamen put into a small creek. The next morning the ship came, but the barque was aground. That no time might be lost, the captain sent his boat to receive some of the men who were on shore. As the boat was returning for more, the captain saw a great company of horse and foot coming armed from the country; at which he weighed anchor, hoisted sail, and having a fair wind, was soon out of sight. The men on board were thus separated from their wives and children, without a change of garments, or money in their pockets. Tears flowed from their eyes, but tears were in vain. They were soon after tossed in a most terrible storm, and driven on the coast of Norway. They saw neither sun, moon, nor stars, for seven days. The mariners despaired of obtaining relief, and once they supposed the ship actually going down; when, with shrieks and cries, they exclaimed, *We sink, we sink.* The puritan passengers, in this scene of horror and desperation, without any great distraction, cried, "Yet, Lord, thou canst save: yet, Lord, thou canst save;" with similar expressions. The ship soon after recovered herself; the fury of the storm presently abated; and they safely arrived in Holland.

Mr. Robi son and some others of them, having, like valiant generals, remained to see the feeblest safe on board, were left on shore. The men escaped, excepting those who voluntarily stayed to assist the women and children. Here was a scene of distress: husbands and fathers torn from their wives and children, and carried into a foreign country; children crying with fear, and shivering with cold! What could sustain the mother's breaking heart? Charity or humanity would have pitied and cheered the weeping throng! But charity and humanity were not there. Persecution raised her cruel voice, terrible as death; and hurried them from one place to another, from one officer to another, till their enemies were tired of their victory. To imprison so many innocent women and children, would have excited public odium. Homes they had none; for they had disposed of their property. Their unfeeling oppressors were, at length, glad to get rid of them.*

From these multiplied sufferings the whole company

* Morse and Parish's New England, p. 7, 8.—Evangelical Magazine, vol. vi. p. 312, 313.

derived much advantage. Their meekness and christian deportment made a favourable and deep impression on the hearts of many spectators, which produced considerable accessions to their number. By courage and perseverance they all finally crossed the sea, and united with their friends, according to the desire of their hearts, in grateful praises to God. Upon their arrival at Amsterdam, in the year 1608, Mr. Robinson's first concern was to arrange their church affairs in regular order. Mr. John Smyth and his church, having arrived before them, were now involved in contention; and the controversy was carried on with so much warmth, that Amsterdam proved too hot for the gentle spirit of Mr. Robinson; who, with the people of his charge, having continued there about a year, removed to Leyden.* There they enjoyed the blessing of religious liberty, and, with the leave of the magistrates, hired a meeting-house, and worshipped God publicly in their own way. In this removal, they acted upon the most noble principle: for, though they expected less employment and profit at Leyden than at the capital, they cheerfully sacrificed their worldly interest, in hopes of being more free from temptations, and of peaceably enjoying the blessings of the gospel. Religion was always the first object in all their calculations and arrangements. They engaged in such trades and employments as they could execute, and soon obtained a comfortable subsistence. They had great comfort in each other's society, and great satisfaction in the ordinances of the gospel, under the able ministry of Mr. Robinson. They grew in gifts and graces; and lived in peace, and love, and holiness.†

Mr. Robinson set out on the most rigid principles of Brownism; but having seen more of the world, and conversed with learned men, particularly Dr. Ames, he became more moderate, and struck out a middle way betwixt the Brownists and presbyterians. Though he always maintained the lawfulness and necessity of separating from the reformed churches where he resided, he was far from denying them to be true churches. He even admitted their members to occasional communion, and allowed his own people to unite with the Dutch churches in prayer and hearing the word, though not in the sacraments and discipline. This procured him the character of a *semi-separatist*.‡ He objected against the imposition of the liturgy, the

* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 24—27.

† Morse and Parish's New England, p. 9.

‡ Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 17.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 46, 47.

government of the bishops, and the mixed communion in the church of England; and maintained that every particular church or society of christians had complete power within itself to choose its own officers, to administer all gospel ordinances, and to exercise all needful authority and discipline over its members: consequently, that it was *independent* of all classis, synods, convocations, and councils. "This we hold and affirm," says he, "that a company consisting but of two or three gathered by a covenant to walk in all the ways of God, is a church, and so hath the whole power of Christ. Two or three, thus gathered together, have the same right with two or three thousand: neither the smallness of their numbers, nor the meanness of their persons, can prejudice their rights."* He allowed the expediency of those grave assemblies for reconciling differences among churches, by giving them friendly advice; but not for exercising any act of authority whatever, without the free consent of the churches themselves.† These are some of the principles by which the *independents* are distinguished in the present day.

Mr. Robinson and his congregation were no sooner settled at Leyden, than their number greatly increased. Many came to his church from various parts of England; and their congregation became so large, that they had three hundred communicants.‡ If at any time the sparks of contention were kindled, they were immediately extinguished; or if any one proved obstinate, he was excommunicated: but this rarely happened. "Perhaps this church," adds our historian, "approached as near the pattern of apostolic churches as any since the first ages of christianity; and this has been its general character to the present time. The integrity and piety of its members procured them esteem and confidence in a land of strangers. Though many of them were poor, when they wished to borrow money, the Dutch would readily take their word, because they always found them punctual to fulfil their engagements. They saw them incessantly laborious in their callings, and therefore preferred them as customers: they found them honest, and therefore gave the preference to their work."§

While these worthy exiles so greatly increased in num-

* Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 39.

† Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 73, 74.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 52.—Backus's New Eng. Baptists, vol. i. p. 32.

§ Morse and Parish's New England, p. 9.

bers, they lived in great friendship and harmony among themselves and their neighbours. Though a certain scurrilous writer is pleased to insinuate that by their broils and divisions they were reduced to a very small number; * yet nothing can be more directly opposed to the concurrent testimony of the best historians than this account. † Just before they left the city of Leyden, the magistrates, from the seat of justice, gave this honourable testimony of their worth. In addressing the Walloons, who were the French church, "These English," say they, "have lived among us now these ten years, and we never had any suit or accusation against them, or against any of them." ‡

Mr. Robinson and his people, having sojourned in a strange land about nine or ten years, began to think of removing to America, but could not accomplish their purpose till the year 1620. Having one great object, the interest of religion, constantly impressed on their minds, and pursuing it with unabating ardour, it was natural for them to think of changing their residence, as new and favourable prospects opened to their view. Considering that they enjoyed the comforts of evangelical instruction only from the courtesy of strangers, they were unwilling to possess so precious a jewel upon so precarious a tenure. Their removal, therefore, was not the effect of a fickle disposition, but the result of undaunted perseverance for the attainment of that great end, which absorbed all other considerations. They were animated with the hope of carrying the gospel to pagan countries, and of becoming instruments of salvation to many souls ready to perish. Numerous other reasons imperiously enforced the measure. § The business was the subject of mature consideration. They were peculiarly anxious to preserve their religion, and promote its future prosperity, now in danger of being scattered and lost in a strange land. In their own country, they knew there was not the least prospect of a reformation, nor even of a toleration of such as dissented from the national church. After spending many days in solemn addresses to God for direction, it was at length resolved, that part of the congregation should transport themselves to America; where they might enjoy liberty of conscience,

* Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 54.

† Morton's New England's Memorial, p. 2.—Morse's American Geog. p. 150.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. i. p. 6.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 3, 4.

and be able to encourage their friends and countrymen to follow them. They, accordingly, sent over agents to England, who, having obtained a patent from the crown,* agreed with several respectable merchants and friends to become adventurers in the undertaking. Several of Mr. Robinson's congregation sold their estates, and made a common bank, with which they purchased a small ship of sixty tons, and hired another of one hundred and eighty. The agents sailed into Holland with their own ship, to take in as many as were willing to embark, while the other vessel was freighting necessaries for the new plantation. All things being in readiness for their departure, Mr. Robinson, with his congregation, observed a day of fasting and prayer, when he preached an excellent sermon from *Ezra, viii. 21. I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He then concluded with the following truly generous and christian exhortation.

“ Brethren,

“ We are now quickly to depart from one
 “ another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces
 “ upon earth any more, the God of heaven only knows ;
 “ but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge
 “ you before God and his blessed angels, that you follow
 “ me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord
 “ Jesus Christ. If God reveal any thing to you by any
 “ other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever
 “ you were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I am
 “ verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more
 “ truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my
 “ part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the
 “ reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion,
 “ and will at present go no further than the instruments of
 “ their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go
 “ beyond what Luther saw : whatever part of his will our
 “ good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die
 “ than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast
 “ where they were left by that great man of God, who
 “ yet saw not all things.

“ This is a misery much to be lamented. For though
 “ they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet

* Though these adventurers were at great trouble and expense in obtaining his majesty's royal patent, they never made any use of it.—*Prince's Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 65.

“ they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God : but
 “ were they now living, would be as willing to embrace
 “ further light, as that which they first received. I beseech
 “ you, remember it is an article of your church covenant,
 “ *That you be ready to receive whatever truth may be made*
 “ *known to you from the written word of God.* Remember
 “ *that,* and every other article of your sacred covenant.
 “ But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you
 “ receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it
 “ with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it. For
 “ it is not possible the christian world should come so
 “ lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that
 “ perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

“ I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake
 “ off the name of BROWNISTS. It is a mere nick-name, and
 “ a brand for making religion, and the professors of it,
 “ odious to the christian world.”

On July 1, 1620, this small band of christian adventurers, in number one hundred and one,† went from Leyden to Delft Haven, to which place Mr. Robinson and the elders of the church accompanied them. They continued together all night ; and the next morning, after mutual embraces, Mr. Robinson kneeled down on the sea-shore, and with fervent prayer, committed them to the protection and blessing of heaven.‡ The leader of this new colony was Mr. William Brewster, a man admirably well qualified for the post which he occupied.§ After the affecting and

* Neal's New England, vol. i. p. 74—79.

† Neal, by mistake, says their number was one hundred and twenty.—*Ibid.* p. 89.—*Prince's Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 103.—*Evangelical Mag.* vol. vi. p. 314.

‡ Morton's Memorial, p. 6.

§ Mr. William Brewster received a learned education in the university of Cambridge. His first employment was in the service of Mr. Davison, secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, with whom he went over to Holland, and was entrusted with affairs of great importance, particularly with the keys of the cautionary towns. He afterwards lived much respected in his own country, till the severity of the times obliged him to return to Holland. He was ruling elder of Mr. Robinson's church previous to its leaving England, and bore his share of hardships with the rest of his brethren. In this office he continued with great honour, during their twelve years truce in Holland. When he was sixty years of age, he had the courage and resolution to put himself at the head of the colony, which peopled New England. They sailed from Delft Haven, July 2, 1620, as observed above ; and after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived at Cape Cod, on the coast of New England, November 9th following. Upon their first settlement, they divided the land by lot, according to the number of persons in each family ; and having agreed upon some general laws, chose a governor, and called the name of the place New PLYMOUTH. Inexpressible were the hardships which they underwent during the first winter. The fatigues of

painful separation, Mr. Robinson, as a father in Israel, wrote a most affectionate and faithful letter to the adventurers ; which they received at Southampton, and read to the whole company, to their great comfort and encouragement. In addressing them, he says, " I am present in my best affections and most earnest longings after you. God knows how willingly and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my first part in this first brunt, were I not held back by strong necessity. Make account of me in the mean time, as a man divided in himself with great pain, having my better part with you. And though I doubt not of your godly wisdom, I think it my duty to add some words of advice ; if not because you *need* it, yet because I *owe* it in love and duty." He then proceeds to give them the most affectionate and salutary instructions. He urges them to repentance for all known sins, and generally for all that are unknown, lest God should swallow them up in his judgments. He then exhorts them to exercise a holy jealousy and serious watchfulness over their own hearts ; to avoid giving or receiving offences ; to cultivate forbearance and love one towards another ; and to manage all their affairs with discretion, and by mutual agreement. He urges them to have a proper regard for the general good ; to avoid " as a deadly plague, all private respect for themselves ;" and to shew a due respect and obedience to the magistrates whom they should elect to rule over them. He observes, " that he would not so far wrong their godly minds as to think them heedless of other things, which he could say ;" and concludes by expressing his earnest and incessant prayers to God for them.*

Mr. Robinson intended to accompany the remaining part

the late voyage, the severity of the weather, and the want of the necessaries of life, occasioned a sad mortality, and swept away half the colony ; and of those who remained alive, not above six or seven at a time were capable of helping the rest. But as the spring returned, they began to recover ; and, receiving some fresh supplies from England, they maintained their station, and laid the foundation of one of the noblest settlements in America, which afterwards proved a comfortable asylum for protestant nonconformists under all their oppressions. Mr. Brewster shared the fatigues and hardships of the infant colony with the utmost bravery. He was not an ordained minister ; but being a man of considerable learning, eminent gifts, and great piety, he preached to them about seven years, till they could provide themselves with a pastor. He was held in the greatest respect both by the magistrates and the people ; and after suffering much in the cause of the Redeemer, he died in peace, April 18, 1643, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.—*Morton's Memorial*, p. 117, 118.—*Neal's New England*, vol. i. p. 211, 212.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 122.—*Morse and Parish's New England*, p. 7—9.

* *Morton's Memorial*, p. 6—9.

of his congregation to America; but before he could accomplish his design, it pleased God to remove him to a better world. He died March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. The life of this amiable man, both in public and private, exhibited a fair transcript of those numerous virtues which elevate and adorn the human character. He possessed a strong mind, cultivated by a good education. In his younger days, he was distinguished for good sense and solid learning; and as his mind, under the influence of divine grace, began to expand, he acquired that moderate and pacific temper for which he was celebrated among christians of different denominations. His uncommon probity and diffusive benevolence highly recommended him to the Dutch ministers and professors, with whom he lived in the most perfect harmony. They lamented his death as a public loss; and as a testimony of their esteem and affection, though he was not of their communion, the magistrates, ministers, professors, and many of the citizens, honoured his funeral solemnities with their presence. Mr. Robinson was an admirable disputant; as appears by his public disputation in the university of Leyden, when the Arminian controversy agitated and divided the churches in Holland. The famous Episcopius having given out a public challenge to defend his Arminian tenets against all opponents, the learned Polydore and the chief ministers of the city urged Mr. Robinson to engage in a public disputation. But he, being a stranger, and of so mild and peaceable a spirit, signified his unwillingness; but by their repeated solicitations, he at length consented. "In the issue," our author observes, "he so defended the truth, and so foiled the opposer, putting him to a nonplus in three successive disputations, that it procured him much honour and respect from men of learning and piety."* The attachment which subsisted betwixt Mr. Robinson and his people was very great. "Such was the mutual love and respect which he had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it was hard to judge whether he was delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor." His death was, therefore, a serious loss to the remaining branch of his church at Leyden. Most of them, however, after a few years, joined their brethren in New England; among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to ninety years of age, and left a posterity in

* Prince's Chronological Hist. vol. i. p. 38.

the county of Barnstaple.* Mr. Robinson's church at Leyden was the first INDEPENDENT church since the reformation.

His WORKS.—1. A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, against Bernard, 1610.—2. Remarks on Mr. Smyth's Confession of Faith, 1614.—3. A Treatise on Communion, 1614.—4. People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecie, 1618.—5. *Apologia justa et necessaria Christianorum, æque contumeliose ac communitæ dictorum Brownistarum ac Barrowistarum*, 1619.—This was translated in 1644.—6. An Appendix to Mr. Perkins's Six Principles of the Christian Religion, 1641.—He probably wrote some others.

RICHARD STOCK, A. M.—This worthy divine was born in the city of York, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; where, on account of his great ingenuity, industry and progress in learning, he was much beloved by the famous Dr. Whitaker. Leaving the university, he became domestic chaplain first to Sir Anthony Cope, of Ashby in Northamptonshire,+ then to Lady Lane, of Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire. Afterwards, he became assistant to Mr. Thomas Edmunds, vicar of Alhallows, Bread-street, London; where his labours were particularly acceptable and useful. He continued for sixteen years to assist Mr. Edmunds, at whose death he accepted the pastoral charge, and continued sixteen years more, even to the end of his days. His labours were made a signal blessing to the people. Great numbers were converted, comforted, and established under his ministry. He was the means of bringing many persons to a saving knowledge of the truth, who afterwards became celebrated ministers of the gospel. Though many ministers preached to others, and not to themselves, Mr. Stock practised what he preached. His life was one uniform practical comment upon his doctrine. He was much beloved, revered and honoured; and always faithful and courageous in reproofing sin.

Mr. Stock having in his younger years preached at Paul's cross, he spoke with considerable freedom against

* Morton's Memorial, p. 63.—Morse's American Geog. p. 156, 157.—Morse and Parish's New England, p. 30.

+ Sir Anthony Cope signalized himself in the cause of religious liberty, and was a constant friend to the persecuted nonconformists. He was Burgess for Banbury in Oxfordshire; and, in the parliament of 1586, he offered a bill to the house of commons, to abolish all the penal and disgraceful laws against the puritans, to set aside the Book of Common Prayer, and to adopt a fresh one, not liable to so many exceptions. The bill was warmly supported by several able statesmen, but was rejected by the superiority of the court party.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 377. (4.)

the iniquities of the city; which some persons took so ill, that they charged him with rashness, and called him *Green-head*. Towards the close of life, having to preach at the election of the lord mayor, he particularly enlarged upon the same topic, and said, "that a *Gray-head* now spoke the same things that a *Green-head* had formerly done." The end of his labours was the beginning of his rest; and having finished his work, he was called to receive his gracious reward. He died April 20, 1626. He was a person of good learning, excellent talents for the pulpit, and an example to his people in conversation, in charity, in faith, in purity.* Wood denominates him "a constant and judicious preacher, a pious minister, and a zealous puritan and reformer of the profanation of the sabbath."† His remains were interred in Alhallows church, where the following monumental inscription was afterwards erected to his memory:‡

To the sacred MEMORY
of that worthy and faithful servant of Christ,
Master RICHARD STOCK;
who after thirty-two years spent in the ministry,
wherein by his learned labours,
joined with his wisdom,
and a most holy life,
God's glory was much advanced,
his church edified,
piety increased,
and the true honour of a pastor's place maintained;
deceased April 20, 1626.
Some of his loving parishioners
have consecrated
this Monument of their never-dying love,
Jan. 28, 1628.

Thy livelesse trunk (O Reverend Stocke)
Like Aaron's rod, sprouts out again;
And, after two full winters past,
Yields blossoms and ripe fruit amaine,

For why, this worke of piety,
Performed by some of thy flocke
To thy dead corps and sacred urne,
Is but the fruit of this old Stocke.

There was another Mr. Richard Stock, who lived about the same time, rector of Kirk-Eaton in Yorkshire, where he

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 61—66.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 774.

‡ Stow's Survey of London, b. iiii. p. 300.

left a standing monument of his piety and charity, by the erection and endowment of a free-school. It does not, however, appear whether he was any relation to our learned divine.*

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Doctrine and Use of Repentance*, 1610.—2. *A Sermon at the Funeral of John Lord Harrington*, 1614.—3. *Commentary on Malachi*, 1641.—4. *Stock of Divine Knowledge*, 1641.—5. *Truth's Companion*.

ANTHONY WOTTON, B. D.—This learned person was born in London, and educated first at Eton school, then at King's college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees. Being a person of considerable reputation, he became fellow of the college, and was for some time chaplain to the Earl of Essex. Upon the death of Dr. Whitaker, in the year 1596, he stood as candidate for the king's professorship of divinity at Cambridge; but Dr. Overall, by a superior interest, carried the election. Mr. Wotton, notwithstanding this, was highly applauded in the university.†

He was, during the above year, chosen first professor of divinity in Gresham college. Also, upon the resignation of his professorship, he was chosen lecturer of Alhallows Barking, London. Here he met with some trouble on account of his nonconformity. Having used this expression, "Lord, open thou the eyes of the king, that he may be resolved in the truth, without respect to antiquity," his words were supposed to insinuate, "that the king was *blind*, *wavering*, and *inclined to popery*."‡ For this, therefore, with some other things, he was silenced by Archbishop Bancroft.§

Mr. Wotton, on account of his views of the doctrine of justification, fell under the displeasure of some of the

* Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 66.

† Fuller's *Hist. of Camb.* p. 152. ‡ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 39.

§ Archbishop Bancroft was a stout and zealous champion for the church, which, it is said, he learnedly and ably defended to the confusion of its enemies. Clarendon says, "that he had an excellent knowledge of the church; that he almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, that he very much subdued the unruly spirit of the nonconformists, and that his death could never be sufficiently lamented." Fuller says, "it is confessed that he was most stiff and stern in pressing conformity, which he did very fiercely throughout all his province." Collier says, "his unrelenting strictness gave a new face to religion. The liturgy was more solemnly observed; the fasts and festivals were more regarded; the use of copes was revived; the surplice generally worn; and all things in a manner recovered to the first settlement under Queen Elizabeth. Some who had formerly subscribed in a loose, reserved sense, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close, unevasive terms: so that now there

London ministers. His chief antagonist was Mr. George Walker, another zealous puritan, who, having opposed him for some time with great zeal, as a follower of Socinus, charged him with heresy and blasphemy; and sent him a letter, dated May 2, 1614, desiring a conference before eight learned divines to be chosen by both parties. They accordingly met for the purpose; Messrs. Walker, Stock, Downham, Westfield, and Gouge, on the one part; and Messrs. Wotton, Balmeford, Randall, Hicks, and Gataker, on the other. But the matters in dispute not being adjusted at that time, they had a second conference. In order to a better settlement of the points in controversy, Mr. Gataker proposed that Mr. Walker should set down in writing the heretical and blasphemous positions of Socinus, and Mr. Wotton's erroneous assertions as agreeing with them; that when they assembled they might the more readily come to a conclusion. Both parties agreed to the proposal. Upon their second meeting, after some debate, it was their unanimous opinion, that Mr. Wotton had not maintained any heresy or blasphemy whatsoever; which they accordingly subscribed under their own hands. The persons who attended the second conference, and who subscribed this declaration, were those mentioned above, excepting Mr. Baylie in the place of Mr. Westfield.*

Mr. Wotton was concerned in the controversy with Dr. Montague, afterwards bishop of Chichester; who, in a work

was no room left for scruples and different persuasion." Warner says, that he filled the see of Canterbury "with no extraordinary reputation about six years. He was naturally of a rough uncourtly temper, which was heightened by his great authority in the high commission. He had extremely high notions of government in church and state. He was most certainly a greater friend to prerogative than to liberty." By some he was charged with covetousness and want of hospitality, which occasioned the following satire upon his death:

Here lies his grace, in cold clay clad,
Who died for want of what he had.

According to Rapin, "Bancroft never ceased to plague the puritans, and never ceased incensing the king against them, doing them all the mischief he could. Herein he was too closely imitated by the rest of the bishops, who found a double advantage in destroying the puritans. He is also accused of having been one of the most zealous to instil into the king the maxims of arbitrary power." He is styled "a great persecutor and silencer of hundreds of most godly, conscientious, preaching ministers;" and is said to have lived an evil life, and died a fearful death.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 339.—*Clarendon's Hist.* vol. i. p. 68.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 55, 57.—*Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 687.—*Warner's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 496.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 163, 176.—*Prynne's Antipathic of English Prelacie*, part i. p. 152, 239. Edlt. 1641.

* Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 39.

entitled "Appello Cæsarem," declared himself in favour of Arminianism, and made dangerous advances towards popery. The doctor's book was no sooner published than it met with a host of opponents. Dr. Featly, Dr. Sutcliff, Mr. Rouse, Mr. Burton, Mr. Yates, Bishop Carlton, and Mr. Wotton, sent forth answers to it: * but the last contained the strongest arguments, and the most solid refutation. "Dean Sutcliff is said to have chode heartily, Mr. Rouse meant honestly, Mr. Burton wrote plainly, Mr. Yates learnedly, Bishop Carlton very piously, but Mr. Wotton most solidly." †

Mr. Wotton did not long survive this last performance; for he died in London, December 11, 1626. He was a great scholar, an excellent preacher, and a zealous advocate for a further reformation of the church. He wrote an elegant Latin style, and is very justly placed among the learned writers of King's college, Cambridge. ‡ Mr. Gataker denominates him, "a worthy servant of God, whom," says he, "I always revered while he lived, as a man deserving of singular respect for his piety, learning, and zeal in the cause of God, which his works do sufficiently manifest, and will testify to posterity. §

HIS WORKS.—1. An Answer to a popish Pamphlet of late newly furnished, and the second time printed, entitled, 'Certain Articles or for-

* Wood's *Athene Oxon.* vol. i. p. 442.

† Dr. Richard Montague was a divine who, in the reign of Charles I., zealously promoted arbitrary power; and, for publishing sentiments tending to the disturbance of church and state, he was accused to the commons in parliament, and convened and examined before the bar of the house. The proceedings of the commons displeased the king; for, as Montague was one of his chaplains, he pretended that this was an encroachment upon his prerogative. He expressed his displeasure at the commons, and took occasion, by the instigation of Bishop Laud, the king's most intimate counsellor, to bring the cause before the council, and, by this means, to stop the prosecution. Notwithstanding this, Montague was summoned a second time before the commons, and severely reprimanded. His cause was recommended to the Duke of Buckingham, by Bishops Laud, Buckridge, and Howson, who observed, "That learned men ought to be left to abound in their own sense, it being the great fault of the council of Trent to require subscription to school-opinions." Afterwards, a committee of the commons reported to the house, that Montague's "Appeal," and several other of his pieces, contained erroneous papistical and Arminian opinions, repugnant to the articles of the church of England; among which were the following:—"That the church of Rome hath ever remained firm upon the same foundation of sacraments and doctrines instituted by God. That images may be used for the instruction of the ignorant, and excitation of devotion. That men justified may fall away, and depart from the state of grace." Notwithstanding these censures, he was promoted by the king to the bishopric of Winchester!—Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 121.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 240, 244, 276.

‡ Fuller's *Hist. of Camb.* p. 75.

§ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 40—42.

cible Reasons,' &c., 1606.—2. A Defence of Mr. Perkins's Booke, called, 'A Reformed Catholicke,' against the cavils of a popish writer, one D. B. P. or, W. B. in his 'Deformed Reformation,' 1606.—3. The Tryal of the Roman Clergy's title to the Church, 1608.—4. Sermons on part of Chap. i. of St. John's Gospel, 1609.—5. Runne from Rome; or, the Necessity of separating from that Church, 1624.—6. De Reconciliationi Peccatoris, 1624.—7. An Answer to a Book, entitled *Appello Casarem*, written by Mr. Richard Montague, 1626.—8. The Art of Logic, 1626. This last is a translation of Ramus's Logic.

RICHARD ROTHWELL.—This learned and zealous puritan was born at Bolton in Lancashire, in the year 1563, and educated in the university of Cambridge. Having spent many years in academical pursuits, he entered upon the work of the ministry, and was ordained presbyter by Achbishop Whitgift. The archbishop, on this occasion, forbade him attempting any interpretation of the types of Moses, the book of Canticles, Daniel, and Revelation; and, at that time, he exactly agreed with his lordship. Though he possessed an amiable natural temper, great intellectual endowments, and other ornamental accomplishments, they were only as so many weapons in the hands of a madman. He continued several years a stranger to religion, when he preached learnedly, but lived in profaneness, addicting himself to hunting, bowling, shooting, and filthy and profane conversation. We are told, that in Lancashire there were two knights at variance with each other; one having a good park, with an excellent store of deer; the other good fish-ponds, with an excellent store of fish; and that he used to gratify himself by robbing the park of the one, and presenting his booty to the other, and the fish-ponds of the other, and presenting the fish to his adversary. On one of these occasions, it is added, the keeper caught him in the very act of killing a buck, when they fell from words to blows; but Mr. Rothwell, being tall and lusty, got the keeper down, and bound him by both his thumbs to a tree, with his toes only touching the ground, in which situation he was found next morning.* Such were the base follies by which he was gratified in the days of his vanity.

While in the midst of his career in sin, it pleased God, who separated him from his mother's womb, and called him by his grace, to reveal his Son in him. This change was produced in the following manner: As Mr. Rothwell was

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 67, 68.

playing at bowls on a Saturday, among papists and profane gentlemen, at Rochdale in Lancashire, Mr. Midgley, the grave and pious vicar of the place, came upon the green; and, calling him on one side, expressed his great regret that he was the companion of papists, even on a *Saturday*, when he ought to have been preparing for the exercises of the sabbath: but Mr. Rothwell slighted what he said, and checked him for intermeddling. The good old man, being exceedingly grieved, went home, retired into his study, and prayed earnestly to God for him. Mr. Rothwell had no sooner left the bowling-green than Mr. Midgley's words stuck fast in his conscience. He could find no rest. The day following he went to hear Mr. Midgley preach in Rochdale church, when it pleased God so to bless the word, that he was thoroughly awakened to a sense of his sins. Under his painful convictions he went to Mr. Midgley after sermon, thanked him for his seasonable reproof, and desired his further instruction, with an interest in his prayers. Having continued under spiritual bondage for some time, he at length, by the instrumentality of Mr. Midgley, was made partaker of the liberty of the sons of God; the assurance of which he retained to the end of his days. Though he was often exercised by the severe assaults of Satan, his heavenly Father, in whom he trusted, always made a way for his escape. This important change being effected, Mr. Rothwell gave his worldly estates among his friends, and devoted himself wholly to the ministry of the word, ever esteeming Mr. Midgley as his spiritual father.*

Mr. Rothwell, having tasted that the Lord was gracious, began to preach the gospel by the assistance of the Holy Ghost. He so unfolded the depths of Satan's devices, and the treachery of the human heart, that he was soon denominated *the rough hewer*. His zealous and faithful ministry was accompanied by the power and blessing of God. When he preached the terrors of the law, sinners trembled, and sometimes cried aloud; and when he preached the glad tidings of the gospel, sweet consolation was applied to their afflicted consciences.

He was chaplain to a regiment under the Earl of Essex, in his expedition against the rebels in Ireland. About the same time, he was induced to examine, with an unbiassed mind, the grounds of conformity to the established church. The result of his impartial investigation was, he became an

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 67, 68.

avowed puritan, and a conscientious nonconformist. He is said to have soon become so deeply versed in this controversy, that he satisfied many, and silenced all who disputed with him. He was so thoroughly fixed in his principles, and in such constant expectation of troubles on account of his conscientious scruples, that he would never marry. His common observation was, *persecution is the pledge of future happiness*. On the same account he would never accept of any benefice, though many rich livings were offered him. He was many years a lecturer at a chapel in Lancashire, and afterwards domestic chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire. During the severe persecutions raised by the bishops, as he enjoyed no living, he had none to lose. He used pleasantly to say, *my head is too big to get into the church*. He was frequently called before the prelates, especially Bishop Neile, with whom he had several contests about nonconformity.*

By the recommendation of Lady Bowes, afterwards Lady Darcy, a person celebrated for piety and liberality,† Mr. Rothwell removed to Barnard-Castle, in the county of Durham. When the good lady expressed her fears about his going among these rude and fierce people, he replied, "Madam, if I thought I should not meet the devil, I would not go: he and I have been at odds in other places, and I hope we shall not agree there." The worthy lady therefore consented, allowing him forty pounds a year; and the people, upon whom God wrought by his ministry, further contributed to his support; but he would not receive a farthing of any others. Being once on a journey, Sir Talbot Bowes made a collection for him among the people, amounting to thirty pounds; but when he came home, he caused it to be returned to the persons who had contributed, saying, "he sought not *theirs* but *them*."

Upon his first settlement among these rude people, he had many difficulties to encounter: he met with much opposition; and they even sought to take away his life. By faithful perseverance in the duties of his calling, his greatest enemies afterwards feared him; and the blessing of the Lord was so wonderfully poured forth upon his labours, that he seldom preached a sermon which did not bring some poor wandering sinner to God. Many vain gentlemen from a distance

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 69.

† This excellent lady expended one thousand pounds a year in support of destitute ministers. Her preachers were all silenced nonconformists. She obtained liberty for many of them when confined in prison; then sent them into the north, the Peak in Derbyshire, or those places where their labours were most wanted, allowing them a comfortable support.—*Ibid*.

came to hear him, with a view to find fault, make sport, and accuse him; who returned home convinced of their sins, inquiring what they must do to be saved. His labours were so extensively useful, that the change wrought among the people, and the good order of his congregation, became the subject of universal admiration. He was commonly denominated **THE APOSTLE OF THE NORTH.**

During Mr. Rothwell's abode at Barnard-Castle, he was deeply afflicted with a complaint in his head; and though he obtained considerable relief, he never perfectly recovered. Having laboured at this place many years, he removed to Mansfield in Nottinghamshire, where he continued preaching to the end of his days. After his removal to this place, he is said to have been concerned in casting out a devil, a curious account of which is given by our author.* During his last sickness he was deprived of the exercise of his reason, when Mr. Britain, vicar of Mansfield, waited upon him, and inquired what he then thought of conformity. In their conversation, Mr. Rothwell sometimes said one thing, and sometimes another, evidently not knowing what he said. Mr. Britain, however, propagated a report that Mr. Rothwell recanted his nonconformity. This was a most notorious calumny.

At certain intervals during his sickness, his conversation was free, cheerful, and spiritual. His friends inquiring how he did, he said, "I shall soon be well. I shall ere long be with Christ." A brother minister having prayed with him, he smiled and said, "Now I am well. Happy is he who hath not bowed his knee to Baal." He then requested those about him to sing a psalm; and while they were singing his immortal spirit took its flight to sing the song of Moses and the Lamb for ever. He died in 1627, aged sixty-four years. Mr. Rothwell possessed "a clear understanding, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and a ready utterance; and was accounted a good linguist, a subtle disputant, an excellent orator, and a learned divine."†

JOHN PRESTON, D. D.—This celebrated divine descended from the Prestons of Preston in Lancashire, was born at Heyford in Northamptonshire, in the year 1587, and educated first in King's college, and then in Queen's college, Cambridge. In the latter situation he was pupil to the pious and learned Mr. Oliver Bowles, when he made

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 72—74.

† Ibid. p. 67.

amazing progress in philosophy, and almost every other branch of polite literature. Being of an ambitious mind, and having hopes of high preferment at court, he looked upon the study of divinity as insignificant, and far beneath the attention of a great mind. In the year 1609 he was chosen fellow of his college. The Lord, who designed him to fill an important office in his church, was pleased to frustrate his aspiring thoughts. Being brought to hear Mr. John Cotton at St. Mary's church, the word of God made so deep an impression on his mind, as at once cured him of thirsting after preferment. From this time he became remarkable for true christian piety; and though he had hitherto despised the ministerial work as beneath his notice, he now directed all his studies with a view to that sacred employment.

When King James visited the university of Cambridge, Preston, being a man of such extraordinary learning, was appointed one of the disputants before his majesty. The subject of disputation was, "Whether brutes had reason, and could make syllogisms." He maintained the affirmative; as in the case of a hound, when he comes to a place where three ways meet, he tries one, then another; but, finding no scent, runs down the third with full cry, concluding that as the hare is not gone in either of the two first ways, she must necessarily be gone in the third. The argument, it is said, had so wonderful an effect upon the audience, especially upon the king, that it would have opened a door to his preferment, had not his inclinations to *puritanism* been a bar in the way. Indeed, Sir Fulke Graville, afterwards Lord Brook, was so highly pleased with him, that, in addition to other demonstrations of his peculiar esteem, he settled fifty pounds a year upon him, and continued to be his great friend ever after.*

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 75—81.—Lord Brook was a most zealous patriot, and an avowed advocate for liberty. On account of the arbitrary measures of Charles I. he determined to seek freedom in America; and he and Lord Say actually agreed to transport themselves to New England; but upon the meeting of the long parliament, and the sudden change of public affairs, they were prevented from undertaking the voyage. He was afterwards commander in the parliament army, and having reduced Warwickshire to the obedience of the parliament, he advanced into Staffordshire. On the festival of St. Chad, to whom the cathedral of Lichfield is dedicated, he ordered his men to storm the adjoining close, to which Lord Chesterfield had retired with a body of the king's forces. But before his orders could be put in execution, he received a musquet shot in the eye, of which he instantly expired, in the year 1643. It was the opinion of some of the royalists, and especially of the papists,

Preston having renounced all inclinations of preferment, and even the present opportunity of obtaining the royal favour, his conduct became the subject of much speculation. Courtiers, and those aspiring after posts of honour, wondered that he did not embrace the golden opportunity. Perceiving the young man to be void of ambition, and that he rejected all prospect of rising in the world, they began to be jealous of him. But having found the treasure hid in a field, he wisely relinquished every thing for the invaluable purchase. He had the King of kings to serve and honour, which to him appeared infinitely more desirable than any worldly emolument.

From the above act of mortification, good men began to admire him; and their opinion received additional confirmation from the following circumstance:—The king visiting the university a second time, Preston was requested that one of his pupils might support a female character, in a comedy for the entertainment of his majesty; but he politely refused, saying, “I do not like the motion; and I cannot believe his friends intended him to be a player; therefore, I beg to be excused.” This instance of his peculiar care for his pupil greatly advanced his reputation. He was soon accounted one of the best tutors in the university. Many persons of distinguished eminence committed their sons to his tuition. He was particularly careful to train them up in sound religion, as well as good literature.* Fuller denominates him “the greatest *pupil-monger* ever known in England, having sixteen fellow-commoners admitted in Queen’s college, in one year.”† He was, at the same time, an indefatigable student, refusing to allow himself sufficient rest and sleep. He used to lay the bed-clothes upon himself in such a manner as they would be sure to fall off at an early hour in the night, and so the cold awoke him. This, in time, did irreparable injury to his constitution; but by the use of suitable means his health was again in a great degree restored.

It might be expected that so great a man would become exceedingly popular. When he delivered his catechetical lectures in the college chapel, the place was usually crowded with strangers before the fellows came. This awakened the malice of those who envied his popularity,

that the bullet was directed by St. Chad. Archbishop Laud made a particular memorial of this in his diary.—*Frynne’s Breviate of Laud*, p. 27.—*Granger’s Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 143, 144.

* Clark’s Lives, p. 82.

† Fuller’s Worthies, part ii. p. 291.

and they lodged a complaint against him to the vice-chancellor, "that it was not safe for Preston to be thus adored, unless they wished to set up puritanism, and pull down the church." An order was therefore issued from the consistory, that the scholars and townsmen should henceforwards confine themselves to their own preachers, and not be allowed, in any case whatever, to attend these lectures in future.* Such ecclesiastical rigours appeared altogether unnecessary; for there was now very little preaching through the whole university, the two lectures at Trinity church and St. Andrew's being put down, and the lecturers silenced.

Having obtained so distinguished a reputation, he was at length allowed the use of St. Botolph's church, belonging to Queen's college. But here his uncommon popularity exposed him to the resentment of his enemies. Dr. Newcomb, commissary to the Bishop of Ely, coming to the church, was exceedingly offended with the crowd of people assembled;† and he prohibited him preaching, commanding that only evening prayers should be read. The minister of the place, the Earl of Lincoln, and several others, entreated that Preston might be allowed to preach, at least, on that occasion. But Newcomb remained inflexible, and in anger went home, leaving them to have a sermon at their peril. However, Preston was advised to preach; and, as much time had been spent in sending messages to the commissary, he was obliged to omit the prayers before the sermon, in order that the scholars might be at home in time for their college prayers. Next morning Dr. Newcomb hastened to Newmarket, where the court was then held; and brought complaints against him to Bishop Andrews and others; assuring them, that Preston was a nonconformist in heart, and would soon be one in practice; and he was so followed and adored, that, unless some effectual means were speedily used, all conformity would be destroyed, and their authority be trodden under foot. And he added, that Preston was so cunning, that gentle means would not answer the purpose; but he must be seriously and thoroughly handled.‡

The king being now at Newmarket, the complaint was laid before his majesty, who ordered him to be prosecuted. Preston was immediately convened before them, when he spoke in his own defence with great humility and meekness. Bishop Andrews told him, the king was informed that he

* Clark's Lives, p. 82-84.

† Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 163.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 85.

held all forms of prayer to be unlawful; and, as he was so exceedingly popular, his opinion was likely to do the greater mischief. Preston replied, that this was all a slander; for he believed set forms to be lawful, and he refused not to use them. Upon this, the bishop promised to be his friend, and to procure his release from the present prosecution. Indeed, some of the courtiers wished well to Preston, but were reluctant to undertake his cause. Dr. Young, dean of Winchester, had the boldness and honesty to inform him, that Bishop Andrews was his grand adversary; and that while he gave him kind words and fair promises, he was labouring to have him expelled from the university. This, in fact, appeared too true, from the bishop's own conduct. For, after Preston's frequent attendance upon his lordship, and all to no purpose, an order was issued, that on a certain Lord's day, he should declare his sentiments concerning forms of prayer, before the public congregation in Botolph's church; or, in case of his refusal, undergo a further prosecution.* This was soon noised abroad; and it was reported that he was required to preach a recantation sermon, which afforded much sport to those who envied his reputation, and sought his disgrace. These, with exultation and triumph, went crowding to hear him. He preached from the same text as before. The whole of the sermon was close and searching; and in the conclusion, he delivered his opinion concerning set forms. All who went to laugh were disappointed. Most persons returned silent home, not without evidence of some good impressions upon their minds. Those who wished his downfall were not quite so merry in the conclusion as at the beginning. Unprejudiced hearers praised all, and were further confirmed in their high opinion of the preacher. His numerous friends were glad he came off so well, and were peculiarly gratified that he was at liberty again to preach. But the event proved extremely galling to men of high church principles.†

* Dr. Lancelot Andrews, successively bishop of Ely and Winchester, was a man of extensive erudition, and much esteemed by several learned foreigners. He was ranked with the best preachers and completest scholars of his age, but appeared to much greater advantage in the pulpit than he does now in his works; which abound with Latin quotations, and trivial witticisms. He was a person of polite manners and lively conversation; and was celebrated for his dexterity in punning. He was particularly extolled on account of his piety, affability, liberality, and regard for the interests of literature. What a pity then it was that he took any share in the persecution of the puritans.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 347.—*Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher*, p. 364.

† Clark's Lives, p. 85—86.

Preston, having acquitted himself with great honour, was afterwards appointed to preach before the king, which he performed to the admiration of his audience. He was endowed with a fluent utterance, a commanding elocution, and a strong memory, delivering what he had prepared without the use of notes. At the close of the service, his majesty expressed a high degree of satisfaction with the sermon, especially with his observation relative to the Arminians, "That they put God into the same extremity as Darius, when he would have saved Daniel, but could not." The Marquis of Hamilton earnestly recommended to his majesty that Preston might become one of his chaplains, declaring that he was moved to this entirely from the excellency of the sermon. He told the king, that the preacher spoke no pen and ink-horn language, but as one who comprehended what he said, and must, therefore, have in him something substantial. The king acknowledged all, but said it was too early: he remembered the Newmarket business; and so was reserved.

About this period Preston went abroad, and visited several of the foreign universities, by which he obtained much literary advantage. Having spent some time among learned men on the continent, he returned home, when his popularity at court became almost universal. He rose to so high a degree of reputation, that he was told he might be chaplain to whom he pleased. The Duke of Buckingham, not knowing what friends he might want, persuaded the King to appoint him chaplain in ordinary to the Prince of Wales.* In the year 1622, he was chosen preacher at Lincoln's-inn, London, and, upon the resignation of Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, when he took his doctor's degree. The Duke of Buckingham highly esteemed him, and hoped by his means to ingratiate himself with the puritans, whose power was then growing formidable in parliament. Good men rejoiced to see that honest men were not all despised. The courtiers, particularly the duke, signified that he would now mount from one step to another, till he became a bishop. The Earl of

* The king used to call the duke *Stenny*, on account of his fine face, alluding to Acts vi. 15.—It was a pleasant remark of his majesty; who said, "That *Stenny* had given him three notable servants: a gentleman of the bed-chamber, (*Clarke*) who could not help him to untruss a point; for he had but one hand. A chaplain, (*Dr. Preston*) who could not say prayers; for he scrupled the use of the liturgy. And a secretary of state, (*Sir Edward Conway*) who could neither write nor read."—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 199.

Pembroke, and the Countess of Bedford, had a great interest in him; and all looked upon him as a rising man, and respected him accordingly. Some of the courtiers, however, had a jealous eye upon him; for all saw that he came not to court for preferment, as did most others.*

In the year 1624, Dr. Preston was invited to become lecturer at Trinity church, Cambridge; for which there was a strong contest betwixt him and Mr. Micklethwait, fellow of Sidney college, and a very excellent preacher. The contest in voting for the new lecturer was so great, that it could not be determined without the hearing of the king, who was opposed to the doctor's preaching at Cambridge. As an inducement to drop the contest, he was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, then void; and the Duke of Buckingham further urged, that, as the lecture was supported by *six-penny subscriptions*, it was a thing unseemly to the master of a college, and the chaplain of the prince. But the duke was resolved not to lose him, and, therefore, took care that nothing was determined contrary to the doctor's wishes. Sir Edward Conway told him, that if he would give up the contest for the lecture, and let it be disposed of some other way, his majesty had authorized him to say, "that he should have any other more profitable and honourable preferment he might desire." But the doctor's chief object was to do good to souls, not to obtain worldly emolument: the king's was to render him useless, and divide him from the puritans.† When, therefore, it appeared that nothing would allure him from the object of his wishes, or be a sufficient compensation for this noble sphere of public usefulness, he was confirmed in the lecture, being his last preferment, which he held to his death. This celebrated divine thus generously preferred a situation of eighty pounds a year, with the prospect of extensive usefulness to souls, to the bishopric of Gloucester, or any other preferment in the kingdom.

He obtained great celebrity by the learned productions of his pen. His writings are numerous, and most of them admirable for the time. The pious and learned Bishop Wilkins gives an high character of his excellent sermons.‡ In his "Treatise on the New Covenant," his method is highly instructive; and his manner familiar and insinuating, yet very clear. He abounds in apt similes and illustrative

* Clark's Lives, p. 89—95.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 163, 164.—Clark's Lives, p. 96, 97.

‡ Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

instances, generally well supported and applied. His doctrine drops as the rain, and his speech distils as the dew.*

Dr. Preston was a divine of extraordinary abilities and learning, and, about this time, deeply engaged in public controversy with several learned Arminians. He was called to take a leading part in two public disputations, procured by the Earl of Warwick, and held at York-house, in the presence of the Duke of Buckingham and others of the nobility. The first of these contests was betwixt Bishop Buckridge and Dr. White, dean of Carlisle, on the one part; and Bishop Morton and Dr. Preston, on the other. In the conclusion, the Earl of Pembroke observed, "that no person returned from this learned disputation of Arminian sentiments, who was not an Arminian before he came." The second conference was betwixt Dr. White and Mr. Montague, on the one part; and Bishop Morton and Dr. Preston, on the other. On this occasion, Preston is said to have displayed his uncommon erudition and powers of disputation, to the great advantage of the cause which he undertook to support.†

This celebrated divine, by his great interest in the Duke of Buckingham and the Prince of Wales, was of unspeakable service to many of the silenced ministers. He was in waiting when King James died, and came up with King Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, in a close coach, to London. The young king is said to have been so overcharged with grief, on account of the death of his father, that he wanted the comfort of so wise and so great a man.‡ The duke offered Dr. Preston the *broad seal*, but he was too wise to accept it. Afterwards the duke, changing measures, and finding he could neither gain the puritans to his arbitrary designs, nor separate the doctor from their interests, resolved to bid adieu to his chaplain. Dr. Preston saw the approaching storm, and quietly retired to his college, where it was expected he would have felt some further effects of the duke's displeasure, if providence had not so ordered things, that he had other work to mind, which took up all his time and thoughts to the day of his death.§

* Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 453.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 124, 125.—Clark's Lives, p. 101—105.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 19.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 131.—Clark's Lives, p. 106—109.—The Duke of Buckingham was the great favourite of King James and Charles I., over whom he had the highest ascendancy. It is no wonder that an

Dr. Preston possessed a strong constitution, which he wore out by hard study and constant preaching. His inquiry was not, "How *long* have I lived?" but, *how* have I lived?" Desiring, in his last sickness, to die among his old friends, he retired to Preston, near Heyford, in his native county; and having revised his will, and settled all his worldly affairs, he committed himself to the wise and gracious disposal of his heavenly Father. As he felt the symptoms of death coming upon him, he said, "I shall not change my company; for I shall still converse with God and saints." A few hours previous to his departure, being told it was the Lord's day, he said, "A fit day to be sacrificed on! I have accompanied saints on earth: now I shall accompany angels in heaven. My dissolution is at hand. Let me go to my home, and to Jesus Christ, who hath bought me with his precious blood." He afterwards added, "I feel death coming to my heart. My pain shall now be turned into joy;" and then gave up the ghost, in the month of July, 1628, being only forty-one years of age. His remains were interred in Fausley church, when the venerable Mr. Dod preached his funeral sermon to an immense crowd of people.* Fuller, who has classed him among the learned writers of Queen's college, Cambridge, says, "he was all judgment and gravity, and the perfect master of his passions, an excellent preacher, a celebrated disputant, and a perfect politician."† Echard styles him "the most celebrated of the puritans, an exquisite preacher, a subtle disputant, and a deep politician."‡

His WORKS.—1. Treatise on the New Covenant; or, the Saints' Portion, 1629.—2. Breast-plate of Faith and Love, 1630.—3. Sermons before the King, 1630.—4. Eternal Life; or, a Treatise of the Knowledge of the Divine Essence and Attributes, 1631.—5. The Lifeless Life, 1635.—6. A Discourse of Mortification and Humi-

accumulation of honour, wealth, and power, conferred upon a vain man, who was suddenly raised from a private station; should be particularly invidious: and, especially, as the duke was as void of prudence and moderation in the use of these, as his masters were in bestowing them. Most men imputed all the calamities of the nation to his arbitrary councils; and few were displeas'd at the news of his death. Such a pageant and tyrant as this, decorated with almost every title and honour that two kings could bestow upon him, was sure to be the butt of envy. He was murdered by Felton, August 23, 1628.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 326. ii. 114.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 151.

* Clark's Lives, p. 113.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 90.—Worthies, part ii. p. 291.—Church Hist. b. xi. p. 131.

‡ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 72.

liation, 1635.—7. *Spiritual Life and Death*, 1636.—8. *Judas's Repentance*, 1637.—9. *The Saints' Spiritual Strength*, 1637.—10. *The Saints' Qualification and Remains*, 1637.—11. *Sermons*, 1637.—12. *The Golden Sceptre, with the Church's Marriage and the Church's Carriage*, 1639.—13. *Divine Love of Christ*, 1640.

JOE THROGMORTON was a zealous and active puritan, descended from the family of Throgmortons of Coughton in Warwickshire. He was a man of good learning, and master of a very facetious and satirical style; and is said to have been one of the authors of those writings which went under the name of *Martin Mar-Prelate*;* but, as the real authors were never discovered, the charge is without foundation. Dr. Sutcliff, a scurrilous and an abusive writer, published many reproaches against Mr. Throgmorton, charging him with being concerned in the wicked plots of Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington. In reply to the misrepresentations of this opponent, he, about the year 1594, published a work, entitled, “*A Defence of Job Throgmorton against the Slanders of Matthew Sutcliff.*” Notwithstanding this, he was indicted and tried at Warwick, on a supposition of being concerned with the above conspirators; but was acquitted. He was innocent, and therefore he deserved to be acquitted. “*A reverend judge in this land,*” observes Mr. Peirce, “*told my lord chancellor, that the matter of the indictment passed against Throgmorton at Warwick, was, in truth, but a frivolous matter, and a thing that he would easily avoid. And the lord chancellor said, not only in his own house, but even to her majesty, and openly in the parliament, that he knew the said Job Throgmorton to be an honest man.*”†

Mr. Throgmorton was a man of high reputation, and a pious and zealous preacher of the word; but labouring, in the decline of life, under a consumption, and being oppressed with melancholy apprehensions about the safety of his state, he removed to Ashby, near Fausley, in Northamptonshire, to enjoy the counsel and advice of the venerable Mr. John Dod. A little before he died, he asked Mr. Dod, saying, “*What will you say of him who is going out of the world, and can find no comfort?*” “*What will you say of our Saviour Christ,*” replied Mr. Dod, “*who, when he was going out of the world, found no*

* Kennet's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 550.—Heylin's *Hist. of Pres.* p. 279.

† Peirce's *Vindication*, part i. p. 142.

comfort, but cried, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*" This administered consolation to Mr. Throgmorton's troubled mind, and he departed soon after, rejoicing in the Lord.* He is denominated "as holy and as choice a preacher as any in England;" and is said to have lived thirty-seven years without a comfortable assurance, and then died, having assurance only an hour before his departure.† He died in the year 1628.‡ Sir Clement Throgmorton, a man of great learning and eloquence, and a member of parliament for the county of Warwick, was his son.§

THEOPHILUS BRADBURN was minister at some place in Norfolk, and a zealous old puritan.¶ He was of strict sabbatarian principles, and zealously maintained the necessity of observing the seventh day as the christian sabbath. In the year 1628, he published a book entitled, "A Defence of the most ancient and sacred ordinance of God, the Sabbath-day," which he dedicated to the king. In this work he maintained, "That the fourth commandment, *Remember the sabbath-day to keep it holy*, was entirely moral, and of indispensable obligation to the end of the world:—that the seventh day in the week ought to be observed as an holy day in the christian church, as it was among the Jews before the coming of Christ:—and that it was superstition and evil-worship to observe the Lord's day as the sabbath, seeing there was no command for it."‡ For these opinions, says Fuller, "He fell into the ambush of the high commission, whose well-tempered severity so prevailed with him, that, submitting to a private conference, and perceiving the unsoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, and quietly conformed to the church of England," so far as concerned the sabbatarian controversy.**

The publication of Mr. Bradbourn's book roused the jealousy and indignation of the court; therefore, by the command of the king, and under the direction of Archbishop Laud, Dr. White, bishop of Ely, undertook a

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologia, p. 172.

† Brooks on Assurance, p. 39. Edit. 1810.

‡ MS. Remarks, p. 494.

§ Dugdale's Antiq. of Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 654. Edit. 1730.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 333.

‡ Paget's Heresiography, p. 161. Edit. 1662.

** Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 144.

refutation of it, entitled, "A Treatise of the Sabbath-day: containing a Defence of the Orthodoxall Doctrine of the Church of England, against Sabbatarian Novelty," 1635; which he dedicated to the archbishop. In this dedication he gives the following account of Mr. Bradbourn:—"A certain minister in Norfolk," says he, "proceeding after the rule of the presbyterian principles, among which this was the principal: 'That all religious observations and actions, and the ordaining and keeping of holy days, must have a special warrant and commandment in holy scripture, otherwise the same is superstitious;' concluded, that the seventh day of every week, having an express command in the decalogue, by a precept simply and perpetually moral; and the Sunday being not commanded, either in the law or the gospel; therefore the Saturday must be the christian's weekly sabbath, and the Sunday ought to be a working day.

"This man," his lordship adds, "was exceeding confident in his way, and defied his adversaries, loading them with much disgrace and contempt. He dedicated his book to the king's majesty himself, and implored his princely aid to set up the ancient sabbath. He likewise admonished the reverend bishops of the kingdom, and the temporal state, to restore the fourth commandment of the decalogue to its original possession. He professed that he would suffer martyrdom, rather than betray such a worthy cause, so firmly supported by the common principles of all who have in preaching or writing treated of the sabbath. While he was in this heat, crying in all places where he came, *victory, victory*, he chanced to light upon an unkind accident: which was to be convened and called to an account before your grace (meaning Laud) and the honourable court of high commissioners. At his appearance, your grace did not confute him with fire and fagot, with halter, axe, or scourging; but according to the usual proceedings of your grace, and of that court, with delinquents who are overtaken with error in simplicity. There was yielded unto him a deliberate, patient, and full hearing, together with a satisfactory answer to all his main objections.

"The man perceiving," his lordship further observes, "that the principles which the sabbatarian dogmatists had lent him, were not orthodox; and that all who were present at the hearing approved the confutation of his error; he began to suspect that the holy brethren who had lent him his principles, and yet persecuted his conclusion, might perhaps be deceived in the first, as he had been in the last.

Therefore, laying aside all his former confidence, he submitted himself to a private conference; which by God's blessing so far prevailed, that he became a convert, and freely submitted himself to the orthodox doctrine of the church of England, concerning both the sabbath and the Lord's day."

This reverend prelate, in writing against one of the puritans, could not help following his passions or his ignorance, by ungenerously, and with great falsehood, reproaching them as a body. Within the compass of a few pages he stigmatizes the puritans "a new presbyterian sect—these zealots—these senators—these ecclesiastical senators—these novel senators—these presbyterian senators—these presbyterian rulers—these presbyterian dictators—these presbyterian backbiters."*

WILLIAM HINDE, A. M.—This pious divine was born at Kendal in Westmoreland, in the year 1569, and educated in Queen's college, Oxford, where he was chosen perpetual fellow. He was highly respected and beloved by Dr. John Rainolds, whose doctrine made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he became the doctor's great and constant admirer. About the year 1603, he left the university, and became minister of Bunbury in Cheshire, where he continued to the end of his days. He was a minister highly esteemed, and, on account of his great piety and frequent preaching, was much followed by persons of serious godliness. The Oxford historian denominates him "a close and severe student, an eminent preacher, and an excellent theological disputant;" and observes, that he had several contests with Dr. Morton, bishop of Chester, about conformity, being esteemed the *ringleader of the nonconformists* in that county.† Having endured many troubles in the cause of puritanism, he died at Bunbury, in the month of June, 1629, aged sixty years; and his remains were laid in the chancel of his own church.

His WORKS.—1. The office and use of the Moral Law of God in the days of the Gospel, justified and explained at large by Scriptures, Fathers, and other Orthodox Divines, 1623.—2. A faithful Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen of Brucn-Stapleford, in the county of Chester, Esquire, 1641.—3. Path to Piety, a Catechism.—He also revised, corrected, and published Dr. Rainolds's "Discovery of the Man of Sin," 1614. And Mr. Robert Cleaver's "Exposition on the last Chapter of Proverbs," 1614.

* White's Treatise, Dedicat.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 456, 457.—Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3181. Edit. 1747.

WILLIAM PINKE, A. M.—This learned person was born in Hampshire in the year 1599, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Soon after he entered upon the ministerial work he was chosen reader of philosophy in Magdalen college, which he performed with great admiration and applause. In the year 1628 he was chosen fellow of the college. He was accounted a person of close studies, exemplary piety, a strict conversation, and a thorough puritan. Wood says, "he possessed a singular dexterity in the arts, a depth of judgment, an acuteness of wit, and great skill in the Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic languages, for which he was much noticed and revered by the collegians."* He died much lamented in the year 1629, aged thirty years. His remains were interred in Magdalen college chapel. He wrote "The Trial of a Christian's sincere Love to Christ, in four sermons," 1630. This was often printed. He left behind him numerous manuscripts ready for the press, though probably they were never printed.

SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Prestbury in Gloucestershire, August 12, 1569, and educated in Corpus Christi college, Oxford, where he was afterwards chosen fellow. In 1599 he was elected reader of rhetoric to the college, and the year following admitted to the reading of the sentences. In 1608 he took his doctor's degree, and in about five years was chosen Margaret professor to the university. He filled the divinity chair with distinguished reputation for the space of fourteen years, then resigned it, and retired to the rectory of Messey-Hampton in Gloucestershire, where he spent the remainder of his days in great retirement and devotion. Some persons accused him of being a schismatic, most probably on account of his puritanism and nonconformity. But Dr. Ravis, bishop of London, acquitted him of the imputation, declaring him to be free from schism, and abounding in science. Wood says, "he was so excellent a scholar, disputant, and theologian, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarcely his equal in the university. He was a person of admirable piety, strictness, and sincerity; a lover of the opinions of John Calvin, especially that of predestination, and was denominated a downright doctrinal

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 463.

Calvinist." He was always fond of a retired and sedentary life, which rendered him less easy and affable in conversation.* He died August 24, 1630, aged sixty-one years.

HIS WORKS.—1. *Doctrinæ Christianæ Sex capita, totidem prelectionibus in Schola Theol. Oxon pro forma habitis, discussa, et disceptata*, 1610.—2. *Appendix ad caput secundum de conciliis evangelicis*, 1610.—3. *Sermon at St. Mary's in Oxon, being K. James's Inauguration day*, 1611.—4. *Eight Sermons publicly preached in the University of Oxford*, 1614.—5. *The Sin against the Holy Ghost discovered, and other Christian Doctrines, delivered in twelve sermons upon part of the tenth Chap. of the Epis. to the Hebrews*, 1615.—6. *Commentary or Exposition upon the first Chap. of Amos, delivered in twenty-one Sermons*, 1613. Translated into Latin by Mr. Henry Jackson, 1615.—7. *Christian Liberty*, 1613.—8. *A Latin Sermon, ou Rev. v. 10.*, 1616.—9. *Prelectiones de Perseverantia Sanctorum*, 1618.—10. *The Haven of the Afflicted*, 1620.—11. *Commentary or Exposition upon the second Chap. of Amos*, 1620.—12. *Commentary or Exposition upon the third Chap. of Amos*, 1629.

ROBERT BROWN.—This very singular person was born at Toleshorp in Rutlandshire, and descended from an ancient and honourable family. He was nearly related to the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and his grandfather, by charter from Henry VIII., obtained the singular privilege of wearing his cap in the king's presence. He received his education in Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, and preached sometimes in Bennet church, where the vehemence of his delivery gained him considerable reputation.† Afterwards, he became a schoolmaster in Southwark, London, then a lecturer at Islington, and domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. Having embraced the principles of the puritans, he resolved to refine them, and produce a scheme more perfect of his own. He openly inveighed against the discipline and ceremonies of the church of England, which he held up to the people as antichristian.

In the year 1571, Mr. Brown was cited before Archbishop Parker and the other high commissioners at Lambeth, undoubtedly on account of his nonconformity. His noble patron warmly espoused his cause; disregarded the summons; and resolved to protect his chaplain, as exempt from their lordships' jurisdiction. The stern archbishop and his colleagues, however, shewed their resolution to proceed against him. They wrote to the duke, signifying, that if he

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 467.

† Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. ix. p. 166, 167.

still persisted in detaining his chaplain, they must and would make use of other means: but what other methods they used, or what ecclesiastical censure was inflicted upon Brown, we have not been able to ascertain.*

In the year 1581 he settled in the city of Norwich, where he was employed in the stated exercise of his ministry; and many of the Dutch, who had there a numerous congregation, imbibed his principles. Growing confident by success, he called in the assistance of one Richard Harrison, a country schoolmaster, and planted churches in different places.† He did not, however, remain long unnoticed. For during the above year, he was convened before Bishop Freake of Norwich, and other of the queen's commissioners, and committed to the custody of the sheriff of the county, by whom he was for some time detained a prisoner.‡ Also, in the same year, the celebrated judge Anderson discovered the warmth of his zeal against Brown; for which Bishop Freake wrote to the treasurer Burleigh, desiring he might receive the thanks of the queen.§ Whether the treasurer laid the case before her majesty we cannot learn; but by his kind intercession Mr. Brown was at length released from prison, when he left the kingdom, and settled at Middleburg, in Zealand. There, by leave of the magistrates, he formed a church according to his own model, which is explained in a book he published in 1582, entitled, "A Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those Preachers, who will not reform them and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them. By me, Robert Brown." After continuing a short time at Middleburg, his people began to quarrel so violently, and divide into parties, that Brown grew weary of his office, and returned to England in 1585. Soon after his arrival in his native country, he was convened before Archbishop Whitgift, and required to give his answer to certain things published in one of his books; but the archbishop having by force of reasoning brought him to a submission, he was dismissed a second time by the intercession of the lord treasurer. He went to his father's house; but his father was soon tired of him, and abandoned him to a wandering course of life, and discharged him from his family, saying, "that he would not own him

* Strype's Parker, p. 326, 327.

† Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 581.

‡ Heylin's Hist. of Pres. p. 298, 299.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 180. Edit. 1778.

for a *son*, who would not own the church of England for his *mother*."* After travelling up and down the country, preaching against the laws and ceremonies of the church, he went to reside at Northampton. Here his preaching soon gave offence, and he was cited before Bishop Lindsell of Peterborough, who, upon his refusing to appear, publicly excommunicated him for contempt. The solemnity of this censure made such an impression upon Brown, that he renounced his principles of separation, and having obtained absolution, he was, about the year 1592, preferred to the rectory of Achurch, near Oundle in Northamptonshire.+ Upon his promise of a general compliance with the church of England, improved by the countenance of his patron and kinsman, the Earl of Exeter prevailed upon the archbishop to procure him this favour.

Mr. Brown having obtained a settled and permanent abode, allowed a salary for another person to discharge his cure; and though, according to our author, he opposed his parishioners in judgment, yet agreed in taking their tithes. He was a person of good parts and some learning, but his temper was imperious and uncontrollable; and so far was he from the sabbatarian strictness espoused by his followers, that he seemed rather a libertine than otherwise. "In a word," continues our historian, "he had a wife with whom he never lived, a church in which he never preached, and as all the other scenes of his life were stormy and turbulent, so was his end." For being poor and proud, and very passionate, he struck the constable of his parish for demanding the payment of certain rates; and being beloved by nobody, the officer summoned him before Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice, in whose presence he behaved with so much insolence, that he was committed to Northampton gaol. The decrepid old man not being able to walk, was carried thither upon a feather bed in a cart; where, not long after, he sickened and died, in 1630, aged upwards of eighty years, boasting, "that he had been committed to *thirty-two* prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon day."‡ Such was the unhappy life and tragical end of Robert Brown, founder of the famous sect, from him called BROWNISTS. He lived in a little thatched house at Thorp Waterville, which was still subsisting in the year 1791, and

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 167.

† Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 582.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 168, 169.

inhabited by a tenant of the Earl of Exeter.* Though Fuller does not believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, several of our historians assert that he conformed, and became an obedient son of the church of England, to which he appears to have been tempted by the above valuable benefice.† If he conformed to the national church, he does not properly belong to the list of puritans, though it was requisite to give some account of him.

His **WORKS**, in addition to the article already mentioned.—1. A Treatise upon the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew, both for an order of studying and handling the Scriptures, and also for avoiding the Popish disorders, and ungodly communion of all false Christians, and especially of wicked preachers and hirelings.—2. A Book which sheweth the life and manner of all true Christians, and how unlike they are unto Turks, and Papists, and Heathen folk. Also the points and parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed will and word of God, are declared by their several definitions and divisions following.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON, A. M.—This excellent minister was born in the year 1587, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards became pastor of one of the churches in Leicester. His preaching was truly evangelical, and multitudes from all quarters flocked to hear him. The great object of his ministry was to produce that change of heart, and holy rectitude of conduct, without which no man can see the Lord. The effect, through a divine blessing, was such as might be expected. A remarkable revival of religion was the reward of his labours, and many were effectually turned from sin to holiness; but, in the midst of his usefulness, he was deprived on account of his nonconformity. For some years after his settlement at Leicester, he continued a strict conformist; but, upon his acquaintance with Mr. Hildersham and Mr. Hooker, he was induced to study the controversy about ecclesiastical matters. He searched the scriptures, together with the earliest antiquity; and as he searched, the more he became dissatisfied with the inventions of men introduced into the worship of God. From his own impartial examination, therefore, and the clear evidence of truth, he became a decided and conscientious nonconformist. At this time the weight of his influence burst forth; and the

* Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 366.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 168.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 592.

arm of ecclesiastical power could not obscure the lustre of his talents. Such were the pathos and enchanting eloquence of his ministry, that the people could not be denied the benefit of his instructions. "He was unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument." The people obtained liberty for him to preach a lecture on one part of the sabbath, and on the other to aid an aged minister, who stood in need of assistance. They supported him by their own voluntary subscription; and such was his reputation, that, while it was safe, all the conformist ministers in the town invited him into their pulpits. He also preached to another congregation in the church at Belgrave, a village near Leicester. His labours and usefulness were thus expanded. This, indeed, was through the connivance of the generous and worthy Bishop Williams of Lincoln;* and continued till Laud became bishop of London, when he determined to extirpate all nonconformists.

As it often happens in other cases, so it did in this; while one part of the community was delighted and encouraged in the practice of religion, another part, feeling themselves rebuked and condemned by his preaching, became more violent opposers, and more cruel persecutors. Mr. Higginson openly avowed his opinion, that ignorant and immoral people ought not to be admitted to the Lord's table. Accordingly, having preached a sermon from this text, "Give not that which is holy to dogs;" and being about to administer the sacrament, he saw a known swearer and drunkard before him, to whom he publicly said, "he was not willing to give the Lord's supper to him, until he professed his repentance to the satisfaction of the brethren, and desired him to withdraw." The man went out in a rage against Mr. Higginson, and, with horror in his conscience, was immediately taken sick, and soon after expired, crying out, "*I am damned.*" Another profane person being offended with his wife for attending upon Mr. Higginson's

* This very learned and religious prelate was a constant friend to the persecuted puritans, many of whom, as will appear from the present work, he protected from the intolerant proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts. We have given a particular account in the introduction, of the barbarous persecution he endured from Archbishop Laud and his associates. He was greatly admired for his deep penetration, solid judgment, and his wonderful memory, which was deemed almost a miracle. His parts were very extraordinary; and his constitution still more extraordinary than his parts; for, notwithstanding his hard study, and a multiplicity of business, he never required more than three hours sleep.—*La Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 154.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 355.

ministry, vowed revenge against him. Accordingly, he resolved on a journey to London, to complain against him in the high commission court. All things being ready for his journey, as he was mounting his horse, he was seized with insupportable pain of body, and most dreadful horrors of conscience; and being conducted into the house, died in a few hours.*

During Mr. Higginson's abode at Leicester, a clergyman lived in the town who was a doctor in divinity, a prebendary in a cathedral, and chaplain to his majesty; but very seldom preached. Indeed, when he did preach, he discovered so much ostentation, that the people mostly attended upon Mr. Higginson's edifying preaching, rather than his affected and empty harangues. This greatly displeased the doctor, who embraced every opportunity of expressing his resentment and indignation against Mr. Higginson; and declared he would certainly drive him out of the town. This doctor was nominated by the sheriff to preach the assize sermon, and had three months notice to make preparation. During the whole of this period, he was, however, unable to provide a sermon to his own satisfaction. About a fortnight before the time was expired, he expressed his fears of ever being provided; when his friends urged him to attempt it again; and signified, that, if there was no other alternative, Mr. Higginson, being always ready, might be procured. The doctor, being exceedingly averse to the last proposal, studied with all his might to prepare an agreeable sermon, but without success. So the very night preceding the assize, he got a friend to prevail upon Mr. Higginson to supply his place; which he did, to the great satisfaction of the audience. Afterwards, when all the circumstances were known, and become the common topic of conversation, the doctor was so mortified and confounded, that he left the town, declaring he would never come into it any more. While Mr. Higginson, therefore, continued highly respected in the place, the learned doctor was driven out.†

Mr. Higginson was afterwards chosen by the mayor and aldermen to be the town-preacher. He thanked them for the honour which they conferred upon him; but, because he could not with a good conscience conform, he declined the offer, recommending to them Mr. John Angel, then a

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 71, 72.

† Ibid. p. 72, 73.

conformist, but a good man, whom they accepted. Indeed, several rich livings were offered him; but, as his nonconformity was growing upon him, he modestly refused them all. He could never sacrifice truth and a good conscience to obtain any worldly emolument whatever. Mr. Higginson was very useful in the education of young men, many of whom afterwards became famous in their day. Among these were Dr. Seaman, Dr. Brian, and the excellent Mr. John Howe, all noted for their learning, moderation, and nonconformity. At length, however, when Laud was translated to London, complaints were exhibited against him in the high commission court, and he was in continual expectation of being dragged away by pursuivants, when perpetual imprisonment was the least he expected.

A number of respectable and wealthy merchants, having obtained a charter of King Charles I., and being incorporated by the name of the governor and company of Massachusetts' Bay, in New England, determined, in the year 1629, to send over some ships to begin the plantation. They, having heard of Mr. Higginson's situation, sent two messengers to invite him to join their company, engaging to support him on the passage. These messengers, understanding that Mr. Higginson was in daily expectation of officers to carry him to London, determined to have a little sport. Accordingly, they went boldly to his door, and with loud knocks, cried, "Where is Mr. Higginson? We must speak with Mr. Higginson." His affrighted wife ran to his chamber, entreating him to conceal himself. "No," said he, "I will go down and speak to them, and the will of the Lord be done." As they entered his hall with an assumed boldness, and roughness of address, they presented him with some papers, saying, "Sir, we come from London: our business is to carry you up to London, as you may see by these papers."—"I thought so," exclaimed Mrs. Higginson, and immediately began to weep. Upon a slight examination of the papers, Mr. Higginson found himself invited to Massachusetts by the governor and company of the intended colony; he welcomed his guests, had free conversation with them, and after taking proper time to ascertain the path of duty, resolved to cross the Atlantic. His farewell sermon was preached from Luke, xxi. 20, 21. "When ye see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, &c. then flee to the mountains." Before a vast assembly he declared his persuasion, that England would be chastised by war, and that Leicester would have more

than an ordinary share of sufferings.* He expressed his thankful acknowledgments to the magistrates and others, for their favour and encouragement; and informed them that he was going to New England, which he believed God designed as a refuge for persecuted nonconformists. He soon took his journey with his family to London, in order to his embarking for the new colony, when the streets, as he passed along, were filled with people, bidding him farewell, with prayers and cries for his welfare.

They sailed from the Isle of Wight in the beginning of May, 1629, and arrived in Salem harbour the 24th of June following. The ships were filled with religious passengers, among whom were Mr. Samuel Skelton and Mr. Ralph Smith, both nonconformist ministers. Mr. Higginson kept a journal of the voyage, a copy of which is still preserved.† They were no sooner arrived at Salem, than they entered upon the important object for which they went. They began the new plantation by calling on the name of the Lord. After consulting the brethren at Plymouth, who sent messengers to their assistance, they set apart the sixth of August as a day of fasting and prayer, and for settling the order of their intended church. On this interesting occasion, Mr. Higginson drew up a confession of faith, and a covenant,‡ a copy of which was given to each of the thirty persons who became members; and to this confession and covenant, these thirty persons did solemnly and severally declare their consent. Mr. Higginson was then chosen teacher, Mr. Skelton the pastor of the church, and Mr. Houghton ruling elder. Afterwards, many other persons joined the church, but none were admitted without giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God. This was the first christian church that was ever formed in the Massachusetts' colony.§

Some of the passengers who went with these new planters, observing that the ministers did not use the Book of Common Prayer; that they administered the sacraments without the English ceremonies; that they refused to admit disorderly persons to the Lord's supper; and that they resolved to exercise discipline against all scandalous

* Not many years after, Leicester, which was strongly fortified, received the wealth of the adjacent country. It was then besieged, taken by storm, given up to plunder and violence, and eleven hundred of its inhabitants were slain in the streets.—*Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 74.

† See *Massachusetts' Papers*, p. 32—46.

‡ See *Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. i. p. 18, 19. § *Ibid.* b. iii. p. 74, 75.

members of the church, began to make disturbance, and set up a separate assembly, according to the usage of the church of England. The chief promoters of this breach were Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother, the one a lawyer, and the other a merchant. The governor, perceiving this disturbance, sent for these two gentlemen, who accused the ministers of "departing from the order of the church of England;" adding, "that they were separatists, and would shortly be anabaptists; but as to themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England." To these accusations, the ministers replied, "That they were neither separatists nor anabaptists; that they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the disorders and corruptions of that church; that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land; and, therefore, being in a place where they might exercise their liberty, they neither could, nor would use them; especially because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions of the word of God."* The governor, the council, and the people in general, approved of the answers given by the ministers. The two brothers, however, not being satisfied, and endeavouring to raise a mutiny among the people, were sent back to England, by the return of the same ships which carried them.

The faith and patience of these adventurers were exercised with other trials. The first winter after their arrival proved very fatal. It carried off nearly one hundred of their company, among whom was Mr. Houghton the elder of the church. Mr. Higginson himself, not being able to undergo the fatigues of a new settlement, fell into a hectic fever, of which he lingered till the month of August following. The last sermon he preached was from Matt. xi. 7. "What went ye out into the wilderness to see?" It was delivered to several hundreds of persons just arrived from England, whom he suitably reminded of their design to promote true religion, in transporting themselves to that country. Mr. Higginson was soon after confined to his bed, when he was visited by the chief persons of the colony. He was deeply humbled under a sense of his own unworthiness; and when his friends endeavoured to comfort him by reminding him of his faithfulness and usefulness, he replied,

* Morton's New Eng. Mem. p. 76, 77.—Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. i. p. 19.

“ I have been an unprofitable servant ; and all my doings
 “ I count but loss and dung. All my desire is to win
 “ Christ, and be found in him, not having my own
 “ righteousness.” He died in the month of August, 1630,
 aged forty-three years. His funeral was attended with
 all possible solemnity. He was richly endowed with
 divine grace, mighty in the scriptures, a good linguist, and
 an excellent preacher. He held the hearts of his people,
 and his memory was dear to their posterity. He left a
 widow and eight children. Mr. Higginson had two sons,
 Francis and John, who afterwards became ministers ; the
 former at Kirkby Stephen in Westmoreland, England,
 where he conformed at the restoration.* The latter was
 chosen pastor of his father’s church, in the year 1659 ; and
 was labouring there in the year 1696, in the eightieth year
 of his age, and the sixtieth of his ministry. Mr. Higgin-
 son’s posterity still remain in New England, and are among
 the most respectable people of the commonwealth.†

ROBERT NICOLLS was minister of Wrenbury in Cheshire,
 where he was held in high repute for his excellent abilities
 and worthy ministerial labours. He was a man of a clear
 head, a tender heart, and a most holy life, always abound-
 ing in the work of the Lord.‡ He was called before the
 high commission, and, with many of his brethren, exceed-
 ingly harassed for nonconformity. Being required by
 Bishop Morton to produce his arguments against the cross
 in baptism, the use of the surplice, and kneeling at the
 sacrament, he presented them to the bishop in the high
 commission court, when, though he was esteemed a most
 learned and pious minister, his lordship treated him with
 much scorn and abuse.§ He was contemporary with Mr.
 Ball, Mr. Herring, Mr. Ashe, and other divines of dis-
 tinguished eminence, with whom he lived in the greatest
 friendship. During the persecution of the times, he found
 an asylum under the hospitable roof of the excellent Lady
 Bromley, of Sheriff-Hales in Shropshire ; at whose house
 he died about the year 1630.¶ He was author of the

* Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 75.—Palmer’s Noncon. Mem.
 vol. iii. p. 355.—This Mr. Francis Higginson, says Dr. Mather, wrote the
 first book that was ever published against the quakers, entitled, “ The
 Irreligion of Northern Quakers.”—*Ibid.* p. 76.

† Morse and Parish’s Hist. of New Eng. p. 52.

‡ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 164.

§ Paget’s Defence, Prof.

¶ Clark’s Lives, p. 165.

third part of a work entitled "Some Treasure fetched out of Rubbish; or, three short but seasonable Treatises, found in an heap of scattered Papers, which Providence hath reserved for their Service who desire to be instructed from the Word of God, concerning the Imposition and Use of Significant Ceremonies in the Worship of God," 1660. His part is entitled, "Three Arguments Sylogistically propounded and prosecuted against the Surplice, the Cross in Baptism, and Kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's Supper."

JOHN WARHAM was a pious and celebrated preacher at Exeter; but, on account of the tyrannical proceedings of the prelates, was forced to flee to New England for refuge from the storm. Previous to his departure, a congregational church being gathered at Plymouth, he was, after solemn fasting and prayer, chosen one of its pastors; and in the year 1630, many pious families out of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire, accompanied them to New England.* Upon their arrival, they began the settlement of Windsor, where, as pastor of the church, he spent the rest of his days. The whole colony of Connecticut looked up to him as the principal pillar, and the father of the colony. Though he was a most pious man, he often laboured under melancholy apprehensions, even despairing of his own salvation. Such were the painful temptations under which his holy soul groaned, that he sometimes administered the Lord's supper to the people of his charge, not daring to starve their souls, when he forbore to partake with them, concluding that he was not one of God's children. This darkness continued more or less to the day of his death. He was the first minister in New England that ever preached by the use of notes; yet he delivered his sermons with remarkable energy and success.†

ARTHUR HILDERSHAM, A. M.—This celebrated divine was descended from the royal family, and the famous Cardinal Poole was his great uncle. He was the son of Mr. Thomas Hildersham, a gentleman of an ancient family, and Ann Poole his second wife. Mrs. Hildersham was daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, the fourth son of Sir Richard

* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 200, 204.

† Mather's Hist. of New. Eng. b. iii. p. 121.

Poole, cousin german to King Henry VII. Margaret, countess of Salisbury, the wife of Sir Richard Poole, and grandmother to Mr. Hildersham, was the daughter of George duke of Clarence (second brother to King Edward IV.) and Isabella, elder daughter and co-heir of Richard earl of Warwick and Salisbury. Our divine being thus honourably descended, was born at Stechworth in Cambridgeshire, October 6, 1563, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. His parents were zealous papists; and he was brought up in all the errors and superstitions of popery, and taught to repeat his prayers in Latin. During his abode at the university, he embraced the protestant religion, and was highly esteemed on account of his learning, piety, affability, and inoffensive and witty conversation. His father no sooner knew of the change in his religious sentiments, than he took him from the university, and resolved to send him to Rome, with a view to have him reclaimed, and obtain ecclesiastical preferment. Young Hildersham, however, was fixed in his protestant principles, and refused to go; for which his father cast him off and disinherited him. Thus, he whom God had appointed to be a great sufferer in his cause, began to bear the yoke in his youth; by forsaking parents, friends, and all earthly comforts, and the certain prospect of worldly advancement, for the sake of Christ and the testimony of a good conscience.

In this forlorn situation, God, who comforteth his people in all their tribulations, comforted Mr. Hildersham, through the kind assistance of Mr. John Ireton, then of Cambridge, but afterwards rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire. This gentleman providentially meeting him in London, said to him, "Arthur, why art thou so long from thy books, losing so much time?" "Alas, sir," said he, "I shall go no more to Cambridge;" and then gave him a particular account of his unhappy condition. "Well," said Mr. Ireton, "be not discouraged. Thou hast a noble kinsman, whom I will acquaint with thy case; and I doubt not that he will provide for thee." He accordingly laid his distressed situation before Henry earl of Huntingdon, lord president of the north, whose mother and Mr. Hildersham's mother were brother's children. The noble earl gladly embraced this opportunity of shewing his kindness and generosity. He warmly espoused his cause, sent him again to the university, and afforded him his liberal support. Mr. Hildersham was afterwards chosen fellow of Christ's college by a majority of

the fellows; but Dr. Barwell the master, having a predilection for his competitor, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Willet, prevented the confirmation of their election. This illegal proceeding induced Mr. Hildersham to address the following letter to Lord Burleigh, chancellor of the university :*

“ Right Honourable,

“ Pleaseth your honour to understand, that about a twelvemonth since, an election being made in Christ’s college in Cambridge, and your lordship’s humble orator being by the greater part of the fellows lawfully chosen; yet, through the injurious dealing of the master, kept from the admission. It pleased your honour at that time (understanding the equity of my cause, and moved with the very earnest request of my very good earl, the earl of Huntingdon) to direct your letters to the visitors of our college, that they should ratify the lawful proceedings of the greater part of our fellows, and confirm the place whereto I was before according to statute elected: which not being at that time by them performed; and I not presuming hitherto (in the absence of my right honourable patron) to solicit your lordship in that suit; and seeing that the master, with certain of the fellows of our college, is, by reason of his late dealing in another matter, presently to appear before your lordship, is that in regard of the injury by the master done to the statute, and of my lord and patron his earnest request then made unto your honour, and adjudging it as your honoured wisdom shall see it in justice and equity expedient.

“ At the election of your lordship’s orator, three fellowships were void; that is, Mr. Ireton’s, Mr. Watson’s, Mr. Barber’s: so that the number of master and fellows was eleven, whereof six chose your lordship’s orator; and therefore he ought to have been pronounced fellow. For the words of the statute are these, &c.

“ Your honour’s most humble and daily orator,

“ ARTHUR HILDERSHAM.”

This letter, though without date, was written about the year 1586; but the writer obtained no immediate redress; only about the time when he wrote the letter, he was chosen fellow of Trinity-hall, in the same university. He was preferred to this place by the particular advice and direction of Lord Burleigh, most probably as a recompence for his

* Baker’s MS. Collec. vol. iv. p. 76, 77.

illegal and unkind usage.* Whatever might be the intention of this noble person, he did not hold his fellowship two years. He entered in the mean time upon his public ministerial function; but he presently received a sudden check, and was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and deprived of his fellowship, chiefly for preaching occasionally before he took orders. This was done by the particular instigation of Archbishop Whitgift, who commanded him to make a public recantation, and required him to enter into bonds to appear again on a certain day before the high commission, if he presumed to refuse. The form of his recantation, dated January 10, 1588, was the following :

“ I confess that I have rashly and indiscreetly taken upon me to preach, not being licensed, nor admitted into holy orders, contrary to the orders of the church of England ; contrary to the example of antiquity ; and contrary to the direction of the apostle in the Acts : whereby I have given great and just offence to many ; and the more, because I have uttered in my sermons certain impertinent, and very unfit speeches for the auditory, as moving their minds to discontent with the state, rather than tending to godly edification. For which my presumption and indiscretion, I am very heartily sorry, and desire you to bear witness of this my confession, and acknowledging my said offences.”†

It is extremely doubtful whether Mr. Hildersham ever recanted ; for he was, previous to the above date, called from the university by the Earl of Huntingdon, and appointed to preach at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. In this situation he continued to the end of his days, though not without frequent molestations and interruptions. He was a man of great piety, learning, charity, and peaceableness, and one who loved all pious and learned men, whatever might be their opinions of the discipline and ceremonies. Although he was a minister in the established church, and so far opposed a total separation from it, that he was called *the hammer of schismatics* ; yet “ he was,” says Mr. Clark, “ always, from his first entrance into the ministry, a resolved and conscientious nonconformist ;” and he laboured hard, in concert with his brethren, to obtain a more pure reformation of the national church. His honest and decided attachment to what he considered to be the

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 445.

† MS. Register, p. 825.

truth, exposed him to all those oppressions and cruelties with which he was exercised. It will appear from the following narrative, that he was frequently silenced from his ministry, and treated in many other respects with the utmost barbarity; notwithstanding which he usually attended upon the prayers, sermons, and sacraments, at the established church. All his excellent endowments were insufficient to screen him from the tyrannical proceedings of the ruling ecclesiastics.

In the year 1590 this excellent divine entered upon the conjugal state, and married the daughter of Mr. Barfoot of Lamborn-hall in Essex. She was his constant companion in all his tribulations, and an excellent comforter under his numerous and painful sufferings. During the first year of his marriage, his faith and patience were put to the trial. He was convened before the high commission, suspended from his ministry, and obliged to enter into bonds, prohibiting him from attending upon the duties of his ministry in any part of England. The year following he was partially restored, but still forbidden to preach at any place south of the river Trent.* This prohibition utterly excluded him from labouring among his beloved people at Ashby. But this restraint was afterwards taken away, when he returned to his stated ministerial charge at that place. In the month of July, 1593, the worthy Earl of Huntingdon presented him to the benefice of Ashby; and he obtained his induction to the living.+ Mr. Hildersham was well known at court, and his name was often honourably mentioned in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. On these occasions she used to

* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 8.

+ The following is a copy of the earl's letter to Mr. Hildersham, sent with his presentation:—"Since it hath pleased the Lord to call Tho. Wyddowes to his mercye, who was, in opinion, both careful, faithful, and diligent in his function, according to his talent; I wish, with all my heart, the supply of that place to be such, as that the good which father Gilbie and he, by the good providence of God, have planted in and about Ashby, may be continued and increased. Therefore I chuse to present you to that pastoral charge at Ashby; which I trust, by that time I have finished my long intended purpose, shall be a sufficient place for any learned preacher. And with this letter I send you my presentation to the vicarage, with a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, who I hope will easily accept of you, with all honour. Yet let this be your care, to advance the glory of God, by exercise of your ministry, which you shall do best when you are in your pastoral charge. I am forced to end. God ever direct and ever assist you with all necessary graces.
"To the comfort of the poor widow I will take some care. At York, hastily, this 5 July, 1593.

"HEN. HUNTINGDON."

Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 626.

style him *cousin Hildersham*; therefore, by her majesty's favour, he was released from the above ecclesiastical censure.*

Mr. Hildersham being a divine of great celebrity, was called, in the year 1596, to preach the assize sermon before judge Anderson, at Leicester. Though it is said to have been "a godly and learned sermon," the judge could not conceal his displeasure, even while he was in the church. Anderson was no sooner seated upon the bench, than he required the jury to bring an indictment against the preacher, but they refused; "and it would have been difficult," adds our author, "to have found a jury in Leicestershire, that would not have been ashamed of doing it." The angry judge was so mortified and offended, that he brought Mr. Hildersham afterwards into some other troubles; from which, however, the Lord mercifully delivered him. In the year 1598 an attachment was issued from the high commission to apprehend him; but whether he was taken into custody, or he concealed himself till the storm subsided, we have not been able to learn.†

On the accession of King James, numerous petitions were presented to his majesty and the parliament, for a further reformation of the church. Mr. Hildersham, being a leading person among the puritans, and universally beloved by all the enemies of superstition and oppression, was appointed, with several of his brethren, to present these petitions, and, if required, to defend them by disputation. Among these was the *millenary* petition, subscribed by upwards of a thousand ministers, "desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the church."‡ At the Hampton-court conference, our worthy divine, together with Mr. Stephen Egerton of London, and Mr. Edward Fleetwood of Lancashire, presented a number of requests to his majesty, earnestly desiring a further reformation in ecclesiastical matters.

It was impossible for Mr. Hildersham to act in this public capacity without being particularly noticed. The eyes of the jealous prelates were fixed upon him. Therefore, in the year 1605, he was silenced by the Bishop of Lincoln for nonconformity. Afterwards, he obtained some favour from the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who allowed him to preach occasionally in his diocese, particu-

* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 4.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 114—116.

‡ Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 21—23.

larly at the two famous associations at Repton in Derbyshire, and Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire. These associations were designed for private conference among the ministers, and the public ministry of the word. They were the means of doing unspeakable good to both ministers and people; and Mr. Hildersham was a chief promoter of them for many years. His fame, indeed, was so great in those parts, that for many years after, when any one became remarkable for true piety, he was sure to be stigmatized as one of Hildersham's old puritans.* Mr. Hildersham remained under the above ecclesiastical censure upwards of three years. Towards the close of the year 1608, by the favour of Dr. Barlow, the new bishop of Lincoln, he was again restored to his ministry, and allowed to preach among his beloved flock at Ashby. It was after his restoration at this time that he entered upon his "Lectures on John iv.," which he continued every Tuesday for upwards of two years.

These lectures were afterwards published, in 1628, and dedicated to Henry earl of Huntingdon, who attended them, when preached in Ashby church, and whose uncle and grandfather had been the author's worthy patrons. The celebrated Mr. John Cotton, in his epistle to the reader prefixed to the second edition of this work, says, "In reading most of the best books extant, the studious reader is wont to select and transcribe the pith of such notes as stand like lights, &c. in the body of the discourse, and in the spirit of the writer. But in *this* book, I find such variety of choice matter, running throughout every vein of each discourse, and carried along with such strength of sound and deep judgment, and with such life and power of an heavenly spirit; and expressed in such pithy and pregnant words of wisdom, that I knew not what to select, and what to omit, unless I should have transcribed the whole book." Dr. Williams says, "that these lectures discover the author to be a sound divine, an admirable textuary, a profoundly experienced christian, and an excellent teacher."†

He did not, however, enjoy his liberty quite three years. For in November, 1611, he was again silenced, by Neile, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. The occasion of his lordship's censure was his supposed connexion with Mr. Edward Whiteman of Burton-upon-Trent, denominated a notorious heretic, for which he was afterwards burnt at

* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 10.

† Christian Preacher, p. 435.

Lichfield. Though, upon Mr. Hildersham's examination before the bishop and many others, his innocence was made perfectly manifest in open court, he continued under the episcopal censure a long time; and, to the unspeakable grief of many, the two exercises at Repton and Burton-upon-Trent were put down. In addition to this, December 8, 1612, letters missive were issued from the high commission, requiring his appearance before the ecclesiastical judges. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he was judicially admonished, then prohibited from ever preaching, catechizing, or attending upon any part of the ministerial function, either in public or private, until he should be lawfully restored. What a pity was it, that so excellent and peaceable a divine should have been struck dumb, even after his innocence had been proved and acknowledged by the bishop in a court of justice!* This, indeed, savoured too much of the tyrannical oppression of antichrist.

When Mr. Hildersham was restored from the above unchristian sentence, we have not been able to learn. But in the year 1615, he was again prosecuted in the high commission; and, for refusing the oath *ex officio*, was committed first to the Fleet, then to the King's-bench, where he continued a long time. During his tedious and painful confinement, a certain nobleman made application to Archbishop Abbot for his release; when the angry archbishop protested, "that unless he would submit to what the commissioners required, he should die and rot in prison."† Abbot, it is said, was a prelate of great learning and piety; but he was esteemed a puritan in doctrine; and in discipline, too remiss for one placed at the head of the church.‡ But, surely, this did not appear, at least on the present occasion. Mr. Hildersham, upon giving bond to appear when called, was at length released from confinement.

In September, 1616, the commissioners sat at Ashby, to examine certain witnesses against Mr. Hildersham and his two friends, Mr. Thomas Dighton and Mr. John Holt.§

* Clark's Lives, p. 117, 118.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 14.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 341.

§ The nonconformists, both ministers and private christians, were now barbarously prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts; among whom were these gentlemen, both natives of Ashby. One of them was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, the other in the Fleet; and having endured confinement for some time, they were brought forth, November 21, 1616, under the care of their keepers, when they received the following sentence in the high com-

The witnesses against Mr. Hildersham affirmed upon their oaths, what all the parish knew to be notoriously false, and even declared by what motives he was actuated in what was charged against him. But upon this most glaring false witness, the court proceeded to censure him as follows:— He was pronounced refractory and disobedient to the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church of England; and a schismatic and schismatical person, and well worthy of severe punishment. Also, because he was deemed the *ringleader* of all schismatical persons in that part of the country, he was fined two thousand pounds, excommunicated, degraded from the ministry, ordered to be taken and cast into prison, commanded to make a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and, to finish the business, he was condemned in costs of suit.* If any impartial judge were to form an opinion of Mr. Hildersham's crime from this heavy sentence, he would conclude the single sin of nonconformity, at least in the opinion of the ecclesiastical judges, to have been much greater than open drunkenness, swearing, adultery, or any such atrocious acts of immorality, which, though very common among the clergy of those times, were scarcely ever noticed. What a happy circumstance is it that we live in better days! in which it is generally acknowledged, that, in religious matters, every man ought to act according to the persuasion

mission court:—"It appeared to the court, that the said Dighton and Holt, being laymen, had, in opposition to the state ecclesiastical, kept *sundry conventicles or exercises of religion in private houses*, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch; and held public disputations against the orders, rites and ceremonies of the church, and dissuaded others from conformity to the same. And because Mr. Hacket their minister, (meaning the person appointed to the place,) was conformable, they have refused to come to church to hear him preach, or read divine service, or to bring their children to be baptized, or their wives to be churched; but, leaving their own parishes, went to other parishes to hear unconformable ministers, and carried many of the parish of Ashby after them, to the great encouragement of schismatical and refractory persons; and, being often admonished in this court, they refused, and do still refuse, to join with the christian congregation in receiving the holy communion *knelling*; and having made common purses, and sundry collections, for maintaining, abetting, and encouraging such schismatical persons in their obstinacy and disobedience to his majesty's laws ecclesiastical; they are, therefore, pronounced schismatics and schismatical persons, and worthy to be severely punished, and were accordingly fined a *thousand pounds a piece*, pronounced excommunicate, ordered to be publicly denounced, to make their submission in three several places, condemned in costs of suit, and sent back to prison; but how long they continued," says our author, "I am not able to learn." This is one instance of the persecution of laymen for their nonconformity.—*M.S. Remarks*, p. 652.

* *Clark's Lives*, p. 118, 119.

of his own mind. "If we dissent from one another in these things," says Mr. Hildersham, "it must be without bitterness, and in brotherly love. The odious names of puritans, formalists, schismatics, or time-servers, ought not to be heard among brethren."*

Mr. Hildersham, having heard of the above cruel sentence, wisely, and for a long time, concealed himself. At length, however, he wrote to Lady Fielding, desiring her to use her influence to get his fine taken off; or, if that could not be done, to obtain a mitigation of it so far as to be allowed to pay a certain sum annually, being all that he was able to spare. He sent a petition to the same effect to the Earl of Suffolk, and another to the high commission.† Several processes were in the mean time issued from the exchequer, to inquire into his estates, but none could be found. He therefore compounded the matter with his prosecutors, by paying a great sum of money, and was released from the heavy fine.

This, indeed, was not the end of his troubles. For in the year 1618, a pursuivant from the Bishop of London violently broke into his study, and carried away many of his valuable books. The good man petitioned his lordship for them to be restored; but whether they ever were, my author adds, "I have not been able to learn."‡ By a license, dated June 20, 1625, from the archbishop, he obtained liberty to preach within the dioceses of London, Lincoln, and Coventry and Lichfield; and soon after entered once more upon his public charge at Ashby. In the month of September this year, he commenced his course of lectures on Psalm li., afterwards published with this title, "CLII. Lectures upon Psalm LI. preached at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire," 1635. This work "is a rich mine of experimental and practical divinity;" but not quite so concise and finished as those on John iv.§

Notwithstanding the above numerous interruptions and oppressions, Mr. Hildersham had once more to pass through the fire of persecution. March 25, 1630, for refusing to read the public service in the hood and surplice, he was again silenced by the tyrannizing ecclesiastics. This suspension, however, did not continue very long; for, August 2, 1631, he was restored to his beloved ministry, and so

* Hildersham's Lectures on John, p. 301. Edit. 1632.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1631. p. 16.

‡ Ibid.—Clark's Lives, p. 120.

§ Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 431, 435.

continued preaching till December 27th following, when he preached his last sermon.*

Thus our pious and learned divine knew by painful experience the truth of that doctrine which he delivered to the people. "Every faithful minister," says he, "who laboureth to win souls to God, shall be sure to be well rewarded, how ill soever an unthankful world may reward him. If we judge by *sense* and *reason*, we shall hardly be able to conceive how it can be true; for no kind of men ever seems to be more neglected of God in this life, than faithful ministers. In all ages these men have been in much trouble, and their enemies have prevailed against them; and that oftentimes even unto death. But," says he, "if we look into it with a *spiritual eye*, we shall find that God hath a special care to provide for faithful ministers; and that none have such promises of protection and deliverance from trouble. If it please the Lord to let his ministers suffer, it is," saith he, "either because their testimony is finished; or because God will receive more honour by their suffering, and constant confession of his truth, than by their peace: as saith the apostle of his own troubles: *I would, brethren, ye should understand, that the things which have happened unto me, have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel.*"†

This excellent servant of Christ discovered in his last sickness very becoming submission to the will of God. His conversation was spiritual, holy, and heavenly. He gave a solemn charge to his son, to take heed unto the flock of Christ; and on the Lord's day, while his son was at prayer with him, he closed his eyes in peace, and entered upon the joy of his Lord, March 4, 1631, aged sixty-eight years. Mr. Hildersham preached at Ashby upwards of forty-three years, excepting the intervals of his suspension for nonconformity. He was a pious, learned, and useful preacher. Fuller styles him "a worthy divine, and a just and upright man," but has incorrectly classed him among the fellows and learned writers of *Christ's college*, Cambridge.‡ Echard denominates him "a great and shining light of the puritan party," and observes, "that he was justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety."§ Lilly, the astrologer, who was educated at Ashby school, says, "He

* Clark's Lives, p. 122.

† Hildersham on John, p. 282—284.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 159.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 98.

was an excellent textuary, of exemplary life, pleasant in discourse, a strong enemy to the Brownists, and dissented not from the church of England in any article of faith; but only about wearing the surplice, baptizing with the cross, and kneeling in the sacrament. Most of the people in the town were directed by his judgment, and so continued in it.”*

He was a divine of great moderation, and of a most amiable christian spirit. He used to say, “that he never heard any faithful preacher of the gospel, however mean his talents might be, but he could discover some gift in him that was wanting in himself, and could receive some profit from his preaching.” He died in perfect satisfaction with his nonconformity, as appears from his last will and testament, in which were these words:—“I do hereby declare and protest, that I do continue and end my days in the very same faith and judgment, touching all points of religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profess; and which I have, both by my doctrine and practice, and by my sufferings also, given testimony unto.”† The excellent Mr. Samuel Hildersham, ejected in 1662, was his son; Mr. Hildersham’s remains were interred in the chancel of Ashby church, where, on the south side, is the following monumental inscription erected to his memory.‡

M. S.

Near to this place lieth interred the body
of ARTHUR HILDERSHAM,
honourably descended from Sir RICHARD POOLE,
by his wife MARGARET Countess of SALISBURY;
but more honoured for his sweet and ingenuous disposition,
his singular wisdom in settling peace,
advising in secular affairs,
and satisfying doubts,
his abundant charity,
and especially for his extraordinary knowledge and
judgment in the Holy Scriptures,
his painful and zealous preaching,
together with his firm and lasting constancy
in the truth he professed.
He lived in this place
for the most part of forty-three years and six months,
with great success in his ministry,
love and reverence of all sorts,
and died with much honour and lamentation,
March the 4th, 1631.

* Lilly’s Life and Times, p. 6. Edit. 1774.

† Clark’s Lives, p. 120. ‡ Palmer’s Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 147.

§ Nichols’s Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 622.

The character given of Mr. Hildersham, in the above monumental inscription, is confirmed by one of his contemporaries; who says, "that the loss which the town of Ashby sustained by his death was very great; for he was a peace-maker among his neighbours, and the patron of the poor. By his great wisdom and care, wickedness was checked, and godliness was promoted. He was a friend to every one in a good cause; and it was his constant delight to be serviceable to all. He left a precious name behind him, and had epistles of commendation written in the hearts of the people."*

In addition to the two excellent volumes already specified, Mr. Hildersham was author of "Lectures on Psalm xxxv.," published in 1632; and "A Treatise on the Lord's Supper." Of this work, Mr. John Cotton says, "Those questions and answers furnish a christian with a more proper view of that spiritual duty, than any other book in any language, that I know, in so small a compass." It is commonly bound with a treatise on the same subject by Mr. Bradshaw.†

THOMAS HILL was of Hart-hall, Oxford, and a popular preacher in the university. He was zealous in the advancement of truth, and in opposition to error; yet he discovered great moderation. Having preached a sermon from James i. 16. in St. Mary's church, May 24, 1631, he made the following observations: "Were my time and learning parallel to my zeal, what a tempting doth here present itself, to shew how rashly (I say not cruelly) our Pelagian votaries have handled the decrees and statutes of the King of heaven. But they are to be mischieved into honour, (no matter how,) which tempts them to disrelish sound doctrine on no other ground than did David, because the lords do not favour it. 1. Sam. xxix. 6. Scripture they use worse than the Turks do christians at Tunis; enslave it to the vassalage of the foulest error; and, according to their most current garb, employ it to defend popery, or, as bad, Pelagianism. Popish darts, whet afresh on a Dutch grindstone, have pierced deep, and, without succour, will prove mortal. I am persuaded these late transmarine tenets had not been so *jolly* and *brief* among us, nor the opposite truth so diametrically condemned by many, had they first made

* Clark's Lives, p. 119, 120.

† Hildersham on John, Epis.

proof of these points in their own retired and serious contemplations.”*

For these slight glances at popery and Arminianism, he was, by the instigation of Bishop Laud, convened before the vice-chancellor and heads of houses, when he was required to make the following degrading recantation, in a full convocation, on his bended knees :—“ I, Thomas Hill, do freely and sincerely acknowledge before this venerable assembly of convocation, that in a sermon lately by me preached in St. Mary’s, I did let fall divers scandalous speeches, partly in opposition to his majesty’s injunctions, by odious justling together the names of certain factions in the church, and imputing Pelagianism and popery to the one side: partly in disparagement of the present government of state and church, by making foul and erroneous opinions the readiest steps now a days to preferment. As also in disparaging the whole order of bishops, in point of learning and religion, making them favourers of unsound and erroneous doctrine, and disfavoured of sound doctrine. As likewise in imputing to a great part of our clergy, only *politick* and *lunatic* religion: besides private glances against particular persons, concerning some speeches delivered in their late sermons. In all which passages in my sermon, I confess to have given just offence to the university, and to deserve the sharpest censures. Wherefore, with all humble submission, I beseech the whole university, represented in this venerable house, to pass by this my wilful error of indiscreet and misguided zeal, and do faithfully promise henceforward to abstain from all such scandalous aspersions and intimations, as tending only to the disparagement of the church, and the distraction and disquiet of the university. And this my submission I humbly crave may be accepted, which I do here make willingly, and from my heart, with true sorrow for what is past.

“ THOMAS HILL.”

It appears from the records of the university, that Mr. Hill made the above recantation, July 16, 1631, when he was no doubt released from the hands of his cruel oppressors. There was another puritan divine of the same name, who lived at the same time, was doctor in divinity, and a person of distinguished eminence in his day.

* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 173.

† Ibid. p. 174.—Wharton’s Troubles of Laud, vol. ii. p. 51.

ROBERT BOLTON, B. D.—This excellent divine was born at Blackburn in Lancashire, in the year 1572, and educated first in Lincoln college, then in Brazen-nose college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He made uncommon progress in logic, philosophy, and the learned languages. The means of his support being small, he borrowed books of his tutor and other persons; when, for his greater advantage, besides reading them with close attention, he preserved abridgments of them in his common-place book. With a view to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the Greek, he transcribed with uncommon pains the whole of Homer, in a very fair character. He became famous for his lectures on natural and moral philosophy, and was learned in metaphysics, mathematics, and school divinity. Having so eminently displayed his learning and abilities in the public disputations of the schools, he was chosen by the vice-chancellor, when King James first visited the university, to be one of the public disputants before his majesty. Notwithstanding all his ornamental and useful accomplishments, he was still destitute of the one thing needful; he had no serious concern for his soul; but loved plays and cards, was a horrible swearer, sabbath-breaker, and familiar associate of the wicked. He hated all good men, especially those odiously stigmatized by the name of puritans; and even denominated the celebrated Mr. William Perkins “a barren empty fellow, and a very mean scholar.” His views, however, were afterwards changed. Having experienced the renewing influence of divine grace, he said that Mr. Perkins was as learned and godly a divine as the church had enjoyed for many years.

During Mr. Bolton's residence at Oxford, he became intimately acquainted with one Anderton, formerly his school-fellow, but now a learned popish priest, who, taking an advantage of his mean circumstances, persuaded him into a reconciliation to the church of Rome, and to accompany him to one of the English seminaries in Flanders; where, said he, “you shall have gold enough.” The time and place of embarking were accordingly appointed: but Anderton disappointing him, he renounced the object altogether, and returned to his college. Here, by the instructions of the excellent Mr. Thomas Peacock, he was brought under such deep convictions of sin, that for many months he lost his appetite, his sleep, and all peace of mind. In the end, by a continuance in prayer and deep humiliation before God, he found mercy and received comfort. This memorable

event was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he resolved to enter upon the work of the ministry. Having received much from the Lord, he loved much, and was desirous of being employed for much usefulness. Having preached at various places for about two years, Sir Augustin Nichols, one of the justices of the common pleas,* presented him, in the year 1609, to the rectory of Broughton in Northamptonshire, at which place he continued to the day of his death. Upon his presentation to Broughton, Bishop King thanked the worthy judge, but observed, that he had deprived the university of one of its brightest ornaments.†

Mr. Bolton was a most authoritative and awakening preacher, being endowed with the most masculine and oratorical style of any in his time. He preached twice every Lord's day, and catechized the youth of his congregation. Upon every holiday, and every Friday before the sacrament, he expounded a portion of scripture; and constantly prayed six times a day, twice in secret, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. He kept many days of fasting and private humiliation before God, especially for the protestant churches abroad. He was a comely and grave person, commanding in all companies, and ever zealous in the cause of Christ; yet so prudent, as to avoid being called in question for those things in which he was unconformable to the ecclesiastical establishment. As a minister of the gospel, he was famous for charity, courage, wisdom, and impartiality.‡ He was so deeply engaged in his work, that it is said, "he never delivered a sermon to his people in public till he had preached it to himself in private.§

In his last sickness, which was a quartan ague, Mr. Bolton, finding that his complaint increased, revised his will, and retired from the noise of the world, employing the remnant of his time in sweet meditation on the joys of heaven. Though his sickness was tedious and painful, he bore it with admirable patience, and endured it as seeing him that is invisible. During the intervals of his fits, he often exclaimed, "Oh! when will this good hour come? When shall I be dissolved? When shall I be with Christ?" Being told, that though it would be better for him to be

* Sir Augustin was a learned man, an upright judge, an excellent christian, and a zealous promoter of true religion.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. iii. A. D. 1626.

† Life of Mr. Bolton prefixed to his "Four Last Things." Edit. 1652.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ambrose's Works, p. 24. Edit. 1701.

dissolved, the church of God would lose the benefit of his ministry, he replied, "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me his habitation; but if otherwise, lo! here I am; let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." Being asked whether he should not be content to live, if it were the will of God, he immediately said, "I grant that life is the great blessing of God, neither will I neglect any means to preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God's will; but of the two, I infinitely prefer to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." During the progress of his complaint, many of his people and acquaintance visited him, but he only allowed his intimate friends to see him, desiring that his preparation for heaven might not be interrupted. But to those who had access to him, he gave very affectionate and appropriate exhortations. Though his body was much wasted, his mental powers were as lively and vigorous as ever. He encouraged ministers who came to him, to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to let their spirits sink under the troubles of the way. He exhorted all who came to him to make sure of Christ before they came to die. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy, in plucking him as a brand from the fire, and in blessing his ministry to the conversion of so many souls, ascribing to him all the glory.

About a week before his departure, he desired his wife not to be troubled at his dissolution, but to bear it with christian fortitude, assuring her they should meet again in heaven. Turning towards his children, he observed, that they must not now expect him to say any thing to them, for his strength was gone; and he had told them enough in time past, which he hoped they would remember after he was dead; and he said, "he verily believed that none of them durst think of meeting him before the tribunal of God, in an unconverted state." As in his public ministry he had made known to his people the unspeakable comforts of the gospel, they now desired to know what he felt of them in his own soul. "Alas," said he, "do they look for that of me now, who have not breath and strength to speak? I have told them enough in my ministry. But to give them satisfaction, I am, by the wonderful mercies of God, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ, with whom I heartily desire to be." And looking upon those who were weeping near him, he said, "Oh! how much ado there is before one can die."

A little before his departure, and expecting every moment to be his last, being told that some of his best friends were about to take their last farewell, he caused himself to be raised up, and bowing himself upon his bed's head, after struggling for breath, he spoke as follows: "I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out, faith and patience; your work will soon be ended." Then, shaking them all by the hand, he said, "Make sure of heaven; and keep in mind what I have formerly delivered to you. The doctrine which I have preached to you for the space of twenty years, is the truth of God, as I shall answer at the tribunal of Christ, before whom I must soon appear." This he spake when the very pangs of death were upon him. A dear friend taking him by the hand, asked him whether he felt much pain. "Truly no," said he, "the greatest pain I feel is your cold hand," and presently expired. He died December 17, 1631, aged fifty-nine years.*

Mr. Nicholas Estwick, who preached Mr. Bolton's funeral sermon, gives him the following character: he says, "How industrious a student he was, and how well furnished with learning, is well known. The Lord enriched him with a great measure of grace, and his life was unreprouable. All his days he was a hard student, and laborious in his ministry, yet was never ambitious of worldly greatness. He sought his own sanctification and the sanctification of others, and was the means of plucking many out of the snares of Satan. While his preaching was searching, it was happily calculated to quicken and strengthen languished souls; for which many had cause to bless God." Our author adds, "A great man is fallen in our Israel, and there will be a great loss of him. His wife will find the loss of a gracious husband; his children a gracious father; his flock a gracious shepherd; ministers, the loss of a grave, learned, and gracious brother; the devout christian, who desired to have all his sins discovered, will find the loss of a gracious and soul-searching minister; he that would avoid sin, and make progress in holiness, will find the loss of a wise and experienced director; he that is wounded in his conscience, will find the loss of a skilful physician; the poor will find the loss of a liberal benefactor, a wise instructor, and a gracious friend; and the whole land will find the loss of a zealous and powerful wrestler with God for the continuance of its happiness."† The Oxford historian denominates him,

* Life of Mr. Bolton.

† Funeral Sermon for Mr. Bolton.

"a most religious and learned puritan, a painful and constant preacher, a person of great zeal for God, charitable and bountiful; and so famous for relieving afflicted consciences, that many foreigners resorted to him, as well as persons at home, who found relief. He was so expert in the Greek language, that he could write it, and dispute in it with equal ease as in English or Latin."* Fuller says, "he was one of a thousand for piety, wisdom, and steadfastness; and his enemies, who endeavoured to injure him in his ministry, were never able, by all their plottings, to do him any more harm than only to shew their teeth."† Echarde styles him, "a great and shining light of the puritan party," and says, "he was justly celebrated for his singular learning and piety."‡

His eloquent and valuable writings will recommend his memory to the latest posterity. Most of them were published after his death by his worthy friend Mr. Edward Bagshaw, who wrote and published his life, to which reference has been already given. Mr. Bolton had been a notorious sinner, and having been reclaimed by great terrors, his writings are excellent both for conviction and consolation. His style is said to be inclining to the bombast, yet many expressions are truly great and magnificent. The beauties of imagination are chiefly apparent in his "Four Last Things;" but his most useful works are his "Directions for Walking with God," and "Instructions for Comforting Afflicted Consciences." There we see the traces of a soul most intimately acquainted with God.§

It is observed of this holy and reverend divine, that he was so highly esteemed in Northamptonshire, that his people who beheld his white locks of hair, could point at him and say, "When that snow shall be dissolved, there will be a great flood;" and so it proved: for there never was a minister in that county who lived more beloved, or died more lamented. Floods of tears were shed over his grave.¶ His remains were interred in the chancel of Broughton church, where there is a half-length figure of him, with his hands erected in the attitude of prayer, resting on a book lying open before him; and underneath is a monumental

* *Athenæ Oxon.*, vol. i. p. 479, 480.

† Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 591.

‡ *Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 98.

§ *Doddridge's Works*, vol. v. p. 429. Edit. 1804.

¶ *Bolton on Usury*, Pref. Edit. 1637.

inscription upon black marble, of which the following is a translation :

Here lies,
peaceably sleeping in the Lord,
the body of ROBERT BOLTON,
who died December the seventeenth,
in the year 1631.

He was one of the first and
most learned of our church.
His other excellencies all England knoweth,
lamenting the day of his death.

His Works.—1. A Discourse about the State of true Happiness, 1611.—2. Directions for Walking with God, 1625.—3. Meditations of the Life to come, 1628.—4. Instructions for the right Comforting Afflicted Consciences, 1631.—5. Helps to Humiliation, 1631.—6. The Four Last Things—Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven, 1632.—7. Assize Sermons, and other Sermons, 1632, &c.—8. Funeral Notes on his Patron Sir Augustin Nichols, 1638.—9. Carnal Professor; or, the woful Slavery of Men guided by the Flesh, 1634.—10. The Saints' sure and perpetual Guide, 1634.—11. The Saints' self-enriching Examination; or, a Treatise concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 1634.—12. The Saints' Soul-exalting Humiliation; or Soul-fasting Fasting, 1634.—13. A short and private Discourse between Mr. Bolton and one M. S. concerning Usury, 1637.—14. Devout Prayers on Solemn Occasions, 1638.—15. A Cordial for Christians in the Time of Affliction, 1640.—16. The Last Visitation, Conflicts, and Death of Mr. Thomas Peacock, B. D. and Fellow of Brazen-nose college, Oxford, 1646.

GILES THORNE was of Baliol-college, Oxford, and one of the preachers to the university. Mr. Thomas Ford of Magdalen-hall, Mr. William Hodges of Exeter college, and Mr. Thorne, having in their sermons at St. Mary's church, in the year 1631, used some bold expressions against the sentiments of the Arminians, were convened before the vice-chancellor Dr. Smith and others, as offenders against his majesty's injunctions. They were required to deliver up copies of their sermons; but perceiving the vice-chancellor's partiality and injustice, they appealed to the proctors, who received their appeal, as they had a right to do, according to the statutes of the university. Bishop Laud, receiving information of the case, complained of their appeal to the king, who heard the whole business at Woodstock; when, by the influence of this prelate, the three divines were expelled from the university; the two

* Whalley's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 89. Edit. 1791.

proctors, for receiving their appeal, were deprived of their places; and Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter college, and Dr. Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen-hall, received a sharp reprimand for their concern in this business.* Mr. Thorne presented a most humble petition to the bishop, desiring his favour and pardon, and a re-admission to the university; but without effect. Mr. Hodges desiring to be restored, preached a recantation sermon in St. Mary's church, and read a most degrading submission in the convocation-house, on his bended knees, before the whole assembly, and was restored as a probationer for one year, to bewail his offence and learn obedience. Mr. Ford, making no address, returned to his friends in Devonshire; when he was likely to be chosen vicar or lecturer of Plymouth. But Laud was no sooner informed of this, than he procured letters from the king, forbidding the inhabitants of the town to elect him, upon pain of his majesty's displeasure; and another to the Bishop of Exeter, commanding him not to admit him, in case he should be elected.+ Mr. Hodges afterwards conformed, and obtained considerable preferment.‡ Mr. Ford continued a nonconformist, and was ejected in 1662.§ And one Dr. Giles Thorne, in the year 1643, became archdeacon of Buckingham; but whether this be the same person, we are unable to ascertain.¶

THOMAS BEARD, D. D.—This person was a puritan minister of considerable eminence, and a famous schoolmaster at Huntingdon. In the year 1628, when the Bishop of Winchester was accused before the house of commons, Dr. Beard was sent for as witness against him, when his information was presented to the house by Sir Daniel Norton.‡ In the year 1630, he was made justice of peace for the county of Huntingdon, being esteemed a person of great celebrity. He was schoolmaster to the famous Oliver Cromwell, who was born at this place, and who, being a youth of an aspiring and obstinate temper, often received his sharp discipline. It is observed, that when Oliver was a boy at school, “ he averred that, when lying on his bed, he saw a gigantic figure, which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should hereafter

* Rushworth's Collect. vol. ii. p. 110.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 175, 176.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 824.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 26.

¶ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 734.

‡ MS. Remarks, p. 867.

be the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not mention the word *king*; and though he was told of the folly, as well as the wickedness of such an assertion, he still persisted in it; for which, at the request of his father, he was flogged by Dr. Beard." Cromwell, it is added, often mentioned this circumstance when arrived at the height of his glory.* Dr. Beard and Dr. Thomas Taylor, whose memoir is given in the next article, were joint authors of "The Theatre of God's Judgments;" and he published a work entitled, "Pedantius, Comœdia, olim Cantab. acta. in Coll. Trin. nunquam ante hæc Typis evulgata," 1631. His portrait, prefixed to this work, says Granger,† is a neat whole length, with two scholars standing by him, a rod in his hand, and a label proceeding from his mouth, inscribed, *As in presenti*.

THOMAS TAYLOR, D. D.—This excellent divine was born at Richmond in Yorkshire, in the year 1576, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He was the son of pious and worthy parents. His father was recorder of the town, and particularly kind and liberal to the ministers silenced for nonconformity, and the persecuted exiles from Scotland. Our divine had several brothers in the ministry. While at the university, his unwearied diligence and high attainments in good literature were manifest to all. He was, therefore, chosen fellow and Hebrew lecturer of the college. He at first much opposed the puritans, as that sect which was every where spoken against; but afterwards espoused their cause, and became a sufferer with the rest of his brethren. He was for some time silenced, and threatened to be degraded, for a sermon which he preached in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, from Canticles, v. 7. "The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me, they wounded me; the keepers of the walls took away my vail from me." That on which he chiefly insisted, and which gave offence to the ruling ecclesiastics, was, "that in every age, some of those who ought to have been promoters of the church's welfare, have been its persecutors." How long he remained under the unjust censure, we have not been able to learn. In the year 1606, he was again silenced by Bishop Harsnet, for nonconformity. He was afterwards violently opposed and harassed by Bishop Wren, who

* Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 93—95, 102. Edit. 1787.

† Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 196.

used his utmost endeavours to hinder him from taking his doctor's degree. He was willing to endure any sufferings himself, rather than that the truth and cause of God should suffer.* He was afterwards convened before the high commission, as a notorious delinquent, only for generously uniting with his brethren in promoting a private contribution for the poor afflicted ministers of the Palatinate, even after public collections failed: but it does not appear what further molestation he endured.†

Dr. Taylor, upon leaving the university, settled first at Watford in Hertfordshire, then at Reading in Berkshire, and afterwards, in 1625, he became pastor of Aldermanbury, London. At each of these places his labours were made a blessing to many souls. During his abode at Reading, a generation of young preachers was raised up under his ministry, who afterwards became bright ornaments in the church of God.‡ He preached at Paul's cross before Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards before King James. He spent thirty years in his beloved work; and continued faithful and laborious to the end. As the true servant of Christ, he was desirous to spend and be spent for the glory of God and the good of souls. With all sincerity and purity, and all zeal and meekness, he watched over the flock of Christ. His sermons were judicious, substantial, and admirably well delivered. He was an avowed enemy to popery, arminianism, and antinomianism; against the last of which he published a work, entitled, "The Use of the Law." Though envy opposed him, real worth always admired him.

This worthy divine, when in the prospect of death, was desirous to have done more service for Christ; yet he was willing to obey the summons. Having finished the work which the Lord gave him to do, he was ready to depart, and to be with Christ. During his last sickness, he experienced much joy and peace in believing, and enjoyed a triumphant confidence in Christ as his gracious conqueror of death, and hell, and sin. "Oh!" said he, "we serve a good Lord, who covers all imperfections, and gives great wages for little work; and in mercy hath provided for me some of the greatest." Having languished a short time under his complaint, he died in the beginning of the year

* Life of Taylor prefixed to his "Works." Edit. 1658.

† Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 918.—Clark's Lives annotated to Martyrologie, p. 128.

1632, aged fifty-five years, and his remains were interred in St. Mary's church, Aldermanbury. He was an indefatigable student, an excellent preacher, and eminently useful in his ministry. He enjoyed great comfort in being faithful, and additional comfort in being useful in the Lord's work. The welfare of his people lay near his heart. He was not so much concerned to gather tithes into his barn, as souls to Jesus Christ. He who was a guide to others, did not wander out of the way himself. He preached and practised righteousness. His life was particularly exemplary, his enemies being judges. His piety, his charity, and his moderation, were manifest to all.* Mr. Leigh calls him "a solid and judicious divine."† Fuller, who has classed him among the fellows and learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge, says, "he was exceedingly charitable, most strict in his conversation, a grave divine, a painful preacher, and a profitable writer."‡ Wood says, "he was excellent in following and opening an allegory; and that he was highly esteemed by the London ministers, as well as by the people of his charge." On account of his profound knowledge of the scriptures, he was commonly styled, "the illuminated doctor."§ He was, says Dr. Williams, "a sound and sensible divine, and a very useful preacher; one who had penetrating views of the human heart, and of the oracles of God."||

His Works.—1. A Commentary on the Epistle to Titus, 1612.—2. Five Sermons occasioned by the Powder-plot, 1620.—3. Christ's Victory over the Dragon, being an Exposition of Rev. xii., 1633.—4. Christ Revealed; or, the Old Testament Explained, 1635.—5. Theatre of God's Judgments, 1648.—In this work he was assisted by Dr. Thomas Beard.—6. A Commentary upon Psalm xxxii., 1659.—7. An Exposition of Christ's Temptations, 1659.—8. A Treatise on Acts xth.—9. An Exposition on the Parable of the Sower and the Seed.—10. The Saint's Progress to full Holiness.—11. The Romish Almanack.—12. Fly from Rome.—13. A Military Sermon, the Value of Valour.—14. A Wedding Sermon.—15. The Practice of Repentance.—16. The New Creature.—17. Meditations on the Creatures, on Psalm viii.—18. The Pearl of the Gospel.—19. The Pilgrim's Profession.—20. The Conversion, Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Gunter.—21. A Glass for Gentlewomen to dress themselves by.—22. A short Introduction to the Worthy Receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—23. The Beauty of Bethel.—24. The King's Bath.—25. The Map of Rome.—26. The Rule of the Law under

* Life of Dr. Taylor.—Clark's Lives, p. 125—127.

† Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 337.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 210, 211.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 868.

|| Christian Preacher, p. 437, 438.

the Gospel.—27. A Treatise of Circumspect Walking.—28. Principles of Christian Practice.—29. A threefold Alphabet of Christian Practice.—30. A Table, wherein is handled how far it is lawful to fly in the time of the Plague.—31. A brief View or Looking-glass of God's special Mercies to stir up our Thankfulness.—32. A Treatise of Contentment.—His "Works," as they are called, were published in one volume folio, in 1653, containing the following pieces.—33. Catechistical Exercises.—34. Jailor's Conversion.—35. Famine of the Word.—36. Peter's Repentance.—37. Judas's Repentance.—38. The Owle of the Gospel.—39. The Stranger at Home.—40. The Green and Dry Tree.—41. A Pattern of Peace.—42. A Caveat against Offences.—43. Nicolaitan Doctrine hateful.—44. Moderation in the Things of this Life.—45. A President for Preachers.—46. Excuse of a good Christian.—47. Two Contrary Masters.—48. The House of God.—49. Badge of a true Christian.—50. Jephtha's Vow.—51. New Map of Rome.—52. Labour in Vain.—53. Against following the Multitude.—54. Divers other Sermons.—This volume, with his Life prefixed by Mr. Caryl, contains also two of the former pieces.

NATHANIEL BERNARD, A. M.—This excellent minister was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, afterwards lecturer at St. Sepulchre's, London, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. Having preached at St. Antholin's church, May 3, 1629, he used this expression in his prayer before sermon:—"Oh Lord, open the eyes of the queen's majesty, that she may see Jesus Christ, whom she hath pierced with her infidelity, superstition, and idolatry;" for which he was summoned by Bishop Laud to appear before the high commission at Lambeth. After long attendance, and having made his humble submission, he was dismissed. His dismissal, however, was considered as an act of great favour, and of great mildness in the high commission.*

In the month of May, 1632, Mr. Bernard, having preached a sermon in St. Mary's church, Cambridge, spoke in favour of maintaining purity in the worship and ordinances of God, and against the introduction of Arminianism and the popish ceremonies into the church of Christ. The activity of Laud soon brought a prosecution against him in the high commission court. Upon Mr. Bernard's appearance, he was constrained to deliver a copy of his sermon to his lordship; who excepted against the following passages:—"God's ordinances for his public worship are the glory of any nation. By God's ordinances here, I understand chiefly the word, sacraments, and prayer; which, if blended and adulterated with any superstitious innovations

* *Fryne's Cant. Doome*, p. 362, 363.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 32.

of men, cease to be God's ordinances, and he owns them no longer. It is not the single *having* of God's ordinances of public worship, but having them in their *purity*, that dignifies a nation. God's ordinances in their purity are a sure shield to a nation from public ruin and desolation. For the proof of this, I challenge all records, both human and divine, to produce one instance wherein God punished any part of his church, with any national ruin and destruction, before they had departed from, or corrupted, his ordinances. The gospel, which is the power of God to salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those, who, from eternity, were ordained thereunto by God's absolute and immutable decree. This seems to confute their error, who think meanly and basely of the ordinances of God. These men turn their glory into shame. Is there not a generation of profane men among us, who are afraid and ashamed to preach twice on a Lord's day; to preach plainly, powerfully, and spiritually to the souls and consciences of their people, lest they should be accounted puritans?"

But the principal exception was the conclusion of his sermon, and as follows: "It is impossible, I say, that any should be saved living and dying without repentance, in the doctrine and idolatrous worship of the church of Rome, as the late Tridentine council hath decreed. My reason is, that he who thinks of going to heaven in any other way than by faith in Christ only, shall never come there. Furthermore, if God's ordinances of public worship, in their divine purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly, or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, and are the enemies and traitors of that nation. Hereby we may learn how to account of those among ourselves, (if any such there be,) who endeavour to quench the light and abate the glory of our Israel, by bringing their Pelagian errors into the doctrine of our church established by law, and the superstitions of the church of Rome into our worship of God: as, high altars, crucifixes, bowing to them, and worshipping them; whereby they very shamefully symbolize with the church of Rome, to the irreparable shipwreck of many souls. How can we think that such men are not the enemies of this church and nation? I say, they are enemies; therefore, let us take up arms against them. But what arms? The prayers of

the church are the arms of the church. Let us then pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of God, or to destruction. And let us use that prayer against them, which David used against Abithophel, with which I will conclude: O Lord, turn the council of all these Abithophels into folly, who go about to lay the honour of this church and nation in the dust, by depriving us of the purity of thy ordinances of public worship, which are the glory of this our nation.”*

For these expressions in his sermon, Mr. Bernard was most cruelly censured in the high commission. He was suspended, excommunicated, fined one thousand pounds, condemned in costs of suit, and committed to New Prison; where, for six months, he was most barbarously used, and almost starved for want, of which he complained in sundry letters and petitions which he sent to the bishop; but the good man could obtain no relief, unless he would defile his conscience by a public recantation.† Whether this severe and heavy sentence was disproportionate to his crime, the impartial reader will easily determine.

The degrading recantation enjoined upon Mr. Bernard, discovers so much the intolerant spirit of Bishop Laud and his brethren in commission, that it will be proper, though at some length, to be inserted. It was, therefore, as follows: “Whereas in a sermon made by me, in this place, the 6th of May last, upon this text, *The glory is departed from Israel, because the ark of God was taken.* 1 Sam. iv. 21. I had this passage: ‘The gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation, is the means by which God manifesteth his omnipotent and irresistible power in the conversion and salvation of all those who, from eternity, were ordained thereunto by God’s absolute and immutable decree.’ And I do here publicly acknowledge, that hereby, contrary to his majesty’s command in his declaration lately published with the articles of religion, I did go beyond the general meaning of that place of scripture, and of the said articles; and drew the same to maintain the one side of some of those ill-raised differences, which his majesty’s said declaration mentioneth. And this I did rather out of a desire to thrust something into my said sermon, in affirmation of one side of the said differences, than was any way occasioned by the text I preached from. For which I here publicly profess my hearty

* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 364, 365.

† Ibid.

“sorrow, and do humbly crave pardon of Almighty God, of his majesty, and of this congregation.

“And whereas in the said sermon, I had this passage: ‘If God’s ordinances of public worship, in their purity, be the glory of a nation; then it follows, that they who go about to deprive a nation of them, either wholly or of their purity, go about to make the nation base and inglorious, and are the enemies and traitors of that nation. Hereby we may learn how to account of those among ourselves, (if any such there be,) who endeavour to quench the light and abate the glory of our Israel, by bringing their Pelagian errors into the doctrine of our church, and the superstitious ceremonies of the church of Rome into our worship of God: as, high altars, crucifixes, bowing to them, and worshipping them; whereby they very shamefully symbolize with the church of Rome, to the irreparable shipwreck of many souls.’ I do now, upon better information, find that many erroneous and dangerous assertions and consequences, unfit to be here expressed, may be collected and inferred from the said words. I do, therefore, hereby publicly recant all the said words, as they were used or may be inferred, to be very rashly and inconsiderately uttered, and to be very undutiful to his majesty. I do humbly refer and submit myself to his majesty’s clemency and gracious acceptance, for the interpretation of my meaning; and I am heartily sorry, and do humbly crave pardon, that words and applications, so scandalous and dangerous to the present state of the church of England, proceeded from me.

“And whereas, in the same sermon, I had this passage: ‘By God’s ordinances here, I understand the word, sacraments and prayer, in that purity in which the Lord Christ left them, not blinded and adulterated with any superstitious inventions of men; for then they cease to be God’s ordinances, and he owns them no longer.’ I desire that this passage may be taken and understood as I spake and meant it, and not otherwise. Not that I hold all human inventions added to God’s ordinances, to be superstitious; for I account that tenet not only false, but palpably absurd and foolish; but to exclude all those human inventions, which may hinder the preservation of the doctrine and discipline of this church of England, in that purity and integrity wherein, through God’s gracious goodness, by his majesty’s laws ecclesiastical, we do enjoy them. And whereas, by some other passages in my said

“sermon, I was, as I understand, conceived by some, not only to cast aspersions upon the present state of our church, and some principal members and parts thereof, thereby to bring it and them into scandal and dislike; but even, under some ambiguous words, to move to take up arms for redress, although by recalling and restraining the same in terms afterwards, and saying thus: ‘Let us pray these men either to conversion, if it be the will of God, or to destruction, calling them crafty Abithophels.’ I do here acknowledge and profess I had no such intentions. Neither do I know any cause why myself or any other, should so bitterly inveigh against any in our church. I am, therefore, heartily sorry that I gave cause to any of the hearers to conceive so; and humbly crave pardon for it.”*

Mr. Bernard was required to make this vile and degrading recantation publicly before the congregation where he had delivered the sermon; but he absolutely refused. He could not sacrifice the testimony of a good conscience, deny the most glaring matters of fact, and reject the counsel of God against himself. Though in his numerous letters and petitions to Bishop Laud, he professed his sincere sorrow and repentance for any oversights and unbecoming expressions in his sermon, he could obtain no relief. He must either recant according to the above contemptible form, and thus degrade himself below the brutes, or be ruined. He was therefore detained in New Prison; where, after languishing a long time, he died.† When the Lord maketh inquisition for blood, the blood of this righteous and faithful servant of Christ will assuredly be found; but lamentable will be the case of that man in whose skirts it shall be found.

There was another minister of the same name, who lived at the same time, and was afterwards a considerable sufferer in the civil wars. This person was exceedingly zealous in the royal cause, and author of a sermon entitled “A Looking-glass for Rebellion, preached before the Parliament at Oxford,” 1644.

* Prynne's *Canterburies Doome*, p. 365—367.—Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. ii. p. 140—142.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 367.—Fuller's *Hist. of Camb.* p. 167.

WILLIAM AMES, D.D.—This learned divine was born in the county of Norfolk, in the year 1576, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, under the famous Mr. William Perkins. Having received the truth of the gospel, he became exceedingly zealous in its defence, avowing his opposition to every kind of error and sin, especially the delusive corruptions of popery. About the year 1610, having for some time been fellow of his college, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's church, against playing at cards and dice; which gave great offence to many of his audience, particularly because he was well known to be zealous in the cause of nonconformity.* He beheld the approaching storm, and was obliged to quit the college and university, to prevent expulsion. Previous to his departure, he was called before Dr. Carey, master of the college, who urged him to wear the surplice; and to convince Ames's understanding, and bring him to a compliance, he warmly urged the words of the Apostle: "Put on the armour of light;" that is, said he, the *white surplice*.† The doctor's learned argument was, however, too futile to prevail upon Ames to conform. He adhered too tenaciously to the word of God, to defile his conscience by any sinful compliance; but resigned his fellowship, and forsook the university; and soon after, to escape the indignation of Archbishop Bancroft, he left the kingdom.

He fled to Holland, and was chosen minister of the English church at the Hague. But there he could find no long repose. The resentment of the prelates followed him into a foreign land. He was no sooner comfortably settled at the Hague, than Archbishop Abbot, Bancroft's successor, wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, the English ambassador at the court of Holland, urging Ames's removal from his present situation. The archbishop's letter to Winwood is dated March 12, 1612, which he concludes by saying, "I wish the removing of him to be as *privately* and as *cleanly* carried as the matter will permit. We are also acquainted what *English preachers* are entertained in Zealand, where—unto in convenient time we hope to give a redress."‡ What intolerance could be worse than this? Good men must enjoy peace neither at home nor in a foreign land. When Ames was about to be chosen professor of divinity at Leyden, endeavours were also used through the

* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 159.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iij. A.D. 1633. p. 4.

‡ Winwood's Memorials, vol. iij. p. 346, 347.

medium of the ambassador, and it was prevented. The same was also attempted, but without success, when he was chosen by the states of Friesland to the same office in the university of Franeker.* Such were the malice and madness of his persecutors! Dr. Ames attended at the synod of Dort, and informed King James's ambassador at the Hague, from time to time, of the debates of that venerable assembly. He was famous for his controversial writings, especially against the Arminians, Bellarmine, and the English ceremonies; which, for conciseness and perspicuity, were not equalled by any of his time.†

Dr. Ames having for the space of twelve years filled the divinity chair with universal reputation, began to think the air of Franeker too sharp for his constitution. He was troubled with extreme difficulty of breathing, and thought every winter would be his last. He was, at the same time, desirous to be employed in the delightful work of preaching the gospel to his countrymen; therefore, he resigned his professorship, and accepted an invitation to the English church at Rotterdam.

Upon this exchange of situation, our divine wrote his "Fresh Suit against Ceremonies,"‡ a work of distinguished worth, shewing his great abilities and erudition. In the preface to this excellent work, he states the controversy thus: "We stand upon the sufficiency of Christ's institutions, for every thing pertaining to divine worship; and that the word of God, and nothing else, is the only standard in matters of religion. The prelates, on the other hand, would have us allow and use certain human ceremonies in christian worship. We, therefore, desire to be excused, holding them to be unlawful. Christ we know, and are ready to embrace every thing that cometh from him. But these human ceremonies in divine worship, we know not, we cannot receive them." And speaking further on the same subject, he says, "I am more than ever persuaded, that such relics of popery, and monuments of superstition, never did any good, but much evil."§ He did not,

* Kingdom's MS. Collections, p. 141.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 254.

‡ Mr. Richard Baxter became a nonconformist by reading this masterpiece of controversy.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 13, 14.

§ Dr. Ames, in this work, relates the following anecdote:—"I was once," says he, "and, thank God, only once, before a bishop, being presented to him by the chief magistrates of a corporation, to be preacher in their town. The lowly prelate first asked them, how they durst choose a preacher without his consent. 'You,' said he, 'are to receive the preacher that I appoint; for I am your pastor;' though he never fed them.

however, live to publish it himself; but its learned editor says, that herein "Dr. Ames pleads the cause of truth both succinctly and perspicuously, as he does, indeed, most admirably in all his writings. He shewed himself a pattern of holiness, a burning and shining light, a lamp of learning and arts, and a champion for the truth, especially while he was in the doctor's chair at Franeker."

This learned divine did not long survive his removal into Holland. His constitution was already greatly shattered, and the air of that country being of no real service to him, he determined upon a removal to New England; but his asthma returning before his intended departure, put an end to his life at Rotterdam. He was there buried November 14, 1633, aged fifty-seven years.* The following spring his wife and children embarked for New England, carrying with them his valuable library, which at that time was a noble acquisition to that country.† His son William, afterwards returning to England, was one of the ejected nonconformists, in 1662.‡

Dr. Ames filled the divinity chair, says Mr. Granger, with admirable abilities. His fame was, indeed, so great, that many came from remote nations to be educated under him. But he was much better known abroad than at home. And he adds a quotation from a piece of Mr. Hugh Peters, in these words: "Learned Amesius breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Friesland to live with me, because of my church's independency at Rotterdam. He was my colleague, and chosen brother to the church, where I was an unworthy pastor."§ Dr. Ames was a solid, judicious, and learned divine; a strict Calvinist in points of doctrine, and an independent in matters of discipline and church government. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge.¶ Dr. Mather styles him, "the profound, sublime, irrefragable, and angelical doctor, and doubts whether he left his equal upon earth. He seldom preached

Then turning to me, he said, 'How durst thou preach in my diocese, without my leave?' So that without any other reason, except mere lordship, the whole corporation and I were dismissed to wait his lordship's pleasure, which I have now done more than twenty years."—*Fresh Suit*, part ii. p. 409.

* Biographia Britannica, vol. i. p. 172, 173. Edit. 1778.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 3.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 296.

§ Historical and Critical Account of H. Peters, p. 60. Edit. 1751.

¶ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 198, 199.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

without tears; and when upon his death-bed, had most wonderful foretastes of glory.”*

The learned Mosheim, speaking of our divine as a writer, particularly upon the moral science, observes, that, by a worthy and pious spirit of emulation, he was excited to compose a complete body of christian morality. He says, that Dr. Ames was a native of Scotland; and that he was one of the first among the reformers who attempted to treat morality as a separate science, to consider it abstractedly from its connexion with any particular system of doctrine, and to introduce new light, and a new degree of accuracy and precision, into this *master-science* of life and manners. The attempt, says he, was laudable, had it been well executed; but the system of this learned writer was dry, theoretical, and subtile, and much more adapted to the instruction of students, than to the practical direction of private christians.†

HIS WORKS.—1. *Disceptatio Scholastica inter Neo Grevinchovium et Gul. Amesius, &c.*, 1613.—2. *Disputatio inter Amesium et N. Grevinchovium*, 1615.—3. *Corinis ad collationem Hagiensem*, 1618.—4. *Medulla Theologica*, 1623.—5. *Explicatio utriusque Epistolæ St. Petri*, 1625.—6. *De incarnatione Verbi*, 1626.—7. *Bellerminus enervatus, etc.*, 1627.—8. *De Conscientia*, 1630.—9. *Antisynodalia*, 1630.—10. *Demonstratio logicæ veræ*, 1632.—11. *Disputatio theologica*, 1632.—12. *Technometria, etc.*, 1632.—13. *A Reply to Bishop Morton*, 163.—14. *A Fresh Suit against human Ceremonies in God's Worship; or, a Triplication unto Dr. Burgess's Rejoinder for Dr. Morton*, 1633.—15. *A first and second Manuduction*, 163.—16. *Rescriptio ad responsum Grevinchovii de redemptione generali*, 1634.—17. *Christianæ catechescos sciographia*, 1635.—18. *Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis*, 1635.—He is said to have been author of “*Puritanismus Anglicanus*,” 1610; but he only wrote a preface to it, and translated it into Latin. Mr. William Bradshaw was the author of this piece, which contains the chief opinions of the puritans, and was published in English, in 1641.—Many of the above articles passed through many editions; and several of those in Latin were afterwards published in English. He wrote many prefaces to other men's works, and some other scattered pieces. His Latin works were collected and published at Amsterdam in 1658, in five volumes. His books are said to have been famous over all Europe.‡

* Mather's New Eng. b. iii. p. 9—9.

† Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 429. vol. v. p. 363, 364.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 173. Edit. 1778.

JOHN CARTER, A. M.—This eminently holy man was born at Wickham, near Canterbury, about the year 1554, and educated at Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he was much beloved for his great learning and piety. His favourite associates at Cambridge were Dr. Andrews, afterwards bishop of Ely, Dr. Chadderton, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Knewstubs, and some others; who constantly held their weekly meetings, for prayer and expounding the scriptures. The portion of scripture appointed to be read was the subject of mutual consideration; when one of them criticised upon the original, another examined its grammatical construction, another its logical analysis, another its true sense and meaning, and another collected the doctrines and uses most naturally resulting from it. By these social exercises, they became, like Apollos, eloquent and mighty in the scriptures. When Mr. Carter went to be ordained, the bishop asked him, saying, "Have you read the Bible through?" "Yes," replied Mr. Carter, "I have read the Old Testament twice through in Hebrew, and the New Testament often through in Greek; and if you please to examine me upon any particular place, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction." "Nay," said the bishop, "if it be so, I shall need to say no more;" and so, after some commendation and encouragement, he ordained him.*

In the year 1583, he was presented to the vicarage of Bramford in Suffolk. His income at first was, indeed, very small; but by the efforts of the people, it was afterwards raised to twenty pounds a year, which was the most he ever had during his continuance there. He sought not *theirs*, but *them*, and so was content. From his first entrance upon the ministry, he laboured as a workman who needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Multitudes of people, from Ipswich and other places, flocked to hear him. But his popularity and usefulness were soon interrupted, and he was brought into trouble on account of his nonconformity. Within about a year of his taking the charge of his flock, he was suspended, with many others, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles; but it does not appear how long he remained under the ecclesiastical censure.† From his first settlement at Bramford, he saw of the travail of his Redeemer's soul, and was abundantly satisfied. By the blessing of God upon his faithful ministry and holy life, many souls were added to

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 132, 133.

† MS. Register, p. 437.

the church daily. A generation afterwards sprang up, who, despising his plain and searching ministry, complained of him to the bishop, and would have him to observe an exact conformity, or be ejected. The good man, having laboured there about thirty-four years, was now in danger of being cast aside as useless, and he very reluctantly accepted an invitation to the rectory of Belsted, in the same neighbourhood. On a change of situation, he found so much favour in the eyes of the bishop, that he was instituted without subscription or the observance of the ceremonies. Here he continued eighteen years, till his labours and his sufferings were accomplished. His ministry at Belsted, as in the former situation, was the happy means of promoting much christian piety, and the conversion of many souls.

Mr. Carter was a strict nonconformist, and could never be persuaded to observe any ceremonies against his conscience. Though he was often brought into trouble by the bishops, especially upon the publication and imposition of Bishop Wren's cruel and superstitious articles; yet, by the assistance of friends, whom God mercifully raised up, he was mostly enabled to maintain his liberty, without any sinful compliance.* He was of a prudent and peaceable spirit, never censuring persons of real piety, though they conformed. He was plain, sincere, and upright; a man in whom there was no guile. He was kind and liberal, giving more every year to the poor than the income of his benefice. His habit, and that of his wife, were plain and homely. Those who called at his house used to say they had seen Adam and Eve, or some of the patriarchs. His conversation was affable, witty and pleasant, savouring of holiness and the kingdom of God. In conversation, with his eyes mostly lifted up towards heaven, he never failed to

* Dr. Matthew Wren, successively bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely, was a prelate of most intolerant principles, and too much inclined to the oppressions and superstitions of popery. While he sat in the chair of Norwich, "he proceeded," according to Clarendon, "so warmly and passionately against the dissenting congregations, that many left the kingdom," to the unspeakable injury of the manufactories of this country. His portrait was published and prefixed to a book, entitled, "Wren's Anatomy, discovering his notorious Pranks, &c. printed in the year when Wren ceased to domineer," 1641. In this portrait the bishop is represented sitting at a table, with two labels proceeding from his mouth, one of which is inscribed "Canonical Prayers;" the other, "No Afternoon Sermons." On one side stand several clergymen, over whose heads is written, "Altar cringing Priests." On the other side stand two men in lay habits, above whom is this inscription: "Church-wardens for Articles." — *Prynne's Cant. Dooms*, p. 831.—*Clarendon's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 74.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 157.

pour excellent instruction into the minds of his companions.

This worthy divine was remarkable for sensible and witty expressions. Being once reminded of the severe proceedings of the prelates, in persecuting the servants of Christ; and that the Book of Sports tended to the universal profanation of the sabbath, he said, "I have had a longing desire to see or hear of the fall of *antichrist*; but I check myself. I shall go to heaven, and the news will come thick after."

A poor man once meeting him, and sorely bemoaning his case, said, "Mr. Carter, what will become of me? I *work* hard, and *fare* hard, and yet I cannot thrive. I know not how in the world to live." To whom he replied, "Yet still you want one thing. You must work hard, and fare hard, and *pray* hard, and then you will be sure to thrive."

This reverend divine once coming softly behind a religious man of his acquaintance, who was busily employed in tanning a hide; and giving him a pleasant tap on the shoulder, the man startled, looked behind him, and, with a blushing countenance, said, "Sir, I am ashamed that you should find me thus." To whom Mr. Carter replied, "Let Christ, when he cometh, find me so doing." "What," said the man, "doing thus?" "Yes," said Mr. Carter, "faithfully performing the duties of my calling."

Being invited to dine, together with several other ministers, at the house of a respectable magistrate in Ipswich, a very vain person who sat at table, boasted that he would dispute with any gentleman present, upon any question that should be proposed, either in divinity or philosophy. A profound silence ensued, till Mr. Carter addressed him in these words: "I will go no farther than my trencher to puzzle you. Here is a *sole*; now tell me the reason why this fish, which hath always lived in *salt* water, should come out *fresh*?" As the bold challenger did not so much as attempt any answer, the scorn and laughter of the company were presently turned upon him.*

Mr. Carter's zeal for the glory of God and the welfare of souls continued to the last. A little before his departure, he called his daughter to him, and said, "Daughter, remember me to my son John. I shall see him no more in this life. And remember me to the rest of my children, and deliver this message from me to them all: *Stand fast in the faith,*

* Clark's Lives, p. 136, 137.

and love one another." He died in great peace and comfort, February 22, 1634, aged eighty years. During the last year of his life, the good old man was censured by Bishop Wren, for nonconformity; but death happily delivered him from all his troubles.* He was a man of great learning and piety, an orthodox and peaceable divine, and an avowed enemy to Popery and Arminianism. He published "A Commentary of Christ's Sermon upon the Mount," and two "Catechisms."

HUGH CLARK, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire, August 15, 1563, and educated first in Jesus college, Cambridge, then in the university of Oxford. Having finished his studies at college, he first settled in the ministry at Oundle in Northamptonshire. Here he found the people in a state of most deplorable ignorance and profaneness, living in the constant profanation of the Lord's day, by Whitsun-ales, morrice-dancing, and other ungodly sports. For a considerable time he laboured to convince them of their sins, and to reclaim them from their evil ways, but without any prospect of success. Though God visited several of the ringleaders of vice, by successive remarkable judgments, they still persisted in their profane sports. They seemed to have made a covenant with death, and to have been at agreement with hell. At length, however, there was a pleasing alteration. They began to take serious heed to the ministry of the word. Their lives became reformed; and many were called to a saving knowledge of the gospel.

During Mr. Clark's abode at this place, he experienced several remarkable providential deliverances, among which was the following:—Having, in his sermon on the sabbath-day, announced the just judgment of God against certain particular sins, to which the people were much addicted, the next morning a lusty young man came to his house, wishing to see him. Mr. Clark, having invited him into his chamber, and, knowing his vicious character, sharply reproved him, and warned him of his awful danger; and God wrought so effectually upon his heart, by this pointed and faithful dealing, that the man, falling down on his knees, and crying for pardon, pulled out a dagger by which he had determined to murder him. "I came hither," said

* MS Remarks, p. 895.

the man, "with a full resolution to stab you, but God has prevented me. This was occasioned by your terrifying sermon yesterday. But, if you please to forgive me, I shall, by the grace of God, never attempt any such thing again." Mr. Clark freely pardoned the offence; and, after giving him suitable advice, dismissed him.*

In the year 1590, Mr. Clark removed from Oundle, and succeeded Mr. Edward Lord, another worthy puritan, in the pastoral charge at Woolston in Warwickshire. He was chosen to the pastoral office by the people, and received a presentation to the living from Sir Roger Wigston, when he waited upon Bishop Overton for his institution. But the bishop, designing the living for one of his chaplains, endeavoured to persuade Mr. Clark to relinquish it, promising that he would bestow upon him some other preferment. Mr. Clark, considering his clear call to the place, and hoping that the Lord had there some work for him to do, told his lordship, that he could not give it up with a good conscience, and, therefore, requested his institution. The bishop, being disappointed, gave orders for the ablest of his chaplains to examine him, and dispute with him; hoping, by this means, to obtain some grounds of exception. His lordship, meeting with another disappointment, still refused to grant his institution; and Mr. Clark, after several unsuccessful journeys, was under the painful necessity of threatening the bishop with a prosecution, before it could be obtained. His lordship did not forget, however, to recompense him for the affront, by sending spies to watch him, and by citing him, on the most trivial occasions, to appear in the ecclesiastical court. This was disagreeable and expensive to Mr. Clark; though he was not much interrupted by these molestations from attending to the duties of his ministry.

The angry prelate did not desist, but seemed determined, if possible, to ruin him; therefore he went himself to Woolston, to hear him preach on a sabbath morning. Though Mr. Clark saw him in the church, he was not in the least discouraged, but went through the service, and dispensed the word of life with his usual zeal and fervency. During the sermon, his lordship was much displeased, which he manifested by shifting from place to place, as if he sat upon thorns. A person observing his extreme uneasiness, without knowing who he was, fetched a cushion for him to

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 127, 128.

sit upon, then another to recline upon ; but he still appeared uncommonly restless. The public service was no sooner ended, than the bishop declared openly before the congregation, saying, " This is indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool him." To this Mr. Clark replied, " My lord, if I have not faithfully delivered the truth of God, I beseech you to declare what I have said amiss, that I may defend myself before the people." But the bishop only answered as before, " You are indeed a hot fellow, but I will cool you," and so departed. His lordship was as good as his word : for not long after he caused the good man to feel the effect of his angry spirit. He first suspended him from preaching ; then Mr. Clark expounded the scriptures. He next suspended him from expounding ; then Mr. Clark catechized. And when the bishop suspended him from catechizing, he appointed a pious man, at the usual time of sermon, to read a chapter ; and at the end of every verse the man asked him the meaning of it, and what uses and instructions flowed from it. This so enraged the bishop, that he immediately excommunicated him. The character given of this prelate, therefore, appears very correct. " He was sufficiently severe," it is said, " to suppress those whom he suspected of nonconformity."* Mr. Clark, in consequence of these tyrannical oppressions, laid his case at the feet of the Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained his absolution, and so went on in his ministry.

This, indeed, irritated the bishop more than ever ; and he could never feel easy till he had again caught this reverend divine in the snare. The persecution of the non-conformists being now very hot, Mr. Clark prayed in the public congregation, though in very modest terms, *that the Lord would forgive the queen her sins* ; one of the bishop's spies being present, immediately laid the information before his lordship, who caused him to be apprehended, and for this significant crime, charged him with *treason*, and committed him to the common jail at Warwick, where he remained till the next assize. Previous to the trial, the bishop, it is said, took care to exasperate the judge ; and accordingly, in the time of his trial, he urged the jury to find him guilty. A worthy and honourable justice on the bench, at this juncture stood up and declared to the judge, that before any wrong should be done to Mr. Clark, he would kneel for him before the queen. This wrought so effectually

* Fuller's Church Hist. b. x. p. 55.

ally upon the minds of the jury, that they gave a verdict of *not guilty*, and he was acquitted. Mr. Clark again laid his case at the feet of the archbishop, complaining of the hard usage he had met with from the bishop. The archbishop upon this called them both before him; and after an impartial hearing of both parties, he commanded the bishop to go to Mr. Clark's church, and on the sabbath day, the congregation being present, to make a public acknowledgment of the wrong he had done him, which the bishop performed accordingly. And, remarkable as it may appear, Bishop Overton from that time became Mr. Clark's cordial friend, and so continued as long as he lived.*

Mr. Clark was a zealous, constant, and laborious preacher. In addition to his own parish church, he had a chapel of ease at some distance, at each of which he preached twice every sabbath, and performed all other occasional services. This he continued during the greatest part of his time at Woolston, which was nearly forty-four years. He was peculiarly careful in the management and education of his children; and God was pleased so to bless his endeavours, that he lived to behold a work of grace in all his seven children. Towards the close of life he laboured under a lingering and painful complaint, but was happily resigned to the will of God. As the hour of his dissolution approached, his conversation became more and more heavenly. He finished his course November 6, 1634, aged sixty-one years. He was a person of great learning and piety, an excellent and useful preacher, and an acute and powerful disputant.† Mr. Samuel Clark of Bennet Fink, and author of the lives of many eminent persons, was his son; and Mr. Samuel Clark, jun. and Mr. John Clark, were his grandsons: all of whom were ejected in 1662.‡

JOHN HAYDEN was minister in Devonshire, and most grievously persecuted for nonconformity. Having spoken in his sermon against setting up images in churches, he was forced to quit the county, and was afterwards apprehended in the diocese of Norwich by Bishop Harsnet, who, taking from him his horse, his money, and all his papers, caused him to be shut up a close prisoner in the common jail of Norwich for thirteen weeks, where he was in danger

* Clark's Lives, p. 129, 130.

† Ibid. p. 130, 131.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 97, 301. iii. p. 92.

of starving for want. When the justices at the quarter sessions would have admitted him to bail, his lordship refused, and sent him under the guard of a pursuivant to the high commission in London.* Having been kept under confinement two whole terms, or more, he was brought before the high commission in the consistory of St. Paul's, when he was deprived of his ministry, degraded from the sacred function, required to pay a fine, and sent back to prison. Being at length released from confinement, and venturing, in the year 1634, to preach occasionally, without being restored, he was again apprehended and sent to the Gatehouse by Archbishop Laud, and from thence to Bridewell, where he was whipt and kept for some time to hard labour; then he was confined in a cold dark dungeon during the whole of winter, without fire or candle, being chained to a post in the middle of the room, with heavy irons on his hands and feet, having no other food than bread and water, and only a pad of straw to lie upon. Before his release could be obtained, he was obliged to take an oath, and give bond, that he would preach no more, but depart out of the kingdom in a month, and never more return. All this was done without any exception against his doctrine or his life.† Such were the shocking barbarities of the above prelates.

RICHARD SIBBS, D. D.—This most worthy divine was born at Sudbury in Suffolk, in the year 1577, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; where, on account of his great learning and unblamable deportment, he was soon promoted. He took his several degrees with great applause, and was first chosen scholar, then fellow of his college. While making rapid progress in literary fame, it pleased God to awaken him to a sense of his sins, and bring him to

* Dr. Samuel Harsnet was master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and successively bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and archbishop of York. After his preferment to the see of Chichester, a petition was presented to King James, by Pembroke-hall, exhibiting their charges against him in *fifty-seven* articles, though the purport of them does not appear. The citizens of Norwich afterwards accused him to the house of commons, of putting down preaching; setting up images; praying to the east; punishing the innocent; and some other particulars. Though he protested his own innocence of most of the charges, he does not appear to have been perfectly guiltless. He is denominated "a learned and judicious divine." — *Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 129—135.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2545, 2546. Edit. 1747.

† Huntley's *Usurpations of Prelates*, p. 161, 162.

the knowledge of the gospel, by the preaching of Mr. Paul Baynes, then lecturer at St. Andrew's church. Having obtained mercy of the Lord, he resolved to devote himself to Christ in the work of the ministry; and shortly after was chosen lecturer at Trinity church. Here his preaching was numerously attended by the scholars and townsmen, and became happily instrumental in the conversion and establishment of many souls. He appears to have been *vicar* of the above church, during only the two last years of his life, the celebrated Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin having resigned in his favour.

His celebrity having spread abroad, and reached the metropolis, he was, in the year 1618, chosen preacher at Gray's-inn, London, where he became remarkably popular and useful. Besides the learned lawyers, many of the nobility and gentry, as well as citizens, flocked to hear him; and great numbers had abundant cause to bless God for the benefit which they derived from his ministry. He continued in this public situation to the end of his days. Dr. William Gouge, who frequently heard him, says, "he had sometimes a little stammering in the time of preaching, but his judicious hearers always expected some rare and excellent notions from him."*

About the year 1625, he was chosen master of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, which, though he was a puritan, he was enabled to keep till his death. He was, however, convened before the high commission, and deprived of his fellowship and lecture, on account of his nonconformity.† His great erudition, piety, and usefulness, were not sufficient protection against the fury of the times. As master of the above house, he was eminently useful. He found the society in a very declining state; but, through his influence and exertions, it soon obtained considerable enlargement, was stored with learned and religious fellows, and became famous for genuine piety and sound literature. Soon after the above period, he was chosen one of the feoffees for buying impropriations, for which he and the others concerned in the generous undertaking were prosecuted in the star-chamber; but the prosecution was so manifestly invidious, that it was afterwards relinquished.‡ This business, however, brought no small odium upon Bishop Laud, who was the sole instigator and chief promoter of the prosecution. He was

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 143, 144.

† Frynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.—Clark's Lives, p. 108.

‡ Frynne's Cant. Doome, p. 385, 386.

afterwards convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent, only for generously promoting a private contribution for the relief of the poor afflicted ministers of the Palatinate; but what further process was entered against him, or whether he suffered any ecclesiastical censure, we have not been able to learn.*

Dr. Sibbs was remarkable for humility, always undervaluing his own performances. This he did, though others judged them to breathe the very spirit and life of God, to savour much of the upper world, and to come with authority and power to men's consciences. His great care, through the whole of his ministry, was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers. As a wise master-builder, and among people the most eminent for learning and piety, he mostly preached on the fundamental truths of the gospel, particularly the incarnation of the Son of God. Indeed, he is said to have preached so often on this subject, that there is scarcely one benefit flowing from it, or one holy disposition it ought to excite, which he did not sweetly unfold and apply. His thoughts and his preaching being so much directed to the humiliation of Christ, seemed to beget in himself a deep humility before God and men. He was particularly conversant with the holy scriptures, and a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto every good work. He was a zealous and faithful steward of the manifold grace of God, and one of the most celebrated preachers of his time. He enjoyed much sweet communion with God; was of a mild, quiet, and peaceable spirit; and always unwilling to provoke his superiors. He was a burning and shining light, spending himself for the profit of others. On all occasions he was very charitable to the poor of Christ's flock; and not only was his purse open to supply their temporal wants, but his very soul commiserated their spiritual necessities. During the summer season, he frequently visited persons of wealth, on which occasions he was always projecting schemes of public usefulness. By men of real worth he was universally beloved, and was particularly intimate with persons of distinguished eminence, especially the celebrated Archbishop Usher, whom he often visited in London. Dr. Sibbs died July 5, 1635, aged fifty-seven years.† “He was a grave and solid divine, and famous for piety, learning, devotion, and politeness.”‡

* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

† Clark's Lives, p. 144, 145.—Baker's MS. Colloc. vol. xxxviii, p. 414.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 394.

His last will and testament, now before me, breathes the spirit of true piety and generosity. He first committed his soul into the hands of his gracious Saviour, who redeemed it with his precious blood, and appeared in heaven to receive it to himself. He then gave him humble and hearty thanks that he had vouchsafed him to live in the best times of the gospel, to enjoy an interest in the comforts of it, and to honour him by calling him to publish it with some degree of faithfulness. He ordered his body to be buried according to the pleasure of his executors; and he bequeathed his real and personal estates to his only brother and other near relations, with numerous legacies to his friends and connexions.*

This reverend divine was eminently distinguished for a meek and quiet spirit, being always unwilling to offend those in power. This trait in his character will appear from the following anecdote:—A fellowship being vacant in Magdalen college, for which Archbishop Laud recommended his bell-ringer at Lambeth, with an evident design of quarrelling with them if they refused, or of putting a spy upon them if they accepted, Dr. Sibbs, who was ever unwilling to provoke his superiors, told the fellows, that *Lambeth-house* would be obeyed; and that the person was young, and might in time prove hopeful. The fellows, therefore, consented, and the man was admitted.†

Dr. Sibbs has rendered himself famous by his numerous and excellent publications. His works, which breathe the warmest strains of evangelical piety, will transmit his fame to the latest posterity. The venerable Mr. John Dod, having perused his "Sermons of Canticles, chap. v.," in manuscript, thus observes: "I judge it altogether unmeet that such precious matter should be concealed from public use. I judge these sermons to be a very profitable and excellent help, both to the understanding of that dark and most divine scripture, and to kindle in the heart all heavenly affections towards Jesus Christ. The whole is composed with so much wisdom, piety, judgment, and experience, that it commends itself to all who are wise for their souls. And I doubt not that they will find their understandings enlightened, their temptations answered, their fainting spirits revived; and their graces confirmed; and will have cause

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 444—446.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 605, 606.

to praise God for the worthy author's godly and painful labours."*

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Bruised Reed*, 1631.†—2. *The Saints Safety in evil Times*, 1633.—3. *The Churches Visitation*, 1634.—4. *The Fountain Sealed*, 1637.—5. *Divine Meditations and Holy Contemplations*, 1638.—6. *Emanuel God with Us*, 1638.—7. *Light from Heaven*, 1638.—8. *Spiritual Jubilee*, 1638.—9. *Yea and Amen; or, Precious Promises and Privileges*, 1638.—10. *The Spiritual Man's Aim, and the Christian's Portion and Charter*, 1638.—11. *The Returning Backslider*, 1639.—12. *The Hidden Life*, 1639.—13. *Beams of Divine Light*, 1639.—14. *The Excellence of the Gospel above the Law*, 1639.—15. *Christ's Exaltation*, 1639.—16. *Evangelical Sacrifices*, 1640.—17. *Union betwixt Christ and his Church*, 1641.—18. *A Commentary on Philippians*, chap. iii., 1647.—19. *The Glorious Feast of the Gospel*, 1650.—20. *A Commentary on 2 Corinthians*, chap. i., 1655.—21. *An Exposition of 2 Corinthians*, chap. iv., 1656.—22. *The Soul's Conflict*, 1658.—23. *The Saints' Cordial*, 1658.—24. *Christ's Conference with Mary*.—25. *The Key of Heaven; or, the Lord's Prayer opened*.—26. *Sermons of Canticles*, chap. v.

JOHN AVERY was a puritan minister of great piety, but driven from his native country by the persecution of Archbishop Laud; when, in the year 1634, he fled to New England. Upon his arrival, he settled for a short time at Newbury; but, receiving an invitation to Marble-Head, he determined upon a removal to that place. Having embarked in a small vessel, together with Mr. Anthony Thacker, another worthy minister, there arose a most tremendous storm, by which the vessel struck against a rock and was dashed to pieces. The whole company, consisting of twenty-three persons, got upon the rock, but were successively washed off and drowned, except Mr. Thacker and his wife. Mr. Thacker and Mr. Avery held each other by the hand a long time, resolving to die together, till by a tremendous wave, the latter was washed away and drowned. The moment before this happened, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, saying, "We know not what the pleasure of God may be. I fear we have been too unmindful of former deliverances. Lord, I cannot challenge a

* Clark's Lives, p. 144.

† This is a book well known, having passed through numerous editions. Mr. Baxter informs us, that he, in a great measure, owed his conversion to his reading this book. This circumstance alone, observes Mr. Granger, would have rendered the name of Sibbs memorable.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 4.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 176.

promise of the preservation of my life ; but thou hast promised to deliver us from sin and condemnation, and to bring us safe to heaven, through the all-sufficient satisfaction of Jesus Christ. This, therefore, I do challenge of thee." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he was swept into the mighty deep, and no more seen. Mr. Thacker and his wife were also washed off the rock ; but after being tossed in the waves for some time, the former was cast on shore, where he found his wife a sharer in the deliverance. The island was from that time called Thacker's Woe, and the rock, Avery's Fall. This disaster occurred August 14, 1635.*

JOHN ROGERS, A. M.—This excellent divine was educated in the university of Cambridge, and was many years the famous minister of Dedham in Essex. He was a near relation of Mr. Richard Rogers of Wethersfield, who encouraged him in his studies, and supported him at the university. He was at first so addicted to vice, that while he was at Cambridge, he sold his books and spent the money. Notwithstanding this base ingratitude, his kinsman procured him a fresh stock of books, and sent him again to Cambridge ; but still continuing a profligate, he sold his books, and spent the money as before. Having wasted his substance a second time, Mr. Rogers determined to cast him off totally ; but, by the persuasions of his wife, he was at length induced to make another trial. He therefore procured him books, and sent him to the university a third time ; and, the grace of God changing his heart, he became an illustrious ornament to his college, and a man of most exemplary piety. Afterwards, Mr. Richard Rogers, seeing what the Lord had done for his kinsman, used to say, "I will never despair of any man, for John Rogers's sake."†

Mr. Rogers became vicar of Hemingham in Norfolk, in the year 1592.‡ Having continued some time in this situation, he became minister of Haverhil in Suffolk, where he succeeded Mr. Lawrence Fairclough,§ in 1603. After-

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 77.

† Firmin's Real Christian, p. 76. Edit. 1670.

‡ Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 696.

§ This was the father of the excellent Mr. Samuel Fairclough, the ejected nonconformist. He was a learned and able divine, and a solid, eloquent, and useful preacher. He died in the year 1603. By preaching a thanksgiving

wards he removed to Dedham, where he continued the rest of his days. He was a grave and judicious divine. His great gift lay in the delivery of the solid truth which he had prepared with a peculiar gesture and elocution, so that few heard him without trembling at the word of God.* He was a most popular and useful preacher. God was pleased to own and bless his labours above most others, especially in awakening careless sinners. He was indeed one of the most awakening preachers of the age. Bishop Brownrigg used to say, "John Rogers will do more good with his *wild notes*, than we (the bishops) with our *set music*."† His congregation, on lecture days, was collected from all the country round about; and his church was not only thronged, but numerously surrounded by such as could not gain admittance.‡

Mr. Rogers was a thorough puritan, yet of a most humble and peaceable behaviour. He loved all who loved Christ, and was greatly beloved by them. But in the year 1629, for refusing conformity to the superstitious and tyrannical impositions of Bishop Laud, his lecture was suppressed.¶ This was a great affliction to holy Mr. Rogers; who, concerning those impositions, used to say, "Let them take me and hang me up by the neck, if they will but remove those stumbling-blocks out of the church."‡ It does not appear whether he was ever restored to his lecture. He died October 15, 1636.¶ Mr. John Knowles, afterwards silenced in 1662, closed his eyes and preached his funeral sermon.** Mr. Matthew Newcomen, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, succeeded Mr. Rogers in his ministry at Dedham.††

It is related of Mr. Giles Firmin, who also was one of the ejected nonconformists, that he was converted when a boy at school, by the ministry of Mr. Rogers. He went late to hear his lecture, and crowded to get into the church. Mr. Rogers, observing young Firmin's great earnestness,

sermon to a very crowded audience in Haverhil church, on the accession of King James, he caught a violent cold, which occasioned his death the following day.—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. p. 154.—*Moen's MS. Collec.* p. 284.

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 294.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 106.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 191.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

¶ Mather's New England, b. iii. p. 113.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445.

** Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 174.

†† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 196.

with that of some other youths, to obtain room, in his usual freedom and solemnity cried out, "Here are some young ones come for Christ. Will nothing serve you but you must have Christ? Then you shall have him;" and so proceeded in his discourse. This made so deep and lasting an impression on his mind, that he thence dated his conversion.*

Mr. Rogers was author of several excellent pieces. His method, as a writer, is popular, his language familiar, yet often energetic, and his strain evangelical, animated, and experimental.+

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Doctrine of Faith*, 1627.—2. *An Exposition upon the First Epistle of Peter*, 1659.—3. *A Treatise of Love*.—4. *Sixty Memorials of a godly Life*.

JOHN MAVERICK was minister at some place near Exeter, and of good repute among the puritans. Towards the end of the year 1629, a congregational church was formed in the New Hospital at Plymouth; on which occasion a day of solemn fasting and prayer was observed, when Mr. White of Dorchester preached in the morning, and in the afternoon the pious people chose the two famous preachers, Mr. Maverick and Mr. John Warham, to the office of pastors, when they signified their acceptance of the charge. The persecution of the nonconformists was now become exceedingly hot in every corner of the land; therefore these good people, together with their ministers, resolved to transport themselves to a foreign land. They wished to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel without human corruptions; and the blessing of religious liberty without human oppressions. The above step was preparatory to their departure; and the year following they sailed for New England.† Upon their arrival in the new colony, they settled at Dorchester, where Mr. Maverick continued pastor of the church to the day of his death. This was the third church formed in New England. In the year 1636, Mr. Richard Mather became his assistant; and upon Mr. Maverick's death, soon after, he became his successor in the pastoral office.‡

* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 298.

† Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 454.

‡ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 200, 204.

§ Hist. of New Eng. p. 42, 74.

HENRY GELLIBRAND, A. M.—This learned person was born in the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, London, November 17, 1597, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford. Having finished the requisite studies at the university, he was for some time curate at Chiddingston in Kent. Afterwards, by attending Sir Henry Savile's lectures on the mathematics,* he became so much in love with that science, that though he had the most flattering prospect of preferment in the church, he resolved to forego every thing for a close application to this branch of learning. He therefore content'd himself with his own private patrimony, which about this time, upon the death of his father, came into his hands. At the same time he entered himself a student at Oxford, and made the study of the mathematics his principal employment. During the period of his close application, he prosecuted his studies with so much ardour and success, and so greatly excelled in that science, that in two or three years he was admitted to a familiarity with the most distinguished masters. Among other celebrated scholars, Mr. Henry Briggs, the Savilian professor of geometry at Oxford, shewed him particular countenance and favour. This, in a few years, was improved to so great a degree of intimacy and friendship, that the professor communicated to him all his notions and discoveries.

Upon the death of the ingenious Mr. Edmund Gunter, he became a candidate for his professorship in Gresham college. On this occasion he procured a certificate from the rector of the parish in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the clergy in Kent, giving a high character of his learning and piety; and another from the president, vice-president, and fellows of Trinity college, Oxford, which is conceived in very strong terms, and acknowledges not only his assiduity in his studies, but his great frankness in the communication of knowledge, and his disinterested-

* Sir Henry Savile, whose name is often mentioned, was a person of great celebrity in his day. He was wonderfully skilled in the Greek language and the mathematics, in the latter of which he voluntarily read public lectures in the university. He afterwards went abroad; and by improving himself in every branch of useful literature, he became a most accomplished gentleman. He was warden of Merton college, Oxford, thirty-six years, which he governed with great diligence and integrity, making it his chief care, night and day, to improve it in riches and all kinds of good literature. By his munificence the university was greatly enriched by legacies of money, printed books, and rare manuscripts. He is styled, "That magazine of learning, whose memory shall be honourable amongst the learned and the righteous for ever."—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 3598—3600. Edit. 1747.

ness and contentment with his own little patrimony, that the pursuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his studies. In all probability these papers had great weight, since, within a few days, January 2, 1626, he was elected professor of astronomy in that college.*

Mr. Gellibrand was a decided puritan, and an enemy to the errors and superstitions of popery. In the year 1631; his servant, William Beale, by his encouragement, published an almanack, in which the popish saints, usually put into our calender, were omitted; and the names of the saints and martyrs, mentioned in Mr. Fox's "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs," were printed in their stead, exactly as they stand in Mr. Fox's calender. This gave great offence to Bishop Laud, who immediately cited them both into the high commission court. When the case came to be examined, and it appeared that other almanacks of the same kind had been printed in former times, both Mr. Gellibrand and his servant were acquitted by Archbishop Abbot and the whole court, excepting Laud. This tyrannizing ecclesiastic, finding the court so favourable towards Mr. Gellibrand, stood up, and in great anger declared, "That the queen herself (a notorious papist) sent for him, and particularly complained to him against this almanack, which gave offence to those of her religion; and desired him to prosecute the author and suppress the book; therefore, he hoped that he should not go unpunished in this court." But the court still persisted in acquitting him; upon which the bishop again stood up, and in great fury addressed Mr. Gellibrand, saying, "Sir, remember you have made a faction in this court, for which you ought to be punished; and know that you are not yet discharged. I will sit in your skirts. For I hear that you keep conventicles at Gresham college, after your lectures are ended." His grace then ordered a second prosecution against him in the high commission, which so deeply affected the good man's spirits, that it brought a complaint upon him, of which he afterwards died.†

He lived in the closest intimacy with Mr. Henry Briggs, at whose death, and by his solicitation, Mr. Gellibrand undertook the perfecting and publishing his celebrated

* *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2188. Edit. 1747.

† As Laud could not succeed in having Mr. Gellibrand censured, and his almanacks burned by the common hangman, the papists bought them all up, and caused them to suffer martyrdom in the flames.—*Prynne's Canterburias Dooms*, p. 182.

work entitled "British Trigonometry, or the Doctrine of Triangles," 1633. He was pressed to the publication of it by various eminent persons, to whom he gave the fullest satisfaction, as well as to the literati in Holland, where it was reprinted, and received with great applause. During the same year, upon the publication of Mr. Thomas James's "Account of his Voyage for the Discovery of a North-west Passage, and Wintering in Hudson's Bay," his piece, entitled "An Appendix concerning Longitude," was annexed to the work. It was at that season very much admired, and, notwithstanding the great improvements that have been since made, it may even now be very justly styled a curious and a useful piece.

It is commonly believed that Mr. Gellibrand was the first who discovered the variation of the magnetic needle, the truth of which is founded upon the credit of a very great man, who has positively affirmed it as a fact. Some are, however, disposed to doubt the correctness of his statement. Be this as it may, it is certain that he was deeply versed in the subject, and upon which he wrote a very learned book, entitled "A Discourse Mathematical on the Variation of the Magnetic Needle. Together with the admirable Diminution lately Discovered," 1635. This work, styled very curious, has been, and ever will be, esteemed by competent judges.* He wrote several other pieces in his particular profession, which were published some before and some after his death, a list of which is given below. These excellent productions of his pen added greatly to the reputation which he had before obtained, and raised very high expectations of his future greatness. There are others of his labours yet remaining in manuscript, which, it is said, are no way inferior, either in merit or importance, to those that are published. All these taken together fully shew that his diligence and application were equal to his sagacity and penetration, and that he did great honour to the learned college to which he belonged; and fully answered the hopes that were entertained of him, when his friends at the university recommended him thither, as one possessed of a great genius for mathematical learning, and was willing that the world should enjoy the benefit of his studies. His situation in the college, where he had free converse with learned men, and made uncommon progress in his mathematical inquiries, gave him an opportunity, it is said, of

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2189, 2452.

contributing much to the improvement of navigation, which, if he had lived longer, would probably have been more indebted to his labours.* He died February 9, 1637, aged forty years. His remains were interred in St. Peter's church, Broad-street, London; when Dr. Hannibal Potter, formerly his tutor at Trinity college, preached his funeral sermon, and gave excellent commendations of his character.† He was a person of great learning, piety, and worth.‡

His Works, in addition to the pieces already noticed.—1. A Preface to the Sciographia of John Wells, 1635.—2. An Institution Trigonometrical, explaining the Doctrine of the Dimensions of plain and spherical Triangles, after the most exact and compendious way, by tables of sines, tangents, secants, and logarithms; with the application thereof to questions of Astronomy and Navigation, 163..—3. An Epitome of Navigation, 1674.—4. Several necessary Tables pertaining to Navigation, 1674.—5. A Triangular Canon Logarithmical; or, a Table of Artificial Sines, Tangents, &c., 1674.—6. Two Ciliads; or, the Logarithms of absolute numbers, from an unite to 2000, 1674.—7. An Appendix, containing the Use of the Forestaff, Quadrant, and Nocturnal in Navigation, 1674.

HENRY RAMSDEN, A. M.—This worthy person was the son of Mr. Goeffry Ramsden, born at Greetland, in the parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. In the year 1621 he was chosen fellow of Lincoln college, in the same university; and five years afterwards, having made uncommon advancement in theological studies, he removed from that seat of learning, and became a preacher in London, where, says Wood,§ “he was much followed for his edifying and puritanical sermons.” On the death of Mr. Hugh Ramsden, his elder brother, he was made vicar of Halifax, where he continued the remainder of his days. He was inducted to the living in the year 1629, and died March 7, 1637, having constantly maintained an unblemished character. After his death were published his four sermons, entitled, “A Gleaning of God's Harvest,” 1639. His remains were interred in the chancel of Halifax church, where a monumental inscription was

* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2190, 2191.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 522.

‡ Ward's Gresham Professors, p. 83, 336.

§ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 522.

erected to his memory, of which the following is a translation :*

HENRY RAMSDEN, Master of Arts,
second son of **GEOFFRY RAMSDEN**, of Greetland, near Halifax,
sometime fellow of Lincoln college,
in the university of Oxford,
and afterwards vicar of Halifax.

To his very celebrated and renowned predecessor and brother **HUGH**,
he was no unworthy successor.

A man of universal learning,
and of the most approved integrity in his family.

Whatever we admire in the learning, or
venerate in the sanctity of others,
shone conspicuously in him, who was the
ornament alike of literature and of piety.

For more than eight years,
he was a remarkable example of diligence in his office ;
during which time

he vigilantly watched over his church,
and was a burning and a shining light,
both in his life and doctrine.

A faithful pastor of his people.

A most courageous defender of the cause of the poor.

A firm advocate of the peace of the church.

He was esteemed a quick, yet cautious and equitable
distributor of public justice :

A chief promoter of good order and civil government.

He was seized with a violent fever,
leaving his affectionate blessing,
and kind remembrance with all,
not without just and public sorrow,

he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Lord,
sweetly supported by the hope of the Resurrection,
he fell asleep March 7,

1637.

This Monument was erected by his younger
brother, **WILLIAM RAMSDEN**,
rector of Edgmond, in the county of Salop,
lamenting his death.

ROBERT CATLIN was a puritan divine of great eminence,
a person of exemplary piety, and for many years the venerable
and faithful minister at some place in Rutlandshire. Being no longer
able to attend to his numerous pastoral duties, he gave up the charge
of his flock, and removed to Barham, near Ipswich, in Suffolk, that he
might die among

* Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 385, 501. Edit. 1775.

his children. When he lay upon his death-bed, after hearing a relation of the cruel and barbarous sentence pronounced upon the Bishop of Lincoln in the star chamber, he broke out in these words in the presence of a number of respectable persons: "Alas! poor England," said he, "thou hast now seen thy best days. I, that am fourscore years old, and have in all my time seen no alteration in religion, nor any foreign enemy setting foot in England, nor any civil wars among themselves, do now foresee evil days a coming, but shall go to the grave in peace. Blessed be that God whom I have served, who hath accepted my weak service, and will be my exceeding great reward;" and in a few hours after, he left this world of sin and sorrow, to enter upon the joy of his Lord. He died July 24, 1637, aged eighty years, and his remains were interred in Barham church, when Dr. Young of Stow-Market preached his funeral sermon. Mr. Catlin had two sons in the ministry, William and Zachary. The former was witness in favour of Bishop Williams at his trial, for which he was deeply censured; and the latter was minister at Thurston in Suffolk, in the year 1652, when he was sixty-nine years of age. They both appear to have been puritans.*

JOSEPH MEDE, B. D.—This celebrated scholar was born at Burdon in Essex, in the month of October, 1586, and descended from a respectable family in that county. He received his grammar learning first at Hoddesdon in Hertfordshire, then at Wethersfield in Essex. While at the latter place, he bought Bellarmine's Hebrew Grammar, and, without the assistance of a master, obtained considerable knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. In the year 1602, he was sent to Christ's college, Cambridge, where he became pupil to Mr. Daniel Rogers, took his academical degrees, and was afterwards chosen fellow of the house. He gained a most distinguished reputation, and became one of the most celebrated scholars of the age. He was an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathematician, a good anatomist, a great philologist, an excellent textuary, and particularly happy in making the scripture expound itself. He is said to have been "as deeply versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, and as accurately skilled in the Greek and Latin fathers, as any man living." When the famous Archbishop

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445, 446.

Usher was compiling his "Chronologia Sacra," he applied to Mr. Mede for assistance, saying, "I have entered upon the determination of the controversies which concern the chronology of sacred scripture, wherein I shall in many places need your help."*

Mr. Mede, furnished with these endowments, was a most accomplished tutor. It was his constant custom to require the attendance of his pupils in the evening, to examine them relative to the studies of the day; when the first question he proposed to each was, "What doubts have you met with in your studies to-day?" For he supposed that to doubt nothing, and understand nothing, was nearly the same thing. Before he dismissed them to their lodgings, after having solved their questions, he commended them and their studies, by prayer, to the protection and blessing of God. Some of his pupils afterwards became distinguished ornaments both for piety and good literature. He was a most laborious student; and, on account of his habitual propensity to be among his books, he called his study his *cell*. Yet he was far from affecting an unprofitable solitude. No man was more free and open in conversation, especially among ingenious and inquiring scholars. In such company, he would with the greatest pleasure, and to the utmost of his ability, communicate whatsoever was useful.

He was a person of most exemplary candour and moderation. He would not love a person the less, who differed from him in matters of sentiment. These were some of his favourite expressions: "I never found myself prone to change my hearty affections to any one, for mere difference of opinion. There are few persons living who are less troubled than I am, to see others differ from them. If any man can patiently suffer me to differ from him, it doth not affect me how much or how little he may differ from me." Though he was a most celebrated scholar, and his writings were highly admired among learned men, both at home and abroad, he had a very low opinion of himself and his own performances. He was always troubled to hear himself or his productions extolled. He would merely own some diligence, and a portion of study, with freedom from prejudice, as his best endowments.

He was a man of a most amiable and peaceable spirit; and his thoughts were much employed on the generous design.

* Life of Mr. Mede prefixed to his "Works."

of effecting an universal pacification among protestants. He was, however, a friend to free inquiry. "I cannot believe," said he, "that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth; but I fear that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or falsehood may not end with a blessing." He discovered a strong aversion to popery, and abhorred all idolatry and superstition. He led the way in shewing that papal Rome was one principal object of the Apocalyptic visions; and was the first who suggested that the *dæmoniacs* in the New Testaments were not *real possessions*, but persons afflicted with lunacy and epilepsy. By the recommendation of Archbishop Usher, he was elected provost of Trinity college, Dublin, but declined accepting the preferment; as he did also when it was offered him a second time. On the small income of his fellowship, he was extremely generous and charitable; and by temperance, frugality, and a care to avoid unnecessary expenses, he constantly appropriated a tenth part of it to charitable uses.*

Mr. Mede loved peace, unity, good order, and whatever promoted the beauty, the honour, and safety of the protestant reformation. Though he was certainly more conformable than many of his brethren, he did not so decidedly approve of the discipline and government of the established church, as the writer of his life has endeavoured to represent. He was suspected of puritanism; and having united himself with the puritans in the university, he is justly denominated one of them.† He maintained a constant friendship with several eminent nonconformists, and kept up a regular correspondence with them; among whom were Dr. Ames and Dr. Fwisse, many of whose letters are preserved in his works. His sentiments relative to the established church, and its persecuting severities, are, indeed, sufficiently manifest from his own writings. In one of his letters to a learned friend, though expressed in very modest language, he discovers his puritanical opinions. Addressing his friend on the subject of a universal pacification among protestants, which he was particularly desirous to see accomplished, he says, "But our church, you know, goes upon differing principles from the rest of the reformed, and so steers her course by another rule than what they do. We look after the form, rites, and ceremonies of antiquity, and endeavour to bring our own as near as we can to that pattern. We suppose the reformed churches have departed

* Life of Mr. Mede.

† MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. p. (8.)

farther therefrom than they needed, and so we are not very solicitous to comply with them; yea, we are jealous of such of our own as we see over-zealously addicted to them, lest it be a sign they prefer them before their mother. This, I suppose, you have observed, and that this disposition in our church is of late very much increased. This, I have always feared, would be no small hinderance on our part, from the desired union, and I pray God it may fall out beyond my expectations." Thus he expressed his puritanical dissent from the spirit and principles of the ecclesiastical establishment. In the same connexion he also adds, "I live in the university, where we move only as we are moved by others; and that discretion is expected at our hands, who are of the inferior orbs, as not to move without our superiors. If any one transgress this rule, and offer to meddle in any thing that concerns the public, before the state and those in place declare themselves, he is taken notice of as *factious* and a *busy-body*; and if he be once thus branded, and it be objected to his prejudice, though many years after, all the water of the Thames will not wash him clean, as we see by daily experience."* Here he justly exposes and censures the intolerant proceedings of the ecclesiastical governors.

Mr. Mede was the first, says Fuller, who broached the opinions of the fifth-monarchy men; which, however, they afterwards carried to a greater extent than he ever intended.† He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, and is styled "most learned in mystical divinity."‡ The virtuosi abroad were pleased to rank him among the most learned men in the nation; and observing his want of preferment, they said, "that Englishmen deserved not to have such brave scholars, since they made no more of them."§ His numerous and learned writings were collected and published in one volume folio, entitled, "The Works of the Pious and Profoundly-learned Joseph Mede," 1672; and passed through several editions. In his last sickness, though his pains were very great, he discovered much christian meekness and quiet submission to the will of God. He possessed his soul in patience, and in him patience had its perfect work. He died October 1, 1638, aged fifty-two years. His remains were interred with great funeral solemnity,

* Mede's Works, p. 865.

† Worthies, part i. p. 335.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 47.

in the inner chapel of University college. Mr. Alsop preached his funeral sermon to a crowded audience, at St. Mary's church, from Gen. v. 24. *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.* His monumental inscription, of which the following is a translation, is particularly descriptive of his character :*

Here are preserved
the remains of that humble man
JOSEPH MEDE, B. D.
Fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge.
He was a friend of the muses,
and was interred in University college.
He studied all languages, cultivated all the arts,
and joined to philosophy and the mathematics
all the Egyptians concealed, or the Chaldeans discovered,
especially in chronology and history,
and above all things, theology,
the queen of all sciences.
In explaining of which, he entered into
the most secret reasons of prophesy,
and dragged the Roman beast (the pope)
from the apocalyptical den.
He most perseveringly struggled with the
greatest difficulties, and became a most successful
interpreter of the sacred mysteries ;
so that the critics in the hieroglyphics
might readily perceive that ZAPHNATH PAANEATH
lived again in our JOSEPH.
He was a bigot to no party,
but loving truth and peace,
he was just to all ;
very candid to his friends, benignant to others :
holy, chaste, and humble
in his language, wishes, and habits.
But being very familiar with the prophets,
he foresaw the troubles
which then threatened the church and the state.
He reached the heavenly port,
in the year of our Lord 1638,
aged fifty-two.

Mr. Mede's last will and testament, subscribed in the presence of John Pye, George Nixon, and Joane Serle, was as follows : " In the name of God, amen. I, Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's college, being sick in body, but in health of mind, do constitute this my last will and testament. I commend my soul into the hands of God my creator, hoping at the last day to be raised in glory, through the merits of his Son and my Saviour Jesus Christ ; and giving hearty

* Life of Mr. Mede, p. 35.

thanks for all his favours undeservedly conferred upon me, do thus dispose of my temporal goods which he hath given me: First, I bequeath to the master and fellows of Christ's college £100, to be employed towards the intended building. Secondly, I give to my sister £40, and to her children, and to the children of my sister deceased, to each of them £20, and to two of them who are my godsons £40 each. Thirdly, I give to the poor of the town of Cambridge, to be distributed among them, £100. Fourthly, I give to my pupil John Pye, £5, and to my sister Crouch £4. Lastly, I give all the remainder of my goods to the master and fellows of Christ's college, to be expended toward the adorning of the college chapel. And of this my last will I do constitute my executor, John Alsop, fellow of Christ's college."*

JOHN WORKMAN.—This persecuted servant of Christ was born near Lasborough in Gloucestershire, and educated in the university of Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he became the laborious and pious lecturer at St. Stephen's church, in the city of Gloucester; where, for preaching against images in churches, he met with most oppressive and cruel usage from Archbishop Laud. He said, in one of his sermons, "That pictures or images were no more ornaments to a church than stews were to a commonwealth.—That for a person to have an image of any saint, but especially of our Saviour, in his house, is unlawful.—And that any man keeping such pictures or images in his house, if it be not flat idolatry, it is little better." This was the principal charge brought against him. Some other things were, however, added: as, that he used certain harsh expressions against lascivious and mixed dancing, especially on the Lord's day, only citing the words of the Waldenses in their censuring the same practice; and that he prayed for the states of Holland, the King of Sweden, and other foreign princes, before he prayed for the King of England; though, in this, he followed the exact order of the Book of Common Prayer. These things were among the charges brought against him; but the principal stress was laid upon his expressions against images. For these crimes Mr. Workman was convened before the high commission at Lambeth, when he

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. ii. p. 543.

endeavoured to vindicate what he had said, by an appeal to the testimony of the most celebrated authors, but especially the homilies. Though he is said to have justified every syllable in his sermon, this only served to increase the wrath of the archbishop, by whose tyrannical influence, April 25, 1635, the good man received the following cruel sentence:—"He was suspended from the office and function of his ministry, excommunicated, required to make a recantation of his erroneous and scandalous doctrine, the next court-day at Lambeth, in such manner and form as the commissioners should appoint; this recantation to be published before the public congregation in the cathedral church and the church of St. Michael's, Gloucester; and he was condemned in costs of suit, and cast into prison."*

Mr. Workman being a man of singular piety, learning, wisdom, and moderation, which even the archbishop himself acknowledged; and having been a most painful and diligent preacher in the city of Gloucester upwards of fifteen years, the corporation, by unanimous consent, and under the common seal, granted him, in the year 1633, an annuity of twenty pounds a year. This was designed as a public acknowledgment, and a just compensation for his great pains in preaching, and visiting the sick; and was found particularly serviceable towards supporting his numerous family of children. For this honourable act of kindness and liberality to their worthy minister, John Buckston, the mayor of the city, Mr. Wise, the town clerk, and several of the aldermen, were, by the instigation of Laud, brought before the council, then prosecuted in the high commission court, by which they were great sufferers; and, to the perpetual reproach of the archbishop, Mr. Workman was deprived of his annuity. The good man, having suffered many months imprisonment, after much solicitation, obtained his liberty; and to provide for his numerous starving family, was obliged to teach school. Laud no sooner heard of this, than he prohibited him from teaching children, and warned him to do the contrary at his peril. Being forbidden to teach school, Mr. Workman obeyed the prohibition, and, to procure a subsistence, began to practise physic also.† In these painful circumstances,

* Frynne's Cant. Doome, p. 103—107.

† It is observed that Archbishop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious soul, but of too warm and too positive a nature. He was full of fire, and had too much zeal for the church. Though his fire and his zeal

the distressed servant of Christ was received into the house of one Mr. Kyrle of Wallford, but without any cure or employment. The bishop of the diocese being determined, in the year 1638, to prosecute him for nonconformity, he is said to have suddenly fled out of the diocese;* yes, he fled to that place where neither bishop nor archbishop could hurt him; where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. For the poor distressed man sunk under the heavy pressure of his poverty and accumulated afflictions, which, about the above period, sent him to his grave, and delivered him from all his sorrows.† Mr. Workman was an excellent and useful preacher, and the honoured instrument of greatly advancing the knowledge of Christ, and the power of godliness, in the city of Gloucester.‡ Mr. Giles Workman, another worthy puritan, of whom a memoir will be found in its proper place, was his brother.

WILLIAM WHATELY, A. M.—This worthy minister was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the month of May, 1583, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. His father, Mr. Thomas Whately, was several times mayor of the borough, and many years a justice of the peace. Young Whately was from a child trained up in the knowledge of the scriptures, and found them able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith in Jesus Christ. During his abode at the university, he was a constant hearer of the celebrated Dr. Chadderton and Mr. Perkins, by whose ministry his early piety was further promoted. He was put under the care and tuition of Mr. Potman, a man of eminent piety, learning and diligence. "Our tutor," says Mr. Henry Scudder, "called all his pupils into his chamber every evening for prayer, when he required us to give an account of the sermons we had heard on the Lord's day; and when any of us were at a stand, he used to say, 'Whately, what say you?' And he would repeat it as readily as if he had preached the sermon himself: but while this excited our tutor's love and our wonder, it awakened our envy and ill-will."§

were apparent on the present occasion, his uprightness and his piety were certainly very deficient.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 107, 108.—*Whitlock's Mem.* p. 32.—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part i. p. 144.

* Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 554.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 108.

‡ Clark's *Lives annexed to Martyrologie*, p. 303.

§ Scudder's *Life of Mr. Whately*, prefixed to his "Prototypes."

Mr. Whately afterwards married the daughter of Mr. George Hunt,* an eminent preacher, by whose urgent recommendation he entered upon the work of the ministry. In the year 1605, having taken his degrees in arts, he was chosen lecturer of Banbury, his native place; and in about four years, having gained uncommon applause, he was called to the pastoral office, and presented to the vicarage, which he enjoyed nearly thirty years, even to his death.

This excellent servant of Christ was no sooner settled in the ministry than he met with great opposition from the ruling ecclesiastics, on account of his nonconformity.† He published a sermon, entitled “The Bride Bush; or, the Duties of Married Persons, by performing of which marriage shall prove a great help to such as do now find it a little hell;” for which he was prosecuted in the high commission court. The dangerous errors said to be contained in this sermon were the two following:—1. The committing the sin of adultery, by either of the married persons, doth dissolve and annihilate the bond of marriage.—2. The wilful and malicious desertion of either of the married persons, doth in like manner dissolve the bond of marriage. For publishing these opinions, especially as he was a puritan, he was complained of to the Archbishop of Canterbury, convened before the high commission, and required to make satisfaction for his grievous offence. Upon his appearance before the ecclesiastical judges, he declared that he could make no satisfaction; but, according to our author, he afterwards recanted, May 4, 1621, and was then dismissed.‡ If this account be correct, is it not extremely probable that he was prosecuted, not so much for the dangerous errors in his sermon, as because he was a nonconformist? Yet, supposing this was not the case, did not these ecclesiastical judges professedly reject the *infallibility* of the pope? And did not their conduct, on the present occasion, savour too much of the same principle?

Mr. Whately and several of his brethren delivered a lecture alternately at Stratford-upon-Avon. On account of its great usefulness, it was continued many years, till it was put down by the severity of the prelates. They considered

* This Mr. George Hunt was son to Mr. John Hunt, an excellent confessor in the bloody days of Queen Mary, who was condemned to be burnt, but was saved by the unexpected death of the queen.—*Scudder's Life of Mr. Whately*.—*Fox's Acts and Monuments*, vol. iii. p. 751—752.

† Clark's *Lives* annexed to his *Martyrologie*, p. 318.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 529.

the lecture as a means of promoting nonconformity ; therefore, however useful it might be in effecting the conversion and salvation of souls, it was deemed unfit to be continued. Accordingly, the Bishop of Worcester observes, that after this lecture was discontinued, his diocese was less troubled with nonconformists.*

Mr. Whately was a man of distinguished eminence. He possessed excellent endowments, which he unreservedly employed for the advancement of the glory of God and the happiness of men. He was eloquent and mighty in the scriptures ; and his speech and his preaching were not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power. His labours were not in vain in the Lord. " For it pleased God," says Mr. Scudder, " to put so great a seal upon his ministry, that *many thousands* of souls were converted and established by his ministerial labours." As a good shepherd of Christ, he exercised much care over his flock. He visited them from house to house, without respect of persons, resolving their doubts, and giving them suitable instruction. He had a tender affection for his people ; and, with a view to promote their best interests, refused many offers of considerable preferment. He was always much grieved when a difference of opinion in lesser matters produced shyness among christians, who agreed in the fundamentals of the gospel. He was always ready to receive a word of reproof from the Lord's people, whether they were his superiors, equals, or inferiors, and would ever shew greater kindness to such faithful reprovers afterwards. He abounded in acts of liberality to the poor, and for many years expended one-tenth of his income in this way. And, indeed, the more he gave away, the more the Lord caused his worldly estates to prosper.

Having for many years been exercised with manifold temptations and infirmities, he became particularly watchful over himself, deeply humble before God, more loathsome in his own eyes, and more tender and compassionate towards others. Towards the close of life, he greatly increased in humility and holiness. His last days were his best days ; and, as his dissolution approached, he bore his racking pains with most exemplary patience. A brother minister having prayed with him, at the close of the exercise he lifted up his eyes and one of his hands towards heaven, and immediately resigned his happy spirit unto

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 552.

God. He lived much beloved, and died much lamented, May 10, 1639, aged fifty-six years. His remains were interred in Banbury church-yard; and over his grave was afterwards raised a large stone monument, with an inscription in Latin and English, part of which was the following:*

Whatso'ere thou't say who passest by,
 Why? here's enshrind' celestial dust,
 His bones, whose name and fame can't die,
 These stones as feoffees weep in trust.
 It's William Whately that here lies,
 Who swam to's tomb in's people's eyes.

Mr. Whately was endowed with a lively spirit, a solid judgment, and a vast memory. He was a hard student, a constant preacher, an excellent orator, and a great scholar, especially in logic, philosophy, and mathematics.+ Mr. Leigh observes, "Of all the ministers I ever knew, he possessed the most worthy character. He was blameless, sober, just, holy, temperate, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, a lover of good men, and a workman who needed not to be ashamed."‡ Fuller denominates him "a good linguist, philosopher, mathematician, and divine," and says, "he was free from faction."§ Wood says, "he possessed excellent parts, was a noted disputant, an excellent preacher, a good orator, and well versed in the original text, both Greek and Hebrew; but being a zealous Calvinist, a noted puritan, and much frequented by the precise party, for his *too frequent* preaching, he laid such a foundation of faction in Banbury, as will not be easily removed."¶ "His piety," says Granger, "was of a very extraordinary strain; and his reputation as a preacher so great, that numbers of different persuasions went from Oxford, and other distant places, to hear him. As he ever appeared to speak from his heart, his sermons were felt as well as heard, and were attended with suitable effects."‡

The following anecdote, related of Mr. Whately, at once shews the happy effect of his preaching, and the honourable liberality of his spirit. Having in a sermon warmly recommended his hearers to put in a purse by itself a certain

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 529.

† *Life of Mr. Whately.*

‡ Epistle prefixed to Whately's "Prototypes."

§ Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 339.

¶ Wood's *Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 528, 529. vol. ii. p. 351.

‡ *Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 191.

portion from every pound of the profits of their worldly trades, for works of piety; he observed, that instead of secret grudging when objects of charity were presented, they would look out for them, and rejoice to find them. A neighbouring clergyman hearing him, and being deeply affected with what he so forcibly recommended, went to him after the sermon was ended, and asked what proportion of his income he ought in conscience to give. "As to that," saith he, "I am not to prescribe to others; but I will tell you what hath been my own practice. You know, sir, some years ago I was often beholden to you for the loan of ten pounds at a time. The truth is, I could not bring the year about, though my receipts were not despicable, and I was not at all conscious of any unnecessary expenses. At length I inquired of my family what relief was given to the poor; and not being satisfied, I instantly resolved to lay aside every *tenth* shilling of all my receipts for charitable uses: and the Lord has made me so to thrive since I adopted this method, that now, if you have occasion, I can lend you ten times as much as I have formerly been forced to borrow."*

Mr. Thomas Whately, ejected in 1662, was his son; and Mr. Richard Morton, another ejected minister, married his daughter.†

HIS WORKS.—1. Redemption of Time, 1606.—2. A Caveat for the Covetous, 1609.—3. The Bride-Bush; or, the Duties of Married Persons, 1617.—4. Funeral Sermon for Sir Anthony Cope, 1618.—5. The New Birth; or, a Treatise of Regeneration, 1618.—6. God's Husbandry, 1619.—7. A pithy, short, and methodical Way of opening the Ten Commandments, 1622.—8. A Treatise of the Cumbers and Troubles of Marriage, 1624.—9. Sin no More, 1628.—10. The Oyl of Gladness, 1637.—11. The Poor Man's Advocate, 1637.—12. Prototypes, or Examples out of the Book of Genesis, applied to our Instruction and Reformation, 1640.—13. Several Sermons.

JOHN BALL, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Cassenton in Oxfordshire, in the month of October, 1585, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became domestic tutor to the children of Lady Cholmley in Cheshire; about which time he became seriously thoughtful about the salvation of his soul. In the year 1610, having obtained

* Life of Mr. Mede, p. 37.

† Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part iii. p. 96.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 235, 350.

ordination without subscription, he entered upon the ministerial office, and became minister at Whitmore, near Newcastle, in Staffordshire. Here he resided for many years in the house of Edward Mainwaring, esq. a gentleman highly esteemed for his piety, generosity, and usefulness. Mr. Ball was exceedingly beloved by the ministers in those parts. As he was particularly concerned for the prosperity of Zion, and deeply impressed with the lamentable evils of the times, he frequently united with his brethren in the observance of days of fasting and prayer. For keeping a fast on Ascension-day, they were often convened before the Bishop of Chester, who greatly aggravated their crime, because it was observed on that *holy* day. These troubles, however, did not move Mr. Ball. Amidst all the storms and tempests of the times, he remained firm in the truth. Indeed, previous to his entering into the ministry, he was determined to satisfy his own conscience, and not to receive every thing in the established church, right or wrong: therefore, he impartially examined the controversy betwixt the conformists and nonconformists; and the result of his unbiassed inquiries was, a thorough dissatisfaction with the former, particularly with the subscription tyrannically imposed upon the clergy. During this period he looked upon a *lord bishop* as a very formidable creature; yet he had several contests with the Bishop of Chester, but came off unshaken, and more firmly established in the principles of nonconformity.*

Lady Bromley, of Sheriff-Hales in Shropshire, was many years famous for promoting, by her influence and practice, the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the genuine principles of the reformation. She was the great patroness of the persecuted nonconformists in that part of the country. Messrs. Ball, Nicolls, Pierson, Herring, and others, when they were harassed and deprived of their ministry, were kindly entertained by this worthy lady. These divines often preached in her neighbourhood, whom she sheltered from the oppressive measures of the prelates, as long as she was able; and when they durst not preach, they kept days of fasting and humiliation at her house.+ Though Mr. Ball was often prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts for refusing subscription and keeping conventicles, he was against separation.†

* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 147, 148.

+ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 396. (23.)

† Ibid. vol. iii. A. D. 1640.

This divine was thoroughly learned in the controversies of the day, particularly those of Bellarmine, the Arminians, and conformity. He read and studied much upon these points; and it is almost incredible, says Mr. Clark, how he could speak on these topics, and lay open the weakness and fallacy of those arguments by which they were defended, even so as to avoid giving offence. He possessed an admirable talent for explaining difficult texts of scripture, comforting afflicted consciences, and for every duty of the ministerial office. He greatly excelled in prayer, administering the sacraments, and in conducting the exercises of family religion. He possessed an admirable command of his temper, and lived uncommonly abstemious. Though his income did not exceed twenty pounds a year, he was content in his situation, and remarkably liberal to the poor. He used to say, "I have *enough, enough, enough.*" But he was richly ornamented with true christian humility. This was the richest jewel in his crown of moral excellencies. He invariably preferred others above himself, and would never speak reproachfully of any person.

Mr. Ball was uncommonly facetious in conversation. When the nonconformists were in danger of being driven out of the country, he used to say to his brethren, "If we be necessitated to leave our country, you shall preach and I will teach school." To a friend, who was tired of teaching school, and wished to enter into the ministry, he said, "You will find it far more difficult to teach *men* than *boys.*" When told that he was in great danger of being silenced by the bishop, he said, "If he should deal thus with me, I would pull off my hat and thank him." A friend relating his great danger by a fall from his horse, saying he never experienced so great a deliverance before, "Yes," replied Mr. Ball, "a hundred times, even as often as you have ridden and not fallen." He zealously opposed all vanity and frowardness, and possessed an extraordinary talent in calming boisterous passions. To persons under the influence of unruly tempers, he used to say, "Put judgment into office. The affections are bad guides, but good followers. Look well to your hearts. Passion is the effect of pride. You ride an unruly horse, and therefore you stand in need of a strong bit and bridle." When the persecution of the nonconformists was the hottest, to a brother minister he said, "Though all the present race of nonconformists were dead and gone, be assured God would raise others out of our ashes, to protest against episcopacy

and the ceremonies, rather than suffer that cause to perish.”*

Being at length worn down by hard study and constant preaching, his spirit, during his last affliction, was calm, humble, and peaceable. He continued to preach as long as he was able, and prayed in his family till his strength utterly failed. Being asked whether he thought he should recover, he replied, “I do not trouble myself about it.” He exercised a holy confidence in Christ, and thence derived substantial comfort. When his friends endeavoured to comfort him by the recollection of his extensive usefulness, he said, “If the Lord be not a God pardoning sins, I am in a miserable condition.” And expressing their desires for his recovery, he said, “If the Lord pleased, I should be content to live longer, that I might be further useful, and bear my share of sufferings. For I expect a very sharp combat: the last combat we shall have with antichrist.” As the agonies of death were upon him, being asked how he did, he said, *I am going to heaven*. He died October 20, 1640, aged fifty-five years. “He lived by faith,” says Fuller, “was an excellent schoolman and schoolmaster, a painful preacher, and a profitable writer; and his ‘Treatise of Faith’ cannot be sufficiently commended.”+ Wood says, “he lived and died a nonconformist, in a poor house, a poor habit, with a poor maintenance of about twenty pounds a year, and in an obscure village, teaching school all the week for his further support; yet leaving the character of a learned, pious, and eminently useful man:” and we may add, in the words of Mr. Baxter, “he deserved as high esteem and honour as the best bishop in England.”‡

It is observed, that Mr. John Harrison, of Ashton-under-Lyne in Lancashire, was exceedingly harassed by the intolerant proceedings of the bishops, and put to great expenses in the ecclesiastical courts; when he consulted Mr. Ball what he should do to be delivered from these troubles. Mr. Ball recommended him to reward the bishops well with money; “for it is that,” said he, “which they look for.” Mr. Harrison, it is added, tried the experiment, and afterwards enjoyed quietness.§

His WORKS.—1. A short Treatise containing all the principal Grounds of the Christian Religion, 1632.—This work was so much

* Clark's Lives, p. 148—152.

† Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 339.

‡ Wood's Athene Oxon. vol. i. p. 542, 543.

§ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 396, 397.

admired, that, previous to this year, it passed through *fourteen* editions, and was translated into the Turkish language.—2. A Treatise of Faith, 1637.—3. Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation, 1640.—4. An Answer to two Treatises of Mr. John Can. the Leader of the English Brownists at Amsterdam, 1642.—5. Trial of the New Church-way in New England and Old, 1644.—6. A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace, 1645.—7. Of the Power of Godliness, doctrinally and practically handled, 1657.*—This includes several other articles.—8. A Treatise of Divine Meditation, 1660.—Several of the above pieces were published by Mr. Simeon Ashe, after Mr. Ball's death.

THOMAS BREWER was a zealous minister of the baptist persuasion, who suffered the most cruel usage under the ecclesiastical oppressions of Bishop Laud. It does not appear whether he was ever beneficed in the established church. The first account of him we meet with, is, that, in the year 1626, he was a preacher among the separatists in and about Ashford in Kent. In that year, through the instigation of Laud, he was prosecuted and censured in the high commission court, and committed to prison, where he remained no less than *fourteen years*. The archbishop, afterwards speaking of the mischief done by the nonconformity of Mr. Brewer and Mr. Turner, says, "The hurt which they have done is so deeply rooted, that it is impossible to be plucked up on a sudden; but I must crave time to work it off by little and little." His grace, however, certainly fixed upon the most direct and effectual method of doing this. For, in his account of his province addressed to the king, in the year 1637, he says, "I must give your majesty to understand, that at and about Ashford in Kent, the separatists continue to hold their conventicles, notwithstanding the excommunication of so many of them as have been discovered. Two or three of their principal ringleaders, Brewer, Fenner, and Turner, have long been kept in prison, and it was once thought fit to proceed against them by the statute of abjuration.† Not long since Brewer slipt out of prison, and went to Rochester and other parts of Kent, and held conventicles, and put a great many people into great distempers against the church. He is taken again, and was called before the high commission, where he stood silent, but in such a jeering scornful manner, as I scarcely

* This work indicates much reflection, an experimental acquaintance with the powers of the soul, and the workings of sin and grace.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 455.

† Upon this part of the archbishop's account, his majesty inserted the following recommendation: "Keep those persons fast, until you think what to do with the rest."—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. 1. p. 546.

ever saw the like. So in prison he remains.”* This was a short and certain method of stopping their mouths. Mr. Brewer having been confined in prison fourteen years, even till the meeting of the long parliament, he was then set at liberty by an order from the house of commons, November 28, 1640, upon his promise to be forthcoming when called; and this is all we know of him.†

LAWRENCE CHADDERTON, D. D.—This celebrated divine was born at Chadderton in Lancashire, in the year 1537, having descended from a wealthy family. He was brought up in the darkness of popery; and his father, intending him for the law, sent him to the inns of court. But he soon renounced popery; became a religious protestant; forsook the study of the law; and entered Christ’s college, Cambridge. This was in the year 1564. Having turned protestant, and fixed himself in the university, he informed his father of it, requesting some pecuniary support: but his father, being a zealous papist, was so displeased at his becoming a protestant, that he utterly refused to afford him any aid, and disinherited him of considerable estates. Also, as a manifestation of his great resentment, “his father sent him a poke, with a groat in it, to go a begging.” Though he was abandoned by his parents, he found great comfort from these words: “When thy father and mother forsake thee, the Lord will take thee up.”‡ He who called him to suffer reproach and the loss of all things for his name, gave him support and comfort under all his sufferings.

Young Chadderton, now cast off by his unnatural parents, still continued at the university, and made the closest application to his studies. Indeed, he soon became so eminent a scholar, that in three years, he was chosen fellow of his college. In the year 1576, he had a public dispute with Dr. Baro, the Margaret professor, upon his Arminian tenets, when he displayed his great learning, piety, and moderation.§ He afterwards took an active part in the proceedings of the university, against both Baro and Barret, and united with other heads in addressing certain letters to the chancellor of the university.¶ For the space of sixteen

* Wharton’s *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 535, 546.

† Nalson’s *Collec.* vol. i. p. 570.

‡ Fuller’s *Worthies*, part ii. p. 117.

§ Fuller’s *Hist. of Cam.* p. 145, 146.—*Strype’s Annals*, vol. iii. p. 47, 48.

¶ Baker’s *MS. Collec.* vol. ii. p. 6, 90.

years, he was lecturer at one of the churches in Cambridge; in which place his holy, learned, and judicious sermons were made a blessing to multitudes. October 26, 1578, he preached the sermon at Paul's cross. This sermon appears to have been the only article he ever published. About the same time, he was appointed, by an order of parliament, to be preacher at the Middle Temple, and to have a salary of twenty pounds a year, to be raised by the contributions of the house.* In the year 1584, when Sir Walter Mildmay founded Emanuel college, he made choice of Dr. Chadderton to be the first master. But, on account of his great modesty, he was extremely reluctant to undertake the charge; which, when Sir Walter discovered, he said, "If you will not be the *master*, I will not be the *founder* of the college."† Upon this, he complied, and continued in this office thirty-eight years. During the whole of this period, his deportment was agreeable to the expectations of the worthy founder. By his active and laudable endeavours, the funds of the institution were greatly enriched. He paid the most exact attention to the religion and learning of the scholars. Many persons of distinguished eminence were his pupils, among whom was Mr. William Bedell, afterwards bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.‡ This learned prelate always retained the highest opinion of his venerable tutor. After he was made provost of Dublin college, and introduced to a friendly correspondence with the celebrated Usher, he could not make mention of his name without particular sensations of pleasantry and esteem. "The arts of dutiful obedience, and just ruling also in part," says he, "I did seventeen years endeavour to

* MS. Chronology, vol. lii. A. D. 1640, p. 4.

† Sir Walter was an avowed enemy to superstition, a zealous promoter of religion, and ever forward to advance a further reformation in the church. Coming to court, after he had founded the above college, the queen addressed him, saying, "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a *puritan foundation*." "No, madam," said he, "far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your laws: but I have set an *acorn*, which, when it becomes an *oak*, God alone knows what will be the fruit of it." This college, it is added, became the very nursery of puritans. Moreover, when Sir Walter founded this college, he, to counteract the influence of superstition, ordered the chapel belonging to it, to stand in the direction of *north* and *south*; but, curious as it may appear, the building in this position, being nonconformable, became an offence to the ruling prelates, and as a punishment for standing thus, it was pulled down in the reign of Charles II. and erected in the position of *east* and *west*.—*Fuller's Hist. of Cam.* p. 147.—*MS. Remarks*, p. 495.—*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 369.

‡ Biog. Britan, vol. ii. p. 133. Edit. 1778.

learn, under that good father Dr. Chadderton, in a well-tempered society: the cunning tricks of packing, siding, bandying, and skirmishing, with and between great men, I confess myself ignorant in, and am now, I fear, too old to be taught."* Dr. Chadderton, in the year 1622, resigned his mastership to the famous Dr. Preston, lest he should be succeeded by a person of Arminian principles; but he survived Preston, and lived to see Dr. Sancroft, and, after him, Dr. Holdsworth, in the same office.

Dr. Chadderton was a decided puritan, but a divine of great moderation. He united with his brethren in their classical associations, and subscribed the "Book of Discipline."† In the year 1603, he was one of the puritan divines nominated by King James to attend the Hampton-court conference. Echard, by mistake, says, that Chadderton and his brethren were chosen by the puritans.‡ It is extremely obvious, that they were all appointed by his majesty. Chadderton, on this occasion, said very little; only towards the close of the conference, when he perceived the king was determined to carry all by force, he requested upon his knees, that the wearing of the surplice, and the use of the cross in baptism, might not be urged upon certain pious and faithful ministers in Lancashire, especially the vicar of Rochdale; but his request was wholly disregarded. The tyrannizing spirit of his majesty, and the contemptible flattery of the prelates, so palpably manifest on this occasion, will be a stain on their character to the latest posterity.§

Dr. Chadderton was a divine of great abilities and learning, on account of which he was appointed by the king to be one of the translators of the Bible: this was the translation of the present authorized version.¶ He died November 13, 1640; but of his age, as well as the place of his interment, our various authorities are divided. Mr. Clark says he was ninety-four years old; but Archdeacon Echard, who styles him "a grave, pious, and excellent preacher,"

* Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 323.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

‡ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 186.

§ Bishop Bancroft, falling down on his knee, protested, "That his heart melted with joy, and he made haste to acknowledge unto Almighty God, the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been." Archbishop Whitgift and the temporal lords were guilty of the like or worse flattery.—*Barlow's Account*, p. 170—176.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. x. p. 20.

¶ Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. Rec. p. 367.

affirms that he died in the hundred and fifth year of his age.* His remains, says Mr. Clark, were interred in *St. Andrew's* church, Cambridge; when Dr. Holdsworth preached his funeral sermon, giving him large and deserved commendations: but Mr. Baker affirms that he was buried in Emanuel college chapel, and was the first person interred in that place.+ The monumental inscription upon a small grave stone, at the entrance of Emanuel college chapel, will correct these mistakes. It is very short and plain, of which the following is a translation :‡

Here
lies the body of
LAWRENCE CHADDERTON, D. D.
who was the first Master of this College.
He died in the year 1640,
in the *one hundred and third*
year of his age.

He was a divine famous for gravity, religion, and learning, and a plain but useful preacher. He was of a very charitable spirit; a strict observer of the sabbath; and a decided enemy to Arminianism. He could read without the use of spectacles to the day of his death.§ He was married fifty-three years; and during the whole of this period, he never kept his servant from public worship to cook victuals. It is recorded of him to his great honour, that he used to say, "I desire as much to have my servants to know the Lord as myself." If at any time a servant was addicted to lying, or any other open vice, he would not suffer her to remain in his house, though she could do ever so much work.¶

This excellent divine, being once on a visit among his friends in Lancashire, was invited to preach; and having preached full *two hours*, he paused and said, "I will no longer trespass upon your patience." Upon this all the congregation cried out, "*For God's sake, go on, go on;*" when he proceeded *much longer* in his discourse, to the great satisfaction and admiration of his audience.‡

* Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 186.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xviii. p. 72.

‡ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 90.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 146, 147.

¶ Ibid.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 117.

JOHN RUDD, A. M.—This divine was born in the year 1568, and educated most probably in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he became a zealous and popular preacher. He was one of the preachers to the university; and for a sermon which he delivered in St. Mary's church, January 30, 1596, he was convened before the vice-chancellor and the heads of houses, and examined upon the contents of his sermon, drawn into certain interrogatories. He was required to give his answer to each of these interrogatories, which he had no sooner done than he was suspended from all his preferment, and commanded to deliver up his license for preaching, until he should give satisfaction to the congregation, and revoke his dangerous errors. It is observed, that he at first consented to retract his opinions, but after the revocation was drawn up, he refused to do it in the manner prescribed; yet he openly promised, and by the subscription of his hand to the said revocation, undertook to deliver publicly in St. Mary's pulpit, on the 6th of March following, the substance of the said revocation, lively, truly, and *bona fide*, so near as he should be able. This, it is said, he was permitted to do, in consequence of his earnest petition, out of a tender regard for his ministry; and in full persuasion of his performance; but, contrary to all expectation, in his sermon on the above day, he confirmed his former points of doctrine, instead of giving satisfaction, or revoking his former offences. For this contempt he continued under suspension, with his license called in, and was obliged to enter into a bond of forty pounds, for his appearance before his spiritual judges, on the 28th day of April.

After these proceedings, Dr. Jegon the vice-chancellor, sent information to Archbishop Whitgift, concerning Mr. Rudd's offence, and communicated to him an account of the above proceedings, with a copy of the above recantation.* This was going the sure way to work. The stern archbishop immediately addressed letters missive to the vice-chancellor, commanding, that if Mr. Rudd still

* Dr. John Jegon was afterwards bishop of Norwich, when he distinguished himself by his zeal for conformity, and the exact management of his revenues, by which he was enabled to purchase a very considerable estate, and to enrich his family. This, in the latter part of his life, seems to have been the principal object of his attention. His death happened March 13, 1617; but he was thought to have died too rich for a bishop, and to have expended too little of his ample fortune in acts of charity.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 349.

refused to observe such order as was already taken, or should be hereafter taken, he should be bound, with one surety in a bond of forty pounds, to appear before her majesty's high commissioners, April 30th. He was, therefore, obliged to enter into bonds, and was sent to the high commission, when he made his submission, and confessed his oversight. He was then dismissed, sent back to Cambridge, and referred to the vice-chancellor's wisdom, to take such further order with him as he should think proper. But the vice-chancellor and heads would not release him without a formal recantation, after which he was absolved, and restored in all respects to his former situation. His recantation was as follows :

“Whereas, in a sermon made by me in this place, the 30th day of January last past, I was understood and taken to have published and maintained certain points of doctrine very erroneous, and other speeches of reproof very scandalous to the church of England, and greatly offensive to the congregation then assembled, namely :
 “ 1. That the use of humanity, human arts, and profane authors, in sermons, was and is altogether unprofitable and unlawful.—2. That not the tenth part of the ministers of this our church of England are able ministers or preachers, but dumb dogs.—3. That a curate, being no preacher, is no minister, nor doth he edify, any more than a boy of eight years old may do.—4. That Papists and Lutherans in Cambridge are lately reconciled and dismissed ; for which the university doth hear ill abroad.’
 “ In all which particulars, my mind and meaning was and is so far different from the sense implied in these words, that I had no suspicion of any offence thereby given or taken.”

It does not appear whether Mr. Rudd made the above revocation publicly in the pulpit, or only subscribed it with his hand. Upon his release from these troubles, it appears that he left the university ; and about the same time he became minister of Sheephall in Hertfordshire, where he continued a faithful and useful preacher to the end of his days. At his death his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church, and over his grave the following plain monumental inscription was erected to his memory :

Here lies the body
of JOHN RUDD,
the faithful pastor of this church
forty-five years,
who died a bachelor in 1640,
aged 72.

In his last will and testament he bequeathed £ 300 for the purchase of lands, the profits of which were to be annually distributed among the poor of Durham; also £ 200 for two scholarships in Christ's college, Cambridge, one for the north and the other for the south. His own kindred in the south, if any, were first to be chosen; next the vicar's son of Sheephall, if capable; next, such scholars as were educated at Stevenage school; if none there, then at St. Alban's or Hertford school. He also gave £ 200 for the purchase of lands, the profits of which were to be annually devoted to other charitable purposes.*

WILLIAM FENNER, B. D.—This excellent puritan was born in the year 1600, and educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; but took his degree in divinity at Oxford. He entered upon his stated ministerial exercise at Sedgley in Staffordshire, where the Lord greatly blessed his labours. The parish is very large and populous; and, previous to his settlement, was a very heathenish place; but by his holy life and faithful preaching, during the period of four years, many persons were turned to righteousness. Being at length forced away, most probably on account of his nonconformity; and being succeeded by a weak vicar, ignorance and profaneness again returned.†

Mr. Fenner naturally cared for souls; therefore, besides paying the necessary attention to the people of his own particular charge, he took much delight in preaching the gospel from place to place. He was much resorted to as a casuist,‡ and highly esteemed and admired by some of the nobility, particularly the Earl of Warwick, who became his great friend and patron. In the year 1629, he presented him to the rectory of Rochford in Essex.§ In this situation he continued the rest of his days, and his life and labours reflected much honour on the grace of God. He

* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xvii. p. 106.

† Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 777.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 182.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 497.

did not entertain his hearers with dry disputes about unprofitable rites and ceremonies, but fed them with the sincere milk of the word.* The Oxford historian says, "he was much admired and followed by the puritanical party." One Mr. Fenner, a puritan minister, was apprehended by Archbishop Laud, and cast into prison, where he remained many years; but he does not appear to be the same person.† Mr. Fenner died about 1640, aged forty years. Mr. Edmund Calamy, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his successor.‡ The writings of this pious divine discover much acquaintance with religion in all its parts; and his manner is plain, zealous, and alarming.§

HIS WORKS.—1. *The Riches of Grace*, 1641.—2. *A Treatise of Affections*, 1642.—3. *Christ's Alarm to Drowsy Sinners*, 1650.—4. *Practical Divinity*, 1650.—5. *Divine Message to the Elect Soul*, 1651.—6. *Of willful Impenitency*, 1651.—7. *Of Conscience*, 1651.—8. *Hidden Manna*, 1652.—And some others.

SAMUEL WARD, B. D.—This excellent divine, the son of Mr. John Ward, the old puritan, was born at Haverhill in Suffolk, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. Having finished his studies at the university, he became lecturer at Haverhill, where his labours were eminently useful. Among the first fruits of his ministry was the celebrated Mr. Samuel Fairclough.¶ Mr. Ward afterwards became minister to one of the churches

* Fenner's Works, Pref. Edit. 1651.

† Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 538, 546.

‡ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 76.

§ Williams's *Christian Preacher*, p. 454.

¶ The following account is given of Mr. Fairclough's conversion. Mr. Ward having preached on the conversion of Zaccheus, he observed, "That no one who has wronged another can expect pardon from God who does not make restitution, if it be in his power." This was like a dart directed by the hand of God to the heart of young Fairclough, who with one John Trigg (afterwards an eminent physician in London) had the preceding week robbed the orchard of one Goodman Jude. The sermon drew forth many tears, and he could get no sleep during that night. Early the next morning he went to his companion Trigg, and told him that he was going to Jude's to give him a shilling for the pears he had stolen. Trigg, fearing the old man would acquaint the schoolmaster, and they should be beaten, strove to dissuade Fairclough from his purpose, who answered, that God would not pardon the sin without restitution. Trigg replied, "You talk like a fool, Sam: God will forgive us ten times sooner than old Jude will once." But Samuel persisted in his design, when Jude refused to take the money, and readily forgave him the wrong. But he could find no rest till he went to Mr. Ward and opened to him the state of his soul.—*Clark's Lives*, last vol. part i. p. 154.

of Ipswich in Suffolk; but his reputation was so great, that he had the superintendence of the several parishes in that populous town, and was greatly beloved by the numerous parishioners.* However, he had his foes, as well as his friends, and was prosecuted by Bishop Harsnet for non-conformity. In the year 1622, upon his prosecution in the consistory of Norwich, he appealed from the bishop to the king; who committed the articles exhibited against him to the examination of the lord keeper Williams. The lord keeper, announcing the result of his examination to his majesty, is said to have found Mr. Ward not altogether blameless, but a man easily to be won by fair dealing; and persuaded Harsnet to take his submission, and not remove him from Ipswich. The truth is, the lord keeper found that Mr. Ward possessed so much candour, and was so ready to promote the interests of the church, that he could do no less than compound the troubles of so learned and industrious a divine.† He was, therefore, released from the prosecution; and most probably continued for some time without molestation, in the peaceable exercise of his ministry. But this was not the end of his troubles. He afterwards fell into the hands of Archbishop Laud, whose tender mercies were cruelty. In the year 1634, for certain words delivered in his sermons, he was prosecuted in the high commission court. And the year following, for preaching against bowing at the name of Jesus, and against the Book of Sports, and having said, "that the church of England was ready to ring changes in religion, and that the gospel stood on tiptoe ready to be gone;" he was suspended in the high commission, enjoined a public recantation in such form as the court should appoint, and condemned in costs of suit. Upon his refusal to reproach his understanding, and defile his conscience by a public recantation, he was committed to prison, where, to his great disgrace and unspeakable loss, he remained a long time. Laud was the principal person in procuring this cruel sentence.‡

Mr. Ward, having endured the severity of imprisonment for some time, and having at length obtained his release, fled from the storm, and retired to Holland; where he first

* Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 70, 71.

† Hacket's Life of Abp. Williams, p. 95. Edit. 1693.

‡ It is observed, that, upon the censure of Mr. Ward, the Bishop of Norwich would have allowed his people another minister; but they would have Mr. Ward, or none.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 301.—Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 541.

became a member of Mr. Bridge's church at Rotterdam, then his colleague in the pastoral office. The two pastors are said, indeed, to have been perfectly conformable to the church of England, when they left their native country; which is contrary to truth and the plainest matter of fact. Also, upon their going to Holland, they are said to have renounced their episcopal ordination, and to have been re-ordained; when Mr. Bridge ordained Mr. Ward, and Mr. Ward returned him the compliment. This account, however, appears extremely doubtful.* After Mr. Ward had been employed for some time as pastor of the church, he was deposed from his office, though manifestly on very trivial grounds. Having been laid aside a considerable time, he was restored to his former charge, on which occasion the church acknowledged the wrong they had done him. Indeed, his deposition was matter of surprise to many, who had the highest opinion of Mr. Ward's integrity and worth. The only crime with which he appears to have been charged, was, his uniting with Mr. Simpson in endeavours, though in the most peaceable manner, to revive the religious exercises or prophesyings; that, for the better edification of the people, they might, after sermons, propose their doubts to the ministers, and ask them questions.† It was doubtless an honour to the church to restore so valuable a pastor, and to acknowledge the injustice of its own censure.

Mr. Ward does not appear to have long survived these painful trials, but died in Holland, most probably about the year 1640. Fuller denominates him "an excellent artist, linguist, preacher, and divine," and includes him in the list of learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge.‡ He was one of the learned divines who wrote against Montague, the famous promoter of popery and arminianism. He was author of a work, entitled, "*Magnetis Reductorium Theologicum*." And about the time of his departure for Holland, several of his pieces were collected and published in one thick duodecimo volume, entitled, "*A Collection of such Sermons and Treatises as have been written and published by Samuel Ward, B. D. and Preacher of Ipswich*," 1636. Dr. Doddridge observes, that his writings are "worthy to be read through. His language is generally proper, elegant, and nervous. His thoughts are well digested and happily illustrated. He

* Ballie's *Dissuasive*, p. 75, 82.

† Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 143, 149 — *Baillie's Dissuasive*, p. 77.

‡ Fuller's *Worthies*, part iii. p. 70. — *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 164.

has many remarkable veins of wit. Many of the boldest figures of speech are to be found in him beyond any English writer; especially apostrophes, prosopopæias, dialogisms, and allegories. There is, indeed, a mixture of fancy in his writings; but pardonable, considering his youth, and that many of his sermons were not prepared by himself for the press, but copied from his mouth while preaching. He died before he was twenty-eight years old.* Had he lived, he would probably have been the phoenix of British preachers."†

HENRY ARCHER was minister of Alhallows, Lombard-street, London; but, on account of his nonconformity, was suspended, and driven out of the kingdom by the cruel persecution of Archbishop Laud; He retired to Arnheim in Holland, and there became pastor of the English church, having Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin for his colleague in the pastoral office. He had, in his own country, been exercised with very much bodily affliction; but his removal proved the means of his complete restoration to health.‡ In this situation he appears to have continued the rest of his days, and died most probably soon after the year 1640. He was an independent in his views of christian discipline and church government. He was also a millenarian in sentiment. He expected Christ's appearance in those days, and wrote of his personal reign upon the earth in a work, entitled, "The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth. In a Treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved, that Jesus Christ, together with his Saints, shall visibly possess a monarchicall State and Kingdom in the World," 1642. In this work he said, "Christ will govern universally over the world in these days, known and esteemed; and in a worldly, visible, earthly glory, not by tyranny, oppression, and sensuality, but with honour, peace, riches, and whatsoever is not sinful, all nations and kingdoms doing homage to him, as the great monarch of the world."§ He is charged with having held several

* In this the doctor is certainly very much mistaken; for Mr. Ward was lecturer at Haverhill in the year 1607; and therefore must have been a preacher at least thirty years previous to his departure for Holland.—*Clark's Lives*, part i. p. 153, 154.

† *Doddridge's Works*, vol. v. p. 429, 430. Edit. 1804.

‡ *Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 373.

§ *Edwards's Antapologia*, p. 160.

|| *Baillie's Dissuasive*, p. 87.

antinomian sentiments; and certainly his saying, "that God is the author of sin, even of the pravity and sinfulness of it," was extremely erroneous. Besides writing upon the personal reign of Christ, he published a work, entitled, "A Treatise of the Comfort of Believers against their Sins and Sorrows;" which, for containing the above sentiment, was censured by the assembly of divines, and ordered by the house of lords to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. He was, nevertheless, esteemed a man of the most exemplary piety.* There was one Mr. Archer, an independent minister at Halstead in Essex, who, according to Edwards, preached much against the presbyterians, and against paying tithes; but it appears very doubtful whether this was the same person.†

SAMUEL HOWE was pastor of the separate congregation meeting in Deadman's-place, London, and successor to the famous Mr. John Canne. This church appears to have held mixt communion, and Mr. Howe was a baptist, though some of his predecessors were not. Mr. Neal says that he was a man of learning, and published a small treatise, entitled, "The Sufficiency of the Spirit's teaching."‡ His learning, however, does not appear from this work, which is designed to shew the insufficiency of human learning to the important purposes of religion; and not only so, but that it is dangerous and hurtful. It is certainly written with great strength of genius, though the author was a "cobbler," as appears from the following recommendatory lines prefixed to the discourse:§

"What *How*? how now? Hath *How* such learning found,
To throw Art's curious image to the ground?
Cambridge and Oxford may their glory now
Veil to a cobbler, if they know but *How*."

Mr. Howe and his people were persecuted beyond measure by the ruling prelates. He continued pastor of the church about seven years; but not being sufficiently on his guard in conversation, subjected himself to the malice of hungry informers, by whose means he was cited into the ecclesiastical courts, and excommunicated. Upon this

* Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 79, 80.

† Edwards's *Gangrena*, part ii. p. 18. Third edit.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 375.

§ Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 39, 40.

terrible sentence he absconded; but after some time he was apprehended, and shut up in close prison, where he died. His death happening while under the above disgraceful sentence, he was denied christian burial, and a constable's guard secured the parish church of Shoreditch to prevent his interment there. At length his remains were deposited in Agnes-la-clair.* This was most probably about the year 1640. In a work published against the separatists, entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue," 1641, it is said, "Of these opinions was Howe, that notorious predicant cobbler, whose body was buried in the highway, and his funeral sermon preached by one of his sect in a brewer's cart."† Hence it appears that his funeral was publicly conducted, notwithstanding the violence of the time; and that his people took this method of pouring contempt upon the impotent rage of his persecutors, whose sentiments concerning christian burial, and consecrated ground, they utterly despised: and to prove that what they did was from principle, and not merely from necessity, many of the members of his church afterwards, by their own desire, were buried in the same place.‡

The celebrated Mr. Roger Williams, of Providence in New England, gives the following honourable testimony to the character of Mr. Howe. "Amongst so many instances," says he, "dead and living, to the everlasting praise of Jesus Christ, and of his Holy Spirit, breathing and blessing where he listeth, I cannot but with honourable testimony remember that eminent christian witness, and prophet of Christ, even that despised and yet beloved Samuel Howe; who being by calling a cobbler, and without human learning, (which yet in its sphere and place he honoured,) who yet, I say, by searching the holy scriptures, grew so excellent a textuary, or scripture-learned man, that few of those high rabbies, who scorn to mend or make a shoe, could aptly or readily, from the holy scriptures, out-go him: and however he was forced to seek a grave or bed in the highway, yet was his life, and death, and burial, honourable and glorious, being attended by many hundreds of God's people; but how much more will be his rising again!"§ Mr. Howe was succeeded in the pastoral office by Mr. Stephen More, whose memoir is given in the next article.

* Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 154.

† Brownist's Synagogue, p. 2.

‡ Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 153.

§ Williams's Hireling Ministry none of Christ's, p. 11, 12. Edit. 1652.

STEPHEN MORE was a person of good reputation, and endowed with considerable ministerial abilities. He was for some years deacon to the congregation of separatists in London, and a citizen of considerable property; but, after the death of Mr. Samuel Howe, whose memoir is given in the preceding article, he was chosen to the pastoral office, to the apparent hazard of his liberty and estate.* This congregation practised mixed communion, and his predecessor was a baptist, but Mr. More was an independent. The zeal of these people exposed them to the severe persecution of the prelates; and they were obliged to assemble in private as they found an opportunity. This poor congregation had subsisted almost by a miracle for upwards of twenty-four years, shifting from place to place, to avoid the notice of hungry informers; but January 18, 1641, they ventured to set open their doors in Deadman's-place, Southwark. Fuller says, that on "this day happened the first fruits of anabaptistical insolence, when eighty of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of the Common Prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate; and that he was only to be obeyed in *civil* matters. Being brought before the lords, they confessed the articles; but no penalty was inflicted upon them."†

This, however, is a very partial and imperfect account of the matter, as appeared from their own records. As it is probable that only a small part of them were of the baptist persuasion, they were more properly a congregation of independents than anabaptists. With respect to their *insolence*, if, by opening their doors for all to come to their assembly who might feel disposed, they discovered their insolence, they must bear their own reproach. But if it refer to the opinions they delivered, what immediately followed will afford the best explanation. This is, therefore, an impartial statement of facts. Mr. More and his congregation having assembled in Deadman's-place, for the purpose of public worship on the Lord's day, though not with their former secrecy, they were discovered and taken into custody by Sir John Lenthal, marshal to the King's-bench, who committed most of them to the Clink. Next morning, six or seven of the men were carried before the house of lords, and charged with denying the king's supremacy in *ecclesiastical*

* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 40.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 172.

matters, and with preaching in separate congregations, where the Common Prayer was not used, contrary to the statute of the 35th of Elizabeth. The latter charge they confessed; and as to the former, they declared to the house, "That they could acknowledge no other head of the church besides Jesus Christ; that they apprehended no prince on earth had power to make laws to bind the conscience; and that such laws as were contrary to the laws of God, ought not to be obeyed; but they disowned all foreign power and jurisdiction."* Such a bold declaration, a twelvemonth before, would have sent them to a close, filthy prison, or cost them their ears.

The house, however, instead of remitting them to the ecclesiastical courts, or inflicting any penalty upon them, treated them with great civility and respect, and some of the lords inquired where was their place of meeting, intimating that they would come and hear them. Accordingly, three or four of the peers went to the meeting the next Lord's day, to the great wonder of many. The good people, not intimidated with their presence, conducted their worship in their usual method: having two sermons, in each of which the preacher discussed those principles for which they had been accused, founding his discourses on the words of our Saviour: *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* In the conclusion the Lord's supper was administered, and a collection made for the poor, in which the lords contributed liberally with them. Upon their departure, they signified their satisfaction in what they had heard and seen, and their inclination to come again. But this made so great a noise, it is said, that they durst not venture a second time.†

It does not appear how long Mr. More continued pastor of this church, nor how long he lived after the above troubles; but the church divided by mutual consent, most probably at his death, when just one half chose Mr. Praise-God Barebone, and the other half Mr. Henry Jessey, to the office of pastor.‡

RICHARD BERNARD.—This excellent divine was born in the year in 1567, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge. He was a young man of good natural parts; and, having raised the expectations of his friends, the Countess of Warwick took him under her patronage, and sent him

* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 375, 376.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 163.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 41.

to the university. He had other liberal friends also, who assisted and encouraged him in his preparatory studies. Having finished his academical pursuits at Cambridge, he became vicar of Worksop in Nottinghamshire, where he experienced great encouragement in his ministry, and was exceedingly beloved by his people. As a preacher, he was much followed, and his labours were rendered a blessing to many. From the date of some of his writings, it appears that he was at Worksop in the year 1605; but how long he had been in this situation, previous to that period, we are not able to ascertain.

About the year 1613, Mr. Bernard, on account of his excellent learning, genuine piety, and ministerial abilities, was presented to the living of Batcombe in Somersetshire. He received the presentation from Dr. Bass, who had been minister of the place almost from the commencement of the reformation. This reverend and venerable pastor, it is said, purchased the advowson of Batcombe to present once only, for which he gave £200; and though he had a son in the ministry, he constantly resolved to bestow it as the Lord should direct him. Therefore, upon the presentation of the benefice, he spake to Mr. Bernard and others in these words: "I do this day lay aside nature, respect of profit, flesh and blood, in this bestowing, as I do, my living, only in hope of profiting and edifying my people's souls;" after which he did not live above three weeks. This, his last act, he called his *packing-penny* between God and himself.

In this situation, as well as the former, Mr. Bernard laboured more abundantly than many of his brethren, and his endeavours were rendered extensively useful. He was opposed to a total separation from the church, and wrote with some zeal against the Brownists; but was an enemy to the imposition of human ceremonies in divine worship, and wrote against them as unlawful. He was indeed called a conformable puritan, though he refused to observe many of the ceremonies, and the exact conformity required of the clergy. It is supposed that he obtained some connivance and indulgence from the Bishop of Winchester, his diocesan, who had been one of his familiar associates at the university: and on this account he escaped those suspensions and deprivations under which many of his brethren frequently groaned. He was a hard student, a most exemplary christian, and much addicted to acts of charity; also a judicious, affectionate, and profitable preacher, being filled with zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of

souls.* He died in the month of March, 1641, aged seventy-four years.† Fuller has given him a place among the learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge;‡ and Granger denominates him "the worthy rector of Batcombe in Somersetshire."§

Mr. Conant gives the following account of Mr. Bernard's character, labours, and usefulness: "I had for sundry years past, some intimate acquaintance with him; during which time, as, by the testimony of many godly and learned persons long before, he hath constantly been very laborious in the public exercise of his ministry; the fruit whereof was sealed by the conversion of many souls to God. His labours in the ministry were bestowed not only in his own congregation, but in several of the adjacent market towns; where weekly lectures were for many years continued, by the free and voluntary assistance of pious, godly, and orthodox divines, until they were, by the last bishop of that diocese, to the great prejudice of many souls, imperiously suppressed. In his ministerial work he was a *leader* and *pattern* to many, exemplifying in his sermons that method of *preaching*, which many years since, in his "Faithful Shepherd," he prescribed, or at least proposed, in *writing*. Divers painful and profitable labourers in the Lord's vineyard had their first initiation and direction from and under him; to whom also many others had recourse, and from whom they borrowed no small light and encouragement. His people, by his constant pains in *catechizing*, (wherein he had an excellent facility,) as well as his *preaching*, were more than ordinary proficient in the knowledge of the things of God; and the *youth* of his congregation were very ready in giving a clear account of their faith, whereof he would often speak with much rejoicing. That the knowledge of his people was not merely speculative, appeared by the many liberal contributions which, for pious and charitable uses, were made by them; wherein, I suppose, they were not inferior to any congregation in the whole county wherein he lived.

"His preaching and catechizing," our author adds, "were accompanied with zeal, frequency, and fervency in prayer, wherein he was very ready and powerful, and whereby all his other labours became the more successful. With all these, his ordinary and more private conversation

* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1640. p. 42.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 514.

‡ Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 199.

held a good correspondence; he being bold, expert, and candid in admonishing or reproving, as occasion presented; tender also and cordial in comforting the afflicted or wounded spirit; and, in a word, he shewed much integrity in all his actions. He was, in his private studies, according to that strong constitution wherewith God had blessed him, indefatigable: the benefit whereof the church of God enjoyeth, in those many tractates written and printed by him; as most men versed in theological studies will give testimony.* He was a learned divine and a zealous pastor, of which his numerous writings afford ample proof. They also discover great precision of thought, and much strength and energy of mind. It is added, that the same uncommon ardour which is discovered throughout his writings, was, during a long and laborious ministry, manifested with extensive effects in his immediate and extra-parochial engagements.† Mr. Bernard had for his assistants at Batcombe, Mr. Robert Balsom the puritan, then Mr. Edward Bennet; and for his successor, Mr. Richard Allein; both ejected in 1662.‡

His WORKS.—1. Dissuasions from the Way of Separation, 1606.—2. Twelve Arguments proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers in the Church of England, by the Prelates, are unlawful, and therefore that the Ministers of the Gospel, for the bare and sole Omission of them for Conscience sake, are most unjustly charged with Disloyalty to her Majesty, 1605.—3. A Key for the Opening of the Mysteries of the Revelation of St. John, 1617.—4. Fabulous Foundation of the Popedom, shewing that St. Peter was never at Rome, 1619.—5. The Good Man's Grace, or his Stay in all his Distress, 1621.—6. The Faithful Shepherd and his Practice, 1621.—7. The Seven Golden Candlesticks, or the Sevenfold State of God's Church here on Earth, 1621.—8. An Answer to that Question, 'Where was your Religion before Luther?' 1624.—9. Rhemes against Rome, 1626.—10. A Guide to Grand Jurymen in Cases of Witchcraft, 1627.—11. Bible Battles, 1629.—12. Of the Nature and Differences of Conscience, 1631.—13. The Isle of Man; or, the Legal Proceedings in Manshire against Sin, 1632.—14. The Ready Way to good Works; or, a Treatise of Charity, 1635.—15. A Three fold Treatise of the Sabbath, on Gen. ii. 3., 1641.—16. A short View of the Prelatical Church of England, 1641.—17. The Bible's Abstract and Epitome, 1642.—18. Thesaurus Biblicus seu promptuarium sacrum, 1644. The last of these articles was republished, with enlargements, in 1661, and discovers the author's great learning and uncommon labour.

* Bernard's Isle of Man, p. 12—15. Edit. 1803. † Ibid. p. 10.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 139. iii. p. 167

§ This was the eighth edition of this excellent, though somewhat quaint little work, written in the form of an allegory. It was republished in 1803.

JONATHAN BURE.—This truly pious divine was born at Redgrave in Suffolk, in the year 1604, and educated at one of our universities. He was the son of pious parents, and, from a child, was trained up in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, which made him wise unto salvation. While a boy at school, he lived in the fear of God, and in the constant exercises of private devotion. Having spent four years at the university, he was unexpectedly called away by the death of his pious father. This painful dispensation was, however, sanctified to his good. He used afterwards to admire the wisdom and goodness of God, in preserving him by this means from those alluring preferments, for which he had a particular fondness. His first ministerial exercises were at Horningsheath in Suffolk, then at Rickingshal in the same county. In the latter situation, he had the pastoral charge, was presented to the rectory, and, with great exactness, performed his numerous pastoral duties. On this occasion he entered into a solemn covenant with God. Though what he delivered to the people in public, he previously applied to himself in private, he sometimes complained, saying, "Alas! I preach not what I am, but what I ought to be." Indeed, he was so deeply sensible of his own unworthiness, and of the numerous imperfections attending his best performances, that he often laboured under painful despondency. He was constant and laborious in the work of the Lord; and when desired to spare himself, he used to say, "It is better to wear out with *work*, than be eaten out with *rust*." It was his highest joy to spend his life for the honour of God and the welfare of souls. When he found, at any time, that the Lord had been pleased to bless his labours, he would say, "Lord, I have given of thine own; take thou the glory to thyself. As for me, let me have my portion in thyself, and not in the things of this world." He was remarkably charitable to the poor; and when requested to be more sparing in his liberality, he replied, "I often think on those words, *He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly*." He was of a meek and lowly spirit, and so patient under injuries, that when he was told how meanly other persons thought of him, he used to say, "I think as meanly of myself, and; therefore, am content for them to think thus of me." And when he was charged with evil, he meekly replied, "If men see so much evil, how much does God see?" He was always sorry to hear himself applauded, and called his reproaches his *gains*.

All his excellent endowments could not screen him from the severities of the times. He felt the iron hand of Bishop Laud, when, on account of his conscientious nonconformity, he was suspended from his beloved work. His mouth being stopped, he was like the fish out of water. His body even languished under the painful cross, and he said, "My preaching is my life. If I be laid aside from that, I shall quickly die."* Mr. Burr, finding himself totally disabled from preaching in his native country, without a conformity to the ecclesiastical impositions, contrary to the convictions of his conscience, renounced all prospects of worldly advantage, and retired to New England; where he could enjoy the ordinances of the gospel without the inventions and impositions of men. On his arrival in the new colony, he was chosen assistant to Mr. Richard Mather, pastor of the church at Dorchester. The year following, he was taken ill of the small-pox; but, through divine goodness, he recovered, and came forth as gold tried in the fire. On this occasion, he renewed his devotedness to God, and entered into a covenant with the Lord, to walk before him with greater exactness in future. In this covenant he expressed himself in the following manner:

"I, Jonathan Burr, being brought in the arms of Almighty God over the vast ocean, with my family and friends, and graciously provided for in a wilderness; and being sensible of my own unworthiness and self-seeking; yet of infinite mercy, being called to the tremendous work of feeding souls; and being of late with my family, delivered out of a great affliction of the small-pox: and found the fruit of that affliction, God tempering, ordering, and mitigating the evil thereof; so that I have been graciously and speedily delivered; I do promise and vow to Him, who hath done all these things for me:—1. That I will aim only at his glory and the good of souls, and not my own glory.—2. That I will walk humbly, with lower thoughts of myself, considering that I am a puff of breath sustained by the power of his grace alone.—3. That I will be more watchful over my heart, to keep it in a due frame of holy obedience, without running out so far after the creature: for I have seen that he is my only help in time of need.—4. That I will put more weight in that firm promise, and sure truth, that he is a God hearing prayer.—5. That I will set up God more in

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 78—80.

“ my family, more in myself, wife, children, and servants,
 “ conversing with them in a more serious manner. For this
 “ God aimed at by sending this affliction into my family.
 “ I will remember death. In myself I am nothing, in
 “ Christ all things.”

The future deportment of this worthy servant of Christ was happily conformable to his holy resolutions. His public ministry and his whole behaviour in life savoured much of a spirit of holiness, and afforded unspeakable comfort to the flock of Christ. He was greatly admired among his brethren. Having preached to a crowded congregation at Charlestown, the celebrated Mr. Thomas Hooker was led to say, “ Surely, this man will not be long out of heaven. He preaches as if he were there already.”

Mr. Burr, immediately after his last sermon, preached on *redeeming the time*, was seized by an affliction of about ten days continuance. During this period, he discovered the most becoming patience and submission to the will of God. His wife, perceiving his willingness to die, inquired whether he wished to leave her and their children; to which he readily answered, “ Do not mistake me,” said he, “ I am not desirous of that. But, I bless God, that now my will is the Lord’s will. If he will have me yet to live with my dear wife and children, I am willing. It is better for you that I abide with you; but it is better for me to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.” His affectionate wife intimating how hard a thing it was to be separated, he exhorted her to acquiesce in the will of God: and added, “ Our parting is but for a time. I am sure we shall one day meet again.” Observing her very kind attention in waiting on him, he said, “ Do not spend so much time with me; but go thy way, and spend some time in prayer. Thou knowest not what thou mayest obtain of God. I fear lest thou look too much upon this affliction.” The night preceding his death, he said, “ I will wait until my change come. Why art thou loath to die?” A few hours previous to his departure, he had a sore conflict with the enemy; and his friends reminding him that this was one of Satan’s last assaults, that he was a subtle enemy, and would, if it were possible, deceive the very elect, he immediately said, “ If it were possible; but, blessed be God, it is not possible.” Before he departed, he most affectionately addressed his wife, saying, “ Cast thy care upon God; for he careth for

* Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. liii. p. 78—80.

thee:" then added, "Hold fast, hold fast," and closed his eyes in peace, August 9, 1641, aged thirty-seven years.*

JOHN EATON, A. M.—This person was born in Kent, in the year 1575, and educated in Trinity college, Oxford. For several years after he left the university, he preached in various places; was curate at Katherine-Colemar, near Aldgate, London; and in 1625, became vicar of Wickham-Market in Suffolk, where he continued to the end of his days. It is said that he was a person of a peculiar mould, very paradoxical in his opinions, and a great antinomian, for which he was more than once cast into prison. His writings, which contain his peculiar sentiments, were, "The Discovery of a most dangerous Dead Faith;" 1641. "Abraham's Steps of Faith;" 1641. "The Honey-comb of Free Justification by Christ alone, collected out of the mere Authorities of Scripture," 1642. For the publication of a former edition of the last article, he was imprisoned in the Gatehouse, Westminster.† Indeed, he was for several years questioned and censured by the high commission, for maintaining that God cannot see sin in those who are justified. He was in perils often, in London, Norwich, and Wickham. Nevertheless, he is represented as a faithful servant of Jesus Christ; and, by the blessing of the Lord upon his labours, was instrumental in begetting many children to God.‡ Archdeacon Echard admits, that by means of his zeal, his exemplary patience, and his great piety, he was exceedingly admired in the neighbourhood where he lived, and highly valued for many years after his death.§ And though he committed some mistakes, in his assertions about the doctrines of grace, he was, upon the whole, "a pattern of faith, holiness, and cheerfulness in his sufferings, to future generations." He died in the year 1641, and in the sixty-sixth year of his age. There was another Mr. Eaton, denominated the *great apostle* for promoting independency in Yorkshire and Lancashire; but he was ejected after the restoration.¶

* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 81.

† Paget's Heresiography, p. 92.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 279.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 278.

¶ Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 68, 164.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 361.

JOHN HOWE was a man of great piety, and an excellent divine, but greatly troubled on account of his nonconformity. When he was first induced to examine the grounds of conformity, he espoused the cause of the puritans, and continued with firmness to adhere to their sentiments. By the favour of Archbishop Laud, he became minister of Loughborough in Leicestershire; and because he could not in conscience observe all the superstitious ceremonies enjoined by this arbitrary prelate, he was thought unfit to continue his ministerial labours in so populous a town. Laud therefore suspended him from his ministry.* But the chief cause of his suspension and other troubles, was, his praying only once in the pulpit, that God would preserve the young prince from the infection of popery. The queen, the prince's mother, who was a notorious papist, had numerous popish priests about her, using their utmost endeavours to have the mind of the prince established in the popish opinions; and, indeed, one of the articles of the queen's marriage was, that all her children should be nursed and brought up near the queen, until they should arrive at the age of fourteen years. There was, therefore, great cause of fear. Mr. Howe, for offering up the above prayer, was condemned in the high commission court, November 6, 1634, to be committed to prison during his majesty's pleasure, suspended from every part of his ministry, fined five hundred pounds, required to make a public recantation before the court, and condemned in costs of suit.† Such was the terrible sentence inflicted upon this excellent servant of Christ for the above imaginary crime! Laud says, that "Mr. Howe's prayer expressed in these words, 'That God would preserve the prince in the true religion, of which there was cause to fear,' was so grievous and graceless a scandal cast upon a religious king, as nothing could be greater. It was the shew of a prayer for the prince," says he, "but was, indeed, intended to destroy the king in the hearts of the people. And," he adds, "if I had not there consented to his punishment, I had deserved to be punished myself."‡

How long this divine continued in prison, or by what means he was released from these troubles, we have not been able to learn. On account of these cruel oppressions, great numbers, both ministers and others, were driven to Holland,

* Calamy's *Life of Howe*, p. 5. Edit. 1724.

† Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 420.

‡ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 383.

America, and other places; so Mr. Howe, to avoid persecution in future, sought an asylum in Ireland. He continued in that country till the breaking out of the rebellion, about the year 1641, when many thousands of protestants lost their lives. Indeed, Mr. Howe himself, and his family, were exposed to the greatest danger. The place to which they retired was for several weeks besieged and assaulted by the rebels, though without success; and by the special providence of God, which was the guard of his life, he was mercifully delivered from all his troubles. After being exposed for several years to the calamities of war, he returned to his native country, and settled in Lancashire; but at what place, or when he died, we are not able to learn.* The celebrated Mr. John Howe, silenced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, was his son.†

MR. WROTH.—This excellent person was educated in the university of Oxford, afterwards rector of Llanfaches in Monmouthshire, and domestic chaplain to Lady B——. He is accounted the first nonconformist minister in Wales. About the year 1620, he began to signalize himself by faithfully preaching the gospel, and discovered uncommon concern for the salvation of souls.‡ Previous to this he was a clergyman much addicted to mirth, levity, and music. An old manuscript relates the following anecdote: A gentleman in the neighbourhood having a suit at law depending, of great importance to his family, went to London to attend the trial; which, to his great satisfaction, proved in his favour. Sending home the pleasing information, his family and friends were overcome with transports of joy. The gentleman, therefore, appointed a certain day when he would return, and ordered great preparations to be made for his arrival, when the evening should be spent in feasting and mirth. Mr. Wroth, being invited, brought a new violin, to bear his part in the general triumph. But while they were in full expectation of the gentleman's arrival, behold! to their unspeakable mortification and distress, news came that he had been seized by death upon the road. It is not easy even to conceive what impressions were made on the minds of all present. The transition from triumphant joy to the deepest sorrow and anguish, was almost indescrib-

* Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 5, 6.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 81.

‡ Cradock's Works, Pref. Edit. 1800.

able. Amidst the general consternation, Mr. Wroth cast away his violin, and falling on his knees in the midst of the company, most fervently prayed for the blessing of God upon this alarming providence. It is further added, that from this time he became a changed man, of which he gave full proof by his faithful ministry and exemplary life.*

Mr. Wroth no sooner felt the power of divine grace, than he discovered uncommon concern for the souls of his people. He presently became a laborious and faithful preacher, and his labours were not in vain. He was instrumental in the conversion of many souls; among whom was Mr. Walter Cradock, who became his excellent fellow-labourer in the vineyard of Christ. His way of preaching, however, soon roused the malice of his enemies, and rendered him obnoxious to his superiors. It is recorded, that "the pious Mr. Wroth, with a great many devout and conscientious divines, severely felt the persecutions of the times, and were suspended from their livings for not reading the cursed Book of Sports on the Lord's day."† In the year 1635 the Bishop of Llandaff preferred articles against him in the high commission court, threatening to punish him according to his deserts. His lordship calls him "a noted schismatic," and says that he led many simple people after him, and wilfully persisted in his schismatical course. The year following, the bishop complained of the slowness of the prosecution, and observed that this made him "persist in his by-ways, and his followers judge him faultless." And in 1638 the good man was forced to submit, though it is not said what kind of submission he made.‡

In the year 1639 Mr. Wroth, with the assistance of Mr. Walter Cradock, Mr. Henry Jessey, and some others, formed a church at Llanfaches, according to the model of the independents.§ This society was a mixture of paedobaptists and antipaedobaptists. It was furnished with two ministers, as co-pastors; Mr. Wroth was of the former denomination, and Mr. William Thomas of the latter. The two pastors were intimately acquainted with the independents and baptists at Bristol, by whom also they were highly respected, as appears from the records of the church in Broad Mead, Bristol. It is observed in these records, that when Mr. Wroth and other reforming ministers came from South Wales, the professors of religion used to run

* Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 111.

† Ibid. p. 112.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 537, 544, 555.

§ Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 47.

after them, hungering for the food of their souls. When our pious divine was in Bristol, he lodged at the house of Mr. Listun, whose children he used to teach the following lines :

Thy sin : thy end : the death of Christ :
 The eternal pangs of hell :
 The day of doom : the joys of heaven :
 These six remember well.

Thus this holy and humble man would be doing good both to young and old wherever he went ; and such was the zeal of many in those times, that they would go from Bristol to hear him preach in his own country.

Mr. Wroth and his brethren, Mr. Erbery and Mr. Craddock, were exceedingly harassed and persecuted in Wales, when they resolved to preach the gospel in all places, whether consecrated or unconsecrated. In imitation of Christ, they went about doing good, wherever they had an opportunity : and when they were persecuted in one city, or in one part of the country, they determined, in obedience to Christ, to flee unto another.* Upon the prospect of the national confusions, Mr. Wroth, being an old man, wished, in submission to the will of God, to be at rest before the sound of war was heard in the land. Herein his desire was granted. He died a little before the sword was drawn, about the beginning of the year 1642.†

WILLIAM RATHBAND was a puritan divine of great eminence in his day. He preached nineteen years at a chapel in Lancashire, but afterwards, being much persecuted for nonconformity, removed into Northumberland. Having published a book against the Brownists, which Dr. Stillingfleet quoted to prove that preaching, when prohibited by the established laws, was contrary to the doctrine of all the old nonconformists ; Mr. William Rathband, his son, in a letter to Mr. Baxter, assures him, " That his father was not to be reckoned among those who held that sentiment, since he exercised his ministry, though contrary to law, for many years at a chapel in Lancashire ; and after he was silenced he preached in private, as he had opportunity, and the times would bear, of which I myself," says he, " was sometimes a witness. Afterwards, upon the invitation of a

* Thomas's MS. Eccl. Hist. p. 295, 296.

† Thomas's MS. Hist. of Baptists, p. 537.

gentleman, he exercised his ministry at Belcham in Northumberland, for about a year; and from thence he removed to Ovingham, in the same county, where he preached about a year; till, being silenced there, he retired into a private family.* The epistle to the reader, prefixed to Mr. Ball's "Answer to two Treatises of Mr. John Canne's," published in 1642, is subscribed by Mr. Rathband, together with several of his brethren; therefore, he was probably living at that period. He had two sons in the ministry, one of whom was a puritan of considerable eminence; who, during the civil wars, and upon the reduction of York by the parliament's forces, was constituted one of the four preachers maintained by the state in that city with honourable stipends. After some time, he removed from this situation, when he was succeeded by Mr. Peter Williams.† His other son, the above Mr. William Rathband, was one of the silenced nonconformists in 1662.‡

TOBIAS CRISP, D. D.—This zealous minister was born in Bread-street, London, in the year 1600, and educated first at Eton school, then in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards at Oxford, where he was incorporated member of Baliol college, in 1626. He was descended from a most wealthy family. His father was Ellis Crisp, a rich merchant, and sometimes alderman and sheriff of the city of London. Sir Nicholas Crisp was his elder brother. In the year 1627 he became rector of Brinkworth in Wiltshire, and in a few years after took his doctor's degree. He continued at Brinkworth till the commencement of the civil wars, and was much followed for his edifying way of preaching, and his great hospitality to all persons who resorted to his house.§ His doctrine being spiritual, evangelical, and particularly suited to the case of awakened sinners, greatly promoted their peace and comfort; and his method being plain, familiar, and easy to be understood by persons of the meanest capacity, was particularly adapted to the condition of his hearers. And, as he had a plentiful estate of his own, he was uncommonly liberal and hospitable to strangers who came from a distance to attend upon his ministry; and, according to the information of some of his

* Baxter's Second Plea, p. 193.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 779.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 217.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 13.

descendants, upwards of an hundred persons have been received and entertained in his house at the same time, when ample provision was made for them and their horses.

“Dr. Crisp set out,” it is said, “in the legal way of preaching, in which he was exceedingly zealous, and had an earnest desire to glorify God in his life and ministry. He did not seek, but refused all that worldly advancement, to which his way was open through his parentage and friends; but gave himself up wholly to the preaching of the word, and a conscientious practice of it, being unblamable in his life and conversation. None were more constant in preaching, praying, and repeating sermons, performing public, family, and private exercises, and in the strict observation of the Lord’s day. His zeal for glorifying God in this way, did not abate, but increase, after he had a clearer knowledge of Christ, and of the doctrines of grace; working from better principles, and with better views, being willing to spend and be spent, for the service of the meanest of God’s people. He was far from pride, vanity, and self-conceit; and full of meekness, lowliness, and tender affection. Hereby it appeared that the gospel of Christ had a very great influence upon his soul, which engaged him to preach it freely without any expectation of worldly advantage, and in a way which was sure to bring upon him not the favour and esteem of men, but reproach and persecution. His doctrine,” our author adds, “was falsely charged with antinomianism; but the innocency and harmlessness of his life, and his fervency in goodness, was a manifest practical argument to confute the slanders of Satan, against the most holy faith which he preached.”* Mr. Neal says, “that the doctor, in his younger days, had been a favourer of arminianism; but, changing his opinions, he ran into the contrary extreme of antinomianism.” Though the former part of the charge will be admitted by most persons, the latter some will deny; and observe, that his sermons upon “Free Grace the Teacher of Good Works,” and “The Use of the Law,” with some others, contain an abundant refutation of the charge. But the above writer observes, “that he was certainly a learned and religious person, modest and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial work, and exact in his morals.” Mr. Lancaster, the publisher of his works, says, “that his

* Life of Dr. Crisp, prefixed to his Sermons, p. 7, 8. Edit. 1791.

He was so innocent and harmless from all evil, and so zealous and fervent in all good, that it seemed to be designed as a practical refutation of the slander of those who would insinuate that his doctrine tended to licentiousness.* The celebrated Dr. Twisse observes, "that he had read Dr. Crisp's sermons, and could give no reason why they were opposed; but," said he, "because so many were converted by his ministry, and so few by ours." Mr. Cole, the excellent author of a treatise on "Regeneration," declared, that if he had only one hundred pounds in the world, and Dr. Crisp's book could not be procured for less than fifty, he would give that sum rather than be without it; saying, "I have found more satisfaction in it, than in all the books in the world, except the Bible."†

Persons who have embraced sentiments which afterwards appear to them erroneous, often think they can never remove too far from them; and the more remote they go from their former opinions, the nearer they come to the truth. This was unhappily the case with Dr. Crisp. His ideas of the grace of Christ had been exceedingly low, and he had imbibed sentiments which produced in him a legal and self-righteous spirit. Shocked at the recollection of his former views and conduct, he seems to have imagined that he could never go far enough from them; and that he could never speak too highly of the grace and love of the Redeemer, nor in too degrading terms of legality and self-righteousness. But many were of opinion, that he went to such an excess in magnifying the grace of God, as to turn it into wantonness: and that he was so severe against all legality and self-righteousness, that true holiness and obedience to the divine will were in danger of being discarded. He was fond of expressions which alarm, and paradoxes which astonish. Many of these, a person skilled in theology will perceive to be capable of a good meaning: but readers uninstructed, who compose the most numerous class, are in danger of misapprehending them, and of being led into pernicious errors. This good man, it is said, perplexed and puzzled himself about the divine purposes. He did not distinguish, as he ought to have done, between God's secret will in his decrees, and his revealed will in his covenant and promises; and in his views of the decrees, he frequently speaks as if he had forgotten that they have respect to the means as well as the end. He also discovered

* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 18.

† Life of Dr. Crisp, p. 9.

a great degree of inaccuracy in his ideas of the substitution of Christ in the place of the redeemed, and of our Lord's mediatorial office, both in procuring and applying the blessings of redemption.* "His writings," says Dr. Williams, "have in them a singular mixture of excellencies and faults. What is exceptionable arises chiefly from unqualified expressions, rather than from the author's main design."†

Upon the commencement of the civil wars, Dr. Crisp, being puritanically inclined, was driven from his rectory by the king's soldiers, and, to avoid their insolence, obliged to flee to London; where, on account of his peculiar sentiments about the doctrines of grace, he met with a most vigorous opposition from the divines of the city. Here he engaged in a grand dispute, having no less than fifty-two opponents; by which encounter, eagerly managed on his part, he contracted a disease which presently brought him to his grave. He died, it is said, of the small-pox, February 27, 1643, aged forty-three years. His remains were interred in the family vault in St. Mildred's church, Bread-street, London.‡ In his last sickness, he was in a resigned and most comfortable state of mind, and declared to those about him his firm adherence to the doctrines which he had preached; also, that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Christ, so he did now, with confidence and joy, even as much as his present condition was able to sustain, resign his life and soul into the hands of his heavenly Father.§ His wife was the daughter of Rowland Wilson, alderman and sheriff of London, a member of the long parliament, and one of the council of state. By him she had thirteen children, eleven of whom survived him.

Dr. Crisp published nothing himself; but, after his death, in 1643, 1644, and 1646, his friends published three volumes of sermons from his notes, entitled, "Christ alone Exalted, in the Perfection and Encouragement of his Saints, notwithstanding their Sins and Trials." When they came from the press, it is said that the assembly of divines talked of having them burnt, as a just punishment of the heresy which they contained.¶ Mr. Flavel and other nonconformists exposed his errors, and expressed a lively sense of

* Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 400, 401. Edit. 1808.

† Christian Preacher, p. 456.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 13.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 19.

¶ Bogue and Bennett's Dissenters, vol. i. p. 401.

the dangerous opinions which the doctor held. The controversy, however, was at rest till the year 1690, when his son, Samuel Crisp, esq. published a new edition of the above sermons, with the addition of ten more, making in all fifty-two; and procured to the work the attestation of several ministers, that the discourses were the doctor's own productions, and copied from his manuscripts. This occasioned a new controversy, which, for seven years, was carried on with great warmth and intemperate zeal. Many eminent divines engaged in this controversy. Among those who took a leading part in the dispute was Dr. Daniel Williams. He considered many of Crisp's assertions as exceedingly dangerous. And concerning the commutation of persons between Christ and the sinner, he could not but look upon it to be "not only false, absurd, and impossible, but also an impious and blasphemous opinion, as being dishonourable to our Saviour, repugnant to the wisdom and justice of God, and leading plainly to subvert the whole design of christianity."

Here, says our author, lay the root of Dr. Crisp's error, which shot its fibres into almost every subject. He viewed the union between Christ and believers to be of such a kind as actually to make a Saviour of the sinner, and a sinner of the Saviour. He speaks as if God considered the sinner as doing and suffering what Christ did and suffered; and Christ as having committed their sins, and as being actually guilty of them. The confusion and dreadful mistakes arising hence can scarcely be described. If we add, as already intimated, that his mind was perplexed about the divine decrees, and that he confounded them with God's revealed will, and strangely blended the divine purpose and the execution of it, as if they were one and the same thing, the reader will perceive the cause of his mistakes. The unhallowed influence of these opinions, the doctor appears not to have felt; but, scattering them among the multitude, he was like a man throwing fire-brands, arrows, and death. This unhappy controversy produced a separation among two respectable parties of the dissenters, which continues to this day.*

* For a more ample account of this controversy, see Bogue and Bennett's *Dissenters*, vol. i. p. 401—409.—Wilson's *Hist. of Dissenting Churches*, vol. ii. p. 201—204.

ALEXANDER LEIGHTON, D. D.—This great sufferer for nonconformity was born in Scotland, about the year 1568, and educated, most probably, in one of the Scotch universities. He took his degree of doctor in divinity in the two universities of St. Andrews and Leyden.* Granger incorrectly observes, that he was not doctor of divinity, but of physic, though exercised in the ministry; and adds, that when he was interdicted the practice of physic by the president and censors of the college of physicians, in the reign of James I., as a disqualified person, he alleged that he had taken the doctor's degree at Leyden, under professor Heurnius. It was then objected to him, that he had taken priest's orders; and being asked why he did not adhere to the profession to which he had been ordained, he excepted against the ceremonies, but owned himself to be a clergyman. Still persisting to practise in London, or within seven miles of the city, he was censured as disgraceful to the profession.† He was father to Sir Ellis Leighton and the eminently pious Archbishop Leighton, of whom Bishop Burnet gives so excellent a character, and whose works are held in such high reputation at the present day.‡

This reverend divine obtained a good reputation for ability, learning, and piety; but his zeal against episcopacy and the oppressions of the bishops exposed him to numerous and painful sufferings. He published a book, entitled, "An Appeal to Parliament; or, Sion's Plea against the Prelacie;" for which he met with unexampled cruelty in the star-chamber. In this book he expressed his sentiments against the hierarchy and the proceedings of the ruling prelates with considerable freedom, and with too much zeal and warmth for the times. The book was dedicated to the parliament, in which some of our historians have observed, § "That he excited the parliament and the people to kill all the bishops, by smiting them under the fifth rib; and bitterly inveighed against the queen, calling her the daughter of *Heth*, a *Canaanite*, and an *idolatress*." If this account were perfectly correct, and Leighton had excited them to kill all the bishops, surely this would have been no greater crime than the bishops *actually* killing vast numbers of puritans, by the cruel punishments

* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 181.—Scots' Worthies, p. 141. Edit. 1796.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 180.

‡ Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 134.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 136.—Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 5.

which they inflicted upon them. And, if *oppression make a wise man mad*, it can be no great wonder if the intolerable oppressions of the bishops hurried some of the puritans, especially those of warm spirits, to use methods of indiscretion. But the assertions of our authors, that he excited the parliament and people to take away the lives of the bishops, is without foundation. The truth is, says Mr. Peirce, after enumerating a great many grievances and miseries, occasioned by the episcopal establishment, he excited the parliament utterly to root out the hierarchy, that the nation might be delivered from any further danger: but that he ever urged them to put the bishops to death, whether they were guilty or not guilty of any crime, is what I cannot find in the book. Nay, I meet with that which is directly the contrary. Towards the close of the book, he observes as follows: "To make an end of our present subject, we wish your honours might prevail with the prelates, by fair means, to cast off their overcharging calling. If they will not be thus persuaded, we fear they are like pleuritic patients, who cannot spit, and whom nothing but incision will cure: we mean of their *callings*, not of their *persons*; with whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they wish either us or themselves. One of their desperate mountebanks out of the pulpit could find no cure for us, their supposed enemies, but pricking in the bladder: but *we have not so learned Christ*." Besides, there was no such thing among the charges brought against him in the star-chamber, which most certainly would not have been omitted, if any such expression had been found in the book.† What degree of credit is, therefore, due to men who represent the sense of authors directly contrary to their own express words! What they design by such misrepresentation, is left with the candid reader to judge.

With respect to Dr. Leighton's calling the queen the daughter of *Heth*, a *Canaanite*, and an *idolatress*, though they are indecent and unbecoming epithets, when applied to the queen; yet he obviously meant by these expressions, that she was an avowed *papist*, and she was, in fact, a most notorious and bitter *papist*. Archbishop Tillotson afterwards used certain expressions concerning the marriage of foreign popish princes with our own, not much better than those of Dr. Leighton, without giving any umbrage what-

• Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 177, 178.

† Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 56, 57.

ever. The worthy prelate styled them "the people of these abominations;" and added, that it was by these marriages for two or three generations, that popery was so much countenanced in his day.* If this language had been used at the time that Leighton's was, it would no doubt have been equally resented. Though Leighton's book was written in spirit and language too warm for the times, yet Dr. Harris, who had particularly examined the work, says, "It was written with spirit, and more sense and learning than the writers of that stamp usually shewed in their productions."† But the impartial reader will be the better able to judge for himself, from the following circumstantial account, as collected from the most authentic historians.

On February 29, 1629, Dr. Leighton, coming out of Blackfriars church, was seized by a warrant from the high commission court; and, by a multitude of men armed, was dragged to Bishop Laud's house. From thence, without any examination, he was carried to Newgate, and there clapt in irons, and thrust into a loathsome dog-hole, full of rats and mice; and the roof being uncovered, the rain and snow beat in upon him, having no bedding, nor place to make a fire, except the ruins of an old smoky chimney; where he had neither meat nor drink from the Tuesday night till Thursday noon. In this loathsome and miserable place, he continued fifteen weeks, not any of his friends, or even his wife, being permitted to come near him, and was denied a copy of his commitment. On the fourth day after his imprisonment, the pursuivants belonging to the high commission went to his house, and laid violent hands upon his distressed wife, using her with the most shameful and barbarous inhumanity; and holding a pistol to the breast of a child five years old, threatening to kill him, if he would not inform them where the books were, by which the child was so frightened, that he never recovered. They broke open presses, chests, boxes, &c. though his wife was willing to open all. They carried away all the books, manuscripts, apparel, household stuff, and other things, leaving nothing they wished to possess. During his confinement in Newgate, it appeared from the opinion of four physicians, that poison had been given him; for his hair and skin came off. As he lay in this deplorable situation, sentence was passed upon him in the star-chamber, even without hearing a single word he had to say, though a certificate from four

* Peirce's Vindication, part i. p. 178.

† Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 225.

physicians and an attorney was given of the dreadful state of his complaint.*

But it will be requisite to give a particular account of the charges brought against this unhappy man. June 4, 1630, an information was exhibited against Dr. Leighton in the star-chamber, by Attorney-general Heath, when he was charged with having published and dispersed a scandalous book against the king, peers, and prelates, entitled, "Sion's Plea against the Prelacie;" in which, among other things, he sets forth these false and seditious assertions and positions following:

1. "That we do not read of greater persecution, and higher indignity done upon God's people in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth.

2. "He terms the prelates of this realm *men of blood*, and enemies to God and the state; and saith, that the maintaining and establishing of bishops within this realm, is a main and master sin established by law, and that ministers should have no voices in council deliberative and decisive.

3. "He avows the prelacy of our church to be antichristian and satanical, and terms the bishops ravens and magpies, that prey upon the state.

3. "He terms the canons of our church, made in 1603, *nonsense-canons*.

4. "He disallows and contemns the ceremony of *kneeling* in receiving the sacrament, alleging that this spawn of the *beast* was brought forth by the prelates, to promote their own unlawful standing.

5. "He affirms that the prelates have corrupted the king, forestalling his judgment against God and goodness, and most audaciously and wickedly calleth his majesty's royal consort, our gracious queen, the *daughter of Heth*.

7. "He most impiously seems to commend him who committed the barbarous and bloody act of murdering the late Duke of Buckingham, and to encourage others to second him in the like wicked and desperate attempt, to the destruction of others.

8. "He layeth a most seditious scandal upon the king, state, and kingdom, wickedly affirming, 'That all who pass by us spoil us, and we spoil all who rely upon us.' And amongst other particulars, instanceth the black pining death of the famished *Rochellers*, to the number of fifteen hundred

* General Ludlow's Letter to Dr. Hollingworth, p. 22. Edit. 1692.—
Essay on Charles I. p. 83, 84. Edit. 1748.

in four months. By which passages and wicked assertions, he doth as much as in him lay, scandalize his majesty's sacred person; his religious, wise, and just government; the person of his royal consort, the queen; the persons of the lords and peers of the realm, especially the reverend bishops.

9. "That in another place in the said book, endeavouring not only to slander his majesty's sacred person and government, but to detract from his royal power, in making laws and canons for ecclesiastical government, he saith, 'That the church hath its laws from the *scripture*, and that no king may make laws in the house of God; for if they might, then the *scripture* would be imperfect.'

10. "And he is further charged in another place in the said book, with these words following, thinking to salve all with an expression of his sacred majesty: 'What a pity it is, and indelible dishonour it will be to you, the states representative, that so ingenuous and tractable a king should be so monstrously abused, to the undoing of himself and his subjects.'"

These ten particulars contain all the charges brought against Dr. Leighton, and we may be sure they were the worst that could be collected out of his book, his enemies being judges. The unprejudiced reader here sees the worst part of Leighton's character, and will easily judge what degree of criminality was attached to his conduct. Though some of the above assertions were unjustifiable, many of them were certainly true, and too glaringly manifest in the history of those times: Dr. Leighton, in his answer to the above charges, confessed, that when the parliament was sitting, in the year 1628, he drew up the heads of his book; and having the approbation of five hundred persons under their own hands, some of whom were members of parliament, he went into Holland to get it printed. Also, that he printed betwixt five and six hundred only for the use of the parliament; but they being dissolved before the work was finished, he returned home, not bringing any of them into the kingdom, but made it his special care to suppress them. He confessed his writing the book, but with no such ill intention as suggested in the information. His only object was to remonstrate against certain grievances in church and state, under which the people suffered, that the parliament might be induced to take them into

• Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 56, 57.

consideration, and give such redress as might be most for the honour of the king, the advantage of the people, and the peace of the church.

When the cause was heard, the doctor's defence was read at length, and the various particulars contained in his charges were read out of his book. In answer to the first charge, viz. "That we do not read of greater persecution of God's people, in any nation professing the gospel, than in this our island, especially since the death of Queen Elizabeth;" he confessed the words, and said, "The thing is too true, by the prelates taking away the life and livelihood from many ministers and private men, many of whom have been pined to death in prison; and many have wandered up and down, their families being left desolate and helpless: and besides this, the blood of souls hath been endangered, by the removal of the faithful shepherds from their flocks." This was a most cutting truth; at which Laud was so exceedingly enraged, that he desired the court to inflict the heaviest sentence that could be inflicted upon him. This they did to his lordship's fullest satisfaction. For Leighton was condemned to be degraded from his ministry, to have his ears cut, his nose slit, to be branded in the face, to stand in the pillory, to be whipped at a post, to pay ten thousand pounds, (though they knew he was not worth so much,) and to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The grateful sentence being passed against him, Laud pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, GAVE THANKS TO GOD, WHO HAD GIVEN HIM THE VICTORY OVER HIS ENEMIES.* A certain knight having moved one of the lords relative to the dreadful nature of the censure, intimating that it opened a door to the prelates to inflict the most disgraceful punishments and tortures upon men of quality; *that* lord replied, that it was designed only for the terror of others, and that he would not have any one to think the sentence would ever be executed. This worthy lord, however, was greatly mistaken; for Laud and his adherents caused the dreadful sentence to be executed with the utmost rigour and severity.

The ruling ecclesiastics proceeded with proper decorum, and a due observance of ecclesiastical order. Therefore, November 4th, he was degraded in the high commission; and on the 10th of the same month, being a star-chamber day, the barbarous sentence was to be executed; but the

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 56, 57.—Ludlow's Letter, p. 22, 23.
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preceding evening he made his escape out of the Fleet, where he had been kept a close prisoner. Information of his escape was no sooner announced to the lords of the council, than they caused the following hue and cry to be printed and published through the country :

“ A hue and cry against Dr. Leighton.

“ Whereas Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman born, who was lately sentenced by the honourable court of star-chamber to pay a great fine to his majesty, and to undergo corporal punishment, for writing, printing and publishing a very libellous and seditious book against the king and his government, hath this eleventh day of November escaped out of the prison of the Fleet, where he was a prisoner. These are in his majesty's name to require and command all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, customers, searchers, and officers of the ports, and all others his majesty's loving subjects, to use all diligence for the apprehending of the said Alexander Leighton; and being apprehended, safely to keep him in custody until his majesty shall receive notice thereof, and shall give further direction concerning him. He is a man of low stature, fair complexion; he hath a yellowish beard, a high forehead, and is between forty and fifty years of age.”*

This hue and cry followed him into Bedfordshire, where he was apprehended, and brought again prisoner to the Fleet. Relative to Dr. Leighton's escape, and the execution of part of the sentence, Bishop Laud made the following memorial in his diary: “ November 4, Leighton was degraded in the high commission. November 9, he broke out of the Fleet; the warden says, he got or was helped over the wall; † and professes he knew not this from Tuesday till Wednesday noon. He told it not me till Thursday night. Leighton was taken again in Bedfordshire, and within a fortnight brought back to the Fleet. November 26, part of his sentence was executed upon him at Westminster.” ‡ Such was the particular memorial which this reverend prelate preserved of these sacred proceedings!

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 57.—The account of the doctor's age is here certainly very incorrect.

† Herein both the warden and the bishop were mistaken. His two friends, Mr. Levingston and Mr. Anderson, lent him their clothes, by which means he got out of prison in disguise. This, however, was no sooner found out than his two friends were prosecuted in the star-chamber; when they were fined each *five hundred* pounds, and committed to the Fleet during the king's pleasure.—*Ibid.* p. 58.

‡ Prynne's Breviate of Laud, p. 16.—Wharton's Laud, vol. i. p. 45.

The sentence, so grateful to the remembrance of Laud, was inflicted in the following most shocking and barbarous manner: he was carried to Westminster, where he had one of his ears cut off, then one side of his nose slit; he was branded on the cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. for a *sower of sedition*; he was put in the pillory, and kept there nearly two hours in frost and snow; he was then tied to a post, whipped with a triple cord to that cruel degree, that every lash brought away the flesh; and he himself affirmed, ten years after, that he should feel it to his dying day. And after this shocking barbarity, he was not permitted to return to his quarters in the Fleet in a coach prepared for the purpose; but was compelled, in that lamentable condition and severe season; to go by water. On that day sevensnight, his nose, ear, face, and back not being yet cured, he was taken to the pillory in Cheapside; when the other ear was cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded; he was then set in the pillory, and whipped a second time. He was then carried back to the Fleet, where he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire, not being sheltered from the rain and snow. He was shut up in close prison, and not suffered to breathe in the open air for ten or eleven years, until the meeting of the long parliament. And when he came forth from his long and miserable confinement, he could neither *walk, see, nor hear*.* The sufferings of this learned divine greatly moved the compassion of the people; and, surely, the records of the *inquisition* can hardly furnish an example of similar barbarity.

The long parliament having assembled, Dr. Leighton presented a petition, November 7, 1640, to the house of commons, complaining of the hard usage he had met with; which the house could not hear without several interruptions with floods of tears.+ The petition being read, an order passed the house, "That Dr. Leighton shall have liberty by the warrant of this house, to go abroad in safe custody, to prosecute his petition here exhibited; and that he be removed out of the common prison, where he now is, into some more convenient place, and have the liberty of the Fleet." A committee was at the same time appointed to take his case into mature consideration.‡

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 58.—Ludlow's Letter, p. 24.

† A copy of this moving petition, the substance of which has been already given, is still preserved.—*Essay on Charles I.* p. 83—86.

‡ Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 20.

Through the innumerable complaints from all quarters, and a multitude of other concerns which came before the house and the committee, some time elapsed before the result of the examination of Dr. Leighton's case came forth. But, April 21, 1641, Mr. Rouse having delivered the report of the committee, the house came to the following resolutions :

1. "That the attaching, imprisoning, and detaining Dr. Leighton in prison, by warrant of the high commission, is illegal.

2. "That the breaking up of Dr. Leighton's house, and taking away his papers by Edward Wright, then sheriff of London, and now lord mayor, is illegal.

3. "That the said Edward Wright ought to give reparations to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by breaking open his house, and taking away his papers and other goods.

4. "That the Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of London, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by fifteen weeks imprisonment in Newgate, upon the said bishop's warrant.

5. "That the great fine of ten thousand pounds laid upon Dr. Leighton, by sentence of the star-chamber, is illegal.

6. "That the sentence of the corporal punishment imposed upon Dr. Leighton; the whipping, branding, slitting the nose, cutting off his ears, setting in the pillory, and the execution thereof, and the imprisonment thereupon, are illegal.

7. "That Dr. Leighton ought to be freed from the great fine of ten thousand pounds, and from the sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and to have his bonds delivered to him, which he entered into for his true imprisonment.

8. "That Dr. Leighton ought to have good satisfaction and reparation for his great sufferings and damages sustained by the illegal sentence in the star-chamber."

These were the resolutions of the house of commons, after a mature examination of his most affecting case. It is observed, that he was voted to receive six thousand pounds for damages, but, most probably, on account of the confusions of the times, it was never paid him.† In the year 1642, Dr. Leighton, by the appointment of the house of commons, was made keeper of Lambeth-house, when

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 228, 229.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 799, 800.

† Scots' Worthies, p. 141.

turned into a prison; where, it is said, "he did to some purpose make reprisals for his damages, and with much rigour persecuted the purses of the loyal clergy and gentry."* How far this may be correct we are unable to ascertain; but, supposing every word of it be true, it will never justify intolerance and persecution, either in himself or in his enemies. He was keeper of the above prison in the year 1643, but when he died we are not able to learn.†

JOHN SEDGWICK, B. D.—This person was the younger brother to Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, another worthy puritan divine; born at Marlborough in Wiltshire, in the year 1601, and educated first at Queen's college, then at Magdalen-hall, Oxford; where he made uncommon application in the study of divinity. When he applied for the degree of bachelor of arts, it was at first denied him, says our author, "because that when he was to be admitted to the order of deacon, he did belie the university by using the title of B. A. before he was admitted to that degree."‡ If he acted thus, his conduct was base indeed. It is, however, added, that he afterwards begged pardon for what he had done, made a public submission before the venerable congregation of regents, and obtained that degree, as also the others. Leaving the university, he was beneficed in the city of London, and about the same time he became preacher at Chiswick in Middlesex, and was afterwards vicar of Langley in Essex.‡ Wood mistakes him for his brother, when he observes that he was minister of Coggeshall in this county. Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he became chaplain to the Earl of Stamford's regiment;§ was appointed one of the sub-committee for raising money to carry on the war; and chosen rector of St. Alphage, near London-wall. He was an avowed enemy to prelacy and antinomianism. Wood says, "Though he had only one thumb, yet he would not have had one ear, had not his majesty bestowed two upon him; when, about the year 1633, they were sentenced to the pillory. Since which time he hath been so grateful a penitent, that in one day he was proved guilty of simony, sacrilege, and adultery."¶

* Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 512.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 198, 203.

‡ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 157.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 42.

¶ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.

He might, indeed, be sentenced to the pillory, as one persecuted for righteousness sake. This was no uncommon thing in those days. And that his majesty might reverse the cruel sentence, being founded neither in justice nor sound policy, is not for a moment disputed. But to prove that Mr. Sedgwick was guilty of *simony, sacrilege, and adultery*, as here alleged, requires better evidence than our author has produced. The heavy charge wholly rests on the testimony of "Mercurius Aulicus," a scurrilous and abusive weekly paper, published during the civil wars, and designed, by malice and falsehood, to blacken the memory of all who espoused the cause of the parliament. But our author adds concerning Mr. Sedgwick, that "after all his actings to carry on the *blessed cause*, he *very unwillingly* gave up the ghost," in the month of October, 1643, aged forty-two years. His remains were interred in the chancel of St. Alphage church, when Mr. Thomas Case preached his funeral sermon, of which Wood, upon the above authority, gives the following account: "John Sedgwick (one of the three brothers with four fingers on a hand) hath spent his lungs, and caused Mr. Thomas Case to exercise his, which he did very mournfully in his funeral sermon lately preached, telling the audience, that his departed brother was now free from plunder; and that when he was ready to expire, he would often ask, How does the army? How does his excellency? (meaning the Earl of Essex;) with many such sweet expressions, as moved a certain citizen to send Mr. Case a fair new gown, lest he chance to recur to his old way of borrowing."* The design of this representation is obvious to every reader.

HIS WORKS.—1. Fury fired, or, Cruelty scourged, a Sermon on Amos i. 12., 1625.—2. The Bearing and Burden of the Spirit, in two Sermons on Prov. xviii. 14., 1639.—3. The Eye of Faith open to God, 1640.—4. The Wonder-working God; or, the Lord doing Wonders, 1641.—5. England's Troubles, 1641.—6. Antinomianisme Anatomized; or, a Glass for the Lawless, who denie the Moral Law unto Christians under the Gospel, 1643.

RICHARD SEDGWICK.—This eminent minister was born at East Dereham in Norfolk, in the year 1574, and educated in Peter-house, Cambridge. It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Sedgwick, a memoir of

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.

whom is given in the preceding article. His father, a respectable clothier, suffering great losses by fire, became reduced in his circumstances. He had an uncle in Yorkshire, who, possessing large estates, and having no children, took him in his tender years under his care, gave him a good school education, and intended to make him his heir : but God designed to give him a better portion. His uncle and the rest of the family were much addicted to profaneness ; yet in this situation God in mercy awakened him to a serious concern for his soul. While the other branches of the family were engaged in their profane sports, young Sedgwick was oftentimes mourning over their sins before the Lord in private. His uncle at first thought that he retired only on account of his uncommon fondness for books ; and therefore gave him occasionally a gentle rebuke, urging him to use greater liberty. But at length, perceiving that his nephew was become seriously thoughtful about religion, and that he retired for the purpose of private devotion, he treated him very roughly ; and finding that he could not by any threatenings constrain him to renounce his religion, he cast him out of his family, saying, " A puritan shall never inherit my land."

Young Sedgwick, being rejected by his uncle, returned to his mother, who sent him to the university, where he distinguished himself in all kinds of useful learning. After finishing his studies, he entered upon the ministerial function, and settled at some place in Kent. While in this situation, he was called to preach occasionally in the cathedral of Canterbury ; and exposing the manifold corruptions of the cathedral worship, he incurred the displeasure of the ruling ecclesiastics ; on account of which he was required to make a public recantation, and a day was appointed for the purpose. During the interval he derived unspeakable encouragement from these words, "*Whosoever I command thee, thou shalt speak : be not afraid of their faces ; for I am with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord,*" and resolved that he would not recant, but abide by the truth which he had already delivered, whatever it might cost him. At the time appointed, he preached again at the cathedral, to a very large assembly, all expecting to hear a debasing recantation ; but, to the great mortification of his malicious persecutors, instead of a recantation, he laboured, with all his learning and abilities, to confirm what he had before advanced, warmly recommending the ecclesiastics to reform their abuses. This so exceedingly

offended his enemies, that they immediately complained of him to the archbishop, and to escape the storm he was obliged to leave the place.*

Mr. Sedgwick escaped the snare of his enemies, and was entertained for some time by Sir Edward Bois, a man of distinguished piety, and a great friend to the persecuted puritans. Afterwards he became domestic chaplain to Sir Edward Anslaw, at Crawley in Surrey, where he preached twice every Lord's day. Sir Edward was a pious and worthy person, and his house was a constant asylum for the persecuted puritans. Upon the removal of this excellent family, Mr. Sedgwick became assistant to the venerable Dr. Wyburn, minister of Battersea in the above county. He had not continued long in this situation before fresh snares were laid for him. As a zealous and faithful servant of Christ, he reprov'd sin with great boldness, and spoke against the corruptions of the church with some degree of freedom; for which he was cited before the high commission, to answer the several charges exhibited against him. He appeared before his ecclesiastical judges according to appointment, and resolved to defend the truth whatever it might cost him; but, to his great surprise, he was treated with civility, and honourably acquitted. This was towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.†

Mr. Sedgwick afterwards leaving his native country, became minister to the English merchants at Hamburgh, where he happily introduced a purer church discipline, and the Lord abundantly blessed his labours. During his abode at Hamburgh, though he was zealous for the discipline of the New Testament, it appears that he was no bigot; but joined in communion with the Dutch churches, and admitted them to the Lord's table in the church of which he was pastor. The merchants presently found the benefit of his ministry, in the orderly and christian deportment of those whom they employed. Nevertheless, in this situation he was not without his enemies. Certain persons, extreme bigots to episcopacy, threatened to have him brought to England, and prosecuted for nonconformity; but while this was in agitation, God summoned his principal adversary before another tribunal. He continued a successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard about twelve years; and upon the dissolution of the company of merchants, he returned to England; after which he preached some time at Monmouth. In the year

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 157.

† Ibid. p. 158.

1617, a new chapel having been erected in Wapping, London, he was chosen minister, and there continued to the day of his death.

His life and conversation, says Mr. Clark, were holy and exemplary, and his labours abundant. His ministry was close, searching, and useful. His deportment was affable and courteous, yet grave and venerable. He was much given to acts of charity; and he allowed a certain sum annually towards the support of suspended ministers. He constantly exercised a most tender care over the people of his charge, especially during the raging of the plague. Instead of forsaking the flock when danger approached, he still continued to attend upon his numerous duties, labouring to do them all the good in his power. Nor were his diligence and faithfulness unrewarded. For though all the families around him were infected, and multitudes swept away by death, the dreadful malady never invaded his habitation. At length, having fought the good fight, having finished his course, and kept the faith, he was called to receive the crown of righteousness, in the year of our Lord 1643, aged sixty-nine years.*

JULINES HERRING, A. M.—This worthy minister was born in the parish of Flamber-Mayre, Montgomeryshire, in the year 1582, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge. He was a hard student, and an excellent scholar in the various branches of useful literature. Having finished his studies at the university, he employed his first ministerial labours in the city of Coventry, where he preached with great approbation. At this place he studied divinity under the venerable Mr. Humphrey Fenn, a divine famous in that city, both for his ministry and nonconformity. As Mr. Herring could not, with a good conscience, enter upon the ministry by subscription according to the demands of the prelates, he obtained ordination from an Irish bishop without it. He first settled in the ministry at Caulk, near Melburn in Derbyshire. In this situation he enjoyed the protection and encouragement of Mr. Bainbridge, a gentleman of good estate and great piety. His peace and liberty were preserved for a considerable time from the molestations of the prelates. Multitudes flocked to hear him from all quarters, and many came from a great distance. The

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 158—160.

chapel soon became too small to contain so large a company; but having a clear strong voice, great numbers enjoyed the privilege of hearing him who could not gain admittance. He was instrumental in turning many to righteousness. Under his ministry at this place, Mr. Simeon Ashe, afterwards the famous nonconformist in 1662, received his first religious impressions.*

Mr. Herring, after preaching at Caulk about eight years, could be no longer sheltered from the severities of the prelates, but was driven from the place for nonconformity. Previous to his removal he entered into the married state. His wife was his constant comforter under all his future trials. They had thirteen children; and by the blessing of God upon their appropriate religious instructions, had the unspeakable happiness to behold the indications of piety in the whole of their offspring. To the honour of Mr. Herring, it is observed, that whenever he corrected his children, he previously endeavoured to convince them of the evil of their sin in the sight of God, and then looked up to the Lord for a blessing upon his corrections. This method the Lord seemed to own for much good.

His public labours being interrupted in the above situation, and having no prospect of again enjoying the peaceable exercise of his ministry, the Lord opened for him a door of usefulness at Shrewsbury. Here he preached at St. Alkmond's church every Tuesday morning, and occasionally on the Lord's day. But spies were appointed to watch him, that if possible some advantage might be obtained with a view to his prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts. Yet he conducted himself on all occasions with so much prudence, and invariably prayed so fervently for the king and government, that his very adversaries gave this testimony of him: "That though he was scrupulous in matters of ceremony, he was a loyal subject to the king, and a true friend to the state." His clerical enemies were nevertheless envious of his reputation and popularity, and at length brought complaints against him to Bishop Morton, on account of his nonconformity; but other objections they had none. The bishop committed him to the examination of two clergymen, when Mr. Herring delivered his scruples in writing, and replied to their answers. They, in the conclusion, gave a certificate to the bishop, that they believed Mr. Herring, on conscientious grounds, still re-

* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 160, 161.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 94. *

mained unsatisfied; to which his grace replied, "that he was satisfied in his integrity." He was nevertheless suspended; and though, by the mediation of friends, his suspension was taken off several times, he was as repeatedly brought under the ecclesiastical censure. He thus continued at Shrewsbury seventeen years, sometimes enjoying his liberty, and sometimes under the frowns of the persecuting ecclesiastics.*

This worthy servant of Christ, at last finding no prospect of public usefulness at Shrewsbury, removed to Wrenbury in Cheshire. Nor did he enjoy his liberty there, but went from house to house, instructing and comforting the people of God. It was his very meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly Father, and to be useful to souls. Therefore, in imitation of Christ, he went about doing good. His frequent suspension from his beloved work was exceedingly grievous to his active and pious soul. As there was no prospect of his restoration at any future period, he accepted an invitation, in the year 1636, to succeed Mr. John Paget, as co-pastor with Mr. Rulice to the English church at Amsterdam. Notwithstanding this, his difficulties were not ended; for by the power and influence of Archbishop Laud, all ministers were forbidden to leave the country without a license from the council. The faithful servants of the Lord were persecuted, and cast aside as useless, for attempting to worship God according to the testimony of scripture and the dictates of conscience, and were prohibited from retiring into a foreign land where they could enjoy the privilege without restraint. This surely savoured too much of the Romish bigotry and oppressions. In these painful circumstances was Mr. Herring; but he prayed to the Lord for deliverance, and so escaped the snare of his enemies. He took shipping at Yarmouth, and arrived at Rotterdam, September, 20, 1637, and went immediately to Amsterdam, where he was most affectionately received by his colleague, the English merchants, and the magistrates of the city. In this situation he continued the rest of his days, and was particularly esteemed for his genuine piety and ministerial usefulness.

Mr. Herring, towards the close of life, especially the night before he died, laboured under the furious assaults of Satan. But the painful conflict was no sooner over, than he arose upon his knees in bed, and, with his hands lifted up

* Clark's Lives, p. 161, 162.

to heaven, exclaimed, "He is overcome, overcome, through the strength of my Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom I am now going, to keep a sabbath in glory." The next morning, being the Lord's day, March 28, 1644, he entered upon the joy of his Lord, aged sixty-two years. "He was a pious man," says Fuller, "and a painful and useful preacher, but disaffected to the discipline of the church."* Mr. Clark denominates him "a hard student, a solid and judicious divine, and a workman who needed not to be ashamed. He was one of whom the world was not worthy; a messenger one of a thousand, and a faithful minister of Christ. He was a Boanerges to brawny-hearted sinners; and a Barnabas to broken-hearted saints. His sweet elocution pleasantly set forth his holy and judicious sermons. His sermons delivered to the congregation were printed in his actions. In doctrine, he shewed uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity; and in life, he shewed himself a pattern of good works. He was a conscientious nonconformist, and an avowed enemy to the pride and power of the prelates; for which he cheerfully and courageously bore his share of sufferings."†

Mr. Herring was eminently distinguished for meekness and love to his worst enemies. This will appear from the following anecdotes:—Dr. Lamb, a violent persecutor of the puritans, especially of Mr. Herring, being on a journey in the country, and having the misfortune to break his leg, was brought to the same inn where Mr. Herring was stopping all night. The good man was called upon that night to exercise in the family, and prayed so fervently and affectionately for the doctor, as greatly surprised those who were present. Being asked why he manifested so much respect towards a man so unworthy of it, he replied, "The greater enemy he is, the more need he hath of our prayers. We must prove ourselves to be the disciples of Christ by loving our enemies, and praying for our persecutors."—On another occasion, Archbishop Laud having said, "I will pickle that Herring of Shrewsbury," the good man meekly replied, "If he will abuse his power, let it teach christians the more to use their prayers: that the enemies of the non-conformists may see they have a God to trust in, when trampled upon by ill-disposed men."‡

* Fuller's Worthies, part iv. p. 47.

† Clark's Lives, p. 163—168.

‡ Ibid. p. 163.

GEORGE PHILIPS.—This excellent person was born at Roudham in Norfolk, and educated at one of our universities. He was descended from wealthy and honourable parents, was richly furnished with learning, piety, and other endowments, and admirably qualified for the ministerial function. After he had finished his studies at college, he entered upon his public ministerial work at Boxford in Essex, where his labours were particularly acceptable and useful. He was induced afterwards to examine the controversy relative to church discipline and the ceremonies, when, after mature deliberation, he imbibed the sentiments of the nonconformists; and, not being ashamed of his principles, but looking upon it as a duty to make them publicly known, he occasionally noticed them in the exercises of the pulpit. This led some of his hearers of rigid episcopal sentiments to bring complaints against him to the celebrated Mr. John Rogers of Dedham. But Mr. Rogers had so high an opinion of our divine, that though he had not himself then particularly examined the controversy, he said, “I believe Mr. Philips will preach nothing without some good evidence for it from the word of God. You should, therefore, regard whatever he makes evident from that sacred word.” The more Mr. Philips studied the subject, the more he became dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical establishment, and confirmed in his nonconformity.*

Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer and the ecclesiastical ceremonies was now enforced with the utmost rigour, as a necessary qualification to every minister of Christ, which made strange havoc among the churches, and persecution raged with extreme violence. All ministers, however great their talents, however excellent their piety, or however tender their consciences, were prohibited from preaching the gospel, unless they would bow to the traditions of men. All conscientious dissenters were obliged to lay down their ministry, suffer themselves to be cast into prison, or leave their native country. Some took one course, and some another; but Mr. Philips embraced the last. He resolved to remove to a place where he could enjoy liberty to preach without human impositions and cruel persecution. Therefore, in the year 1630, he embarked for New England, in company with the excellent Mr. Winthrop, and many other worthy christian friends. Soon after their arrival, Mr. Philips experienced a painful

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 82.

trial by the death of his wife, who had cheerfully left her native country, to accompany him to the new plantation.

Mr. Philips and his friends, upon their arrival in the American wilderness, fixed upon a spot on the banks of Charles's river, which they gave the name of Watertown. Here their first concern was to unite together in church fellowship, and to build a house for God, even before they built themselves habitations to dwell in. They set apart a day for extraordinary fasting and prayer, when they entered into a solemn covenant in the presence of God and one another. This covenant, dated July 30, 1630, is still preserved, and very excellent, but too long for insertion.* About forty on that day subscribed this instrument, the first of whom was Sir Richard Saltonstal; and Mr. Philips was chosen to the office of pastor. Members were afterwards admitted to the church by subscribing the covenant a little altered, with a confession of faith annexed. In the above month, upon the first sitting of the court of government, it was determined, that Mr. Philips should have a house built at the public expense; and Governor Winthrop and Sir Richard Saltonstal were appointed to carry the same into effect. It was also ordered that Mr. Philips's salary should be thirty pounds a year.†

This excellent servant of the Lord continued at Watertown till the end of his days. His faithful labours and holy life became a great blessing to the new colony. The Lord made him instrumental in the conversion and salvation of many souls. He died of a complaint in his bowels, July 1, 1644, and was carried to his grave with universal lamentation. "He possessed a quick invention, a solid judgment, and a strong memory; was an excellent scholar, an able disputant, and a good theologian. He read the whole Bible through six times every year."‡ He was author of a work, entitled, "A Reply to a Confutation of some Grounds of Infants Baptism: as also concerning the Form of a Church, put forth against me by one Thomas Lamb," 1645.

* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 83.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 39.

‡ Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 82—84.

CALIBUTE DOWNING, D.D.—This zealous person was born at Shenington in Gloucestershire, in the year 1604, descended of an ancient and worthy family, and educated in Oriel college, Oxford. After he had completed his studies at the university, he became successively rector of Ickford in Buckinghamshire, of West Ilsley in Berkshire, and vicar of Hackney, near London. Upon the last removal, Wood says, he sought to become chaplain to the Earl of Strafford, the lord lieutenant of Ireland, concluding that employment the readiest way to become a bishop; and while he had any hopes of obtaining such preferment, he wrote and spoke boldly in vindication of that calling. But being a reputed weathercock, turning whatever way his own humour and ambition blew him, he, upon some discontent, watched his opportunity to gain preferment in any way in which it could be obtained. "For," our author adds, "he was esteemed by the faction to be fitted for any base employment, and was one who ever looked awry on the church."* This representation, proceeding from the pen of bigotry, and designed to reproach his character, contains a sufficient refutation of itself. Though Dr. Downing might, like some other clergymen, both in ancient and modern times, be too anxious to obtain greater preferment; there is certainly no substantial evidence, at least Mr. Wood has produced none, that he was ever very fond of bishops, or any other splendid and lucrative ecclesiastical office; especially as he *ever looked awry* on the church.

In the year 1640, Dr. Downing, in a sermon before the artillery company, maintained, "that for the defence of religion, and the reformation of the church, it was lawful to take up arms against the king, if it could be obtained in no other way." For this, he was forced to abscond, when he retired to the house of the Earl of Warwick, till the meeting of the long parliament. In the year 1643, he resigned his vicarage, and was succeeded by Dr. Spurstowe, afterwards one of the ejected nonconformists.† Upon the commencement of the civil war, he became chaplain to Lord Roberts in the Earl of Essex's army, in which office he has incurred the heavy censure of our high-church historians. Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall are charged with publicly avowing, "that the soldiers taken prisoners and released by the king *upon their oaths, that they would never bear arms against him*, were not obliged by that oath; and

* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 26.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 778.

by their power absolved them, and so engaged those miserable wretches in a second rebellion."* It may be observed in reply, that there was no need for these divines to use these arts, because the prisoners referred to amounted only to 150 men, which could not be much wanted, especially as the city of London was now pouring out multitudes of recruits for the army: and in addition to this, priestly absolution was not then the practice, nor the power of it the claim, of puritan divines; but that which they utterly disbelieved and abhorred.†

Dr. Downing was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and chosen one of the assembly of divines. Wood says, "he sided with the independents, was a preacher of sedition and rebellion, and died suddenly and *very unwillingly*."‡ Such kind of abuse this writer usually pours forth against the most holy and useful men, who were zealous to promote a reformation of the church. Dr. Downing died in the year 1644, aged forty years; and he left behind him the character of "a pious man, a warm preacher, and ever zealous to promote the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom and the welfare of his country." Sir George Downing, of East-Hatly in Cambridgeshire, was his son.§

His WORKS.—1. A Discourse of the State Ecclesiastical of this Kingdom, in relation to the Civil, 1633.—2. A Digression discussing some ordinary Exceptions against Ecclesiastical Officers, 1633.—3. A Discourse of the false Grounds which the Bavarian Party have laid to settle their own Faction, and shake the peace of the Empire, 1641.—4. A Discourse upon the Interest of England, 1641.—5. A Discursive Conjecture upon the Reasons which produce the present Troubles of Great Britain, different from those of Lower Germany, 1641.—6. Several Sermons, 1643.

JOHN DOWNHAM, B. D.—This reverend and excellent divine was the son of Dr. William Downham, bishop of Chester, and brother to Dr. George Downham, bishop of Londonderry in Ireland.¶ He was born in the city of Chester, educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and afterwards a laborious and useful preacher in London. It does

* Clarendon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 62.

† Dr. Grey is displeas'd with Mr. Oldmixon for treating Clarendon's account as a falsehood; while he suppresses the grounds on which Mr. Oldmixon censures it, which are chiefly those we have given.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 3, 4.—*Grey's Examination*, vol. ii. p. 10.

‡ *Athens Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 27.

§ *Ibid.*

¶ *Wood's Athens Oxon.* vol. i. p. 609.

not appear what preferment he obtained; but he was the first who delivered and afterwards promoted the famous lecture at Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange. In the year 1640, he united with his puritan brethren, the ministers of the city, in presenting their petition to the privy council, against Laud's cruel book of canons; in 1643, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press; and, in 1644, he was chosen one of the London ministers to examine and ordain public preachers. He was a venerable and celebrated divine; and he died at a very great age, about the close of the above year. Fuller, who has classed him among the learned writers of Christ's college, Cambridge, styles him "a grave divine," and says, "he is memorable to posterity for his excellent work, entitled, *The Christian Warfare*."* Wood denominates him "a learned and laborious writer."†

THOMAS FOXLEY.—This pious and reverend divine was lecturer at St. Martin's in the Fields, London; where he suffered grievous persecution from the intolerance of Bishop Laud. This ecclesiastical tyrant put down his lecture, to prevent, as he pretended, the spreading of the plague; whereas the plague was not then in the parish. Upon the suppression of his lecture, Mr. Foxley was deprived, for some time, of the means of procuring a livelihood. Afterwards he was brought before Laud, who charged him "with being concerned in the purchase of impropriations, and thereby endeavouring to bring the bishops within the foffees' girdles." When Mr. Foxley said that this could not be, since the ministers on whom these impropriations were bestowed, were sent to their respective bishops to be approved by them; Laud replied, "that, if he had known him to have been so much concerned in the business of impropriations, he should not have got off so easily as he did before." Mr. Foxley had his study afterwards rifled by pursuivants, when he was apprehended and kept a prisoner two days; then carried before Sir John Lamb, who required him to give bond for his appearance before the high commission on the Thursday following. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he, with some difficulty, obtained a week's time to consider whether he

* Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 191.—Hist. of Cam. p. 92.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 335, iii. 46, 140.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 260.

might lawfully take the oath *ex officio*. When the archbishop observed, that he remembered him about the business of the feoffees, Mr. Foxley replied, "That he was encouraged in that business by bishops and privy counsellors, who conceived it to be a good work." He was, therefore, commanded to appear again on the Thursday following, and so dismissed. But the next Lord's day he was apprehended by another pursuivant, who carried him before the council-table; when, by a warrant under the hands of the archbishop and five others, he was sent to the Gatehouse. There he was kept close prisoner in a chamber not four yards square, for the space of twenty months, without pen, ink, or paper, or the access of any of his friends, excepting his wife; who, with the utmost difficulty, obtained leave to visit him during his extreme sickness, but no longer. He endured all this cruel usage without knowing or even guessing what could be the cause, unless it was his speaking in favour of the feoffees. Laud, indeed, insinuates, that Mr. Foxley was not thus punished on the account of the feoffees, but for some other cause which he refused to mention.* However, by this cruel imprisonment, he was ruined in his circumstances, and his wife and four small children exposed to misery and want.†

Upon the meeting of the long parliament, Mrs. Foxley presented a petition to the house of commons in behalf of her distressed husband, still confined in close prison. This petition was read in the house, November 25, 1640, and referred to the committee for Dr. Leighton's petition. It was, at the same time, ordered that Mr. Foxley should have the same favour and privileges of the house as Dr. Leighton.

January 15th following, Mr. Rouse, one of the committee, delivered a report of Mr. Foxley's case, when the house resolved:

1. "That the warrant made by Sir John Lamb and others, for apprehending Mr. Foxley and seizing his papers, is illegal and unjust.

2. "That the warrant under the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Coventry, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord of the Privy Seal, Lord Cottington, and Secretary Windebank, for committing Mr. Foxley close prisoner, is illegal.

3. "That Mr. Foxley ought to be delivered from the

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 249.

† Pryanne's Cant. Doome, p. 387, 388.

restraint he is under by colour of this warrant; and ought to have reparations for damages.

4. "That this business concerning Mr. Foxley be committed to the same committee, to prepare it in a fit way for this house to prefer it to the house of lords."*

Mr. Foxley was, therefore, released from his long and severe confinement; but whether he received any reparations is very doubtful. The multiplicity of business which the parliament had to look after, and the confusions which followed, most probably prevented it. In the year 1644 he was witness against Laud at his trial.†

This persecuted servant of Christ was a popular and useful preacher in London, as well after as before his troubles; but at what place he was employed in his stated ministerial exercise, and the particular time of his death, we have not been able to learn. The following anecdote, however, may not be unworthy of notice.‡ The celebrated Mr. William Kiffin, being an apprentice in London, and having then no sense of religion upon his mind, became dissatisfied with his situation, and resolved to leave his master; and accomplished his intention early one morning, being then about fifteen years of age. Wandering about the streets of London, he happened to pass by St. Antholin's church, and seeing people go in, he followed them. The preacher was Mr. Foxley, who, preaching on the fifth commandment, unfolded the duty of servants to masters. This was so applicable to the case of young Kiffin as to create his astonishment. He thought the preacher knew, and addressed him personally. The effect was, that Kiffin returned immediately to his master, before his absence was discovered. He afterwards became a very pious man and a useful minister of Christ.

LAWRENCE SNELLING was many years the learned and pious rector of Paul's-Cray in Kent; but experienced most cruel usage in the high commission court, chiefly for refusing to read the "Declaration for Sports on the Lord's day." He was brought before his ecclesiastical judges at Lambeth, when he pleaded in his own defence the law of God and the realm, the authority of councils, fathers, and all modern writers. He also pleaded "that the declaration itself did

* Rushworth's CoDec. vol. v. p. 58, 142, 143.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 387.

‡ Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 403.

not appear to be his majesty's, though published in his name, because not enrolled in any court, nor published under the great seal, as were all proclamations and briefs to be read in churches: that there was no command from the king that it should be read in the churches by any particular persons, much less by ministers; nor any punishment threatened nor prescribed for not reading it; nor any authority given to archbishops, bishops, high commissioners, or any other persons, to question, suspend, or punish any minister for refusing so to do; and being merely a civil, not an ecclesiastical declaration, nor enjoined by any ecclesiastical canon or authority, but that which is only civil, no ecclesiastical judges could take cognizance of it, much less inflict any ecclesiastical censure for not observing it." These things he affirmed and maintained in his own defence before the high commission, when Archbishop Laud, now at the head of the commission, commanded that his defence should not be accepted, and declared in open court, "That whosoever should make such a defence as he had done, it should be burnt before his face, and he laid by the heels for his pains." Upon this manifesto from the arbitrary prelate, the commissioners expunged as much of his defence as they pleased; and December 11, 1634, he was personally and judicially admonished to read the declaration within three weeks; but, refusing to observe the admonition, he was suspended from both his office and benefice. In the month of April, 1635, he was admonished a second time, and still refusing to comply, he was excommunicated. He was also charged "with having, at divers times, omitted to read some parts of the public service, to wear the surplice, and to bow his body, or make any corporal obeisance, at hearing or reading the name of Jesus." He was therefore told, that if he did not read the Declaration for Sports, and conform himself in all other points, before the second day of next term, he should suffer deprivation. For refusing to do which he was accordingly deprived.† In addition to the above cruelties, he was cast into prison; and so continued suspended, excommunicated, deprived, and imprisoned many years, to his unspeakable injury. November 16,

* Mr. Snelling having observed that there was no penalty mentioned in the Book of Sports, Archbishop Laud, in his own defence, at his trial, boldly asserted, "I say then his obedience, and other men's, should have been the more free and cheerful."—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 345.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 150, 151.—*Rushworth's Collec.* vol. ii. p. 459—461.

1640, having been often brought before the king's-bench, but still a prisoner for his nonconformity, he presented his petition to the parliament for relief; when he was most probably released.* In the year 1644 Mr. Snelling appeared as witness against the archbishop at his trial;† but when he died we are unable to ascertain.

GEORGE HUNTLEY was minister in Kent, a nonconformist to the superstitious ceremonies, and grievously censured in the high commission court. In the year 1627, for refusing to preach at a visitation, though his body was in a weak state, and he sent twenty shillings to the archdeacon to pay another for preaching, he was convened before the high commission for contempt; when he was fined a great sum and cast into prison. Having lain in prison about two years, he was brought to the bar upon his *habeas corpus*; when the cause of his commitment was returned, *a default in his canonical obedience*. He was at first bailed, because the breach of canonical obedience was an offence punishable by the ordinary, by ecclesiastical censure only; and not by the commissioners ecclesiastical, by fine and imprisonment.‡ But afterwards, by the solicitations of Bishop Laud, he was again delivered, and again brought into the high commission court; when a great fine was imposed upon him. He was deprived of his living, degraded from the ministry, and committed to a loathsome prison, where he continued about ten years, to the impoverishing of himself and family. What inhuman and shocking proceedings were these! At the same time Mr. Austin, the archbishop's chaplain, was presented to his living.§

Upon this barbarous usage Mr. Huntley brought his action of false imprisonment against the keeper and several of the commissioners. The business was carried into the king's-bench; when the attorney-general, by command of the king, moved that the commissioners might be spared, and the proceedings be only against the keeper. At length, after much debate, it was ordered that only two of the commissioners should answer. It was Archbishop Abbot who blew the coals in this business, and engaged the commissioners in these mad courses. He pressed the king, by

* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 51.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 344.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 13.

§ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 161, 185, 186.

means of Bishop Laud, to stay the proceedings against the commissioners.

As this cause made a great ferment at court, it will be proper further to observe, that the king sent his advocate, Dr. Rives, to the chief justice, requiring that there should be no further proceeding in the business till he had spoken to him. The chief justice answered, "We receive the message;" but, upon consultation together, "the judges conceive the message not to stand with their oaths, commanding an indefinite stay of a cause between party and party, and might stop the course of justice so long as the king pleased." On this occasion Judge Whitlocke insisted upon these points:—1. "That it was against law to exempt any man from answering the action of another that would sue him.—2. That if the court should exempt any, where should they begin, and where should they end?—3. That it was altogether agreeable to the king's monarchical power, and was lawful for any subject to complain before him of any other subject, and to be answered in that complaint."

The high commissioners, not content with the answer of the judges, urged the king to take the cause into his own hands, who sent for the judges and COMMANDED THEM NOT TO PUT THE DEFENDANTS TO ANSWER. This did the tyrannical king, at the importunity of Laud and the archbishop,* who carried on the business with great violence. In the conclusion, "the king expressly commanded, that they should not put the commissioners to answer;" but the learned judges stoutly answered, "that they could not, without breach of their oaths, observe that command;" so they parted in displeasure.

Afterwards, by the king's special command, the business was brought before the council-table, in the presence of the judges. After a long debate and hearing of Bishop Laud, the Bishop of Winchester, two of the privy council, the judges, and the king's attorney, it was agreed that the commissioners should answer.+ This was a bold stand against the oppressions of a despotic monarch, prompted by the tyrannical court prelates to exercise an illegal power, to the unspeakable injury of his subjects.

* Archbishop Abbot, it is said, was suspected and accused of being a puritan, because he would not, like his predecessor Bancroft, persecute them, nor blindly follow the maxims of the court with respect to government. But the zealous courtiers had, surely, no reason to complain on the present occasion.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 179.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 15.

Though this important point was gained, it does not appear with what success Mr. Huntley prosecuted the commissioners. He could not expect any considerable recompence from the high commission. He contended with cruel and barbarous oppressors. Having endured the most cruel imprisonment for many years, he was released, most probably, upon the meeting of the long parliament. In the year 1644 he was one of the witnesses against Archbishop Laud at his trial;* and this is all that we know of him.

MR. LEIGH was many years a laborious minister of the gospel at Wolverhampton, and enjoyed a prebend in the cathedral of Lichfield, but was silenced by order of Archbishop Laud, for nonconformity. The archbishop, giving directions to Sir Nathaniel Brent, his vicar-general, says, "Take special notice of Mr. Leigh; and if you can fasten upon him any thing, whereby he may justly be censured, pray see it be done, or bring him to the high commission court to answer it there. Let him not obtain any license to preach any lecture there or in another place hard-by, at Tetenshall, whither those at Wolverhampton do run after him out of their own parish." He is charged with having churched refractory women in private, with being averse to the good orders of the church, and with having ordered the bell-man to give notice in open market of a sermon; for which, in the year 1635, he was suspended.+ Upon Mr. Neal's mention of this case, Dr. Grey boldly and triumphantly asks, "And can Mr. Neal be so weak as to think this an insufficient cause of suspension? The rubricks," he adds, "are the law of the church, and are well known to be part of the statute-law of the land."‡ Here, without taking notice of the author's opinion of the rubricks, it may be observed, that Mr. Neal, with all men of liberal principles, would undoubtedly think, without discovering any peculiar weakness of mind, that this was no sufficient reason for an ecclesiastical censure, so tyrannically oppressive on the liberty of the subject. Mr. Leigh, who was thus removed from his flock, and driven from his sphere of ministerial usefulness, afterwards settled at Shrewsbury,

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 270.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 331.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 155.

where he was highly esteemed.* Upon his removal from this place, he, in 1644, became minister at Shoreditch, London, by order of parliament.† It does not appear how long he remained in this last situation, nor can we obtain any further information concerning him.

HENRY SCUDDER, B. D.—This excellent person was educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and afterwards minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire, where, on account of his exemplary piety, great prudence, and excellent ministerial labours, he was highly esteemed.‡ Afterwards he became minister of Collingborn-Dukes in Wiltshire; and, in the year 1643, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, when he constantly attended. Fuller has placed him among the learned writers of the above college;§ and Granger denominates him "an eminent presbyterian divine."¶ He was author of an excellent work, entitled, "The Christian's daily Walk in Holy Security and Peace." It passed through numerous editions, and is held in high repute among serious christians in the present day. Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen prefixed to it their recommendatory epistles. The former says, "I remember not any book which is written to be the daily companion of christians, to guide them in the practice of a holy life, which I prefer before this: I am sure none of my own. For so sound is the doctrine of this book, and so prudent and spiritual, apt and savoury, and all so suited to our ordinary cases and conditions, that I heartily wish no family may be without it." The latter says, "There is generally that soundness and gravity in the whole doctrine of the book, that weight of wisdom in the directions given for practice, that judgment in the resolutions of doubts and objections, that breathing of the spirit of holiness, zeal, humility, and the fear of the Lord, in the whole; that I judge, and am satisfied therein, that it will be found of singular use unto all such as in sincerity desire a compliance with his design." This work was in so high a repute, that it was translated into high Dutch, by the learned Mr. Theodore Haak.‡ Mr. Scudder wrote the life

* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i p. 371.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 360.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 318.

§ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 92. ¶ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 183.

‡ Mr. Haak translated "The Dutch Annotations upon the Bible" into English, and is said to have projected the first plan of the Royal Society in London.—*Ibid.*

of Mr. William Whately, prefixed to his "Prototypes." He was one of the preachers before the parliament; and one of his sermons is entitled, "God's Warning to England by the voice of his Rod, delivered in a Sermon before the honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, October 30, 1644."

LAWRENCE CLARKSON was a zealous preacher among the separatists in the beginning of the civil wars, and in the year 1644, having embraced the sentiments of the anti-pædobaptists, was baptized by immersion. He appears to have preached at various places in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and even in a few months after avowing a change of sentiment, warrants were issued against him in both counties, for the marvellous sin of dipping. He was soon apprehended, and, by the committee of Suffolk, was sent to prison. Having lain in prison several months, and his friends in those parts having petitioned the committee for his release, but without success, an order was at length obtained, either from a committee of parliament, or from the chairman of it, requiring his discharge. The county committee, however, refused to obey this order. They were resolved not to release him. After confinement upwards of six months, Mr. Clarkson himself petitioned the committee, and signified his retraction of his sentiments concerning baptism. This petition was as follows:

"The humble petition of Lawrence Clarkson humbly sheweth—That whereas your petitioner hath been above six months in bonds for dipping; in which time he has taken great pains, both by dispute and searching the scriptures, in which he doth find, and is convinced, that he ought not to dip any more. Neither, after the day of his conviction, being July 10, will your petitioner either dip or teach the same; but only wait upon God for a further manifestation of his truth. So, expecting your worship's answer, shall daily pray.

"LAWRENCE CLARKSON."

Upon Mr. Clarkson's appearance before the committee, he was required to sign the following recantation, as entered in the committee's books:

"July 15, 1645.

"This day Lawrence Clarkson, formerly committed for an anabaptist, and for dipping, doth now before this committee disclaim his errors. And whereas formerly

“ he said he durst not leave his dipping, if he might gain all the committee’s estates by so doing, now he saith, that he by the holy scriptures is convinced, that his said opinions were erroneous, and that he will not, and dare not practise it again, if he might gain all the committee’s estates by doing it. And that he makes this recantation, not for fear, or to gain his liberty, but merely out of a sense of his errors, wherein he will endeavour to reform others.

“ LAWRENCE CLARKSON.”

Mr. Edwards, in publishing this account, endeavoured to expose the weaknesses and infirmities of the sectaries, against whom he manifested an implacable hatred. Accordingly, he further observes, that Mr. Clarkson, after his release, turned seeker, denying the scriptures to be a sufficient rule of doctrine and practice, and that the whole will of God was yet revealed. Being separated from the baptists, he published a pamphlet in his own defence, entitled, “ The Pilgrimage of Saints, by Church cast out, in Christ found, seeking Truth.” In this pamphlet he endeavoured to acquit himself, by observing, “ That he did not assert the baptism of believers by immersion to be an error, but only intended that it was erroneously practised, there being now no true churches, nor true administrators of that ordinance.”* Whether this be indeed a sufficient vindication of his conduct, is left with the candid reader to determine. Our author, speaking of Mr. Clarkson and several others, declares, “ They were worse than papists; and there never were monsters more to be abhorred than they.”†

This censorious writer observes, that Mr. Clarkson, preaching on a Lord’s day afternoon, at Bow church, in Cheapside, London, he began his prayer to God with *right honourable Lord God*; and prayed that God would bless the king’s army, and bless the saints in both the parliament and the king’s army; and his sermon was a rhapsody of nonsense. “ This,” says he, “ was not done in a corner, but in a great and full audience; when there was present one member of the house of commons, if not more, besides divers other persons of quality. Though this Clarkson was in London some time after this, yet was he never questioned, nor called to any account for this, that I could ever learn.”‡

* Edwards’s *Gangræna*, part i. p. 104—106. Second Edit.

† *Ibid.* p. 211.

‡ *Ibid.* part ii. p. 6. Third Edit.

Mr. Bailie, who was no less indignant than his brother Edwards, against all who opposed the impositions and uniformity of a national church, tells us, that Mr. Clarkson and his brethren preached, "That the moral law of God did not bind any christian to obedience; that magistrates ought not to punish murderers, if they were church members; that all preachers, who pressed repentance and sorrow for sin, were legal; that God was not displeased with the sins of his saints, and would not have them to be displeased with them; and that all our duties are done for us by Christ."*

* Bailie's Anabaptism, p. 95.

END OF VOL. II.

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THE
LIVES
OF
THE PURITANS:

CONTAINING

A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THOSE DIVINES WHO
DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE CAUSE

OF

Religious Liberty,

FROM THE REFORMATION UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH,
TO THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY,
IN 1662.

BY BENJAMIN BROOK.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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VOL. III.

—◆—  
He, being dead, yet speaketh.—HEBREWS.

Many of the Puritans were men of great erudition, deep views of religion, and unquestionable piety; and their writings contain a mine of wealth, in which any one, who will submit to some degree of labour, will find himself well rewarded for his pains.—WILBERFORCE.

—◆—  
London:

PRINTED FOR JAMES BLACK,

YORK-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN

—◆—  
1813.

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THE

LIVES OF THE PURITANS.

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**JOHN DOD, A.M.**—This celebrated divine was born at Shotwich in Cheshire, about the year 1549, was the youngest of seventeen children, and educated in Jesus college, Cambridge; where he continued nearly sixteen years, and was chosen fellow of the house. During his abode in the university, he became thoroughly convinced of his sins, betook himself to deep humiliation, and earnestly sought the blessings of pardon and peace through Jesus Christ; which, to his unspeakable comfort, he at last obtained. While at Cambridge he was particularly intimate with Drs. Fulke, Chadderton, Whitaker, and others, who held their weekly meetings for prayer and expounding the scriptures. In the year 1615, a divine of the same name, and no doubt the same person, was elected proctor of the university.\* Having received an invitation to become pastor at Hanwell in Oxfordshire, he left the university, and entered upon the stated exercises of the christian ministry. In this situation he preached frequently, catechized the youth, and united with others in a weekly lecture at Banbury. His labours at Hanwell were numerous, and most extensively useful. It is observed, that hundreds of souls were at this place converted under his ministry.† He was about thirty years old when he first settled at Hanwell, and remained there about twenty years, where he had twelve children by his first wife, the daughter of Dr. Nicholas Bound. After her death he took a second wife, and was married by his old friend Dr. William Gouge.

Mr. Dod's great popularity and usefulness in the above situation, roused the envy of several neighbouring ministers, who, though they seldom preached themselves, would not

\* Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 139.

† Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 168, 169.

allow their people to go and hear him; and for the singular crime of multitudes flocking to his ministry, he was several times questioned in the bishops' courts.\* In addition to this, being exercised with some other trials, he was induced to consult Mr. Greenham, his excellent father-in-law. This reverend divine, after hearing his complaints, said, "Son, son, when affliction lieth heavy, sin lieth light;" and gave Mr. Dod such suitable advice, that he had abundant cause to bless God for it, and found it of excellent use all the rest of his days. However, he was at length suspended from his ministry at Hanwell by Dr. Bridges, bishop of Oxford. Being driven from his affectionate and beloved people, he preached a short time at Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, then accepted an invitation to Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire. In the latter situation he was treated with peculiar kindness by Sir Erasmus Dryden, a gentleman of great learning and piety; but he did not continue long without molestation. For, upon the complaint of Bishop Neile,† he was silenced by the archbishop.‡

Though this excellent divine was cast aside, he did not remain idle. When his efforts of public usefulness were set aside, he went about from house to house, giving private instructions; and by his pious discourse and holy deportment, he was nearly as useful as when he enjoyed his public ministry.§ He was particularly desirous of a more pure reformation of the church, and therefore united with his brethren in subscribing the "Book of Discipline."¶ He continued under the above suspension several years. But on the accession of King James, Sir Richard Knightly procured him his liberty; and he renewed his ministerial labours at Fausley in Northamptonshire, where he continued, in great reputation and usefulness, all the rest of his days.

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 170.

† Bishop Neile of Durham and Bishop Andrews of Winchester, attending upon King James, had the following conversation with him: His majesty, always intent upon his prerogative, asked the bishops, "My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?" The Bishop of Durham readily answered, "God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils." Upon this the king turned, and said to the Bishop of Winchester, "Well, my lord, what say you?" "Sir," replied the bishop, "I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases." The king answered, "No put offs, my lord; answer me presently." "Then, sir," said he, "I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it." This pleasantry afforded great entertainment to the company.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 185. Edit. 1778.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 170.

§ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181. ¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

Here, also, he felt the iron rod of the prelates; and, as in the three former situations, he was for a time suspended from his public ministry.\*

Mr. Dod was a pattern of patience. He bore his numerous trials with great meekness of spirit and holy resignation to the will of God. He used to say, "Sanctified afflictions are spiritual promotions." In the sixty-third year of his age, he laboured under extreme bodily affliction, and was brought to the very brink of the grave: but when the physician, who gave a check to his complaint, told him he had then some hope of his recovery, the good old man replied, "You think to comfort me by what you say; but you make me sad. It is the same as if you had told one who had been sorely weather-beaten at sea, and was expecting to enter the desired haven, that he must return to sea; to be tossed by fresh winds and waves." Having a comfortable assurance of heaven, he was desirous to leave the world, and to "be with Christ." And as he enjoyed much divine consolation in his own mind; so, in numerous remarkable instances, he administered the same to others.

This venerable divine used to say, "I have no reason to complain of any crosses, because they are the bitter fruit of my sin. Nothing shall hurt us but sin; and that shall not hurt us, if we can repent of it. And nothing can do us good but the love and favour of God in Christ; and that we shall have if we seek it in good earnest. Afflictions are God's potions, which we may sweeten by faith and prayer; but we often make them bitter, by putting into God's cup the ill ingredients of impatience and unbelief. There is no affliction so small but we shall sink under it, if God uphold us not: and there is no sin so great but we shall commit it, if God restrain us not. A man who hath the spirit of prayer hath more than if he hath all the world. And no man is in a bad condition, but he who hath a hard heart and cannot pray."

During the civil wars,† when some of the king's party came to his house, and threatened to take away his life, this heavenly divine, with holy confidence replied, "If you do, you will send me to heaven, where I long to be; but you

\* Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181.

† The first ill blood between King Charles and his subjects, which afterwards led to all the horrors of civil war, was occasioned by the severe proceedings in the high commission court, and the cruel censures in the star-chamber; in both of which the court, clergy were allowed too much power.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 372.

can do nothing except God give you leave." When they broke open his chests and cupboards, and carried away what they pleased, his only complaint was, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.* When they came a second time, he was confined to his bed by sickness; but though they cut away the curtains from his bed, and took the pillow-cases from under his head, he uttered not a murmuring word.\* Coming a third time, and having taken most of the linen and household stuff, and brought them into the room in which the good old man sat warming himself by the fire; he, during their absence to search for more, took a pair of sheets, and put them under the cushion on which he sat, greatly pleasing himself, after they were gone, that he had plundered the plunderers, and, by a lawful robbery, saved so much of his own property.†

Mr. Dod was exceedingly beloved, though not without his enemies. These, out of malice, stigmatized him *Faith* and *Repentance*; because he was constantly recommending these two things. He was a person of great moderation; and when he was questioned about subscription and the ceremonies, he was always equally ready to give his opinion, and cautious in giving his advice. He urged all who desired his opinion upon these points, to take heed against being influenced by the example or arguments of others, but to look to God and his holy word for direction. He used to ask them whether they could suffer in that cause *alone*, if all others were dead. Though he was a strict nonconformist, and bore his share of sufferings in the cause, he was of a most liberal spirit, and loved all who loved Christ.

As old age and afflictions came upon him, he usually compared himself to Sampson when his hair was cut; saying, "I rise in the morning as Sampson did, and think I will go forth as at other times; but, alas! I soon find an alteration: I must stoop to old age, which hath clipt my hair, and taken away my strength. But I am not afraid to look death in the face. I can say, death, where is thy sting? Death cannot hurt me. To a wicked man death is unwelcome; but to a child of God, who hath laboured and suffered much, death is welcome, that he may rest from his labours." During his last sickness he was exercised with most grievous pains, but was eminently supported and comforted in the exercise of faith and patience. He wrestled hard with Satan, and at last overcame. He longed to be with Christ, and his desire was

\* Clark's Lives, p. 174, 175.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 220.

granted. His last words were, *I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ.* He finished his course, and received the crown of righteousness, in the year 1645, aged ninety-six years, when his remains were interred in Fausley church.

Dr. Lloyd gives the following account of this venerable divine:—"Mr. Dod," says he, "had no delight in contradiction, nor could he find in his heart to disturb the peace of the church. He was so far from it, that, as I have frequently heard from his grandchild and others, when some thought their dissents ground enough for a war, he declared himself against it, and confirmed others in their allegiance: he professed to the last a just hatred of that horrid rebellion."\* The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and said, "Whatever some affirm of Mr. Dod's strictness, and scrupling some ceremonies, I desire that when I die my soul may rest with his." Wood styles him "a learned and godly divine."† Fuller denominates him "patient, humble, meek, and charitable; an excellent scholar, especially in Latin and Hebrew, and exceedingly profitable in conversation. He was a good chymist, to extract *gold* out of other men's *lead*; and however loose were the premises of other men's discourse, piety was always his unforced conclusion."‡ He is classed among the learned writers of Jesus college, Cambridge.§ Echard calls him "a learned decalogist, an exquisite Hebrician, and a most pious and hospitable divine;" and says, "he was highly valued by all good men."¶ Granger observes, "that in learning he was excelled by few, and in unaffected piety by none. Nothing was ever objected to this meek and humble man but his being a puritan." His sayings have been often printed, and are still to be seen pasted on the walls of cottages. An old woman in his neighbourhood, he adds, told him, "that she would have gone distracted for the loss of her husband, if she had been without Mr. Dod's sayings in her house."‡

It is recorded of Mr. Dod, that one evening, being late in his study, his mind was strongly impressed, though he could assign no reason for it, to visit a gentleman of his acquaintance, at a very unseasonable hour. Not knowing the design of Providence, he obeyed and went. When he came to the house, after knocking a few times at the door, the gentleman himself came, and inquired whether he wanted him upon any

\* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4269. † Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 758.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 181.—Church Hist. b. xi. p. 220.

§ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 86. ¶ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 545.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 370.

particular business. Mr. Dod having answered in the negative, and signified that he could not rest till he had seen him, the gentleman replied, "O, sir, you are sent of God at this very hour; for I was just now going to destroy myself," and immediately pulled the halter out of his pocket, by which he had intended to commit the horrid deed. Thus the mischief was prevented.\*

It is observed of Mr. Dod, that a person being once enraged at his close and awakening doctrine, picked a quarrel with him, smote him in the face, and dashed out two of his teeth. This meek and lowly servant of Christ, without taking the least offence, spit out the teeth and blood into his hand, and said, "See here, you have knocked out two of my teeth, without any just provocation; but on condition I might do your *soul* good, I would give you leave to dash out all the rest."† Thus Mr. Dod was not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good.

Mr. Timothy Dod, ejected in 1662, was his son, and imitated the amiable virtues of his excellent father.‡ Old Mr. Dod was commonly called the Decalogist, because he and Mr. Robert Cleaver, another puritan minister, published "An Exposition of the Ten Commandments," 1635. They also published "The Patrimony of Christian Children;" and were authors of "Ten Sermons to fit Men for the Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper." Mr. Dod, it is said, was the author of that singular and well-known little Sermon on the word MALT. Bishop Wilkins passes a high encomium upon his sermons, with those of other learned divines.§

**THOMAS LYDIAT, A. M.**—This celebrated scholar was born at Alkington, or Okerton, near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, early in the year 1572, and educated first at Winchester school, then at New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. A disposition to learning distinguished him from childhood, in consequence of which his parents, who lived in wealthy circumstances, designed him for a scholar, and placed him at the university under the tuition of Dr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Marten. He signalized himself by intense application to his studies, and became almost a prodigy in good literature, especially in logic, mathematics, astronomy,

\* Flavel's Works, vol. iv. p. 399. Edit. 1797. + Ibid. vol. v. p. 470.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 30.

§ Discourse on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

the learned languages, and divinity. His desire to enter upon the ministerial function was opposed by a defective memory and an imperfection of utterance; and, as the statutes of the college required him, after a certain time, to enter upon those studies more immediately connected with the clerical profession, or resign his fellowship, he chose the latter, and retired to a small patrimonial property at his native place. He there, during seven years, employed himself in completing literary designs which he had formed while resident at the university; and he first made himself known to the learned world by publishing, in 1605, a work entitled, "*Tractatus de variis Annorum Formis.*" Of this he published a defence, in 1607, against the arrogant censures of Joseph Scaliger; and he ventured directly to attack that proud dictator of literature in his "*Emendatio Temporum ab Initio Mundi huc usque Compendio facta, contra Scaligerum et alios,*" 1609. This learned work was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales, who appointed him his chronologer and cosmographer, and would no doubt have been a liberal patron to him, as he was to men of science in general, had not his auspicious commencements been cut short by an untimely death.

At the above period, Dr. Usher, afterwards the celebrated archbishop, being on a visit to England, became acquainted with Mr. Lydiat, whom he persuaded to accompany him to Ireland, where he procured him apartments in Dublin college. A community of studies was doubtless the principal inducement for Usher to desire his company; and it is highly probable that he derived assistance from him in his own chronological labours.\* Mr. Lydiat is said to have continued about two years in Ireland, though the time cannot be exactly ascertained. It appears, however, from letters in Parr's Collection, that he was in Ireland in 1610, and that he was returned to England in August, 1611. From the same authority we also learn, that there had been a design of settling him in the public school at Armagh. He had many friends, among whom were the lord deputy, and the chancellor of Ireland, who jointly promised to do great things for him; but were prevented by his coming to England, and returning no more to that country.†

There is a circumstance connected with Mr. Lydiat's visit to Ireland which is involved in considerable obscurity. It is asserted in the notes to the life of Usher,‡ that soon after

\* Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 402.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 46. ‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. vi. p. 4067.

his return he entered into the conjugal connexion, and married Usher's sister; for which fact the only authority given is, the alleged subscription of "your loving brother-in-law" to some of Usher's letters. In reality, however, these letters are only signed "your loving friend and *brother*," which last appellation Usher bestows upon others of his correspondents: nor is there found, either in the letters between them, or in the several lives of the primate, the least hint of such connexion. Indeed, it is not apparent from any recorded incidents of Mr. Lydiat's life that he was married at all. Yet, on the other hand, Mr. Henry Briggs, in a letter to Usher, dated in 1610, says, "I pray you salute from me your brother, Mr. Lydiat," which expression can scarcely imply any thing else than a real relationship, for he was not then a clergyman. In that case, however, he must have been married before his return to England.\*

Whatever schemes might have been formed for his settlement in Ireland, they were rendered abortive by his acceptance, though not without much hesitation, of the rectory of Okerton, of which his father was patron. Though he entered upon the pastoral office with considerable reluctance, he sedulously performed its duties, and continued in this situation, with some interruptions, to the end of his days. During the first twelve years, he wrote and preached more than *six hundred* sermons on the harmony of the Gospels. In the mean time he was also employed in several works of profound erudition, but which were probably limited to a few readers; for, instead of producing any pecuniary compensation to their author, they sunk all his patrimony in the expense of printing. Being, moreover, involved in the debts of a near relation for whom he had unadvisedly become a surety, he was arrested and thrown into prison at Oxford, whence he was removed to the King's-bench. The confinement of such a man was undoubtedly felt as a disgrace to letters; and by the contributions of Sir William Boswell, an eminent patron of learned men, of Usher, Laud, and some others, he at length obtained his liberation. The famous Selden, who frequently extended his bounty to literary merit in distress, absolutely refused to lend his aid on this occasion, in resentment of a slight offered him by Lydiat, who, in some annotations which he published on the Arundel Marbles, had mentioned him with no other epithet than that of "an industrious author." Whatever offence there might be in

\* Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 403, 404.

this want of civility, Selden would certainly have shewn a greater and more pious mind in forgiving it.\*

Mr. Lydiat, soon after he was restored to liberty, presented a petition to King Charles, requesting his protection and patronage in an intended voyage to the East, for the purpose of collecting valuable manuscripts. The project displayed his zeal for the service of learning, but the ensuing political troubles prevented any attention being paid to his application. Though he was a man of low stature, and rather insignificant in appearance, he was a person of a great mind and of uncommon learning. He puzzled the learned Christopher Clavius, the whole college of mathematicians, and even that *Goliath* of literature, Joseph Scaliger himself; who, when he found himself outstripped, scornfully stigmatized Mr. Lydiat with being a *beggarly, beardless priest*. He was, nevertheless, highly esteemed by the most learned men at home and abroad. Sir Thomas Chaloner and other celebrated scholars, with those mentioned above, were among his familiar acquaintance. The virtuosi beyond sea were pleased to rank him with the celebrated Lord

\* Mr. John Selden was sometimes styled "the great dictator of learning of the English nation," whom Grotius, his antagonist, calls "the glory of his country;" and Sir Matthew Hale, "a resolved and serious christian." He was a man of as extensive and profound erudition as any of his time; and was thoroughly skilled in every thing relating to his own profession of the law; but the principal bent of his studies was to sacred and profane antiquity. The greater part of his works are on uncommon subjects. Like a man of genius, he was not content with walking in the beaten track of learning, but was concerned to strike out new paths, and enlarge the territories of science. Towards the close of life, he owned, that, out of the numberless volumes he had read and digested, nothing stuck so close to his heart, or gave him such solid satisfaction, as the single passage of Paul in his epistle to Titus, ii. 11—14. He died in the year 1654; when the celebrated Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon, and, without scruple, declared "that he himself was scarcely worthy to carry his books after him." Mr. Selden was author of many learned publications, among which was "The History of Tithes;" for which, in 1618, he was convened before the high commission, and required to subscribe a degrading recantation. Afterwards, at an audience of King James, at the time when Montague was preparing a confutation of this work, the worthless and arbitrary monarch sternly forbade him to make any reply, saying, "If you or any of your friends shall write against this confutation, I will throw you into prison." He was a valuable member of the long parliament, and one of the lay members who sat with the assembly of divines. In their debates he spoke admirably, and confuted divers of them in their own learning. Sometimes, when they cited a text of scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, "Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves," which they would often pull out and read, "the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus;" and so would silence them.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 928.—*Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher*, p. 26, 287.—*Eclectic Review*, vol. viii. p. 204.—*Whitlock's Mem.* p. 71. Edit. 1732.

Bacon and Mr. Joseph Mede; and when they found that he had no higher preferment, they said that Englishmen did not deserve such great scholars, since they made so little of them. "Though they have wronged his memory," says Fuller, "who have represented him as an anabaptist; yet he was disaffected to the *discipline* and *cereémonies* of the church;"\* on which account he is, with justice, classed among the puritans.

Mr. Lydiat, though opposed to the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, was a man of loyal principles, and discovered his zeal in the royal cause; for which, upon the commencement of the civil war, he was a considerable sufferer from the parliament's army. His own statement to Sir William Compton, governor of Banbury castle, affirms that his rectory was four times pillaged, and himself reduced to so great a want of common necessaries, that he could not change his linen for a quarter of a year, without borrowing a shirt. He was also twice carried away to prison, and was cruelly used by the soldiers for refusing their demands of money, for defending his books and papers, and for his bold speeches in favour of the royal cause. From this and other circumstances, it appears that his manners were not conciliating, and that, to a scholar's ignorance of the world, he joined the bluntness of an independent character. Of his confident and sanguine disposition, a judgment may be formed from a passage in one of his letters to Usher. After expressing a hope that his learned friend would in the end assent to the truth of what he had delivered concerning the beginning and conclusion of Daniel's seventy weeks, and all the dependencies thereon, he says, "For certainly, how weak soever I, the restorer and publisher thereof, am, yet it is strong and will prevail; and, notwithstanding mine obscure estate, in due time the clouds and mists of errors being dispersed and vanished, it will shine forth as bright as the clear sun at noon-tide."†

This learned man finished his painful life, and died in indigence and obscurity at Okerton, April 3, 1646, aged seventy-four years.‡ Though he obtained considerable reputation among learned men at home and abroad; yet his fame is so far obliterated, even in his own country, that it is probable few English readers have known to whom Dr. Johnson refers in his "Vanity of Human Wishes,"

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 338.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 407.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 46—48.

where, as a warning against the enthusiastical expectations of the young scholar, he says,<sup>\*</sup>

If dreams yet flatter, once again attend;  
Hear Lydiat's life, and Galilio's end.

Wood says, "he was a man possessed of some excellencies; yet he set too high a value on his own performances, and for many years spent an idle and obscure life."<sup>†</sup> Echard denominates him "a man of a great soul and incomparable learning, particularly in mathematics, antiquities, languages and divinity;" and adds, "that he was admired by the greatest scholars of the age."<sup>‡</sup> Kennet styles him "that master of astronomy and mathematics, who, besides his admired works in print, left twenty-two volumes of manuscripts, as rarities, in the hands of Dr. John Lamphire."<sup>§</sup> Mr. Lydiat's remains were interred by the side of his father and mother in the chancel of Okerton church, where a monumental inscription was afterwards erected, of which the following is a translation:|

Sacred to the MEMORY  
of THOMAS LYDIAT, rector of Okerton,  
an accomplished divine and mathematician,  
whose tomb was erected  
at the expense of New College, Oxford,  
in memory of so great a scholar.  
He was born in 1572,  
and died in 1646.

His WORKS.—1. Tractatus de variis annorum formis, 1605.—2. Plectio Astronomica de naturâ cœli & conditionibus elementorum, 1605.—3. Disquisitio physiologica de origine fontium, 1605.—4. Defensio tractatus de variis annorum formis contra Josephi Scaligeri objectionem, 1607.—5. Examen Canonum Chronologiæ Isagogicorum, 1607.—6. Explicatio temporum ad initio mundi huc usque, compendio facta, contra Scaligerum & alios, 1609.—7. Explicatio & additamentum argumentorum in libello emendationis temporum compendio factæ, de nativitate Christi & ministerio in terris, 1613.—8. Solis & Lunæ periodus, seu annus magnus, 1620.—9. De anni solaris mensurâ Epistola Astronomica, ad Hen. Saviium, 1620.—10. Numerus aureus melioribus lapillis insignitus factusq; Gemmeus, &c., 1621.—11. Canones Chronologici, nec non series summorum magistratum & triumphorum Romanorum, 1675.—12. Letters to Archbishop Usher, printed in his Life, 1686.

\* Aikin's Lives, p. 408.

† Wood's Hist. et Antiq. l. ii. p. 149.

‡ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 565.

§ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 764.

|| Wood's Hist. et Antiq. l. ii. p. 149.

**WILLIAM TWISSE, D. D.**—This illustrious divine was born at Spenham-Land, near Newbury, in Berkshire, about the year 1575, and educated first at Winchester school, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He spent sixteen years at the university; and, by a most intense application, obtained an extraordinary knowledge of logic, philosophy, and divinity. His profound erudition appeared in his public lectures and learned disputations, but especially in correcting the works of the celebrated Bradwardine, then published by Sir Henry Savile. He took his various degrees with universal applause. He was an admired and popular preacher, and greatly followed both by the collegians and townsmen.

He continued in his beloved pursuits at the university, till his brilliant talents and profound literature excited very public attention. His uncommon fame reached the court of King James, who chose him to be chaplain to Lady Elizabeth, then about to leave her native country and go to the Palatine. He cheerfully complied with the appointment, and accompanied the pious young princess to the foreign court; and, to moderate her grief, and administer comfort to her troubled mind, upon her painful separation from her friends, he expounded some portion of scripture to her every day. He dwelt much upon the great uncertainty of life, and the importance of a suitable preparation for death; and, from his appropriate instructions and admonitions, she derived that signal advantage by which she was enabled to endure the greatest adversity with undaunted courage. This amiable princess was exercised with many trials very soon after her arrival. For, presently after she was crowned Queen of Bohemia, she was forced to flee from the country and to live an exile all the rest of her days. She bore these tribulations with christian magnanimity. This is represented as the effect of the doctor's excellent instructions, who taught her, "That Divine providence ordereth all the estates and conditions of all men, according to his own good pleasure, and for the eternal advantage of his people:" as, Rom. viii. 28. "We know that all things work together for good, to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose."\* He did not, however, continue very long at the court of the Palatine, but was called back to England. His return was the occasion of deep regret both to the prince and princess, which was particularly expressed at the

\* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 13, 14.

time of his departure. Upon his arrival in his native country, he took his final leave of the court, and devoted himself to those profound studies by which he published to the world those learned works which will be the admiration of learned and pious men to the latest posterity.

Dr. Twisse, about the same time, became curate of Newbury, near the place of his birth; where, by his exemplary life and useful preaching, he gained a most distinguished reputation. In this retired situation, which was exactly suited to his wishes, he lived in great peace and comfort; and being secluded from the world, his time was wholly devoted to his studies and the spiritual advantage of his flock. He never sought after worldly riches, or aspired after ecclesiastical preferment, but modestly refused them when they were offered. He, indeed, often congratulated himself that he was in so low a condition, and so little exposed to the alluring temptations. He often professed how greatly he was indebted to divine goodness, for having placed him in so mean and obscure a place, where he was preserved from aspiring after worldly preferment. No man ever sought more industriously to obtain ecclesiastical promotion than he sought to avoid it. Hence, when he was offered the provostship of Winchester college, and warmly entreated to accept it, he as warmly contended against it, though it was a post of considerable pecuniary interest. He preferred his studies, and the ministry of the word, to any idle or honourable post; and worldly interest had but little influence on his mind. Also, when the Bishop of Winchester laid a prebend at his feet, he politely thanked his lordship, but modestly declined accepting it. The Earl of Warwick promised to confer upon him a more valuable living than that of Newbury, which at first he agreed to accept, provided the people of his charge could be furnished with a suitable pastor. He accordingly waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his favourable approbation, and was kindly received. His lordship granted all that he requested, and observed, that he would make mention of him to the king as a pious and learned divine, and *no puritan*. Dr. Twisse was, however, sagacious enough to see the snares that were laid for him; and therefore, without making any further application, he returned to Newbury, resolving not to exchange his curacy for any other situation. Also the states of Friesland invited him to the professor's chair in the university of Franeker; and he was pressed to accept a professor's place at Oxford; but he refused them both. He

was more concerned for his beloved studies, and ministerial usefulness, than for all the splendour and emolument of a university.

Upon the publication of the *Book of Sports*, our learned divine refused to read it, and ventured to declare his opinion decidedly against it: he, nevertheless, escaped better than many of his brethren, who, for so doing, were suspended from their ministry, driven out of the kingdom, or cast into prison. He was a person of great moderation, yet as decidedly against the use of the superstitious ceremonies as the encouragement of profane sports.\* His refusal to read the book did not pass unnoticed at court; but when King James heard of it, he commanded the bishops not to molest him. His majesty, indeed, very well knew, that, though Dr. Twisse lived in low circumstances, and in an obscure situation, his fame was so great in all the reformed churches, that their lordships could do nothing against him which would not be a public reproach to themselves. It was, after all, no small disparagement to them, and to the church to which they belonged, that so eminently pious and learned a divine should live without preferment. The celebrated Dr. Prideaux said, "The bishops do very little consult their own credit, in not preferring Dr. Twisse, though against his wishes, to some splendid ecclesiastical dignity; by which, though they despair of drawing him to their party, they might take off, or mollify, the popular envy, and not hear themselves exposed to scorn by the curate of Newbury." During the civil wars, Prince Rupert, coming to Newbury, entertained our divine very courteously, and made him many honourable promises, if he would turn against the parliament, write in defence of the royal cause, and live among the king's party: but Dr. Twisse very wisely and politely declined the royal invitation.†

He obtained uncommon celebrity from the books which he published, especially upon points of controversy. Here his talents and erudition were employed upon his favourite subjects without restraint, and with extraordinary success. Among his antagonists were Dr. Thomas Jackson, Mr. Henry Mason, and Dr. Thomas Godwin, who was a person of great learning, especially in antiquities; but is said to have been more fit to instruct grammarians than to contend with a logician like Dr. Twisse. He next encountered Mr. John Goodwin, the celebrated advocate for Arminianism, whom

\* Mede's Works, p. 845, 846.

† Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 14—17.

he is said to have refuted with great learning and judgment. His next contest was with Mr. John Cotton, a divine whom he highly esteemed, and whom he treated with great gentleness. He learnedly refuted Dr. Potter's "Survey of the New Platform of Predestination."\* He treated Dr. Heylin according to his deserts, in defence of the morality of the sabbath. He also successfully contended with the famous Arminius and others, in defence of the doctrines of grace. His answers to Dr. Jackson and Arminius, and his "Riches of God's Love," when first published, were all suppressed by the arbitrary appointment of Bishop Laud.†

In the year 1640, Dr. Twisse was chosen one of the sub-committee, to assist the committee of accommodation appointed by the house of lords to consider the innovations introduced into the church, and to promote a more pure reformation.‡ In the year 1643, he was nominated, by an order of the parliament, prolocutor to the assembly of divines. On account of his great modesty, he repeatedly declined the appointment, but was at length prevailed upon to accept the office. The learned assembly was opened July 1, 1643, when Dr. Twisse preached to both houses of parliament, in Henry the seventh's chapel. "In his sermon," says Fuller, "he exhorted his learned auditory to a faithful discharge of their duty, and to promote the glory of God and the honour of his church; but he was sorry that they wanted the royal assent. He hoped, however, that in due time it might be obtained, and that a happy union would be procured between the king and parliament."§

Dr. Twisse, on account of his age and manifold infirmities, was not able to attend upon the concerns of the assembly; but, in a few months, was taken ill, falling down in the pulpit to rise no more. He had been long grieved to behold the disagreement between the king and the parliament, which, he said, would prove fatal to both; and he often wished that the fire of contention might be

\* Toplady's Historic Proof, vol. i. p. 68.

† About the same time, Dr. George Downham, bishop of Derry in Ireland, published a book against the Arminians; upon which, Bishop Laud procured the suppression of all the copies sent to England; and, not satisfied with this, he caused a letter to be sent to Archbishop Usher, commanding the same proceeding against the book in Ireland. The pious and learned primate tamely yielded to the superior power of this arbitrary prelate; issued his warrant for the seizure of all the remaining copies of Downham's work; and signified that he should "take order that nothing should be hereafter published contrary to his majesty's sacred direction."—

*Prynne's Cant. Doome*, p. 171, 172.

‡ Kingdom's MS. Collec. p. 200.

§ Fuller's Church Hist, b. xi. p. 199.

extinguished, though it were at the price of his own blood.\* When he fell down in the pulpit, he was carried to his lodgings and laid upon his bed, where he languished about a twelvemonth. During his long illness, multitudes of persons resorted to him, who witnessed his exemplary faith and patience. In the civil wars, he had been driven from his curacy and the people of his charge, at Newbury, and deprived of all his property by the royal forces; so that, in the time of his sickness, when certain persons were deputed from the assembly to visit him, they reported, "that he was very sick, and in great straits." The parliament, having taken his case into consideration, passed an order, December 4, 1645, for one hundred pounds to be given him out of the public treasury.† Nearly the last words that Dr. Twisse uttered, were, "I shall at length have leisure enough to follow my studies to all eternity;" and died July 20, 1646, aged seventy-one years. The whole house of commons, and the assembly of divines, paid their last respects to his memory by following, in one sorrowful procession, his mortal remains to the grave; when Dr. Robert Harris preached his funeral sermon from Joshua, i. 2., *Moses my servant is dead*. He was buried in Westminster abbey, where his body quietly rested till the restoration, when the humane, the liberal, and the enlightened Charles ordered his bones to be dug up, together with the bodies of many other persons, eminent in church and state; and thrown into a pit digged on purpose in St. Margaret's church-yard.‡ The

\* Clark's Lives, p. 17.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 189.

‡ One of those illustrious persons, whose body suffered this shameful indignity, was the valiant Admiral Blake, whose name was a terror to the enemies of Britain; who raised the naval reputation of his country to a higher pitch than any of his predecessors, and whose services to the English nation will be a monument of his renown as durable as time. The following is a list of some of the persons to whose bodies this malevolence was offered, on the 12th and 14th of September, 1661. Others would probably have shared the same fate; but the thing was so indecent, and drew so general an odium on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings:

Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of  
Oliver, lord protector,  
Elizabeth Claypole, her daughter,  
Robert Blake, admiral,  
John Pym, esq. M. P.  
Dr. Isaac Dorislaus,  
Sir William Constable, colonel,  
Edward Popham, admiral,  
Richard Dean, admiral,

William Stroud, esq. M. P.  
Humphrey Mackworth, colonel,  
Dennis Bond, esq.  
Thomas May, esq. the historian,  
John Mildrum, colonel,  
Colonel Boscawen,  
Doctor William Twisse, prolocutor,  
Stephen Marshall, presby. divine,  
William Strong, indepen. divine.

Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 80.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 826.

refined barbarity and contemptible meanness of these proceedings, might have been expected amongst untutored savages, rather than from a monarch bred up in all the refinements of the English court.

Though Dr. Twisse died in necessitous circumstances, the parliament, after his death, voted a *thousand* pounds to be given to his children, out of the public treasury;\* but, on account of the national confusions, it is doubtful whether it was ever paid. Mr. Clark says, "he was much admired for his great learning, subtle wit, exact judgment, great integrity, pleasing behaviour, and his exemplary modesty, piety, humility and self-denial."† Fuller denominates him, "a divine of great abilities, learning, piety, and moderation.‡ Wood says, "his plain preaching was esteemed good; his solid disputations were accounted better; but his pious life was reckoned best of all." The most learned of his adversaries confessed that there was nothing extant more accurate and full upon the Arminian controversy, than what is contained in his works. All writers against Arminianism have made honourable mention of his works, and have acknowledged him to have been the mightiest man in those controversies that the age produced.§ He was succeeded at Newbury by Mr. Benjamin Woodbridge, who was afterwards ejected in 1662.||

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Vanities, 1631.—2. Vindicie Gratiæ, Potestatis et Providentiæ Dei, 1632.—3. Dissertatio Scientiæ Mediæ tribus libris absolutâ, 1639.—4. Dissertationes, 1639.—5. Of the Morality of the Fourth Commandment, 1641.—6. A Treatise of Reprobation, in Answer to Mr. John Cotton, 1646.—7. Animadvertiones ad Jacobi Arminii Collat. cum Frank. Junio et Joh. Arnold Corvin, 1649.—8. De Predestinatione et Gratia, 1649.—9. The Doubting Conscience Resolved, 1652.—10. The Riches of God's Love unto the Vessels of Mercy, consistent with his absolute hatred or reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath, 1653.—11. Two Tracts in Answer to Dr. H. (Hammond) 1653.—12. The Synod of Dort and Ares reduced to Practice, with an Answer.—13. The Scriptures Sufficiency to determine all matters of Faith.—14. The Christian Sabbath defended against the crying Evil of these Times of the Antisabbatarians of our Age.—15. Fifteen Letters, published in Mede's Works.—He also left numerous manuscripts behind him.

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 321.

† Clark's Lives, p. 13, 14, 18.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part i. p. 96.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

|| Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 290.

**JEREMIAH BURROUGHS, A. M.**—This very amiable divine was born in the year 1599, and educated at Cambridge; but was obliged to quit the university, and afterwards the kingdom, on account of nonconformity. After he had finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, and was chosen colleague to Mr. Edmund Calamy at Bury St. Edmunds.\* In the year 1631, he became rector of Titshall, in the county of Norfolk; but upon the publication of Bishop Wren's articles and injunctions, in 1636, he was suspended and deprived of his living.+ He sheltered himself for some time under the hospitable roof of the Earl of Warwick;‡ but, on account of the intolerant and oppressive proceedings of the ecclesiastical rulers, the noble earl at length found it was impossible to protect him any longer; and shortly after, to escape the fire of persecution, he fled to Holland, and settled at Rotterdam, where he was chosen teacher to the congregational church, of which Mr. William Bridge was pastor. After his suspension, he is charged with attempting to bribe the bishop's chancellor, by an offer of forty pounds; and going beyond seas, and returning disguised in a soldier's habit, with many libellous pamphlets, when, it is said, the sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him for nonresidence.¶ Of this circumstance, however, Mr. Edwards gives a very different account. He says, "that Mr Burroughs, for some speeches spoken against the Scotch war, in company not to be trusted, for fear fled in all haste to Rotterdam;" at which he very much stumbled.‡ Mr. Burroughs, in his animadversion upon this misrepresentation, observes as follows: "Had Mr. Edwards been willing to have conferred with me about this, as I desired, before he printed, I should have so fully satisfied him about my going out of the kingdom, that he could never have stumbled, nor have caused others to stumble. How does he know there were speeches delivered, for fear of which I fled? It may be there was only an accusation. In his bold assertion there is held forth to the world, at least some indiscretion in me, that I should speak words of a high

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 5.

† Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 138.

‡ This noble person was a great friend and patron of the persecuted puritans, and one of their constant hearers. He was not content with only hearing long sermons in the congregation, but would have them repeated in his own house.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 116.

§ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 18, 19.

¶ Wren's Parentalia, p. 95.

‡ Edwards's Antapologia, p. 16.

nature, in company not to be trusted. I am so fully clear in that business, that I wiped off before my lord of Warwick whatsoever might have seemed indiscretion, not by mine own assertion only, but by the testimony of two gentlemen, being all the company, besides the accuser, who were present while we discoursed of that matter. The truth is, there were no such speeches; there was only some *accusation* of speeches. What man can free himself from accusation?" This ungenerous accuser afterwards recanted, and expressed his great sorrow for having aspersed the character of our pious and worthy divine.\*

Mr. Burroughs replies to the charge that he fled in all haste to Rotterdam, by saying, "It was four or five months after this accusation before I went to Rotterdam. Had not the prelatical faction been incensed against me, for standing out against their superstitions, I should have ventured to have stood to what I had spoken, for all I said was by way of query, affirming nothing. I knew how dangerous the times then were. I knew what the power of the prelatical party at that time was, who were extremely incensed against me. A man's innocency, then, could not be his safety. A mere accusation was enough then, to cause me to provide for my security. I was, by Bishop Wren, deprived of my living in Norfolk, in which, I believe, I endured as great a brunt as almost any of those who stayed in England; though Mr. Edwards is pleased to say, we fled that we might be safe upon the shore, while our brethren were at sea in the storm. I believe neither he, nor scarcely any of our presbyterian brethren, endured a harder storm at sea, than I did before I went out of England. Yet, I bless God, he stirred up noble friends to countenance and encourage me in my sufferings; for which I will not cease to pray that the blessing of God may be upon them and their families. For some months I lived with my lord of Warwick, with whom I found much undeserved love and respect, and was in the midst of as great encouragements to stay in England, as a man deprived, and under the bishop's rage, could expect; when I set myself in as a serious a manner as ever I did in my life, to examine my heart about my staying in England; whether some carnal respects, that countenance I had from divers noble friends, the offers of livings, did not begin to prevail too far with me. My spirit was much troubled with these thoughts, Why do I still linger in England, where I cannot with peace enjoy

\* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 18, 21. Edit. 1646.

what my soul longs after? Did I not formerly think, that if ever God took me clearly from my people, I would hasten to be where I might be free from such mixtures in God's worship, without wringing my conscience any more? Why do I, therefore, now stay? Am I not under temptation? God knows these were the sad and serious workings of my spirit, and these workings were as strong as ever I felt them in my life.

"While I was thus musing," says Mr. Burroughs, "thus troubled in my spirit, and lifting up my heart to God to help me, and set me at liberty, leaning upon my chamber window, I spied a man, in a citizen's habit, coming in the court-yard towards my chamber; and upon his coming near, I knew him to be formerly a citizen of Norwich, but, at that time, one of the church at Rotterdam. When this man came near to me, he told me that he came lately from Rotterdam; and that he was sent there by the church to give me a call to join with Mr. Bridge in the work of the Lord, in that church. When I heard him say this, I stood awhile amazed at the providence of God; that, at such a time, a messenger should be sent to me upon such an errand. My heart, God knows, exceedingly rejoiced in this call. I presently told the man I saw God much in it, and dared not in the least to gainsay it. My heart did much close with it; yet I desired to see the hand of God a little further. I required him to return my answer to the church, with a desire, that, as most of them knew me, they should give me their call under their own hands; then there would be nothing wanting, but I should be theirs; and thus we parted."\*

Mr. Burroughs, having vindicated his own character against the aspersions of his adversaries, further observes, that, "after this I hoped all would blow over, when my lord of Warwick, falling sick in London, sent for me, and I came up to him and continued with him about three weeks, going freely up and down the city. My lord knew all the business, and made no question but all was over. Being now, as I hoped, set free from my accuser, the messenger from Rotterdam came to me again, with an answer to what I had desired, shewing me how the church there had assembled, and had sent a call to me in writing, under the hands of the elders, with many other hands, in the name of the church; on which we agreed upon the day when, and the place

\* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 18—21.

where, we should meet in Norfolk, to make a full conclusion and prepare for our voyage.\*

Our divine has thus favoured us with a circumstantial account of his invitation to Rotterdam. Upon his arrival, he was cordially received by the church; and he continued a zealous and faithful labourer several years, gaining a very high reputation among the people. After the commencement of the civil war, when the power of the bishops was set aside, he returned to England, says Granger, "not to preach sedition, but peace; for which he earnestly prayed and laboured."†

Mr. Burroughs was a person highly honoured and esteemed, and he soon became a most popular and admired preacher. After his return, his popular talents and great worth presently excited public attention, and he was chosen preacher to the congregations of Stepney and Cripplegate, London, then accounted two of the largest congregations in England. Mr. Burroughs preached at Stepney at seven o'clock in the morning, and Mr. William Greenhill at three in the afternoon. These two persons, stigmatized by Wood as notorious schismatics and independents, were called in Stepney pulpit, by Mr. Hugh Peters, one the *morning star*, the other the *evening star of Stepney*.‡ Mr. Burroughs was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was one of the dissenting brethren, but a divine of great wisdom and moderation. He united with his brethren, Messrs. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, and Sydrach Sympson, in publishing their "Apologetical Narration," in defence of their own distinguishing sentiments. The authors of this work, who had been exiles for religion, to speak in their own language, "consulted the scriptures without any prejudice. They considered the word of God as impartially as men of flesh and blood are likely to do, in any juncture of time; the place they went to, the condition they were in, and the company they were with, affording no temptation to any bias." They assert, that every church or congregation has sufficient power within itself for the regulation of religious government, and is subject to no external authority whatever. The principles upon which they founded their church government, were, to confine themselves in every thing to what the scriptures prescribed, without paying any regard to the opinions or practice of men; nor to tie themselves down so

\* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 22.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 193, 194.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 113.

strictly to their present resolutions, as to leave no room for alterations upon a further acquaintance with divine truth. They steered a middle course between Presbyterianism and Brownism: the former they accounted too arbitrary, the latter too rigid; deviating from the spirit and simplicity of the gospel.\* These are the general principles of the *independents* of the present day.

Mr. Burroughs, in conformity with the above principles, united with his brethren in writing and publishing their "Reasons against certain Propositions concerning Presbyterian Government."† In the year 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, and was of great service in all their important deliberations;‡ He was a divine of great piety, candour, and moderation; and during their debates, he generously declared, in the name of the independents, "That if their congregations might not be exempted from the coercive power of the classis; and if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, so long as they behaved themselves peaceably towards the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some other part of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But," said he, "while men think there is no way of peace but by forcing all to be of the same mind; while they think the civil sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies in divinity; and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonment to the disobedient; while they apprehend there is no medium between a strict uniformity and a general confusion of all things: while these sentiments prevail, there must be a base subjection of men's consciences to slavery, a suppression of much truth, and great disturbances in the christian world."§

After his return from exile, he never gathered a separate congregation, nor accepted of any parochial benefice, but continued to exhaust his strength by constant preaching, and other important services, for the advantage of the church of God. He was a divine of a most amiable and peaceable spirit; yet he had some bitter enemies, who, to their own disgrace, poured upon him their slander and falsehood. Mr. Edwards, whose pen was mostly dipped in gall, pours upon him many reproachful and unfounded reflections. He charges Mr. Burroughs, and some others, with having held a

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 620.

† Reasons of Dissenting Brethren, p. 40, 133, 192.

‡ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

§ Burroughs's Vindication, p. 30.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 286.

meeting with one Nichols, a man of vile and dangerous sentiments: whereas Mr. Burroughs thus declared, "I know no such man as this Nichols. I never heard there was such a man in the world, till I read it in Mr. Edwards's book. I, to this day, know of no meeting about him, or any of his opinions, either intended, desired, or resolved upon; much less that there was any such meeting."\* What he thus declared under his own hand, he afterwards proved from the most correct and substantial evidence, casting all the reproach upon the false statement of his bitter adversary.†

This peevish and bigotted writer, indeed, warmly censures Mr. Burroughs for endeavouring to propagate his own sentiments upon church discipline; and even for pleading the cause of a general toleration. But our pious divine, with his usual christian meekness, repelled the foolish charges, proved his own innocence, and exposed the rancour of his enemy.‡ Being charged with conformity in the time of the bishops, he says, "Though I did conform to some of the old ceremonies, in which I acknowledge my sin; I do not cast those things off as inconvenient or discountenanced by the state only, but as sinful against Christ; yet I think there can hardly be found a man in that diocese where I was, that was so eyed, who conformed less than I did, if he conformed at all. As for the new conformity, God kept me from it; and my sin in the old makes me be of a more forbearing spirit towards those who now differ from me. I see now what I did not; and I bless God I saw it before the times changed: and others, even some who scorn at new light, must acknowledge they see now what a while since they saw not. Why then should they or I fly upon our brethren, because they see not what we think we see? O, how unbecoming is it for such who conformed to old and new ceremonies, now to be harsh and bitter in the least degree against their brethren, who differ from them, when *they* differ so much from what they were not long since themselves! Some of them know I loved them as brethren, when they conformed to what I could not, but was suspended for refusing it. Let me have the same love from them as brethren, though I cannot now conform to all they now do."§

Mr. Edwards and old Mr. John Vicars were his most bitter and furious enemies. The latter he addressed in the

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 25. Third Edit.—part ii. p. 71.

† Burroughs's *Vindication*, p. 5—8.

‡ Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 216.—*Gangræna*, part i. p. 78. ii. 86.—*Burroughs's Vindication*, p. 5—12.

§ *Ibid.* p. 17, 18.

language of meekness and conciliation, as follows: "I reverence, and teach others to reverence old age; but," says he, "it must know there are many infirmities attending it; and is fitter for devotion, than for matters of contention. If Mr. Vicars had told me some experience of the work of God upon his soul, or of the good providence of God towards his people and himself, I should have diligently observed it, and, I hope, I might have got good by it. But, oh, how unbecoming old age is that spirit of contention which appears in his books! If he think those places he has cited will serve his turn, surely his skill in presbytery is not great. My pen was running into a hard expression, but I will not provoke the old man: yet I must be plain with him. How uncomely is it for an old professor of piety and religion, to be found jeering and scorning at piety and religion? Who would have thought that ever Mr. Vicars should have lived to that day? The chief scope of his book is to cast dirt upon the apologists. Certainly the spirit of the man is much altered from what he once seemed to be. Is it becoming the gravity and wisdom of old age to charge his brethren publicly, of unworthy double dealing, and of unfaithfulness? The Lord, I hope, will cause Mr. Vicars to see cause to be humbled for this."\*

When Mr. Burroughs and his brethren were stigmatized as schismatics, he discovered his great mildness and forbearance. "I profess, as in the presence of God," says he, "that upon the most serious examination of my heart, I find in it, that were my judgment presbyterial, yet I should preach and plead as much for the forbearance of brethren differing from me, not only in their judgment, but in their practice, as I have ever done. Therefore, if I should turn presbyterian, I fear I should trouble Mr. Edwards and some others more than I do now: perhaps my preaching and pleading for forbearance of dissenting brethren would be of more force than it is now."†

Dr. Grey, who has called our divine "an ignorant, factious, and schismatical minister," has certainly imitated too much, in rancour and misrepresentation, the example of his predecessors.‡ Mr. Baxter, who knew his great worth, said, "If all the episcopalians had been like Archbishop Usher; all the presbyterians like Mr. Stephen Marshall; and all the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed." The last subject

\* Burroughs's *Vindication*, p. 24, 25.

† *Ibid.* p. 14.

‡ Grey's *Examination*, vol. ii. p. 91.

Mr. Burroughs preached upon, which he also published, was his "Irenicum," or an attempt to heal the divisions among christians. His incessant labours, and his grief for the distractions of the times, are said to have hastened his end. He died of a consumption, November 14, 1646, in the forty-seventh year of his age. Granger says, "he was a man of learning, candour, and modesty, and of an exemplary and irreproachable life."\* Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge.† Dr. Williams says, that his "Exposition of Hosea" is a pleasing specimen, to shew how the popular preachers of his time applied the scriptures, in their expository discourses, to the various cases of their hearers.‡ He published several of his writings while he lived, and his friends sent forth many others after his death, most of which were highly esteemed by all pious christians.

His WORKS.—1. *Moses's Choice*, 1641.—2. *Sion's Joy*, a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Thanksgiving, Sept. 7, 1641—1641.—3. *An Exposition of the Prophecy of Hosea*, 1643.—4. *The Lord's Heart opened*, 1643.—5. *A Vindication of Mr. Burroughs*, against Mr. Edwards his foul aspersions, in his spreading Gangræna, and his angry Antapologia: concluding with a brief Declaration what the Independents would have, 1646.—6. *Irenicum*, to the Lovers of Truth and Peace, 1646.—7. *Two Treatises*: The first, of Earthlymindedness; the second, of *Conversing in Heaven and Walking with God*, 1649.—8. *An Exposition upon 4, 5, 6, and 7th Chapters of Hosea*, 1650.—9. *An Exposition upon 8 and 9th Chapters of Hosea*, 1650.—10. *The rare Jewel of Christian Contentment*, 1650.—11. *Gospel Worship*, 1650.—12. *Gospel Conversation*, 1650.—13. *The Evil of Evils: or, the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin*, 1654.—14. *The Saints Treasury*, 1654.—15. *Three Treatises, of Hope, of Faith, and of the Saints Walk by Faith*, 1655.—16. *Reconciliation, or Christ's Trumpet of Peace*, 165.—17. *The Saints Happiness*, 1660.—18. *A Treatise of Holy Courage in Evil Times*, 1661.—19. *True Blessedness consists in Pardon of Sin*, 1668.—20. *Four useful Discourses*, 1675.

FRANCIS CORNWELL, A. M.—This person was educated at Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Orpington in Kent. During the intolerance of Archbishop Laud, having refused to wear the surplice, to kneel at the sacrament, and use the sign of the cross in baptism, he was cast into prison. His companion in Maidstone gaol was Mr. Wilson of Otham, near that place. About this time, he

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 193.

† Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 147.

‡ Williams's Christian Preacher, p. 433.

espoused the sentiments of the baptists, and became a zealous advocate in the cause. In 1643, he publicly avowed his principles, and wrote in defence of them. In 1644, in a visitation sermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the ministers of those parts, he took the liberty of freely and fully declaring his sentiments upon the subject of baptism. This very much startled some of the clergy present, and offended others. The matter was, therefore, debated among them, and the arguments in favour of antipædobaptism were strongly urged by Mr. William Jeffery of Seven-oaks, who had baptized Mr. Cornwell, and to whom he referred them. The debate was carried on till Mr. Christopher Blackwood, one of the ministers, desired them to desist at that time; for he had taken down the sermon in short-hand, and would return an answer in print, which he hoped would be to the satisfaction of them all. His advice being adopted, it was agreed to postpone, for the present, the discussion of the question, to re-examine the point in dispute, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time, Mr. Blackwood, as our author observes, studied the question with great diligence and close attention. The impression made on his mind was very different from what was expected. As he studied the subject, he began to suspect his own opinions; presently changed his sentiments; and, when they met, he produced his arguments *against* infant baptism. His papers being left with the ministers for their examination, and waiting some time, and receiving no answer to his arguments, he published them with corrections and enlargements.\*

Mr. Cornwell, soon after this, withdrew from the established church. He disapproved of national and parochial churches; and taught, that a church ought to consist of such only as professed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and were baptized by immersion, and upon their believing, which he thought was the pattern of the first churches in Judea. He soon gathered a church in Kent, which was formed upon this plan, and to which he was pastor to the day of his death. He was succeeded in the same place and office by his son. It reflects great honour on Mr. Cornwell's memory, that he was a zealous opposer of persecution and an imposed uniformity. He wrote against the ordinance of parliament that was made

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 344—347.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632—634.

to silence all preachers who had not received episcopal or presbyterian ordination, or who should preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith, and the directory of public worship, set forth by the assembly. He maintained, that all who prohibited any minister from preaching the gospel freely, acted like the Jews of old, who cast the blind man out of the temple, for confessing that Jesus was the Christ.\*

**His WORKS.**—1. A Vindication of the Royal Commission of King Jesus, 1643.—2. A Description of the Spiritual Temple; or, the Difference between the Christian and Antichristian Church, 1646.—3. A Conference between Mr. John Cotton and the Elders of New England, 1646.—4. Two Queries worthy of Consideration.

**THOMAS COLLIER** was a minister of the baptist persuasion, a person of great diligence, moderation and usefulness, and a sufferer in the evil times in which he lived. Edwards denominates him a great sectary, and a man of great power among them; who had emissaries under him, whom he sent abroad into various parts of the country. He preached some time in the island of Guernsey, where he had many converts; but his cruel persecutors would not allow him to enjoy peace. They banished him and many of his followers from the place, and cast them into prison at Portsmouth; but how long they remained under confinement, we are not informed.† On account of his incessant labours and extensive usefulness, he is represented by his adversaries as having done much hurt at Lymington, Hampton, Waltham, and all along the west country. "This Collier," says my author, "is a great sectary in the west of England, a mechanical fellow, and a great emissary, a dipper, who goes about Surrey, Hampshire, and those counties, preaching and dipping. About a fortnight ago, on the Lord's day, he preached at Guildford in the meeting-place, and to the company of one old Mr. Close, an independent minister, who hath set up at Guildford, and done a great deal of mischief, having drawn away many of the well-meaning people from the ministry of other godly ministers. There this Collier exercised; and it was given out in the country, that he was a rare man; and the people came from the towns about to hear him. This fellow, in his circuit, at an exercise where he was preaching to many women for rebap-

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 348, 349.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 41.

tization and dipping, made use of that scripture to that purpose: *And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man,*" &c.\*

In the year 1645, Mr. Collier came forwards in vindication of his sentiments, and published a work, entitled, "Certain Queries, or Points now in Controversy, Examined;" in which, after vindicating his own views of christian baptism, he maintains, that magistrates have no power whatever to establish church government, or to compel any persons by any human power, to observe the government of Christ. In discussing the power of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters, he gives his advice to the parliament to use their utmost endeavours to promote a further reformation of the church; for the attainment of which, he recommends them "to dismiss that assembly of learned men, who are now called together to consult about matters of religion; because he cannot conclude that God hath any thing for them to do; and he knows no rule in the book of God for such an assembly. He also recommends them to go forwards in subduing their antichristian enemies, so far as by civil law they had power. He then concludes by recommending the parliament to give the kingdom to the saints; by which is meant," says he, "not only an external kingdom, but the spiritual kingdom and government of the church of Christ."†

The year following, two of Mr. Collier's letters, addressed to his religious friends, were intercepted, and published to the world. As they discover his piety and usefulness, and contain a sufficient answer to all the impious clamour of Mr. Edwards's scurrilous pen, it will be proper to insert them. The first, dated from Guildford, April 20, 1646, is addressed "To the Saints in the order and fellowship of the gospel at Taunton;" the preamble to which is, "Your dear brother, Thomas Collier, desireth the increase of grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ;" and is as follows:‡

"Dear brethren and sisters,

"I have not had an opportunity of writing unto you until now, although my spirit hath been up to the Lord for you continually. The Lord hath manifested his presence with me exceedingly in my journey. I desire the Lord to raise up your hearts in thankfulness. He hath gathered saints in Pool by me. Fourteen took up the ordinance at once; there is like to be a great work; and I confirmed

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 122.

† *Ibid.* part iii. p. 27—29.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 51.

the churches in other places. I am not yet got so far as London; but I shall, I expect, to-morrow. Dearly beloved, my desire and prayer to our Father, on your behalf, is, that your souls may be satisfied with his fulness, that you may live above, and then you shall not want comfort. My exhortation to you is, to wait upon the Lord, in his own way, and not to look forth into the world. There is bread enough in your Father's house, where he hath promised his presence. Though you seem to want gifts, yet you shall not want the presence of your Father, your Jesus, if you wait upon him. There are two brethren I suppose will visit you from Hampton; brother Sims and brother Row, whom I desire you to receive as from the Lord. The unlimited power of the presbyterians is denied them, of which you shall hear more shortly. I desire to be remembered to all my kind friends with you, and at present rest

“Your dear brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,  
“THOMAS COLLIER.”

In a note to the above letter, Mr. Collier says, “I shall see you as speedily as possible.” His second letter breathes the same pious feelings, and is also addressed “To the Saints in the order and fellowship of the gospel.” It is dated from London, May 2, 1646, and is as follows:\*

“My dear ones in the Lord Jesus,

“I salute you, desiring Him who is our head and husband, our life and liberty, our all and in all, to gather up our souls more abundantly into the glorious unity and fellowship of the Son of God; that you may not live upon these lower things, which are but instruments to convey light and love unto us: I mean, even ordinances, or the like; which indeed are but as a shell without the kernel, further than we enjoy Christ in them. My dear ones, you are in my heart continually, and my desire is to be with you as soon as possibly I can, to impart some spiritual gifts unto you, and to enjoy fellowship in Jesus Christ with you. But what is this? you are upon the heart of Christ; nay, engraven upon his hand, and shall be had in everlasting remembrance before him. I am much in haste at present, the post coming forth of town, only I have sent you these few lines, and two books here enclosed, as a remembrance of my love. I desire to be remembered to all my dear friends with you, and at present rest and remain

“Your dear brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,  
“THOMAS COLLIER.”

\* Edwards's *Gangraena*, part iii. p. 52.

Mr. Collier was author of several other pieces, in addition to the one we have mentioned, which were probably on the controversies of the day. But at what place or places he afterwards preached, or when he died, we are not informed.

PHILIP TANDY was a minister in the established church, but afterwards joined the brethren of the separation, and espoused the sentiments of the baptists, observing the *seventh* day as the christian sabbath. He was remarkably zealous to promote his own views of divine truth, and appears to have been a person of great abilities and piety. Edwards denominates him "a great sectary," who had been at York and in the northern parts, propagating his sentiments. While he was in the north, he held a disputation concerning his opinions, with a pious and learned minister of York. The debate was carried on by letters, in one of which Mr. Tandy remarks as follows: "Let us lay aside tradition, custom, the reputation of learning, and all selfish respects; and let us speak and write so as knowing that we must shortly give an account to Jesus Christ for all that we build, whether it be hay or stubble, gold or wood. For my part, I am confident, that, within a few years, I shall see him whom my soul loveth, and much will it go to my heart, if I either oppose a truth, or maintain an error. Sir, let us look about us: the vail is not yet taken off. In something most good men have been blinded. It may be in this for one. It is good to be tenderly jealous. Pardon me, that I thus exhort you. I see so many temptations that strongly invite even godly men to contend for pædobaptism, and so far do I see, also, into the mystery of antichrist's sitting in the temple of God as God, that I cannot but give a caution to the godliest man upon earth, who undertakes the defence of this practice." Mr. Tandy undertook, in his next letter, to vindicate his own views of baptism and the fourth commandment concerning the sabbath; to which the minister mentioned above wrote a large and full reply, in which, it is said, he confuted him in all the particulars contained in his letter.\* It does not appear at what place Mr. Tandy preached, or when he died, but he was living in the year 1646.

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 54—59.

THOMAS MOORE was a zealous and active preacher among the separatists during the civil wars. Edwards calls him "a great sectary and manifestarian," who, in his opinion, did much hurt in Lincolnshire, in some parts of Norfolk and Cambridgeshire. He obtained great fame at Boston, Lynne and Holland, at which places he had many followers, who accompanied him from place to place, attending upon his ministry. He did not confine his labours to buildings that were consecrated; but, without distinction of places, he preached in houses, and in all places wherever the people were disposed to assemble. It is observed, that he and his followers refused to keep days of public fasting and thanksgiving, in the time of civil wars; "because," says my author, "they will not give thanks to God for one man killing another." On account of his opinions and practice, he was shamefully persecuted by the presbyterian ministers and others of a bigotted, party spirit. At Boston he was questioned by Colonel King, governor of the town, when he was cast into prison for keeping a conventicle in the night season. It does not, however, appear how long he remained under the malice and power of his persecutors, nor what afterwards became of him, only he was living in the year 1646.\*

JOHN DURANCE was a zealous and popular preacher of the independent denomination. Edwards says, "he was formerly an apprentice to a washball-maker in Lombard-street, London, and afterwards became a preacher without being ordained; yea, after preaching some years, he presumed, without ordination, to baptize and administer the Lord's supper." This was certainly a dreadful crime in the opinion of this bigotted writer. He often preached at Sandwich in Kent, but lived at Canterbury, where he gathered a separate church, and dispensed the word and ordinances of the gospel. The author mentioned above, with a view to reproach his memory, gives the following curious account of him: "There is one Master Durance, a preacher at Sandwich in Kent, a bold conceited man, and an independent, who, since the beginning of this parliament, was a washing-ball maker, or seller of washing-balls, here in London, but now turned preacher; and being never ordained minister, hath consecrated himself to be one of the priests of the high places. Among many high affected strains of new light, and strange expressions, which

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 86. iii. 80.

the man uses in his sermons and prayers, to get himself the name of such a rare man, these are some: he prayed to the Trinity to take care of these three kingdoms; God the Father to take care of one, God the Son of the second, and God the Holy Ghost of the third kingdom." This author charges Mr. Durance with having prayed publicly in the church at Sandwich, "that the king might be brought up in chains to the parliament." He also observes, that, after his preaching at Canterbury, he hath the use of a great room near the cathedral, where many resort to him, and "he takes occasion to build them up in independency." Although he preached regularly every week at Canterbury and Sandwich, he would have done the same also at Dover; but he was opposed by the *godly ministers* of the town, who wrote up to London against him, and, by this means, prevented him from going thither. This shews his great zeal and diligence, and their extreme bigotry and intolerance. Mr. Edwards, one of the most bitter enemies to toleration, further charges him with saying, after the surrender of Oxford to the parliament, "that, notwithstanding this, there would be no peace till there was a general liberty of conscience in England." A dreadful crime was this in the eyes of this bigotted writer! Mr. Durance lived in one of the prebendaries houses in Canterbury; and, after preaching on the Lord's day in one of the churches, he preached and administered the ordinances of the gospel to his own church, in his own house, in the evening. How long he continued in this situation, or when he died, we are not able to learn; but he was living in the year 1646.\*

JOHN BATCHELOR was a divine of the independent denomination, who lived some time at Rotterdam in Holland, where he was probably driven by the Laudian persecution. Several of his letters, dated from this place in September, 1641, expressive of the liberal sentiments of the independents, were afterwards printed.† He soon after returned to his native country, and became a chaplain in the army; on which account, and on account of his views of church government, Edwards has classed him among "the notorious sectaries, and those who smell of the army."‡ He was an avowed advocate for liberty of conscience, and a universal toleration, for which he has incurred the hot displeasure and indignation

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 124, 144. iii. 96, 97.

† Edwards's *Antapologia*, p. 39. ‡ *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 266.

of this censorious writer. About the year 1643, he was appointed, with several other learned divines, one of the licensers of the press, for books in divinity. In this office he discovered his generous sentiments, by giving his public sanction to all publications which were founded on the broad and liberal principles of christian freedom and a toleration of all parties. This was sure to incur the indignant censure of Mr. Edwards, who gives the following amusing account of him :

“ Master Batchelor,” says he, “ is the licenser-general of books, not only of independent doctrines, but of books for a toleration of all sects, and against pædobaptism.”\* What a shocking crime was this in the opinion of this bigotted and intolerant writer ! In another place he says, “ There is one Master John Batchelor, licenser-general of the sectaries’ books, and of all sorts of wicked opinions, who hath been a man-midwife to bring forth more monsters begotten by the devil, and born of the sectaries, within this three last years, than ever were brought into the light in England by all the former licensers, the bishops and their chaplains, for fourscore years. He hath licensed books pleading for all sorts of sectaries : as, seekers, antinomians, anabaptists, antiscipiturists, arians, antitrinitarians, questionists, and all blasphemers. This is apparent by his licensing that late wicked pamphlet, called, ‘ Some modest and humble Queries concerning a printed Paper, entitled, ‘ An Ordinance presented to the Honourable House of Commons.’

“ This Master Batchelor hath licensed several pamphlets for a *toleration*; yea, not only for a limited toleration of some sects and opinions, as anabaptists and independents; but for a *universal* toleration of all consciences and opinions, as may be seen in Walwin’s book licensed by him : yea, he hath licensed unlicensed books printed before he was born, as a pamphlet, entitled, ‘ Religious Peace,’ made by one Leonard Busher, and printed in 1614; wherein there is a pleading for a toleration of papists, jews, and all persons differing in religion; and that it may be lawful for them to write, dispute, confer, print and publish, any matter touching religion. That the wickedness of Master Batchelor may the more appear, I desire the reader to observe these following particulars :—He gives not a bare *imprimatur* to this book of Busher’s, but gives his *imprimatur* with a special recommendation in these words : ‘ This useful treatise, entitled, Religious Peace, long

\* Gangræna, part i. p. 38.

since presented by a citizen of London to King James and the high court of parliament then sitting, I allow to be reprinted; and so to some of Saltmarsh's books, Smoak in the Temple; Groans for Liberty; Reasons for Unity; Love and Peace. In the reprinting Busher's book for general toleration, he made some material alterations, and wrote in the margins of such places in the book where some special passages were for toleration, that they should be printed in a larger letter, no doubt that the reader might better observe them."

This intolerant author also adds: "John Batchelor treads in the steps of some licensers who went before him. The man hath justified and acquitted the former licensers, Dr. Baker, Dr. Bray, Dr. Hayward, Dr. Weeks, and the rest of that race, who, in the point of licensing, were saints to him. He hath licensed such books and things, that I am confident none of them durst have done, for fear the people would have risen up and torn them in pieces; and certainly the people would never have borne with such books in the bishops' days. If any man, before the sitting of this parliament, had written or licensed such books, he would without doubt have been questioned and proceeded against by this parliament. This Batchelor is such a desperate licenser, that nothing now in that kind can stick with him, having swallowed down those wicked 'Queries' upon the ordinance against heresies and blasphemies; and," says my author, "I am afraid that if the devil himself should make a book, and give it the title, 'A Plea for Liberty of Conscience, with certain Reasons against Persecution for Religion,' and bring it to Mr. Batchelor, he would license it, not only with a bare *imprimatur*, but set before it the commendations of a *useful treatise*, a *sweet and excellent book*, making for love and peace among brethren."\*

Such are the reproaches cast upon our divine, who was greatly celebrated for christian moderation, liberty of conscience, and free inquiry. He was living in 1646; but where he preached, or when he died, we have not been able to ascertain.

JOHN GREENE had a principal hand in raising a baptist congregation in Crutched-friars, London, in the year 1639, and was chosen to the office of minister.† He was by trade

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 102—105.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 26, 42.

a felt-maker or hat-maker, but he became a zealous and popular preacher. In the year 1641, there was published a quarto pamphlet, entitled, "The Brownists' Synagogue; or, a late Discovery of their Conventicles, Assemblies, and places of meeting; where they preach, and the manner of their praying and preaching; with a relation of the names, places, and doctrines of those which do commonly preach. The chief of which are these: Greene, the felt-maker; Marler, the button-maker; Spencer, the coachman; Rogers, the glover: which sect is much increased of late within this city. A kingdom divided cannot stand." In this work, Greene and Spencer are called the two *arch-separatists*, and are said to be "accounted as demi-gods, who were here and every where." It shews the manner of their worship, which we extract, because it gives some idea of the spirit of the times, and proves that the voice of slander could not attribute any improper conduct to them in their public assemblies. "In the house where they meet," it is said, "there is one appointed to keep the door, for the intent to give notice, if there should be any insurrection, warning may be given them. They do not flock together, but come two or three in a company; and all being gathered together, the man appointed to teach stands in the midst of the room, and his audience gather about him. The man prayeth about the space of half an hour; and part of his prayer is, that those which come thither to scoff and laugh, God would be pleased to turn their hearts; by which means they think to escape undiscovered: His sermon is about the space of an hour, and then doth another stand up, to make the text more plain; and at the latter end he entreats them all to go home severally, lest the next meeting they should be interrupted by those which are of the opinion of the wicked. They seem very steadfast in their opinions, and say, rather than turn, they will burn."\*

During the above year came forth another pamphlet, entitled, "New Preachers, New;" in the epistle to which, the writer, addressing Mr. Greene, says, "Do not these things come from proud spirits, that he, (Mr. Spencer,) a horse-keeper, and you, a hat-maker, will take upon you to be ambassadors of God, to teach your teachers, and take upon you to be ministers of the gospel in these days of light. Consider, I pray you, that our Lord would not have had the ass, (Matt. xxi. 3,) if he had not stood in need of

\* *Brownists' Synagogue*, p: 5, 6.

him. Now the truth is, the church hath no need of such as you, an unlearned, self-conceited hat-maker. It is true, that, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the popish priests and friars being dismissed, there was a scarcity for the present of learned men; and so some tradesmen were permitted to leave their trades, and betake themselves to the ministry; but it was necessity that did then constrain them so to do. But thanks be to God, we have now no such necessity; and therefore this practice of you and your comrades casts an ill aspersion upon our good God, that doth furnish our church plentifully with learned men; and it doth also scandalize our church, as if we stood in need of such as you to preach the gospel. This you call preaching, or prophesying; and thus, as one of them told the lords of the parliament, that they were all preachers; for so they practise and exercise themselves as young players do in private, till they be by their brethren judged fit for the pulpit, and then up they go, and, like mountebanks, play their part.—Mr. Greene, Mr. Greene, leave off these ways: bring home such as you have caused to stray. It is such as you that vent their venom against our godly preachers, and the *divine* forms of prayers; yea, against all set forms of prayers: all is from antichrist; but that which you preach is most divine; *that* comes fresh from the Spirit: the other is an old dead sacrifice, composed (I should have said killed) so long ago, that now it stinks. It is so old, that in the year 1549 it was compiled by Doctor Cranmer, Doctor Goodricke, Doctor Scip, Doctor Thirlby, Doctor Day, Doctor Holbecke, Doctor Ridley, Doctor Cox, Doctor Tailor, Doctor Haines, Doctor Redman, and Mr. Robinson, archdeacon of Leicester; but what are all these? They are not to be compared to John Greene, a hat-maker; for he thinketh what he blustereth forth upon the sudden, is far better than that which these did maturely and deliberately compose." It is not at all wonderful, that, when the church had lost its power to persecute nonconformists, those who still retained the spirit of persecution should indulge in this kind of defamation and ridicule.

However, during this year, Mr. Greene, together with several of his brethren, was complained of to the house of commons, for lay-preaching. He was convened before the house, when he was reprimanded, threatened to be severely punished, if he did not renounce the practice, and then dismissed;\* but whether he obeyed their orders, or still

\* Nelson's Collections, vol. ii, p. 265, 270.

continued to exercise his talents in preaching, we are not able to learn.

Mr. Edwards, in reproaching all who dissented from his presbyterian bigotry, observes of Mr. Greene, that he was one of the first mechanics, who, presently after the meeting of the long parliament, preached publicly in the churches in London; and that afterwards, in the year 1644, he accompanied Colonel Hemstead to Trinidad. After his return, he stately preached in Coleman-street, once on the Lord's day, and once on a week day; where, in the year 1646, to use the words of our author, "there is so great a resort and flocking to him, that yards, rooms, and house are all so full, that he causes his neighbours' conventicles, and others, to be oftentimes very thin, and independents to preach to bare walls and empty seats, in comparison of this great rabbi."\* Crosby mentions one Mr. John Green, who survived the restoration, and who endured cruel persecution with the rest of his brethren; but it does not appear whether this was the same person.†

JOHN PRICE was a zealous preacher among the independents, during the civil wars. Edwards styles him "an exchange-man, a beloved disciple of Mr. John Goodwin, and one of his prophets; who used to preach for him when he had any book to answer, or some libertine tractate to set forth." He then gives the following account of him: "This Master Price contents not himself to preach only in London, but I hear that he was lately at Bury St. Edmunds; that he there preached in a house, and maintained certain dangerous and heretical opinions; as, that men might be saved who were not elected, and that if men improve nature well, God will surely give them grace. So that it seems this exchange-man sells other wares besides independency and separation, and does with feigned words make merchandize of men's souls." This scurrilous writer adds: "Master Price was also at a meeting here in London, where some of several sects, seekers, antinomians, anabaptists, brownists, independents, met with some presbyterians, to consider how all these might live together, notwithstanding their several opinions; and he was, as all the sectaries were, for a *general toleration*; and they agreed together like buckle and thong, only the presbyterians were not satisfied."

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 248, 249.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 82.

In the year 1646, Mr. Price published several pamphlets on the controversies of the day. One was written in defence of independency; two others were replies, one to the City Remonstrance, the other to a Vindication of the Remonstrance. In politics he seems to have been of republican principles, ascribing the supreme power of the kingdom to the house of commons; and this is all that we know of him.\*

Mr. SYMONDS was beneficed at Sandwich in Kent, during the civil wars; styled by Edwards, "a great independent, and a great sectary." If we are to give credit to this writer, he was of a high and imperious spirit, and, in his views of church discipline, remarkably rigid and severe.† He relates of him what he calls "a merry story," which is as follows: While he was at Sandwich, a person came to him to be catechized; but, instead of performing the duty of his office, he sent him to a mechanic of the town to do it for him; and when he was expostulated with, and asked why he had done so, he replied, "that one goose might best teach another to eat." The author applies and improves this story by adding, "so merry are our most demure independents."‡

The following account of Mr. Symonds we give in the words of this writer. "There is one Mr. Symonds, a great sectary," says he, "who came to London since the wars, and preached at little Alhallows, Thames-street, and at the Tower, where I have been informed, that he hath preached several strange things: as, for *toleration*, and liberty for all men to worship God according to their consciences, and in favour of *antipadobaptism*. Also preaching once at Andrew's, Undershaft, for Mr. Goodwin, he preached high strains of antinomianism: as, that Christ was a legal preacher, and lived in a dark time, and so preached the law, but afterwards the gospel came to be preached. Afterwards, preaching at Lawrence Poultney, on the day of thanksgiving for taking Sherborn castle, he spake of the great victories the saints, meaning the independents, had obtained; and yet the parliament was now making laws against these saints. As at London he hath preached thus; so since he left London, this last summer, he preached at Bath before the General strange stuff, viz. against presbytery, saying it was a limb of anti-christ, pleading for liberty of conscience, and for those who

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 160, 161.

† *Ibid.* p. 108, 109.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 76.

would not have their children baptized till they came to years of understanding, and for weavers and ignorant mechanics preaching; when he spake of these men's gifts, and their having the Spirit, before learned men and men bred at universities, with a great deal of this stuff. It is a sad thing, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, that valiant and well-affected gentleman, should have such kind of chaplains and preachers upon all occasions to preach before him. I have spoken the more of this Mr. Symonds, because I hear he is nominated one of the itinerary preachers of Wales; that so the country and ministers may be aware of him; and that the assembly, when he comes to be approved of, may do their duties, and not let him pass so easily as they did Mr. Cradock.\*

From this curious narrative it appears that Mr. Symonds was of the baptist persuasion; and it is further observed, that he was approved and appointed by the house of commons to preach in Wales. He was living in the year 1646; but was a different person from Mr. Joseph Symonds, pastor of the church at Rotterdam in Holland, a brief memoir of whom is given in the next article.†

JOSEPH SYMONDS was some time the worthy assistant of Mr. Thomas Gataker, at Rotherhithe, near London; but afterwards he became rector of St. Martin's, Ironmongers'-lane, in the city. Having espoused the sentiments of the independents, he forsook the church of England, left his benefice, and went to Holland. After his departure, Archbishop Laud, in the year 1639, pronounced against him the sentence of deprivation, by which the good man lost his living, after he had given it up.‡ Mr. Symonds having sacrificed his benefice, to escape the storm of persecution, settled at Rotterdam, where he was chosen pastor to the English church, in the place of Mr. Sydrach Sympson. In this situation, his deportment and his doctrine were particularly conciliatory, and his labours eminently useful.§ Mr. Edwards, to reproach his sentiments and to cloud his memory, says, "that his independent church at Rotterdam was overgrown with anabaptism; and that he wrote to his friends in England, saying, he was so pestered with anabaptists, that he knew not what to do."|| Mr. Robert Park, afterwards one of

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 241, 242.

† *Ibid.* p. 131, 243.

‡ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 559.

§ Baillie's *Dissuasive*, p. 84, 175.

|| Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 16.

the ejected nonconformists, was his assistant in the pastoral office.\* It appears that he was living in the year 1646, and still pastor of the church at Rotterdam. Though he was an independent, Edwards styles him "one of the most moderate and modest of that way."† Several pieces, written by a person of the same name, occur in the Sion and Bodleian catalogues.‡ Though pastor of a church in a foreign land, he was sometimes called to preach before the parliament, as appears from one of his sermons afterwards published with this title, "A Sermon lately preached at Westminster, before sundry of the Honourable House of Commons, 1641: By Joseph Symonds, late minister in Ironmongers'-lane, London, now pastor of the Church at Rotterdam."

**HENRY BURTON, B. D.**—This painful sufferer for nonconformity was born at Birdsall in Yorkshire, in the year 1579, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. His first public employment was that of a tutor to the sons of Lord Carey at Leppington, who, in 1625, was created Earl of Monmouth, and whose lady was governess to Prince Charles in his infancy. It was probably owing to the interest of this honourable person, that he was made clerk of the closet to Prince Henry, and, after his death, to Prince Charles. In the year 1623, he was appointed to attend the young prince to Spain; but, for reasons unknown, he was set aside, even after part of his goods were shipped.§ On that prince's accession to the crown, he expected no less than to be continued in the clerk's office; but his majesty giving that place to Neile, Bishop of Durham, Mr. Burton is said to have been so highly disgusted, that he warmly expressed his resentment on all occasions, particularly by railing against the bishops. "The vapours of ambition fuming in his head," says Clarendon, "he would not think of less than still being clerk of the closet. Being thus disappointed, and, as he called it, despoiled of his right, he would not in the greatness of his heart, sit down with the affront, but committed two or three such weak and saucy indiscretions, as caused an inhibition to be sent him, that he should not presume to come any more to court." The principle of

\* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 355.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 243.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 5.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 152.

these weak and saucy indiscretions, as they are called, was, that in April, 1623, he presented a letter to King Charles, remonstrating against Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, his majesty's constant attendants, as being much inclined to popery; which was certainly too true. "From that time," adds the noble historian, "he resolved to revenge himself upon the whole order of bishops; and so turned lecturer, and preached against them, being endowed with malice and boldness, instead of learning and any tolerable parts."\*

The above slanderous accusation is founded in ignorance, or prejudice, or both, as will appear to all who will only read his works with impartiality. Indeed, Mr. Burton afterwards affirmed his right to the above office, and that Bishop Neile cast him out through envy; and added: "but this was ordered by the special providence of my God, who would not suffer me to rise high at court, lest I should have been corrupted with its preferments."† From what he has published to the world, he appears to have been furnished with considerable parts, and to have been no mean scholar. He was courageous in the cause of truth, and a man of a warm spirit; which led him, on certain occasions, to discover some degree of heat and indiscretion. The oppressions and cruelties of the prelates were sufficient to make a wise man mad. But that he resolved to revenge himself upon them, and turned lecturer for that purpose, is easily asserted, but not easily proved. Indeed, the charge of his turning *lecturer* at all, is certainly incorrect; for in the above year he was presented to the rectory of St. Matthew's, Friday-street, London.

Mr. Burton was a person of a most heroic spirit, and never feared the appearance of an enemy, as appears from the account he gave of himself. Speaking of his various citations before Laud, his courage was such, that he says, "I was not at any time before him, but methought I stood over him, as a schoolmaster over his scholars: so great was the goodness of God towards me. Being convened before the high commission for my book, entitled, 'Babel no Bethel,' Harsnet Archbishop of York, having run himself out of breath with railing against me and my book; and saying, that I had dedicated my book to the parliament, to incense them against the higher powers, (meaning the king,) I answered, 'No, my lord, I am none of those who divide the king and parliament, but I pray God unite them together!'"

\* Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 158.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 814.

† Burton's Narration of his Life, p. 2. Edit. 1643.

He afterwards describes the prelatical innovations and usurpations, and how he set himself to oppose them, saying, "I more and more disliked the prelates' usurpations, and tyrannical government, with their attempts to set up popery. Therefore I purposely preached upon the second chapter to the Colossians, crying down all will-worship and human inventions in God's service. I began in my practice, as in my judgment, to fall off from the ceremonies. Only I watched for an occasion to try it out with them, either by dint of arguments, or force of law, or by the king and his council, resolving either to foil my adversaries, though I had no great hope of success; or, at least discover the mystery of iniquity and hypocrisy, which, like a white veil, they had cast over all their foul practices. This discovery I took to be of no small importance. I saw how every day they got ground in the hearts of the simple and credulous, as if all they did was to maintain the protestant religion; when under that specious colour, the withered whore of Babylon came in naked at the first, till at length she began to shew her painted face in her superstitions, altar-service, and other garbs. And as they laboured to undermine and overthrow the true protestant religion, and set up popery; so they did not seek less to overthrow the civil state, with its good laws, and just liberties of the subject, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."\* What degree of truth is contained in these strictures on the character and proceedings of the ruling prelates, those who are conversant with the history of the times will easily determine; and this will in part appear in the course of the present narrative.

Mr. Burton was a great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity. He felt the shocking intolerance and cruelties of the ruling prelates, especially those of Bishop Laud. In the year 1626, he was convened before the high commission, when he would have received the censure of the ruling ecclesiastics, had not the judges interposed and granted a prohibition, which they might do according to law, by which he was at that time rescued from his cruel oppressor.† Mr. Burton having published a book entitled, "The Baiting of the Pope's Bull; or, an Unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Breave or Bull, sent from the Pope lately into England, to cause a Rent therein, for his Re-entery," 1627; though the book was wholly against the pope and his dangerous bull, and was licensed by

\* Burton's Narration, p. 8, 9.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 155.

Dr. Goad, he was called before the council by the instigation of Laud, who spoke vehemently against the book, calling it a libel. Afterwards, he published another work against popery, entitled, "The Pouring out of the Seven Vials," 1628; for which he was prosecuted in the high commission by this prelate, and the book suppressed. And when he published his book, entitled, "Babel no Bethel," wholly against the church of Rome, this prelate employed his pursuivant to apprehend him; committed him to the Fleet, refusing bail when offered, contrary to the petition of right; suspended him from his benefice; and suppressed the book.\* About the same time, his "Trial of Private Devotions," 1628, against Dr. Cosins; and his "Plea to an Appeal, in refutation of divers Arminian and Popish Errors broached by Mountague in his *Appello Cæsarem*," were both called in and suppressed, by the severity of this intolerant ecclesiastic.†

How long Mr. Burton remained under the above suspension, and a prisoner in the Fleet, we have not been able to learn. He was afterwards released. This, however, was to him only the beginning of sorrows. November 5, 1636, he preached two sermons at his own church in Friday-street, from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22, *My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change, &c.* in which he laid open the late innovations in doctrine, worship, and ceremonies, and warned his hearers against them. Dr. Laud, now archbishop of Canterbury, hearing of this, caused articles to be exhibited against him in the high commission, and summoned him to answer them, out of term, before Dr. Duck. On his appearance, he was charged with having "spoken against turning communion tables into altars, against bowing to them, against setting up crucifixes, against saying the second service at the altar, and against putting down afternoon sermons on the Lord's day." Enormous crimes, indeed, were these! He was, moreover, charged with having said, "that ministers might not safely preach upon the doctrines of grace without being troubled for it; and that the ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk were suspended for nonconformity to the rites and ceremonies, imposed upon them contrary to the laws of the land."

\* It is curious to observe, that while Mr. Burton was treated thus for writing against popery, one Chowney, a fierce papist, published a book in defence of popery, for which he was neither punished nor even questioned; but was permitted to dedicate his work to Laud, who favoured it with his loyal and episcopal patronage!!—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 21.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 185.

These charges amounting, it is said, to *sedition*, he was required to answer upon his oath, and so to become his own accuser: but he refused the oath; and, instead of answering, appealed to the king. Notwithstanding his appeal, within fifteen days he was summoned, by the direction of the archbishop, to appear before a special high commission at Doctors' Commons; when, in his absence, he was suspended from his office and benefice, and attachments were given out to apprehend him.\*

Under these oppressive proceedings, Mr. Burton kept himself close shut up in his own house; and, to give an impartial public a fair opportunity of deciding upon his case, he published his sermons, entitled, "For God and the King; the Summe of two Sermons preached on the fifth of November last, in St. Matthewes, Friday-street, 1636;" with "An Apologie for an Appeale," addressed to the king, the lords of the council, and the learned judges.† The pursuivants of the high commission not daring to break open Mr. Burton's doors, the archbishop and the bishop of London, with several others, drew up a warrant to one Dendy, a sergeant at arms, to apprehend him.‡ By virtue of this warrant, Dendy, accompanied by the sheriff of London, and various other armed officers, went the same evening to Mr. Burton's house in Friday-street, and between ten and eleven o'clock at night, violently broke open his doors, took him into custody, and seized his books and papers, as many as they pleased. The next day, instead of being brought before the lords, as the warrant expressed,

\* Burton's Apologie for an Appeale, p. 4, 15.—Prynne's Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, p. 14. Edit. 1641.

† Mrs. Burton his wife, venturing to present copies of these sermons to several of the lords in parliament, was committed to prison for her pains.—*Ibid.*

‡ The following is a copy of the warrant:—"To Edward Dendy, esquire, one of his majesty's sergeants at arms. These shall be to will and require you to make your immediate repair to any place where you shall understand of the present being of Henry Burton, clerk, and having found him, to take him into your custody, and to bring him forth with and in your company (all delays and excuses set apart) before us, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against him. And you are further, by virtue hereof, to require and charge all mayors, sheriffs, justices, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and all others, his majesty's officers and loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the full and due execution of this service, whereof neither they nor you may fail at your perils. And this shall be unto you and them a sufficient warrant. Dated at the star-chamber, the first of Feb. 1637.

" W. Cant.

Henry Vaine,

Arundall and Surry,

" Guil. London.

Tho. Coventry,

J. Coke."

*Ibid.* p. 14, 15.

he was, by another warrant, and without any cause assigned, committed close prisoner to the Fleet.\*

During Mr. Burton's close confinement, two anonymous publications came forth, the one entitled, "A Divine Tragedy, containing a Catalogue of God's late Judgments upon Sabbath-breakers;" the other, "News from Ipswich," discovering the innovations and severities of the prelates, especially Bishop Wren of Norwich. These were supposed to have been written by Mr. William Prynne, the lawyer. Dr. John Bastwick, a physician, having published a book, entitled, *Apologeticus ad præsules Anglicanos*, and a pamphlet, called, "The New Litany;"† these three, Mr. Burton, Mr. Prynne, and Dr. Bastwick, now confined in prison, were prosecuted in the star-chamber, for "writing and publishing seditious, schismatical, and libellous books against the hierarchy, and to the scandal of the government." This was the substance of the indictment. They had warmly reflected upon the bishops, taxed them with inclinations to popery, and exclaimed against the severity and injustice of the proceedings of the high commission. The persons then in power were of too impatient and revengeful a temper to let such reflections and invectives go unpunished.‡

When the three defendants had prepared their answers to the indictment, they could not obtain counsel to sign them, through fear of the prelates; upon which they petitioned the court to receive them from themselves, which was rejected. However, Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick, having no other remedy, left their answers at the office, signed by their own hands, but were, nevertheless, proceeded against *pro confesso*. Mr. Burton prevailed upon Mr. Holt,

\* The following is a copy of this second warrant:—"To the warden of the Fleet or his deputy. These are to will and require you to receive into your custody, the person of Henry Burton, clerk, sent herewith unto you, and to keep him a close prisoner in the Fleet, not suffering any one to speak with him until further order, whereof you may not fail at your perils, and this shall be your warrant. Dated from Whitehall, the second of Feb. 1637.

"W. Cant. Arundall and Surry, T. Jermyn and Jo. Coke,  
Guil. London, Pembroke and Mountgomery, Fra. Windebanke."

*Prynne's Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 16. Edit. 1641.

† In the indictment against the three prisoners, it is said, that Dr. Bastwick had signified in his "Litany," in the name of his wife, who was great with child, that he was desirous of father William's holiness (meaning Laud) and William London, the principal governor of the treasury, being godfathers to his child, not doubting that he should procure the whore of Babylon, with whom they had so long committed fornication, to be god-mother.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xxxiii. p. 229, 230.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 680. Edit. 1778.

a learned and an aged bencher of Gray's-inn, to sign his answer; but the court, instead of receiving it, even when signed, ordered the two chief justices to expunge what they deemed unfit to be brought into the court. Accordingly, they struck out the whole answer, consisting of forty sheets of paper, except a few lines at the beginning, and a few more at the end: and because Mr. Burton would not acknowledge it thus purged, he was, in like manner, proceeded against *pro confesso*.\*

The three prisoners were brought to the bar June 14, 1637, when they offered to defend their several answers at the peril of their lives; but the court, finding them not filed on record, would not receive them. The prisoners at the bar cried aloud for *justice*, and that their answers might be read; but, however reasonable their request, it was peremptorily denied. During the trial, Prynne and Bastwick having been examined, the learned judges came next to the case of Mr. Burton, which was as follows:

Lord Keeper. Mr. Burton, what say you?

Burton. My good lords, your honours, it should seem; do determine to censure us, and take our cause *pro confesso*, although we have laboured to give your honours satisfaction in all things. My lords, what have you to say against my book? I confess, I did write it; yet did I not say any thing out of intent of commotion or sedition. I delivered nothing but what my text led me to, being chosen to suit with the day, namely, the fifth of November.

L. Keeper. Mr. Burton, I pray stand not naming texts of scripture now; we do not send for you to preach, but to answer to those things which are objected against you.

Burton. My lord, I have drawn up my answer, to my great pains and charges; which answer was signed with my counsel's hand, and received into the court according to the rule and order thereof. And I did not think to have been called this day to a censure; but to have had a legal proceeding by way of bill and answer.

L. Keeper. Your answer was impertinent.

Burton. My answer, after it was entered in the court, was referred to the judges, but by what means I do not know; and what cause your lordships had to cast it out, I know not. But after it was approved of and received, it was cast out as an impertinent answer.

Lord Finch. The judges did you a good turn, to make it

\* Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 14—18, 40—43.

impertinent; for it was as libellous as your book: so that your answer deserved a censure alone.

L. Keeper. What say you, Mr. Burton, are you guilty or not?

Burton. My lord, I desire you to peruse my book, not only here and there, but every passage of it.

L. Keeper. Mr. Burton, time is short. Are you guilty, or not guilty? What say you to that which was read? Doth it become a minister to deliver himself in such a railing and scandalous way?

Burton. In my judgment, and as I can prove it, it was neither railing nor scandalous. I conceive, that a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain. I being a pastor of my people, whom I had in charge, and was to instruct, I supposed it was my duty to inform them of those innovations that are crept into the church, as likewise of the danger and ill consequences of them. As for my answer, ye blotted out what ye would, and then the rest, which made best for your own ends, you would have to stand; and now for me to tender only what will serve for your own turns, and renounce the rest, were to desert my cause; which, before I will do, or desert my conscience, I will rather desert my body, and deliver it up to your lordships to do with it what you will.

L. Keeper. This is a place where you should crave mercy and favour, Mr. Burton, and not stand on such terms as you do.

Burton. Wherein I have offended through human frailty, I crave pardon of God and man. And I pray God, that, in your sentence, you may so censure us that you may not sin against the Lord.\*

Thus, while Mr. Burton and his fellow-prisoners desired to say more for themselves, they were interrupted, and commanded silence; when the following dreadful sentence was passed upon them: "That Burton shall be deprived of his ecclesiastical benefice, degraded from his ministerial function and degrees in the university, as Prynne and Bastwick have been from their professions of law and physick;† they

\* Harleian Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 17. Edit. 1745.

† Mr. Prynne having published his "Histrio-Mastix," a book against plays, masquerades, &c. it gave great offence to Archbishop Laud, who, in the year 1633, procured a sentence against him in the star-chamber, "That he should be disabled from the practice of the law, be degraded from his degree in the university, be set in the pillory, have both his ears cut off, his book burnt by the common hangman, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during life;" which sentence was rigorously

shall be fined each *five thousand* pounds; they shall stand in the pillory at Westminster, and have their ears cut off; and because Prynne hath already lost his ears, by sentence of the court in 1633, the remainder of the stumps shall be cut off, and he shall be stigmatized on both his cheeks with the letters S. L. for a *seditions libeller*; and they shall suffer perpetual imprisonment, in three of the remotest prisons of the kingdom, namely, in Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster castles." Previous to the execution of this terrible sentence, Mr. Burton's parishioners sent a petition to the king, signed by a great number of hands, humbly entreating his pardon and liberty. It was presented by two of them, who were immediately committed to prison for their pains.\* And, June 30th, the sentence was executed upon the three prisoners, the hangman sawing off the remainder of Prynne's ears, rather than cutting them.†

These three men were of the three most credible professions, and not of the meanest character in their several faculties. Nevertheless, they are called by many bigotted historians, these *fellows*, these *pillory-men*, these stigmatized-scoundrels: when, in fact, the truly stigmatized, as our author observes, were their persecutors, who really deserved the punishment which these injured gentlemen suffered. Their crime, if any they were guilty of, was not against any law of the land, but the tyrannical oppressions of the prelates.‡

On passing the above sentence, Archbishop Laud made a long and laboured speech, to clear himself from the charge of *innovations*, with which he was branded by the puritans. Though Laud was the chief prosecutor of these unfortunate sufferers, and his hand was first put to their numerous warrants, he made, in this speech, the following declarations: "I can say it clearly and truly, as in the *presence of God*, "I have done nothing, as a prelate, to the uttermost of what "I am conscious, but with a *single heart*, and with a *sincere* "*intention* for the good government and honour of the

executed. At the same time, Dr. Bastwick having published his *Elenchus Papismi et Flagellum Episcoporum Lattalium*, against the papists, declaring he intended nothing against our bishops, but only those of Rome, he was, nevertheless, sentenced in the high commission, "to fine a *thousand* pounds, to be excommunicated, debarred the practice of physic, his book to be burnt, and to be imprisoned till he made his recantation."—*Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 18, 21.

\* Strafforde's Letters, vol. ii. p. 57. Edit. 1739.

† Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 382.—Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 61.

‡ Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, p. 53.

“ church,\* and the maintenance of the orthodox truth and “ religion of Christ, professed, established, and maintained “ in this church of England.” Was the conscience then of this reverend prelate become so callous, that, by continued acts of cruelty and oppression, he had lost all feeling for his fellow-creatures? In the conclusion of the above speech, still addressing the lords who constituted the court, he even adds:—“ I humbly give you all *heartly thanks* for your *just* “ and *honourable censure* upon these men, and your *unanimous* “ *dislike* of them!”† No one will for a moment dispute their unanimous dislike of them; but whether this, as well as the *just* and *honourable* censure put upon them, was deserving the *heartly thanks* of a learned and pious archbishop, will certainly be questioned. An impartial writer very justly observes, that as the punishment of these men was exorbitant, and disproportionate to the offence, it was then, and hath been ever since, looked upon by all merciful and unprejudiced persons with horror and detestation.‡

The morning when the prisoners were to suffer their heavy sentence, Mr. Burton being brought to the Palace-yard, Westminster, and beholding the pillory, he said, “ Never was my wedding-day so welcome and joyful to me as this day is; and so much the more, seeing I have so noble a captain, who hath gone before me with so undaunted a spirit, that he saith of himself, ‘ I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair.’ The Lord God will help me; therefore, I shall not be confounded. Shall I be ashamed of a pillory for Christ, who was not ashamed of a cross for me?” Then being put in the pillory, he addressed the immense crowd of spectators, saying, “ Good people, I am brought hither to be a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men. And though I stand here to undergo the punishment of a *rogue*; yet, unless it be the property of a *rogue* to be a faithful servant of Christ, and a loyal subject to the king, I am clear from any such charge. But if to be Christ’s faithful servant, and the king’s loyal subject, deserve such kind of punishment as this, I glory in it, and bless God my conscience is clear. I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy of these sufferings.

\* The character given of his grace by Lord Clarendon, very much accords with the good opinion he had of himself. “ No man,” observes the noble historian, “ was ever more plentifully replenished with a good conscience, and most sincere and worthy intentions, and a man of immense virtue.”—*Clarendon’s Hist.* vol. i. p. 51.

† *Laud’s Speech annexed to Troubles*, vol. ii. p. 67—84.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 682.

I bless God, I am full of comfort." With a grave and cheerful countenance he added: "I was never in such a pulpit before. Little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes (meaning the pillory) God can bring light to his church. My conscience, in the discharge of my ministerial duty, in admonishing my people to beware of the *creeping in of popery*, and in exhorting them unto a dutiful obedience to God and the king, was that which first occasioned my sufferings. The truth which I have preached, I am ready to seal with my own blood, and this is my crown both here and hereafter." When he was delivered out of the pillory, and again brought upon the scaffold, the executioner cut off his ears in a most barbarous manner;\* during which, and while the blood was streaming in every direction, he manifested the greatest constancy and composure of mind, saying, "Be content; blessed be God, it is well;" and much more to the same purpose.† Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick had this part of their sentence executed at the same time and place.

The day preceding the execution of the above sentence, it was decreed in the star-chamber, "That Henry Burton shall be sent to Lancaster castle, William Prynne to Carnarvon castle, and John Bastwick to Launceston castle, and there suffer perpetual imprisonment, and not be allowed any use of pen, ink, or paper, or any other book than the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and certain books of devotion; and no person to have access to them." Accordingly, July 26th, Dr. Bastwick was taken from the Gatehouse; the day following, Mr. Prynne was taken from the Tower; and, July 28th, Mr. Burton was taken from the Fleet; and, their sores not being cured, were conveyed to their respective places of confinement. As they passed out of the city, vast multitudes of people came forth to witness their departure, taking their final and sorrowful farewell. As Mr. Burton passed from Smithfield to Brown's-well, a little beyond Highgate, it is said that no less than one hundred thousand persons were collected to witness his departure, and that his wife, going along in a coach, had great sums of money thrown to her as she passed along.‡ But the liberty given to Mr. Burton and his fellow-sufferers to speak in the pillory; and the affection

\* His ears were pared so close, that the temporal artery being cut, the blood gushed out in torrents upon the scaffold. The sight of this awakened the compassion and cries of an immense concourse of people.—*Fuller's Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 155.—*Strafforde's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 85.

† *Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 46—60.

‡ *Strafforde's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 114.

and compassion of the populace, were highly offensive to Laud's proud spirit; as appears from his letter to Wentworth, dated August 28, 1637: \* "What say you to it," observes the intolerant prelate, "that Prynne and his fellows should be  
 "suffered to talk what they pleased while they stood in the  
 "pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have  
 "notes taken of what they spake, and those spread in written  
 "copies about the city; and that when they went out of  
 "town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands  
 "suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God  
 "knows what else?—And I hear Prynne was very much  
 "welcomed, both in Coventry and West-Chester, as he  
 "passed towards Carnarvon."† A writer of some eminence observes, that nature seemed to have designed Laud for the office of an inquisitor. He was fierce and unrelenting in his

\* *Strakorde's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 99.

† Mr. Prynne, on his way from London to Carnarvon, spent the Lord's day at Coventry; where he twice attended divine service at church, and several persons, his friends, visited him at the inn, his conductors having received no orders to the contrary. Archbishop Laud hearing of this, immediately sent a messenger to Coventry, to bring the mayor and six others up to London, and convened them before the council-table. Though most of them never spoke to Mr. Prynne, they were obliged to a continued attendance for some time, and put to two or three hundred pounds expense, when they were reprimanded and dismissed. On Mr. Prynne's arrival at Chester, Mr. Calvin Brewen and some others visited him at the inn, assisted him in the purchase of some necessary furniture for his chamber at Carnarvon, and manifested certain other acts of kindness towards him. But by the direction of Laud, pursuivants were sent with warrants to apprehend them, and bring them before the high commission at York; when some were fined three, and some five hundred pounds, and forced to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds each, not only to abide by the further appointment of that court, but to make such public acknowledgment in the cathedral of Chester, and before the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, in the town-hall, as the commissioners should prescribe. Also, these pious high commissioners hearing that there were five paintings of Mr. Prynne, in the possession of his friends in Chester, they not only prosecuted the poor painter, but sent forth two warrants, first to deface the paintings, then to burn them. Accordingly, the inoffensive paintings were apprehended and defaced, and then publicly burnt at the high-cross in Chester, in the presence of the mayor, aldermen, and citizens. It is curious further to observe, that the Bishop of Chester, who took an active part in these barbarous proceedings, out of enmity to Mr. Prynne, called his crop-eared horse by the name of Prynne. Thus the angry and revengeful prelates, not gladdened by the severe sentence obtained against Mr. Prynne, pursued and grievously oppressed those who, as he was conveyed to prison, shewed him any acts of civility. Mr. Prynne's servant was also severely prosecuted in the high commission, and sent from prison to prison, only for refusing to accuse his master. The archbishop, who was leader in all these barbarous proceedings, and whom Granger considers eminent for sincere and ardent piety, seemed destitute of the feelings of humanity. — *Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny*, p. 92—108.—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 280.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 159.

disposition, void of mercy and compassion, and grudged those whom his rage and despotic power had reduced to very great extremities, even the pity and relief of friends. What worse character can exist? Who can be more justly odious to every man, than a vain mortal armed with power, and using it to wreak his vengeance on his foes? Ought not the memory of such wretches to be treated with a proper indignation? \* These are certainly strong expressions; but how much truth they contain is left with the candid reader to judge.

While the three prisoners were on their way to their distant places of confinement, the tyrannical archbishop, not content with the order sent along with them, procured a fresh one, dated July 30, 1637, which was sent after them, and by which he obtained a more severe imprisonment. In this order there appeared, however, one clause in favour of the prisoners, that, during their close imprisonment, his majesty would give them allowance of their *food*. The whole order was as follows: "Whereas Henry Burton is, by the late sentence of the high court of star-chamber, to be committed to the goal, in the castle of Lancaster, and there to be kept close prisoner. Their lordship's conceiving that the said Burton cannot be in a common goal kept so close a prisoner as by the said sentence is intended; upon consideration thereof, do hereby will and require the constable or other chief officers of the said castle of Lancaster, and his deputy or either of them, to suffer the sheriff of the county of Lancaster, or the keeper of the said goal, still to use such room or chamber without the said goal, and within the said castle, as shall be most fit and convenient to keep the said Burton a close prisoner there: and that none of the other prisoners, or any other person or persons, be permitted to come into the said castle to confer or in any way to converse with the said Burton, such only excepted as are to take care of his safety, or to attend the said Burton to give him daily sustenance and relief. And the said Burton is not to be permitted to have the use of any pen, ink, or paper, or any book or books save only the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and such other *canonical books*, as he shall desire for his comfort and devotion, and which are consonant to the religion professed in the church of England. In regard of which close imprisonment, his majesty will give allowance for his diet, for all which this order shall be a sufficient warrant unto the said constable,

\* Harris's Life of Charles I. p. 231, 232.

“ or other chief officer of the said castle of Lancaster, and to his deputy, and the goaler aforesaid.”\* Though this order might seem to make some atonement for the numerous severities inflicted upon them, and be intended to blind the eyes of the people; instead of receiving his majesty’s favour, not one of them, through the influence of the reverend prelates, received one penny of the royal bounty; and if their friends and keepers had not been more charitable than their lordships, they would soon have perished in their prisons.

Great numbers of persons, who pitied these unhappy sufferers, having resorted to the places where they were confined, the relentless archbishop, to add afflictions to the afflicted, and to deprive them of all possibility of receiving comfort or relief from their wives, relations, or friends, procured an order for their perpetual banishment and close imprisonment, in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly. This order, now before me, is much the same as that which followed them to their other places of confinement, only it contains this additional severity: “ That no letters or writings be permitted to be brought to the said prisoners, nor from them, to any person or place whatsoever. And that the wives of the said Burton and Bastwick (Prynne not being married) shall not be permitted to land on any of the said islands; and if they or either of them shall be found so offending, such offender or offenders shall forthwith be committed to prison. And that in conveying the said prisoners to the said islands, no person whatsoever, besides those who have the care and charge of them, shall be permitted to speak with them.” What greater cruelty ever appeared in the Spanish Inquisition, or among the barbarities of the Algierians? According to the above order, Mr. Burton, contrary to his sentence in the star-chamber, and without any cause shewn, was removed from the castle of Lancaster to Castle-cornet in the island of Guernsey; where he arrived December 15, 1637, and was shut up in a low, narrow, dark room, almost suffocated for want of air, and no one allowed to see or speak to him. Dr. Bastwick was also removed from the castle of Launceston to the castle on the island of Scilly; and Mr. Prynne from Carnarvon to the castle of Montorgueil in Jersey, where they were shut up close prisoners.†

These oppressive and illegal proceedings, however gratify-

\* Prynne’s Prelates’ Tyranny, p. 84.

† Ibid. p. 61—68.

ing they might be to the spirit of Archbishop Laud, will rouse the pity and indignation of every generous and pious mind. The learned Mosheim, in allusion to these shocking severities, observes, "That a violent spirit of animosity and persecution discovered itself through the whole of Laud's ecclesiastical administration. This haughty prelate executed the plans of his royal master, and fulfilled the views of his own ambition, without using those mild and moderate methods, that prudence employs to make unpopular schemes go down. He carried things with a high hand. When he found the laws opposing his views, he treated them with contempt, and violated them without hesitation. He loaded the puritans with injuries and vexations, and aimed at nothing less than their total extinction."\*

The three prisoners remained in the above remote islands, under most severe usage, till the year 1640. During this period, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick, as widows forcibly divorced from their husbands, often petitioned his majesty, and the lords of the council, for liberty to visit them, or that they might reside on those islands where they were imprisoned, or that they might be shut up in close prison with them. But, by the sovereign power and influence of Laud, their petitions were all rejected. Though the archbishop could never be prevailed on to forgive the three sufferers, he said, "He humbly beseeched God to forgive them." One of the prisoners, however, obtained some mitigation of his afflictions. For, upon the petition of Sir Thomas Jermin, governor of Jersey, being presented to the king, in behalf of Mr. Prynne, he was allowed to attend divine service, and receive the sacrament in the castle, and to walk with his keeper in the gardens. But as soon as the unmerciful archbishop heard of the royal indulgence, he fell into a violent rage, and sent a messenger for one Mr. Hungerford, who had been employed in procuring it, and convened him before the council.†

In the above year, the prisoners were called home by order of the parliament. For, November 7th, Mrs. Burton and Mrs. Bastwick having presented petitions to the house of commons, in behalf of their husbands, complaining of their heavy sentence in the star-chamber, the house immediately ordered, "That their said husbands shall be forthwith sent for, in safe custody, by a warrant of the house, directed to the governors of the islands where they are pri-

\* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 393.

† Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 110.

soners, and to the captains of the castles there; that the cause of their being detained may be here certified."\* This warrant is dated November 7, 1640. A petition was also presented in behalf of Mr. Prynne, when the house gave a similar order for his return.

Mr. Burton and Mr. Prynne coming in the same vessel, arrived at Dartmouth on the 22nd of November, where they were received and entertained with extraordinary demonstrations of affection and joy. In the whole of their journey to the metropolis, they were attended with a marvellous conflux of people, and not only their charges borne with great magnificence, but liberal presents given them. This kind of treatment they met with all the way, great numbers of people meeting them at their entrance into all the towns through which they passed, and waiting upon them some distance out, with wonderful acclamations of joy. As they approached the metropolis, the road betwixt Brentford and London was so full of coaches, horsemen, and persons on foot, come to meet them, and congratulate them on their safe arrival, that it was with difficulty they could ride one mile an hour. As they entered London, there was so immense a concourse of people, that they were nearly three hours in passing from Charing-cross to their lodgings in the city. The numerous crowds who escorted them into the city, in token of their great joy, carried lighted torches before them, strewed the road with herbs and flowers, put rosemary and bays in their hats, and, as they went along, with loud acclamations for their deliverance, shouted, *Welcome home, welcome home! God bless you, God bless you: God be thanked for your return.*†

On November 30th, being two days after his arrival in London, Mr. Burton appeared before the house of commons, and, December 5th, presented his petition to the house, entitled, "The humble Petition of Henry Burton, late Exile, and close Prisoner in Castle-cornet, in the Isle of Guernsey." In this petition he gives a sketch of his numerous and painful sufferings, and concludes by recommending his case to their impartial consideration; but the whole is too long for our insertion.‡ On the presentation of the petition, with many others of a similar kind, the house appointed a committee for their examination; and on the 12th of March following,

\* Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 112.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 20.—Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 499.

† Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 113, 114.

‡ Ibid. p. 127—130.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 78, 79.

Mr. Rigby delivered their report to the house, when the house passed the following resolutions :

1. " That the four commissioners, Dr. Duck, Dr. Worral, Dr. Sams, and Dr. Wood, proceeded unjustly and illegally in suspending Mr. Burton from his office and benefice, for not appearing upon the summons of the first process.

2. " That the breaking up Mr. Burton's house, and arresting his person without any cause shewed, and before any suit depended against him in the star-chamber, and his close imprisonment thereupon, are against the law and the liberty of the subject.

3. " That John Wragg hath offended in searching and seizing the books and papers of Mr. Burton, by colour of a general warrant dormant from the high commissioners ; and that the said warrant is against law and the liberty of the subject ; and that sergeant Dendy and alderman Abel have offended in breaking open the house of Mr. Burton, and ought respectively to make him reparation for the same.

4. " That Mr. Burton ought to have reparation and recompence for the damages sustained by the aforesaid proceedings of Dr. Duck and others, who suspended him from his office and benefice.

5. " That the warrant from the council-board, dated at Whitehall, February 2, 1637, for committing Mr. Burton close prisoner, and the commitment thereupon, is illegal, and contrary to the liberty of the subject.

6. " That the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Arundal and Surrey, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Sir H. Vane, Sir J. Coke, and Sir Francis Windebank, do make reparations to Mr. Burton for his damages sustained by this imprisonment."

The 24th of the same month, Mr. Burton's case being again brought before the house, it was further resolved :

1. " That the sentence in the star-chamber against Mr. Burton is illegal, and without any just ground, and ought to be reversed, and he ought to be freed from the fine of £5000, and the imprisonment imposed upon him by the said sentence, and to be restored to his degrees in the university, orders in the ministry, and to his ecclesiastical benefice in Friday-street, London.

2. " That the order of the council-board for transferring Mr. Burton from the castle of Lancaster to the isle of Guernsey, and his imprisonment there, are against law and the liberty of the subject.

3. " That the said Mr. Burton ought to have reparation

and recompence for the damages sustained by the said imprisonment, loss of his ears, and other evils sustained by the said unjust and illegal proceedings.”\*

On the 20th of April, the house of commons voted Mr. Burton to receive *six thousand* pounds for his damages sustained, but the confusions of the times prevented the payment of the money. And by an order of the house, dated June 8, 1641, he was restored to his former ministry and benefice in Friday-street.† Mr. Prynne and Dr. Bastwick also presented their petitions to the house, when their cases were taken into consideration, and the house passed similar resolutions in their favour.‡

On Mr. Burton's restoration, he formed a church after the model of the independents; and he appears to have greatly prospered in his public ministry. Wood represents him as severe in the exercise of church discipline; that he would admit none to the Lord's supper besides members of his own church, or any to baptism besides the children of such; that he challenged a power of examination into the lives and conversation of members, casting out whom he pleased, and not admitting them till they gave satisfaction to the church; and that he would not administer the Lord's supper at *Easter*.§ But this author further observes, that towards the close of his life, he became more moderate; and he lived till after the beheading of his old master, King Charles I. Herein,

\* Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 139—141.—Rushworth's Collect. vol. v. p. 207, 213.—Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 781, 794.

† Prynne's Prelates' Tyranny, p. 145.

‡ Mr. Prynne was afterwards chosen member of the long parliament. He was a man of a courageous spirit, and boldly stepped forwards to correct every enormity in church and state. He was, perhaps, one of the hardest students that ever existed. He was called one of the greatest paper-worms that ever crept into a library. Wood supposes that he wrote a sheet for every day of his life, computing from the time of his arrival to man's estate to the day of his death. He says, "his custom was, when he studied, to put on a long quilted cap, which came an inch over his eyes, serving as an umbrella to defend them from too much light; and seldom eating a dinner, would every three hours, or more, be mouncing a roll of bread, and now and then refresh his exhausted spirits with ale." This voluminous writer was author of about *two hundred* books, which he gave, in forty volumes folio and quarto, to the public library of Lincoln's-inn. On the restoration of Charles II., some one asked the king what must be done with Prynne, to make him quiet. "Why," said his majesty, "let him amuse himself with writing against the catholics, and in poring over the records of the Tower." To enable him to do the latter, Charles made him keeper of the records of the Tower, with a salary of five hundred pounds a year. He died October 24, 1669.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 311—327.

§ Ibid. p. 460.

however, he is mistaken; for Mr. Burton was buried January 7, 1647, aged sixty-eight years.\*

The memory of this zealous and faithful servant of Christ has suffered the reproach and contempt of most of our bigotted historians; but, from the foregoing narrative, his manifold and painful sufferings stand as a monument of disgrace to the government under which he lived, and especially as a lasting reproach to Archbishop Laud.† Some, indeed, have not been ashamed to assert, that his heavy sentence, with that of his fellow-sufferers, was *just and necessary*.‡ But, says Granger, “The punishment of these men, who were of the three great professions, was *ignominious and severe*. The indignity and severity of their punishment gave general offence; and they were no longer regarded as criminals, but confessors.”§

His WORKS, in addition to those already mentioned. — 1. A Censure of Simony, 1624.—2. Israel's Fast, or Meditations on the seventh Chap. of Joshua, 1628.—3. Truth's Triumph over Trent, or the great Gulph between Sion and Babylon; that is, the irreconcilable Opposition between the Apostolic Church of Christ and the Apostate Synagogue of Antichrist, in the main and fundamental Doctrine of Justification, 1629.—4. The Law and the Gospel reconciled against the Antinomians, 1631.—5. The Christian's Bulwark, or the Doctrine of Justification, 1632.—6. Exceptions against Dr. Jackson's Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes, 163.—7. Jesu Worship Confuted: or, certain Arguments against Bowing at the Name of Jesus, proving it to be Idolatrous and Superstitious, and so utterly unlawful: With Objections to the contrary fully Answered, 1641.—8. The Sounding of the two last Trumpets: or, Meditations on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh Chapters of Revelation, 1641.—9. The Protestation Protested; or, a short Remonstrance shewing what is principally required of all those who take the last Parliamentary Protestation, 1641.—10. England's Bondage and Hopes of Deliverance, a Sermon preached before the Parliament, 1641.—11. A Narration of his own Life, 1643.—12. A Vindication of Independent Churches, in Answer to Mr. Prynne, 1644.—13. Parliament's Power for Laws in Religion, 1645.—14. Truth Vindicated against Calumny, in a brief Answer to Dr. Bastwick's two books, entitled, ‘Independency not God's Ordinance,’ 1645.—15. Truth shut out of Doors; or, a brief Narrative of the Occasion and Manner of Proceeding of Aldermanbury parish in shutting their Church-door against him, 1645.—16. Truth still Truth, though shut out of Doors, 1646.—17. Conformity's Deformity, in a Dialogue between Conformity and Conscience, 1646.—18. Relation of Mr. Chillingworth.

\* Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. b. xiv. p. 22.

† The portraits of Archbishop Laud and Mr. Burton, both whole lengths, were published in one print. The prelate is represented as vomiting up his own works, and Mr. Burton holding his head. The print is extremely scarce and curious.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 152.

‡ Vernon's *Life of Heylin*, p. 91. Edit. 1682.

§ *Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

**HENRY WILKINSON, B. D.**—This worthy divine was born in the vicarage of Halifax, Yorkshire, October 9, 1566, and educated in Merton college, Oxford. He was a near relation to Sir Henry Savile, by whose favour he was elected probationer fellow of the college; and in the year 1601, he became pastor of Waddesdon in Buckinghamshire, where he continued in the laborious and faithful exercise of his ministry forty-six years. He married the only daughter of Mr. Arthur Wake, another zealous puritan divine, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. She was a person of most amiable character, and they lived together in mutual affection upwards of fifty years. He was a man of considerable learning and piety, and being an old puritan, says Wood,\* was elected one of the assembly of divines. But it is said that he spent most of his time among his parishioners, by whom he was exceedingly beloved and revered.

Mr. Wilkinson was author of "A Catechisme for the use of the Congregation of Waddesdon," oftentimes printed. Also "The Debt-book; or, a Treatise upon Rom. xiii. 8. wherein is handled the civil debt of money or goods," 1625; and several other articles. The celebrated Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Margaret professor at Oxford, and ejected at the restoration, was his son.† Mr. Neal very much confounds the one with the other.‡ Mr. Wilkinson died at Waddesdon, March 19, 1647, aged eighty-one years. His mortal remains were laid in the chancel of his own church, where, against the south wall, was a monumental inscription erected, of which the following is a translation:§

**HENRY WILKINSON,**  
 forty-six years the faithful pastor of this church,  
 was born the ninth day of October, 1566,  
 and died the nineteenth day of March, 1647.  
 He married SARAH  
 the only daughter of ARTHUR WAKE  
 of *Sawey Forest* in the county of *Northampton*,  
 with whom he lived in holy concord fifty-three years,  
 and by whom he had nine children,  
 six sons and three daughters.  
 The remains of the aforesaid SARAH WILKINSON,  
 who lived to the age of seventy years,  
 were laid by the side of her husband,  
 leaving us an example  
 of a most upright and holy life,

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 59.

† Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 241.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 54.

§ Ward's *Gresham Professors*, p. 213, 214.

and a reputation scarcely to be exceeded.  
 JOHN WILKINSON, son of the above,  
 who died December 18, 1664,  
 aged sixty-one years,  
 was also interred  
 near them.

THOMAS COLEMAN, A. M.—This learned and pious divine was born in the city of Oxford, in the year 1598, and educated in Magdalen college, in that university. Having entered upon the ministerial work, he became vicar of Bliton in Lincolnshire; but he was persecuted, and afterwards driven from the place for nonconformity. On the commencement of the civil wars, he fled for refuge to London, was made rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, and chosen one of the assembly of divines. He frequently preached before the parliament; and, October 15, 1643, when both houses took the covenant, he preached before the lords, giving some explanation of it. He observed on this occasion, "that by prelacy, as used in the covenant, was not meant all episcopacy, but only the form therein described."\* In 1644, he was appointed one of the committee of examination and approbation of public preachers. The year following, in the grand debate of the assembly, concerning the divine right of the presbyterian mode of church government, he gave his opinion against it; and openly declared, both in the assembly and from the pulpit, that if the divine right of presbyterianism should ever be established by public authority, he was apprehensive it would prove equally arbitrary and tyrannical as the prelacy had been. He therefore proposed that, under present circumstances, the civil magistrate should have the power of the keys till the nation should be brought into a more settled state.†

Mr. Coleman was of erastian principles respecting church government; but he fell sick during the above debate; and some of the members waiting upon him, he desired they would not come to any conclusion till they had heard what he had further to offer upon the question. But his complaint increasing, he died in a few days, and the whole assembly paid the last tribute of respect to his memory by attending his funeral solemnities, March 30, 1647. Wood says, "he was so accomplished an Hebrean, that he was commonly denominated *Rabbi Coleman*;" and adds, "that he behaved

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 49.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 261.

both modestly and learnedly in the assembly."\* Fuller styles him "a modest and learned divine, equally averse to presbytery and prelacy."†

From the eminent talents, learning, and moderation of this excellent divine, we might suppose that even bigotry itself would lie dormant; but this unhappy temper, ever influenced by party principles, and to promote a party interest, will break through all difficulties, to blacken the memory of real worth. Mr. Coleman, in common with many of his brethren, is the subject of public calumny. The zealous historian, speaking of those divines who preached before the parliament, says, "Another of these brawlers, who seldom thought of a bishop, or the king's party, but with indignation, was Mr. Thomas Coleman. In one of his sermons, he thus rants against the church of England, and violently persuades the parliament to execute severe justice upon her children. 'Our cathedrals in a great part are of late become the nests of idle drones, and the roosting places of superstitious formalists. Our formalists and government, in the whole hierarchy, are become a fretting gangrene, a spreading leprosy, an insupportable tyranny. Up with it, up with it to the bottom, root and branch, hip and thigh: destroy these Amalekites, and let their place be no more found. Throw away the rubs; out with the Lord's enemies, and the land's. Vex the Midianites; abolish the Amalekites, or else they will vex you with their wiles, as they have done heretofore. Let popery find no favour, because it is treasonable; prelacy as little, because it is tyrannical.'

"This," our author adds, "was rare stuff for the blades at Westminster, and pleased them admirably well. Therefore they straitly order Sir Edward Aiscough and Sir John Wray, to give the zealot hearty thanks for his good directions, and to desire him by all means to print it; which accordingly he did, and, in requital of thanks, dedicates his fury to their worships; where he falls to his old trade again, very prettily by his art of rhetorick, calling the king's army partakers with atheists, infidels, and papists; saying, 'it hath popish masses, superstitious worships, cold forms in the service of God: it is stored with popish priests: it persecutes God's ministers, painful preachers: it doth harbour all drunken, debauched clergy, or idle, non-preaching, dumb ministry, our ambitious tyrannical prelacy, and the sink and dregs of the times; the receptacle of the filth of the present and former ages, our

\* Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 52.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 213.

spiritual court's-men.' This man's railing," he adds, "pleased the commons so well, that they could think of no man fitter to prate when their wicked league and covenant was taken than he; which accordingly he did to the purpose, tickling their filthy ears with the same strains of malice; impudently affirming, 'That none but an atheist, papist, oppressor, rebel, or the guilty, desperate cavaliers, and light and empty men, can refuse the covenant:' and so concludes with reflection upon the king's party, as idolaters. And for this stuff, Colonel Long must be ordered to give him thanks from the house."\*

Admitting the correctness of our author's extracts, there was certainly too much truth in many of Mr. Coleman's remarks, though some of them perhaps require a degree of limitation. It is, however, a certain fact, which many of our zealous historians seem willing to forget, that "their worships, the blades at Westminster," whose "filthy ears were tickled with the preacher's strains of malice," and who thanked him for his sermons, desiring him to print them, even the commons in parliament, as well as the lords, were, according to Clarendon, all members of the established church.† Yet, such is the foul language of the above bigotted and peevish writer, that his prejudices and party feelings appear without restraint, while he pours forth his abundant slander and contempt upon men of the worthiest character.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Christian's Course and Complaint*, both in the pursuit of Happiness desired, and for Advantages slipped in that pursuit; a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons on the monthly Fast, Aug. 30, 1643; at St. Margaret's Westminster, 1643.—2. *The Heart's Engagement*, a Sermon preached at St. Margaret's Westminster, at the public entering into the Covenant, 1643.—3. *God's unusual Answer to a Solemn Fast*, a Sermon preached to both Houses of Parliament, at their public Fast, Sep. 12, 1644—1644.—4. *A Brotherly Examination Examined: or, a clear Justification of those Passages in a Sermon; against which Mr. Gillespie did preach and write, 1646.*—5. *A short Discovery of some Tenets which intrench upon the Honour and Power of Parliaments.*—6. *A Modell, &c.*

**EPHRAIM PAGET** was born in Northamptonshire, in the year 1575, and educated in Christ's college, Oxford. He was the son of Mr. Eusebius Paget, a celebrated puritan divine, and a great sufferer for nonconformity. He was so great a proficient in the knowledge of the languages, that

\* Foulis's *Hist. of Plots*, p. 183, 184.

† Clarendon's *Hist.* vol. i. p. 184.

upon his admittance into the university, the Greek professor sought his acquaintance, and derived much assistance from him. At the age of twenty-six years, he understood and wrote *fifteen* or *sixteen* languages.\* Having completed his studies at the university, he became minister at St. Edmund's church, Lombard-street, London, where he continued many years. While in this situation, he entered into the conjugal state, and married Lady Bord, widow of Sir Stephen Bord, of a worthy family in Sussex. Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he was a great sufferer; and he was so much troubled and molested, says Wood, that, merely for the sake of quietness, he left his benefice in his old age, being then commonly called *old father Ephraim*. He retired to Deptford in Kent, where he spent the remainder of his days in retirement and devotion. He entered upon the joy of his Lord in the month of April, 1647, aged seventy-two years. His remains, according to his last will and testament, were laid in Deptford church-yard.†

Though his name is enrolled among the sufferers in the royal cause, he is with justice classed among the puritans. Many excellent divines, who were dissatisfied with the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, and even with episcopacy itself, were nevertheless, during the national confusions, great sufferers on account of their loyal attachment to his majesty and the civil constitution. Their zeal for the king and his cause exposed them to the severity of the opposite party. This appears to have been the case with Mr. Paget. He was decided in his attachment to his majesty's interest and the civil constitution, for which he was a sufferer in those evil times; yet he was opposed to the ecclesiastical establishment, as well as the cruel oppressions of the prelates. Therefore, in the year 1645, being only two years before his death, he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in presenting a petition to the lords and commons in parliament, for the establishment of the presbyterian discipline.‡ He wrote with great bitterness against the independents, baptists, and other sectaries, by which he exposed himself to the resentment of his enemies. "Error and heresy," it is said, "began to take deep root, and to spread far and wide over the face of the earth; he, therefore, set himself to discover them, and root them up, when he published his 'Heresiography.' Hence sprung his trouble;"

\* Paget's Heresiography, Pref. Edit. 1662.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 52.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. Appen. p. 87—89.

and it is added, "the enemies of goodness making that the ground of their malice, which he wrote to undeceive and bring them into the way of truth. Upon this he was persecuted, reviled, slandered, and, through false suggestions, suffered even imprisonment itself. He bore up manfully, and suffered patiently whatever their malice could inflict, till at last the Lord in mercy put an end to his misery, and received him to himself."\* He was an excellent preacher, and his sermons were as pleasant as they were profitable, drawing the hearts of his auditors, as by a bait of pleasure, to that which is good.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *Christianographie: or, a Description of the multitudes and sundry sorts of Christians in the world not subject to the Pope.*, 1636.—2. *A Treatise of the Ancient Christians in Britany*, 1640.—3. *Heresiographie: or, a Description of the Heresies of later Times*, 1645.—4. *The Mystical Wolf*, a Sermon on Matt. vii. 15., 1645.

**THOMAS HOOKER.**—This excellent divine was born at Marfield in Leicestershire, in the year 1586, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, of which he became fellow. He acquitted himself in this office with such ability and faithfulness as commanded universal admiration and applause. During his abode at Cambridge, he was brought under such deep convictions of sin, that his mind was overwhelmed with extreme horror. The anguish of his soul, under a sense of his sin and desert, was inconceivable. He was ready to exclaim, "While I suffer thy terrors, O Lord, I am distracted." Afterwards, speaking of these mental exercises, he said, "In the time of my distress, I could reason to the rule of duty, and see there was no other way of relief but by submission to God, and by lying at the feet of Jesus Christ, humbly waiting for his favour; but when I applied the rule to myself, and endeavoured to put it in practice, my reasoning failed me, and I was able to do nothing." Having laboured under the spirit of bondage for a considerable time, he received light and comfort, and his mind became powerfully and pleasantly attached to holy and heavenly contemplations. It now became a custom with him, when retiring to rest at night, to select some particular promise of scripture, upon which he meditated during his wakeful hours. In this he found so much improvement and comfort, that he recommended others to adopt the same practice.

\* Paget's Heresiog. Pref.

† Lloyd's Memoires, p. 510.

Mr. Hooker having tasted that the Lord was gracious, resolved to employ his time and his talents in the work of the ministry, when he commenced preaching in London and its vicinity. He soon became celebrated for his ministerial endowments, particularly in comforting persons under spiritual distress. In the year 1626, having been disappointed of a desired settlement at Colchester, he was chosen lecturer at Chelmsford, one Mr. Mitchel being the incumbent. His lectures were soon numerously attended, and a remarkable unction and blessing attended his preaching. A pleasing reformation also followed, not only in the town, but likewise in the adjacent country. By a multitude of public houses in the town, and by keeping the shops open on the Lord's day, the people of Chelmsford had become notorious for intemperance and the profanation of the sabbath. But by the blessing of God, so plentifully poured out upon Mr. Hooker's ministry, these vices were banished from the place, and the sabbath was visibly sanctified to the Lord. His zealous and useful labours, however, were not continued very long. For in about four years his difficulties were so great, on account of his nonconformity, that he gave up his pulpit and commenced teaching school. He could not defile his conscience by the observance of the superstitious ceremonies: he had rather give up his pulpit and his public ministry, which he dearly loved, than sacrifice the "testimony of a good conscience."

Though the best and most delightful employment of this worthy servant of Christ was gone, his *influence* was not lost. This was wholly employed to promote the Redeemer's cause. He engaged the various ministers in the vicinity of Chelmsford, to establish a monthly meeting for fasting, prayer, and religious conference. By his influence, several pious young ministers were settled in the neighbourhood, and others became more established in the fundamental doctrines of the gospel. Indeed, so great was his popularity, and so high his reputation, when silenced, that no less than *forty-seven* conformist ministers of his acquaintance, presented a petition to the Bishop of London; in which they testified, "That they knew and esteemed Mr. Hooker to be orthodox in his doctrine, honest in his life and conversation, peaceable in his disposition, and in no wise turbulent or factious." But these powerful mediators could not prevail. Mr. Hooker being stigmatized as a puritan, must be buried in silence. He was bound, about the year 1630, in a bond of fifty pounds, to appear before the high commission; but this

bond, by the advice of his friends, he forfeited, preferring it as a lesser evil to pay so great a sum, than fall into the hands of the ruling prelates, whose tender mercy was cruelty.\*

Mr. Hooker, to avoid the storm of persecution, fled to Holland. He had no sooner taken shipping, and the vessel got under sail, than the enraged pursuivants arrived on the shore, but happily too late to reach him. During the passage, the ship was in the utmost danger of being lost; but this holy man, in this perilous situation, exercised an unshaken confidence in God, who sent a remarkable deliverance. In Holland, he preached about two years at Delft, as assistant to Mr. Forbes, an aged and excellent Scotch minister. He was next called to Rotterdam, where he was employed for some time as colleague to the celebrated Dr. William Ames. The greatest friendship and affection subsisted betwixt these two learned divines. The latter declared, that, notwithstanding his acquaintance with many scholars of different nations, he had never met with a man equal to Mr. Hooker, either as a preacher or a learned disputant. He assisted Dr. Ames in composing his celebrated work, entitled, "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship." But Mr. Hooker not finding Holland agreeable to his wishes, and a number of his friends in England inviting him at this time to accompany them to America, he returned to his native country to prepare for the voyage. He was no sooner come to England, than the bishop's pursuivants were again employed to apprehend him. At one time they were upon the very point of taking him, and even knocked at the door of the chamber in which he and Mr. Samuel Stone were employed in friendly conversation. Mr. Stone went to the door; when the officers demanded whether Mr. Hooker was there. "What Hooker?" replied Mr. Stone. "Do you mean Hooker who once lived at Chelmsford?" The officers answered, "Yes, that is he." "If it be he whom you look for," observed Mr. Stone, "I saw him about an hour ago at such a house in the town: you had best hasten there after him." The officers taking this evasion for a sufficient account, went their way, while Mr. Hooker concealed himself more securely, till he went on board in the Downs. He sailed for New England in the year 1633, when Mr. Stone and Mr. Cotton, both celebrated puritans, accompanied him in the same ship. Mr. Hooker arriving at Newtown,

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 58—61.

afterwards called Cambridge; and being most affectionately received by his old friends, who had gone over the preceding year, he said, "Now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."

Great numbers soon after following these adventurers from England, Newtown became too narrow for them: accordingly, in 1636, Mr. Hooker, with many of his friends, removed to a fertile spot on the delightful banks of the river Connecticut, which they called Hartford. There he lived all the rest of his days, and was deservedly esteemed "as the father, the pillar, and the oracle of the new colony." As a preacher, he was remarkably animated and impressive; not only his voice, but every feature in his countenance, spoke the ardour of his soul. All was life and reality in his descriptions. His preaching was not that theatrical affectation which is exhibited by men who paint for admiration, but that zeal which is kindled by a coal from God's altar. His moving addresses flowed from his own exquisite relish of divine things, and an impassioned desire of promoting them in the hearts of others. His success, like his services, was very eminent. A profane man, for the purpose of diversion, once said to his companions, "Come, let us go and hear what bawling Hooker will say to us." For the sake of sport, they all went to Chelmsford lecture. Conviction presently seized the mind of this person. The word of God became quick and powerful, and he retired with an awakened conscience. Also, by the subsequent instructions of Mr. Hooker, he became an humble follower of Christ; and afterwards followed this worthy minister to New England, that he might enjoy the benefit of his preaching as long as he lived. At another time, one of his enemies hired a fiddler to play in the church-yard and the church-porch, with a view to disturb him in his sermon; but the design had not the least effect upon Mr. Hooker's mind: he went on with his sermon in his unabated zeal and vivacity. When the man went to the door to hear what he said, his attention was instantly caught; conviction immediately seized his conscience; and at the conclusion of the service, he made his humble confession to Mr. Hooker, and ever after lived a religious life. By the application of his doctrine, he had a surprising talent for teaching and awakening the consciences of his hearers.

This learned divine was remarkable for humility and a holy dependence upon God. This will appear from the following circumstance. Some time after his settlement at Hartford, having to preach among his old friends at Newtown, on a Lord's day in the afternoon, his great fame had collected

together a vast concourse of people. When he came to preach, he found himself so entirely at a loss what to say, that, after a few shattered attempts to proceed, he was obliged to stop, and say, that what he had prepared was altogether taken from him. He therefore requested the congregation to sing a psalm while he retired. Upon his return, as our author observes, he preached a most admirable sermon, holding the people two hours, in a most extraordinary strain both for pertinence and vivacity. After the public service was closed, some of his friends speaking to him of the Lord's withholding his assistance, he meekly replied, "We daily confess that we have nothing, and can do nothing, without Christ; and what if Christ will make this manifest before our congregations? Must we not be humbly contented?"\*

Mr. Hooker wished to be abased, and the Lord alone to be exalted. He dreaded outward ease and prosperity, as that which was most likely to bring the Lord's people into spiritual adversity. When at the land's end, taking his final leave of England, he said, "Farewell, England; I expect now no more to see that religious zeal, and power of godliness, which I have seen among professors in that land. Adversity has slain its thousands, but prosperity its ten thousands. I fear that those who have been zealous christians in the fire of persecution, will become cold in the lap of peace."

He was highly celebrated as a man of prayer. He used to say, "Prayer is the principal work of a minister; and it is by this he must carry on the rest." Accordingly, he devoted one day in every month to private prayer and fasting, besides the observance of many such days publicly with his people. It was his settled opinion, that if professors neglect these duties, "iniquity will abound, and the love of many wax cold." His prayers in public were fervent, but not long, and singularly adapted to the occasion. As he proceeded his ardour usually increased; and, as the last step in Jacob's ladder was nearest heaven, the close of his prayer was mostly a rapture of devotion; and "his people," it is said, "were often surprised with the remarkable answers to his prayers."

Though Mr. Hooker's natural disposition was irascible, he acquired a wonderful command of his temper. He was always ready to sacrifice his own apprehensions to the better reasons of others. The meanest of his brethren, and even children, were treated by him with endearing condescension.

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iij. p. 62, 63.

One instance it may not be improper to mention. A neighbour of his having sustained some damage; when Mr. Hooker meeting a boy notorious for such mischief, warmly accused and censured him. The boy denied the charge, but he continued his angry lecture. "Sir," said the boy, "I see you are in a passion; I'll say no more to you;" and then ran off. Mr. Hooker finding, upon inquiry, that the boy could not be proved guilty, sent for him, and humbly confessed his fault, which, with the good council he gave him, made a deep and lasting impression on the mind of the boy.

Notwithstanding Mr. Hooker's great condescension, he did not in the least degrade or depreciate his holy function. When he mounted the pulpit, he appeared with so much majesty and independence, that it was pleasantly said of him, *He would put a king in his pocket*. Judges, princes, and peasants equally shared in his pointed reproofs and solemn admonitions. He possessed an excellent talent for solving cases of conscience, and set apart one day in the week for any of his people to come to him and propose their scruples and difficulties. Though his own preaching was generally very practical and experimental, he recommended young ministers, when first settled, as well for their own benefit as that of their people, to preach the whole system of divine truth. He had a happy method in the government of the church. He would propound nothing to the church assembly till it had been previously considered by several of the principal brethren; and if at any time he saw an altercation beginning to rise in the church, he would put off the vote till another opportunity; previous to which, he would visit, and generally gain over, those who objected to what appeared the most proper to be adopted. He used to say, "The elders must have a church within a church, if they would preserve the peace of the church."

This holy and heavenly divine desired not to outlive his work. His last sickness was short, and he said little. When his opinion was asked concerning certain important points, he replied, "I have not that work now to perform. I have declared the council of God." One of his brethren observing to him, that he was going to receive his *reward*, "Brother," said he, "I am going to receive *mercy*." Afterwards, he closed his eyes with his own hands, and, with a smile on his countenance, he expired, July 7, 1647, aged sixty-one years.\* He was justly styled "the grave, the godly,

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 76—78.

the judicious, the faithful, and the laborious Hooker." That peace which he enjoyed in his own mind, through believing in Christ, for the space of thirty years, continued firm and unshaken to the last.\* Mr. Henry Whitfield gives the following testimony of his worth: "I did not think," says he, "there had been such a man on the earth, in whom there shone so many incomparable excellencies; and in whom learning and wisdom were so admirably tempered with zeal, holiness, and watchfulness." And for his great abilities and glorious services in both Englands, says Mr. Ashe, he deserves a place in the first rank of those worthies whose lives are preserved.† Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.‡

His WORKS.—1. The Soul's Implantation into Christ, 1637.—2. The Unbeliever's Preparing for Christ, 1638.—3. The Soul's effectual Calling to Christ, 1638.—4. The Soul's Humiliation, 1640.—5. A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, 1648.—6. The Doubting Christian drawn to Christ, 1652.—7. The Application of Redemption by the Word, 1656.—8. The Spiritual Rule of the Lord's Kingdom.—9. Farewell Sermon on Jer. xiv. 9. published in Mr. Fenner's Works.—And probably some others.

JOHN SALTMARSH, A. M.—This person was descended from a respectable and ancient family of the same name at Saltmarsh in Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he enjoyed the patronage and support of Sir John Metham, his kinsman. He was a person of a fine, active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; but no friend to bishops and ceremonies.§ About the year 1641, he became minister at Northampton, afterwards at Braisted in Kent, and, at length, was chosen to the office of chaplain in Sir Thomas Fairfax's army; where, to his great honour, he is said to have always preached up peace and unity. He meddled not with matters of discipline, but wholly laboured to draw souls from sin to Christ.¶ He afterwards openly declared his sentiments concerning the war, saying, "That all means should be used to keep the king and people from a sudden union; that the war being against popery, should be cherished, as the surest means to engage the people; and that if the king would not, in the end, grant their demands,

\* Morton's Memorial, p. 125.

† Mather's Hist. of New. Eng. b. iii. p. 64—69.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Camb. p. 147.

§ Fuller's Worthies, part iii. p. 212.

¶ Wood's Athene Oxon. vol. ii. p. 122.

then to root him out, together with the royal line, and appoint the crown to some other person." These sentiments were laid before the house of commons, and they underwent a particular examination; but it does not appear whether he was sentenced to receive any kind of punishment. During this examination, however, one of the members said, "He saw no reason to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh; for it was better that one family should be destroyed than many."\*

Mr. Saltmarsh employed his pen in controversy with several learned divines, among whom was Dr. Thomas Fuller, the historian. This person having preached a sermon on "reformation," which he afterwards published, Mr. Saltmarsh published his animadversions upon it, in which he charged him with several points of popery. Fuller, however, defended his former arguments, in a piece under the title of "Truth Maintained," in which he challenged Saltmarsh to reply; but he declined the contest, giving this reason for it, that he would not shoot his arrows against a *dead mark*, being informed that Fuller was dead. He also engaged in controversy with the celebrated Mr. Thomas Gataker, Mr. John Ley, Dr. John Bastwick, Mr. Thomas Edwards, and others. It is said that the very titles of some of his pieces seemed to have some tincture of enthusiasm, if not of frenzy in them.†

Mr. Edwards, who employs his presbyterian bigotry in reproaching his memory, gives the following account of him:—"There is one Mr. Saltmarsh, a man who hath of late writ many trashy pamphlets, fully stuffed with all kinds of errors, ignorance, and impudence, and hath been well answered and baffled by three learned divines. I am still in his debt for some passages in his "Groans for Liberty," and "Reasons for Unity, Love and Peace," against my first and second part of "Gangræna," and shall say in this third, I purpose to reckon with him once for all, in another tractate. This Master Saltmarsh, the last half year, hath much followed the army: a fit place for him. When Oxford was taken, he was one of those famous preachers who preached at St. Mary's: as fit a man to credit the parliament and the reformation with the university, as his brother Peters. Master Saltmarsh being to preach in the army on a fast-day this summer, made a preface by way of apology, that he preached not for the fast: he would not be understood as preaching upon that occasion, or that his sermon was a fast sermon."

\* Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 68.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 2053, 2054. Edit. 1747.

This writer also adds: "He hath been at Bath this year, and there, in one of the lesser churches, preached, that, as John Baptist wore a leathern girdle, so his doctrine was leathern doctrine. He would have preached at the great church, but the minister would not give way; whereupon he came to the minister's house, to contest with him about denying him his pulpit; to whom the minister replied, that he had heard of him by Mr. John Ley and Mr. Thomas Edwards, and was fully satisfied concerning him. Besides, he said 'I have heard of one Master Saltmarsh, who, in the time of the former differences between the king and the Scots, viz. before this parliament, made verses to incense the king to war against the Scots, when he went into the north; and that when the late oath, made by the bishops, came forth, went many miles to an archbishop to take that oath upon his knees:' to which Master Saltmarsh replied, he was then in his darkness; and the minister of Bath rejoined, he thought him to be still in the smoak."\*

We make no comment upon the above account, but allow Mr. Saltmarsh to speak for himself. In answer to Mr. Edwards, he says, "When I called to you the other day in the street, and challenged you for your unanswerable crime against me in the third part of the last "*Gangræna*," in setting my name against all the heresies you reckon, which your own soul and the world can witness to be none of mine, and your own confession to me when I challenged you—how were you troubled in spirit and language? Your sin was, as I thought, upon you, scourging you, checking you as I spoke. I told you at parting, I hoped we should overcome you by prayer. I believe we shall pray you either into repentance, or shame, or judgment, ere we have done with you; but, oh! might it be repentance rather! till Master Edwards smite upon his thigh, and say, What have I done?"

"For your anagram upon my name, you do but fulfil the prophecy, They shall cast out your names as evil, for the Son of man's sake. And your book of jeers and stories of your brethren; poor man! it will not long be music in your ears, at this rate of sinning. For the nameless author and his after-reckoning, let all such men be doing; let them rail, revile, blaspheme, call heretics. It is enough to me, that they write such vanity as they dare not own. And now let me tell you both, and all such pensioners to the great accuser of the brethren; fill up the measure of your iniquity, if you,

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 113, 114.

will needs perish whether we will or no. I hope I rest in the bosom of Christ, with others of my brethren: rail, persecute, do your worst; I challenge all the powers of hell that set you on work, while Christ is made unto me wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. And I must tell you further, that since any of the light and glory of Christ dawned upon me; since first I saw the morning star of righteousness, any of the brightness of the glory in my heart, that heart of mine which once lived in the coasts of Zebulun and Napthali, in the region and shadow of death, I can freely challenge you, and thousands more such as you, to say, write, do, work, print, or any thing; and I hope I shall in the strength of Christ, in whom I am able to do all things, give you blessings for cursing, and prayers for persecutions.\*

Mr. Edwards, in answer to this, observes, "That Mr. Gataker had proved his opponent to be a shadow without substance; had taken off the shadows he had cast on many truths of the gospel; had shewed this *new light*, with his *dawnings of light*, to be only a shadow of darkness and death; and had caused this great light to go out in a smoke and snuff." He proceeds in his usual style of raillery; concluding that the former accusations were still unanswered.†

The death of Mr. Saltmarsh was very extraordinary, and is thus related. December 4, 1647, he was at his own house at Ilford in Essex, when he told his wife that he had received a special message from God, which he must deliver to the army. He went to London the same evening, and early on Monday morning, December 6th, to Windsor. When he came to the council of officers, he addressed them as follows: "I am come hither to reveal to you," said he, "what I have received from God. Though the Lord hath done much for you, and by you, yet he hath of late left you, and is not in your counsels; because you have forsaken him. God will not prosper your consultations, but destroy you by divisions among yourselves. I have formerly come to you like a *lamb*, but God hath now raised in me the spirit of a *lion*; because you have sought to destroy the people of God, who have always stood by you in the greatest difficulties. I advise all the faithful to depart from you, lest they be destroyed with you." He then went to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the general; and, without moving his hat, said, "I have received a com-

\* Saltmarsh's Answer to Edwards, p. 9—11. Edit. 1812.

† Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 293.

mand from God not to honour you at all. I have honoured you so much, that I have offended God; who hath revealed unto me that he is highly displeased with your committing his saints to prison; and that he will not prosper you, nor can I honour you." He next went to Cromwell, to whom he delivered the same message, declaring that the Lord was angry with him, for causing those persons to be imprisoned whom he knew to be faithful in the cause of God. And after recommending him to take some effectual measures for their enlargement, he took his leave of them all, saying, "I have done my errand, and must leave you, never to see the army any more." He went the same night to London; and next day took his leave of his friends in the city, saying, his work was done, and his message delivered, and desired them to take care of his wife. Thursday, December 9th, he left London well and cheerful; and the same evening arrived at Ilford. The day following, he told his wife that he had now finished his work, and must go to his Father. In the afternoon, he complained of the head-ache, desiring to lie down upon his bed, when he rested well through the night. Saturday morning, December 11th, he was taken speechless, and died about four o'clock in the afternoon.\* It appears from Mr. Saltmarsh's writings, that he was strongly tinged with the principles of antinomianism.

His WORKS.—1. Practice of Policy in a Christian Life, 1639.—2. Holy Discoveries and Flames, 1640.—3. Free Grace; or, the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners, 1645.—4. New Querie, 1645.—5. Shadows flying away, 1646.—6. Dawnings of Light, 1646.—7. Maxims of Reformation, 1646.—8. Reasons for Unity. Peace and Love, 1646.—9. Groans for Liberty, 1646.—10. Beams of Light, discovering the Way of Peace, 1646.—11. Some Queries for the better understanding of Mr. Edwards's last book, called *Gangrana*, 1646.—12. Parallel between Prelacy and Presbytery, 1646.—13. The Divine Right of Presbytery asserted by the present Assembly, and petitioned for accordingly to the H. of Com. in Parliament, with Reasons discussing this pretended Divine Right, 1646.—14. Sparkles of Glory; or, Some Beams of the Morning Star, 1647.—15. Wonderful Predictions, 1648.—16. The Assembly's Petition against his Exception.—17. The Opening of Mr. Prynne's Vindication.—18. Flagellum Flagelli, against Dr. Bastwick.—19. Animadversions on Mr. T. Fuller's Sermon.—20. Several Sermons.

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

**HERBERT PALMER, B. D.**—This most pious divine was the son of Sir Thomas Palmer, born at Wingham near Canterbury, in the year 1601, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; but was afterwards chosen fellow of Queen's college, in the same university. He was a man celebrated for genuine piety, and thought to have been sanctified from the womb. In the year 1626, he entered upon his first ministerial exercises in the city of Canterbury, having previously obtained a license from Archbishop Abbot,\* authorizing him to deliver a lecture at St. Alphage church, every Lord's day afternoon. In this situation, by his sound doctrine and unblemished deportment, his great usefulness was presently manifest to all. By his zealous and judicious efforts, the corruptions so prevalent among the ecclesiastics of the cathedral, who preferred pompous ceremonies above the power of godliness, were greatly interrupted. This, indeed, soon roused the malice and enmity of the bigotted ecclesiastics. They could not endure the soundness of his doctrine and the holiness of his life, so much opposed to their dead formality, and their unrighteous doings. Though his high birth and numerous friends screened him for a time, articles were at length exhibited against him; but his replies to those articles, it is said, were such, that he was honourably acquitted.†

In the year 1629, upon the complaint of the dean and archdeacon, Mr. Palmer was silenced and his lecture put down, to the great grief of his numerous audience. The charges brought against him were,—“That he read prayers and catechized against the minister's will, and not according to the ecclesiastical canons:—that in the catechizing, he took upon him to declare the king's mind in his instructions:—that he preached a factious sermon in the cathedral, and detracted from its *divine* service:—and that factious persons

\* When Archbishop Abbot's mother was pregnant of him, she is said to have had a dream, which proved at once an omen and an instrument of his future promotion. She fancied she was told in her sleep, that if she could eat a jack, or pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a jack, and had thus an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story excited much conversation, and coming to the knowledge of certain persons of distinction, they offered to become sponsors to the child, which was kindly accepted, and had the goodness to afford many testimonies of their affection to their godson while at school, and after he went to the university. Such were the good effects of his mother's dream.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 3.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 183—187.

from all the parishes in the city, were his auditors.\* However, by the petition of many of the citizens and gentry, and the honourable testimony of several ministers, concerning his orthodox doctrine and unblemished character, together with the testimony of ten knights and others, presented to the archbishop, he was again restored, and the archdeacon inhibited from his jurisdiction.† It is likewise observed, that all who took an active part in this affair, exposed themselves to the scorn and contempt of the people.‡

Mr. Palmer afterwards removed to the vicarage of Ashwell in Hertfordshire, to which, on account of his amiable character, though a puritan, he was presented by Bishop Laud, receiving his institution February 7, 1632. Laud mentioned this circumstance as an instance of his impartiality, in his own defence, at his trial.§ There Mr. Palmer, as in his former situation, discovered his zealous care and unwearied diligence, in promoting the welfare of his flock. Though he was a man of great learning, he never wished to make it appear. He sought not the applause of men, or any worldly emolument, but the approbation of God, the testimony of a good conscience, and the salvation of souls.

During the above year, he was chosen one of the preachers to the university of Cambridge, and afterwards one of the clerks in convocation. In 1643, he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and afterwards one of the assessors. During the assembly, he was highly distinguished by his excellent talents, his unwearied industry, his great usefulness, and was seldom absent. Upon his removal from Ashwell, he was succeeded by Mr. Crow, afterwards silenced in 1662,¶ and he accepted an invitation to Duke's-place, London. But afterwards, having received a pressing invitation, he became pastor at New Church, Westminster, being succeeded at Duke's-place by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Young, another worthy puritan. In each of these situations he was highly admired, and his preaching, expounding, catechizing, and other ministerial labours, were abundant. He was always abounding in the work of the Lord. In 1644, he was constituted master of Queen's college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester. He succeeded Dr. Martin, one of Laud's chaplains, and a man of high principles. Under the peculiar care

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373, 373.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 34.

† Clark's Lives, p. 187.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

‡ Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 201.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 187.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 302.

and encouragement of the new master, the college flourished, even to the great admiration of all.\* In 1645, he was appointed, by order of parliament, one of the committee of accommodation.†

Mr. Palmer was always firm to his principles. Though he would deny himself when only his own interest was concerned, he was constantly zealous and unmoved in whatever concerned the honour of God and the glory of his kingdom. Therefore, when he was called to preach at the Bishop of Lincoln's visitation, he spoke with great freedom against the existing corruptions of the church, not fearing the consequences, though sensible of his great danger. When the Book of Sports, bowing to the altar, reading part of the service in the chancel, and other innovations, were enjoined, he resolved to lose all, rather than offend God by the encouragement of superstition and profaneness. He constantly and vigorously opposed the superstitious and unrighteous oath of canonical obedience.‡ He was always a most consistent and conscientious nonconformist.

This worthy divine, being highly reputed for learning and piety, was often called to preach before the parliament, for which he has incurred the severe displeasure of certain historians. One of these bitter writers, with an evident design to reproach his memory, has transcribed the following passage from one of Mr. Palmer's dedications addressed to the Earl of Essex, then general to the parliament's army: "God hath put you in his own place: God hath graced you with his own name, Lord of Hosts, general of armies. God hath committed to your care what is most precious to himself, precious gospel, precious ordinances, a precious parliament, a precious people. God hath called forth your excellency as a choice worthy to be a general, and the champion of Jesus Christ, to fight the great and last battle with antichrist in this your native kingdom."§ Another of these writers observes, that, June 28, 1643, "Mr. Palmer made a long-winded tittle-tattle, stuff with rebellion and sedition, before the house of commons; at the end of which he found out a pretty device, to have all the cavaliers' throats cut; and all this to be justified by inspiration of Almighty God. 'I humbly entreat you,' said he, 'to ask God's consent first, whether he will spare such or such, or pardon them; and if he will not, you must not.' Probably this politician," adds

\* Clark's Lives, p. 187—197.

† Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 199.

§ L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 56.

our author, "was very well acquainted with the subtle robber of old, who made the country parson pray for riches, and then took all his gold from him. The greatest wickedness in the world," says he, "may be perpetrated by this rule of Palmer's, and so religion prove only a piece of policy; yet, was it very fitting for the parliament's actions, which, I suppose, was the cause that they ordered Sir Oliver Lake to give him thanks for his seditious preachment, and to desire him to print it, the better to infect the people."\* Such scurrility and falsehood, evidently designed to blacken the memory of one of the best of men, only requires to be stated in the author's own words; it can need no other refutation.

During Mr. Palmer's last sickness, he was much engaged in prayer, for himself, for the nation, for the church of God, and for all with whom he stood connected. When his friends recommended him to cast the burden of his pains and sickness upon the Lord, he said, "I should act unworthily, if after I have urged others to cast their burdens upon the Lord, I should not do so myself." As he lived a life of holy devotedness to God, so he died a holy and happy death, in the year 1647, aged forty-six years. His remains were interred in the New Church, Westminster; where he was succeeded by Mr. Rood, afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.† Mr. Clark says, "he was remarkable for humility, meekness, faith and patience; he possessed a quick apprehension, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and a happy elocution; and he was almost unbounded in acts of liberality, and a most strict observer of the sabbath, not suffering any one of his family to be detained from public worship, by cooking victuals on the Lord's day."‡ Granger styles him "a man of uncommon learning, generosity, and politeness;" and observes, "that he possessed a most excellent character; that he wished for peace during the civil war; and that he spoke the French language with as much facility as his mother tongue."§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The Principles of the Christian Religion made plain and easy.—2. Of making Religion one's Business.—This last and several other pieces were afterwards published together, entitled, "Memorials of Godliness and Christianity;" the thirteenth edition of which was printed in 1708.—3. Sermons preached before the Parliament, one of which is entitled; "The Necessity and Encouragement

\* Foulis's Wicked Plots, p. 183.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 195.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 190—200.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 182, 183.

of Utmost Venturing for the Churches Help, together with the Sin, Folly and Mischief of Self-idolizing, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons on the Day of the monthly Solemn Fast, 28 June, 1643." Another is entitled, "The Glasse of God's Providence towards his Faithful Ones, held forth in a Sermon to the two Honourable Houses of Parliament, at Margaret's Westminster, Aug. 13, 1644, being an extraordinary Day of Humiliation," 1644.—4. *Vindiciæ Sabbathæ*, assisted by Mr. Daniel Cawdrey.—5. *Scriptura and Reason pleaded for defensive Armes*, assisted by several others.

**ROBERT BALDOM.**—This pious and courageous divine was born at Shipton Montague in Somersetshire, and educated at New-mn-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became assistant to Mr. Richard Bernard of Batcombe, in his native county; and upon the death of this venerable divine, he removed to Stoke, a village in the same neighbourhood. In this situation, his ministerial labours were attended with wonderful success; and, it is observed, that he scarcely ever preached a sermon that was not instrumental in the conversion of some poor wandering sinner to God. After labouring at Stoke about two years, the confusion of the civil war obliged him to flee for safety; when he took refuge in Warder-castle, which was soon after besieged by the royal forces. Previous to this, he had intended to have gone to London; but through the sollicitation of Colonel Ludlow, governor of the castle, he remained in the place during the siege. Upon the treaty of surrender, Mr. Baldom, walking on the roof of the castle, heard three soldiers say, "We have sworn upon the Bible to take away the life of one in the castle." He asked them who they meant, and whether it was the minister. "Yea," said they, "for he is a witch; because the castle has been several times strangely relieved with provisions."

The treaty being ended, and the enemy having entered the castle, Mr. Baldom was immediately seized and confined in close prison, a soldier being confined in the same room, who was hanged the next morning. At midnight the key of the prison was given to the three soldiers, when they presently entered the room; and having opened the door, they pulled off their hats, and stood at some distance, but soon returning, Mr. Baldom expecting they were the men who were to take away his life, thus addressed them: "Friends, what is your business? Are not you the men who have sworn to take away my life?" With fear and trembling they answered, "We have taken a wicked oath: God forgive us. We will do you

no harm." When he desired them to come forwards, they urged him to make his escape, kindly offering him all the assistance in their power; but this he refused, suspecting they might have some ill design upon him. Though they assured him of their good intentions, and gave him the most evident proofs of it, he still refused to accept their offers, saying, "I will rather endure the utmost that God will suffer them to inflict upon me, than risk the lives of those who have shewed themselves friendly." As an evident token of their esteem, they brought him out to the fresh air, cleaned his room, and so left him.

The next morning a council was called, particularly with a view to determine what should be done with Mr. Balsom; and as they were debating about putting him to death, a captain, being one of the council, stood up, and said, "I will have no hand in the blood of this man;" and went out of the room, and so nothing was done. The prisoner was then carried to Salisbury; and on the very night of his arrival, another council was called, and picked for the purpose, by which he was condemned to be hanged. Having received the sentence of death, the high sheriff waited upon him in prison; who, after much ill language, told him that he must prepare to suffer at six o'clock next morning; assuring him, at the same time, that if he would ask the king pardon, and serve his majesty in future, his life would be spared, and he might have almost any preferment he pleased. Mr. Balsom, being remarkably courageous, and not in the least afraid of death, boldly replied, "To ask pardon when I am not conscious of any offence, were but the part of a *fool*; and to betray my conscience in hope of preferment, were but the part of a *knave*: and if I had neither hope of heaven, nor fear of hell, I would rather die an honest man, than live a fool or a knave." He accordingly rose next morning in full expectation of his doom; and about six o'clock, the officers came to the prison with a view to carry him forth to execution. As he was preparing to go, he heard a post ride in, immediately asking, *Is the prisoner yet alive?* He brought a reprieve from Sir Ralph Hopton, when, instead of death, Mr. Balsom was immediately carried to him at Winchester. As he entered the city, Sir William Ogle, governor of the place, said, "I will feed you with bread and water two or three days, and then hang you." He fell, however, into better hands. For upon his appearance before Sir Ralph Hopton, after some familiar conversation relative to his espousing the

parliament's cause, and the principles on which he acted, he was committed with this charge, "Keep this man safe, but use him well."

Mr. Balsom, after remaining in a state of confinement for some time, was at length, by an express order, next carried to Oxford, and committed prisoner to the castle. Here he set up a public lecture, preached twice every day, and was numerously attended, not only by the prisoners and soldiers, but by courtiers and townsmen. After having been once or twice prohibited, he said, "If you be weary of me, I do not wish to trouble you any longer; you may turn me out of doors when you please. But while I have a tongue to speak, and people to hear, I will not hold my peace." At length, by an exchange of prisoners, he was released. And having obtained his liberty, he was sent for by the Earl of Essex; when he became chaplain in his army, and continued with him during his command.

Mr. Balsom afterwards settled at Berwick, where he was stately employed in his beloved work of preaching. In this situation he had the strong affections of the people, the smiles of God upon his labours, and the satisfaction of seeing the work of the Lord prosper in his hands. His labours were made extensively useful; but having occasion, after some time, to visit his own neighbourhood, he never returned. For, to the great anguish of his affectionate people, he was taken ill and died, in the year 1647.\*

This zealous and faithful servant of God, a short time before his death, wrote a letter to a friend in London, giving him some account of the transactions in the north; and because the sight of it will be gratifying to every inquisitive reader, it will be proper to be inserted. It is dated May 21, 1646, and is as follows:†

"My dear friend,

"Yours was not a little welcome to me, nor am I put to it to send you a requital. The news here is so good, that I can hardly hold my pen for joy. The king's coming to the Scotch army in all probability will prove one of our greatest mercies since the wars began. And never did I hear of any christians carrying themselves so boldly and faithfully in reprovng their prince, so humbly before their God, so innocently towards their brethren, so desirously of a settled and well-grounded peace, as the Scots now do. They labour with much earnestness for the king's conversion;

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 179—182.

† Edwards's Gangrena, part iii. p. 73, 74.

tell him plainly of his blood-guiltiness; have sent for out of Scotland the ablest ministers to converse with him; have banished all malignants six miles from his person by proclamation; refused to entertain him with any token of joy; and told him he was a great sinner before God, and that he must give satisfaction to both kingdoms. The malignants droop, who were gathering towards him out of both kingdoms. The French agent, who was active in making a breach, is much discountenanced. The nobles and ministers profess their earnest longing after a happy union, the settling the government of Christ in his church; which being done, they will presently return to peace. The independents themselves stand amazed at their wisdom, resolution, and fidelity: zeal, with humility, doth accompany all their actions. The malignant party, which was much feared, is borne down. The mouths that were so wide, both of independents and malignants, are sewn up: they have not a word to say. And see how the Lord blesses them. All their enemies in Scotland are routed and brought to nothing. The king refuses to proclaim Montrose and his adherents rebels; but the King of kings hath taken the quarrel into his own hand, and utterly dispersed them. I have not time to write the particulars, only to let you know I am

Your assured friend,

R. BALSOM."

THOMAS EDWARDS, A. M.—This very singular person was born in the year 1599, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts, and was incorporated at Oxford. One of his name, and apparently the same person, is said to have been of Queen's college, Cambridge, and one of the preachers to the university. For a sermon which he delivered in St. Andrew's church, he was committed to prison, February 11, 1627, where he remained till he entered into bonds for his appearance before his ecclesiastical judges. Upon his appearance at the time and place appointed, he was charged with having uttered in his sermon the following words:—"When there arise any doubts about the way, that thou knowest not well which way to take, if thou art a servant, thou must not go to thy carnal master, to enquire of him: if thou art a wife, thou must not go to thy carnal husband, to ask him: if thou art a son, thou must not go to thy carnal father: if thou art a pupil, thou must not go to thy carnal tutor to ask him; but thou must find out a

man in whom the *Spirit of God* dwelleth: one who is *renewed by grace*, and he shall direct thee." A little after, he said, "If all this be not true, then this book, clapping his hand upon the Bible, is full of falsehoods, and God himself is a liar, and Christ himself a deceiver." He also added, "If the day of judgment were now at hand; if the seals were opened; if the fire were now about my ears, which should burn those that follow not this doctrine, I would testify and teach this, and no other doctrine."

Mr. Edwards, for delivering these sentiments, was repeatedly convened before his superiors; and, March 31, 1628, he was required to make a public revocation of his opinions in St. Andrew's church, where he had delivered his sermon; and the following instrument was afterwards drawn up, testifying his compliance:—"These are to certify, that whereas Mr. Edwards, A. M. late of Queen's college in Cambridge, was required to explain himself, concerning words spoken by him in a sermon preached in the parish of St. Andrew's in Cambridge, as if he had dehorted from consulting carnal tutors, husbands and masters. To this purpose he did explain himself, in the said church of St. Andrew's, April 6, 1628, being the day appointed, to wit, 'He desired not to be mistaken, as if he had preached against obedience to superiors, or hearkening to their advice and counsel, though carnal and wicked; for such might advise well: as the pharisees sitting in Moses's chair, were to be obeyed in their sayings; and that they ought rather to be dutiful to such than others, that they may win them and stop their mouths, 1 Peter, iii. 1. Only if they advise any thing contrary to the word, as to lie, swear, &c. to remember the speech of the apostle, 'It is better to obey God, rather than men.' In witness whereof, I, Thomas Goodwin, then curate of the said church, being present, have subscribed my name, as also we whose names are underwritten, being also there present. Thomas Goodwin, Tho. Ball, Th. Marshall."\*

Though Mr. Edwards is said to have been always a puritan in his heart, he received orders according to the form of the established church; and, on his leaving the university, he was licensed, in the year 1629, to preach at St. Botolph's church, Aldgate, London.† About the same time, he was brought into trouble for nonconformity, and questioned or suspended by Bishop Laud, for refusing to observe his superstitious injunctions.‡ In the year 1640, having delivered

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 192. xvi. 298.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 916.

‡ Pryane's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

a sermon in Mercer's chapel, which gave great offence to the ruling prelates, letters missive were issued against him, and he was apprehended by the bishop's pursuivants, and prosecuted in the high commission. It will be proper to give an account of his puritanism and persecution in his own words:—"I never had a canonical coat," says he, "never gave a penny to the building of Paul's, took not the canonical oath, declined subscription for many years before the parliament, (though I practised the old conformity,) would not give *ne obolum quidem* to the contributions against the Scots, but dissuaded other ministers; much less did I yield to bow to the altar, and at the name of Jesus, or administer the Lord's supper at a table turned altarwise, or bring the people up to rails, or read the Book of Sports, or highly flatter the archbishop in an epistle dedicatory to him, or put articles into the high commission court against any, but was myself put into the high commission court, and pursuivants, with letters missive and an attachment, sent out to apprehend me for preaching a sermon at Mercer's chapel, on a fast-day, in July, 1640, against the bishops and their faction; such a free sermon as, I believe, never a sectary in England durst have preached in such a place, and at such a time."\* This Mr. Edwards has to say of himself; though it is generally supposed that he never had any stated charge, but officiated as lecturer at various places, particularly at Hertford, and at Christ's-church, London, one of his name in 1643, but whether the same person we cannot ascertain, was vicar of Heinton in Hertfordshire.†

When the parliament declared against King Charles I., he became a zealous advocate for the changes in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution, and supported with all his influence the ruling party. He was a most rigid presbyterian, and, with uncommon zeal, defended and supported that discipline and government. This he declares in the dedication of one of his books, to the lords and commons assembled in parliament, as follows: "All my actions," says he, "from the beginning of your sitting, my sermons, prayers, praises, discourses, actings for you, speak this. I am one who out of choice and judgment have embarked myself, with wife, children, estate, and all that's near to me, in the same ship with you, to sink and perish, or to come safe to land with you, and that in the most doubtful and difficult times, not only early in the first beginning of the war and troubles, in a malig-

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 75, 76. Second Edit.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 728.

“nant place among courtiers and those who were servants  
 “and had relations to the king, queen, and their children,  
 “pleading your cause, justifying, satisfying many that  
 “scrupled; but when your affairs were at the lowest, and the  
 “chance of war against you, and some of the grandees and  
 “favourites of these times were packing up and ready to be  
 “gone, I was then highest and most zealous for you, preach-  
 “ing, praying, stirring up the people to stand for you, by  
 “going out in person, lending of money, in the latter going  
 “before them by example; and as I have been your honour’s  
 “most devoted servant, so I am still yours, and you cannot  
 “easily lose me.”\*

When the independents began to gain some ascendancy, Mr. Edwards became equally furious against them as he had been against the prelacy. He wrote and preached against them with great severity, and opposed the sectaries with great virulence. This appears from several of his publications; but we shall give the account in his own words:—“Many years ago,” says he, “when I was persecuted by some prelates and their creatures, in no possibility nor capacity by my principles and practices of preferment, I preached against, and upon all occasions declared myself against, the Brownists, separatists, antinomians, and all errors in that way, as well as against popish innovations and Arminian tenets. I have preached at London and at Hertford against those errors. About ten years ago, when independency and the church way began to be fallen to by men of some note, and some people took after it, I preached against it early, and by all ways laboured to preserve the people.” He adds, “I never yet sought any great things for myself, great livings, or coming into public places of honour and respect, to be of the assembly, or to preach in any public places before the magistrates, either at Westminster or London, but have contented myself with small means, and to preach in private places in comparison, having refused many great livings and places, preaching here in London for a little, and that but badly paid, (as many well know,) minding the work and service, little the maintenance.”†

Most of Mr. Edwards’s productions are controversial; the language and sentiments of which are bitter and violent in the highest degree. He distinguished himself by all the zeal and bigotry of a fiery zealot. His bitterness and enmity

\* *Gangræna*, part i. p. 2.

† *Ibid.* part iii. p. 14, 15.

against toleration rose almost to madness; and had he been possessed of power, he would undoubtedly have proved as furious a persecutor of all nonconformists to presbyterianism, as the prelates had been of those who ventured to dissent from the established episcopal church. Many of his severe and unworthy reflections upon some of the most worthy persons, as collected from his "Gangræna" and "Antapologia," are noticed in the various parts of this work. The pacific Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs says, "I doubt whether there ever was a man, who was looked upon as a man professing godliness, that ever manifested so much boldness and malice against others, whom he acknowledged to be religious persons. That fiery rage, that implacable, irrational violence of his, against godly persons, makes me stand and wonder."\*

His indignant temper and language against toleration is without a parallel. It will be proper to give a specimen in his own words, for the gratification of the inquisitive reader. "If ministers," says he, "will witness for truth, and against errors, they must set themselves against toleration, as the principal inlet to all error and heresy; for if toleration be granted, all preaching will not keep them out. If a toleration be granted, the devil will be too hard for us, though we preach ever so much against them. A toleration will undo all. It will bring in scepticism in doctrine, and looseness of life, and afterwards all atheism. O! let ministers, therefore, oppose toleration, as that by which the devil would at once lay a foundation for his kingdom to all generations; witness against it in all places; possess the magistrate with the evil of it; yea, and the people too, shewing them how, if a toleration were granted, they would never have peace any more in their families, or ever have any command of wives, children, servants; but they and their posterity are likely to live in discontent and unquietness of mind all their days. Toleration is destructive to the glory of God and the salvation of souls; therefore, whoever should be for a toleration, ministers ought to be against it. If the parliament, city, yea, and all the people, were for a toleration of all sects, as anabaptists, antinomians, seekers, Brownists, and independents; yet ministers ought to present their reasons against it, preach and cry out of the evil of it, never consent to it; but protest against it, and withstand it by all lawful ways and means

\* Burroughs's Vindication, p. 2. Edit. 1646.

within their power, venturing the loss of liberties, estates, lives, and all in that cause, and inflame us with zeal against a toleration, the great *Diana* of the sectaries.\*

“A toleration,” adds this bigotted and furious zealot, “is the grand design of the devil; his master-piece and chief engine he works by to uphold his tottering kingdom. It is the most compendious, ready, and sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil. It is a most transcendent, catholic, and fundamental evil, of any that can be imagined. As original sin is the fundamental sin, having in it the seed and spawn of all sin: so a toleration hath in it all errors and all evils. It is against the whole stream and current of scripture both in the Old and New Testament, both in matters of faith and manners, both general and particular commands. It overthrows all relations, political, ecclesiastical, and economical. Other evils, whether errors of judgment or practice, are only against some few places of scripture or relation; but this is against all. This is the *Abaddon*, *Apollion*, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment, the liberty of perdition; therefore the devil follows it night and day, and all the devils in hell, and their instruments, are at work to promote a toleration.”†

These extracts, expressed in the author's own language, are justly descriptive of his arbitrary and outrageous temper. But the presbyterian interest beginning soon after to decline, and Oliver Cromwell having overturned the power of the parliament, Mr. Edwards, to escape the expected resentment of the independents, fled to Holland, where he died of a quartan ague, in 1647, aged forty-eight years. By his wife, who was heiress of a considerable fortune, he left one daughter and four sons, the second of whom was Dr. John Edwards, author of *Veritas Redux*, and many other learned works upon theological subjects.‡

HIS WORKS.—1. Reasons against the Independent Government of particular Congregations, 1641.—2. A Treatise of the Civil Power of Ecclesiasticals, and of Suspension from the Lord's Supper, 1642.—3. *Antapologia*; or, a full Answer to the ‘Apologetical Narration’ of Mr. (Thomas) Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sympson, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Bridge, Members of the Assembly of Divines, 1644.—4. *Gangræna*; or, a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 85, 86. Third edit.

† *Ibid.* p. 58, 59.

‡ *Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 543. Edit. 1778.

Time, vented and acted in England in these four last years, iii Parts, 1646.—5. The particular Visibility of the Church, 1647.—6. The Casting down of the last and strongest Hold of Satan; or, a Treatise against Toleration, Part first, 1647.

**JOHN WHITE, A. M.**—This excellent divine was born at Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire, in the year 1576, and educated first at Winchester, then in New College, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. In the year 1606, he left the university, and became rector of Trinity church, Dorchester, where he continued, with little interruption, above forty years. He was a judicious expositor of scripture; and, during his public ministry at Dorchester, he expounded the whole Bible, and went through one half a second time.\*

About the year 1624, Mr. White, with some of his friends, projected the new colony of Massachusetts in New England, as an asylum for the persecuted nonconformists; but, for several years, the object met with numerous discouragements. Indeed, the difficulties became so formidable, that the undertaking was about to be relinquished, and those who had settled in the new plantation were on the point of returning home. At this juncture the worthy settlers, who had already outbraved many a storm, and surmounted the greatest difficulties, received letters from Mr. White, assuring them, that if they could endure their painful conflict a little longer, he would procure for them a patent, and all the necessary supplies for the new settlement. They concluded to wait the event; and in all these particulars he made his promise good. Thus, by the blessing of God upon his active and vigorous endeavours, the colonists were enabled to maintain their ground; and they afterwards greatly prospered.† This was the first peopling of Massachusetts's Bay in New England.

About the year 1630, Mr. White was brought into trouble by Bishop Laud, and prosecuted in the high commission court, for preaching against Arminianism and the popish ceremonies.‡ Wood is therefore mistaken when he says "that he conformed as well after as before the advancement of Laud." Though it does not appear how long his troubles continued, or what sentence was inflicted upon him; yet these proceedings against a divine of such distinguished

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 60.

† Mather's *New Eng.* b. i. p. 19.—Prince's *Chron. Hist.* vol. i. p. 144—149.

‡ Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 362.

excellence, and one so universally beloved, were sure to bring the greatest odium upon his persecutors. Mr. White was afterwards a great sufferer from the public confusions of the nation. His excellencies could not screen him from the destructive ravages of the civil wars. Prince Rupert and his forces being in those parts, a party of horse was sent into the town, when the soldiers plundered his house, and carried away his library. But, upon the approach of these calamities, the good man fled from the storm; and, retiring to London, was made minister of the Savoy.\*

In the year 1640, Mr. White was appointed one of the learned divines to assist the committee of religion, consisting of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons.† In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended. He was deservedly admired on account of his great zeal, activity, learning, moderation, and usefulness, during the whole session. Upon the meeting of both houses of parliament, the assembly of divines, and the Scots commissioners, in Margaret's church, Westminster, to take the covenant, he engaged in the public prayer; and, to prepare their minds for so sacred an engagement, as our author observes, he prayed a *full hour*.‡ In 1645, upon the revival of the committee of accommodation, he was chosen one of its members.§ And about the same time he was appointed to succeed Dr. Featley in the sequestered rectory of Lambeth; and, according to our historian, he was appointed to have the care and use of the doctor's library, until the doctor should be able to procure his, which had been carried away by Prince Rupert's soldiers.¶ In 1647, Mr. White was offered the wardenship of New College, Oxford, but refused the office.

When the public broils of the nation were concluded, he returned to his flock and his ministry at Dorchester; where he continued in peace the remainder of his days. He died suddenly, July 21, 1648, aged seventy-two years. His remains were interred in the porch of St. Peter's church, Dorchester, but without any monumental inscription.‡ He was a most faithful pastor; and a divine of sound doctrine,

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 61.

† This committee was appointed by the house of lords, and designed to examine all innovations, as well in doctrine as discipline, illegally introduced into the church since the reformation. It was extremely offensive to the intolerant spirit of Archbishop Laud.—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 174, 175.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 70.

§ Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 61.

‡ Wood's Hist. & Antiq. l. ii. p. 149.

an admirable judgment, and a most powerful genius, being no less eminent for piety, faith, and diligence. Also, he was a person of uncommon gravity, and so universally beloved and respected, that he was usually called the *patriarch of Dorchester*. The puritans at a distance, as well as those about him, according to Wood, "had more respect for him than even for their *diocesan*; yet he was a most moderate puritan."\* "He was a constant preacher," says Fuller, "and, by his wisdom and ministerial labours, Dorchester was much enriched with knowledge, piety, and industry."† Mr. John White, the ejected nonconformist, was his son.‡

His Works.—1. The Way to the Tree of Life, 1647.—2. A Commentary upon the Three first Chapters of Genesis, 1656.—3. Directions for Reading the Scriptures.—4. Of the Sabbath.—5. Several Sermons.—Most probably he was author of some other articles.

PETER SMART, A. M.—This great sufferer in the cause of nonconformity was born in Warwickshire, in the year 1569, and educated first at Westminster school, then at Broadgate's-hall, Oxford, and afterwards elected student of Christ's Church, in the same university. After taking his degrees he entered into the ministry, when Dr. William James, dean, and afterwards bishop, of Durham, presented him first to the grammar-school at Durham, then made him one of his chaplains; and, in 1609, presented him to the sixth prebend in the cathedral of Durham, and the rectory of Boldovers.§ In the year 1614 he was removed from the sixth to the fourth prebend; but his patron, the bishop, dying in about three years, he received no further advancement.

The first business of a public nature in which Mr. Smart appears to have been engaged, was his appointment to the high commission for the province of York. He was nominated one of the commissioners in the year 1625; and though at their second assembly he qualified according to law, he seldom honoured the court with his attendance, and subscribed only to one sentence. Upon the renewal of the commission in 1627, he again qualified, but seldom attended.¶

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 60, 61.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, part ii. p. 340.

‡ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 145.

§ Granger says he was minister at Bowden, by which is probably intended the same place.—*Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 169.

¶ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 11.—Illustration of Neal in the article of Peter Smart, p. 2, 3.



and squatting down, nodding of heads, and whirling about till their noses stand eastward; in candlesticks, crucifixes, burning of wax-candles, and (what is worst of all) gilding of angels, garnishing of images, and setting them up: if, I say, religion consists in these, and such like superstitious vanities, ceremonial fooleries, apish toys, and popish trinkets, we had never more religion than now. They are whores and whore-mongers, they commit spiritual fornication, who bow their bodies before the idol."\* These were the most exceptionable passages in Mr. Smart's sermon, even his enemies being judges.

The very day on which he preached this invective and seditious sermon, as it is called, against the *decent* and allowed ceremonies of the church of England, a letter missive was issued to apprehend him, and bring him before the dean and other commissioners. Upon his appearance he delivered up his sermon to be copied, declaring that he would justify every particular therein contained. After he had entered into a bond of one hundred pounds for his future appearance he was dismissed. From the time of his first appearance to January 29th following, he appeared no less than *eight* different times before his ecclesiastical judges. In the mean time, articles were exhibited against him, to which he gave his written answers. At length, however, he was sent to the high commission at Lambeth. Fuller says, that for preaching the above sermon, "Mr. Smart was kept a prisoner four months by the high commission of York, before any articles were exhibited against him, and five months before any proctor was allowed him. From the high commission of York he was carried to the high commission at Lambeth, and, after long trouble, remanded back to York, fined *five hundred* pounds, ordered to recant, and, for neglecting which, he was fined a *second* time, excommunicated, degraded, deprived, and committed to prison, his damage amounting to many *thousand* pounds."† It is inquired by what law Mr. Smart was treated thus, for preaching against setting up images, altars, placing them at the east end of the church, and bowing to them, directly contrary to the Book of Common Prayer, and the homily against idolatry, confirmed by act of parliament?‡ He remained in prison eleven or twelve years, till he was released by the long parliament. The puritans had so much esteem

\* Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. i. p. 118, 119.—Illustration of Neal, p. 131.

† Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 173.—Illustration of Neal, p. 5, 72.

‡ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 160.

and compassion for him, that during his imprisonment, they raised him £400 a year.\* Bishop Laud, it should be observed, was the leading person in all the cruelties inflicted upon Mr. Smart.†

November 12, 1640, the humble petition of Mr. Peter Smart, prisoner in the King's-bench, complaining of the hard usage he had met with, was read in the house of commons, when it was referred to the committee appointed to consider the petition of Dr. Leighton and others. The house further ordered, "That Mr. Smart, in all his particulars, shall have the same liberty as that granted to Dr. Leighton, and shall have copies of the records in the king's-bench and the high commission *gratis*."

On January 12th following, an order passed the house, "That Dr. Easdale, Roger Blanchard, and Phineas Hodson, D. D. shall shew cause to this house why they do not pay the monies adjudged to be paid to Mr. Peter Smart, upon a judgment in the king's-bench, against the said Easdale,

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 170.

† Pryune's Cant. Doome, p. 78, 93, 498.—During Mr. Smart's confinement in prison, he received a letter from Mrs. Smart, dated Witten-Gilbart, April 6, 1632. This letter, which is said to be "larded with cant, and to be a specimen of female casuistical puritanism," was as follows:—

"Most loving and dearly beloved husband,

"The grace and blessing of God be with you, even as unto mine owne soule and body, so do I dayly in my hartly prayer wish unto you and my children; for I doe dayly twice, at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, deere husband, but that both you and I, as we be written in the booke of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, throught the saving grace and mercy of God, our deare Father, in his Soonne our Christ: and for this present life, let us wholly appointe ourselves to the will of our God, to glorifie him, whether by life or by death; and even that mercifull Lord make us worthy to honour him either way, as pleaseth him, Amen. Ye what great cause of rejoycing have we in our most gracious God, we can not but brag fourth into the prasing of such a bountifull God, which maide you worthy to suffer for his name and worde saike: for it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him; but also, that ye should suffer for his saik, 1 Peter, 4, 5. Yf ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, for his truths sake, then ar ye happy and blessed; for the glory of the spirit of God resteth upon you, and therefore rejoice in the Lord, and againe I say rejoyce; for the distressed church doth yet suffer dayly thinges for her mortification, and for this cause, is contemned and despised. But alas! if thy servant David, if thine onely Soonne our Saviour Christ livede in shame and contempt, and weere a mocking stocke for the people; whie should not we then patiently suffer all things, that we might enter into glory, through many troubles, vexations, shame, and ignominy, &c.—The blessing of God be with all, Amen, pray, pray.—Your loving and faithfull wife untill death,

"SUSANNA SMART."

*Illustration of Neal, p. 61—70.*

Blanchard, and Hodson, at the suit of the said Peter Smart about ten years since."

On January 22nd, Mr. Rouse presented the report of the committee concerning Mr. Smart to the house of commons, upon which the house resolved :

1. "That the several proceedings of the high commission court of York and Canterbury, against Mr. Smart, and the several fines by them imposed upon him, are illegal and unjust, and ought not to bind.

2. "That the degradation of Mr. Smart, and his deprivation from his prebend, and other ecclesiastical livings, are unjust and illegal ; and that he ought to be restored to all of them, together with the mean profits.

3. "That Dr. Cosins and others, the prosecutors of Mr. Smart, ought to make him satisfaction for his damages sustained.

4. "That Dr. Cosins (a chief actor in Mr. Smart's prosecution) is guilty of bringing superstitious innovations into the church, tending to idolatry ; and of speaking scandalous and malicious words against his majesty's supremacy and the religion established.

5. "That Dr. Cosins is, in the opinion of this house, unfit and unworthy to be a governor in either of the universities, or to continue any longer head or governor of any college, or to hold and enjoy any ecclesiastical promotions."\*

The house then referred it to the committee, to prepare such things as might be thought fit to be transmitted to the house of lords concerning Dr. Cosins ; and also to consider of the most proper way of making Mr. Smart reparations for the damages he had sustained. When Mr. Rouse delivered the charge against Dr. Cosins, at the bar of the house of lords, he said, among other things, "That by the arms of the priests Mr. Smart had been oppressed and ruined. He fell upon their superstitions and innovations, and they fell upon him with their arms ; they beat him down ; yea, they pulled him up by the roots, taking away all the means of his support ; yet leaving him life to feel his miseries. There is no cruelty like priestly cruelty ; and this cruelty cast him into long continued misery, whence he could obtain no release by any priestly mercy. And now it is prayed, that as these delinquents, by their cruel oppressions of Mr. Smart, have advanced the cause of popery, so they may in a suitable degree be punished ; that in them priestly cruelty, and the

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 41, 136, 152.—Nelson's Collec. vol. l. p. 733, 734.

very cause of popery, may appear to be punished and suppressed; and Mr. Smart, suffering for the cause of protestancy, may be so repaired, that in him pious constancy, and the cause of protestancy, may appear to be righted and repaired."\* Mr. Rouse, in a speech before the house of commons, March 16, 1640, denominated Mr. Smart "the protomartyr;" and he was usually called, "the protomartyr in these latter days of persecution."†

Mr. Smart, therefore, received some reparations for damages, but whether adequate to his losses and sufferings, is extremely doubtful. His case was several times before the lords, who passed various orders in favour of his reparations; By an order which they passed in 1642, he was restored to his prebend in Durham, and presented to the vicarage of Acliff in that county.§ In 1644 he was witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial, and was living October 31, 1648, being then seventy-nine years of age.¶ Mr. Smart was a tolerable poet, a pious and judicious minister, a reverend and grave divine, and a zealous enemy to superstition;‡ but his enemies say, that he was of a most forward, fierce, and ungovernable spirit; and that he was justly imprisoned and duly rewarded for his excessive obstinacy.\*\* This, however, is the first time we have heard that *excessive obstinacy* was *duly* rewarded thus. It is said, "he had not preached in the cathedral church at Durham, though a prebendary of it, for seven years, till he preached that seditious sermon for which he was questioned. And while he held and enjoyed his preferment, and his health too, he seldom preached more than once or twice a year." This account comes from one of his prosecutors, being his bitter enemy; and appears extremely suspicious. For if Mr. Smart had been so indolent and inattentive to his ministerial function as here represented, how was it that he gained so high a reputation among his brethren? The puritans, it is well known, invariably abhorred the conduct of idle, worldly shepherds, over the flock of Christ.††

His WORKS.—1. The Vanity and Downfal of Superstition and Popish Ceremonies, in two sermons, in the cathedral church of Durham, preached in July 1628, printed 1628.—2. A brief but true

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 211.

† Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 119.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 12.

‡ Illustration of Neal, p. 137—142.

§ Nalson's Collec. vol. ii. p. 406.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 202.

¶ Illustration of Neal, p. 161.

‡ Prynne's Cant, Doome, p. 93.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 12.

\*\* Illustration of Neal, p. 5, 162.

†† Biographia Britan. vol. iv. p. 283. Edit. 1778.

historical Narrative of some notorious Acts and Speeches of Mr. John Cozens, and some other of his Companions, contracted into Articles.—3. Various Poems in Latin and English.—4. Various Letters.

**RICHARD BLACKERBY.**—This eminently holy and learned divine was born at Worlington in Suffolk, in the year 1574, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he continued nine years, and made amazing attainments in useful literature. Here he sat under the ministry of the famous Mr. Perkins, by means of whose preaching he was effectually converted to God. For several years he laboured under the most painful awakenings of conscience, approaching almost to melancholy. While he was groaning under these convictions, his father, who was unconscious of the cause of his dejection, called him home, hoping that a change of air might remove his complaint; but his father was not aware of his disease, and the remedy proved ineffectual. Afterwards, he found peace with God, and enjoyed comfort in his own soul, through faith in Jesus Christ, which he never lost to his dying day. Upon his leaving the university, he became domestic chaplain first to Sir Thomas Jermin of Rushbrook in Suffolk, then to Sir Edward Lukenor\* of Denham in the same county. Here he continued till he married the daughter of Mr. Timothy Oldman, minister of Denham, whose father was greatly persecuted, and at length forced to abscond, in the days of Queen Mary. Mr. Blackerby, after remaining two years with his father-in-law, was called to preach at Feltwell in Norfolk. In this situation he continued some time, but, on account of his nonconformity, was at last obliged to remove to Ashdon in Essex, where he abode twenty-three years, and was employed in the education of youth. Some of his scholars became men of considerable eminence. Dr. Bernard, whom he recommended to Archbishop Usher, and who afterwards became that learned prelate's chaplain and wrote his life, was one of them. Although Mr. Blackerby, on account of his nonconformity, could not, with a good conscience, accept of any ecclesiastical preferment, or undertake any pastoral charge, within the pale of the national church, yet he constantly preached at one place or another, as he found opportunity. During the last ten years of the

\* Sir Edward was member in several parliaments, and a person of considerable eminence. He was a gentleman of great piety, an able patriot, a zealous promoter of a further reformation, and a great friend to the persecuted nonconformists.—*MS. Chronology*, vol. ii. p. 593. (2.)

above period, he preached regularly at Henningham in Essex, or Stoke, or Hundon in Suffolk.\*

Mr. Blackerby was a man of a most holy and exemplary character, as will appear from the account given of him by Mr. Clark. "During his long life," says this author, "he never seemed to lose one moment of time in idleness. As a wise man, he spent all his leisure hours in providing for immortality. He rose early, both winter and summer, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, prayer, and the instruction of others. He was remarkably punctual and conscientious in the observance of family religion. He instructed his pupils daily in true christian piety and useful learning, and walked before them continually in wisdom, love, and true holiness. Young students, upon their leaving the university, put themselves under his tuition, to be further prepared for the public ministry; to whom he taught Hebrew, opened the scriptures, read divinity, and gave excellent instructions relative to learning, doctrine, and future life."

In his public ministry, when he was suspended in one place, he fled to another. By this means, though he lived in hard times, he was seldom kept silent for any considerable period. His method in preaching consisted chiefly in opening the meaning of scripture, and in making appropriate observations, followed with a close application. He studied hard to understand the scriptures, had great skill in the original, and lived much in holy converse with God. His preaching was accompanied with so abundant an out-pouring of the Spirit, that he had reason to believe God made him the spiritual father of above *two thousand* persons. Indeed, the word of God falling from his lips, soon became the savour of life unto life to those who heard it, or they became enraged against it. And though persons of seared consciences sometimes became violently outrageous against his preaching, the signal judgments of God commonly found them out. At Hundon he met with considerable opposition from many of the principal persons in the place, who united together and procured his suspension, but who were afterwards blasted in their estates, some brought to beggary, and all, excepting one, died miserable deaths. The sabbath after his suspension, one of them boasting in the churchyard, that now they had got Blackerby out of the pulpit; a woman standing by, and hearing him, replied, "Blackerby will preach in Hundon pulpit, when you are crying in hell."

\* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 57, 58.

And the very sabbath after this man was buried, Mr. Blackerby obtained his liberty, and preached on that day in Hundon pulpit.

Mr. Blackerby was eminently distinguished for personal religion and true holiness. To promote this, was indeed his chief business. Though he was not without his infirmities; yet, to all impartial judges, he was free from the allowance of any iniquity. His whole deportment was as if God, his holy law, and the day of judgment, were constantly before his eyes. He was always deeply impressed with the majesty and holiness of God, and maintained a constant watchfulness over his heart and life. He practised mortification and self-denial, and was justly reputed "one of the holiest men living." Nevertheless, he was deeply humbled under a sense of his manifold infirmities and imperfections. This he often discovered to a grand-child of his, whom he used to address as follows: "Oh, thou little thinkest what a vile heart I have, and how I am plagued with proud thoughts. Child, if thou hast any acquaintance with God, pray for me, that God would purify this filthy heart. Oh! if God did not enable me, in some measure, to keep a watch over it, I should act to the shame of my face." While he brought these bitter accusations against himself, he exercised the greatest candour towards others, even those who differed from him in matters of subscription and church discipline. He used to observe, with the famous Mr. Perkins, "That when a man is once acquainted with his own heart, he will be apt to think every one better than himself: and an appearance of the love of God in any, will make him put the best construction on all their words and actions." Yet no hope of preferment, nor any painful suffering, would prevail upon him to act contrary to the convictions of his own mind. Though he could not, with a safe conscience, conform to the church of England, with the view of obtaining a living, or to secure himself from the iron hand of persecution; yet, in those things wherein it appeared to be his duty to conform, no man was more exact than himself. Like many other nonconformists, he had no objection to the use of some parts of the Book of Common Prayer.

He was a wise, affectionate, and faithful friend, and never suffered sin to pass unreprieved. In the discharge of this most difficult duty, he manifested so much love, seriousness, and sweetness of spirit, that while he touched the consciences of those whom he reproved, they still loved him. "His reproofs," as one observes, "were dipt in oil, driven into the

heart, and received with all acceptance, because of the overcoming kindness with which they were attended." When he was in company with persons of wealth, and heard them swear, or use profane language, he would withdraw from their company with a sad countenance; and would address them in private, with so much affection and seriousness, that they would frequently thank him. On one of these occasions, a gentleman said to him, "Had you reproved me at table I would have stabbed you, but now I thank you."

He was a strict and zealous observer of the sabbath. As preparatory to the holy observance of this day, he constantly preached in his own house on the Saturday afternoon. He rose earlier on the sabbath than on other days; and prayed six times with his family every sabbath, besides expounding the scriptures. He was particularly zealous in recommending to others the holy observance of this day. Being once invited to preach at Linton in Cambridgeshire, where a fair was annually kept on the Lord's day, he so convinced the inhabitants of the sinfulness of the practice, that, it is said, they would hold the fair no more on that day. He was of a most tender and contrite spirit; and enjoyed so much the presence and blessing of God in holy duties, that he often said at the conclusion, he would not for many worlds have missed the opportunity. This holy man was crucified to the world, and the world was crucified to him. He lived above the world, having his affections set on better things. His passionate fondness for the things of this world was so far subdued, that, though he had a most tender affection for his relations and friends, the loss of them did not discompose his mind, nor interrupt his communion with God. When his eldest daughter, whom he dearly loved, was taken away by death, he preached her funeral sermon with the utmost composure, and said, he believed she feared God from three years old. He preached as a man who had not lost his God, though he had lost his dearest child. The love of the creature could never draw his heart from the Creator. He enjoyed the abundant manifestations of God's love. His holy and heavenly deportment was accompanied with a settled peace of conscience, and a full assurance of eternal life. He often declared before his death, that for more than forty years he never had a single doubt of his salvation.

When the persecuting prelates were laid aside, and Mr. Blackerby could take the pastoral charge without subscription and observing the ceremonies, he was chosen pastor of Great Thurlow in Suffolk, where he continued the rest of his

days. With great zeal and faithfulness, he laboured to promote the glory of God and the good of souls to the very last. He was taken ill in the pulpit, was carried home, and continued in a weak state about six weeks, but kept his bed only two days. He died in the year 1648, aged seventy-four years. Mr. Blackerby was "an excellent linguist, and accounted the best Hebrew in Cambridge."\* Granger says, "he was perfectly skilled in the learned languages."† At his death, he expressed his strong hopes, that in the day of judgment there would be many hundreds of his posterity standing at the right hand of Christ. And it is said, that those who knew his children believed they were all heirs of eternal life: there were favourable hopes of all his grandchildren, many of whom were eminent persons; and many of his great grandchildren were truly pious christians.‡ The excellent Mr. Samuel Fairclough, who was ejected in 1662, married one of his daughters.§ It is said, that on account of the heavenly majesty and holiness which always attended Mr. Blackerby, the excellent Mr. Daniel Rogers of Wetherfield used to say, he could never come into his presence without trembling.¶

**THOMAS TEMPLE, D. D.**—This learned divine was brother to Sir John Temple, master of the rolls, and one of his majesty's privy council in Ireland. He was fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, and afterwards resided for some time in Lincoln college, Oxford. He was beneficed first at Winwick in Northamptonshire, then at Battersea in Surrey. At this last place he was labouring in the year 1639, having Mr. Samuel Wells for his assistant.‡ Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament; and, in 1643, was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and nominated one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. He was one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers.\*\* In 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation.†† In each of these public offices he discovered great learning and moderation. In the year 1648, he united with

\* Clark's Lives, p. 58—66.

† Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 196.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 272.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 65.

¶ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 497, 540.

\*\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46, 52, 89.

†† Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 64

the rest of the London ministers in their protestation against the king's death.\* Wood denominates him "a forward preacher."† He frequently preached before the parliament, and several of his sermons were afterwards published, one of which is entitled, "Christ's Government in and over his People, delivered before the honourable House of Commons at their Fast, October 26, 1642, on Psalm ii. 6," 1642. But when he died we have not been able to learn.

**JOHN WILKINSON, D.D.**—This venerable divine was born in the parish of Halifax in Yorkshire, and educated in the university of Oxford, where he was highly celebrated for learning.‡ He became fellow of Magdalen college, was tutor to Prince Henry, and afterwards made principal of Magdalen-hall, in the same university. By his recommendation, the well-known Mr. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, was taken into the family of Lord Hardwicke, soon after created Earl of Devonshire, in the quality of tutor to his son William Lord Cavendish.§ Upon the commencement of the civil wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament; and Oxford being garrisoned by the royal forces, he fled to the parliament's quarters, when he was succeeded in the above office by Dr. Thomas Read. But in the year 1646, Dr. Wilkinson was restored; and by an ordinance of parliament, dated May 1, 1647, he was appointed one of the visitors of the university of Oxford. In May, 1648, he was made president of Magdalen college, in the place of Dr. Oliver.¶ He did not, however, live long to occupy this public office; for he died January 2, 1649, and his remains were interred in the church of Great Milton in Oxfordshire. Though he was a man of great learning and piety,‡ Dr. Walker is pleased to say, upon the slender authority of a scurrilous and abusive letter written against the puritans, "That he was known not to have preached above once in forty years; that he had outlived the little learning he once possessed; and was become the very sport of boys."\*\* How far this account, from so base an authority, and evidently designed to reproach his memory, is worthy of credit, we will not attempt to determine;

\* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 895.

‡ Watson's Hist. of Halifax, p. 526.

§ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2599. Edit. 1747.

¶ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 126, 134.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 431.

\*\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 127.

but certain it is, that the parliament, to whom he was well known, and by whom he was so highly esteemed, formed a very different opinion of him.

Fuller observes, "that Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, the famous old puritan, having bequeathed to Magdalen college a considerable sum of gold left in a chest, and not to be opened except in some case of great emergency; Dr. Wilkinson, while he was president, took this gold, and shared it betwixt himself and the fellows of the college. Though one must charitably believe," he adds, "that the matter was not so bad as is reported, yet the most favourable account gave a general distaste."\* Dr. Heylin says, "the sum amounted to upwards of twelve hundred double pistoles, value sixteen shillings and six-pence each; and that the old doctor had one hundred for his share of the spoil, and the fellows thirty each." But he observes, that, according to tradition, the money was left by the founder of the college, and not by Dr. Humphrey.† Wood says, "the sum amounted to no less than fourteen hundred pounds; and Dr. Henry Wilkinson, the vice-president of the college, not John Wilkinson, was the chief divider of the spoil.‡

JOHN GERE, A. M.—He was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. His first ministerial labours were at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. But, says Wood, he was schismatically inclined, and a nonconformist to certain ceremonies of the church of England, for which he was silenced by Bishop Goodman; yet he was so universally beloved, that, after he had received his lordship's censure, he was supported by his brethren. Under this censure he remained a considerable time; but in the year 1641, he was restored to his cure by the committee of religion. In 1645, he became minister of St. Alban's in Hertfordshire; and, having laboured there about four years, was made preacher at St. Faith's under St. Paul's, London. He was a thorough puritan, and at all these places was much followed by those of his own persuasion.§ He wrote with considerable ability against the baptists, was opposed to the war betwixt the king and parliament, and against taking away the life of the king. He died in the month of February, 1649, aged forty-nine years. His death,

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 234.

† Heylin's Examen. Histor. p. 266.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 748.

§ Ibid. p. 64.

it is said, was occasioned by his extreme grief for the death of King Charles.\* Mr. Baxter denominates him "an eminent nonconformist divine."† He died poor; but was so exceedingly beloved by his people, that they settled thirty pounds a year upon his widow for life, and behaved very honourably to his children.‡ Mr. Stephen Gere, another puritan divine, was his elder brother. Mr. Arthur Jackson, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his successor.§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Several Sermons, 1641, &c.—2. *Vindiciæ voti*; or, a Vindication of the true Sense of the National Covenant, in Answer to the 'Protestant Protested,' 1641.—3. *Vindiciæ Eocl. Anglicanæ*; or, Ten Cases resolved, 1644.—4. Proofs that the King may without Impeachment of his Oath, touching the Clergy, at his Coronation, consent to the Abrogation of Episcopacy, 1646.—5. *Astrologo-Mastix*; or, the Vanity of Judicial Astrology, 1646.—6. *Vindiciæ Pædo-Baptismi*; or, a Vindication of Infant Baptism, 1646.—7. Character of an old English Puritan Nonconformist, 1646.—8. *Vindiciæ Vindiciarum*; or, a Vindication of his Vindication of Infant Baptism, 1647.—9. A Catechism, 1647.—10. Touching Supremacy in Causes Ecclesiastical, 1647.—11. An Exercise, 1648.—12. The Sifter's Sieve Broken, 1648.—13. Answer to John Goodwin's 'Might and Right well met,' 1649.

**THOMAS SHEPARD, A. M.**—This most pious divine was born at Towcester in Northamptonshire, November 5, 1605, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Here he was brought under deep conviction of sin, and led to receive Jesus Christ for wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. This work was wrought chiefly by the instrumentality of the celebrated Dr. Preston. Upon Mr. Shepard's removal from the university, he became lecturer at Earls Colne in Essex, where God greatly blessed his labours, and many souls were converted by his ministry. His labours and his usefulness, however, were of no long continuance; for in about three years he fell into the hands of Bishop Laud, who silenced him for nonconformity, and forced him out of the country. He then retired into the north, and became domestic chaplain to Sir Richard Darly, of Buttercomb in Yorkshire, where his labours were eminently useful to Sir Richard and his family. But Archbishop Neile would not suffer him to preach, without subscription to the ecclesiastical impositions,

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 65.

† Sylvester's *Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 34.

‡ Jackson's *Annotations, Dedic.* Edit. 1658.

§ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 190.

contrary to his conscience.\* He next removed to Heddou in Northumberland, where, as in other places, his labours were made a blessing to many souls. But even in this remote corner of the land, the eye of Laud was upon him, and this tyrannical prelate would not suffer him to preach without a perfect conformity to the ecclesiastical injunctions and the new ceremonies. Thus, being shut out from all prospect of future usefulness, he resolved to withdraw from the storm, and retire to New England. Previous to his departure, he very narrowly escaped being taken by the bishop's officers. And, towards the close of the year 1634, having taken shipping at Harwich, the ship had not been many hours at sea before a most tremendous storm arose, in which they were in the utmost danger of being lost. An eminent, but profane officer on the shore, observing their distress, was heard to say, "As for that poor collier, I pity him much: but as for the puritans in the other vessel, bound for New England, I am not concerned; for their faith will save them." The ship at last returned safe into the harbour. The next day Mr. Shepard went ashore to bury his first-born son; but, on account of the watchful pursuivants, who were still anxious to take him, he dare not be present at the funeral.†

In the month of July, 1635, Mr. Shepard, after having again narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the bishop's officers, sailed from Gravesend in company with Mr. Wilson, Mr. Jones, and others, and arrived at Boston in New England, in the beginning of October following. Previous to his arrival, Mr. Hooker and his congregation having removed from Cambridge to the banks of the river Connecticut, Mr. Shepard was chosen pastor of the church at Cambridge, and there continued to the day of his death. When the antinomian and familistic errors broke out in the new colony, this worthy divine, by his endeavours and influence, was the happy means of stopping the progress of the infectious malady. He was an excellent preacher, and took great pains in his preparations for the pulpit. He used to say, "God will curse that man's

\* It is observed of Dr. Neile, that, when he was Bishop of Lincoln, and "when any man preached before King James that had renown of piety, he, unwilling the king should hear him, would in the sermon-time entertain the king with a merry tale, after which he would laugh, and tell those near him, he could not hear the preacher for the old bishop." It is added: "When he was Archbishop of York, his head was so filled with Arminian impiety, that in the next king's reign he was looked upon by the parliament to be one of the great grievances of the kingdom."—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 146, 147.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iiii. p. 84—87.

labours who goes idly up and down all the week, and then goes into his study on a Saturday afternoon. God knows that we have not too much time to pray in, and weep in, and get our hearts into a fit frame for the duties of the sabbath."

Mr. Shepard's great care and attention to the duties of the pastoral office will appear from the following extracts collected from his diary:—"August 15, 1641, I saw four evils," says he, "attending my ministry.—1. The devil treads me down by shame, discouragement, and an apprehension of the unsavoury spirits of the people.—2. I am become too careless, because I have done well, and have been enlarged and respected.—3. Weakness and infirmities: as the want of light, life, and spirit.—4. The want of success.—I saw these things, and have cause to be humbled for them. I have this day found my heart heavy, depressed, and untoward, by musing upon the many evils to come. But I was comforted by recollecting, that though in myself I am a dying, condemned man, I am alive and reconciled by Christ; that I am unable to do any thing of myself, yet by Christ I can do all things; and that though I enjoy all these only in part in this world, I shall shortly have them in perfection in heaven.

"March 19, 1642; I said, as pride was my sin, so shame would be my punishment. I had many fears of Eli's punishment, for not sharply reproofing sin. Here I considered that the Lord may make one good man a terror, and a dreadful example, that all the godly may fear, and not slight his commands as Eli did.

"October 10th. When I saw gifts and honours conferred upon others, I began to affect their excellencies. The Lord therefore humbled me, by letting me see, that all this was diabolical pride. And he made me thankful for seeing it, putting me in mind to watch against it in future."

His very humble and contrite spirit will appear from the following extracts, written on days of special fasting and prayer:—"November 3rd. I saw sin to be my greatest evil; and that I am vile; but God is good, against whom I have sinned. I saw what cause I had to loathe myself. It was a good day to me. I went to God, and trusted in him. I considered whether all the country did not fare the worse for my sins. I saw it did, and was deeply humbled.

"April 4th. May not I be the cause of the church's present sorrows? My heart hath been long at a distance from the Lord. The Lord first sent a terrible storm at sea; and my deliverance, in being snatched from apparent death, was

so sweet, that I hoped my future life would be wholly devoted to God. I then set my face towards New England, where I resolved to be the Lord's in all manner of holiness. Afterwards the Lord took my dear wife from me. This made me resolve to delight no more in creatures, but in the Lord alone. When God threatened my child with blindness, his affliction was sweet to me, but much more his commands and promises. Then I could do his will and leave all things to him. But how is my gold become dim! I have no cause to blame the Lord who has persuaded me; but the Lord pardon my sin. To serve Satan without promise, and forsake the Lord against his promise, is grievous indeed! With respect to my people, I have not pitied them, nor prayed for them, nor visited them, nor loved them, so much as I ought to have done. The gospel which I have preached has not been seen in its glory, nor been believed, nor proved effectual. Because I have greatly neglected to seek to Christ for supplies, all hath been dead work; and the fruit of pride. I have now had a long sickness, as if the Lord would use me no more. Oh! my God, who is like unto thee, pardoning and subduing mine iniquities!"\* These are some of the severe censures which this eminently holy man pronounced against himself.

Mr. Shepard, when on his death-bed, was visited by many of his friends and brethren in the ministry. Several young ministers having called to see him, he addressed them as follows: "Your work," said he, "is great, and requires great seriousness. For my own part, I never preached a sermon which, in the composing, did not cost me *prayers*, with *strong cries* and *tears*. I never preached a sermon from which I had not first got some good to my own soul. I never went up into the pulpit but as if I were going to give an account of myself to God."† Before his departure, addressing his friends, he said, "Oh! love the Lord Jesus very dearly. That little part which I have in him is no small comfort to me now." He died of a quinsy, August 25, 1649, aged forty-three years. He was a person of great learning, a hard student, an admirable preacher, and an excellent writer. His work on the "Parable of the Ten Virgins," observes Dr. Williams, is a rich fund of experimental and practical divinity: the dress is plain, but the strain of thought is extremely animated and searching.‡ Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned

\* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 91—93.

† Ibid. p. 238.

‡ Christian Preacher, p. 435.

writers who were fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.\* The two Mr. Thomas Shepards, successively pastors of the church at Charlestown in New England, were his son and grandson.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Doctrine of the Sabbath*, 1649.—2. *Certain Select Cases Resolved*, 1650.—3. *Subjection to Christ in all his Ordinances and Appointments, the best means to preserve our Liberty*, 1652.—4. *The Sincere Convert*, 1652.—5. *A Treatise of Liturgies*, 1653.—6. *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, 1660.—7. *The Sound Believer*, 1671.—8. *The Churchmembership of Children, and their right to Baptism*.—9. *New England's Lamentations for Old England's Errors*.—10. *A Treatise of Hearing the Word*.—11. *Wine for Gospel Wantons; or, Cautions against Spiritual Drunkenness*.

**SAMUEL CROOK, B. D.**—This excellent divine was born at Great Waldingfield in Essex, January 17, 1574; educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; and afterwards chosen fellow of Emanuel college. His father was the learned and laborious Dr. Crook, preacher to the honourable society of Gray's-inn, and descended from an ancient family. He was highly esteemed in the university, for his pregnant parts, great industry, and answerable proficiency in all the branches of useful and polite literature. He was chosen reader of rhetoric and philosophy in the public schools, which offices he filled with great applause. While at Cambridge he was a constant hearer and a great admirer of the excellent Mr. Perkins. He preached first for a short time at Caxton, near Cambridge; then, in the year 1602, accepted an invitation to the pastoral charge at Wrington in Somersetshire, receiving his presentation to the living from Sir Arthur Capel. In gratitude for the advantages which he had enjoyed at the university, he gave to the library of Pembroke-hall, Basil's Works, Greek and Latin; to Emanuel college, all the Councils, Greek and Latin; and to the university library, the Works of Gregory Nazianzens and Gregory Nissens.

Mr. Crook, upon his settlement at Wrington, took indefatigable pains in his ministry, and his usefulness surpassed all expectation. He constantly preached three times a week, and sometimes oftener, to the end of his days. As he preached so he lived. His life was one continued comment upon his doctrine. He was much admired and esteemed by his people, and their affectionate attachment continued to increase to the last. As, during his preparations for the

\* *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 147.

† *Mather's Hist.* b. iii. p. 88.

ministry, he had laid in richly, so now he laid out liberally. His sermons were grave, judicious, and appropriate; and his applications, by a sweet eloquence, fervent zeal, and love to souls, were addressed to the hearts of his hearers. He did not serve God with that which cost him nothing, but laboured much in his preparations for the pulpit. His constant motto was, "I am willing to spend and be spent." In time of sickness, the physician observing that he might live longer if he would preach less, he said, "Alas! if I may not labour I cannot live. What good will life do me, if I be hindered from the end of living?" When labouring under the infirmities of old age, he would not desist from his beloved work, but often preached when with the utmost difficulty he could scarcely walk to the house of God; and even then his sermons were delivered with his usual vivacity.\* He fed his flock, not with airy notions and vain speculations, but with the substantial provision of the gospel. He provided milk for babes, and strong meat for men. Notwithstanding his excellent endowments, and the high admiration in which he was held by all who knew him, he was not lifted up with pride, but walked in all humility before God and men. He is said to have been the first who brought extemporary prayer into use in that part of the country, in which exercise he greatly excelled.

He laboured in the ministry, with very little interruption, above forty-seven years. During this period he was the means of bringing many wandering sinners to Christ. Once, indeed, the bishop put a stop to his Tuesday lecture; but it is said, "God was pleased so to order it, that the lecture was soon revived, and the bishop who interrupted it was cast out of his office."† During a life of nearly seventy-five years, he witnessed many changes in the church of Christ. Nor was he without his sufferings in the civil wars. Rude soldiers tyrannized over him in his own house, not permitting him to be quiet in his study. There they followed him with drawn swords, vowing his instant death, for not joining them in their bloody cause. The Lord, however, was pleased to deliver him from the rage of his enemies.

Mr. Crook, during his last sickness, often protested that the doctrine he had taught was the truth of God, as he should answer at the tribunal of Christ, to which he was hastening. He received the sentence of his approaching death with cheerfulness; and seeing he had no prospect of

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 202—206.

† Ibid. p. 206—208.

labouring any more, he desired his friends not to pray for the continuance of his life, but "for faith, for patience, for repentance, and for joy in the Holy Ghost. Lord," said he, "cast me down as low as hell in repentance, and lift me up to heaven by faith and confidence in thy salvation." He was full of grace, full of peace, full of assurance. The Tuesday before he died, he said, "This day sevennight is the day on which we used to remember Christ's nativity, and on this day I have preached Christ. I shall scarcely live to see it. But for me that child was born, and unto me that son was given." He died December 25, 1649, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Mr. Clark says, "he was a person of a quick invention, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and great learning and piety. He was grave without austerity, pleasant without levity, courteous without hypocrisy, and charitable almost without an equal."\* Fuller has placed him on the list of learned writers, being fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.

His Works.—1. Three Sermons, 1615.—2. Death Subdued, 1619.—3. The Guide to True Blessedness, 1650.—4. Divine Characters, 1650.

FRANCIS WOODCOCK, A. B.—This pious divine was born in the city of Chester, in the year 1614, and educated in Brasen-nose college, Oxford, where he took one degree in arts. He entered into holy orders while at the university, and was episcopally ordained, soon after which he removed from that seat of learning, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him. Wood says, "he was always puritanically affected;" therefore, upon the commencement of the differences between the king and parliament, he espoused the cause of the latter, and was afterwards chosen one of the assembly of divines, when he assiduously attended during the whole session. Being brought up to London, he was chosen lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry, and frequently preached at St. Olive's in Southwark, to which he was afterwards appointed minister by an ordinance of parliament, dated July 10, 1646.† He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was chosen proctor to the university of Cambridge.‡ He died in the year 1649, aged thirty-five

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 205—214.

† Hist. of Cambridge, p. 147.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 229.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 24.

years, and his remains were interred in St. Olave's church.\* He was esteemed a good scholar and an excellent preacher.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Two Witnesses*, in several Lectures at St. Lawrence Jewry, on Rev. xi., with the great Question discussed, Whether the two Witnesses were slain or no? 1643.—This work was made public by an order from the committee of the house of commons, dated April 27, 1643.—2. *Christ's Warning-piece*, giving Notice to every one to watch and keep their Garments, delivered in a Sermon at Margaret's, Westminster, before the House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, October 30, 1644—1644.—3. *Lex Talionis*; or, God paying every Man in his own Coin, a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, July 30, 1645, on 1 Sam. ii. 30., 1645.—4. *Joseph Paralleled* by the present Parliament, in his Sufferings and Advancement, a Sermon preached before the House of Commons on their solemn Day of Thanksgiving, Feb. 19, 1645, on Gen. xlix. 23, 24., 1646.

**EDWARD SYMONDS, A. M.**—This pious man was born at Cotted in Hertfordshire, and educated at Peter-house, Cambridge. Upon his leaving the university, he entered into the ministerial office, and appears to have preached at Fowey in Cornwall. In the year 1630 he became rector of Little Rayne in Essex, where he continued till the commencement of the civil wars. He omitted the use of the cross in baptism and wearing the surplice, for which he was brought before a justice of peace; but whether the prosecution was dropped, or he was punished for this two-fold marvellous crime, we are not able to learn. "His omission of the cross and surplice, and his friendship with Stephen Marshall, plainly intimate," says Dr. Walker, "that he was something inclinable to the puritans;"† and we venture to add, that the former alone sufficiently proves that he was a puritan and a nonconformist. He was nevertheless brought into many troubles during the civil wars, by the committee of scandalous ministers. Appearing before the committee, he was sequestered for preaching and publishing, "That the king, being the supreme magistrate, hath immediate dependence upon God, to whom only he is accountable—that the title of the Lord's anointed is proper and peculiar to the king: that royal birth is equivalent to royal unction: that authority is a sacred thing, and essential to the king's person: that resistance is against the way of God, destructive to the whole law of God, inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, the perpetual practice of christianity, the calling of ministers, common prudence, the rule of

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 82, 83.—Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 6.

† Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 361.

humanity, nature itself, reason, the oath of allegiance, and even the late protestation." These charges, which Mr. Symmonds acknowledged, are expressed in his own words. He was further charged with having defamed the parliament, affirming, "That the parliament would force the king to comply with their laws: that they raised a force against the king; and that they are not to be obeyed, though they command according to the will of God, if it be not according to the command of the king: and pressing his auditors to believe whatsoever is set forth in the king's declarations; *because a divine sentence is in his mouth, and he CANNOT ERR*: and that if David's heart smote him for cutting off Saul's garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his castles, towns, and ships?" For these things, the lords and commons in parliament assembled gave an order, dated March 3, 1642, that his living should be sequestered into the hands of Mr. Robert Atkins, A. M. who was appointed to preach every Lord's day till further order.\*

Mr. Symmonds, besides his sequestration, endured many other hardships. His accusers, if sufficient credit be due to Dr. Walker, were persons of very inferior character. His family experienced some unkind usage; and he was forced to flee for safety into various parts of the kingdom, and at length into France. The doctor, however, is certainly very incorrect in asserting, "that Mr. Symmonds brought all these miseries upon himself, because he could not go hand in hand with them in rebellion." Many of the royal clergy, who inter-meddled not with state affairs, but remained neuter, continued in the peaceable possession of their livings. He died in the year 1649, and his remains were interred in St. Peter's church, Paul's-wharf, London. "He was a person of great piety, courage, wisdom, and learning; an excellent and a profitable preacher;"† and though he suffered much during the wars, through his zeal for the royal cause, he was so strict in his life, and so plain, piercing, and profitable in preaching, that he was looked upon as a puritan.‡ He published "A loyal Subject's Belief," 1643; and "A Vindication of King Charles."

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 67, 68.

† Ibid. part ii. p. 358—361.—Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 29.

‡ Lloyd's Memoires, p. 614, 687.

**ANDREW WYKE** was a zealous minister of the baptist persuasion, and apprehended in the county of Suffolk, for preaching and dipping. When he was brought before the committee of the county, to be examined about his authority to preach and the doctrines he delivered, he refused to give any account of either. He alleged, that a freeman of England was not bound to answer any such interrogatories, either to accuse himself or others; but he signified, that if they had any thing against him, they ought to bring forward their charge, and produce their evidence. This was, indeed, considered as great obstinacy, and as high contempt of their authority; therefore he was immediately sent to jail.\*

It does not appear how long he remained in prison; but during his confinement a pamphlet was published either by himself or some of his friends, entitled, "The Innocent in Prison Complaining; or, a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Committee of Ipswich and the Committee of Bury St. Edmunds in the county of Suffolk, against Andrew Wyke, a witness of Jesus in the same county, who was committed to prison, June 3, 1646."† This work gives a circumstantial account of his adversaries' proceedings against him, and exclaims bitterly against the committee for its persecuting principles and illegal conduct. Withholding from others the blessing of christian liberty, came with an ill grace from those persons, who, only a few years before, while they groaned under the iron rod of the tyrannical prelates, had earnestly pleaded for the same blessing.

March 16, 1650, Mr. Wyke, together with several others, was committed to prison at Coventry, to be tried for his crimes. He is represented as having kissed a soldier three times, and said, "I breathe the Spirit of God into thee." During his confinement, he preached every Lord's day at the gate of the prison, when multitudes of people stood in the street to hear him. But how long his tribulations continued, or when he died, we are not able learn.‡

**HENRY TOZER, B. D.**—This learned person was born at North-Tawton in Devonshire, in the year 1602, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford, where he took his degrees, and was afterwards chosen sub-rector and fellow of the house. Having entered into the ministerial office, it is said, that he

\* Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 169, 170.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 235.

‡ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 490, 492.

was useful in moderating, reading to novices, and lecturing in the chapel. He was an able and a laborious preacher, had much of the primitive religion in his sermons, and seemed to be a most precise puritan in his looks and life, on which account his sermons and expositions in the churches of St. Giles and St. Martin in Oxford, were much frequented by the puritanical party. In the year 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, but declined his attendance, "choosing," says Wood, "to remain at Oxford, and preach before the king or parliament, rather than venture himself among rigid Calvinists." He was a noted theologian, and having preached at Christ's Church before his majesty, or at St. Mary's before the parliament, he was appointed by the chancellor of the university, in 1646, to take his doctor's degree; but this in like manner he refused.\*

Mr. Tozer was a divine of puritan principles; yet, on account of his unshaken loyalty and the use of the Common Prayer, after it was set aside, he experienced some trouble from the opposite party, of which the following account is given by the pen of Dr. Walker:—"Dr. Hakewell having retired from the college, the government," says he, "of course devolved upon Mr. Tozer as sub-rector; nor did he betray or disgrace his post, but shewed himself a stout champion against the illegal visitation, boldly and resolutely opposed it, maintained in the highest degree the rights of the college, and made a noble stand in defence of his own freehold, and that of the other fellows, when that *mock-reformation* was set on foot, after the surrender of the garrison to the parliament." March 21, 1647, I find him upon a citation before the visitors at Merton college, having been accused to them of "continuing the Common Prayer in the college, after the ordinance for the directory came in force: Also of having sent for and admonished one of the house, for refusing to attend the chapel-prayers on that account." He had also constantly shewed "the utmost dislike to those of the parliament faction, and always countenanced and patronized the loyalists of his college. Although the visitors had thought fit to put off the term; yet, as Dr. Fell, the vice-chancellor, had proceeded to open it at the usual time in the university, without any regard to that order, so did Mr. Tozer also in his private college. "These informations," says our author, "the visitors had

\* Wood's Athens Oxon. vol. ii. p. 71, 72.

gotten from the spies and setters of the house; for which they were afterwards rewarded with the fellowships of those who by that means were ejected. A most excellent encouragement to informers! And let me add," says he, "that in direct contradiction to the very letter of the statutes, they ordered one of them to receive the rents of the college, and soon after made him sub-rector, though he was at that time, or only a few months before, no more than batchelor of arts."

To the above criminations Mr. Tozer desired time to put in his answer, which was granted him. When he returned his answer, he disowned their authority, saying, "That the things about which he was questioned, concerned the discipline of the college; and that he had some time before answered in the name of the whole college, that they could not, without perjury, submit to any other visitors than those to whom their statutes directed them." This answer being unsatisfactory to the visitors, they ordered him to be ejected, and committed the execution of the sentence to the soldiers of the garrison. However, Mr. Tozer still kept possession of his college for some time; and, June 29, 1648, the visitors sent for him again, and in direct opposition to the statutes of the house, peremptorily forbade him to proceed to an election the day following; and to effectually prevent him, they expelled him both from the college and the university. He refused after all to deliver up the keys of the college and to be perjured, when they proceeded to apprehend and imprison him. There is one circumstance more concerning his sufferings which, says our author, must not be omitted, viz. "That the second of the same month, he was dragged out of St. Martin's church by the soldiers, and forbidden to officiate there any more; because, forsooth! he preached pestilential doctrine." The visitors, however, afterwards moderated their sentence; allowed him the use of his chamber in the college; and appointed him the profits of a travelling fellowship, to be allowed him for three years: "but," our author adds, "whether it was ever paid him, or not, I cannot say."\* Upon the appointment of this allowance, he went to Holland, and became minister to the English merchants at Rotterdam, where he died September 11, 1650, aged forty-eight years, and his remains were interred in the English church at that place. Dr. Thomas Marshall, who

\* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 115.

succeeded him in the preacher's office, says, "he was always taken for an honest and a conscientious puritan."\*

**His Works.**—1. Directions for a Godly Life, especially for communicating at the Lord's Table, 1628.—2. A Christian Amendment, a Sermon on New-years-day at St. Mary's Ch. in Ox. on 2 Cor. v. 17., 1633.—3. Dicta et facta Christi ex quatuor Evangelistis collecta, et in ordine disposita, 1634.—4. Christian Wisdom, or the Excellency, &c. of true Wisdom, a Sermon on 1 Kings x. 24., 1639.—5. A Sermon on John xviii. 3., 1640.

**CHRISTOPHER LOVE, A. M.**—This person was the son of Mr. Christopher Love, born at Cardiff in Glamorganshire, in the year 1618, and educated at New-inn-hall, Oxford. He was the youngest child of his parents, and the son of their old age; his mother, who was of a respectable family, was fifty years old when he was born. Though they never intended him for the ministry, they gave him a good education. From a child he was remarkably fond of books; and though his parents were too indulgent to him, allowing him too great liberty for play and sinful recreations, he never neglected his learning. He felt greatly concerned for his own improvement; therefore he devoted much of his time, both night and day, to his beloved studies.

He was fifteen years of age before ever he heard a sermon. At this period, Mr. Erbery going to the town, he was induced through curiosity to hear him; and he, with some others, was greatly entertained with the novelty of it. Although he went, as he used afterwards to observe, only to see a man in a pulpit; yet, there God was pleased to meet with him, and, by that sermon, gave him such a sight of his sins and his undone condition, that he confessed he returned home, as he expressed it, "with a hell in his conscience." When he came to his father's house, being dead to all his former carnal pleasures and sinful pastimes, his father greatly wondered at the sudden change; and, concluding him to be seized with some strange fit of melancholy, recommended him to associate and play with his old companions, but he refused. He could now take no pleasure in their company. His father sometimes advised him to go to gentlemen's houses, and attend his usual games; but the very thoughts of them were as daggers in his heart; therefore, he begged to be excused.

Mr. Love having fully relinquished the card-table, desired

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 72.—Biog. Britan. vol. vi. p. 4076.

leave of his father, upon the next lecture day, to go to church; but this he absolutely refused, conceiving it to have been the occasion of his present sadness. Also, to prevent his attendance at church, his father locked him up in a high chamber of the house, thinking by this means to confine him there till the service was over. Such, however, was his courage, and his desire to hear the word, that he made his escape by tying a cord to the window, and sliding by it down the side of the house; and so went to the church, where the Lord was pleased so to deepen his convictions, that it ended in a sound conversion of his soul to God. Upon his return home, he found his father greatly exasperated. His situation was now deplorable. While his earthly parent was exceedingly displeased, the thoughts of an almighty and offended God were almost insupportable. It was no small aggravation of his distress, that for some time he had not a friend on earth to whom he could unbosom his complaint. Afterwards he made known the anguish of his mind to Mr. Erbery, who was instrumental in further promoting his edification and benefit: nevertheless the Sovereign Disposer of all events was pleased to suspend the manifestations of his love, and keep him under a cloud for many years.\*

About the same time some others, who had been his companions in vice, were brought to an acquaintance with God. They who had been familiar associates in games and sinful pleasures, now often assembled together for the purpose of fasting and prayer. That they might not neglect their school-hours, nor displease their parents, they met together in the night season, when their parents thought they were in bed. For many months they held these nocturnal assemblies, setting apart two nights in the week for these devotional exercises. Mr. Love's father seeing him continue in this course, appeared to draw his affection from him, and looked upon him as a hopeless youth. He who had been called a young *gamester*, was now stigmatized a young *puritan*. Mr. Erbery perceiving his distressed situation, waited upon his father, and requested him to allow his son to come to his house, and he would promote his improvement in learning, and take proper care of him, to which his father gave his consent.

In this new situation he continued for some time, to his great advantage and comfort, of which he retained a lively sense to the day of his death. His father going to London, procured a place for him as an apprentice, entered into an

\* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

agreement with the master, and even paid the stipulated premium: but young Love was exceedingly averse to the situation, and earnestly entreated his father to send him to Oxford. Though his father consented to his wishes, he did it in displeasure, withholding his pecuniary aid; and, during his abode at the university, he was supported partly by his mother, and partly by Mr. Erbery. He who was appointed to endure many troubles, began thus to bear the yoke in his youth. Upon his arrival at Oxford, not knowing any person in the place, nor whom to choose for his tutor, as he sat by the fire at the inn, there came several young scholars, whose discourse was wholly against the puritans, railing against them, and cursing them, especially one Mr. Rogers, whom they stigmatized an *arch-puritan*, and declared there was none other besides him who was head of any house in Oxford. Having heard what they had to say, he resolved to make some further inquiries concerning this Mr. Rogers, hoping that he was just such a tutor as he wanted; and after gaining satisfactory information, he intrusted himself to his care and tuition.

While at the university, Mr. Love had but little to subsist upon; but he was careful of what he received, and extremely provident of his time, making suitable improvement in his studies. He sought the acquaintance of religious persons, who, in those times of danger, were particularly cautious whom they admitted into their society. He enjoyed, however, little or no comfort for several years. God seemed to keep at a distance from him, which caused him to sigh and mourn. The remembrance of his former misspent life was to him a source of constant and bitter lamentation. In the midst of these painful conflicts, he walked as in the valley of the shadow of death. The terrors of death and hell compassed him about, and the thoughts of God made him afraid. The apprehensions of death were an astonishment to him. Under these afflictive terrors and convictions, he desired to live, as he used to say, "that he might have a little longer respite out of hell." Having little or no hope of escaping future misery, he feared that every step he took would launch him into endless torment. The waves and billows passed over his soul, and had he not been supported by the grace of Christ, he would have been overwhelmed in the mighty storm. Amidst all these painful conflicts, he lifted up his heart to God in devout prayer and supplication, and was at length enabled by faith to look within the veil, and obtain a glimpse of God, as a father and a friend, through Jesus Christ. He chose rather

to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to live in the pleasures of sin. He was enabled to come unto the Lord, and to cast anchor on the promise of his word; and then he enjoyed comfort.

He knew that grace was absolutely necessary to make a good christian; so learning, in his opinion, was of great importance to make an able minister of the gospel. He was, therefore, constantly assiduous to enjoy both. He was a good proficient in the school of Christ, as well as in the school of the prophets. The Lord greatly blessed his close application to his studies; and, to qualify him for making known the glorious gospel of the blessed God, he filled his earthen vessel with the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

During the above painful conflict, he was generally looked upon as melancholy. As he had but few friends to whom he could unbosom his complaint, most persons were totally unacquainted with the cause of his dejection. At the usual time of attending his meals, as I have heard him say, (the writer of his life observes,) he used to come to his meat, when he would scarcely take any notice of those who sat with him at table, but wondered that they could eat and drink with such merry hearts. While at the table, he thought the moments long till he again retired to his study, where he spent nearly all his time, devoting certain hours every day to his academical pursuits, and the rest to the study of the holy scriptures. He allowed himself very little sleep, and little or no time for recreation. He was steady in his attachment to the house and ordinances of God, and conscientiously exact in all the duties of private devotion. For his zeal in the cause of God, he was often prosecuted in the bishops' courts; but none of these things moved him, or damped his religious ardour.\*

Mr. Love having entered the ministerial function, became a very popular and useful preacher, but was persecuted for nonconformity. Even during his abode at Oxford, for refusing in convocation to subscribe Laud's superstitious canons, he was expelled from the house, never to sit there any more. Upon leaving the university, he went to London, where he was invited by the sheriff, who was a person of eminent piety, to become his domestic chaplain. In this situation he was exceedingly beloved, and made instrumental in the conversion of several in the family. He received an

\* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

invitation to become lecturer at St. Ann's, Aldersgate; but the Bishop of London opposed his settlement, and for three years refused his allowance. Mr. Love's popularity exasperated the minds of his enemies, and he no sooner entered upon his public ministry, than he was silenced from preaching.

He had, indeed, certain conscientious scruples against the ordination of the church of England, and, therefore, went into Scotland, with a view to have obtained presbyterian ordination; but there he met with a disappointment. That church had decreed to ordain none besides those who should settle among them; nevertheless, large offers were made to him, in addition to ordination, if he would have continued in the north. On his return from Scotland, he was invited by the aldermen and other worthy persons of Newcastle, to preach for them on a Lord's day; and, in his sermon, in the afternoon, he openly expressed his sentiments against the errors in the Book of Common Prayer, and the superstitious ceremonies in the national church. For this, he was immediately committed to the common gaol, a most filthy place, among thieves and murderers, having nothing but straw to lie upon. During his confinement, the people flocked to the prison; and not being admitted to his company, he preached to them through the grates of the prison. Afterwards, his friends being allowed to go into the prison, they cleaned it for his comfort, and there he preached to all who came, and was made remarkably useful. Having suffered confinement for some time, he was removed to London, and tried in the court of king's-bench, and acquitted. About the commencement of the national troubles, for maintaining in his sermon the lawfulness of defensive war, in certain cases, against the civil magistrate, he was accused of treason and rebellion, but was publicly acquitted, with the recovery of damages.\*

During the wars, Mr. Love was chosen to be preacher to the garrison of Windsor, then under the command of Colonel John Venn; on which account the royalists nick-named him "Venn's principal fireman at Windsor." Notwithstanding this foul calumny, his ministerial labours were greatly esteemed, even by those who differed from him in matters of ceremony; and, our author adds, "I am bold to say, that no man was more generally beloved than he was, and, I believe, as great a seal was set unto his ministry as God doth usually set to the

\* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.—Mr. Love's Trial, p. 68. Edit. 1681.

ministry of any of his servants." When God visited the town and castle with the plague, and many were cut off, he still continued in the place; and, not afraid of the ravages of death, he visited the abodes of the afflicted and dying wherever he heard of them. To promote their comfort and salvation, he exposed himself to infection and death; and through this period of extreme danger the Lord protected him from both. Though many fell on the right hand and on the left, his life was precious in the sight of the Lord. Having made the "Lord his refuge, and the Most High his habitation," he was not "afraid of the pestilence that walked in darkness, nor of the destruction that wasted at noon-day."

Upon the establishment of the presbyterian government, he was ordained according to their method, in Aldermanbury church, January 23, 1644, by Mr. Horton, Mr. Bellers, and Mr. Roberts; which was done by fasting and prayer, and laying on of hands. In his examination, being asked whether he thought he could suffer for those truths of Christ, of which he had then made a profession, if he should be called so to do, he thus answered:—"I tremble to think what I should do in such a case, especially when I consider how many have boasted what they could suffer for Christ; and yet when they have come to it, they have denied Christ and his truths, rather than suffered for them. Therefore, I dare not boast what I shall do; but if this power be given me of God, then I shall not only be willing to be bound, but to die for the sake of the Lord Jesus." On this occasion, he received excellent commendations of his gifts and graces, particularly from Mr. Ley, by whom he was examined.\*

In the year 1645, Mr. Love being called to preach before the commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge, he addressed his audience, saying, "That they were not to expect any good from the treaty; for they (meaning the king's commissioners) came from Oxford with hearts full of blood, and there was as great a distance between the treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell. He inveighed," says the noble historian, "so seditiously against all who followed the king, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else but to stir up the people to mutiny; and therein to do some act of violence to the commissioners."† Another writer says, "That instead of friendship, he vomited out nothing but threatening and vilifying contradictions to the

\* Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 445, 446.

peace-makers, altogether unbecoming one of his faction." This scurrilous author further adds, "I shall conclude with our supposed martyr, by asserting, that he who had the ignorance, blind zeal, and impudence, to term episcopacy and the Common Prayer Book, the *two plague-sores*, several times in one preachment, had need have set forms of *sermons* enjoined him, as well as *prayers*."\*

The king's commissioners, indeed, complained of the sermon to the commissioners of the opposite party, who laid the case before the parliament; upon which Mr. Love was sent for to London, and he underwent an examination; the result of which was, that the congregation at Uxbridge were disappointed of a preacher, and even after the psalm was sung, he was unexpectedly invited to supply the place, when he delivered the same sermon which he had preached the day before at Windsor. He was, therefore, acquitted by order of the house of commons;† yet Neal says, he was confined to his own house during the treaty, and then discharged; "The presbyterian house of commons," it is said, "who cleared Mr. Love from any slander, for prattling such stuff, did plainly demonstrate what little desire they had for peace, and thereby intimated their abominable hypocrisy to the whole world."‡ This affords the reader a specimen of the ignorance, the bigotry, and the bad spirit of this party historian.

Mr. Love, indeed, allowed that he cautioned the people against placing too much confidence in the treaty; "because," said he, "while our enemies go on in their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we may as soon make fire and water to agree; and, I had almost said, reconcile heaven and hell, as their spirits and ours. They must grow better, or we must grow worse, before it is possible for us to agree."§ He also said, "men who lay under the guilt of much innocent blood, are not meet persons to be at peace with, till all the guilt of the blood be expiated and avenged, either by the sword of the law, or the law of the sword: else a peace can never be safe nor just."¶ He further added, "that there was a generation of men who carried blood and revenge in their hearts against the well-affected in the nation, who hated not only their bodies, but their souls, and would drink a health to their damnation." Though there might be too much truth in these expressions, they were certainly very unseasonable and

\* Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 108, 155.

† Love's Trial, p. 68.—Whitlocke's Mem. p. 123.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 233.

§ Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 155.

¶ L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 68.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 150.

unbecoming in this critical juncture. "Many," says Fuller, "condemned his want of charity, but more his want of discretion."\*

Mr. Love was appointed one of the assembly of divines; when he became minister of St. Lawrence Jewry, London; and is said to have been chosen to the pastoral office at St. Ann's, Aldersgate-street, where he had before been chosen lecturer.† He united with the London ministers in declaring against the king's death.‡ He was afterwards engaged in a conspiracy which cost him his life; and as he was a principal sufferer on account of this plot, it was called *Love's plot*. It was formed by a number of gentlemen and ministers, and designed to raise money by private contribution, to forward the expedition of Charles II. into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated the object. The principal persons concerned in this affair, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the wars: as, Majors Adams, Alford, and Huntingdon; Colonels Vaughan, Sowton, Titus, Jackson, Bains, and Barton; and Captains Adams, Potter, Far, Massey, and Starks, and Mr. Gibbons. The ministers were Dr. Drake, and Messrs. Case, Watson, Heyrick, Jenkin, Jackson, Jacquel, Robinson, Cawton, Nalson, Haviland, Blackmore, and Love. These had their private assemblies at the houses of Major Adams, Colonel Barton, and Mr. Love; and held a correspondence with the king, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to further his designs, and he would sufficiently reward them when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so large a confederacy could not easily be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, which had its spies in all places. Major Adams being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered the conspiracy to the council of state. Upon his information, warrants were issued for apprehending most of the above persons; but several absconded and withdrew from the storm. The ministers who were apprehended, were Dr. Drake, and Messrs. Jenkin, Jackson, Robinson, Watson, Blackmore, Haviland, and Love; but seven of them, petitioning for mercy, and promising submission to the government in future, were released. But Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons were made public examples, as a terror to others.

Mr. Love was brought before a new high-court of justice

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 214.

† Sloane's MSS. No. 3945.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 744.

erected for the purpose, as was the custom in those times for state criminals, when Mr. Attorney-general Prideux, June 20, 1651, read the following indictment against him for high treason: "That he, the said Christopher Love, as a traitor and an enemy of this commonwealth and free state of England, and out of a traitorous and wicked design to stir up a new and bloody war, and to raise insurrections, seditions, and rebellions within this nation, hath, at several times in the years 1648, 1649, 1650, and 1651, in London, and at other places within the commonwealth of England, together with the persons mentioned above, traitorously and maliciously combined, confederated, complotted, contrived, and endeavoured to stir and raise up forces against the present government of this nation, since the same hath been settled in a commonwealth and free state, and for the subversion and alteration of the same: that he hath traitorously and maliciously declared and published Charles Stuart, eldest son of the late king, to be king of England, without consent of parliament: that he hath traitorously and maliciously invited and assisted the Scots to invade this commonwealth of England: that the said Christopher Love, at divers times between March 29, 1650, and June 1, 1651, in London and other places, hath traitorously and maliciously maintained correspondence and intelligence by letters and messages with the said Charles Stuart, and with the queen his mother, and with sundry of his council: and that he hath likewise holden correspondence with divers persons of the Scots' nation, and hath assisted them with money, arms, and other supplies, in the present war against the parliament, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach of the laws of the land."\*

To this charge Mr. Love, after demurring upon the jurisdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witnesses brought against him were eight of his confederates, above mentioned. Mr. Jackson, afterwards an ejected nonconformist,† was summoned, but he refused to be sworn, or to give evidence, because he believed Mr. Love to be a good man. He said, "I fear I should have a hell in my conscience to my dying day, if I should speak any thing circumstantially prejudicial to his life." The court reminded him of his obligation to the public, and that the very existence and

\* Love's Trial, p. 1, 2.

† No less than eight of the ministers concerned in this plot were ejected after the restoration.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.*

safety of all government depended upon what they required. After all Mr. Jackson refused to be sworn; for which he was immediately committed to the Fleet, and fined five hundred pounds.\*

During the trial, which lasted six days, the court concluded that Mr. Love had carried on a criminal correspondence with both the king and the Scots. Respecting the king, it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty's death, several of them had assembled in Dowgate and other places, to concert measures to forward the king's agreement with the Scots; for which purpose they applied by letters to the queen, and sent over Colonel Titus, who had one hundred pounds to defray his expenses. The colonel, having delivered his message, sent back letters by Colonel Alford, which were read in Mr. Love's house; with the copy of a letter from the king himself, when Mr. Love was present. Therefore, upon these and similar facts, the counsel for the commonwealth insisted, that here was criminal correspondence to *restore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of January 30, 1648, which declares, "That whosoever shall proclaim, declare, publish, or any ways promote Charles Stuart, or any other person, to be king of England, without consent of parliament, shall be adjudged a traitor; and suffer the pains of death as a traitor."

The other branch of the charge was Mr. Love's correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament. To support this article, Captains Potter and Adams, and Mr. Jacquel, swore that letters came from Scotland to Colonel Bamfield, with the letter L upon them, giving an account of the battle at Dunbar, and of the affairs of the Scots for three months after Christmas. There came letters also from the Earls of Argyle, Lothian, and Loudon, who proposed raising ten thousand pounds to buy arms, and to hire shipping, with a view of landing five thousand men in England. The letters were read in Mr. Love's house; but the proposals were disliked, and only forty pounds were raised to defray the expenses of the messenger. At another time a letter was read from General Massey, in which he desired them to provide arms, and specified his own necessities, and those of Colonel Titus; upon which it was agreed to raise two or three hundred pounds by contribution, and every one present wrote down what he would lend; among

\* Love's Trial, p. 51, 52.

whom was Mr. Love, who not only contributed himself, but carried about a paper to encourage others. This was considered by the counsel of the commonwealth as sufficient to bring Mr. Love within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which declares, "That if any persons shall procure, invite, aid, or assist any foreigners or strangers to invade England or Ireland; or shall adhere to any forces raised by the enemies of the parliament or commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England; all such persons shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high treason."\*

In his defence, Mr. Love behaved with too much freedom and boldness, and set too high a value upon his ministerial character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, who were forced into the service to save their own lives; and observed, that as to several of the facts attempted to be proved against him, there was only one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things, which was no wonder after so long a time. He called for no witness to disprove the evidence; but in his defence said, "None of the witnesses swear that I ever desired, persuaded, or directed any person to write any letter, to any persons whose names are mentioned in the charges, or to any person in or of the Scots' nation: or that ever any letter was written in my house; but only that letters supposed to be come from, or sent to Scotland, were read there, which I do not deny: or that I ever did so much as read a letter in my house, or elsewhere, that was supposed to come from the Scots, or pretended to be sent into Scotland: or, that I ever gave my particular consent to sending any letter: or, that I ever collected one penny of money for the king, or for the Scots, or for any person in Scotland: or, that I ever invited any person, or foreign force, to invade either England or Ireland, as I am expressly charged: or, finally, that I ever plotted, contrived, or endeavoured to raise forces, tumults, or insurrections within this nation, and against the present government."†

Towards the close of his defence, he confessed that there had been several meetings at his house; and that a commission had been read there; but that he utterly dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some parts of them: "But," says he, "I was ignorant of the danger that I now see I am

\* Love's Trial, p. 12-15. † *Ibid.* p. 54.

in. The act of August 2, 1650, makes it treason to hold any correspondence with Scotland, or to send letters thither only in a way of commerce, the two nations being at war. Here my counsel acquaints me with my danger, because, being present when letters were read at my house, I am guilty of concealment; and, therefore, I lay myself at your feet for mercy.

“I have been called a malignant and apostate; but God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest: I shall retain my covenanting principles; from which, by the grace of God, I will never depart. Neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland: but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I would count it well spent to quench the fire that our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament’s quarrel, against the forces raised against the late king; not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty: and I am so far from repenting, that, were it to do again upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever, though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished. But as to treason, I do not know any act of mine proved against me, that brings me under any one act now in existence. I never wrote any letter nor sent any letter to any of the Scots’ nation; yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment. And though I disown the commission, and instructions mentioned in the indictment, I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; and they having declared him to be their king, I have, as a private man, desired and prayed that they might accomplish their ends, upon such terms as are consistent with the safety of religion and the terms of the covenant. For I thought that if the king and Scots became united, it would advance the cause of God, the interests of true religion, and the good of the nation.

“Therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship and the court, to put a fair and candid construction upon all that I have done, and that things may not be taken in the worst sense. I heard your lordship say at Guildhall, *that he is not guilty whose mind is not guilty*. The Lord knows, that in the uprightness of my heart, I have done what I have done; and I stood amazed when I heard myself charged with treason. Though I acknowledge, that for not revealing, as mine accusers have done, I am, by your acts, guilty of concealment; and I

humbly beg the mercy of the court, promising, by the help of God, to live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. And thus I commit myself and my all to God and your judgments, in the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel: *As for me, behold I am in your hands, to do with me as seemeth good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.* But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak.”\*

The court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of counsel learned in the law, to argue the exceptions against the indictment; but after all that Mr. Hale, afterwards the famous Judge Hale, could say in behalf of the prisoner, the court pronounced sentence of death upon him as a traitor. The sentence being pronounced, Mr. Love said, “My lord, I have received sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in God, which raiseth the dead. And, my lord, though you have condemned me, neither God, nor my own conscience, doth condemn me.” He was then carried to the Tower.†

Great intercessions were made to the parliament for the preservation of his life. His wife presented one petition, or probably more, in the most moving language; and he presented no less than four himself. Several parishes in London presented their petitions to the house of commons, as did upwards of fifty ministers; but all that could be obtained was the respite of his execution for a month.‡ The last of his petitions, read in the house August 14th and 16th, was the following:§

“To the supreme authority, the parliament of the commonwealth of England.—The humble petition of Christopher Love, a condemned prisoner in the Tower of London; sheweth, that your petitioner doth humbly adore the wonderful goodness of God, and most thankfully acknowledge the great mercy of the parliament, for so seasonable and acceptable an act of grace, to such an offending suppliant, that when there was but one step between him and death, the number of his days being accomplished, and he almost cut off from the land of the living, then you mercifully interposed, and gave him his life for a month longer, which was to him as a resurrection

\* Love's Trial, p. 66—71.

† Ibid. p. 121.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 43.

§ Love's Case, p. 4, 5. Edit. 1651.—Love's Vindication of his Principles, p. 5—14. Edit. 1651.

“ from the dead : The consideration whereof melteth the  
 “ heart of your petitioner, and makes him, after a more  
 “ narrow search into his heart and ways, more deeply sensible  
 “ than ever of his sin against God, and more sorrowful for  
 “ his high crimes and offences against the parliament, in  
 “ his late and great miscarriages.

“ He humbly acknowledgeth he hath so highly violated  
 “ the laws of the commonwealth, as that thereby he hath  
 “ rendered himself guilty of the sentence of death justly  
 “ passed upon him by the high court of justice. He doth  
 “ also herewith humbly offer to your honours a free and  
 “ full narrative, under his hand, of the whole design, to the  
 “ best of his remembrance, which he leaveth to your grave  
 “ wisdoms’ favourable interpretation, fully resolving that he  
 “ will neither plot, contrive, nor design any thing pre-  
 “ judicial to the present government; but will, in his place  
 “ and calling, oppose any designs whatsoever that may tend  
 “ to the ruin of the commonwealth.

“ Your dying petitioner, with all humble importunity,  
 “ prostrates himself at your feet, and puts his mouth in the  
 “ dust; and oh! that there may be hope! craving your tender  
 “ mercy, begging his life at your hands; promising never  
 “ to employ that life against you, which he shall receive  
 “ from you; but doth hold it his duty, in his place and  
 “ calling, to lay out himself for the glory of God, the good  
 “ of his people, and the peace and safety of this common-  
 “ wealth. And your petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

“ CHRISTOPHER LOVE.”

In the narrative accompanying this petition, Mr. Love admits many of the things objected against him at his trial. It is dated from the Tower, July 22, 1651, but much too long for our insertion.\* But, as Mr. Neal justly observes, the affairs of the commonwealth being now at a crisis, and King Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike the presbyterian party with some degree of terror, by making an example of one of their favourite ministers. We are informed, that, at this juncture, Colonel Fortescue was sent to General Cromwell, then in the north, with a petition in behalf of Mr. Love; but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair.† Other historians, however, affirm, that Cromwell actually sent a letter of reprieve and pardon for Mr. Love; but that the post-boy

\* Love's Case, p. 5—14.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 474.

was stopped on the road by several persons belonging to the late king's army, who opened the Scotch mail, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love, they took it, and with indignation tore it in pieces; declaring, that he who had been so great a firebrand at Uxbridge, was not fit to live.\* If this story be true, our divine fell a sacrifice to the un-governable rage of the royalists.

Upon the arrival of the mail from Scotland, and there being no letter from Cromwell in behalf of Mr. Love, it was concluded that his silence was an absolute denial. Mr. Love was therefore ordered to be executed on Tower-hill. During his confinement, after his trial, he received many encouraging and affectionate letters from his numerous friends, particularly from Dr. Drake, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jenkin, and Mrs. Love, which are now before me. The last that he received from Mrs. Love, written the day before his execution, and well worthy of the pious reader's perusal, was the following:

“ My heavenly dear,

“ I call thee so, because God hath put heaven into thee before he hath taken thee to heaven. Thou now beholdest God, Christ, and glory, as in a glass; but to-morrow heaven's gates will be opened, and thou shalt be in the full enjoyment of all those glories which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can the heart of man understand. God hath now swallowed up thy heart in the thoughts of heaven; but ere long thou shalt be swallowed up in the enjoyment of heaven! And no marvel there should be such quietness and calmness in thy spirit, whilst thou art sailing in this tempestuous sea, because thou perceivest, by the eye of faith, a haven of rest, where thou shalt be richly laden with all the glories of heaven! O, lift up thy heart with joy, when thou layest thy dear head on the block, in the thoughts of this, that thou art laying thy head to rest in thy Father's bosom; which, when thou dost awake, shall be crowned, not with an earthly, fading crown, but with an heavenly, eternal crown of glory! Be not troubled when thou shalt see a guard of soldiers triumphing with their trumpets about thee; but lift up thy head, and thou shalt behold God with a guard of holy angels triumphing to receive thee to glory! Be not dismayed at the scoffs and reproaches thou mayest meet with in thy short way to heaven; for, be assured, God will not

\* Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 185.—Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 706.

only glorify thy body and soul in heaven, but he will also make the *memory of thee to be glorious on earth!*

“O, let not one troubled-thought for thy wife and babes rise within thee! thy God will be our God and our portion. He will be a husband to thy widow, and a father to thy children: the grace of thy God will be sufficient for us.

“Now, my dear, I desire willingly and cheerfully to resign my right in thee to thy Father and my Father, who hath the greatest interest in thee: and confident I am, though men have separated us for a time, yet God will ere long bring us together again, where we shall eternally enjoy one another, never to part more!

“O, let me hear how God bears up thy heart, and let me taste of those comforts which support thee, that they may be as pillars of marble to bear up my sinking spirit! I can write no more. Farewell, farewell, my dear, till we meet where we shall never bid farewell more; till which time I leave thee in the bosom of a loving, tender-hearted Father; and so I rest,

“Till I shall for ever rest in heaven,

“MARY LOVE.”

This excellent letter discovers the same triumph over the world in Mrs. Love, which her husband so happily experienced. She was not only surrounded by their three children, but with child of a fourth; yet she passed over this circumstance in silence; and though formerly weak in grace, yet she now enjoyed strong confidence and great comfort, and animated her husband by the most encouraging considerations. Thus, “by faith, out of weakness, she was made strong.” The next morning, being the day on which he suffered, Mr. Love returned her the following farewell epistle:

“My most gracious beloved,

“I am now going from a prison to a palace. I have finished my work; I am now to receive my wages. I am going to heaven, where there are two of my children; and leaving thee on earth, where there are three of my babes: those two above need not any care; but the three below need thine. It comforts me to think two of my children are in the bosom of Abraham, and three of them will be in the arms and care of so tender and godly a mother! I know thou art a woman of a sorrowful spirit, yet be comforted, Though thy sorrows be great for thy husband's going out of the world, yet thy pains shall be the less in bringing

thy child into the world: thou shalt be a joyful mother, though thou art a sad widow! God hath many mercies in store for thee: the prayers of a dying husband will not be lost. To my shame I speak it, I never prayed so much for thee at liberty, as I have done in prison. I cannot write more; but I have a few practical counsels to leave with thee, viz.

“ 1. Keep under a sound, orthodox, and soul-searching ministry. Oh, there are many deceivers gone out into the world; but Christ's sheep know his voice, and a stranger will they not follow. Attend on that ministry which teaches the way of God in truth, and follow Solomon's advice: *Cease to hear the instruction that causeth to err from the way of knowledge.*

“ 2. Bring up thy children in the knowledge and admonition of the Lord. The mother ought to be the teacher in the father's absence. *The words which his mother taught him.* Timothy was instructed by his grandmother Lois, and his mother Eunice.

“ 3. Pray in thy family daily, that thy dwelling may be in the number of the families that do call upon God.

“ 4. Labour for a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.

“ 5. Pore not on the comforts thou wantest; but on the mercies thou hast.

“ 6. Look rather to God's end in afflicting, than at the measure and degree of thy afflictions.

“ 7. Labour to clear up thy evidences for heaven, when God takes from thee the comforts of earth, that, as thy sufferings do abound, so thy consolations in Christ may much more abound.

“ 8. Though it is good to maintain a holy jealousy of the deceitfulness of thy heart, yet it is evil for thee to cherish fears and doubts about the truth of thy graces. If ever I had confidence touching the graces of another, I have confidence of grace in thee. I can say of thee, as Peter did of Sylvanus, *I am persuaded that this is the grace of God wherein thou standest.* Oh, my dear soul, wherefore dost thou doubt, whose heart hath been upright, whose walkings have been holy! I could venture my soul in thy soul's stead. Such confidence have I in thee!

“ 9. When thou findest thy heart secure, presumptuous and proud, then pore upon corruption more than upon grace: but when thou findest thy heart doubting and unbelieving, then look on thy graces, not on thy infirmities.

“ 10. Study the covenant of grace and merits of Christ, and then be troubled if thou canst. Thou art interested in such a covenant that accepts purposes for performances, desires for deeds, sincerity for perfection, the righteousness of another, viz. that of Jesus Christ, as if it were our own. Oh, my love, rest, rest then in the love of God, in the bosom of Christ!

“ 11. Swallow up thy will in the will of God. It is a bitter cup we are to drink, but it is the cup our Father hath put into our hands. When Paul was to go to suffer at Jerusalem, the christians could say, *The will of the Lord be done.* O say thou, when I go to Tower-hill, *The will of the Lord be done.*

“ 12. Rejoice in my joy. To mourn for me inordinately, argues that either thou enviest or suspectest my happiness. *The joy of the Lord is my strength.* O, let it be thine also! Dear wife, farewell! I will call thee *wife* no more: I shall see thy face no more; yet I am not much troubled; for now I am going to meet the bridegroom, the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I shall be eternally married!

“ Thy dying,

“ Yet most affectionate friend till death,

“ CHRISTOPHER LOVE.”

From the Tower of London,

August 22, 1651,

The day of my glorification.\*

On this fatal day, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Love mounted the scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution. The ministers who accompanied him were Mr. Simeon Ashe, Mr. Edmund Calamy, and Dr. Thomas Manton. Upon the scaffold, Mr. Love, taking off his hat twice before the people, made a long speech to them, addressing them as follows:

“ Beloved christians, I am this day made a spectacle unto God, to angels, and to men. I am made a grief to the godly, a laughing-stock to the wicked, and a gazing-stock to all; yet, blessed be God, I am not a terror to myself: though there is but a little between me and death, there is but a little between me and heaven. There are only two steps between me and glory: my head must lie down upon the block, and I shall ascend the throne. I am exchanging a pulpit for a scaffold, and a scaffold for a throne. I am

\* Love's Sermons on Grace, Appen. p. 211—215. Edit. 1810.

exchanging a guard of soldiers for a guard of angels, to carry me into Abraham's bosom.

"I speak the truth, and lie not. I do not bring a revengeful heart upon this scaffold. Before I came to this place, and upon my bended knees, I begged mercy for them who denied mercy to me; and I have prayed God to forgive them who would not forgive me; and I have from my heart forgiven the worst enemy I have in the world. Now, in the presence of God, I tell you, that as I would in my trial confess nothing that was criminal, so I denied nothing that was true, that I may seal it with my blood. What I then denied and protested before the high court of justice, I now deny and protest before you.

"I am for a regulated mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed, in my place, the forces of the late king; because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down to anarchy. I was always against putting the king to death, whose person I promised in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, to cut off the political head. I die with my judgment against the *engagement*: I pray God to forgive them who impose, and them who take it, and preserve them who refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning the present government: I die with my judgment against it. And I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, which were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I have abundant peace in my own mind, that I have set myself against the sins and apostacies of the time. Although my faithfulness hath procured me the ill-will of men, it hath secured me peace with God: I have lived in peace, and I shall die in peace.

"But, before I draw my last breath, I desire to justify God and condemn myself. Though I come to a shameful and untimely death, God is righteous. And though he cut me off in the midst of my days, and in the midst of my ministry, because I have sinned, he is righteous, blessed be his name. My blood shall not be spilt for nought. I may do more good, and bring more glory to God, by dying upon a scaffold, than if I had died upon my bed. I bless God, I have not the least trouble on my spirit; but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I were going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will only hasten my happiness and their

ruin. For though I am of a mean parentage, my blood is the blood of a christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and of a martyr; and this I speak without vanity. Had I renounced my covenant, debauched my conscience, and endangered my soul, I might have escaped this place; but, blessed be God, I have made the best choice: I have chosen affliction rather than sin. And, therefore, welcome scaffold, welcome axe, welcome block, welcome death, welcome all, because they will send me to my Father's house.

"I bless God, and without vanity it is spoken, that I have formerly had more fear in the drawing of a tooth than I have now in the cutting off my head. Thus I commit myself to God, and to receive the fatal blow. I am comforted in this, that though men kill me, they cannot damn me: and though they thrust me out of the world, they cannot thrust me out of heaven. I am going to the heavenly Jerusalem, to the innumerable company of angels, to Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to God the judge of all; in whose presence there is fulness of joy, and at whose right hand there are pleasures for evermore. I conclude in the words of the apostle, 'I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness; and not for me only, but for all them who love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ:' through whose blood I expect salvation and the remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all."\*

Having finished his speech, he turned to Tichburn the sheriff, and said, "May I pray?" "Yes," said the sheriff; "but consider the time." Then, turning to the people, he said, "Beloved, I will only pray a little while with you, to commend my soul to God, and I have done." He then prayed with a loud voice, saying:

"Most glorious and eternal majesty, thou art righteous and holy in all thou doest to the sons of men. Though thou hast suffered men to condemn thy servant, thy servant will not condemn thee. He justifies thee, though thou cuttest him off in the midst of his days, and in the midst of his ministry; blessing thy glorious name, that though he be taken away from the land of the living, he is not blotted out

\* Love's Trial, p. 121—128.—Love's Case, p. 14—27.

of the book of life. Father, my hour is come. Thy poor creature can say, without vanity and falsehood, he hath desired to glorify thee on earth; glorify thou him now in heaven. He hath desired to bring the souls of other men to heaven; let now his soul be brought to heaven. O thou blessed God! whom thy creature hath served, who hath made thee his hope and his confidence from his youth; forsake him not now in his drawing nigh to thee. Now that he is in the valley of the shadow of death, Lord, be thou life unto him. Smile thou upon him, while men frown upon him. Lord, thou hast settled the persuasion in his heart, that, as soon as the blow is given to divide his head from his body, he shall be united to his Head in heaven. Blessed be God, that thy servant dies in these hopes. Blessed be God, that thou hast filled the soul of thy servant with joy and peace in believing. O Lord, think upon that poor brother of mine, who is a companion with me in tribulation; and who is this day to lose his life as well as myself. O fill him full of the joys of the Holy Ghost, when he is to give up the ghost. Lord, strengthen our hearts, that we may give up the ghost with joy and not with grief. We entreat thee, O Lord, think upon thy poor churches. O that England may live in thy sight! O that London may be to thee a faithful city! and that righteousness may be among the people; that so peace and plenty may be within their walls, and prosperity within their habitations. Lord, heal the breaches of these nations. Make England and Scotland as one staff in the Lord's hand; that Ephraim may not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim; but that both may fly upon the shoulders of the Philistines. O that men of the protestant religion, engaged in the same cause and covenant, may not delight to spill each other's blood, but engage against the common adversary of religion and liberty! God shew mercy to all who fear him. Lord, think upon our covenant-keeping brethren of the kingdom of Scotland. Keep them faithful to thee; and let not those who have invaded them overspread their land. Prevent the shedding of more christian blood; if it seem good in thine eyes. God, shew mercy to thy poor servant, who is now giving up the ghost. O blessed Jesus, apply thy blood, not only for my justification unto life, but also for my comfort, for the quieting of my soul, that so I may be in the joys of heaven before I come to the posses-

\* His fellow-sufferer, who was beheaded the same day, for being concerned in the same plot, was Mr. Gibbons.

sion of heaven. Hear the prayers of all thy people that have been offered up for thy servant. And though thou hast denied prayer concerning my life, let the fruit of prayer be seen, by bearing up my heart against the fear of death. O God, shew mercy to all that fear thee, and to all who have engaged for the life of thy servant: Let them have mercy in the day of their appearing before Jesus Christ. Preserve thou a godly ministry in this nation, and restore a godly magistracy, and cause good days to be the heritage of thy people, for the Lord's sake. Now, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. And though thy servant may not, with Stephen, see the heavens open; yet, let him have the heavens open: and though he may not see upon a scaffold the Son of God standing on the right hand of God; yet, let him come to the glorious presence of Jesus Christ, and this hour have an intellectual sight of the glorious body of his Saviour. Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And, Lord Jesus, stand by thy dying servant, who in his life hath endeavoured to stand by thee. Lord, hear and pardon all his infirmities; wash away his iniquity by the blood of Christ; wipe off reproaches; wipe off guilt from his person; and receive him pure, and spotless, and blameless before thee in love. And all this we beg for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen and amen."

Mr. Love having ended his prayer, turned to the sheriff, and said, "I thank you, sir, for your kindness: You have expressed a great deal of kindness to me." He then asked for the executioner, who coming forwards, he said, "Art thou the officer?" and being answered in the affirmative, he said, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, "O blessed Jesus! who hast kept me from the hurt of death, and from the fear of death: O blessed be God! blessed be God!" Then, taking his leave of the ministers and his other friends, he said, "the Lord be with you all." He then kneeled down and made a short prayer; and, rising up, he said, "Blessed be God, I am full of joy and peace in believing. I lie down with a world of comfort, as if I were to lie down in my bed. I shall rest in Abraham's bosom, and in the embraces of the Lord Jesus." As he was preparing to lay his head on the block, Mr. Ashe said, "Dear brother, how dost thou find thy heart?" Mr. Love replied, "*I bless God, sir, I am as full of joy and comfort as ever my heart can hold. Blessed be God for Jesus Christ.*" He then laid himself down upon the scaffold, with his head over the block; and, stretching forth his hands, the executioner

severed his head from his body at one blow.\* His mortal remains were afterwards interred, with great lamentation, in the chancel of the church of St. Lawrence-Jewry.

Mr. Love was a zealous presbyterian, a most popular preacher, and highly beloved among his brethren. But his memory has greatly suffered by the reproaches of high-church historians, and by none more than Clarendon, who says, "He was guilty of as *much treason* as the pulpit could contain. And, therefore, when he appeared upon the scaffold, he seemed so much delighted with what he had done, that he could not even then forbear speaking with *bitterness* and *animosity* against both the *king* and the *bishops*. And in a *raving fit*, he laid his head upon the block, without so much as praying for the king, any further than he propagated the covenant."†

These are, indeed, most heavy charges. But if Mr. Love was really guilty of so 'much treason,' it was in *behalf of the king*, and with a view to promote the royal cause; therefore, according to the noble historian's own principles, the charge is null and void. But if the historian refer to his preaching at Uxbridge, or on any other occasion, the charge is asserted in like manner, without the smallest evidence, and, from all that I have been able to collect, appears equally groundless and contrary to truth. With respect to Mr. Love's 'speaking with bitterness and animosity against both the king and the bishops,' when he was on the scaffold, the charge is altogether without foundation, and stands diametrically opposed to matter of fact; as appears from Love's speech at length, now before me.‡ And as to his laying his head upon the block, 'in a raving fit,' we are at a loss to understand his lordship's meaning, unless he undesignedly insinuates, that Mr. Love died in the enjoyment of the most happy and exquisite religious feelings. Dr. Calamy assures us, "That he died neither timorously

\* Love's Trial, p. 128, 129.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. iii, p. 338.—Dr. Grey informs us, that he had met with the following *manuscript* note, upon the margin of Nalson's Introduction, relative to Mr. Love's character and death:—"It might be observed, (says the note,) as a circumstance contributing to make his death appear the more judicial, that when Archbishop Laud was beheaded, this Mr. Love, in a most inhuman triumph, flourished his handkerchief dipt in the blood of that great and venerable prelate; which," the doctor immediately adds, "will fully justify Lord Clarendon's character of Mr. Love." Every reader, however, will easily perceive the fallacy of the doctor's argument.—*Grey's Examination of Neal*, vol. iii. p. 128.

‡ Love's Trial, p. 121—128.—Love's Case, p. 14—27.

nor proudly, but with great alacrity and cheerfulness, as if he had been going to bed."\* Dr. Manton, who attended Mr. Love upon the scaffold, who preached his funeral sermon, and who knew him much better than the historians who have aspersed his character, says, "He was a man eminent in grace, of a singular life and conversation, and a pattern of piety most worthy of imitation."† Another writer, who was intimately acquainted with him, gives an excellent account of his christian character and his ministerial qualifications and usefulness; and adds:—"In all his relations, as a minister, a christian, a subject, a husband, a friend, and a father, he served his generation on the earth, and made a swift progress in his way to heaven. He lived too much in heaven to live long out of heaven; and sure I am that he lived a life of heaven upon earth. His fellowship was with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ."‡

**His Works.**—1. The Debauched Cavalier, 1642.—2. England's Distemper, 1645. This is the Sermon preached at Uxbridge.—3. Short and plain Animadversions on some Passages in Mr. Dell's Sermon before the House of Commons, 1646.—4. Answer to an Unlicensed Pamphlet, 1647.—5. A Vindication of England's Distemper, 1651.—6. Love's Case, 1651.—7. Love's Trial, 1651.—8. Love's Advocate, 1651.—9. A Full Narration of the late Dangerous Design against the State, 1651.—10. His Speech and Prayer upon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, 1651.—11. The Truth, and Growth, and different Degrees of Grace, 1652.—12. A Sermon at the Funeral of Mrs. B., 1652. This was the last sermon he preached.—13. Heaven's Glory Hell's Terror, 1653.—14. The Soul's Cordial, 1653.—15. A Treatise of Election and Effectual Calling, 1653.—16. Scripture-rules to be observed in Buying and Selling, 1653.—17. The true Doctrine of Mortification and Sincerity, in Opposition to Hypocrisy, 1654.—18. Combat between the Flesh and Spirit, 1654.—19. The Sum of Substance of Practical Divinity, 1654.—20. The Christian's Directory, 1654.—21. The Dejected Soul's Cure, 1657.—22. The Ministry of the Angels to the Heirs of Salvation, 1657.—23. The Omnipresence of God, 1657.—24. The Sinner's Legacy to his Posterity, 1657.—25. The Penitent Pardoned, 1657.—26. A Discourse of Christ's Ascension and Coming to Judgment, 1657.—27. The natural Man's Case stated, 1658.—Many of the above articles were published after the author's death; and some of them came forth with the high commendations of his brethren.

\* Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, p. 308.

† Manton's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Love.—This sermon is entitled, "The Saint's Triumph over Death." The government, understanding that Dr. Manton intended to preach Mr. Love's funeral sermon, expressed some displeasure, and the soldiers threatened to shoot him. However, he was not to be terrified by such dangers, but preached it at Mr. Love's church in Lawrence-Jewry, to a numerous congregation.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 427.

‡ Sloant's MSS. No. 3945.

PETER SAXTON, A. M.—This venerable divine was born at or near Bramley, in the parish of Leeds, in Yorkshire, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts. He was admitted preacher, first by Archbishop Hutton, then by Archbishop Matthews, both of the province of York. He obtained the king's presentation as well as that of Sir Edward Stanhope, to the rectory of Edlington in his native county, as appears from the book of admissions in the register's office at York; where, December 1, 1614, he made the usual subscription willingly *et ex animo*. He afterwards saw cause to change his opinion; and he became so alienated from the discipline and ceremonies of the church, that he is said to have called the surplice the *whore's smock*.\*

Having espoused the sentiments of the puritans, and not being ashamed to avow his opinions, he could find no rest in his native country. The horrors of cruel persecution having overspread the nation, he retired from the storm, and sought an asylum in New England, where, to his great comfort, he arrived in the year 1640. There we find his name, as minister of Scituate, in the first classes of those who enlightened the dark regions of America by their ministry.† He continued some time in this situation; but the unsettled condition of the colony, and some unhappy contentions in the plantation where he lived, induced him to remove first to Boston, then to England, in his advanced years.‡ On his return from New England, the ship was overtaken in so violent a storm, that the mariners, who could not be brought to pray before, came trembling to him like dying men; and they found him upon the deck exulting, with his arms stretched towards heaven, and crying, "*O! who is now for heaven? who is bound for heaven?*"

After Mr. Saxton's arrival in his native country, he had the offer of a considerable living in Kent, which he declined to accept, preferring the vicarage of Leeds in his own county, to which he was inducted in the month of April, 1646, and possessed till his death, which happened October 1, 1651, having survived his daughter Silence, the wife of Captain Samuel Pool, to whom she was married in New England; but she died at Leeds, as did also his widow the February following. He was a venerable, pious, and learned divine; but he used many plain expressions, which often occasioned smiles, and once downright laughter in a

\* Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 86.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 3.

‡ Ibid. p. 214.

country church where he was preaching. His text was Job xi. 12. "For vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt." He, observing the irreverence of the people, threatened to make them cry before he had done, and was as good as his word when he came to the application. The aged minister, for whom he then preached, told me, as our author adds, that he never saw the like in that church before, almost the whole of the congregation being bathed in tears; and he further observes, that Mr. Saxton was a very studious and learned man, and a great Hebræan, and he constantly carried his Hebrew Bible with him into the pulpit.\* There goes under his name a book, entitled "Christmas Cheere; or, Profitable Notes of Two Sermons preached the 25th of December, being commonly (how rightly let others judge) called Christmas day, and upon the day following, commonly called St. Stephen's day," 1606. Mr. Palmer has, by mistake, classed our venerable divine among the worthy ministers who were ejected after the restoration.†

GEORGE WALKER, B. D.—This learned divine was born at Hawkshead in Lancashire, in the year 1581, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge. Being favoured with religious parents, he enjoyed the benefit of their pious instructions when very young,‡ which appeared of signal advantage to him in future life. Having finished his studies at the university, he went to London; and, in the year 1614, became rector of St. John the Evangelist, in Watling-street.§ Here he continued a faithful and laborious minister nearly forty years, refusing all other preferments, though frequently offered him. He did not preach to obtain preferment, but to win souls to Christ. About the same time he became chaplain to Dr. Felton, bishop of Ely, who made choice of him the very morning of his consecration. He was a bold opposer of popery, and he engaged several times in public disputations against its errors and super-

\* Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 87, 88.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 377.

‡ The following curious anecdote is related of him, which we give without comment:—"Being visited when a child with the small-pox, and those who stood expecting his dissolution, he started up out of a trance, with this ejaculation, *Lord, take me not away till I have shewed forth thy praises*; which, after his recovery, induced his parents to devote him to the ministry."—*Fuller's Worthies*, part ii. p. 118.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 375.

stitutions. In the year 1623 he had a public dispute with a popish priest of the name of Smith, before a very large assembly; and, by the consent of both parties, the account of it was afterwards published. He had many encounters with Fisher, the famous jesuit, and many others, who were deemed the most able disputants of the Romish persuasion.\*

Mr. Walker was a divine of sterling piety and strict sabbatarian principles; and he often urged from the pulpit the necessity of an exact observance of the Lord's day. In the year 1635, having openly avowed his sentiments in one of his sermons, and recommended the holy observance of the sabbath, as opposed to a book published by Bishop White of Ely, and set forth by public authority, he was convened before Archbishop Laud, when he received canonical admonition.† In the year 1638 he was prosecuted and severely censured in the star-chamber. Having preached a sermon in his own church, to prove "that it is a sin to obey the greatest monarch on earth, in those things which stand opposed to the commands of God," he was committed twelve weeks to the custody of a pursuivant, to whom he paid fees to the amount of twenty pounds. Upon his prosecution, he was shut up ten weeks close prisoner in the Gatehouse, and at last compelled to enter into a bond of a *thousand* pounds, to confine himself prisoner in his brother's house at Cheswick, when his living was sequestered. He continued a prisoner upwards of two years, but was afterwards released by an order of parliament.

His case was laid before the house of commons in 1641, when it was resolved, "That his commitment from the council-table for preaching a sermon, October 14, 1638, and his detainment twelve weeks for the same, is against the law and the liberty of the subject.

"That the prosecution of the said Walker in the star-chamber, for preaching the said sermon, and his close imprisonment thereupon for ten weeks in the Gatehouse, and the payment of twenty pounds fees, is against law and the liberty of the subject.

"That the five passages marked in the sermon, by Mr. Attorney and Sir John Banks, contain no crime, nor deserve any censure, nor he any punishment for them.

"That the enforcing the said Walker to enter into the bond of one thousand pounds, for confinement in his

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 118.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 840.

brother's house at Cheswick, and his imprisonment there, is against law.

“ That the sequestration of the parsonage of the said Walker, by Sir John Lamb, was done without any warrant, and against the law of the land.

“ That Walker ought to be restored to his parsonage, and the whole profits thereof, from the time of the said sequestration, and to have reparation for all such damages as he hath sustained by these several imprisonments, and his case transmitted to the lords.”\*

Whether Mr. Walker received any reparation for damages we have not been able to learn; but after his release from confinement, he returned to his benefice and ministerial charge in Watling-street, where he continued the rest of his days without further molestation. In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, where, by his munificent and generous behaviour, he gained a distinguished reputation. The year following he was appointed one of the committee for the examination and ordination of public preachers. The same year he was one of the witnesses against Archbishop Laud at his trial, when he deposed that the archbishop had endeavoured to introduce arminianism and the popish superstitions into the church of England.† Though Wood reproaches him with having preached against the king‡ and his party, he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their protestation against the king's death, declaring that his majesty ought to have been released.§ He was a member of the first provincial assembly in London, and sometimes chosen moderator. He died in the year 1651, aged seventy years, and his remains were interred in his own church in Watling-street. Fuller says, “ he was well skilled in the oriental languages, and an excellent logician and divine. He was a man of a holy life, an humble spirit, and a liberal hand, who deserved well of Zion college library; and who, by his example and persuasion, advanced a thousand pounds for the maintenance of

\* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii. p. 250, 251.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 360, 532.

‡ Dr. Grey charges him with the same crime, for the proof of which he appeals to the following passage in one of his sermons: “ After God had rejected Saul for his disobedience from being king over Israel,” says Mr. Walker, “ and had declared his purpose to him by Samuel, an evil spirit of fury, jealousy, and tyranny, came upon him.” The reader will judge what degree of proof it affords.—*Grey's Examin's* vol. i. p. 399.

§ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

preaching ministers in his native county." Wood calls him "a learned man, but a severe puritan."\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The Sum of a Disputation between Mr. Walker, Pastor of St. John the Evan., and a Popish Priest, calling himself Mr. Smith, but indeed Norris, 1623.—2. Fisher's Folly Unfolded; or, the vaunting Jesuit's Challenge Answered, 1624.—3. Socinianism in the Fundamental Point of Justification Discovered and Confuted, 1641.—4. The Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath, 1641.—5. God made Visible in all his Works, 1641.—6. Sermons preached before the Parliament, 1644, &c.

**JOHN VICARS** was born in the city of London, in the year 1582, descended from the Vicars in Cumberland, and educated first in Christ-church hospital, London, then in Queen's college, Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he retired to London, and became usher at Christ's-church, which he kept till towards the close of life. Wood calls him "a puritanical poet, and a zealous brother in the cause;" and says, that, "upon the commencement of the civil wars, he shewed his great forwardness for presbyterianism, hated all people that loved obedience, and affrighted many of the weaker sort, and others, from having any agreement with the king's party, by continually inculcating into their heads strange stories of God's wrath against the cavaliers. Afterwards, when the independents became predominant, he manifested great enmity against them, especially after the king's death."† He is said to have "hated all people who loved obedience, as the devil doth holy-water; and he could out-scold the boldest face in Billingsgate, especially if kings, bishops, organs, or may-poles, were to be the objects of their zealous indignation."‡ He is warmly censured for calling the ceremonies of the church "a stinking heap of atheistical and Roman rubbish;" and for saying, "Throw away the rubbish with the Lord's enemies. Vex the Midianites, abolish the Amalekites: let popery find no favour."§

Mr. Vicars was a most furious adversary to the independents. The title of one of his pieces written against them will afford a curious specimen of the length to which the different parties at that time carried their animosity. It is

\* Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 118.—Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 840.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 85, 86.

‡ Foulis's Hist. of Plots, p. 179.

§ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 17, 18.

as follows: "Coleman-street Conclave visited; and that grand Impostor, the Schismatics Cheater in Chief, (who hath long slyly lurked therein,) truly and duly discovered; containing a most palpable and plain Display of Mr. John Goodwin's self-conviction, (under his own hand writing,) and of the notorious Heresies, Errors, Malice, Pride, and Hypocrisy of this most huge Garagantua in falsely pretended Piety, to the lamentable misleading of his too credulous soul-murdered Proselytes of Coleman-street, and elsewhere: collected principally out of his own big-braggadochio wave-like swelling and swaggering Writings, full fraught with six-footed Terms, and fleshlie rhetorical Phrases, far more than solid and sacred Truths, and may fitly serve, (if it be the Lord's will,) like Belshazzar's Hand-writing on the Wall of his Conscience, to strike Terror and Shame into his own Soul and shameless Face, and to undeceive his most miserably cheated, and enchanted or bewitched Followers," 1648. Facing the title is John Goodwin's picture, with a wind-mill over his head, and a weather-cock upon it: the devil is represented blowing the sails; and there are other hieroglyphics or emblems about him, "designed," says Wood, "to shew the instability of the man."\* The late Mr. Toplady, in the fervour of his zeal against arminianism, seems highly delighted with what he calls "this facetious title."† To us, however, it affords a lamentable proof of the degradation to which even good men sometimes subject themselves, when they suffer their passions to get the better of their reason. Such language, in the present day, would in justice be treated with silent contempt.

Though it does not appear at what place Mr. Vicars laboured in the ministry, one of his name was beneficed at Stamford in Lincolnshire, and prosecuted for nonconformity. He was apprehended by a pursuivant and cast into prison, upon the bare accusation of a drunken, popish innkeeper, where he continued many weeks before any articles were exhibited against him. He was afterwards bailed, but forced to enter into bonds not to go ten miles from London. And when he was carried before his spiritual judges, he was again cast into prison, sentenced to pay a great fine, and deprived of his living, upon the most frivolous charges, which were disproved by many respectable witnesses.‡

\* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 85.

† *Toplady's Historic Proof*; vol. i. p. 41.

‡ *Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 163.

This, in all probability, was the same person.\* Mr. Vicars died August 12, 1652, aged seventy-two years. His remains were interred in the church of Christ-church hospital, and over his grave was a large monumental inscription, which, with the church, was destroyed by the conflagration in 1666.

His WORKS.—1. A Prospective Glass to look into Heaven; or, the Celestial Canaan Described, 1618.—2. The Soule's Sacred Soliloquie, 1618.—3. England's Hallelujah; or, Great Britain's grateful Retribution for God's gracious Benediction in our many and famous Deliverances, 1631.—4. Quintessence of Cruelty; or, the Popish Powder-plot related, 16...—5. England's Remembrancer; or, a thankful Acknowledgement of Parliamentarie Mercies to the English Nation, 1641.—6. The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of making the Picture of Christ's Humanity, 1641.—7. God in the Mount; or, England's Remembrancer, being a Panegerick Piramides erected to the Honour of England's God, 1642.—8. A Looking Glass for Malignants; or, God's Hand against God-haters, 1643.—9. God in the Mount; or England's Remembrancer, being the First and Second Part of a Parliamentary Chronicle, 1644.—10. God's Arke overtopping the World's Waves; or, a Third Part of Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—11. The Burning-bush not consumed; or, the Fourth and Last Part of a Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—The three last articles were collected and published together, entitled, "Magnalia Dei Anglicana; or, England's Parliamentary Chronicle, 1646.—12. Coleman-street Conclave Visited, as noticed above, 1648.—13. The Schismatick Sifted, 16...—14. Soul-saving Knowledge, &c., 16...—15. The Picture of a Puritan, 16...—16. Dagon Demolished; or, Twenty admirable Examples of God's severe Justice and Displeasure against the Subscribers of the late Engagement against the King and the whole House of Peers, 1660.—He also published several Translations of the Works of learned Men, among which was "Mischief's Mysterie; or, Treason's Master-piece, the Powder-plot, invented by Hellish Malice, prevented by Heavenly Means," 1617. This was licensed; and a new edition afterwards being wanted, he waited upon Dr. Baker, chaplain to Archbishop Laud, requesting to have the license renewed, when the doctor refused, saying, "We are not so angry with the papists now as we were twenty years ago."†

PATRICK YOUNG, A. M.—This celebrated scholar was born at Seaton in Scotland, August 29, 1584, and educated in the university of St. Andrews, where he took his degrees in arts, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. He was the son of Sir Peter Young, joint tutor with Buchanan to James I., and afterwards employed by the king in various negotiations, and rewarded with a pension. Upon the

\* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 163.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 184.

accession of James to the crown of England, his father accompanied him to this country, and placed Patrick in the family of Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Chester, from whom he derived great assistance in his literary pursuits. In the year 1605 he went to Oxford, entered into deacon's orders, and was elected chaplain of New College. He employed himself in this seat of the muses in the assiduous study of ecclesiastical history and antiquities, and of the Greek language, in which he acquired an extraordinary knowledge. On his removal from the university he went to London, with the intention of obtaining preferment at court, to which he had easy access by means of his father. One of his principal patrons was Dr. James Montague, bishop of Bath and Wells, through whose interest he obtained a pension from the king of fifty pounds a year; and as he was master of an elegant Latin style, his pen was occasionally employed by his majesty, and by some other persons in power, in writing letters; and he was also engaged in examining the archives of the kingdom.\*

It was one of the first objects of his ambition to obtain the post of keeper of Prince Henry's library and museum, in the palace of St. James's, which was his residence. In this he failed; but he was afterwards, through the influence of his patron, Bishop Montague, elected librarian to the king. To the royal library Mr. Young was a most assiduous visitor, spending the greatest part of his time in it, and, at the king's command, classing its contents in catalogues. He had frequent literary conversations with his majesty, who placed him in this situation, for which he was so well qualified. By his persuasion, on the death of the very learned Isaac Casaubon, in 1614, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, the king purchased most of his books and manuscripts for the library. Also, for the purpose of augmenting the stores committed to his care, he was very desirous of visiting the continent, but was unable to put his design in execution till 1617, when he went to Paris, taking with him recommendatory letters from the learned Camden to some of his literary acquaintance in that metropolis. By their means he was introduced to various other eminent men, with whom, by the sweetness of his disposition, and the candour and urbanity of his manners, he ingratiated himself, and also rendered himself peculiarly dear to all with whom he was connected. After his return, he assisted

\* Biog. Britan. vol. viii. p. 4380.—Aikin's Life of Selden and Usher, p. 367.

Mr. Thomas Rhead in making a Latin version of the works of King James, a task undoubtedly considered as highly important by the royal author. This translation, "which," says Dr. Smith, "will extend to *all eternity* the fame of this most learned king," appeared in 1619; and Mr. Young was deputed to carry the present copy from his majesty to the university of Cambridge, which was received with all due respect in solemn convocation.

Mr. Young, in the year 1620, entered into the married state; and, about the same time, though only in deacon's orders, was presented to the rectory of Hays in Middlesex, and the rectory of Llanindimel in Denbighshire,\* and was soon after collated to a prebend of St. Paul's, London, and chosen to the office of treasurer of that church. In 1624, on the death of Mr. Rhead, he was recommended by Bishop Williams, then keeper of the great seal, to the Duke of Buckingham, as the fittest person in the kingdom to succeed him in the office of Latin secretary. Although he had hitherto published nothing in his own name, he appears to have acquired a high character among the learned, both at home and abroad, many of the latter of whom corresponded with him upon literary topics, and received from him many signal advantages. When the celebrated John Selden undertook to examine the Arundelian Marbles, he chose Mr. Young for one of his companions; and he derived so much assistance from him in drawing up the account of these valuable remains, that, passing by all patrons of higher rank, he inscribed his "*Marmora Arundeliana*" to Mr. Young, in an affectionate and grateful dedication, which confers honour on both the friends.†

The famous Alexandrian manuscript of the Old and New Testament being added to the treasures of the royal library, Mr. Young employed himself assiduously in collating it with other manuscripts and printed books, and communicated many various readings to Grotius, Usher, and other learned men. It was his intention to print the whole in types similar to the letters of the original, and he published a specimen of his design; but some circumstances occurred to prevent it from being accomplished.‡ The cause of its failure Bishop Kennet ascribes to the puritans; and says, "that religion and learning were so little countenanced by the parliament and assembly of divines, that they never

\* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 368—371.

‡ Ibid. p. 372.

called for the work, and so it was left unfinished.\* What degree of credit is due to this statement, every reader who is at all conversant with the history of this period will easily judge. Wood observes, "that the laborious task was undertaken by the *request* of the assembly of divines," and, towards the close of the year 1645, an ordinance was read for printing and publishing it. He had for his assistants the learned Selden and Whitlocke; but why it was never completed he could never learn.† Another writer affirms, that the premature death of Mr. Young prevented the accomplishment of the design; after which it was taken up by Dr. Grabe.‡

Mr. Young, however, in the year 1633, edited, from the same manuscript, the "Epistles of Clemens Romanus;" and, in the year 1637, he published, with a Latin version, "Catena Græcorum Patrum Jobum, collectore Niceta Heracleæ Metropolitæ." In 1638, he published "Exposito in Canticum Canticorum Folioti Episcopi Londinensis, unacum Alcuini in idem Canticum Compendio." This work was written by Gilb. Foliot, bishop of London, in the reign of Henry II. He greatly contributed to the publication of Walton's Polyglot Bible, particularly by his annotations in vol. vi. of that learned production. He continued in the office of librarian till the king's death; and had made preparations for editing various other manuscripts from the royal library, besides those mentioned above, but the confusions of the times prevented their publication. After his death, most of his Greek and Latin manuscripts, collected and written with his own hand, came to the possession of the celebrated Dr. John Owen.§

From the concurrent testimony of Anthony Wood and Dr. Walker, it is certain that Mr. Young espoused the sentiments and cause of the presbyterians, and we have no evidence that he ever declined from them afterwards; therefore, he is with justice classed among the puritan

\* Kennet's Hist. of Eng. vol. iii. p. 148.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 794.

‡ Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 143.—This famous manuscript is now deposited in the British Museum; but Dr. Grabe never accomplished his design. However, in the year 1786, Dr. Woide, by unexampled labour and care, published a most perfect fac-simile of the *New Testament*, printed in types resembling the characters of the original. The Rev. Mr. Baber, one of the librarians of the British Museum, has lately published a fac-simile of the *Psalms*, and has also this year, 1813, announced his intention of publishing the *Pentateuch* in a similar style.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 794.

worthies.\* Upon his removal from the office of librarian, he retired to the house of his son-in-law, at Bromfield in Essex, where he was taken off by an acute disease, September 7, 1652, aged sixty-eight years. His corpse was interred in the chancel of Bromfield church, and over his grave was laid a stone of black marble, with the following monumental inscription :†

Here under  
lieth the body of PATRICK YOUNG, esq.  
Son of Sir PETER YOUNG, knt.  
who left two daughters  
and coheireesses.  
Elizabeth married to John Attwood, esq.  
and Sarah married Sir Samuel Bose, knt.  
He died September 7, 1652.

Mr. Young was a person most celebrated both for piety and erudition, and one of the most distinguished Grecians of the age. Bishop Montague used to style him, "the patriarch of the Greeks."‡ Of his character, both as a scholar and a man, abundant eulogies, from persons of literary distinction, are annexed to Dr. Smith's biographical memoir of him. He was consulted by most of the great scholars in Europe: as, Fronto-Ducæus, Sirmondus, Petavius, Grotius, Valesius, Salmasius, Vossius, Casaubon, Usher, Selden, and many others.

**DANIEL ROGERS, B. D.**—This excellent divine was born in the year 1573, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He was son to Mr. Richard Rogers, of Wethersfield in Essex, and brother to Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, both eminent puritan divines. Upon his removal from the university, he was some time minister at Haversham in Buckinghamshire; afterwards at Wethersfield, the place of his birth, though not the immediate successor of his father. In the latter situation, however, he met with some trouble under the persecution of Bishop Laud. This unmerciful prelate was no sooner advanced to the see of London, than he proceeded with the utmost severity against the nonconformists in his diocese; and, in the year 1629, great numbers, for preaching against arminianism and

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 704.—Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

† Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4383. ‡ Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 50.

the popish ceremonies, were suspended and brought into other troubles. Among the numerous sufferers from this intolerant prelate was Mr. Rogers.\* It does not appear how long he continued under the ecclesiastical oppression, or whether he ever obtained his lordship's favour. In the year 1643, one of his name, a godly and orthodox divine, became rector of Green's Norton in Northamptonshire, the living being sequestered from the Bishop of Oxford for his malignancy against the parliament. This was most probably the same person, but he did not enjoy the benefice any long time, resigning it into the hands of those from whom he received the presentation.† But whether this was, indeed, the same person, or another of his name, it is certain Mr. Rogers spent his last years among his beloved people at Wethersfield.

He was a man of great parts, great grace, and great infirmities. He had a natural temper so remarkably bad, tarnishing the lustre of his eminent graces, that the famous Mr. John Ward used to say, "My brother Rogers hath grace enough for *two* men; but not enough for *himself*." Though he was a man of most distinguished talents, and received the high applause of all who knew him, yet he enjoyed so large a portion of the grace of God, that he was never lifted up in his own eyes, but always discovered a very low opinion of himself. During the last year of his life, says our author, he exclaimed, in my presence, "O cousin! I would exchange circumstances with the meanest christian in Wethersfield, who hath only the soundness of grace in him."‡ Afterwards, he was seized with a quartan ague, which greatly affected his head; and though he recovered, he continued to be exercised with painful apprehensions about the safety of his own state. He often said, "To die is work by itself." But as the hour of his departure approached, the frame of his mind became more serene and happy; and, upon a review of the work of Christ, he often exclaimed, "O glorious redemption." He died in the month of September, 1652, about eighty years of age.§ Crosby intimates that Mr. Rogers was inclined to the peculiar sentiments of the baptists; and that he candidly declared that he was not convinced, by any part of scripture, in favour of infant baptism.||

\* Prynne's Cant. Doomed, p. 373.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 809.

‡ Firmin's Real Christian, Pref.

§ MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 435. (12 | 4.)

|| Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 187.

This, however, is a very partial and incorrect statement, as will appear from Mr. Rogers's own words. Speaking of the improper use made of his words by a certain writer, in favour of the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, he says, "If I were to answer that anabaptist, I should answer him *silencio et contemptu*, by silence and contempt. For why should I not? since in that very place of my "Sacraments," part i. p. 78, 79, where I confute those schismatics, he snatches my words from their own defence. My words are, 'I confess myself unconvinced by any demonstration of scripture for pædobaptism;' meaning by any *positive* text. What is that to help him, except I thought there were no other arguments to evince it? Now, what I think of that my next words shew. I need not transcribe them. In a word, this I say, though I know none, yet that is no argument for the non-baptizing of infants; since so many scriptures are sufficiently convincing for it. Therefore, this want of *positive text* must no more exclude infants, than the like reason should disannul the christian sabbath, or women from partaking of the Lord's supper."\* Mr. Rogers was a divine of great fame and usefulness in his day. He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, and styled a divine of vast parts.†

**His Works.**—1. David's Cost, wherein every one who is desirous to serve God aright may see what it must Cost him, 1619.—2. A Practical Catechism, 1633.—3. Naaman the Syrian, his Disease and Cure, 1642.—4. Matrimonial Honour, 1642.—5. A Treatise on the Sacraments.

**JOHN COTTON, B. D.**—This celebrated person was born at Derby, December 4, 1585, and educated first in Trinity, then Emanuel college, Cambridge, in the latter of which he was chosen fellow. He received some convictions of sin under the awakening sermons of the famous Mr. Perkins; but his prejudice and enmity against true holiness, and against this holy man's preaching, were so great, that when he heard the bell toll for Mr. Perkins's funeral, he greatly rejoiced that he was then delivered from his heart-searching ministry. The remembrance of this, when afterwards he became acquainted with the gospel, almost broke his heart. The ministry of the excellent Dr. Sibbs proved the means

\* Marshall's Defence of Infant Baptism, p. 5, 6. Edit. 1646.

† Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 92.

of his awakening, and of leading him to the knowledge of Jesus Christ; yet he laboured three years under the most disconsolate and painful apprehensions, before he experienced joy and peace in believing. After this important change, Mr. Cotton had to preach at St. Mary's church, when the wits of the various colleges expected a sermon flourishing with all the learning of the university; but, to their great disappointment and mortification, he preached a judicious and impressive discourse on repentance, shooting the arrows of conviction to their consciences. And though most of the collegians manifested their disapprobation, this sermon was instrumental, under God, in the conversion of the celebrated Dr. Preston, then fellow of Queen's college. From this time, the greatest intimacy and affection subsisted betwixt these two learned divines.

Mr. Cotton, upon his leaving the university, was chosen minister of Boston in Lincolnshire; but Bishop Barlow, suspecting him to be infected with puritanism, used his utmost endeavours to prevent his settlement. The learned prelate could openly object nothing, only "that Mr. Cotton was young, and, on this account, not suitable to be fixed among so numerous and factious a people." Indeed, Mr. Cotton had so much modesty, and so low an opinion of himself, that he at first agreed with his lordship, and intended to have returned to Cambridge; but his numerous friends, anxious to have him settled among them, persuaded the bishop of his great learning and worth, who at length granted his institution.\*

Mr. Cotton met with a more favourable reception than could have been expected. From the convictions and distress under which he laboured, all the people clearly saw, that, instead of serving any particular party, his great concern for some time was about his own salvation. But, afterwards, the troubles in the town, occasioned by the arminian controversy, became so great, that he was obliged to use his utmost endeavours to allay them. And he is said to have so defended the scripture doctrines of election, particular redemption, effectual calling, and the final perseverance of the saints, that, by the blessing of God upon his efforts, the foundations of arminianism were destroyed, those disputes ceased, and the arminian tenets were heard of no more.†

Mr. Cotton married Mrs. Elizabeth Horrocks, sister to

\* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 14—16.

† Ibid. p. 17.—Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 220.

Mr. James Horrocks, an excellent minister in Lancashire. On the very day of his marriage, it is observed, he first obtained that assurance of his interest in the favour of God, which he never lost to the day of his death. He therefore used to say, "The Lord made that day a day of *double* marriage."

This worthy servant of Christ having been about three years at Boston, began to examine the corruptions in the church, and to scruple conformity to its superstitious ceremonies. He did not keep his sentiments to himself. Whatever appeared to him to be *truth*, he freely and fully made known to others. Such, indeed, was the influence of his opinions, that nearly all the inhabitants of the town, it is said, espoused his sentiments, and became decided nonconformists. But complaints were presently brought against him to the bishop, and he was suspended from his ministry. During his suspension, his liberty was offered to him, with very great preferment, if he would have conformed to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, though it were only in *one* act. But he refused to pollute his conscience by the observance of such base, worldly allurements. He did not, however, continue long under the ecclesiastical censure, but was soon restored to his beloved work of preaching.\*

The storm having blown over, he enjoyed rest for many years; and, during the calm, was always abounding in the work of the Lord. In addition to his constant preaching, and visiting his people from house to house, he took many young men under his tuition, from Cambridge, Holland, and Germany. Dr. Preston usually recommended his pupils to finish their studies under Mr. Cotton. His indefatigable labours, both as pastor and tutor, proved a blessing to many. There was so pleasing a reformation among the people of Boston, that superstition and profaneness were nearly extinguished, and practical religion abounded in every corner of the town. The mayor and most of the magistrates were styled puritans, and the ungodly party became insignificant.

Mr. Cotton, after a close and unbiassed examination of the controversy about ecclesiastical discipline, was decidedly of opinion, that it was unlawful for any church to enjoin rites and ceremonies not enjoined by Jesus Christ or his apostles; that a bishop, according to the New Testament, was appointed to rule no larger a diocese than one

\* Mather's Hist. b. iiii. p. 17.

congregation; and that the keys of government were given to every congregational church. The public worship of God at Boston was, therefore, conducted without the fetters and formality of a liturgy, or those vestments and ceremonies which were imposed by the commandments of men. Many of his people united together as a christian church, and enjoyed the fellowship of the gospel, upon congregational principles, "entering into a covenant with God and one another, to follow the Lord Jesus in all the purity of gospel worship."\*

Mr. Cotton was a celebrated divine, and obtained a most distinguished reputation. The best of men greatly *loved* him, and the worst greatly *feared* him. For his great learning, piety, and usefulness, he was highly esteemed by Bishop Williams, who, when he was keeper of the great seal, recommended him to the king, and his majesty allowed him, notwithstanding his nonconformity, to continue in the exercise of his ministry.+ The celebrated Archbishop Usher had the highest opinion of him, and maintained a friendly correspondence with him. One of his letters, written by the learned prelate's request, dated May 31, 1626, is upon the subject of predestination.† He was also greatly admired and esteemed by the Earl of Dorset, who kindly promised him, that, if he should ever want a friend at court, he would use all his interest in his favour.§ But, in the midst of all this honour and applause, his meekness and humility remained untarnished.

Mr. Cotton, having preached at Boston nearly twenty years, found it impossible to continue any longer. He beheld the storm of persecution fast approaching, and wisely withdrew from it. A debauched fellow of Boston, to be revenged upon the magistrates, for punishing him according to his deserts, brought complaints against them, together with Mr. Cotton, in the high commission court; and swore,|| "That neither the minister nor the magistrates of the town kneeled at the sacrament, nor observed certain

\* Mather's History, b. iii. p. 18.

† Fuller's Church History, b. ix. p. 228.

‡ Parr's Life of Usher, p. 338.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 220, 221.

|| When this vile informer first appeared before the commission, he complained only of the magistrates; and when the spiritual rulers said he must include Mr. Cotton, he replied, "Nay, the minister is an honest man, and never did me any wrong." But when they signified that all his complaints would be to no purpose, unless he included the minister, he swore against them all.—*Mather's Hist.* b. iii. p. 19.

ecclesiastical ceremonies." Bishop Laud having got the reins of government into his own hand, by his arbitrary influence, letters missive were sent down to apprehend Mr. Cotton and bring him before the commission; but he wisely concealed himself. Great intercessions were made for him by the Earl of Dorset and others, but all to no purpose. This worthy earl sent him word, "That if he had been guilty of drunkenness or uncleanness, or any such *lesser* crime, he could have obtained his pardon: but as he was guilty of nonconformity and puritanism, the crime was unpardonable. Therefore," said he, "you must fly for your safety."\* So it was undoubtedly from painful experience, that Mr. Cotton afterwards made the following complaint: "The ecclesiastical courts," said he, "are like the courts of the high-priests and pharisees, which Solomon, by a spirit of prophesy, styleth, *dens of lions*, and *mountains of leopards*. Those who have had to do with them have found them to be markets of the sins of the people, the cages of uncleanness, the forgers of extortion, the tabernacles of bribery, and contrary to the end of civil government; which is the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well."

As this holy and excellent divine had no prospect of ever enjoying his liberty in his native country, he resolved to transport himself to New England. Upon his departure from Boston, he wrote a very modest and pious letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, dated May 7, 1633, signifying his resignation of the living.† Dr. Anthony Tuckney, afterwards silenced in 1692,‡ who had for some time been his assistant, became his successor in the pastoral office. Mr. Cotton's resolution to remove into a foreign land was not hasty and without consideration: the undertaking was the result of mature examination, and founded upon most substantial reasons. He observed, that the door of public usefulness was shut against him in his own country; that our Lord commands his disciples, when they are persecuted

\* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 19.—While this pious, learned and useful divine was treated with great severity, persons guilty of drunkenness and other foul crimes, very common among the clergy of those times, were very seldom noticed. One instance, however, it may be proper here to mention. The mayor of Arundel, in the year 1634, imprisoned a clergyman for notorious drunkenness and misbehaviour, though he continued only one night under confinement. But, surprising as it may appear, the mayor, for this act of justice, was fined and censured by the high commission at Lambeth.—*Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations*, p. 164.

† Massachusetts' Papers, 249—251.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 264.

in one place to flee unto another; and that he wished to enjoy all the ordinances of God in their scriptural purity.\*

Taking leave of his numerous friends at Boston, he travelled to London in disguise. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, several eminent ministers proposed to have a conference, with a view to persuade him to conform, to which he readily consented. At this conference, all their arguments in favour of conformity were first produced; all of which Mr. Cotton is said to have answered to their satisfaction. He then gave them his arguments for nonconformity, with his reasons for resolving to leave the country, rather than conform to the ecclesiastical impositions. In the conclusion, instead of bringing Mr. Cotton to embrace their sentiments and conform, they all espoused his opinions; and from that time Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Henry Whitfield, and some others, became avowed nonconformists, for which they were all afterwards driven into a foreign land.† Mr. Davenport, one of the opponents, giving his opinion of this conference, thus observes: "Mr. Cotton," says he, "answered all our arguments with great evidence of scripture, composedness of mind, mildness of spirit, constant adherence to his principles; keeping them unshaken, and himself from varying from them, by any thing that was spoken. The reason of our desiring to confer with him, rather than any other, upon these weighty points, was, our former knowledge of his approved godliness, excellent learning, sound judgment, eminent gravity, and sweet temper, whereby he could quietly bear with those who differed from him."‡

Mr. Cotton having fully resolved upon crossing the Atlantic, John Winthrop, esq. governor of the new plantation, procured letters of recommendation from the church at Boston to their brethren in New England. He took shipping the beginning of July, 1633, and arrived at Boston in New England the beginning of September following. He had for his companions in the voyage, the excellent Mr. Hocker and Mr. Stone, both driven from their native country by the intolerant proceedings of the bishops. After being about a month at sea, Mrs. Cotton was delivered of a son; who, from the place of his birth, was

\* Massachusetts' Papers, p. 55—57.

† Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 20—218.

‡ Norton's Life of Mr. Cotton, p. 32, 33. Edit. 1638.

called *Seaborn*. Upon their arrival at Boston, the town, which had been hitherto called Trimountain, on account of its three hills, was, out of respect to Mr. Cotton, who went from Boston in Lincolnshire, now called *Boston*.\*

This learned divine, presently after his arrival, was chosen colleague to Mr. John Wilson, in the church at Boston, which soon proved an unspeakable blessing to the town. It was in part owing to his wisdom and influence, that in a few years it became the capital of the whole province. Previous to Mr. Cotton's arrival, the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions were both in a very shattered state; but, by his vigorous and judicious efforts, the utmost order and agreement were promoted; and, it is said, he was more useful than any other person in the settlement of the civil as well as the ecclesiastical polity of New England.† About the year 1642, when the episcopal power began to decline in England, several of the leading members in both houses of parliament wrote to him, warmly pressing him to return to his native country; but he, enjoying the blessings of peace and safety, was unwilling to venture out in the midst of the storm.‡ He therefore continued at Boston to the day of his death.

About this time, numerous antinomian and familistic errors began to be propagated in various parts of New England, particularly at Boston. This raised a dreadful tempest among the people. Mrs. Hutchinson, and Mr. Wheelwright, her brother, were at the head, and Mr. Cotton was deeply involved in the unhappy affair. Indeed, some of our historians do not hesitate to affirm, that he imbibed some of their wild opinions; but, upon farther examination, he saw his error, and renounced them.§ Others deny the whole charge, and endeavour to prove it altogether a slander intended to injure his reputation.¶ All, however, agree, that at the synod of Cambridge, in 1646, he openly declared his utter dislike of all those opinions, as being some of them heretical, some blasphemous, some erroneous, and all incongruous. At the above synod, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Richard Mather, and Mr. Ralph Partridge, were each appointed to draw up a platform of church government, with a view to collect one out of them all at the next

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 40.

† Ibid. p. 54.

‡ Mather's Hist. b. iii. 20—23.

§ Bailie's Dissuasive, p. 57—59.—Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 142.

¶ Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 21.—Palree's Vindication, part i. p. 207.

synod; which was done accordingly. Till this platform was adopted, the churches of New England made frequent use of Mr. Cotton's book, entitled, "The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."\*

This celebrated divine, after his removal to New England, held a friendly correspondence with many persons of distinction in his native country, among whom was the Protector Cromwell. One of the protector's letters, written with his own hand, dated October 2, 1652, is here inserted verbatim, for the satisfaction of every inquisitive reader. The address is, "To my esteemed friend, Mr. Cotton, pastor to the church at Boston in New England;" and the letter itself is as follows:

"Worthy sir, and my christian friend,  
 "I received yours a few dayes since. It was welcome  
 "to me because signed by you, whome I love and honour  
 "in the Lord: but more to see some of the same grounds of  
 "our actinges stirringe in you, that have in us to quiet us  
 "to our worke, and support us therein, which hath had  
 "greatest difficultye in our engagement in Scotland, by  
 "reason wee have had to do with some whoe were (I  
 "verily thinke,) godly; but, through weaknesse and the  
 "subtiltye of Satan, involved in interests against the Lord  
 "and his people. With what tendernessee wee have pro-  
 "ceeded with such, and that in synceritye, our papers  
 "(which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest,  
 "and I give you some comfortable assurance off. The  
 "Lord hath marvellously appeared even against them; and  
 "now againe, when all the power was devolved into the  
 "Scottish kinge and malignant partye, they invadinge  
 "England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the  
 "inclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that  
 "of their whole armie, when the narrative was framed, not  
 "five of their whole armie returned. Surely, sir, the Lord  
 "is greatly to be feared as to be praised. Wee need your  
 "prayers in this as much as ever; how shall we behave  
 "ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a  
 "doeing? What prophesies are now fulfilling? Who  
 "is a God like ours? To know his will, to doe his will,  
 "are both of him.

"I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute thus in a  
 "word: truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our  
 "brethren, and the churches with you. I am a poor weake

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 145, 146.

“ creature, and not worthy of the name of a worme ; yet  
 “ accepted to serve the Lord and his people. Indeed, my  
 “ dear friend, between you and me, you knowe not me ; my  
 “ weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskillfullnesse,  
 “ and every way unfittnesse to my worke ; yett the Lord,  
 “ who will have mercye on whome he will, does as you  
 “ see. Pray for me. Salute all christian friendes, though  
 “ unknown.

“ I rest your affectionate friend to serve you,

“ O. CROMWELL.”\*

Mr. Cotton was a divine indefatigably laborious all his days. He lived under a conviction of that sacred precept, “ Be not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord.” He rose early, and commonly studied twelve hours a day, accounting that a *scholar's day*. He was resolved to *wear out*, rather than *rust out*. He was a man of great literary acquirements, and so well acquainted with the Hebrew, that he could converse in it with great ease. He was a most celebrated preacher, delivering the great truths of the gospel with so much gravity and judgment, that his hearers were struck with admiration and reverence ; and with so much plainness, that persons of the weakest capacity might understand him. He was remarkable for practical religion and christian benevolence, and his whole life was filled with acts of piety and charity. He was a person of great modesty, humility, and good-nature ; and though he was often insulted by angry men, he never expressed the least resentment. A conceited ignorant man once followed him home after sermon, and with frowns told him his preaching was become dark or flat. To whom he meekly replied, “ Both, brother ; it may be both : let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise.” At another time, Mr. Cotton being insulted by an impudent fellow in the street, who called him an old fool, replied, “ I confess I am so. The Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation.” We give one instance more. Mr. Cotton having, by the desire of a friend, given his thoughts upon the doctrine of reprobation, against the exceptions of the arminians, the manuscript fell into the hands of the celebrated Dr. Twisse, who published a refutation of it ; upon which Mr. Cotton thus modestly observed, “ I hope God will give me an opportunity to consider the doctor's labour of love. I bless the Lord, who has made me willing to be

\* Sloane's MSS. No. 4156.

taught by a meaner disciple than such a doctor; whose scholastical acuteness, pregnancy of wit, solidity of judgment, and dexterity of argument, all orthodox divines so highly honour; and before whom all arminians and jesuits fall down in silence. God forbid that I should shut my eyes against any light brought to me by him. Only I desire not to be condemned as a pelagian or arminian before I am heard.”\*

Mr. Cotton often wished not to outlive his work. Herein his desire was granted; for his last illness was very short. Having taken leave of his beloved study, he said to Mrs. Cotton, “*I shall go into that room no more.*” He was desirous to depart, that he might enjoy Christ and the company of glorified saints, particularly his old friends, Preston, Ames, Hildersham, Dod, and others, who had been peculiarly dear to him while he lived. Having set his house in order, and taken a solemn leave of the magistrates and ministers of the colony, who came to see him in his sickness, he sweetly slept in Jesus, December 23, 1652, aged sixty-seven years. His remains were interred with great lamentation and funeral solemnity. He is denominated “an universal scholar, a living system of the liberal arts, and a walking library. He was deeply skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and an extraordinary theologian.”† Fuller has honoured him with a place among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge.‡ Dr. Cotton Mather, the pious historian, was his grandson.

**His Works.**—1. *The Way of Life*, 1641.—2. *Doubts of Predestination*, 1646.—3. *Exposition upon Ecclesiastes and Canticles*, 1648.—4. *The Way of the Congregational Churches Cleared*, 1648.—5. *Commentary on the First Epistle of John*, 1656.—6. *Milk for Babes*.—7. *A Treatise on the New Covenant*.—8. *Various Sermons*.—9. *Answer to Mr. Ball about Forms of Prayer*.—10. *The Grounds and Ends of Infant Baptism*.—11. *A Discourse upon Singing Psalms*.—12. *An Abstract of the Laws in Christ's Kingdom, for Civil Government*.—13. *A Treatise on the Holiness of Church Members*.—14. *A Discourse on Things Indifferent*.—15. *The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*.—16. *Answer to Mr. Cawdry*.—17. *The Bloody Tenet Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb*.—18. *A Copy of a Letter of Mr. Cotton's of Boston in New England, sent in Answer of certain Objections made against their Discipline and Orders there, directed to a Friend*.

\* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 26—29.

† Ibid. p. 25.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

**WILLIAM LYFORD, B. D.**—This worthy divine was born at Peysmore, near Newbury, in Berkshire, about the year 1598, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. While at the university, he entered upon the ministerial function, and in the year 1631 was admitted to the reading of the sentences in the college. Afterwards, by favour of the Earl of Bristol, he became minister of Sherborn in Dorsetshire, where he continued the rest of his days. Upon the commencement of the civil wars he espoused the cause of the parliament; and in 1643 was nominated one of the assembly of divines; but choosing rather to continue in his stated ministerial exercises, he did not sit among them. He was zealous and laborious in the work of the Lord, taking unspeakable pleasure in every duty of the pastoral office. He fed the lambs in Christ's flock, and possessed an excellent talent for catechizing youth, wherein he was eminently useful.

Mr. Lyford was a divine of an excellent spirit, and an avowed advocate of peace and moderation. He took no active part in the public broils of the nation; but drew up his thoughts in writing, in a work entitled, "Cases of Conscience propounded in the Time of Rebellion." This work, according to Bishop Kennet, was written with plainness, modesty, and impartiality, in discussion of the three following questions:—"1. Whether it be lawful to keep days of public rejoicing and thanksgiving for victories in a civil war?—2. Whether it be lawful for the civil magistrate to impose an act of worship in itself unlawful, or esteemed to be so, on men of a different judgment, especially on a minister, who must needs be not only a passive hearer, but an actor in the business, under temporal pains of sequestration, imprisonment, deprivation, &c.?—3. Whether a minister performing such an act of worship, upon such a force or fear, or for temporal ends, does perform an acceptable service unto God?"\* He answered each of these questions in the *negative*, in which he discovered his sentiments relative to the controversies of the day.

Mr. Lyford, during his last sickness, "looked for the appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." This supported and comforted his mind under a long and painful illness. During the whole of it, his confidence was fixed on Jesus Christ, the rock of ages. In his letters written at this period, he thus expressed himself: "However

\* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 349.

it may please God to dispose of my health, I rest comfortably assured of his everlasting love to me in his Son Jesus Christ; who loved me and gave himself for me. In the use of the means, I wait to see what the Lord will do with me. I know it will be well with me at last, having so many pledges of his everlasting love to support me. My wasting continues, and my appetite faileth; but my God faileth not. In him, and in contemplation of the great things he hath done for me, and the far greater things he will yet do, I find refreshment." A few days previous to his dissolution, his friends desiring him to give them some account of his hopes and comforts, he cheerfully replied, "I will let you know how it is with me, and on what ground I stand. Here is the grave, the wrath of God and devouring flames, the great punishment of sin, on the one hand; and here am I, a poor sinful creature, on the other: but this is my comfort, the covenant of grace, established upon so many sure promises, hath satisfied all. The act of oblivion passed in heaven is, *I will forgive their iniquities, and their sins will I remember no more, saith the Lord.* This is the blessed privilege of all within the covenant, of whom I am one. For I find the spirit which is promised bestowed upon me, in the blessed effects of it upon my soul, as the pledge of God's eternal love. By this I know my interest in Christ, who is the foundation of the covenant; and therefore, my sins being laid on him, shall never be charged on me." As the earthly house of his tabernacle was dissolving, with great difficulty, he said, "My dissolution is more comfortable to me than my marriage-day. Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." And when the trying moment arrived, he cheerfully surrendered his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, October 3, 1653, aged fifty-five years, when his remains were interred in the chancel of Sherbourn church.\*

Fuller observes, that Mr. Lyford was "a man of a pleasant countenance, a courteous carriage, a meek spirit, great modesty, and that his memory is still preserved in his learned works."† Wood says, "he joined the presbyterians, was much followed for his edifying and practical preaching, and that his works savour much of piety, zeal, and sincerity, but shew him to have been a *zealous Calvinist.*"‡ Dr. Walker affirms, "that he suffered much from the faction, both in his

\* Memorials of Mr. Lyford, prefixed to his "*Plain Man's Sense Exercised.*" Edit. 1655.

† Fuller's *Worthies*, part i. p. 96.

‡ Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 96.

name and ministry; and they wondered," says he, "that so holy a man as he was, should doat so much on kings, bishops, the Common Prayer, and ceremonies."\* He bequeathed, in his last will and testament, the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds to Magdalen college, Oxford, "in gratitude for the advantages which he had there enjoyed; and in restitution for a sum of money, which, according to the corrupt custom of these times, he had received for the resignation of his fellowship."† Mr. Francis Bamfield, afterwards ejected in 1662, was his successor at Sherborn.‡

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Principles of Faith and a Good Conscience, 1642.—2. An Apologie for our Public Ministrie and Infant-Baptism, 1642.—3. The Plain Man's Senses Exercised to discern both Good and Evil; or, a Discovery of the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of these Times, 1655.—4. A Legacy; or, an Help to Young People to prepare them for the Sacrament, 1656.—5. Cases of Conscience, proposed in the time of Rebellion, Resolved, 1661.—6. Conscience illustrated, touching our late Thanksgivings, 1661.—7. Sermons on various Occasions.

**JOHN LATHORP.**—This excellent person was minister of Egerton in Kent; but, renouncing his episcopal ordination, was chosen pastor of the independent church, under the care of Mr. Henry Jacob, London, upon Mr. Jacob's retiring to America. This little society, which had hitherto assembled in private, moving from place to place, began about this time to assume courage, and ventured to shew itself in public. It was not long, however, before the congregation was discovered by Tomlinson, the bishop's pursuivant, at the house of Mr. Humphrey Barnet, a brewer's clerk, in Blackfriars; when, April 29, 1432, forty-two of them were apprehended, and only eighteen escaped. Of those who were taken, some were confined in the Clink, some in New Prison, and others in the Gatehouse, where they continued about two years. They were then released upon bail, except Mr. Lathorp, for whom no favour could for some time be obtained. He, at length, petitioned the king, and his numerous family of children laid their lamentable case at the feet of Archbishop Laud, requesting that he might go into banishment in a foreign land; which being granted, he went to New England, in the year 1634, when he was accompanied by about thirty of his

\* Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 419. † Memorial of Mr. Lyford.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 571.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 419.

congregation. It is observed, that, during his imprisonment, his wife fell sick and died; but that he obtained so much favour as to visit her, and pray with her, before she breathed her last; and then returned to prison.\*

Mr. Lathorp was a man of learning, and of a meek and quiet spirit; but met with some uneasiness from his people on the following occasion. It appears that some of his congregation entertained doubts of the validity of baptism, as administered by their own pastor; and one person, who indulged these scruples, carried his child to be re-baptized at the parish church. This giving offence to some persons, the subject was discussed at a general meeting of the society; and when the question was put it was carried in the negative: at the same time it was resolved, by a majority, not to make any declaration at present, *whether or no parish churches were true churches*. This decision proving unacceptable to the most rigid among them, they desired their dismissal; and, uniting with some others who were dissatisfied about the lawfulness of infant baptism, formed themselves into a new society, which is thought to have been the first baptist congregation in England. This separation took place in the year 1633, and the new society chose Mr. John Spilsbury for its pastor.† But the remainder of Mr. Lathorp's church renewed their covenant, *to walk together in the ways of God, so far as he had made them known, or should make them known to them, and forsake all false ways*: and so steady were they to their vows, that there was scarcely an instance of any one departing from the church, even under the severest persecutions.‡

Mr. Lathorp, being driven from his native country, and retiring to New England, was chosen first pastor of the church at Scituate, where he continued for some time, distributing the bread of life. Part of the church afterwards removing to Barnstable, he removed with them, where he continued pastor of the church to the day of his death. He died November 8, 1653. He was a man of a happy and pious spirit, studious of peace, a lively preacher, and willing to spend and be spent for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls.§

Mr. Prince, in compiling his "Chronological History of New England," made use of "An original Register," in manuscript, by Mr. Lathorp, giving an account of Scituate

\* Morton's Memorial, p. 141.—Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 273.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 373, 374.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 148, 149.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 374.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 141.

and Barnstaple, where he had been successively the first minister.\*

**WILLIAM GOUGE, D. D.**—This very learned and celebrated divine was born at Bow, near Stratford, Middlesex, November 1, 1575, and educated first at Eton school, then in King's college, Cambridge. He was endowed with great powers of mind, was a great lover of learning, and perhaps exceeded by none in close application to study. His progress in the various departments of useful literature corresponded with his application. During his first three years at the university, he was so assiduous in his academical pursuits, that he slept only one night out of the college. Here he spent nine years, and during the whole of that period he was never absent from the college prayers at half past five o'clock in the morning, unless he was from home. He usually rose so long before the hour of prayer, as to have time for private devotion and reading his usual portion of scripture. He invariably read *fifteen* chapters in the Bible every day; five in the morning, before he entered upon his regular studies, five after dinner, and five at night before he went to rest. When he was chosen reader of logic and philosophy in the college, he was so remarkably exact in those exercises, and performed them with such admirable propriety, that, while he gained the high applause of his auditors, he incurred the hatred of those who were less attentive to their duty. Indeed, he was so exact and conscientious in all his ways, that he was reproachfully denominated an *arch-puritan*.

In the year 1608, he was unanimously chosen minister of Blackfriars, London; where he appears to have been assistant to the excellent Mr. Stephen Egerton, and, at his death, succeeded him in the pastoral office. His labours were peculiarly acceptable to the people; the congregation greatly increased; and the church was greatly enlarged. Though considerable preferments were frequently offered him, he refused them all. His only object was to be useful to souls. He used to say, "It is my highest ambition to go from Blackfriars to heaven." He was highly esteemed by the people of his charge, and by all who knew his worth. Multitudes stately resorted to his ministry, and many strangers attended his Wednesday morning lecture. This lecture he

\* Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. Pref. p. 8.

kept up about *thirty-five* years. Indeed; so great was his fame, that when religious persons from distant parts of the country went to London, they did not think their business finished, unless they had attended Blackfriars lecture. The success of his ministry was also very great. It is said, that thousands were converted and built up under his ministry. He was long employed in the work, and eminently faithful and laborious as long as he could get into the pulpit. His preaching was always distinct, his method easy, and his language adapted to persons of the meanest capacities.

Dr. Gouge, while he preached the gospel to others, enjoyed its consolations in his own mind. He found so much true comfort in his work, as, he believed, could not be found in any other employment. He often professed, that his greatest pleasure in this world was in preaching the gospel. His heart and his happiness were so much in his work, that he often said to Lord Coventry, then keeper of the great seal, that he envied not his situation. His whole life was particularly exemplary. The doctrine which he delivered to others had its proper influence and effect upon himself. Although his conduct was unblamable and irreprovable in the sight of all men, he was not without his enemies. He was as excellent and peaceable a subject as any in the nation; yet, through the instigation of Bishop Neile, he was cast into prison only for republishing Finch's book on "The Calling of the Jews." Having remained in prison nine weeks, he was released. In the year 1626, he was chosen one of the feoffees for purchasing impropriations; for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the star-chamber: but the prosecution being so manifestly invidious, was afterwards dropped.† During the intolerance of Bishop Laud, he was prosecuted in the high commission, for opposing arminianism and the new ceremonies.‡

This celebrated divine was deeply concerned for the Redeemer's cause in foreign countries, as well as at home. He exercised particular compassion towards the foreign protestants, under all their afflictions and persecutions. He rejoiced in their prosperity, but was afflicted in their adversity. Therefore, when public collections for the poor and distressed ministers of the Palatinate utterly failed, he united with his brethren in promoting a private contribution for their relief;

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologie, p. 234—239.

† Ibid. p. 239—241.

‡ Pryune's Cant. Doome, p. 362.

but, marvellous as it may appear, for this singular act of generosity and humanity, he was convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent.\*

In the year 1643, Dr. Gouge was nominated one of the assembly of divines. He assiduously attended during the whole session; and was held in so high reputation, that he often filled the moderator's chair in his absence. September 25th, in the same year, when the house of commons, the Scots commissioners, and the assembly of divines met in St. Margaret's church, Westminster, to subscribe the covenant, Dr. Gouge concluded the solemnity with prayer. He was one of the select committee for the examination of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings. In 1644, he was upon the committee appointed for the examination and ordination of ministers. In 1647, at the first session of the provincial assembly, he was chosen prolocutor, and opened the session with a sermon at Blackfriars. In the same year he was upon the committee appointed to draw up the confession of faith. And in the year 1648, he was on the committee appointed to draw up the assembly's annotations. His portion was from the first book of Kings to the book of Esther, inclusive.† In the same year he united with his brethren, in London and its vicinity, in declaring against the king's death.‡

Dr. Gouge was a strict observer of the sabbath; and when the Book of Sports came out, he absolutely refused to read it. He was determined to suffer, rather than sin by encouraging profane sports on the Lord's day. He was exact in observing the public exercises of the house of God, in promoting religion in his family, and in the devotions of the closet; and, to the great honour of his character, he would never allow his servant to be absent from public worship on the Lord's day to cook provision, whatever company he expected. He possessed an excellent talent for solving cases of conscience; and so great was the blessing of God upon his judicious counsels, that multitudes were restored to joy and peace in believing. Ministers, in difficult cases, often consulted him; on which account, he was denominated the *father* of the London divines, and the *very oracle* of his time. He was said to be the very picture of *Moses* for a meek and quiet spirit. As he was not easily provoked, so he was never inclined to provoke others. When he received

\* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

† Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. iij. p. 52, 70, 140, 350, 355, 452.

‡ Calamy's Continuation, vol. ii. p. 743.

any injury, he always prayed for his enemies, and said, "that revilers and evil doers always hurt themselves most." He was remarkably kind to persons in distress, especially the poor of Christ's flock. According to the ability which God gave him, he employed his substance to useful purposes. He afforded much support to the poor scholars at the university. It was his very meat and drink to do his heavenly Father's will. His humility, indeed, outshone all his other amiable endowments. He was never lifted up by multitudes flocking to hear him, nor by the applause he received from them; but used to say, "I know more to *abase* me, than others do to *exalt* me."

He was, through the whole of his life, remarkably exact and conscientious in the improvement of his time. He rose early, both winter and summer. If at any time he heard other persons at their work before he was in his study, he would complain, saying, "I am much troubled that any persons should be at their calling before I am at mine." He was an excellent scholar, being familiarly conversant with the original languages, and every department of useful literature. When the persecuting prelates would allow of no other fasts besides those appointed by authority, Dr. Gouge and his pious friends kept their private fasts regularly every month. On these occasions he greatly excelled. He was remarkably concerned for the welfare of the foreign protestant churches. Hearing that it was well with them, he rejoiced and praised God: but when he received evil tidings, "he sat down and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed unto the God of heaven."

In the decline of life, he was much afflicted with an asthma and the stone. Under these painful maladies he often *groaned*, but never *murmured*. Labouring under these afflictions, he frequently said, "Soul, be silent; soul, be patient. It is thy God and Father who thus ordereth thy estate: thou art his clay; he may tread and trample on thee as he pleaseth: thou hast deserved much more. It is enough that thou art kept out of hell. Though thy pain be grievous, it is tolerable. Thy God affords some intermissions. He will turn it to thy good, and then put an end to all. None of these things can be expected hereafter." Under his greatest pains he used the words of Job: "Shall we receive good at the hands of God, and shall we not receive evil?" At such times, he committed his soul to Christ, saying, "I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." When his friends endeavoured

to comfort him, by reminding him of his gifts and usefulness, he replied, "I dare not think of any such thing for comfort. Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and suffered, is the only ground of comfort. I, being a great sinner, comfort myself in a great Saviour. When I look upon myself, I see nothing but weakness and emptiness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but sufficiency and fulness."

A few days before he died, having continued for three days in a state of drowsiness, he inquired what day it was, and exclaimed, "Alas, I have lost three days!" Afterwards, reviving a little, he said, "Now I have not long to live. The time of my departure is at hand. I am going to my desired haven. I am most willing to die. I have, blessed be God, nothing else to do but to die. Death is my best friend, next to Jesus Christ. I am sure I shall be with Christ when I die."\* As the hour of his departure approached, he spoke much in admiration of the rich grace and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and died full of unspeakable comfort, December 12, 1653, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been minister of Blackfriars nearly forty-six years.† Dr. Calamy observes, "that he was a person of as eminent a reputation for ministerial abilities, strict piety, and indefatigable labours for the good of souls, as most ministers that ever were in the city.‡ Granger says, "he was offered the provostship of King's college, Cambridge, but declined to accept it; and that he was laborious, exemplary, and so much beloved that none ever thought or spoke ill of him, excepting those who were inclined to think or speak ill of religion itself."§ He is classed among the learned writers and distinguished worthies of this college.|| Wood styles him "a pious and learned divine," and says, "he is often honourably mentioned by Vœtius, Streso, and other learned and foreign divines."¶ Mr. William Jenkin was assistant to Dr. Gouge about twelve years, preached his funeral sermon, and succeeded him in the pastoral office. Mr. Thomas Gouge, on whose death Dr. Watts wrote an excellent elegiac poem, was the doctor's son, and Mr. Richard Roberts married his eldest daughter. These three excellent divines were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.\*\*

His WORKS.—1. Eight Treatises on Domestic Duties.—2. The Whole Armour of God.—3. A Treatise on the Sin against the Holy

\* Jenkin's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Gouge.

† Clark's Lives, p. 242—246. ‡ Calamy's Continuation, vol. i. p. 12.

§ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 179. || Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 75.

¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 807.

\*\* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 109, 184. iii. p. 301.

**Ghost.**—4. **Two Catechisms.**—5. **A Guide to go to God.**—6. **God's three Arrows, the Plague, Famine, and Sword.**—7. **The Extent of Divine Providence.**—8. **The Dignity of Chivalry.**—9. **The Saints Sacrifice.**—10. **Two Treatises, 1. On the Sabbath, 2. On Apostacy.**—11. **The Saints Support, a Sermon before the House of Commons.**—12. **Mary's Memorial.**—13. **The Progress of Divine Providence, a Sermon before the House of Lords.**—14. **A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Duck.**—15. **The Right Way, a Sermon before the House of Lords.**—16. **A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1655.**—Wood styles this a learned and useful work; and the pious Bishop Wilkins classes Dr. George's sermons among those which he denominates the most excellent of his time.\*

**THOMAS HILL, D. D.**—This learned divine was born at Kington in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He made great progress in learning, was a man of most exemplary piety, and exceedingly beloved and admired. Having finished his studies at the university, he sojourned some time, for his further improvement, with Mr. John Cotton, of Boston in Lincolnshire; the benefit of whose society, example, and instructions, he never lost to the day of his death. He afterwards returned to Cambridge, became an excellent tutor, and a very popular and useful preacher in the church of St. Andrews. When the plague raged in the place, and multitudes fled from their stations, he still continued in the work of the Lord. As the good shepherd of Christ's flock, he did not flee when danger approached. Upon his removal from the university, he was chosen pastor of the church of Tichmarch in Northamptonshire; where he continued a constant, faithful, and useful preacher about nine years. Here he was highly esteemed by the Earl of Warwick, in whose family he became acquainted with Mrs. Willford, governess to the earl's daughter, whom he afterwards married.

In the year 1640, when the committee of accommodation was appointed by the house of lords, to consider the innovations in religion, Dr. Hill, with several bishops and other learned divines, was chosen a member of the sub-committee, to prepare materials for their debate. In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines; he constantly attended; and, by his great learning and moderation, was particularly useful in all their deliberations. The year following, he was chosen one of the committee for the examination and

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. 1. p. 607.—Wilkins's *Discourse on Preaching*, p. 152, 153. Edit. 1679.

† Kingdom's *MS. Collec.* p. 300, 301.

ordination of public preachers; and in 1645, when the committee of accommodation was revived by order of parliament, he was appointed one of its learned members. He preached frequently before the house of parliament, and was chosen morning lecturer at the Abbey church, Westminster. He preached every Lord's day at St. Martin's in the Fields, "where," it is observed, "his labours were made a blessing to many thousands."† He was a divine universally celebrated for learning and ability; and therefore was appointed master of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards of Trinity college, in the same university. Here he employed all his talents and zeal in the advancement of sound learning and genuine piety, and in the observance of college exercises. Mr. Henry Oatland, afterwards one of the ejected ministers, who was one of his pupils, observes, "that he derived unspeakable advantage from Dr. Hill's plain but excellent method of preaching Christ."‡ He was twice chosen vice-chancellor, and was particularly concerned to preserve the honour and privileges of the university.

Dr. Hill was a divine sound in the faith, and firmly attached to the doctrinal articles of the church of England. He considered unconditional election, salvation by grace, justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and the final perseverance of believers, not as points of dry speculation or vain curiosity, but as prominent doctrines of scripture, and the very life of true christian faith. What he believed he constantly practised through life, and found its unspeakable comforts in truth. During his last sickness, being exceedingly afflicted with a quartan ague, he found much joy and peace in believing. The distinguishing love of God in Christ Jesus was the foundation of his confidence and happiness. Being asked, just before his departure, whether he enjoyed peace with God, he cheerfully replied, "Through the mercy of God in Christ my peace is made, and I quietly rest in it." He died much lamented, December 18, 1653. He was a divine eminent for humility and holiness, an excellent and useful preacher, and of great learning and moderation; but no friend to arminianism.§ He used to lay his hand upon his breast, and say, "Every true christian hath something here, that will frame an argument against arminianism."¶

This learned and pious divine has not escaped the reproach.

\* Papers of Accommodation, p. 13.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 230, 231.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 885.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 233.

¶ Firmin's Real Christian, p. 26. Edit. 1670.

ful insinuations of Dr. Grey. Mr. Neal having specified his preferments, the doctor adds, "but how deserving this gentleman was of these preferments, his works sufficiently testify:" and then, to prove what he insinuates, he cites Dr. Hill's words, delivered on public occasions, as follows:—"That we may have an incorrupt religion, without sinful, without guileful mixtures; not a linsey-woolsey religion: all new-born babes will desire word-milk, sermon-milk, without guile, without adulterating sophistication of it.—What pity it is that cathedral societies, which might have been colleges of learned presbyters for feeding and ruling of city churches, and petty academies to prepare pastors for neighbouring places, should be often sanctuaries for nonresidents, and be made nurseries to many such drones, who can neither preach, nor pray, otherwise than *read, say, or sing their prayers*, and in the mean time, truth must be observed in a non-edifying pomp of ceremonious services.—Behold, with weeping eyes, the many hundred congregations in the kingdom, where millions of souls are like to perish for want of vision. Truth is sold from among them, either by soul-betraying nonresidents, soul-poisoning innovators, or soul-pining dry nurses. In many places the very image of jealousy, the idol of the mass, is set up; yea, the comedy of the mass is acted, because she wanteth the light of truth to discover the wickedness and folly of it. In many miles, not a minister that can *preach and live* sermons. I wish every parliament-man had a map of the soul-misery of the most of the ten thousand churches and chapels in England.

"In the stead of the high commission," says he, "which was a soul-scourge to many godly and faithful ministers, we have an honourable committee, that turns the wheel upon such as are scandalous and unworthy. In the room of Jeroboam's priests, burning and shining lights are multiplied in some dark places of the land, which were full of the habitations of cruelty. In the place of a long liturgy, we are in hopes of a pithy directory. Instead of prelatical rails about the table, we have the scripture rails of church discipline in great forwardness. Where popish altars and crucifixes did abound, we begin to see more of Christ crucified in the simplicity and purity of his ordinances. Instead of the prelates' oath, to establish their own exorbitant power, with appurtenances, we have a solemn league and covenant with God, engaging us to endeavour reformation, according to his word; yea, and the extirpation of popery and prelacy itself."\* We

\* Grey's Exam. of Neal, vol. ii. p. 158, 159.

make no comment upon these expressions, but leave the pious reader to form his own opinion of the ungenerous insinuations of the zealous churchman. Dr. Hill was author of a number of pieces, chiefly sermons before the parliament.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Trade of Truth Advanced, in a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, July 27, 1642—1642.*—2. *The Militant Church Triumphant over the Dragon and his Angels, preached to both Houses of Parliament, July 21, 1643—1643.*—3. *The Season for England's Self-Reflection, and Advancing Temple-Work, in a Sermon before the Houses of Parliament, August 13, 1644, being an extraordinary Day of Humiliation, 1644.*—4. *The Right Separation Encouraged, preached to the House of Lords, November 27, 1644, being the Day of their monthly public Fast, 1644.*

**THOMAS WILSON, A. M.**—This excellent minister was born at Catterly in Cumberland, in the year 1601, and educated in Christ's college, Cambridge; where he was greatly admired for his indefatigable industry, and great progress in useful learning. Upon his leaving the university, he taught school for some time at Chartwood in Surrey; then entered into the ministry at Capel, in the same county. Here, by his judicious preaching and holy example, he directed the people in the way to eternal life. Though he received little or nothing for his pains, he was not the less faithful and laborious in promoting the welfare of souls. He sought not theirs, but them, and was greatly beloved by his people. Afterwards, he removed to Farlington, near Portsmouth, where he laboured among very ignorant and heathenish people. He did not continue long at this place, but removed to Teddington, near Kingston-upon-Thames. In this situation he continued several years, and was made a blessing to many souls. He next accepted a presentation to the benefice of Otham, near Maidstone, in Kent. At this place he was the means of awakening many careless sinners, and of building them up in faith and holiness. Multitudes flocked to hear him from Maidstone and its vicinity; and the church was soon found too small to contain them. His great popularity and usefulness presently awakened the envy of profane sinners, and several neighbouring ministers; but he went on undismayed, the Lord blessing his labours.

Notwithstanding his labours and usefulness, he was at length silenced for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In the month of April, 1634, he was inhibited by Archbishop

Laud's vicar-general, from part of his public ministerial exercises. But, upon the publication of the Book of Sports, he refused to read it, when the archbishop sent for him to Lambeth; and, April 29, 1635, no less than *fourteen* charges were exhibited against him, to each of which he gave his answer, May 28th following. The substance of these articles, together with Mr. Wilson's answers, was as follows:

1. That canonical obedience is due by your oath, taken at your institution.

Answer. It is true, as I understand the oath, it is according to the canons of the church of England.

2. That a minister must have a popular election, as necessary to hold his place.

Ans. I never held such an opinion, nor ever spoke it, privately or publicly.

3. That there is little comfort for a minister instituted and inducted, without the approbation of the people.

Ans. I know and believe the contrary.

4. You have held conventicles in your house, and in other houses in the town of Otham, within this two years, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

Ans. I deny that I have holden conventicles, and used exercises of religion by law prohibited.

5. Within this four years you have collected in private houses, or caused to be collected, forty or fifty persons, and to them repeated sermons, expounded scripture, made tedious extemporary prayers, full of tautologies, and delivered dangerous doctrine, to the perverting and corrupting of his majesty's subjects.

Ans. I protest against such doctrine, and any such effect. I also deny that I collected, or caused to be collected, any such persons.

6. You refused to read the King's Declaration for Sports on Sundays, and spoke disdainfully to the apparitor and officer of the court.

Ans. I said to the apparitor, "Remember the sabbath day to keep it holy;" and I said no more. I refused to read the book, not out of contempt of any authority, being commanded by no law. The king's majesty doth not in the book command or appoint the minister to read it, nor it to be read, but published. And seeing there is no penalty threatened, nor authority given to any one to question those who refuse to read it, my refusal to read it was upon sufficient grounds of law and conscience; which, for the satisfaction of this high court, and to clear myself from contempt, I shall

briefly express myself thus: His majesty's express pleasure is, that the laws of the realm, and the canons of the church, be observed in all places of the kingdom; and therefore at Otham in Kent: but this book, as I conceive, is contrary to both.—It is contrary to the statute laws.—It is contrary to the ecclesiastical laws.—It is contrary to the scriptures.—It is contrary to the councils.—It is contrary to divines, ancient and modern.—It is contrary to reason.\*

7. In 1633, when the commission was granted for repairing St. Paul's, you said, to build sumptuous temples is to justify antichrist.

Ans. I deny this altogether.

8. In 1634, you bade the people, in scorn and derision, to take heed of dealing with high priest's servants.

Ans. I deny both the time and the words.

9. At Boxley, June 29, 1632, you said, No man can have a broken heart, who hath two steeples; meaning two benefices, alleging Acts xx. 20.

Ans. I never spake such words. But at the funeral of a grave and learned minister, I entreated the ministers present to prepare to give an account of their lives and livings, shewing the vanity of those who plead for pluralities, saying, "That if a man's heart were broken, it would not be with the weight of three churches;" and herein I followed no new opinion, but the general opinion of learned divines, both ancient and modern.

10. You have scandalized the governors and government of the church of England, as persecutors of God's faithful ministers and people.

Ans. This is not true, in the whole or in any part.

11. In April, 1633, you delivered a dangerous doctrine, even that if a subject suffer the penalty of the law from the civil magistrate, he is free from sin.

Ans. I deny the time, and words, and doctrine. I never taught, nor read, nor heard of this doctrine, till I heard this article; and I abhor it, and disclaim it as dangerous.

12. April 22, 1634, you lectured and expounded, after inhibition by the vicar-general.

Ans. This is not true. I did not preach, excepting on Lord's days and holidays; neither did I expound. Yet I had a license to expound, and was not forbidden expounding. I constantly instruct, by question and answer, in the

\* Mr. Wilson enlarges upon each of these topics with great judgment, but the whole is too long for insertion.

catechism, such as come to prayers, for which I had my institution and license, and from which I never received any prohibition; nor, so far as I understand, is it any sin against God or man.

13. You are accounted an enemy to the church of England, and draw others into schism after you.

Ans. I deny the whole of this, and every part.

14. You are to promise, by your word and honour, to speak the truth.

Ans. I believe what I have confessed, and deny what I have denied in every part.\*

From the above articles, together with Mr. Wilson's replies, it is manifest that Laud had laid the snare to catch him, chiefly for refusing to read the Book of Sports. In this his lordship succeeded according to his wishes: for Mr. Wilson's answers, in which he declared his refusal to read the book, were no sooner given, than the archbishop replied, *I suspend you for ever from your office and benefice till you read it*; and he continued suspended for the space of four years.† About the same time he was committed to Maidstone jail for nonconformity, but how long he remained in confinement it does not appear.‡ At the expiration of the above period, he was brought into the high commission court by means of the archbishop; and, to his great cost and trouble, was again prosecuted for the same crime. Indeed, the archbishop, in answer to this, said, that Mr. Wilson was not censured for not reading the book; but, according to his own confession, for dilapidations, in not repairing his house.§ With what kind of evidence this is asserted, the candid and intelligent reader will easily perceive.

Mr. Wilson, remaining under suspension, and being dissatisfied with the ministry of his successor, removed to Maidstone, where he gave private instructions among his friends. His adversaries, at the same time, traduced his character, and slandered him as a favourer of schism. Therefore, to wipe off the reproach, he addressed a letter to the parishioners of Otham, exhorting them "to fear God and honour the king, and walk in love one towards another." For the information and satisfaction of all, this letter was read to the public congregation on the Lord's day. The news of this, however, soon reached London, when Mr. Wilson and Dr. Tuck, who

\* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 67—89. Edit. 1672.

† Prynne's Cant Doome, p. 149 — Clark's Lives, part i. p. 18—21.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632.

§ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 344.

had read the letter, were cited to appear before the high commission. Mr. Wilson was charged in the court with having sent a scandalous and offensive letter to Otham, to nourish schism, and to confirm the people in the dislike of government; upon which he acknowledged his writing a letter, but denied its evil tendency, saying, "I know that it was to exhort the people to fear God and the king, and to meddle not with those that are given to change; to walk in faith and love, and to call upon God: but I utterly deny all occasion of derogating from the church of England, or confirmation of any in a dislike of the government, and protest against all aspersions and imputations of schism or scandal: neither did I direct any one to read it, nor intended or desired it should be read in the church."\* Notwithstanding all they could allege in their own defence, they were enforced to continue their attendance no less than *three* years, to their great cost and trouble.†

In the year 1639, the Scots having entered England, and a parliament being called, Laud took off Mr. Wilson's suspension. But his troubles and sufferings were not ended; for, September 30, 1640, he was cited to appear before the archbishop's visitors at Feversham, together with other ministers in Kent, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. Upon their appearance, Mr. Edward Bright, being called first, was asked whether he had read the prayer; and when he said he had not, the archdeacon instantly suspended him from office and benefice, without admonition, or even giving him the least time to consider of it. Mr. Wilson, who witnessed this rash proceeding, was next called. When he was asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered in the negative; "because," said he, "in the rubrick of the Common Prayer, it is enjoined that no prayer shall be publicly read excepting those which are contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and that prayer against the Scots is not." This unexpected answer so confounded the archdeacon that he did not know what to say. It cooled his fury, and caused him to proceed more deliberately with Mr. Wilson than he had done with Mr. Bright. He gave him fourteen days to consider of it, and then deliver his answer at Canterbury; but whether he delivered any other answer, and what after-

\* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 90, 91.

† Dr. Tuck's case was, indeed, more distressing than Mr. Wilson's; for, on account of bodily infirmities, he was unable to ride, and necessitated to make all his journeys on foot.—*Ibid.* p. 13.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 14—16.

wards followed relative to this case, we are not able, for want of information, to relate.

About the same time a warrant was issued from the lords of the council, among whom were Archbishop Laud and the Bishop of London, to apprehend Mr. Wilson. With this warrant a pursuivant was sent to bring him to London. It does not appear for what crime this prosecution was designed; yet no doubt it was the sin of nonconformity. The pursuivant, having received his warrant, hastened without delay to Otham; where, though he heard Mr. Wilson preach, and was afterwards in the same room with him in his own house, he let him slip out of his hands. Mr. Wilson, suspecting him as soon as he entered the room, retired and hid himself, and so escaped the snare. The pursuivant was enraged at his loss, and said he had been employed in this service *thirty-six* years, and had never been served so before. Mr. Wilson, having escaped the snare, withdrew from the storm till the meeting of the long parliament, when he went to London, and presented his case and petition to the house of commons. The house appointed a committee to take his case into consideration; and, November 30, 1640, Mr. Rouse, who was one of this committee, reported to the house, "That Mr. Wilson had been suspended four years from his living, worth sixty pounds a year, only for not reading the Book of Recreations on the Lord's day; that the archbishop himself had suspended him; and that for three years he had attended upon the high commission." The house therefore resolved, "That Mr. Wilson had just cause of complaint; and that there was just cause for the house to afford him relief."\* Upon the presentation of his petition, Sir Edward Deering, one of the members for Kent, said, "Mr. Wilson, your petitioner, is as orthodox in doctrine, as laborious in preaching, and as unblemished in his life, as any minister we have. He is now separated from his flock, to both their griefs: for it is not with him as with many others, who are glad to set a pursuivant on work, that they may have an excuse to be out of the pulpit; it is his delight to preach."† Sir Edward further observes of Mr. Wilson, "He is now a sufferer, as all good men are, under the general obloquy of a puritan. The pursuivant watches his door, and divides him and his cure asunder, to both their griefs. About a week since," he adds, "I went to Lambeth, to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger from off this minister, and to recall

\* Rushworth's Collec. vol. v. p. 66.—Nelson's Collec. vol. i. p. 571.

† Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 17—22.

the pursuivant. And I did undertake for Mr. Wilson, that he should answer his accusers in any of the king's courts at Westminster. The bishop made me answer, 'I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelvemonth together.'\*

Upon the above resolution of the house, he was released from all his troubles, when he returned to his charge and wonted labours at Otham. In the year 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and, though at so great a distance, he constantly attended. In the assembly he was much esteemed for his meek and humble deportment, and his grave and judicious counsels. Having continued some time at Otham, he removed to Maidstone, where he remained to the day of his death. Here his first care was to promote the reformation of the church, and to administer the sacraments, according to his views of the word of God. To this end he preached upon the necessity of observing scriptural discipline, and the qualifications necessary to church-fellowship. At first he met with considerable opposition, but by prudence and perseverance things were brought to a favourable issue.

Mr. Wilson was indefatigable in his attendance upon his numerous duties, and usually observed the following method: he protracted his studies on Saturdays nearly till midnight, and rose by two or three o'clock on a sabbath morning, being much displeased if he was later. About seven he came out of his study, and called his family together, when he read and expounded a portion of scripture, requiring those present to give some account of the exposition; then sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. At nine o'clock he went to church, and entered upon public worship by singing, then prayed for a blessing, and expounded out of the Old Testament about an hour; then, besides singing and prayer, he preached an hour, and concluded. Then, going home, he invariably prayed with his family before dinner. In the afternoon he observed the same method as in the morning, only his exposition was upon some part of the New Testament. The public services of the day being ended, he called his family together, when many neighbours attended; then they repeated the sermons and expositions, sung a psalm, and concluded with prayer. After this he usually went to a friend's house in the town, where many attended, and did the same. He administered the Lord's supper regularly once a month, delivered weekly lectures, attended meetings for religious conference, and was

\* Collection of Deering's Speeches, p. 9, 10. Edit. 1642.

incessant in catechizing. He did the Lord's work faithfully, and found his reward in the labour. Some, indeed, thought he laboured too much, and that he ought to have spared himself; but he was of a contrary opinion, being persuaded that God makes no difference betwixt an *idle* and an *evil* servant. Hence, when his friends attempted to dissuade him from so intense an application, he was ever deaf to their counsel, saying, "Would you have my Lord, when he cometh, to find me idle?"

He was always exact in setting a good example before his children and servants, knowing them to be much influenced by the deportment of superiors. What he preached to them on the sabbath, he practised before them all the week; and "in all things he shewed himself a pattern of good works." He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and eminently successful in promoting the same among his people. This was the happy fruit of his labours at Maidstone, as well as at other places. One of the judges taking notice of this at the assize, publicly declared, that, in all his circuit, there was no town where the Lord's day was so strictly observed. Mr. Wilson was of a courageous spirit, and feared no obstacles in the path of duty. He feared God, and none else. He knew God would take care of his own cause, whatever sufferings his servants might endure; therefore, when trials came upon him, he said, with Luther, "I had rather fall with Christ than reign with Cæsar." He shewed his courage in reproofing sin. If men were bold in sinning, he was bold in reproofing them, even without respect of persons. His sincerity, humility, and great piety, were manifest to all. The excellent Mr. William Fenner, after being in his company, said, "I am ashamed of myself, to see how Mr. Wilson gallops towards heaven, and I do but creep at a snail's pace."\* Indeed, his treasure was in heaven, and his heart was there also. This excellent trait in his character will appear from the following anecdote:—During the insurrection in 1648, the soldiers took from him a legacy of a hundred pounds left to his daughter, though it was afterwards restored. But when the money was gone, being asked whether he was not much troubled, he replied, "No; I was no more troubled when I heard the money was carried off, than when it was brought to my house."†

Mr. Wilson's great piety was most manifest in his affliction and death. When the bridegroom came, he had his lamp trimmed, oil in his vessel, and his light burning. He endured

\* Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 22—49.

† Ibid. p. 51.

his extreme pain with exemplary patience: he mourned, but never murmured. He was willing to drink his heavenly Father's bitter cup. When lying upon his death-bed he called his family around him. He desired his wife not to be cast down, or to sorrow as those who have no hope; but to trust in the Lord; and added, "Though we must now be separated for a season, we shall meet again to part no more for ever." He exhorted his children to fear the Lord, saying, "Look you to it, that you meet me not in the day of judgment in an unconverted state." He praised God, and spoke much of the preciousness of Christ. The prospect of his approaching death afforded comfort to his soul. To a pious lady of his acquaintance, who was leaving Maidstone, he pleasantly said, "What will you say, Mrs. Crisp, if I get the start of you, and get to heaven before you get to Dover?" Another person saying, "Sir, I think you are not far from your Father's house;" he immediately replied, "That is good news indeed, and is enough to make one leap for joy." To those who mourned over him, he said, "I bless God, who hath suffered me to live so long to do him some service; and now I have finished the work appointed for me, that he is pleased to call me away so soon." *He fought the good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith,* and died in peace, towards the end of the year 1653, aged fifty-two years. He had a clear understanding, a quick invention, a sound judgment, a tenacious memory, and was a hard student, a good scholar, an excellent preacher, and *clothed with humility*.<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Wilson was twice married, and by his second wife he had eleven children, ten of whom were living at his death. Mr. Thomas Wilson, ejected in 1662, is supposed to have been his son.<sup>†</sup> When upon his death-bed he recommended Mr. John Crump, afterwards ejected in 1662, to be his successor.<sup>‡</sup> We are informed that Mr. Wilson was a baptist, and in the year 1638, joined Mr. John Spilsbury's church, London; but whether he continued to adhere to the baptists' sentiments, and acted upon them to the end of his days, we are unable to ascertain. He was author of a sermon preached before the house of commons, entitled, "Jerechoe's Downfall," 1643; and probably some others.

<sup>\*</sup> Wilson, p. 94, 52—64.

<sup>†</sup> Mem. vol. ii. p. 132.

<sup>‡</sup> Ibid. p. 332.

<sup>§</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 149.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 632.

**NATHANIEL WARD, A. B.**—This excellent person was the son of Mr. John Ward, and brother to Mr. Samuel Ward, both celebrated puritan divines; was born at Haverhil in Suffolk, about the year 1570. He received a liberal education, and was intended for the law; but afterwards travelling into Prussia and Denmark, where he was honoured with the intimate friendship of the celebrated David Pareus of Heidelberg, from whom he received the most valuable instruction, he purposed, upon his return home, to enter upon the christian ministry. He became preacher at St. James's, Duke's-place, London, in the year 1626; and afterwards became rector of Standon Massey in Essex,\* where he felt the iron hand of Archbishop Laud. Previous to the year 1633, he was often convened before this intolerant prelate for nonconformity; and, after frequent attendance, for refusing to subscribe according to the canons, he was excommunicated and deprived of his ministry. The good man remained a long time under the prelate's heavy censure.+ It does not indeed appear that he was ever released. For having found that his release could not be obtained without the most degrading submission, contrary to the light of conscience and the testimony of scripture, he left his native country, and in the year 1634 retired to New England. Upon his arrival he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich, where he continued in high reputation, frequent labours, and great usefulness, about eleven years. In 1645 he returned to England, and became minister of Shenfield in Essex. He subscribed the Essex testimony as minister of this place, and was sometimes called to preach before the parliament. He greatly lamented the confusions of the times, and discovered great loyalty to the king, and much solicitude for his majesty's welfare.‡ He died at Shenfield in the year 1653, aged eighty-three years.§ He is classed among the learned writers of Emanuel college, Cambridge.¶ He was a learned man, a pious christian, an excellent preacher, and the author of many articles, full of wit and good sense, the titles of which have not reached us.

**ROBERT ABBOT, A. M.**—This person received his education in the university of Cambridge, where he took his

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 917, vol. ii. p. 545.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 525.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 401.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 167.

¶ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

degrees in arts, and was afterwards incorporated at Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became vicar of Cranbrook in Kent, and minister of Southwick in Hampshire. A minister of the same name, and no doubt the same person, was a great sufferer under the tyrannical oppressions of Bishop Pierce of Bath and Wells. This learned prelate compelled Mr. Abbot and others, contrary to law and justice, to raise sums of money towards carrying on the war against the Scots.\* In the beginning of the year 1643, according to Dr. Walker, he was dispossessed of his vicarage by order of the house of commons; because he had taken another living, which, from his own confession, was inconsistent.† Whether this be indeed correct we are unable to ascertain; but be this as it may, it appears that, upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, united himself to the puritans, and became rector of St. Austin's church, Watling-street, London, where he continued in peace and quietness all the rest of his days. In each of these situations he was happy among the people of his charge. They were much attached to him; and often warmly pressed him to appear in print. He lived to a good old age, and was living in the year 1653; but when he died we have not been able to learn.‡

His WORKS.—1. *Be Thankful London and her Sisters*, 1626.—2. *Four Sermons*, 1639.—3. *Trial of our Church-forsakers*, 1639.—4. *Milk for Babes; or, a Mother's Catechism for her Children*, 1646.—5. *Three Sermons*, 1646.—6. *A Christian Family Buildd by God; or, Directions for Governors of Families*, 1653.

JOHN SPILSBURY was a minister of the antipædobaptist denomination. Upon his embracing these sentiments, he is said to have gone into Holland to be baptized by Mr. John Smyth; after which he returned to England, and began to baptize adults by immersion. Crosby, however, attempts to clear him of this, and to prove that he did not go abroad for this purpose; but with what degree of success we will not undertake to determine.§ In the year 1633, part of Mr. John Lathorp's church, in London, having espoused the sentiments of the baptists, desired to be dismissed from the church, and to be allowed to form a distinct congregation. "The church," it is observed,

\* Impeachment of Bishop Pierce, p. 8.

† Walker's Attempt, part ii. p. 183.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 800.

§ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 96, 103, 104.

“having grown very numerous, and being more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired.” They formed themselves, therefore, into a distinct church, September 12, 1633, and chose Mr. Spilsbury to the office of pastor. This church, which settled in Wapping, is thought to have been the first baptist congregation in England.\* In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and other celebrated persons, became members of this church,† and the society appears to have been in a flourishing condition.

In process of time, however, some disputes arose among the members, on the subject of mixed communion. Those who opposed it withdrew, and formed a separate society, under the care of Mr. Kiffin. This separation is said to have taken place in 1653, soon after which the present baptist meeting-house in Devonshire-square was built, where Mr. Kiffin and his church assembled for public worship.‡ Mr. Spilsbury, in 1644, subscribed the confession of faith set forth in the name of the seven baptist congregations in London; but when he died we have not been able to learn. It appears that after the above separation he went to Ireland, where he was highly respected. Henry Cromwell, in a letter dated Dublin, March 8, 1654, addressed to Secretary Thurloe, speaks in high terms of him.§ He was a man of an excellent spirit and great moderation.|| He published a piece entitled, “The peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ and his Saving Grace.”

**CUTHBERT SYDENHAM, A. M.**—This divine was born at Truro in Cornwall, in the year 1622, and educated in St. Alban's-hall, Oxford. He continued at Oxford till after the commencement of the civil wars, and the place was garrisoned by the royal forces; at which time he left the university, and espoused the cause of the parliament. About the year 1644, he became lecturer of St. Nicholas church, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; “where,” says Wood, “by his constant and confident preaching, he gained more respect than any venerable minister in that or another

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 347.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 148, 149.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 41, 42.

‡ Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 401.

§ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 149.

|| Baillie's Anabaptism, p. 94, 118.

corporation." This could not indeed be his fault. He was undoubtedly most deserving of it. In the year 1650, by virtue of letters from the commissioners of parliament, for regulating the university of Oxford, he was created master of arts. In those letters they gave him a most excellent character. He was a constant and zealous preacher, and a man of great learning and piety, frequently exercising a holy jealousy over his own heart.\* But retiring to London for the benefit of his health, and to superintend the printing of some of his books, he there died, about March 25, 1654, aged thirty-two years.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Christian, Sober, and Plain Exercitation of the two grand practical Controversies of these Times, Infant Baptism and Singing of Psalms, 1653.—2. The great Myserie of Godliness, opened in several Sermons, 1654.—3. Hypocrisie Discovered in its Nature and Workings, being the Sum of Seven Sermons, 1654.—4. The False Brother; or, the Mapp of Scotland, drawn by an English Pencil.—5. Anatomy of Joh. Lilbourn's Spirit and Pamphlets; or, a Vindication of the Two Honourable Patriots, Oliver Cromwell, Lord Governor of Ireland, and Sir Arth. Haselrigg, Knight and Baronet; wherein the said Lilbourn is demonstratively proved to be a common Lyer, and unworthy of civil Converse.

**WILLIAM ERBERY, A. B.**—This person was born at Roath-Dagfield in Glamorganshire, in the year 1604, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministerial office, retired into Wales, and became vicar of St. Mary's in Cardiff. Wood says that he was always schismatically inclined, that he preached in conventicles, and that, for refusing to read the king's declaration for sports on the Lord's day, he was brought several times into the high commission court at Lambeth, where he suffered for his obstinacy.† The Bishop of Landaff, visiting his diocese in the year 1634, pronounced Mr. Erbery a schismatical and dangerous preacher; and, for disobeying his majesty's instructions, he gave him judicial admonition, and threatened to proceed further against him if he did not submit. Refusing to debase himself by submission, contrary to truth and his own conscience, the bishop, the year following, preferred articles against him in the high commission court, threatening to punish him according to his deserts. In 1636 his lordship complained of the slow prosecution against

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 100, 101.

† Ibid. p. 103.

him, and observes, that "this made him persist in his by-ways, and his followers judge him faultless." Though the prosecution was slow, it was sure. It was committed into the hands of proper persons, and success was certain. Therefore, in the year 1638, Mr. Erbery was forced to resign his vicarage, and he left the diocese in peace.\*

Being thus deprived of his living, and driven from his flock, he most probably went from place to place through the country, and preached as he could obtain an opportunity, as did his brethren, Messrs. Wroth, Cradock, and Powell. In the year 1640, says Wood, he shewed himself openly, preached against the bishops and ceremonies, and made early motions towards independency.† Mr. Edwards, with his usual scurrility, gives the following account of him: "In the beginning of the parliament, he was an independent, but by degrees is fallen to many gross errors, holding universal redemption, &c. and is now a seeker, and I know not what. This man was a chaplain in the Earl of Essex's army a great while, and there did broach many antinomian doctrines, and other dangerous errors: but having left the army a good while since, he was about London, and did vent his opinions here. About last spring he betook himself to the Isle of Ely for his ordinary residence, from whence he takes his progress into one county or another in private houses, venting his opinions amongst well-affected people, under the habit of holiness. In July last he was at Bury, where he exercised in private, some forty persons being present, and declared himself for general redemption; that no man was punished for Adam's sin; that Christ died for all; and that the guilt of Adam's sin should be imputed to no man. He said also, that within a while God would raise up apostolical men, who should be extraordinary to preach the gospel; and after that shall be the fall of Rome. He spake against gathering churches, the anabaptists' re-baptizing, and said men ought to wait for the coming of the Spirit, as the apostles did. 'Look, as in the wilderness they had honey and manna, but not circumcision and the passover till they came into Canaan; so now we may have many sweet things, conference and prayer, but not a ministry and sacraments. And then, after the fall of Rome, there shall be new heavens and a new earth: there shall be new Jerusalem; and then shall the church be one, one street in that city, and no more.'

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 598—555.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 103.

Not long after he went to Northampton, where in a private meeting the main scope of his exercise was, to speak against the certainty and sufficiency of the scriptures, alleging that there was no certainty to build upon them, because there were so many several copies. He was also at Oundle, Newport Pagnel, and appointed shortly to return again to Bury.\* The reader will judge for himself how far this account, from the unworthy pen of Mr. Edwards, is deserving of credit.

After the surrender of Oxford in 1646, Mr. Erbery, still a chaplain in the parliament's army, was sent thither; where, says Wood, "he kept his conventicles in a house opposite to Merton college church, and used all the means in his power in opposing the doctrine of the presbyterian ministers, who were sent by the parliament to preach the scholars into obedience."† He was certainly held in high favour and esteem among the soldiers, but is said to have envied the reputation of the presbyterians. While he was at Oxford he opposed them in several public disputations. At one time the subject of debate was, "Whether the ministry of the church ought to be entrusted to a select number of persons?" In the conclusion, Mr. Erbery and his party are said to have put the presbyterian disputants under the same difficulty as our Lord did the unbelieving Jews, by his question about John's baptism. For, demanding of them, "whence they had their orders," they durst not say, "from the bishops," whom both sides confessed to be antichristian; nor could they deny it, as they had all been episcopally ordained; so the shout went in favour of Erbery's party, and the meeting was dissolved, to the great disturbance of the presbyterian disputants. Afterwards Mr. Erbery had a disputation with Mr. Cheynel, one of the presbyterian ministers. The debate was conducted in St. Mary's church, when, it is said, he maintained, among other things, "That the saints shall have the same worship, honour, throne, and glory, as Christ now hath; and shall be endowed with a greater power of working miracles than Christ had when he was on earth." The contest, which lasted about four hours, was not carried without tumult; and in the conclusion, each party retired claiming the victory.‡ The account of this dispute was afterwards published by the adverse party, entitled, "A Relation of a

\* Gangræna, part i. p. 109, 110. Second edit.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 125, 126.

Disputation in St. Mary's church in Oxon, between Mr. Cheynel and Mr. Erbery," 1646. A particular detail of other disputes which he had with the visitors was also published by his opponents, entitled, "An Account given to the Parliament by the Ministers sent by them to Oxford," 1647. In this piece they give a circumstantial account of their disputations with Mr. Erbery, but not sufficiently interesting to deserve the reader's particular attention. Mr. Erbery had a public dispute with one Mr. Nichols, of which he gave a particular account in a piece entitled, "A Dispute at Cowbridge, (Glamorganshire,) with Mr. Henry Nichols, Pastor of an Independent Church, and Parson of a Parish-Church."\* But this is not more interesting than the former.

Upon Mr. Erbery's departure from Oxford, says Wood, "he went to London, where he vented his blasphemies in several places against the glorious divinity and blood of Jesus Christ, especially in his conventicle at Christ-church within Newgate, where those of his opinion met once a week. He was at length brought before the committee of plundered ministers at Westminster; when, to the admiration of those who had heard his blasphemies, he began to make a solemn profession of his faith in orthodox language: but the chairman took him up, and commanded him silence, saying, 'We know your tricks well enough.' To say the truth," adds our author, "he had language at command, and could dissemble for matter of profit, or to avoid danger; and it was well known he was a mere canter." This account, from the bigotted historian, is extremely partial and incorrect, as appears from a particular narrative published by Mr. Erbery himself, in which he denies many of the charges alleged against him, and acquits himself of others. The piece is entitled, "The Honest Heritique; or, Orthodox Blasphemer, accused of Heresie and Blasphemie, but cleared of both by the judgment of God, and of good Men, at a Committee for Plundered Ministers of the Parliament, March 9th, 1652: With a double Answer to Articles charged against him; whereupon he was freed from his Prison, and liberty granted by the Lord to preach again."†

"October 12, 1653, Mr. Erbery and Mr. John Webster endeavoured," says Wood, "to knock down learning and the ministry together, in a disputation they had with two

\* Erbery's Testimony, p. 252.

† Ibid. p. 310.

ministers in a church in Lombard-street. Erbery then declared, that the wisest ministers and purest churches were at that time befooled, confounded, and defiled by learning. He said, also, that the ministers were monsters, beasts, asses, greedy dogs, and false prophets; that they are the beast with seven heads and ten horns; that Babylon is the church in her ministers; and that the great Whore is the church in her worship. So that with him," he adds, "there was an end of ministers, and churches, and ordinances together. While these things were babbled to and fro, the multitude being of various opinions, began to mutter, and many to cry out, and immediately there was a tumult, wherein the women bore away the bell, but some of them lost their kerchiefs. And the dispute was so hot, that there was more danger of pulling down the church than the ministry."\*

It is observed of Mr. Erbery, by one who appears to have been well acquainted with him, that the four principal things upon which he chiefly dwelt in his ministry, were the following: "That there was a measure of a pure appearance of spirit and truth in the days of the apostles.—That about the latter end of their days, or soon after, the spirit of the Lord withdrew itself, and men substituted an external and carnal worship in its stead.—That this apostacy was not yet removed from the generality of professing christians, notwithstanding their pretence of deliverance; but that they still lay under it, and were likely so to do for some time.—That when the appointed season came, the apostacy should be removed, and the new Jerusalem come down from God, of which some glimpse might now appear in particular saints; yet the full view and accomplishment thereof seemed to be at some distance."†

Mr. Baxter denominates him "one of the chief of the anabaptists," and Mr. Neal calls him "a turbulent antinomian;"‡ whereas he was neither the one, nor the other. Primitive baptism, he thought, consisted in going into the water *ankle-deep*, and not in a total immersion; but judged that none have now any right to administer that ordinance without a fresh commission from heaven. In his views of the trinity he was of the Sabellion cast; and it appears from the general strain of his writings, that he drunk very deep in the spirit of mysticism. He was an admirer of the

\* Athens Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.  
 ‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 397.

† Erbery's Testimony, Pref.

Quakers, with whom his wife united,\* and from whom he expected great things, but did not unite with them. He had formerly laboured under a sore affliction, which had deeply affected his head; previous to which he was a man of good parts and an excellent scholar, zealous and successful in his ministry, and particularly grave and religious in his life.† Mr. Christopher Love thus observes: "As for Mr. Erbery, though he is fallen into dangerous opinions; yet, he being my spiritual father, I do naturally care for him; and my heart cleaves more to him than to any man in the world. I speak to the praise of God, he was the instrument of my conversion nearly twenty years ago, and the means of my education at the university; for which kindness, the half of what I have in the world I could readily part with for his relief. It is true, about eight or nine years since, he was plundered in Wales, and came to see me at Windsor castle; but a son could not make more of a father than I did of him, according to my ability. When I had not twelve pounds in the world, I let him have six of it; and I procured him to be chaplain to Major Skippon's regiment, where he had eight shillings per day."‡ He is characterized by those of his own persuasion, as a holy and harmless person, for which the world hated him.§ He died in the month of April, 1654, aged fifty years.

His WORKS.—1. The great Myserie of Godliness: Jesus Christ our Lord God and Man, and Man with God, one in Jesus Christ our Lord, 1640.—2. Ministers for Tythes, proving they are no Ministers of the Gospel, 1653.—3. Sermons on several Occasions, one of which is entitled, "The Lord of Hosts," 1653.—4. An Olive Leaf: or, some peaceable Considerations to the Christian Meeting at Christ's Church in London, 1654.—5. The Reign of Christ, and the Saints with him on Earth a Thousand Years, one Day, and the Day at hand, 1654.—6. The Testimony of William Erbery, left upon Record for the Saints of succeeding Ages, 1658.—This contains several of the foregoing pieces.

JEREMIAH WHITAKER, A. M.—This excellent person was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1599, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he was held in high estimation. He was religiously thoughtful from a child; and when a boy at school he used to travel, in company with others, eight or ten miles to hear the gospel, and unite with them in prayer and other religious exercises.

\* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 3199. Edit. 1747.

† MS. Account.

‡ Love's Vindication, p. 36. Edit. 1651.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 104.

He often said, in the days of his youth, "I had much rather be a minister of the gospel than an emperor." While at the university, he made considerable progress in the various branches of useful literature; and, upon his removal, he settled at Oakham in Rutlandshire, where, for some time, he taught school. Here he became intimate with Mr. William Peachy, an eminent scholar and preacher, whose daughter he afterwards married. Having been at Oakham about four years, he accepted the pastoral charge at Stretton in the same county. He naturally cared for the souls of the people, and the preaching of the gospel was his beloved work. His heart was so deeply engaged in the work, that, having received an invitation to become master of a college, he returned this reply: "My heart," said he, "doth more desire to be a constant preacher than to be master of any college in the world."

Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, this amiable divine, with multitudes of his brethren, was exposed to the persecution of the ruling prelates. Though, for refusing to read it, he was involved in some difficulties, he happily escaped the malicious threatenings of his enemies. Being afterwards required to afford pecuniary assistance for the purpose of carrying on the war against the Scots, he refused, and openly told the bishop, or his chancellor, that he could not do it with a good conscience; for which, if one of his friends had not paid the money, he would have suffered suspension and deprivation.\*

Mr. Whitaker, having preached at Stretton thirteen years, was chosen, in the year 1643, one of the assembly of divines. This called him up to London, when he accepted an invitation to the pastoral office of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in Southwark; and he became one of the morning lecturers at the Abbey church, Westminster. In 1647 he was appointed a member of the first provincial assembly holden in London, and was once chosen to the office of moderator. During the same year, by an order from the house of lords, he was appointed, with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, to have the oversight and examination of the papers to be printed for the assembly of divines.† The year following he was in danger of being deprived of his lecture at Westminster for refusing the engagement; but,

\* Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic, p. 264, 265.

† Dissenting Brethren's Propositions.

on account of his universal esteem and great moderation, he continued unmolested.\*

This worthy divine, during the latter part of his life, was afflicted with most racking pains, but was of a most humble, meek, and quiet spirit. Under these tormenting agonies, he never murmured, but, in the exercise of faith and patience, was entirely resigned to the will of God. He manifested so excellent a spirit through the whole of his long and painful affliction, that many persons were of opinion that God designed him for a pattern of patience to posterity. When his friends asked him how he did, he usually replied, "The bush is always burning, but not consumed. And though my pains be above the strength of *nature*, they are not above the supports of *grace*." About two months before his death, his pains became more extreme than ever, when he cried thus unto the Lord: "O thou Father of mercies, pity me. Do not contend for ever. Consider my frame, that I am but dust. My God, who hast made heaven and earth, help me. Oh! give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt. If my patience was more, my pain would be less. Dear Saviour, why dost thou cover thyself with a thick cloud? Blessed is the man that endureth temptation. Consider, Lord, that I am thy servant. Lord, drop some sweet comfort into these bitter waters. O that the blood of sprinkling may allay my pains! I am in a fiery furnace. Lord, be with me, and bring me out refined from sin. When I have sailed through the ocean of these pains, and look back, I see they are all needful. I fly unto thee, O God! Hide me under the shadow of thy wings, till the terrible storm be overpast. O, my God! break open the prison door, and set my poor captive soul at liberty. But enable me willingly to wait thy time. No man ever more desired life than I desire death. When will that day arrive that I shall neither sin nor sorrow any more? When shall this earthly tabernacle be dissolved, that I may be clothed upon with that house which is from heaven? Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; for they rest from their labours."

Through the whole of his affliction he exercised an unshaken confidence in God, and enjoyed an uninterrupted assurance of his favour. He called him *my Father* and *my God*, and said, "Consider, and save me, for I am thine. How long,

\* Clark's Lives, p. 266.

how long, shall I not be remembered? Yes, I am remembered: blessed be thy name. This is a fiery chariot, but it will carry me to heaven. Blessed be God, who has hitherto supported me; who has delivered me, and will deliver me." As the agonizing fits of pain were coming upon him, he usually said, "Now, in the strength of the Lord God, I will undergo these pains. Oh! my God, put underneath thine everlasting arms, and strengthen me." Notwithstanding all his pains and roarings, he often told his friends, that he would not, for a thousand worlds, exchange states with any man on earth whom he looked upon as living in a state of sin. The grand adversary of souls could never shake his confidence. He often said, "Through mercy, I have not one repining thought against God." As he felt the fits coming on, he requested his friends to withdraw, that they might not be grieved by hearing his groanings; and he blessed God they were not obliged to hear his doleful lamentations. As the period of his dissolution approached, his agonizing fits became more frequent and more painful; but the Lord was, at length, pleased to deliver him out of them all. He died June 1, 1654, aged fifty-five years, and his mortal remains were interred in Bermondsey church, when vast numbers of people honoured his funeral by their attendance.\* His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Simeon Ashe, and afterwards published, entitled, "Living Loves betwixt Christ and Dying Christians. A Sermon preached at M. Magdalene, Bermondsey in Southwark, near London, June 6, 1654, at the Funerall of the faithful Servant of Christ, Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, Minister of the Gospel, with a Narrative of his exemplary Life and Death," 1654.

After Mr. Whitaker's death, his body was opened in the presence of several physicians; when they found both his kidneys full of ulcers, and one of them swelled to an enormous size, and filled with purulent matter. In the neck of his bladder, they found a stone about an inch and half long, and an inch broad, weighing about two ounces, which is supposed to have occasioned his racking pains.† "He was a constant and an excellent preacher, an universal scholar, an eminent theologian, an able disputant, and much given to acts of charity and liberality."‡ Mr. Leigh says, "he was a pious and learned divine, mighty in

\* Clark's Lives, p. 267—272.

† Ibid. p. 273.—Ashe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Whitaker.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 266.

the scriptures, laborious in his ministerial function, zealous for God's glory, and of a humble, melting spirit, and a wonderful instance of patience during the whole of his heavy affliction.\* Fuller includes him among the learned writers of Sidney college, Cambridge.† We have not been able to collect any long list of his writings; only he published certain sermons preached before the parliament, and probably some others. Mr. William Whitaker, ejected in 1662, was his son.‡

Mr. Whitaker, during his heavy affliction, wrote a letter to the Protector Cromwell, the sight of which will be highly gratifying to every inquisitive reader. It is transcribed from the original in Mr. Whitaker's own hand, and though there be no date, it was evidently written in the year 1651. It is addressed "To his Highness the Lord Protector," of which the following is a copy:§

"May it please your highness to pardon this boldness in presenting this book, composed by some godly men, to appease the heat of the present controversies, wherein is proved—'That the office of the ministry is not the intrusion of men, but the institution of Jesus Christ.—That the necessity of this office is perpetual.—That the ministry was so preserved under antichrist, that it is not antichristian.—That this office is peculiar to some, and not common to all.—And that they who assume this office must be called lawfully at present, and also hereafter.' Ordination in general is necessary, and how that is to be observed is justifiable.

"I cannot come to tender it, being confined to my chamber under extreme tormenting pains of the stone, which forceth me to cry and sorrow night and day. But blessed for ever be the Lord, who hath begotten us to a lively hope and joy by Jesus Christ; that the thoughts of eternity do sweeten the bitter things of time: that, when we are weary of the things of this life, we may greatly rejoice in hope of a better. In this dying condition, give me leave to tender many thanks to your highness for taking away the engagement, whereby you have greatly refreshed the consciences of many. The good Lord recompense this great act of mercy, and enlarge your heart to prevent the like snares in future, at which the worst of men frown, and the best of men mourn. And the same God who hath raised you above other men, still raise you to be higher than yourself, fā

\* Leigh's Religion and Learning, p. 364.

† History of Cambridge, p. 154.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 157.

§ Sloane's MSS. No. 4159.

above all these dominions, and thrones, and powers; that you may account all these things low and little, dregs and dust, dung and dross, in comparison of things eternal. Also, what poor things are Pompey, Cæsar, Nimrod, and Nebuchadnezzar, to the Abels, whose thoughts are fixed on things everlasting!

“ May it please your highness to consider seriously, how religion is not only weakened by divisions, but almost wasted by the daily growing of alterations. The reins of government a long time have been let loose, and are now lost in the church totally: in families extremely so, that masters know not how to order their servants, nor parents their children. All grow willing to command, but unwilling to be commanded: sabbaths are generally profaned, ordinances despised, the youth playing whilst the minister is preaching, the consciences of many growing wanton, abusing liberty to all licentiousness. And there are none left in places to put offenders to shame for any of these abominations. The good Lord persuade your heart to appoint such justices whose principles and practice lead them to restrain vice; who do account the sabbath their delight, that the inferior officers may be by them encouraged.

“ I beseech you also, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to remember the many poor prisoners in the land, who in uprightiness of their heart lent the greatest part of their estate upon public faith. The Romans were forced in like straits to borrow of the people; but it is recorded to their glory, that their wars were no sooner ended than these public debts were discharged. Let not paganish Rome rise up in the day of judgment to condemn unfaithful England. The neglect of this will involve the land in national guilt. I am persuaded, if the Lord help you to defray these debts, that you shall win the hearts of very many, and stop the mouths of your greatest adversaries.

“ And now that I have taken upon me to speak, let not your highness be angry with your poor servant, if he implore your pity and candour, and petition for the safe return of Mr. Cawton, a sincere servant of Christ; who, being involved in the business for which Mr. Love suffered death, half a year since suffered a voluntary banishment in great extremity and hardship. May not the blood of Love suffer for that offence? Have not others in other kinds done as much and more, and yet found favour? I beseech your honour's protection, that the beginning of your government may be with acts of grace; and oh that such a day of

release might come that your highness might see it, both for your honour and safety, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them who have been long bound. The God of glory help you to lay such foundations in common equity and righteousness, that you may leave the nation in a better condition when you die than you found it: that you may give up your account with joy; which is the hearty prayer of,

“Your highnesses humble servant,  
“JER. WHITAKER.”

**His Works.**—1. *Christ the Settlement of Unsettled Times, a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late public Fast, 25 Jan. 1642, printed 1642.*—2. *The Christian's Hope Triumphant, in a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the House of Lords, in Abbey-church, Westminster, May 18, being the Day appointed for solemn and public Humiliation, 1645.*—3. *The Danger of Greatness; or, Uzziah, his Exaltation and Destruction, a Sermon before the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Fields, January 14, 1645, being a special Day of Humiliation set apart to seek God's Direction in the settling of Church Government, 1646.*

**WILLIAM STRONG, A. M.**—This excellent minister received his education in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, of which he was chosen fellow. The master of the college was the celebrated Dr. Sibbs. Upon leaving the university, he was presented to the living of Long Crichill in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to flee from the cavaliers.\* He then fled to London, where he often preached before the parliament, was chosen one of the additional divines to the assembly, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he gathered a congregation upon the plan of the independents, which assembled in Westminster abbey, and was composed of many parliament men and persons of quality residing in Westminster.† He was chosen to the office of pastor in this society, December 9, 1650, upon which occasion he delivered a sermon on the order of a gospel church, which may be seen among his select sermons published after his death. He was afterwards nominated one of the triers for the approbation of preachers.‡

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 139.

† Calamy's *Account*, vol. ii. p. 41.

‡ Bishop Kennet pours great calumny upon those learned divines who were appointed triers. “By the questions they were wont to ask,” says

Mr. Strong died in the vigour of life, and was buried in the Abbey church, July 4, 1654; but his remains were dug up at the restoration and thrown into a pit dug on purpose in St. Margaret's church-yard; but of this brutal transaction a more particular account is given in another place.\* Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who preached his funeral sermon, says, "that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so frequent, exact, and laborious in preaching, and, in a word, so eminently qualified for all the duties of the ministerial office, that he did not know his equal."† Mr. Strong published several sermons and theological treatises in his life-time; and others were published after his death. Among these we find, in quarto, "Thirty-one select Sermons, preached on special Occasions. By William Strong, that godly, able, and faithful Minister of Christ, lately of the Abbey at Westminster, 1656." To this volume there is a preface by Dr. Thomas Manton, Mr. John Rowe, and Mr. George Griffith. There is another preface by Dr. Henry Wilkinson, dean of Christ's Church, who gives the following account of Mr. Strong's character:

"There is an excellent vein in his sermons, as one saith in the like case, the farther you search the richer treasure you are likely to find. That which made his sermons pass with so great approbation of the most judicious hearers, when he was alive, and will be a passport to his writings though posthumous, was, that he followed the advice of the Apostle to Timothy, studying to shew himself *approved to God, a workman that need not be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth*. He made preaching his work. He was so much taken up in this work, that to my knowledge he was often in watchings a great part of the night, besides his pains in his day studies. But, besides that very great diligence and travail of head and heart, and that unseasonable and hard study, that he laid out in his sermons, he had a special faculty of keeping close to his text and business in hand; which, as it is very requisite in a preacher, so it is very advantageous to commend a discourse to the most judicious ear. That which further contributed to his excellency in preaching, was his skill and deep insight into the mystery of godliness, and the doctrine of the free grace of God. And as to the mystery of iniquity within us, he was well studied in the soul's anatomy, and could dexterously

he, "a man could not tell what they aimed at, except it was to advance Quakerism, or make way for Mahometism."—*Neal's Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 103.—*Kennet's Chronicle*, p. 714.

\* See Art. Dr. William Twisse.

† Strong's Funeral Sermon.

dissect the old man. He understood well the mystery of iniquity without us, of Satan and antichrist; and, by his knowledge of these mysteries, he was able to advance the kingdom and honour of our Lord Christ in the hearts and lives of his hearers; to discover Satan's depths, and to disappoint his plots and devices. There was one thing more which added very much unto him and to his labours in preaching, and made him successful in clearing dark places, and searching further into the deep mines of the word, and that was his constant recourse to the originals, in which he had good skill. By these means he went beyond most of his brethren in the work of the ministry; so that his sermons had always something above the ordinary reach, and a certain strain answering the advantage and happiness of the age in which he lived. There was so great a weight, both of words and sense, in this our author's sermons, and so much of worth, that they appeared as good upon a narrow disquisition as they seemed to be when they were delivered. The ignorance or want of a clear knowledge of the doctrine of the covenant of grace, God's rich and free grace in the business of our salvation, was formerly, and is still, the cause of many errors in the church. The author of these sermons had arrived to an excellency and height in this doctrine, beyond the most that I ever read or knew. Had he lived to have perfected his labours about the covenant of grace, I presume I may say they had surpassed all that went before. Though his adversaries did very much endeavour to asperse him, yet he proved them to be unjust and false. He was as happy in the purity and innocency of his life as he was for the fervour which, through grace, he erected in his preaching.\*

Mr. George Griffith, in his preface to Mr. Strong's sermons, entitled, "The Heavenly Treasure," 1656, gives the following account of the author: "It is abundantly manifest to most of the godly through the nation, but more especially in the city of London, with what singular ability, strong affection, and good success, Mr. Strong employed and spent himself in the service of the gospel. He did the work of him who sent him while it was day; because, as he often said, the night was coming when no man can work. While he had the opportunity, neither the flatteries nor the frowns of men could hinder him from his beloved exercise. He preached the word with much freedom and boldness, and

\* Wilkinson's Preface to Mr. Strong's Thirty-one Sermons.

without fear or partiality. He was not of them who corrupt the word of God, but declared all the divine counsel. He often told me that one chief object of his study and prayer to God was, that he might be led into all truth, and teach the same both seasonably and profitably. God appointed him to labour in those places where all his abilities might be exercised, and shine forth in all their lustre. Though he commonly preached four times a week, and frequently oftener, his sermons were not filled with empty notions; but were well studied and enriched with substantial matter, the composition being close, elaborate, and pithy. And while he laboured more to profit than to please, he never failed to please as well as profit those who heard him. What he delivered harmonized one part with another, and was ever supported with strong arguments. He compared spiritual things with spiritual; yet not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in full demonstration of the Spirit. Being filled with the Spirit, he was enabled to do much work in a little time. He did not wear out with *rusting*, but with *using*. He exhorted professors of the gospel, however they might differ about matters of discipline, *to maintain good works, and bring forth the fruits of righteousness*. He laboured to bring all parties to live a holy life. Indeed, he well knew that persons zealous about external matters, might shew with what party they sided; but by the holiness of their lives only, could they know that they were on the *Lord's* side. Hence he pressed the duties of self-examination and self-denial with great earnestness and exactness, lest any persons should profess christianity out of faction, carrying a pagan heart under a christian name.\*

The learned Mr. Theophilus Gale, who published Mr. Strong's "Discourse of the Two Covenants," in 1678, gives him the following character: "He was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. He had a spirit capacious and prompt, sublime and penetrant, profound and clear; a singular sagacity to pry into the more difficult texts of scripture, an incomparable dexterity to discover the secrets of corrupt nature, a divine sapience to explicate the mysteries of grace, and an exact prudence to distribute evangelical doctrines, according to the capacity of his auditors. He was a star of the first magnitude in the right hand of Christ, to diffuse the resplendent light of the gospel. And as he

\* Griffith's Preface to Mr. Strong's Heavenly Treasure.

transcended most of this age in the explanation of evangelical truth, so, in his intelligence and explication of the *Two Covenants*, he seems to excel himself: this being the study of his life, and that whereon his mind was mostly intent. The notices I received from his other works gave me a great impression of his divine wisdom; but what mine eyes have seen, and my thoughts imbibed of his incomparable intelligence, from his elaborate *Discourse of the Two Covenants*, assures me, that not *the half was told* me by his works formerly published. He was, indeed, a person intimately and familiarly acquainted with the deepest points in theology; but especially those which relate to the covenant of grace.\* The learned Dr. Thomas Manton styles him "an eminent and a faithful servant of God, a man eloquent and mighty in the scriptures, and a burning and shining light in the church of Christ."†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Thirty-one Select Sermons, preached on special Occasions, 1656.—2. The Heavenly Treasure, 1656.—3. Communion with God, the Saint's Privilege and Duty, 1656.—4. A Treatise on the Subordination of Man's Will to the Will of God, 1657.—5. Hell Torments, 1672.—6. A Discourse of the Two Covenants, 1678.‡—7. The Parable of the Prodigal.

**THOMAS GATAKER, B. D.**—This celebrated divine was the son of Mr. Thomas Gataker, another puritan divine, the pastor of St. Edmund's, Lombard-street, London. He was born in the metropolis, September 4, 1574, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he had Mr. Henry Alvey for his tutor. He greatly distinguished himself by his assiduous application; and he is mentioned among those ardent students who attended the private Greek lectures given by the learned Mr. John Boys, in his chamber, at four o'clock in the morning.§ He was afterwards chosen fellow of Sidney college, in the same university. He entered with great reluctance on the ministerial work while he was at the university, when he engaged with Mr. William Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, and some others, in the pious and laudable work of preaching every Lord's day in the adjacent

\* Gale's Summary, prefixed to Mr. Strong's "Discourse of the Covenants."

† Manton's Preface to Mr. Strong's Heavenly Treasure.

‡ This is very evangelical, and uncommonly judicious.—*Williams's Christian Preacher*, p. 448.

§ Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 406.

country, where their labours were most wanted. Having continued these exercises some time, he removed to London, and became domestic chaplain to Sir William Cook, to whose lady he was nearly related. His admirable talent for preaching soon gained him so great a reputation, that, in the year 1601, he was chosen preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-inn; where, for the space of ten years, he laboured with great acceptance, popularity, and usefulness. Previous to Mr. Gataker's settlement in this situation, Mr. Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough and lord treasurer, having been present, with his lady, when Mr. Gataker preached at St. Martin's in the Fields; on their return home she asked an old servant how he liked the preacher. "Why truly," said the man, "he's a pretty pert boy; and he made a reasonable good sermon." Not many weeks after, Mr. Ley, returning from Lincoln's-inn, said to his lady, "I will tell you some news. That young man, whom you heard at St. Martin's, is chosen lecturer at Lincoln's-inn." The old servant standing by and hearing this, said, "What! will the benchers be taught by such a boy as he?" Mr. Gataker having observed in one of his sermons, that it was as lawful for the husbandman to cultivate his ground as for counsellors to confer with their clients and give advice on the Lord's day; the appropriate admonition was well received, and occasioned the alteration of the time of public worship; for, instead of preaching at seven o'clock in the morning, as had been the constant practice, he was desired to preach at the usual hour of morning service. He did not, however, entirely leave Sir William Cook's family, but in the vacations went down to their seat in Northamptonshire, where, during his stay, he preached constantly, sometimes in their domestic chapel, and sometimes in the parish church. In this he acted purely from the motive of christian piety, uninfluenced by any worldly considerations, as very clearly appeared from the following circumstance, peculiarly honourable to his memory: our author, after stating this fact, immediately adds, "And this he did with an apostolical mind, not for filthy lucre, but freely making the gospel a burden only to the dispenser. Yet such was the devotion of that religious pair, (Sir William and his lady,) that they would not serve God without cost; for they afterwards, in consideration of those pains, freely taken, settled upon Mr. Gataker an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, which he indeed received a few years; but afterwards he remitted it unto the heir of that family, forbearing to use the right he had, and forbidding his executor to claim any

arrears of that annuity. This is mentioned to shew the generous temper of his christian soul.\*

Mr. Gataker's learned preaching to the above society, as it gave him much satisfaction, so it gained him great reputation; and, if it had accorded with his views, would have procured him considerable preferment. But when various valuable benefices were offered him, he refused to accept of them, concluding that the charge of *one* congregation was sufficient for *one* man. He therefore chose to remain in his present situation, in which, though his salary was small, his employment was honourable, and his condition safe. Moreover, it afforded him great leisure for the pursuit of his studies, in which he was very assiduous, particularly the holy scriptures in the original languages, the fathers of the church, and the best writers among the Greeks and Romans.

In the year 1611, he was prevailed upon, not without some difficulty, to accept of the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey, a living of considerable value, with which he was much importuned to hold his former office; but that being inconsistent with his principles, he absolutely refused. In this situation, notwithstanding an almost perpetual head-ache with which he was afflicted from his youth, he continued for many years to discharge his numerous pastoral duties with unremitting and indefatigable industry, and to feed the flock of Christ over which the Holy Ghost made him overseer, God greatly blessing his labours. Although he had not committed any of his learned productions to the press; yet his celebrity for erudition was so great, that he held a regular correspondence with the learned Dr. Usher, afterwards the celebrated primate of Ireland. Some of his epistles are still preserved, and afford sufficient testimonies of the nature and extent of his studies, and of his unremitting care to preserve the unpublished works of some of the ancient divines. These letters contain very shining proofs of his modesty and humility, which do not always accompany profound literary acquirements. Mr. Gataker's first letter is dated from Rotherhithe, March 18, 1616, in which he informs Usher, that he had in his possession a manuscript, containing certain treatises which he could not learn ever to have been printed; among which was "Guillemus de Santo Amore, de periculis novissimorum temporum," and an oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons, by Robert Grosthead, formerly Bishop of Lincoln.

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 148—151.

"Some of these," says he, "peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to see the light, nor should I be unwilling, if they should be so esteemed, to bend my poor and weak endeavours that way. But, of that oration to the pope, certain lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, though so as the sense of them may be guessed and gathered from the context; and in the other treatises there are many faults that cannot easily, or possibly some of them without help of other copies, be amended. My desire is to understand from you, whether, at your being in England, for I wot well how careful you were to make inquiry after such monuments, you lighted upon any of these, and where, or in whose hands they were."

In another letter to Usher, dated from Rotherhithe, June 24, 1617, he writes thus:—"I esteem myself much beholden unto you, as for your former love, so for this your late kindness, in vouchsafing me so large a letter, with so full instructions concerning this business, that I was bold to break unto you, though the same, as by your information appeareth, were wholly superfluous. True it is, that though not fully purposed to do ought therein myself, willing rather to have offered mine endeavours and furtherance to some others." Having mentioned two of the manuscripts, he adds, "But I perceive now, by your instructions, that the one is out already, and the other perfect and fit for the press, in the hands of one better furnished and fitter for the performance of such work than myself, whom I would therefore incite to send what he hath perfect abroad, than by his perfect copy, having pieced out mine imperfect one, to take his labours out of his hand. I have heard, since I wrote to you by Mr. Bill, that Sir Henry Savile is about to publish Bishop Grosthead's epistles, out of a manuscript remaining in Merton college library. If I meet with your countryman Malachy, at any time, I will not be unmindful of your request. And if any good office may be performed by me for you here, either about the impression of your learned and religious labours, so esteemed and desired, not of myself alone but of many others of greater judgment than myself, or in any other employment that my weak ability may extend itself unto, I shall be ready and glad upon any occasion to do my best therein."\*

Dr. Usher and Mr. Gataker had an ardent predilection for publishing the remains of ancient divines, which introduced them to an acquaintance with each other, and occasioned their

\* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 37—76.

friendly correspondence. The letters of our divine, it is said, shew his true genius and disposition, and will account for that hot and eager opposition which his writings met with, when he ventured to publish his opinions from the press. As he never wrote upon any subject which he had not fully studied, and thoroughly examined what had been said upon it by men of all ages and all parties; so his penetrating skill in distinguishing truth, and his honest zeal in supporting it, laid him continually open to the clamours of those who had nothing in view, but the maintenance of those systems to which they were attached from their education, or the magnifying of such notions as were popular in those times; and, by defending which, they were sure to have numerous admirers, though their want of learning, and the weakness of their arguments, were ever so conspicuous. But in these kind of disputes, such furious opponents were sure to have the worst; and how considerable soever they might be, either in figure or number, they served only to heighten the lustre of his triumph. For, it is added, as the modesty of his nature withheld him from printing any thing till he was forty-five years of age; so by that time his judgment was so confirmed, and his learning, supported by an extraordinary and almost incredible memory, so greatly extended, that he constantly carried his point, and effectually baffled all the attempts to envelope again in darkness and obscurity any subject that he had once proposed to enlighten.

The great regularity of his life, his unblemished character, and the general esteem in which he was held by the greatest and best men in the nation, fortified him sufficiently against all those low and little artifices by which a writer, deficient in any of these respects, would certainly have suffered. He had not the least tincture either of spleen or arrogance in his nature; and though it be true that he gave no quarter to the *arguments* of his adversaries, nothing could provoke him to strike at their *persons*. He always remembered that the prize contended for was *truth*, and that, for the sake of obtaining it, the public undertook to sit as judges: he was cautious, therefore, of letting fall any thing that was unbecoming, or that might be indecent or ungrateful to his readers to peruse. He was not, however, so scrupulous as to forbear disclosing vulgar errors, through fear of giving the multitude offence. His modesty might, indeed, hinder his preferment, but it never obstructed his duty. He understood perfectly well how easily the people may be wrought either to superstition or profaneness; and no man could be more sensible than he

was, that true religion was as far distant from the one as from the other. He was well acquainted with the arts of hypocrites, and thought it as necessary to guard against them as to avoid the allurements of open libertines. He understood that souls might be ensnared, as well as seduced; and that canting words, and a solemn shew of sanctity, might enable presumptuous or self-interested persons to put a yoke upon the necks of christians, very different from the yoke of Jesus Christ.\*

This is certainly a very high character of our learned divine. He was very careful, in the exercises of the pulpit, to preach not only sound, but suitable doctrine, such as might edify any christian congregation; and was particularly appropriate to the people of his charge. His desire to discharge his duty induced him, among other subjects, to discourse on one both curious and critical, which he applied to common use. This was the *nature of* LOTS, about which much had been written, and more spoken; from which, in the opinion of the learned Gataker, some very great inconveniencies had arisen. He, therefore, thought, that, by a minute investigation of the subject, it might give his congregation clear and correct views of the nature, use, and abuse of lots, and might prove very beneficial to them. This induced him to handle the matter, as he did all subjects, freely, fully, and fairly; without suspecting, however, that this would oblige him to have recourse to the press, and involve him in a long and troublesome controversy. Some ill-disposed persons reported that he defended dice and cards, with other groundless stories; which induced him to publish his thoughts on the subject in a small treatise, "in which," says my author, "it is hard to say whether the accuracy of the method, the conclusiveness of his reasoning, or the prodigious display of learning, deserves most to be admired." He dedicated his work to Sir Henry Hobart, bart. chief justice of the common-pleas, with all the benchers, barristers, and students of Lincoln's-inn, as a mark of his gratitude and respect for their past favours. This piece made a great noise in the world, and gained the author great reputation.

The title of this learned treatise is, "Of the Nature and Use of Lots, a Treatise Historical and Theological, written by Thomas Gataker, B. of D. sometime Preacher at Lincoln's-inn, and now Pastor of Rotherhithe," 1619. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he observes,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2160.

that how backward he had ever been to publish any thing from the press, they knew best who had often pressed him thereto, but had never till that time prevailed. "A twofold necessity," says he, "is now imposed upon me of doing somewhat in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers christian friends, religious and judicious, who having either heard, being partakers of my public ministry, or heard of by the report of others, or upon request seen some part of this weak work, have not ceased to solicit the further publishing of it; as also partly, and more especially, by the iniquity of some others; who, being of a contrary judgment on some particulars therein disputed, have been more forward than was fit, by unchristian slanders, and uncharitable censures, to tax and traduce both me and it." He then remarks, that, if any should surmise that these kind of writings might occasion too much liberty, a thing not necessary in that licentious age; he answers briefly, "First, that it is unequal, that, for the looseness of some, the consciences of those that be godly should be entangled and ensnared; and, secondly, that whosoever shall take no more liberty than is here given shall be sure to keep within the bounds of piety and sobriety, of equity and of charity, than which I know not what can be more required. For no sinister ends, I protest before God's face, and in his fear, undertook I this task; neither have I averred or defended any thing therein but what I am verily persuaded to be agreeable to God's word."

The first chapter describes what a lot is, and treats of lottery in general; the second, of chance or casualty, and of casual events; the third, of the several sorts or kinds of lots; the fourth, of ordinary lots; the fifth, of the lawfulness of such lots, with cautions to be observed in the use of them; the sixth, of ordinary lots lusurious, and of the lawfulness of them; the seventh contains an answer to the principal objections against lusurious lots; the eighth, an answer to the lesser arguments used against them; the ninth, of cautions to be observed in the use of them; the tenth, of extraordinary or divinitary lots; the eleventh, of the unlawfulness of such lots; the twelfth contains an admonition to avoid them, with an answer to some arguments produced in the defence of them, and the conclusion of the whole. The second edition of this treatise, revised, corrected, and enlarged by the author, was published in 1627.

The publication of the first edition of this work drew Mr. Gataker into a public controversy, which continued many years. A very warm writer, who had been misled by com-

mon report, tendered what he took to be a refutation of his doctrine, to those who were then intrusted with the licensing of the press. But his performance, being written with greater appearance of anger than argument, was stopped; which the passionate writer considered as an additional injury, and of which he so loudly complained, that our author, who only sought the investigation of truth, generously interposed, and opened the way as well for his adversary as for himself. He was, indeed, convinced that he could not better defend his own character and sentiments against evil reports, than by affording his virulent adversary the fairest opportunity. He did not, however, treat him with total silence. After the publication of his opponent's angry piece, he employed his pen in a most learned refutation of his arguments and objections, in a work entitled, "A just Defence of certain Passages in a former Treatise concerning the Nature and Use of Lots, against such exceptions and oppositions as have been made thereunto by Mr. J. B. i. e. John Balmford, wherein the insufficiency of his Answers given to the Arguments brought in defence of a Lusurious Lot is manifested; the imbecility of his Arguments produced against the same further discovered; and the point in controversy more fully cleared," 1623.

About twelve years after, Mr. Gataker had to contend with more learned opponents, and he found himself under the necessity of publishing a defence of his sentiments in Latin, against two very learned men who had written on the same subject. His treatise is entitled, "Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis partim Gulielmi Amesii partim Gisberti Væti de sorte Thesisibus reposita," 1637. In this performance he discovered, as in all the productions of his pen, his great piety, modesty, and erudition.\*

Mr. Gataker, in the year 1620, made a tour into the Low Countries, which gave him a very favourable impression of the protestantism of the Dutch, and doubtlessly inclined him to the religious moderation by which he was characterized. While he gave much satisfaction to the protestants, by his preaching to the English church at Middleburg, he excited the warm displeasure of the catholics, by disputing with great freedom and boldness against the ablest of their priests. Though he might not convert them, he certainly confounded them, which occasioned their great resentment. His mother, therefore, knowing his fervent zeal in the cause of truth, and

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2160—2165.

the provocation his works had already given, had certainly some cause to apprehend his danger from a party never famous for their moderation. Upon his return he applied himself, with his former assiduity, to his beloved studies and the duties of his charge. He also addressed a letter to his learned and pious friend Usher, now preferred to a bishopric, in which he gives a very affecting description of the state of the foreign protestants. In this letter, dated from Rotherhithe, September 29, 1621, he expresses himself as follows :

“ My duty to your lordship remembered. This messenger so fitly offering himself to me, I could not but in a line or two salute your lordship, and therefore signify my continued and deserved remembrance of you, and hearty desire of your welfare. By this time I presume your lordship is settled in your weighty charge of oversight, wherein I beseech the Lord in mercy to bless your labours and endeavours, to the glory of his own name and the good of his church, never more oppressed and opposed by mighty and malicious adversaries, both at home and abroad; never in foreign parts generally more distracted and distressed than at present. Out of France there is daily news of murders and massacres, cities and town taken, and all sorts put to the sword. Nor are those few that stand out likely to hold long against the power of so great a prince, having no succours from without. In the Palatinate likewise all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the Hollanders sit, for ought I see, any surer; for that the coals that have been heretofore kindled against them about transportation of coin, and the fine imposed for it, the quarrels of the East Indies, and the command of the narrow seas, the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily more and more blown up, and fire beginneth to break out, which I pray God may not burn up both them and us.

“ I doubt not, worthy sir, but you see as well, yea much better I suppose, than myself and many others, being able further to pierce into the state of the times, and the consequences of these things, what need the forlorn flock of Christ hath of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins; and to fence that part of the fold that as yet is not so openly broken down, against the incursions of such ravenous wolves, as, having prevailed so freely against the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it also unassaulted: as also what need she hath, if ever, of prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto Him who hath the hearts and hands of all men in his hand, and whose help (our only hope as things now stand) is oftentimes then most present when all human helps

and hopes do fail. But these lamentable occurrences carry me farther than I had purposed when I put my pen to paper. I shall be right glad to hear of your lordship's health and welfare, which the Lord vouchsafe to continue; gladder to see the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bless and protect you. And thus ready to do your lordship any service I may in these parts, I rest, &c.\*

Mr. Gataker had not yet finished all his writings on points of controversy. His zeal and courage in the cause of protestantism engaged him to enter the list of disputants against the popish party. Observing that the papists laboured to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation to be agreeable to the holy scriptures, he resolved to shew, in the most convincing manner, the absurdity and impossibility of their attempts; and, having driven them from this, which was their strongest post, he prosecuted his attack, and forced his opponents to quit every other refuge. This he did in his work entitled "Transubstantiation declared by the Popish Writers to have no necessary Foundation in God's Word," 1624. He also published a "Defence" of this work. His learned performances in this controversy proved a great and reasonable service to the cause of protestants, and very deservedly rendered him conspicuous in the eyes of the most worthy persons of those times, who admired his erudition and his fortitude as much as his humility and his readiness to serve the church of Christ.†

In the year 1640, he was deeply engaged in the controversy about justification, which greatly increased his reputation. In 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended during the session. His endeavours in this learned synod, for promoting truth and suppressing error, were equally strenuous and sincere; yet his study of peace was so remarkable, that when his reason concerning Christ's obedience in order to our justification, could not obtain the majority of that assembly, by whom the question was determined contrary to his sense, his peaceable and pious spirit caused him to keep silence, and hindered him from publishing the discourses which he had designed to publish on that subject. In the year 1644, he was chosen one of the committee for the examination of ministers. He was repeatedly urged to take his doctor's degree, but he always

\* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 76.  
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† Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2164.  
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refused: and when he was offered the mastership of Trinity college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester, he declined the honourable preferment.\*

Mr. Gataker, content with his own pastoral charge, was more ambitious of doing good to others than of exalting himself; he therefore assiduously applied himself in those turbulent times to his ancient studies, which could give offence to no party, and which might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of all the friends of good literature. With this object in view he published his judicious and laborious discourse on the name by which God made himself known to Moses and the people of Israel. In this performance he shewed himself a very great master of Hebrew; and the work was so well received by all competent judges, that it has been often reprinted. This very profound, curious, and instructive treatise is entitled, "*De nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio, quâ vocis Jehovah apud nostros receptæ usus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur,*" 1645. The work was reprinted in 1652; it is also inserted amongst his "*Opera Critica;*" and it found a place among the ten Discourses upon this subject, collected and published by Hadrian Reland, the first five of which were written by John Drusius, Sextinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Alting, who opposed the received usage, which is defended in the other five dissertations, the first of which was written by Nicholas Fuller, the second by our author, and the three others by John Leusden.

This celebrated scholar, by his continual application to the study of the best Greek authors, his wonderful memory, his uncommon penetration, and his accurate judgment, was enabled to look into the very principles and elements of that copious, elegant, and expressive language. This might seem beneath the attention of so great a man; but he resolved to vindicate these inquiries, and to shew how much a thorough knowledge of grammatical learning contributes to the improvement of science. He was aware that the singularities of his opinion might lessen his reputation, if they were not clearly and fully established. He knew that they did not spring either from a naked imagination, or an affectation of opposing common opinions; but were in reality the produce of much reading and reflection, and they had, at least to himself, the appearance of certain, though not vulgar truths. It

\* Clark's Lives, p. 152—155.

was from these motives, therefore, that he ventured to publish a work which would scarcely have been noticed from any other hand, but which, from its own merit, and the respect due to its author's skill, especially in Greek literature, was very well received, and highly commended, by able and candid judges. This learned and critical work is entitled, "*De Diphthongis sive Bivocalibus Dissertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam sonus germanus natura genuina figura nova et scriptura vetus veraque investigatur,*" 1646. This is also printed amongst his "*Opera Critica.*" The point which he endeavours to establish is, that there are in reality no diphthongs, and that it is impossible two vowels should be so blended together as to enter into one syllable. This, as we have observed, was one of our author's singularities. We shall not enter into this controversy, nor attempt to decide whether he was right or wrong in his views of orthography.\*

Notwithstanding Mr. Gataker's assiduous application to these deep and critical studies, he paid the most exact attendance to his pastoral duties, and to the assembly of divines. In obedience to their appointment, he wrote the annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, published in the Assembly's Annotations on the Bible.† Though he was a divine most distinguished for moderation, he disapproved of many things in the national church, but would have been satisfied with moderate episcopacy. He was of opinion, that bishops and presbyters, according to the New Testament, were the same. He was always opposed to the great power and splendour of the prelates; and concluded, that they ought to be divested of their pompous titles and their seats in parliament.‡ He differed more than once with the very learned Dr. Lightfoot, in their meetings at the assembly; and though they sometimes debated warmly, they never lost their tempers, or indulged any rancour on account of these disputes.

As our divine advanced in years, his incessant labours, both of body and mind, brought upon him those infirmities which slackened his speed, but did not wholly stop the progress of his studies. For even under these infirmities, and when confined to his chamber by the direction of his physicians, he was continually employed in his beloved contemplations.

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2165.

† This useful work is improperly ascribed to the assembly of divines, but was undertaken by certain divines appointed by the parliament, part of whom were members of the assembly. Each person had his portion of scripture appointed him by those who set him on work. Several of them were celebrated puritans, as the reader will find noticed in this work.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 256, 257.

But when, through the excellency of his constitution, his temperate manner of living, and the skilful efforts of the faculty, he recovered a moderate share of health, he betook himself again to the duties of his ministry; but was afterwards under the necessity of declining the exercises of the pulpit, though he continued to administer the sacraments, and to deliver short discourses at funerals. The chief part of his time was now employed in study, and in composing several learned works. He employed his learning, his zeal, and his moderation in the antinomian controversy, by publishing a work, entitled, "A Mistake or Misconstruction removed, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the antinomians and us,) and Free Grace, as it is held forth in God's Word, as well by the Prophets in the Old Testament, as by the Apostles and Christ himself in the New, shewed to be other than is by the Antinomian Party in these times maintained. In way of Answer to some Passages in a Treatise of Mr. John Saltmarsh, concerning that subject," 1646. This is written in answer to Mr. Saltmarsh's "Free Grace, or the Flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners; being an Experiment of Jesus Christ upon one who hath been in Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times for twelve years," 1645. Mr. Gataker in his work observes, "That it seems a thing much to be feared, that this course, which I see some effect, and many people are much taken with, of extracting divinity in a kind of chymical way, even chimerical conceits, will, if it hold on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the gospel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks and quillets of the old schoolmen did." During the same year he published "Shadows without Substance, in the pretended New Lights," in answer to Saltmarsh's "Shadows flying away." Also his "Mysterious Clouds and Mists," in answer to Mr. J. Simpson.

Mr. Gataker soon after published his discourse on the style of the New Testament, in which he opposed the sentiments of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraisms in those sacred writings, which he endeavoured to prove as well by authorities as arguments. All this our author undertook to overthrow, which, in the opinion of the best critics, he most effectually accomplished; and more than this, he so clearly and concisely explained the true meaning of many texts in the Old as well as the New Testament; corrected such a variety of passages in ancient authors; and discovered such a consummate skill in both the living and dead languages, as very justly gained him the character of

if by them, why not by the ancients? "I could readily grant you that," says our divine, "and yet deny the consequence that you would draw from it. For the Greek language itself was much declined, in the time of the apostles, by the admission of a multitude of exotic words and phrases borrowed from the Italians, Sicilians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, partly from their being under the same government, and partly from their commercial intercourse with those nations. But, after all," says he, "if Demosthenes could live again, it is most likely he would find many obstacles in reading Paul's writings, and would object to many of the words and phrases." He then quotes a long passage from Beza's Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles, in which that learned commentator shews the reasons why the apostles were not studious about their style, but endeavoured to make themselves understood by those with whom they conversed, rather than to render their discourses elegant from their pure and correct language.

In the same manner he proceeds through the rest of his treatise, in which he explains, as they occur, a multitude of passages in sacred and profane authors, correcting some and commending other critics who have gone before; but with so much mildness and moderation, with such apparent candour and respect to truth above all things, that it is impossible for the reader not to admire his excellent temper, while he ruins the reputation of the contrary party. In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr. Gataker gives a recapitulation of the whole dispute between him and Pfochenius, and observes, that the true state of the question is, whether the style of the New Testament in Greek is every where the same with that which was used by the ancient writers, at the time when the language was in its greatest purity? Or, whether it is not such as frequently admits of Hebraisms and Syriasms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter; while our learned critic maintains the opposite sentiments. Mr. Gataker concludes by observing, that, notwithstanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt that nearly *six hundred* phrases might be produced from the New Testament, and a much greater number from the Greek version of the Old Testament, the purity of which Pfochenius seems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or the Syriac tongues, and not the least resemblance of the ancient Greek, so far as men of the greatest labour and erudition have hitherto discovered.\* The venerable primate of Ireland,

\* Biog. Britan, vol. iv. p. 2167—2169.

than whom there could not be a better judge, shewed his great respect both for our author and his performance, by sending it with his own Annals as a present to Dr. Arnold Boate, then residing at Paris.\*

Though this literary production was a very considerable work, and greatly increased the author's reputation, it was, indeed, no more than a specimen of a much larger work, in which he had been employed for many years. He at first intended his discourse against Pfochenius only as an appendix to this celebrated performance; but that treatise being ready for the press, and it being very doubtful whether he should live to complete the other, he judged it most expedient to publish that alone, particularly that he might see what kind of reception his larger work was likely to meet with from the republic of letters. Finding this specimen universally applauded, he determined to publish the first two books of the other, the whole being divided into six, to which he gave this title: "Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Cinnus; sive adversaria miscellanea animadversionum veriarum libris sex comprehensa: quorum premores duo nunc primitius prodeunt reliquis deinceps (Deo favente) seorsim insecuturis," 1651. In the preface the author shews, that these collections were published in fulfilment of his promise made in his dissertation on the style of the New Testament; which promise would have been fulfilled much sooner, had he not been prevented by his numerous avocations, and by a dangerous eruption of blood, by which he was brought very low, and for a long time withheld from his studies. The first book is divided into eleven chapters, and the second into twenty, but they are mostly independent one of another. The account given of the foregoing work renders it unnecessary to enlarge upon this performance. They are exactly the same in their nature, except that this tends to no one particular point, but discovers, in numerous instances, the author's opinion on difficult passages in the Old and New Testaments, the primitive fathers, modern critics, and, as his subjects occasionally led him, he illustrates a vast variety of obscure or perplexed places both in Greek and Latin authors; and there are some observations on words and phrases in our own language. This work was received with the highest commendation. Morhoff particularly applauds the author for his singular happiness in distinguishing the true sense of the most difficult passages, and of making it appear that what he defends is

\* Parr's Life of Usher, p. 559.

the true sense, and this in few words, without any ostentation, and without ever insulting those whom he corrects: but, on the contrary, he ascribes their mistakes, sometimes as a slip of the memory, and at others, to the bad editions of the books which they used.\* The remaining books of this collection were published after his decease, by his son Mr. Charles Gataker, with the following title: "Adversaria Miscellanea Posthuma, in quibus sacræ Scripturæ primo deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur," 1659.

Mr. Gataker's natural modesty, as well as his christian moderation, kept him from that publicity of character which, from his great abilities, and his numerous friends, he might easily have attained. Notwithstanding the mildness of his temper, and his aversion to whatever might render him the object of public discourse; yet the trial of the king moved him to make a public declaration of his sentiments. He was, accordingly, the first of the forty-seven London ministers who subscribed their "Letter to the Generall and his Councill of Warre," commonly called their "Declaration" against the king's death. In this address they firmly remind them of their duty to the parliament, and of the obligations they were under, as well as the parliament, to defend his majesty's person and maintain his just rights. They told the general and his council that the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without manifest breach of many solemn oaths, particularly the covenant: they taught them to distinguish between God's approbation and permission; they set, in its true light, the folly of pretending to secret impulses in violation of God's written laws; they made it evident that necessity was a false plea; and they concluded by recommending them to follow the rule of John the Baptist, *Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely*, and scrupled not to tell them, that, if they persisted in their design, their sin would surely find them out.†

During the year in which Mr. Gataker published the first two books of his Miscellanies, he printed a small piece on infant baptism, which was very much admired. He was deeply versed in that controversy; therefore, in addition to this, he wrote several other discourses, in which he treated the main questions with great seriousness and solidity of argument. He published two Latin discourses on this subject, which, in point of modesty, learning, and argumentation, it is said, were not at all inferior to any of the other

\* Blog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2169, 2170.

† Letter to the Gen.

productions of his pen. The first of these is entitled, "De Baptismatis Infantilis vi & efficacia Disceptatio privatim habitata inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum, theologiæ sacræ doctorem, & in academia Cantabrigiensi Professorem, & Thomam Gatakerum," 1651. The other is entitled, "Stricturæ ad Epistolam Joannis Davenantii de Baptismo Infantum," 1654.

In the year 1652, he favoured the world with his admirable edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, to which he prefixed a preliminary discourse on the philosophy of the Stoics, which, in the opinion of the ablest critics, both at home and abroad, is allowed to be a most complete and correct treatise, as well as a most useful compendium of morality. He added also an exact translation, together with a commentary. In some of his former works he had given occasional specimens of his perfect acquaintance with the works of this imperial philosopher, whose celebrity has always been as high among the learned as his station was in the world; therefore, when the work was published, men's expectations were highly raised, and abundantly gratified. It had been published in Greek by Conrad Gesner, with a Latin translation by William Hylander, and had passed through several editions. Mr. Gataker found both the text and the translation exceedingly faulty, and spent nearly forty years in considering how the former might be amended, and a new translation made, which might do justice to so exquisite a production. He found prodigious difficulties in the arduous undertaking, being able to meet with very few manuscript copies, and receiving very slender helps from those learned persons, whose assistance he solicited in the progress of his endeavours. He sent indeed a list of his principal difficulties to the celebrated Salmasius, who, in his answer, very gratefully acknowledged, and warmly commended his undertaking; but gave him, at the same time, a dismal prospect of the obstacles he had to overcome: as, innumerable corruptions, frequent chasms, more frequent transpositions, and many other misfortunes, for the removal of which he promised his assistance; which, however, his frequent journies and other occurrences prevented. Mr. Gataker, nevertheless, persevered in the arduous work, and, with the few helps he enjoyed, his own sagacity, and the comparing of various copies, at length completed his design, and, to the great satisfaction of the learned world, published his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death, under the following title: "Marci Antonini Imperatoris de rebus suis sive de iis quæ ad se pertinere censebat Libri xii. cum

*Versione Latinâ & commentariis Gatakeri,*” 1652. The work was reprinted in 1697, with the addition of the Emperor’s life, by Mr. Dacier, together with some select notes of the same author, by Dr. George Stanhope, who, in his dedication to the Lord Chancellor Somers, gives a high character of our author.\*

Mr. Gataker, in the evening of his days, when he earnestly desired that repose which his labours so well deserved, was warmly attacked by an active and angry adversary, who was infinitely beneath him in point of knowledge, but who had credit with certain persons high in office, and who was esteemed by the vulgar as a person of transcendent abilities. This was Mr. William Lilly, the famous astrologer, who, finding that our author had a very bad opinion of his pretended art, and a worse opinion of his personal character, had the confidence to take up his pen against him; but he experienced the disappointment which he might easily have foreseen. Mr. Gataker, who possessed all the sacred and profane learning relative to this subject, not only defended himself with great strength of argument, but very clearly detected all the plausible sophisms that could be urged in support of this pretended science. The ground of this controversy was Mr. Gataker’s Annotations on Jeremiah x. 2., in which chapter the Jews are warned against listening to the predictions of astrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters, the two great sins to which they would be tempted in a state of captivity. Our author considered it his duty to expose the vanity of predictions from the stars, and to shew to the christian world, that it was not only folly and ignorance, but great wickedness to rely upon them. His exposition is curious, full of solid sense and sound learning, and effectually destroys the credit of that delusive art, by which, in all ages, weak and wandering minds have been misled.

These annotations roused all the tribe of astrologers against our learned author, from the highest to the lowest. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Christopher Heydon, took great offence, and wrote against him without mercy. This induced Mr. Gataker to publish a discourse in defence of himself, and what he had before advanced against the illuminated stargazers, which is entitled, “A Vindication of the Annotations on Jeremiah, chap. x. ver. 2., against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand impostor Mr. William Lilly; as also against the various expositions of two of his advocates, Mr. John Swan, and another by him cited but not named. Together with the

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2171. •

annotations themselves; wherein the pretended grounds of judiciary astrology, and the scripture proofs produced for it, are discussed and refuted," 1653. In this treatise he fully and openly exposed his opponents and their pretended science; and enforced all that he had said against it by substantial arguments, and produced, in support of his own sentiments, a numerous train of respectable authorities. This excited their scurrility and abuse more than ever; which induced him to publish a reply to their raillery and bitter language, in a piece entitled, "A Discourse Apolegitical, wherein Lillies lewd and lowd lies in his Merlin or Pasquil for the year 1654, are clearly laid open; his shameful desertion of his own cause is further discovered; his shameless slanders fully refuted; and his malicious and murtherous mind inciting to a general massacre of God's ministers, from his own pen evidently evinced: together with an advertisement concerning two allegations produced in the close of his postscript; and a postscript concerning an epistole dedicatory of one I. Gadburie," 1654. In this treatise our venerable author speaks of the most considerable transactions of his life, relates at large the manner in which he arrived at his several preferments, and completely refutes all the idle and malicious reflections of Lilly and his associates. He mentions, among other particulars, his sentiments upon church government, and declares that he never was an advocate for the power and splendour of the prelacy; but that, on the contrary, he had always inclined to a moderate episcopacy. As, for the sake of doing good in his generation, he had submitted to the bishops; so, when they were taken away by what he esteemed the supreme power, he submitted to that likewise, yet never sought any preferment, but refused it from both parties. This, it appears, was written a very little time before his death.

Although Mr. Gataker convinced all judicious and impartial inquirers after truth of the vanity of this delusive science, he could never silence his conceited and obstinate antagonist, whose bread, indeed, was in some degree at stake; and who was, therefore, bound by one of the strongest ties to defend that craft by which he lived. By his frequent publications; he vilified and persecuted our venerable divine to the end of his days, and, contrary to all the rules of religion or humanity, insulted him when laid in his silent grave.\* As for the pious and learned Mr. Gataker, he pursued the same peaceable and useful course, till his years, his infirmities, and his perpetual labours, wore out his constitution.

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2172—2175.

In his last sickness his faith and patience were strikingly manifest. To a servant who waited upon him when confined to his bed, and who told him that his head did not lie right, he said, "It will lie right in my coffin." The day before his departure, being exercised with extreme pain, he cried, "How long, Lord, how long? come speedily!" A little before he died, he called his son, his sister, and his daughter, to each of whom he delivered his dying charge, saying, "My heart fails, and my strength fails: but God is my fortress, and the rock of my salvation. Into thy hands, therefore, I commend my soul; for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.—Son," said he, "you have a great charge, look to it. Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your ministry conscientiously.—Sister," said he "I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls me first. I hope we shall meet in heaven. I pray God bless you.—Daughter," said he, "mind the world less and God more; for all things, without religion and the fear of God, are nothing worth." He then wished them all to withdraw and leave him to rest, when he presently expired, July 27, 1654, aged seventy-nine years, having been forty-three years pastor at Rotherhithe. His funeral sermon was preached by his very esteemed friend Mr. Simeon Ashe, and afterwards published with the following title: "Gray Heyres crowned with Grace, a Sermon preached at Redriff, August 1, at the Funeral of that reverend and eminently learned and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Gataker."

This venerable divine was married four times. His third wife was sister to Sir George Farwell. He would never suffer his picture to be taken; but the following is said to be a just description of his person. He was of a middle stature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and a fresh complexion. He was temperate in diet, free and cheerful in conversation, and addicted to study, but did not seclude himself from useful company. He possessed a quick apprehension, a solid judgment, and so extraordinary a memory, that, though he used no common-place book, he had in readiness whatever he had read. His house was a private seminary for both Englishmen and foreigners, who resorted to him, lodged at his house, and received instructions from him. His extensive learning was admired by the great men of the age, both at home and abroad, with whom he held a regular correspondence. It is said, "Of all the critics of this age who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are few, if indeed any, who deserve to be preferred to Thomas Gataker for

diligence and accuracy, in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined." He is styled "a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment;"\* and his name as a scholar is paralleled with those of Selden and Usher.† He was an ornament to the university, a light to the church, a loving husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend, a kind benefactor, a candid encourager of students, and a stout champion for the truth; yet so much for peace and moderation, that he maintained unity and affection towards those who differed in lesser matters.‡ Echard says, "He was remarkable for his skill in Greek and Hebrew, and the most celebrated among the assembly of divines;" and adds, "it is hard to say which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferment."§

His WORKS, in addition to those whose titles have been already given.—1. David's Instructor.—2. The Christian Man's Care.—3. The Spiritual Watch.—4. The Gain of Godliness.—5. The Just Man's Joy, with Signs of Sincerity.—6. Jacob's Thankfulness.—7. David's Remembrances.—8. Noah's Obedience.—9. A Memorial of England's Deliverance.—10. Sorrow for Zion.—11. God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to Him.—12. Eleazer's Prayer, a Marriage Sermon.—13. A Good Wife God's Gift.—14. A Wife Indeed.—15. Marriage Duties.—16. Death's Advantage.—17. The Benefit of a Good Name, and a Good End.—18. Abraham's Decease, delivered at the Funeral of Mr. Richard Stock, late Pastor of All-hallows, Bread-street.—19. Jeroboam's Son's Decease.—20. Christian Constancy Crowned by Christ.—The above Sermons, of which the pious Bishop Wilkin's gives a very high character,|| were published separate, but, in 1637, collected and published in one volume folio.—21. Francisci Gomari Disputationis Elencticæ, de Justificationis, &c., 1640.—22. Animadversionis in J. Piscatoris & L. Lucii scripta adversaria, de causa meritoria Justificationis, 1641.—23. Mr. Anthony Wotton's Defence, 1641.—24. A true Relation of Passages between Mr. Wotton and Mr. Walker, 1642.—25. An Answer to Mr. Walker's Vindication, 1642.—26. *Stricturæ in Barth. Wigelini Sangallensis de obedientia Christi disputationum Theologicam*, 1653.—27. *Ejusdam Vindicatio adversus Capellum*.—28. The Decease of Lazarus.—29. St. Stephen's last Will and Testament.—30. God's Eye on his Israel.—31. A Defence of Mr. Bradshaw against Mr. J. Canne.—The celebrated Hermannus Witsius, in the year 1698, collected and published in one volume all Mr. Gataker's critical works, entitled, "Opera Critica;" which will stand a monument to his memory as durable as time.

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2175, 2176.

† Aikin's Lives of Selden and Usher, p. 408.

‡ Clark's Lives, p. 256—260.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 771.

|| Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

**SAMUEL BOLTON, D. D.**—This excellent divine was born in the year 1606, and educated in the university of Cambridge. He afterwards became minister of St. Martin's church, Ludgate-street, London; where he continued about three years. Upon his removal from this situation, he was chosen minister at St. Saviour's, Southwark, where he continued seven years, and then removed to St. Andrew's, Holborn. At each of these places his ministry was made a blessing to many souls. He was nominated one of the additional members in the assembly of divines. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigg, he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence the rest of his days. Having strong desires to win souls to Christ, though he was master of a college, and had no ministerial charge of his own, he preached gratuitously every Lord's day for many years. In the year 1648, a minister of his name, and probably the same person, attended the Earl of Holland upon the scaffold when he was beheaded in the palace-yard, Westminster.\*

During his last sickness, which was long and painful, he exercised great patience, and often said, though the providence of God was dark towards him, he had light and comfort within. A little before he died, he said to a person moving him in bed, "Let me alone; let me lie quietly. I have as much comfort as my heart can hold." The last time Mr. Calamy visited him he was anxious to be with Christ, saying, "Oh this vile body of mine! when will it give way, that my soul may get out and go to my God? When will it be consumed, that I may mount up to heaven?" When he perceived any symptoms of his approaching dissolution, he rejoiced exceedingly, calling them, "the little crevices through which his soul peeped." He died greatly lamented, October 15, 1654, aged forty-eight years, and was buried in St. Martin's church, mentioned above. He gave orders, in his last will and testament, to be interred as a private christian, and not with the outward pomp of a doctor; "because," as he observed, "he hoped to rise in the day of judgment, and appear before God, not as a *doctor*, but as an *humble christian*." Numerous elegies were published on his death.

Dr. Bolton was a person of good parts and considerable learning, a burning and shining light in his day, and a man of great piety and excellent ministerial abilities. He was ortho-

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 387. Edit. 1732.

dox in his judgment, philanthropic in his spirit, and a celebrated interpreter of scripture. He studied, not only to *preach* the word, but to *live* as he preached. His life was an excellent comment on his doctrine. He was the voice of God crying aloud to those around him, by his exemplary life as well as his holy doctrine. He was a man of much prayer, reading, meditation, and temptation, the four things which, in the opinion of Luther, make a preacher. He was assaulted with manifold temptations, and very probably with more than many hundreds of his brethren. He laboured under the buffetings of Satan, that, being himself tempted, he might be better able to comfort those who were tempted. The words from which Mr. Calamy preached his funeral sermon had often been a source of great joy to his soul: "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able even to subdue all things to himself."\*

His WORKS.—1. A Vindication of the Rights of Law and the Liberties of Grace, 1645.—2. The Arraignment of Error, 1646.—3. The Sinfulness of Sin, held forth in a Sermon preached to the Honourable House of Commons, upon the late Solemn Day of Humiliation, March 25, 1646—1646.—4. A Guard of the Tree of Life, 1647.—5. The Dead Saint speaking to Saints and Sinners, 1657.—6. A Word in Season to a Sinking Kingdom.—7. The Wedding Garment.

JOHN MURCOT, A. B.—This very pious man was born at Warwick, in the year 1625, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, under the tuition of Mr. Ralph Button. Oxford being garrisoned by the king's forces, he, to avoid bearing arms, fled from the place in disguise, and went to live with Mr. John Ley, vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire, where he continued several years in close application to his studies. Upon his entrance on the work of the ministry, he was ordained according to the presbyterian form at Manchester, and settled first at Astbury in Cheshire; afterwards, he removed to Eastham, and, upon the death of Mr. Ralph Marsden, to West Kirby, both in the same county. In each of these situations he was much beloved, and his labours were rendered particularly useful. About the time of his last removal, he married Mr. Marsden's daughter. The Oxford historian says, that he at last removed to Chester; where, by

\* Calamy's Funeral Sermon for Dr. Bolton.—Clark's Lives, part i. p. 43—47.

his carriage, (meaning, undoubtedly, his exceeding great piety,) he became *ridiculous to the wicked*.\* It does not appear, however, that he ever settled at Chester. For the writer of his life, who is very particular in specifying his various removals, gives no intimation of the kind.

Though he never settled in that city, yet, after labouring some time at Kirby, and finding himself unable to promote church discipline according to his wishes, he went to Ireland and settled in the city of Dublin. He was there chosen one of the preachers in ordinary to the lord deputy and council, and was greatly admired and followed. In this situation he was in labours more abundant than most of his brethren, and the Lord suffered him not to labour in vain. He was instrumental in the conversion of many sinners, and in the establishment of many saints. The Lord, who had prepared him for this service, blessed his endeavours in winning multitudes of souls to Christ. In matters of worship and ceremonies, he was zealous in opposing the inventions and impositions of men, closely adhering in all things to the word of God. A public disputation was held at Cork, May 26, 1652, between the pædobaptists and the antipædobaptists, in which Dr. Harding, Dr. Worth, and Mr. Murcot, were particularly engaged, though we have no further account of it.†

During his last sickness his mind was most serene and happy. Apprehending that the hour of his departure was at hand, he said to his friends, "I must now tell you I am not long for this world;" and, raising himself up, he cried, "Lord, remember me in this trying hour." To his affectionate wife he said, "Haste, haste, love, for my time is very short. I shall not reach midnight. These raptures tell me I must quickly be gone." His sister, asking him whether he was in charity with all the Lord's people, though in certain things they differed from him; "Yes," said he, stretching forth his arms; and with a loud voice added, "Lord Jesus, draw me up to thyself;" and breathed his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, December 3, 1654, aged twenty-nine years. His remains were interred with great funeral solemnity in St. Mary's chapel, Dublin; when the lord deputy, the council, and the mayor and aldermen of the city followed, with great lamentation, his body to the grave.‡

Though Wood, with most palpable untruth, denominates him "a forward, prating, and pragmatistical precisian, who

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 112.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 312.

‡ Mr. Murcot's *Life* prefixed to his *Works*. Edit. 1657.

gave up the ghost *very unwillingly*;\* it appears from his life, "that he was an eminently humble, holy, and happy man; and a most zealous, laborious, and useful preacher." Granger says, "he was an admired preacher, a man of great industry in his profession, and of uncommon strictness of life."† Mr. Murcot's works, consisting of various articles, were published at different times; but were afterwards collected and published with his life prefixed, in one volume quarto, 1657.

**JOSHUA HOYLE, D. D.**—This learned divine was born at Sawerby, near Halifax, Yorkshire, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Afterwards, being invited into Ireland, he became fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, took his degrees in divinity, and was chosen divinity professor in that university. In his daily lectures he expounded the whole Bible, seldom taking more than one verse at a time, which lasted about fifteen years; and in about ten years more he went through greatest part of the sacred volume a second time. In the year 1634 he sat in the convocation held at Dublin. But, upon the commencement of the rebellion in Ireland, in 1641, he fled from the terrible effusion of blood;‡ returned to England, and became vicar of Stepney, near London; but, according to Wood, he being too scholastical, did not please the parishioners.§ In the year 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended. He was witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial, when he attested that the archbishop had corrupted the university of Dublin, by the arbitrary introduction of the errors of popery and arminianism.|| In the year 1645 he was elected one of the committee of accommodation; and in 1648 he became master of University college, Oxford, and king's professor of divinity in that university. In the office of professor he has incurred the severe animadversion of

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 113.

† Granger's *Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 49.

‡ According to the computation of the popish priests themselves, who were actively employed in this rebellion, upwards of *one hundred and fifty-four thousand* protestants were massacred in Ireland in the space of a few months: but, during the continuance of the rebellion, according to Sir J. Temple, there were above *three hundred thousand* cruelly murdered in cold blood, or ruined in some other way. Cardinal Richelieu was deeply concerned in this massacre; and, according to Rapin, King Charles I. "spread abroad that the catholics had his authority for what they did."—*Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 386.

§ *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 113.

|| Prynne's *Cant. Doome*, p. 178, 359.

**Dr. Walker.** This abusive writer says that he opened his lectures by a speech void of all spirit and learning; and that his lectures had neither method nor argument in them, and shewed him to be ignorant even of the most common rules of logic.\* Wood however styles him "a person of great reading and memory, much devoted to study, profound in the faculty of divinity, a constant preacher, and a noted puritan;" and says, "he was highly respected by the famous Archbishop Usher."† In vindication of this learned prelate, he wrote "A Rejoynder to Will Malone Jesuit his Reply concerning the Real Presence," 1641. Dr. Hoyle was a member of great honour and esteem in the assembly of divines, as master of all the ancient learning of Greek and Latin fathers, and one who reigned in his chair and in the pulpit.‡ He died December 6, 1654, and his remains were interred in the old chapel, belonging to University college. His successors in the offices of master and professor were Mr. Francis Johnson and Dr. John Conant, both silenced nonconformists in 1662.§

**ANDREW PERNE, A. M.**—This worthy minist̄r was born in the year 1596, and afterwards chosen fellow of Katherine-hall, Cambridge, where he probably received his education. Having finished his studies at the university, he became rector of Wilby in Northamptonshire, where he continued a laborious, faithful, and successful preacher twenty-seven years. One of his name and degree was of Peter-house, and elected master of the Charter-house in 1614;|| and the year following he became vicar of Southminster or Sudminster in Essex. But this could not be the same person.¶ In the year 1643 Mr. Perne was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and constantly attended during the whole session. He often preached before the parliament, and several of his sermons were published; one of which is entitled, "Gospel Couraḡe, or a Christian Resolution for God and his Truth, in a Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Margaret's, Westminster, at a Publique Fast, the 21 of May, 1643"—1643. Being called up to London, he gained a high reputation, and was offered considerable

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 141.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 118.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 472.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 229, 257, 433.

|| Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 359.

¶ Newcourt's Reper. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 537.

preferments; but he refused them all, resolving to return to his charge at Wilby. In this place, by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, a most signal and happy reformation was effected; and his people revered and loved him as a father. "He was full of spiritual warmth," says Mr. Ainsworth, "filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than when he was in the pulpit." As his life was holy, so his death was happy. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone; and often cried out, during his last sickness, "When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God."\* He died December 13, 1654, aged sixty years. Mr. Samuel Ainsworth, one of the silenced nonconformists, preached and published his funeral sermon. His remains were interred in the chancel of Wilby church; where, at the foot of the altar, is the following monumental inscription erected to his memory:†

Here lieth  
interred MR. ANDREW PERNE,  
a faithful servant of Jesus Christ,  
a zealous owner ever of God's cause  
in perilous times,  
a powerful and successful preacher  
of the gospel,  
a great blessing to this town  
and country,  
where he lived twenty-seven years.  
He departed December 13,  
1654.

**ALEXANDER GROSS, B. D.**—This pious man was born in Devonshire, and educated first in Caius college, Cambridge, then in Exeter college, Oxford, where he was admitted to the reading of the sentences. Entering upon the work of the ministry, he became preacher at Plympton, in his own county, afterwards rector of Bridford, near Exeter, and at length vicar of Ashburton, in his own county; at each of which places he was much followed, especially by persons of serious piety. He was a zealous puritan, and, upon the commencement of the civil wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament.‡ He was a man of a strong memory, a sound judgment, and great integrity, abhorring all kinds of super-

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 128.

† Bridges's Hist. of Northamptonshire, vol. i. p. 155.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 103.

strition. He was a judicious, faithful, laborious, and constant preacher, and deeply versed in a knowledge of the scriptures, and furnished with an excellent gift in prayer. His public ministry was accompanied with the rich blessing of God, and made abundantly useful in the conversion of souls. His holy life was an excellent practical comment upon his holy doctrine. While he urged the necessity of holiness upon others, he practised holiness himself. He was a burning and shining light. In a word, he spent his strength, his life, his all, for the honour of God and the good of souls.\* He died in a good old age, in the year 1654.

His Works.—1. Sweet and Soul-persuading Inducements leading unto Christ, 1632.—2. The Happiness of enjoying and making a true and speedy use of Christ, 1640.—3. Several Sermons, 1640.—4. The Mystery of Self-denial; or, the Cessation of Man's living to Himself, 1642.—5. Man's Misery without Christ, 1642.—6. The Way to a Blessed Life, 1643.—This is sometimes entitled, "The Fiery Pillar."—7. Buddings and Blossomings of Old Truths, 1656.—8. The Anatomy of the Heart.—9. Of Sacred Things.

JOHN GRAILE, A. M.—This worthy minister was born in Gloucestershire, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Upon his leaving the university, he became a famous puritanical preacher; and, about the year 1645, succeeded Mr. George Holmes as master of the free-school at Guildford in Surrey. Towards the close of this year, he married the daughter of Mr. Henry Scudder; and, the year following, he lived at Collingborn-Dukes in Wiltshire, where he was most probably exercised in the ministerial function. Afterwards he became rector of Tidworth in Hampshire, where he was much followed by the *precise and godly party*, as they are contemptuously called. Wood says "he was a presbyterian, but tinged with arminianism."† Whether he was or was not tinged with arminianism, we shall not undertake to determine; but in his work entitled "A modest Vindication of the Doctrine of Conditions in the Covenant of Grace, and the Defenders thereof, from the Aspersion of Arminianism and Popery," 1655, he certainly labours much to repel the charge. He was a man of great learning, humility, integrity, and christian circumspection; and a pious, faithful, and laborious minister of Christ, being ever opposed to the use of superstitious ceremonies. He lived much

\* Gross's Blossomings of Old Truths, Pref.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 105.

respected, and died greatly lamented.\* During his last sickness, when afflicted with extreme pain, he discovered becoming submission to the will of God. He said, "I could be contented, if the Lord see it good, to abide a while in this condition, amongst these poor people. It may be, I shall do more good amongst them, in my sickness, than they have received from all my labours during the time of my health."† He died in the year 1654, and the fortieth of his age. His remains were interred in Tidworth church, when Dr. Chambers preached his funeral sermon to a very numerous congregation. This sermon was afterwards published, from which part of the above account is collected.

RICHARD VINES, A. M.—This learned and excellent divine was born at Blason in Leicestershire, about the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge. From the university he was chosen schoolmaster at Hinckley in his native county; and afterwards, on the death of Mr. James Cranford, he obtained a presentation to the rectory of Weddington in Warwickshire. Here he was a zealous and faithful labourer in the vineyard of Christ. His ministry was very much followed; and his endeavours were made a great blessing to the people. He also preached at Caldecot, a place near Weddington, and, at the death of the incumbent, was presented to the living. With great care and diligence he served both parishes, the profits of which amounted only to eighty pounds a year. He also delivered a lecture at Nuneaton in the same county, to which multitudes resorted. Mr. Evans, afterwards ejected in 1662, succeeded him in his two livings, who, it is said, found that side of the country well stocked with religious knowledge and solid christians, produced by the preaching of many excellent men, but especially his worthy predecessor.‡

On the breaking out of the civil war, Mr. Vines was driven from his flock, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. Indeed, there were about thirty worthy ministers in that city, who, driven from their flocks, fled thither for safety from the plunder of soldiers and popular fury, though they never meddled in the wars.§ The heavy judgments of God being now inflicted upon the nation, these divines set up a morning lecture in

\* Chambers's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Graile.

† Graile's Doct. of Conditions, Pref.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 744, 745.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 44.

that city, in which Mr. Vines was frequently engaged, as well as on the Lord's day.

In the year 1643, he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. Here his excellent abilities and great moderation were called forth into daily exercise; and how much good he did, in the matter of church government, says our author, may be safely concealed, but can scarcely be expressed without giving offence to some.\* In 1644, he was appointed by the parliament one of the assistant divines at the treaty of Uxbridge. The Oxford historian, speaking of Dr. Hammond, one of the king's party, on this occasion, thus triumphantly observes: "It being his lot to dispute with Richard Vines, a presbyterian minister, who attended the commissioners appointed by parliament, he did, with ease and perfect clearness, disperse all the sophisms that he brought against him."† How far this statement is correct, we are unable to say. Whitlocke, a writer far more correct and impartial, however, speaking of this treaty, says, "That while Dr. Steward and Dr. Sheldon argued *very positively*, that the government by bishops was *Jure Divino*; Mr. Vines and Mr. Henderson argued *as positively*, but *more moderately*, to the contrary, and that the government of the church by presbyteries was *Jure Divino*."‡

Mr. Vines was chosen a member of the committee of accommodation, and was chairman at their meetings.§ On the subject of a general accommodation of all parties, he wrote an excellent letter to Mr. Baxter, discovering his mild and accommodating spirit.|| He was, at the same time, appointed master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester, and, it is said, few persons were better qualified for the situation. Here he promoted true religion and sound literature to the utmost of his power, and restored the college to a very flourishing state, till, in the year 1649, he was turned out for refusing the engagement.¶ In the year 1645, he was one of the committee of learned divines appointed by the assembly to prepare the Confession of Faith.\*\* In 1648 he was appointed, by order of the parliament, one of the assistant divines at the treaty of the Isle of Wight; on which

\* Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 48.

+ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 159.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 119, 123, 126.

‡ Sylvester's Baxter, part ii. p. 147.

\*\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 350.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 2.

¶ Ibid. part i. p. 64.

occasion he was much applauded by his own party, particularly for proving the sufficiency of presbyterian ordination. Ministers, he observed, who had been ordained by the presbyterian churches in France and the Low Countries, were formerly owned and acknowledged, to all intents and purposes, by our bishops, as lawfully ordained, both to preach and administer the sacraments.\* During the treaty, he had much converse and some disputation with the king.† His majesty highly valued him for his ingenuity, and seldom spoke to him without touching his hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful language and gestures.‡

Dr. Grey, in his answer to Mr. Neal, relates, that when Mr. Vines returned from this treaty, he addressed one Mr. Walden, saying, "Brother, how hath this nation been fooled! We have been told that our king is a *child* and a *fool*; but if I understand any thing by my converse with him, which I have had with great liberty, he is as much of a christian prince as ever I read or heard of, since our Saviour's time. He is a very precious prince, and is able of himself to argue with the ablest divines we have. And, among all the king's of Israel and 'Judah, there was none like him." This account is said to have been given about the year 1675, by one Nathaniel Gilbert of Coventry, in an information subscribed by his own hand, having himself heard Mr. Vines. Dr. Grey transcribed it from an attested copy of the original, which original was in possession of his father, to whose grandmother the above Gilbert was half brother!§

When sentence of death was pronounced upon the king, Mr. Vines, and several of his brethren, presented their duty to his majesty, with their humble desires to pray with him, and perform other serviceable offices, if he would be pleased to accept them. The king returned them thanks for their kind offers, but declined their services.|| About the year 1653, Mr. Vines was appointed, by order of the parliament, one of the divines to draw up the Fundamentals, to be presented to the house.¶

When Mr. Vines first went up to London, he was chosen minister of St. Clement's Danes, where many persons of quality were his constant hearers. After some time, by the solicitation of the Earl of Essex; he resigned the place and

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 215.

† Whitlocke's Mem. p. 336, 339.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, pt. ii. p. 134.

§ Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 414.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 522.

¶ Sylvester's Baxter, part ii. p. 197.

removed to Walton in Hertfordshire. He afterwards accepted an invitation to St. Lawrence Jewry, London; where his excellent talents were still employed in promoting the Redeemer's glory, and the salvation of his people. Many flocked to his ministry, and his labours were made a blessing to their souls. While pastor of St. Lawrence, he was chosen one of the weekly lecturers at St. Michael's, Cornhill, and was often called to preach before the parliament. It is but just, however, to observe, that our divine, with several of his brethren, preached too warmly against the baptists.\* On the death of the Earl of Essex, the parliament appointed a public funeral for him, which was performed with great solemnity in St. Peter's church, Westminster, when Mr. Vines preached his funeral sermon to a very great audience, composed of persons of very high distinction.†

After a laborious and useful life, Mr. Vines, at length, became the subject of painful bodily affliction. Though afflicted with racking pain in his head, which nearly took away his sight, yet he would not desist from his public labours. He was resolved to spend and be spent in the work of the Lord. The day before he died, he preached and administered the Lord's supper; and about ten o'clock the same evening he was taken with bleeding at the nose, and died betwixt two and three next morning, aged fifty-five years. His remains were interred, with great lamentation, in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, February 7, 1655; when Dr. Thomas Jacombe preached his funeral sermon, giving the following high commendations of his character:—He was a burning and shining light in his day, and possessed very excellent parts, even taller by the head than most of his

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 150.

† Robert, Earl of Essex, was only son of the unfortunate favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and inherited much of his father's popularity. He was a nobleman of very upright intentions. Owing to the compassion of his nature, and the sincerity of his zeal for the essentials of religion, he shewed great kindness to the persecuted puritans. He was one of those few noblemen in parliament who dared to attack the "great monster the prerogative." But he never appeared to so great an advantage as at the head of an army. He acquired a great reputation as a soldier; a kind of merit that was despised by James I. and overlooked by Charles. His courage was great, and his honour was inflexible; but he rather waited than sought for opportunities for fighting; and knew better how to gain than improve a victory. When he took the command of the parliament's army, he was better qualified than any man in the kingdom for the post; but he is said to have been soon eclipsed by a new race of soldiers, who, if not his superiors in the art of war, went far beyond him in spirit and enterprise. He died September 14, 1616; and his death laid a foundation for the advancement of Cromwell.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. v. p. 161, 168. Edit. 1778.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 332. ii. 249.

brethren. He was mighty in the scriptures, and an interpreter one of a thousand. He was an accomplished scholar, a perfect master of the Greek, an excellent philologist, and an admirable orator. He was a ready and close disputant, and approved himself, to the admiration of many, in the treaties of Uxbridge and the Isle of Wight. He was a solid, judicious, and orthodox divine, mighty in points of controversy, giving a death-wound to error. His spiritual and powerful ministry was principally upon the doctrine of justification, debasing man and exalting the Saviour. He wished to die praying or preaching. That which would have made some keep their beds, did not keep him out of the pulpit: and as he preached, so he lived and died. He was of an heroic and undaunted spirit; and, like Luther, nothing would hinder him from a courageous and conscientious discharge of his duty.\* He was accounted "the very prince of preachers, a thorough Calvinist, and a bold, honest man, void of pride and flattery."† Fuller styles him "an excellent preacher, and the very champion of the assembly;" and adds, "that he was constant to his principles, yet moderate and charitable towards those who differed from him."‡ Wood says nothing of him, only denominates him a zealous puritan.§

Dr. Grey insinuates a reflection on the simplicity and integrity of Mr. Vines, by a story of his praying in the morning of an Easter Sunday, before the Marquis of Hertford, for the king's restoration to his throne and regal rights: but, in the afternoon, when the Marquis was absent, and Lord Fairfax come to church, he prayed in *stylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous sins, especially all the blood he had shed in those *civil, uncivil* wars. On this it was observed, that Mr. Vines was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an English *marquis* and an Irish *baron*.|| The reader, however, will easily perceive, that each of these prayers might have been very consistently offered up by the same person.

When Mr. Vines was schoolmaster at Hinckley, he had for one of his pupils Mr. John Cleiveland, a noted royalist and popular poet in the reign of Charles I., who, it is said, "owed the heaving of his natural fancy, by the choicest elegancies in

\* Jacombe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Vines.

† Clark's Lives, part i. p. 48—51.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 134, 135.

§ Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 891.

|| Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 175, 176.

Greek and Latin, to Mr. Vines."\*—A few days before the death of our pious divine, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's church, a rude fellow cried aloud to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. Vines replied, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder."†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Treatise on the Sacrament, 1657.—2. Christ the Christian's only Gain, 1661.—3. God's Drawing and Man's Coming to Christ, 1662.—4. The Saint's Nearness to God, 1662.—5. Funeral Sermon for the Earl of Essex.—6. Funeral Sermon for Mr. William Strong.—7. Caleb's Integrity in following the Lord fully, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, Nov. 30, 1642.—8. The Posture of David's Spirit, when he was in a Doubtful Condition, a Sermon before the Commons, 1644.—9. The Happiness of Israel, a Sermon before both Houses, 1645.—He was author of some other Sermons.

**HUGH ROBINSON, D. D.**—This learned person was born in St. Mary's parish, Anglesea, and educated first at Wickham school, then at New College, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts, and was admitted perpetual fellow. After finishing his studies at the university, he was chosen principal master of Winchester school; and, taking his degrees in divinity, he became archdeacon of Winton, canon of Wells, and archdeacon of Gloucester. In the beginning of the civil war he lost all his preferment, joined himself to the puritans, espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and afterwards became rector of Hinton, near Winchester. He was an excellent linguist, an able divine, and very well skilled in ancient history.‡ He died March 30, 1655; and his remains were interred in the chancel of St. Giles's in the Fields, London.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Pieces, written for the Use of the Children of Winchester School, in Latin and English, 1616.—2. Grammaticalia quedam, in Latin and English, 1616.—3. Antiquæ Historiæ Synopsis, 1616.—4. The Latin Phrases of Winchester School, 1654.—5. Annalium Mundi Universalium, 1677.—He also wrote a piece in Vindication of the Covenant.

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 628. Edit. 1778.

† Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 135.

‡ Wood's Athènes Oxon. vol. ii. p. 117.

JOHN ANGEL, A. M.—This pious divine was born in Gloucestershire, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having taken his degrees, he left the university and entered upon the ministerial work. Previous to the year 1629, Mr. Higginson, being chosen by the mayor and aldermen of Leicester to be the town preacher, but refusing the office, on account of his growing nonconformity, he recommended Mr. Angel, then a learned and pious conformist, to their approbation. They accordingly made choice of him; when he removed to Leicester, and continued in the office of public lecturer, with some interruption, upwards of twenty years.\* Though at first he was conformable to the established church, he afterwards imbibed the principles of the puritans, and became a sufferer in the common cause. Archbishop Laud, giving an account of his province in the year 1634, observes, "That in Leicester the dean of the arches suspended one Angel, who hath continued a lecturer in that great town for divers years, without any license at all to preach; yet took liberty enough." His grace adds, "I doubt his violence hath cracked his brain, and do therefore use him the more tenderly, because I see the hand of God hath overtaken him."† Mr. Angel most assuredly had the license of those who employed him, and who paid him for his labours, though he might not have the formal allowance of his diocesan or the archbishop. What his lordship can mean by insinuating that "his violence had cracked his brain, and the hand of God having overtaken him," is not very easy to understand. If he laboured under some afflictive, mental, or bodily disorder, as the words seem to intimate, he was surely more deserving of sympathy and compassion than a heavy ecclesiastical censure. But the fact most probably was, that Mr. Angel was deeply involved in spiritual darkness about his own state, and in painful uncertainty concerning his own salvation. "For," says Mr. Clark, "there was a great light, Mr. Angel, formerly of Leicester, afterwards of Grantham, but now with God, who being under a sore and grievous desertion, received much comfort from the conversation of Mr. Richard Vines."‡ This undoubtedly refers to the same affliction.

Though it does not appear how long Mr. Angel continued under suspension, he was afterwards restored to his ministry; and he continued his lecture till the year 1650, when he was

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 73.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 531.

‡ Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 50.

turned out for refusing the engagement. About the same time the company of mercers in London made choice of him as public lecturer at Grantham in Lincolnshire; and not long after he was appointed assistant to the commissioners of that county, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, but did not long survive the appointment. He died in the beginning of June, 1655, when his remains were interred in Grantham church. Having gained a distinguished reputation, and being so exceedingly beloved while he lived, his funeral was attended by a great number of ministers, when Mr. Lawrence Sarson delivered an oration at his grave, in high commendation of his character. Wood denominates him "a frequent and painful preacher; a man mighty in word and doctrine among the puritans;" and adds, "that as his name was Angel, so he was a man indeed of angelical understanding and holiness, a burning and shining light, and he continued to shine as a burning light, until God translated him to shine as a star in the kingdom of heaven for ever."\* Mr. Henry Vaughan, ejected at the restoration, was his successor at Grantham.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. The right ordering of the Conversation, 1659.—2. Funeral Sermon at the Burial of John Lord Darcey, 1659.—3. Preparation for the Communion, 1659.—4. The right Government of the Thoughts; or, a Discovery of all vain, unprofitable, idle, and wicked Thoughts, 1659.

**RALPH ROBINSON.**—This holy minister was born at Heswall in Cheshire, in the month of June, 1614, and educated in Katherine-hall, Cambridge. Here, for several years, he made good use of his time and academical advantages, and came forth well qualified for the ministry. Upon the commencement of the national confusions, in 1642, he left the university and went to London, where he gained considerable reputation. Being richly furnished with gifts and graces, he was greatly beloved by the London ministers, and his preaching rendered him exceedingly popular. He accepted an invitation to the pastoral charge at St. Mary's, Woolnoth, and was ordained presbyter, by fasting and prayer and the imposition of hands. In the year 1647 he was chosen one of the scribes to the first provincial assembly in London. In 1648 he united with the London ministers in

\* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 118.

† *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 417.

declaring against the king's death,\* And in 1651 he was concerned in Love's plot; but, upon his petitioning for pardon, and promising submission to the existing government in future, he was released.†

Mr. Robinson died in the meridian of life. When he was seized with his last sickness, having no great degree of pain, he was unapprehensive of his approaching change. When he was requested to make his will, he said, "I will do it with all readiness, though I perceive not myself in any danger of death:" adding, "I pray you flatter me not. If my physician apprehend danger, let me know it; for, I bless God, the thoughts of death are not dreadful to me." To an intimate friend he said, "I bless God, I have loved fasting and prayer with all my heart." And being asked what was the present state of his mind, he replied, "Though I have not ravishing joys, I enjoy uninterrupted and satisfying peace; not in the least questioning my everlasting happiness, through the grace of God in Christ Jesus." Being reminded of the rest to be found in the bosom of Christ, he said, "Oh! true rest can be found no where else;" with which words he breathed his last, June 15, 1655, aged forty-one years. He was a person of exemplary piety; and, in his judgment and practice, a thorough presbyterian, and ever true and steady to his principles. He was an indefatigable, orthodox, and useful preacher; a loving husband, a tender father, a vigilant pastor, a cheerful companion, and a faithful friend.‡ Many poems and elegies were published on his death. He was author of the following works: "Self Conduct; or, the Saint's Guidance to Glory, opened in a Sermon at the Funeral of the virtuous and religious Gentlewoman, Mrs. Thomasin Barnardiston," 1654.—"The Christian completely Armed," 1656.—"Christ All and in All," 1656.

**NATHANIEL ROGERS.**—This excellent minister was born at Haverhil in Suffolk, about the year 1598; and at the age of fourteen was sent to Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he became a hard student, made great proficiency in all kinds of useful learning, and was a great ornament to the college. He was son of Mr. John Rogers, famous for his ministry and nonconformity at Dedham in Essex. Under the pious

\* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 744.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 77.

‡ Ashe's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Robinson, entitled, "The Good Man's Death Lamented."—Clark's Lives, last vol. part i. p. 57—80.

instructions of his excellent parents, he feared the Lord from his youth; and, as he grew up to the age of man, he trod in the footsteps of his honoured and worthy father. Though he was indeed a person of most exemplary piety; yet it is related, that, through the hurry of business, he went one morning from home without attending to his usual private devotions, when his horse stumbled and fell, by which he lost much blood, and was exceedingly bruised. This event, however, taught him a valuable lesson. It awakened him to so deep a sense of his omission of duty, that, from that time to the day of his death, no engagements whatever would hinder him from attending upon the exercises of the closet.

Mr. Rogers, having finished his studies at the university, became domestic chaplain to a person of quality, when he gave the first specimen of his ministerial abilities. After he had continued in this situation about two years, he became assistant to Dr. Barkam, at Bocking in Essex. The doctor being a high churchman, and particularly intimate with Bishop Laud, many people wondered that he employed for his curate the son of one of the most noted puritans in the kingdom. Mr. Rogers was much beloved by the people, and they were remarkably kind to him. Though the doctor treated him with civility, he did not allow him *one-tenth* of his benefice, amounting to many hundreds a year, when he did above *three-fourths* of the work. Mr. Rogers now began to examine the controversy about ecclesiastical matters, and, as the result of his inquiries, he became thoroughly dissatisfied with the ceremonies and discipline of the church. Afterwards, the doctor being present at a funeral, and observing that Mr. Rogers did not use the surplice, he was so completely disgusted, that he advised his curate to provide for himself, and so dismissed him. What a sad crime was it to bury the dead without a surplice!

After he had preached about five years at Bocking, he was presented to the living of Assington in Suffolk, where the Bishop of Norwich allowed him to go on in the Lord's work, without molestation, for about five years. His preaching was highly esteemed, and greatly blessed among persons of all descriptions. He had commonly more hearers than could crowd into the church. The ignorant were instructed, the careless awakened, and the sorrowful comforted. He was a "fisher of men," and, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, many were caught in the gospel-net. At length, the ruling ecclesiastics were resolved to stop the mouths of

all ministers who refused to conform to their arbitrary injunctions; on which account great numbers of the most laborious and useful preachers in the kingdom were either buried in silence, or forced to abscond, to avoid the fury of the star-chamber and of the high commission. Mr. Rogers, perceiving the approaching storm, chose to *prevent* rather than *receive* the terrible sentence of those tribunals; and therefore he resigned his living into the hands of his patron. Not being satisfied to lay down his ministry, he forsook the neighbourhood of his father, with all his prospects of worldly advantage; and, casting himself and his young family on the providence of God, embarked for New England, where he arrived November 16, 1636. Mr. Ralph Partridge, another puritan minister, accompanied him in the same ship.\*

Upon their arrival, Mr. Rogers was chosen co-pastor with Mr. Norton over the church at Ipswich. These judicious and holy men, whose hearts were cordially united in promoting the glory of God and the salvation of souls, were rendered a peculiar blessing to this religious society. Mr. Rogers was much afflicted, especially with the spitting of blood. When the complaint was upon him, he used to comfort himself by observing, "Though I should spit out my own blood, by which my life is maintained, I shall never cast out the blood of Christ, or lose the benefits of that blood which cleanseth us from all sin." Under one of these afflictions, Mr. Cotton wrote him a consolatory letter, dated March 9, 1631, in which he addressed him as follows:—"I bless the Lord with you, who perfecteth the power of his grace in your weakness, and supporteth your feeble body to do him still more service. You know who said, 'Unmortified strength posteth hard to hell: but sanctified weakness creepeth fast to heaven.' Let not your spirit faint, though your body do. Your soul is precious in God's sight. 'Your hairs are all numbered.' The number and measure of your fainting fits, and wearisome nights, are all weighed and limited by him who hath given you his son Jesus Christ to take upon him your infirmities, and bear your sicknesses."† During the last conflict, he was full of heavenly conversation, and closed his life and labours saying, *My times are in thy hands*. He died July 3, 1655, aged fifty-seven years. He was an eminently holy man, an admirable preacher, and an incomparable master of the Latin tongue. "And I shall do an injury

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. liii. p. 104—106.

† Ibid. p. 107.

to his memory," says our author, "if I do not declare that he was one of the greatest men and one of the best ministers that ever set his foot on the American shore."\*

**JEROM TURNER, A. B.**—This worthy person was born at Yeovil in Somersetshire, in the year 1615, and educated at Edmund's-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he became schoolmaster at Bear in Devonshire, where he also preached as assistant to his friend and kinsman, Mr. Hugh Gundry, for the space of two years. At the expiration of this period, he removed to Exmouth in the same county, where, for about two years, he was assistant to Mr. William Hook, afterwards silenced at the restoration.† He next removed to Compton, near the place of his nativity, and afterwards became chaplain to Sir Thomas Trenchard. But, upon the commencement of the civil war, he was forced to flee for safety, when he took refuge at Southampton. There he abode during the national confusions, and preached among the puritans with considerable approbation. Upon the conclusion of the wars, in 1646, he became pastor at Netherbury in Dorsetshire, where he continued a zealous and useful preacher to the time of his death. In the year 1654 he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners of Dorsetshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. Wood says, "his love to learning was very great, and his delight in the ministerial exercise was greater than his weak body could bear. He had a strong memory, was well skilled in Greek and Hebrew, and was a constant, zealous, fluent, and useful preacher; but," says he, "too much addicted to *Calvinism*."‡ He died at Netherbury, November 27, 1655, aged forty years.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *A Breast-plate for the Keeping of the Heart*, 1660.—2. *A Rich Treasure for the Promises*, 1660.—3. *An Exposition on the first Chap. of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians*.

**STEPHEN MARSHALL, B. D.**—This celebrated person was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was some time minister at Wethersfield in Essex, then presented to the benefice of Finchingfield in the same county; but his memory has greatly

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 106—108.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 184.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 121, 122.

suffered from men of opposite principles. In the former situation, his people, from their warm attachment to him, expended fifty pounds to purchase him a library, and performed for him many friendly offices. It is further observed, that "he was sensible of their kindness, and engaged himself by a voluntary promise never to leave them. He had not continued long in this situation before Mr. Pickering, a reverend and learned divine, minister of Finchingfield, died. The fatness of the benefit," it is said, "helped the patron to suitors enow, but, amongst all, our Marshall was the man whom his affection made choice of to bestow his presentation upon; who having unluckily married himself to Wethersfield, knows not what course to take to sue out a bill of divorce. The great living, worth £200 a year, is a strong temptation to the holy man's concupiscible appetite; however, Wethersfield holds him to his promise, *never to leave them*. A little assembly of divines is called; and it is there debated how far Mr. Marshall's promise is obligatory. The casuists, knowing his mind before, conclude, that it bound him not to leave them for a *lesser salary*, but left him at liberty to take a *bigger* living when he could get it. Indeed, there is no reason why any promise, though ever so solemnly and deliberately made, should stand a perpetual palisado to any godly man's preferment. This decision satisfies his corvan. For he leaves Wethersfield, and away he goes to Finchingfield. This," it is added, "is the first noted essay that he gave of his fidelity in keeping his promise."\*

In this partial and curious account of Mr. Marshall, it is also thus observed: "He was as conformable as could be desired, reading divine service, wearing the surplice, receiving and administering the sacrament kneeling; approving, commending, and extolling episcopacy and the liturgy; observing all the holidays with more than ordinary diligence, preaching upon most of them. This he did so long as he had any hopes of rising that way. His ambition was such," says this writer, "I have great reason to believe that he was once an earnest suitor for a deanery, which is the next step to a bishopric; the loss of which made him turn schismatic. His son-in-law Nye was heard to say, 'that if they had made his father a bishop, before he had been too far engaged, it might have prevented all the war; and since he cannot rise so high as a bishop, he will pull the bishops

\* Life of Marshall, p. 5. Edit. 1680.

as low as himself: yea, if he can, lower than he was himself when he was at Godmanchester.”\*

This is the representation of a known adversary, and is evidently designed to cast a stigma upon his character. Notwithstanding his conformity, as here represented, after his removal to Finchamfield he was silenced for nonconformity; and he remained a long time in a state of suspension. Upon his restoration to his ministry, in 1640, he did not return to his former charge, but was appointed lecturer at St. Margaret's church, Westminster. Although he was greatly despised and reproached by the opposite party, he was a man of high reputation, and was often called to preach before the parliament; who consulted him in all affairs of importance relating to religion. “And without doubt,” says Clarendon, “the Archbishop of Canterbury had never so great an influence upon the councils at court, as Mr. Marshall and Dr. Burgess had upon the houses of parliament.”† November 17, 1640, was observed as a day of solemn fasting by the house of commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, when these two divines were appointed to conduct the public service of the day; on which occasion, it is said, they prayed and preached at least *seven hours*. The service being closed, the house voted thanks to both the preachers, desiring them to print their sermons; and, to afford them encouragement in future, a piece of plate was, by order of the house, presented to each.‡

Lord Clarendon, with other historians of a similar spirit, brings against him a charge unworthy of any honest man. The accusation relates to the ministers' petition presented to the parliament; and, says he, “The paper which contained the ministers' petition, was filled with very few hands, but that many other sheets were annexed for the reception of numbers who gave credit to the undertaking. But when their names were subscribed, the petition itself was cut off, and a new one, of a very different nature, annexed to the long list of names; and when some of the ministers complained to Mr. Marshall, with whom the petition was lodged, that they never saw the petition to which their names were annexed, but had signed another petition against the canons, Mr. Marshall is said to reply, that it was thought fit by those who understood the business better than they, that the latter petition should be preferred

\* Life of Marshall, p. 10.

† Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 239.

‡ Nalson's Collec. vol. i. p. 530, 533.

rather than the former."\* This, indeed, is a charge of a very high nature, and ought to have been well substantiated. Dr. Walker, notwithstanding his extreme bigotry and enmity against the puritans, seems not to give full credit to the noble historian. "It is *probable*," says he, "that Mr. Marshall was deeply enough concerned in this affair;" but he appears unwilling to affirm it as a matter of fact.† If, however, the above account had been true, why did not the ministers complain to the committee appointed by the house of commons to inquire into their regular methods of procuring hands to petitions? The learned historian answers, that they were prevailed upon to sit still and pass it by; for the truth of which we have only his lordship's word, as nothing of the kind appears in Rushworth, Whitlocke, or any other impartial writer of those times. The whole affair has, therefore, the appearance of a mere forgery, designed to blacken the memory of Mr. Marshall and the rest of the puritans.

Few persons have censured our divine with greater severity than the anonymous author of "A Letter of Spiritual Advice, written to Mr. Stephen Marshall in his Sickness," 1643. "When I heard of your sickness," says this writer, "I assure you I found in myself such a different apprehension of your state, from that of other ordinary sick men, that I think you will not wonder if all the king's subjects, who wish good success to his majesty in this war, cannot impute your visitation to any thing but the just severity and revenge of Almighty God, for having had so strong an influence upon the ruin of this kingdom and church. For, sir, is it not apparent that your eminent gifts of preaching have been made use of for the kindling of those flames of rebellion and civil war, and most unchristian bloodshed? Have not you, with all the earnestness and zeal imaginable, persuaded your hearers to a liberal contribution for the maintaining of this unnatural war? Have not you forsaken your own charge, to accompany and strengthen the general of your army in his resolutions and attempts against the just power and life of his and your *anointed sovereign*? Does not the whole kingdom impute almost all the distractions and combustions therein as much to the *seditions* sermons of the preachers of your faction, as to the contrivances of those persons who set you on work? Let your own conscience be your own judge

\* Clarendon's Hist. vol. i. p. 161, 162.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 15.

in this matter, and it will tell you, that if all these new designs should succeed to your wish, and there should happen to be a change of government, you would think yourselves wronged if you should not be acknowledged very effectual instruments in that change. These things therefore being so, you cannot accuse of uncharitableness those who think these designs not only unjust, but ruinous both to justice and religion, if they attribute it to God's mercy to them, and vengeance on you, if he take such a fire-brand as you out of the world."\*

While this anonymous calumniator thus reproaches Mr. Marshall for his zeal in the cause of the parliament, he is extremely lavish in the dignified compliments conferred upon his majesty, styling him "God's anointed, and a most righteous christian king." Wood says, "that, upon the approach of the troublesome times in 1640, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Calamy, Dr. Burgess, and some others, first whispered in their conventicles, then openly preached, that for the cause of religion it was lawful for subjects to take up arms against the king."† "As to Mr. Marshall," says Dr. Calamy, "he was an active man, and encouraged taking up arms for securing the constitution, when it appeared not only to him and his brethren, but to a number of as worthy gentlemen as ever sat in St. Stephen's chapel, to be in no small danger; yet I am not aware that he can be justly charged with any concurrence in those things which afterwards overthrew the constitution, and tended to confusion. He wrote a defence of the side which he took in our civil broils, and I cannot hear that it was ever answered."‡

Mr. Marshall, at the same time, took an active part in the controversy concerning church government. The celebrated Bishop Hall having published his work in defence of episcopacy and the liturgy, called, "An Humble Remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament," 1640, he united with several of his brethren in writing the famous book, entitled, "An Answer to a Book, entituled, 'An Humble Remonstrance;' in which the Original of Liturgy and Episcopacy is discussed, and Queries propounded concerning both. The Parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated; the Occasion of their Imparities in Antiquity discovered; the Disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested; the Antiquity of Ruling

\* Letter of Advice, p. 1, 2.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 235, 236.

‡ Calamy's *Contin.* vol. ii. p. 737.

**Elders in the Church vindicated: the Prelatical Church bounded.** Written by **SMECTYMNUUS,** 1641. The word *smectymnuus* is composed of the initials of its authors' names, who were Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstowe. "The work," it is said, "is certainly written with great fierceness of spirit and much asperity in language, containing eighteen sections, in the last of which the differences between the prelatists and puritans are aggravated with great bitterness." The same author, on the same page, says, "it was, indeed, a very well written piece, therefore we find frequent reference to it in all the defences and apologies for nonconformity, which have been since published." Mr. Calamy affirms, that it "gave the first deadly blow to episcopacy." The learned Dr. Kippis says, "it was a production of no small importance in its day; and was drawn up in a style of composition superior to that of the puritans in general, and, indeed, of many other writers at that period." The learned Bishop Wilkins represents it as "a capital work against episcopacy."\*

The book is concluded by a postscript, in which is contained an historical narrative of the bitter effects of episcopacy, as, pride, luxury, bribery, extortion, rebellion, treason, &c.; and the whole is closed thus:—"The inhuman butcheries, blood-sheddings, and cruelties of Gardiner, Bonner, and the rest of the bishops in Queen Mary's days, are so fresh in every man's memory, as that we conceive it a thing altogether unnecessary to make mention of them. Only we fear lest the guilt of the blood then shed should yet remain to be required at the hands of this nation, because it hath not quickly endeavoured to appease the wrath of God, by a general and solemn humiliation for it. What the practices of the prelates have been ever since, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth to this present day, would fill a volume, like Ezekiel's roll, with lamentation, mourning, and woe to record. For it hath been their great design to hinder all further reformation; to bring in doctrines of popery, arminianism, and libertinism; to maintain, propagate, and much increase the burden of human ceremonies; to keep out, and beat down the preaching of the word, to silence the faithful ministers of it, to oppose and persecute the most zealous professors, and to turn all religion to a pompous outside; and to tread down the power of godliness. Insomuch, as

\* Biog. Britan. vol. iii. p. 132, 136. Edit. 1778.

it is come to an ordinary proverb, that when any thing is spoiled, we use to say, *The bishop's foot hath been in it.* And in this, and much more which might be said, fulfilling Bishop Bonner's prophecy, which, when he saw that in King Edward's reformation there was a reservation of ceremonies and hierarchy, is credibly reported to have used these words, '*Since they have begun to taste our broth, they will not be long ere they will eat our beef.*'\*

Upon the publication of the above work, Bishop Hall wrote his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false Exceptions of Smectymnuus," 1641. To this, Smectymnuus published a reply, entitled, "A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, from the unjust Imputations of Frivolousness and Falsehood: wherein the cause of the Liturgy and Episcopacy is further debated," 1641. The learned prelate concluded the dispute by publishing his piece entitled, "A short Answer to a tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus," 1641.†

In this year, Mr. Marshall was appointed chaplain to the Earl of Essex's regiment in the parliament's army. Dr. Grey, in contempt, denominates him and Dr. Downing "the two famed casuistical divines, and most eminent camp-chaplains;" and charges them, on the authority of Clarendon and Echard, with publicly avowing, "that the soldiers lately taken prisoners at Brentford, and released by the king upon their oaths, *that they would never again bear arms against him,* were not obliged by that oath; but by their power they absolved them, and so engaged those miserable wretches in a second rebellion."‡ This, as well as the foregoing account, has all the appearance of forgery, with a view to calumniate the two excellent divines. Priestly absolution was as remote as possible from the practice of the puritans; and they rejected all claims to the power of it with the utmost abhorrence. The parliament's army, at the same time, stood in so little need of these prisoners, which were only 150 men, that there is good reason to suspect the whole account to be a falsehood.§

In the year 1643, Mr. Marshall was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and was a most active and valuable member. In this public office it was impossible for him to escape the bitter censures of the opposite party. One of

\* Smectymnuus, p. 77, 78. Edit. 1654.

† Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 2492. Edit. 1747.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 10.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 3, 4.

them, speaking of him as a member of the assembly, says, "He quickly grows to be master, and is so called by all. They sit, not to consult for the reformation of religion in things that are amiss, but to receive the parliament's commands to undo and innovate religion. In which work, or rather drudgery of the devil, our active Stephen needs neither whip nor spur: tooth and nail he bends himself to the overthrow of the hierarchy, root and branch."\* Dr. Heylin, with his usual modesty, calls him "the great bellwether of the presbyterians;"† and affirms, that though he had the chief hand in compiling the directory, he married his own daughter by the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; which he had no sooner done than he paid down five pounds to the churchwardens of the parish, as a fine for using any other form of marriage than that contained in the directory.‡ The truth of this representation of so excellent a person as Mr. Marshall, especially from the pen of Dr. Heylin, is extremely doubtful, if not unworthy of the smallest credit.

Mr. Marshall frequently united with his brethren in the observance of public fasts, when the services were usually protracted to a very great length. On one of these occasions, it is said, "that Dr. Twisse having commenced the public service with a short prayer, Mr. Marshall prayed in a wonderful, pathetic, and prudent manner for *two hours*. Mr. Arrowsmith then preached an hour, then they sung a psalm; after which Mr. Vines prayed nearly two hours, Mr. Palmer preached an hour, and Mr. Seaman prayed nearly two hours. Mr. Henderson then spoke of the evils of the time, and how they were to be remedied, and Dr. Twisse closed the service with a short prayer."§

\* Life of Marshall, p. 11.

† Dr. Peter Heylin, preaching at Westminster abbey, before Bishop Williams, and endeavouring to justify the church in the imposition of doctrine and ceremonies, and to censure the nonconformists, he said, "Instead of hearkening to the voice of the church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not if the whole miscarry so that he himself may carry his own devices. Upon which stubborn height of pride, what quarrels have been raised? what schisms in every corner of the church?—To inquire no further, some put all into open tumult rather than conform to the lawful government derived from Christ and his apostles." On expressing these words, the bishop, sitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, "No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter." To whom Heylin immediately answered, "I have a little more to say, my lord, and then I have done; when he proceeded to finish his subject. *Biog. Britan.* vol. iv. p. 2597. Edit. 1747.

‡ Heylin's *Examen Historicum*, p. 264.

§ *Biog. Britan.* vol. i. p. 512. Edit. 1778.

In the year 1644, he attended the commissioners of parliament at the treaty of Uxbridge. In 1645, he was chosen one of the committee of accommodation, to secure the peace of the church, and promote, as far as possible, the satisfaction of all parties. The year following, he was appointed, together with Mr. Joseph Caryl, chaplain to the commissioners who were sent to the king at Newcastle, in order to an accommodation for peace. Removing thence, by easy journies, to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, the two chaplains performed divine worship there; but his majesty never attended.\* He spent his Lord's day in private; and though they waited at table, he would not so much as allow them to ask a blessing. The Oxford historian, who mentions this circumstance, relates the following curious anecdote:—"It is said that Marshall did, on a time, put himself more forward than was meet to say grace; and, while he was long in forming his chaps, as the manner was among the saints, and making ugly faces, his majesty said grace himself, and was fallen to his meat, and had eaten up some part of his dinner, before Marshall had ended the blessing; but Caryl was not so impudent."†

About the above period, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye were, by order of the parliament, appointed to attend the commissioners to Scotland, whose object was to establish an agreement with the Scots.‡ In their letter to the assembly, they assure their brethren, that the ministers in the north are wholly on the side of the parliament. They conclude their *canting* letter, as Dr. Grey calls it, in the following words: "We scarce ever saw so much of Christ for us as this day, in the assembly's carrying of this business: such weeping, such rejoicing, such resolution, such pathetic expressions, as we confess hath much refreshed our hearts, before extremely saddened with ill news from our dear country; and hath put us in good hope that this nation (which sets about this business as becometh the work of God and the saving of the kingdoms) shall be the means of lifting up distressed England and Ireland."§

In the year 1647, Mr. Marshall was appointed, together

\* Dr. Grey, on the authority of "An Apology for the Bishops," says, that Mr. Marshall having once petitioned the king for a deanery, and at another time for a bishopric, and being refused, his majesty told him at Holmby, that he would on this account overthrow all.—*Grey's Exam.* vol. i. p. 392.

† Wood's *Athens Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 375.

‡ Clarendon's *Hist.* vol. ii. p. 232.

§ *Grey's Examination*, vol. ii. p. 94.

with Mr. Vines, Mr. Caryl, and Dr. Seaman, to attend the commissioners at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, when he conducted himself with great ability and moderation. The house of commons having now many important affairs under consideration, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye, by order of the house, December 31, 1647, were desired to attend the next morning to pray with them, that they might enjoy the direction and blessing of God in their weighty consultations.\* In the year 1654, when the parliament voted a toleration of all who professed to hold the fundamentals of christianity, Mr. Marshall was appointed one of the committee of learned divines, to draw up a catalogue of fundamentals to be presented to the house.+ About the same time he was chosen one of the tryers.

A writer already mentioned, who employs thirty quarto pages in little else than scurrility and abuse, gives the following account of him: "Because the church could not be destroyed without the king, who was more firmly wedded to it than Mr. Marshall was either to his wife or his first living; the king, and all who adhered to him, and the church, must be destroyed together: to whose ruin Mr. Marshall contributed not a little. His thundering in all pulpits; his cursing all people who were backward in engaging against him; his encouraging all those whose villany made them forward in undertaking that great work, warranting them no small preferment in heaven if they would lay down their lives for the cause; his menaces and private incitations, becoming drum-major or captain-general to the army, praying from regiment to regiment at Edgehill. His religion stood most in externals: in a Jewish observation of the sabbath, praying, preaching, fasts, and thanksgivings. Under these specious shews," adds the unworthy biographer, "the mystery of iniquity lay hid."‡

Mr. Echard, with his usual candour, denominates him "a famous incendiary, and assistant to the parliamentarians; their trumpeter in their fasts, their confessor in their sickness, their counsellor in their assemblies, their chaplain in their treaties, their champion in their disputations;" and then adds, "This great Shimei, being taken with a desperate sickness, departed the world *mad* and *raving*;"§ than which there never was a more unjust aspersion. Mr. Baxter,

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 220, 287, 336.

† Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 197—199.

‡ Life of Marshall, p. 13, 17.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 763.

who knew him well, calls him "a sober and worthy man;"\* and used to observe, on account of his great moderation, that if all the bishops had been of the same spirit as Archbishop Usher, the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, and the prebyterians like Mr. Stephen Marshall, the divisions of the church would soon have been healed. He was, indeed, taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the benefit of the air, when the Oxford Mercury published to the world that he was distracted, and in his rage constantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war against the king. But he lived to refute the unjust calumny, and published a treatise to prove the lawfulness of defensive war, in certain cases of extremity. Upon his retirement from the city, he spent his last two years at Ipswich. His last words when upon his death-bed, according to Mr. Petyt, were, *King Charles, King Charles*, and testified much horror and regret for the bloody confusions he had promoted.† This representation appears to be void of truth, and only designed to reproach his memory. For Mr. Giles Firmin, who knew him in life, and attended him in death, observes, in a preface to one of Mr. Marshall's posthumous sermons, "That he left behind him few preachers like himself; that he was a christian in practice as well as profession; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and in purity. And when he, together with some others, conversed with him about his death, he replied, 'I cannot say, as one did, I have not so lived that I should now be afraid to die; but this I can say, I have so *learned Christ*, that I am not afraid to die.'"‡ He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last; but, for some months previous to his death, he lost his appetite and the use of his hands.

He was justly accounted an admired preacher;§ but, to

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 199.

† Grey's Examination, vol. iv. p. 146.

‡ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 19.

§ Mr. Marshall was certainly a useful as well as admired preacher, of which the following instance is preserved on record:—Lady Brown, wife to an eminent member of the long parliament, was under great trouble about the salvation of her soul. For some time she refused to attend upon public worship, though it had formerly been her great delight. She asked what she should do there, and said it would only increase her damnation! In this state of mind she was persuaded, and almost forced to hear Mr. Marshall; when the sermon was so exactly suited to her case, and so powerfully applied to her mind, that she returned home in transports of joy.—*Calamy's Contin.*, vol. i. p. 467.

refute this account of his character, Dr. Grey quotes several passages from his sermons preached on public occasions; among which are the following:—"Beloved, our days are better than they were seven years ago; because it is better to see the Lord executing judgment, than to see men working wickedness; and to behold people lie wallowing in their blood, rather than apostatizing from God, and embracing idolatry and superstition, and banishing the Lord Christ from amongst men.—Carry on the work still. Leave not a rag that belongs to popery. Lay not a bit of the Lord's building with any thing that belongs unto anti-christ's staff; but away with all of it, root and branch, head and tail; throw it out of the kingdom.—I could easily set before you a catalogue of mercies. You have received many peculiar to your own persons, to your souls and bodies, your estates and families, privative mercies, positive mercies. You eat mercies, drink mercies, wear mercy's clothes, are compassed about and covered with mercies, as much as ever the earth was in Noah's flood."\* These sermons, of which this is a specimen, so abound with striking comparisons, and contain so pointed an appeal to the hearers, that though they are not suited to the taste of modern eloquence, it is easy to conceive how they might gain great admiration in those times. The doctor's refutation, therefore, refutes itself.

Another author endeavours to expose Mr. Marshall to public conterapt, on account of his sentiments delivered in his sermons before the parliament. We give these sentiments in his own words, as transcribed from his sermons: "Christ," says he, "breaks and moulds commonwealths at his pleasure. He hath not spoke much in his word how long they shall last, or what he intends to do with them: only this, that all kings and kingdoms that make war against the church, shall be broken in pieces; and that, in the end, all the kingdoms of the world shall be the kingdoms of our Lord and his saints; and they shall reign over them. Did ever any parliament in England lay the cause of Christ and religion to heart as this hath done? Did ever the city of London, the rest of the tribes, and the godly party throughout the land, so willingly exhaust themselves, that Christ might be set up? Let all England cry that our blood, our poverty, &c. are abundantly repaid in this, that there is such a concurrence to set the Lord Christ upon his throne,

\* Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 183—185.

to be Lord and Christ over this our Israel."\* There is more to the same purpose; but this contains a sufficient specimen.

Newcourt calls him "The Geneva-Bull, and a factions and rebellious divine;"† and Wood styles him "a notorious independent, and the archflamen of the rebellious rout."‡ The fact however is, he never was an independent, but lived and died an avowed presbyterian. And with respect to his rebellion, what is observed above will afford every impartial reader a sufficient refutation of the charge. Fuller has classed him among the learned writers of Emanuel college;§ and gives him the following character: "He was a minister well qualified for his work; yet so supple, that he did not break a joint in all the alterations of the times. Although some suspected him of deserting his presbyterian principles; yet upon his death-bed he gave full satisfaction of the contrary."|| He died in the month of November, 1655, when his remains were interred with great funeral solemnity in Westminster abbey, but were dug up, together with many others, at the restoration.¶ Mr. Hugh Glover, ejected in 1662, was his successor at Finchingfield.\*\* Mr. Marshall wrote with considerable ability against the baptists, and published many sermons preached before the parliament, the titles of some of which we have collected.

**His Works.**—1. A Sermon preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Fast, Nov. 17, 1640—1641.—2. A Peace-Offering to God, a Sermon to the Honourable House of Commons, at their public Thanksgiving, Sept. 7, 1641—1641.—3. Meroz Cursed; or, a Sermon to the Commons at their late solemn Fast, Feb. 23, 1641—1641.—4. Reformation and Desolation; or, a Sermon tending to the Discovery of the Symptoms of a People to whom God will by us be reconciled, preached before the Commons at their late public Fast, Dec. 22, 1641—1642.—5. The Song of Moses the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb, opened in a Sermon before the Commons at their late solemn Day of Thanksgiving, June 15, 1643—1643.—6. A Copy of a Letter written by Mr. Stephen Marshall to a Friend of his in the City, for the necessary Vindication of himself and his Ministry, against the altogether groundless, most unjust, and ungodly Aspersion cast upon him by certain Malignants in the City, 1643.—7. A Sermon of the Baptizing of Infants, preached in Abbey-church,

\* L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 40, 55.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 265.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 375, 715.

§ Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

|| Fuller's Worthies, part ii. p. 52, 53. ¶ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 566.

\*\* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 200.

Westminster, at the Morning Lecture appointed by the Honourable House of Commons, 1644.—8. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man's Loss; delivered in a Sermon to the Right Honourable the two Houses of Parliament and the Reverend Assembly of Divines, at the Funeral of that excellent Man, John Pym, esquire, a late Member of the Honourable House of Commons, 1644.—9. God's Master-Piece, a Sermon tending to manifest God's glorious appearing in the Building up of Zion, preached before the Right Honourable the House of Peers, March 26, 1645—1645.—10. The Strong Helper; or, the Interest and Power of the Prayers of the Destitute, for the Building up of Zion, opened in a Sermon before the Commons, upon the solemn Day of their monthly Fast, April 30, 1645—1645.—11. A Sacred Record to be made of God's Mercies to Zion: a Thanksgiving Sermon preached to the two Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London, at Christ's Church, June 19, 1645—1645.—12. A Defence of Infant Baptism: In Answer to two Treatises, and an Appendix, lately published by Mr. Jo. Tombes, 1646.

TIMOTHY ARMITAGE, in the year 1647, was chosen pastor of the first independent church in the city of Norwich. So early as the year 1643, many pious people in Norwich joined Mr. Bridge's church at Yarmouth, who afterwards wished to have the seat of the church removed to the former place; but the majority of members residing at Yarmouth, the proposal was declined. Yet it was mutually agreed that they should form themselves into a separate church. This was done June 10, 1644, in the presence of several of their brethren from Yarmouth, who signified their approbation by expressions of the most tender and endeared affection. Indeed, many of the members of both churches had been companions in the patience of our Lord Jesus in a foreign land, when they enjoyed sweet communion together in the ordinances of the gospel, but returned home upon the commencement of the civil wars. The church at Norwich was no sooner formed than numerous additions were made to it. Mr. Armitage, after labouring several years with great usefulness, died much regretted in December, 1655. He published a work entitled, "Enoch's Walk with God." Mr. Thomas Allen, the silenced non-conformist in 1662, succeeded him in the pastoral office.\* There were at this early period no less than fifteen congregational churches on the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, under

\* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 116.

the direction and encouragement of Mr. Armitage and Mr. Bridge.\*

**GILES WORKMAN, A. M.**—This worthy person was the son of Mr. William Workman, born at Newton Bagpath in Gloucestershire, in the year 1605, and educated at Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. After finishing his studies at the university, he became vicar of Walford in Herefordshire, then master of the college school in Gloucester, and at length, by the favour of Matthew Hale, esq., afterwards lord chief justice, he became rector of Alderley in Gloucestershire. Wood says, "he was a quiet and peaceable puritan."† He was brother to Mr. John Workman, another puritan divine, and a great sufferer under the oppressions of Archbishop Laud. Mr. Giles Workman died in 1655, aged fifty years; when his remains were interred in Alderley church. He published "A modest Examination of Laymen's Preaching, discovered to be neither warranted by the Word of God, nor allowed by the Judgment or Practice of the Churches of Christ in New England," 1646. He also published several sermons.

**THOMAS YOUNG, D. D.**—This pious and learned divine was probably educated in the university of Cambridge. He was afterwards preacher to the English merchants at Hamburgh; and, upon his return to his native country, he became vicar of Stow-Market in Suffolk, in which situation he continued almost thirty years. He was a person of great learning, prudence, and piety, and discovered great fidelity and ability in the work of the ministry.‡ In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and proved himself a distinguished member during the whole session. Being called to the metropolis, he was chosen pastor at Duke's-place in the city. In 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation;§ and about the same time was chosen master of Jesus college, Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester. In this public situation he discovered his great abilities and usefulness, till he was turned

\* Palmer's Nonson. Mem. vol. iii. p. 11, 286.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 122.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 194.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

out, in 1650, for refusing the engagement.\* Upon this he most probably retired to Stow-Market, where he afterwards died, in the year 1655, and his remains were interred in the church under a marble stone, with a monumental inscription. Mr. Baker says, "he left behind him the character of a learned, wise, and pious man."† Mr. Leigh styles him "a learned divine, very well versed in the fathers, and author of an excellent treatise, entitled "*Dies Dominica*." He was also one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*.‡

JOHN PENDARVES, A. B.—This person was born in Cornwall, in the year 1622, and educated at Exeter college, Oxford. In the year 1642, when the nation was involved in war, he left the university, took part with the parliament, and, says the Oxford historian, "having a voluble tongue for canting, went up and down preaching in houses, barns, under trees, hedges, and elsewhere." Though this is evidently designed to blacken his memory, his conduct herein was surely as commendable as that of many of the episcopal clergy, who stretched all their power to obtain numerous rich livings, but did not preach at all. "But," says he, "at length he turned anabaptist; and having obtained a great multitude of disciples, made himself head of them, defied all authority, contradicted and opposed all orthodox ministers, challenged them to prove their calling, and spared not many times to interrupt them in their pulpits, and to urge them to disputes. After several challenges, Dr. Mayne, of Christ's Church, undertook to be his respondent; and, according to appointment, they met September 11, 1652, in Watlington church, Oxfordshire, when an innumerable company of people assembled: but Pendarves being backed by a great party of anabaptists, and the scum of the people, who behaved themselves very rudely, the disputation was interrupted, and so came to nothing."§ He was lecturer at Wantage in Berkshire, and pastor to the baptist church at Abingdon in the same county. Our author adds, that "he accounted himself a true-born Englishman; but, because he endeavoured utterly to undo the distressed and tottering church of England, he was undeserving of the name. And as he did these things for

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 115.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 58.

‡ Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 309.

§ Wood's Athene Oxon. vol. ii. p. 127.

no other purpose than to obtain wealth, and make himself famous to posterity; so it would be accounted worthy, if by my omission of him his name could have been buried in oblivion." This bitter writer, nevertheless, allows him to have been a tolerable disputant.\* Mr. Pendarves died in London, in the beginning of September, 1656, aged thirty-four years. His remains are said to have been carried to Abingdon, in a sugar-cask filled up with sand; where they were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in the baptists' burying-ground. He was a fifth monarchy man;† and, being famous among the party, his interment drew together so great a concourse of people, that the government took notice of it, and sent Major-general Bridges, with a party of soldiers, to attend at Abingdon on the occasion. The numerous assemblage of people spent several days in the religious exercises of praying and preaching, which was attended with some rude behaviour and confusion.‡

His WORKS—1. Arrows against Babylon; or, Queries serving to a clear Discovery of the Mystery of Iniquity, 1656.—2. Endeavours for Reformation of Saints' Apparel, 1656.—3. Queries for the People called Quakers, 1656.—4. Prefatory Epistle to a Book entitled, 'The Prophets Malachy and Isaiah prophesying to the Saints and Professors of this Generation,' 1656.—5. Several Sermons, 1657.—And various other small articles.

JOHN GIFFORD.—This person was born in the county of Kent; afterwards he became a major in the king's army during the civil wars. He was concerned in the insurrection raised in that county; for which he was apprehended, and, together with eleven others, received the sentence of death. But, the night before he was to suffer, his sister coming to visit him, and finding the centinels who kept the door of the prison fast asleep, and his companions in a state of intoxication, she urged him to embrace the favourable opportunity and escape for his life. Having made his

\* Wood's Athente, vol. ii. p. 127.

† The fifth monarchy men arose about the time of the death of Charles I. and during the commonwealth. They expected the immediate appearance of Christ to establish on earth a new monarchy or kingdom, and to commence his glorious personal reign of a thousand years. As there are four great empires mentioned in ancient history, which successively gained the dominion of the world, so these men, believing that this new spiritual kingdom of Christ was to be the *fifth*, received the appellation of *fifth monarchy men*.

‡ Meen's MS. Collec. p. 452.

escape, he fled into the fields and crept into a ditch, where he remained about three days, till search for him was over; and then, by the help of friends, he went in disguise to London. After concealing himself for some time in the city, and at various places in the country, he went to Bedford, where, though an entire stranger, he commenced the practice of physic; but still remained very debauched in his life. He was greatly addicted to drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and similar immoral practices. In his gaming he usually found himself a loser, which made him sometimes discontented, and resolve to leave off the practice; but his resolutions were soon broken, and he returned to his old course. One night, having lost fifteen pounds, he became almost outrageous, attended with most reproachful thoughts of God; but looking into one of Mr. Bolton's books, something laid fast hold upon his conscience, and brought him for the first time to a deep sense of his sins. Under these painful convictions he laboured for about a month, when God by his word so discovered to him the forgiveness of his sins, through faith in Jesus Christ, that, as he used to say, he never lost sight of it afterwards.

Mr. Gifford having thus tasted that the Lord was gracious, presently sought an intimate acquaintance with the religious people in Bedford, whom he had before grievously persecuted, and had even resolved to murder the minister who had occasionally preached to them. Indeed, he had been a man of so profligate and base a character, that they were for some time jealous of his profession; but he, being naturally of a bold spirit, still thrust himself among them, both in their public meetings and private company. Having made sufficient trial, they embraced him as a disciple and a brother; and after some time he began to preach among them. The very first sermon he preached was made instrumental in the conversion of a female, whose future life became an ornament to her profession. He afterwards collected the most pious persons in the congregation together; and, having repeatedly assembled and prayed to God for his direction and blessing, they formed themselves into a christian church. They were twelve in all, including Mr. Gifford, and all ancient and grave christians, and well known to one another. Here was laid the foundation of that religious society of which the celebrated Mr. John Bunyan was afterwards pastor, and which exists and flourishes at the present time. It was formed upon strict

congregational principles, admitting both pædobaptists and antipædobaptists, and still continues on the same broad foundation.

The members of this infant society, after giving themselves to the Lord and to one another, unanimously chose Mr. Gifford to the office of pastor. He accepted the charge, and gave himself up to the service of the Lord and his people, to walk with them, watch over them, and dispense among them the mysteries of the kingdom. This was about the year 1651. The principle on which they entered into church fellowship, and on which they added fresh members, was, "Faith in Christ and holiness of life," without respect to any outward circumstances whatever. "By this means," it is said, "grace and faith were encouraged, and love and amity maintained; disputing and occasion of janglings, and unprofitable questions, avoided; and many that were weak in faith confirmed in the blessings of eternal life." Mr. Gifford died September 21, 1656; who, on his death-bed, wrote a most excellent letter to the congregation, earnestly persuading them to continue in the faithful maintenance of their principles, and affectionately exhorting them to promote peace, holiness, and brotherly love.\*

RICHARD CAPEL, A. M.—This worthy divine was born in the city of Gloucester, in 1586, and descended from the ancient family of that name, being a near relation to Lord Capel. His father was an alderman of the city; one who greatly promoted the cause of Christ in the place; and was a zealous friend to the suffering nonconformists. His son was educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he gained a considerable reputation, and was chosen fellow of the house. He had many learned pupils, who became famous in their day; among whom were Dr. Frewen, afterwards archbishop of York, and the celebrated Mr. William Pemble. Mr. Capel, being desirous of greater usefulness to souls, removed from the university and entered upon the ministerial work, first at Estington, then at Pitchcomb in his own county. He did not enter into the sacred office for a piece of bread, but for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom and the salvation of men. Therefore he had no sooner entered upon the work, than he gave himself wholly to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; and his profiting

\* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 313—317, 325; as transcribed from the original church-book at Bedford.

soon became so manifest to all, that he was justly reputed a man approved of God, rightly dividing the word of truth. In the exercises of the pulpit he was sometimes a Boanerges, the son of thunder; but more commonly a Barnabas, the son of consolation. Under the intolerance and oppressions of Bishop Laud, when the ceremonies were enforced with the utmost rigour, and the most grievous penalties were inflicted on the nonconformists, he became a sufferer with the rest of his brethren. And, upon the publication of the Book of Sports, in 1633, he could not read it with a safe conscience; therefore, to avoid deprivation, he peaceably resigned his living and turned physician; in which profession he was much esteemed, and very successful.\*

The excellent Dr. Sibbs, who died in the year 1635, bequeathed legacies, in his last will and testament, to his numerous relations and friends; among whom was Mr. Capel, who received a small legacy.† In the year 1641 he espoused the cause of the parliament, and renewed his ministerial exercises at Pitchcomb, where he had obtained a distinguished reputation. He still continued in the practice of physic, but preached to the people gratuitously all the rest of his days. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, but never attended, choosing rather to continue his uninterrupted labours among the people of his charge.

Towards the close of life, this worthy servant of Christ was exercised with many trials, which, by the help of God, he bore with patience and unshaken confidence. He cheerfully resigned himself to his heavenly Father's will. Being particularly desirous not to die a lingering death, the Lord was pleased to grant him his desire. For, having preached twice on the Lord's day, and performed the usual duties of the family and the closet, he went to bed and died immediately, being September 21, 1656, aged seventy years. Mr. Clark denominates him "a man of a quick apprehension, a strong memory, and great piety;" and says, "he was a living library, a full storehouse of all good literature, a judicious preacher, and a sound orthodox divine."‡ In the opinion of Wood, "he was a man of great eminence, and much followed by men of note, especially of the *Cavalinian* party. At Estington he was eminent, among the puritans, for his painful and practical preaching, his

\* Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 309, 309.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxviii. p. 445. . . ‡ Lives, p. 304, 311.

exemplary life and conversation, and for doing many good offices for his brethren in the ministry. He was esteemed an excellent preacher, and a true follower of Messrs. Dod, Claver, Hildersham, and Dr. Rainolds.\* Mr. Daniel Capel, ejected at the restoration, was his son.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *God's Valuation of Man's Soul*, 1632.—2. *A Treatise of Temptations*, 1650.—3. *A brief Dispute touching Restitution in Cases of Usury*, 1650.—4. *Remains*, 1658.—5. *An Apology in Defence of some Exceptions in the Book of Temptations*, 1659.

**JAMES NOYES.**—This excellent minister was born at Chaldrington in Wiltshire, in the year 1608, and educated in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. His father was a learned minister and schoolmaster; and his mother was sister to Mr. Robert Parker, the famous puritan. Mr. Noyes, after finishing his studies at the university, became assistant to Mr. Thomas Parker, in his school at Newbury in Berkshire. Here he was converted under the united ministry of Mr. Parker and the celebrated Dr. Twisse, when he became admired for his great piety. He afterwards entered upon the ministerial work; but because he could not, with a safe conscience, observe the ecclesiastical impositions in the established church, he fled to New England. He sailed in the same ship with Mr. Parker, and safely arrived in the year 1634. These two worthy ministers preached, or expounded, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, every day during the whole voyage. The sweetest affection subsisted betwixt them all their lives. They were true brethren, and never separated one from the other, till constrained by death. Upon their arrival in the new colony, Mr. Noyes preached about a year at Medford; at the expiration of which period he removed, with Mr. Parker and other friends, to Newbury, where they gathered a church, of which Mr. Noyes was chosen teacher, and Mr. Parker pastor. In this office Mr. Noyes continued above twenty years. Though his views of church discipline were different from some of his brethren, both parties exercised so much forbearance, that peace and good order continued uninterrupted. And though he was very averse to the English ceremonies, accounting them needless, in many respects offensive and hurtful, and the imposition of them

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 129.

† Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii, p. 254.

intolerable and abominable; yet he could have been satisfied with moderate episcopacy. He held a profession of faith and repentance, and a subjection to the ordinances of Christ, to be the rule of admission to church fellowship; but admitted to baptism the children of those who had been baptized, without requiring the parents to own any covenant or being in church fellowship. He, as well as his colleague, considered the sabbath as beginning on the Saturday evening.

Mr. Noyes, at the close of life, endured a long and tedious affliction, which he bore with christian patience and holy cheerfulness. He died triumphing in the Lord, October 22, 1656, aged forty-eight years. He possessed a quick invention, a sound judgment, a strong memory, and was a good linguist, an able disputant, an excellent counsellor, and one of the greatest men of the age.\* He was much beloved by his people, and his memory is there respected at the present day. He published a piece entitled, "Moses and Aaron, or the Rights of Church and State;" and "A Catechism," for the use of his flock, which, to the honour of his memory, has lately been reprinted.†

**EDWARD BRIGHT, A. M.**—This worthy minister of Christ was born at Greenwich, near London, and educated in the university of Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow of his college.‡ Afterwards he became vicar of Goudhurst in Kent, where he fell under the displeasure of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1640 he was cited, with other puritan ministers in Kent, to appear before his lordship's visitors at Feversham, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. According to summons, they appeared before Sir Nathaniel Brent, the archbishop's vicar-general, and other officers: when Mr. Bright was first called, and being asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered in the negative. Upon which the archdeacon immediately suspended him from his office and benefice, without the least admonition, or even giving him a moment of time for consideration. This rash act was deemed, even by the favourites of Laud, to be neither prudential nor canonical.§ It does not appear how long the good man continued under this cruel sentence;

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 145—148.

† Mors and Parish's Hist. p. 43, 46, 47.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 81.

§ Life of Mr. Wilson, p. 15. Edit. 1678.

but he was most probably released upon the meeting of the long parliament, towards the close of this year.

Mr. Bright was afterwards chosen fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge; but he still continued in his beloved work of preaching. He was next chosen minister of Christ-church, London; but he did not long survive his removal. During his last sickness, he often said, "I thank God I came not to London for money. I brought a good conscience from Cambridge, and I thank God I have not lived to spoil it." He died in the month of December, 1656; when his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Samuel Jacomb, and afterwards published. He was zealous, courageous, and conscientious in the support of divine truth; yet of great candour, affection, and moderation. He was a man of great piety, good learning, excellent ministerial abilities, and admirable industry. Many elegies were published upon his death.\* He had the character of a very good man, and was endowed with a considerable share of patience, which indeed he very much needed, having the affliction of a very froward and clamorous wife. On this account, many thought it a happiness to him to be dull of hearing. This worthy servant of Christ is, by mistake, included among the ejected ministers after the restoration.†

**ROBERT PECK.**—This zealous puritan was rector of Higham in Norfolk, to which he was preferred in the year 1605. He was a zealous nonconformist to the ceremonies and corruptions of the church, for which he was severely persecuted by Bishop Harsnet. Having catechized his family and sung a psalm in his own house, on a Lord's day evening, when some of his neighbours attended, his lordship enjoined him, and all who were present, to *do penance*, requiring them to say, *I confess my errors*. Those who refused were immediately excommunicated, and required to pay heavy costs. All this appeared under the bishop's own hand. For this, and similar instances of his oppression and cruelty, the citizens of Norwich, in the year 1623, presented a complaint against his lordship in the house of commons.

In the bishop's answer to this complaint, he had nothing to say against Mr. Peck's doctrine and life, only his non-conformity. He pleaded, in his own defence, "That

\* Jacomb's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Bright.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 328.

Mr. Peck had been sent to him by the justices of the peace, for keeping a conventicle at night, and in his own house; that his catechizing was only an excuse to draw the people together; and that he had infected the parish with strange opinions: as, 'that the people are not to kneel as they enter the church; that it is superstition to bow at the name of Jesus; and that the church is no more sacred than any other building.'" His grace further affirmed, that Mr. Peck had been convicted of nonconformity, and of keeping conventicles, in 1615 and 1617; and that, in 1622, he was taken in his own house, with twenty-two of his neighbours, at a conventicle.\* How far the house of commons acquiesced in his lordship's defence, or whether they considered it a sufficient justification of his arbitrary proceedings, we have not been able to learn.

Mr. Peck suffered much under the persecutions of Bishop Wren; when he was driven from his flock, deprived of his benefice, and forced to seek his bread in a foreign land.† He is indeed said to have been deprived for non-residence, which was the case with many of his brethren. By the terrific threatenings of their persecutors, and having no better prospect than that of excommunication, imprisonment, or other ecclesiastical censure, they were driven from their beloved flocks, or they retired for a time into some private situation, in hope that the storm might soon be over; for which they were censured as nonresidents. This was no doubt the case with Mr. Peck. He and Mr. Thomas Allen are said to have had so much influence upon their parishioners, that, after the deprivation of the two ministers, none of them would pay any thing to those who served their cures. This shews how greatly they were beloved.‡ Having fled to New England, the church at Higham, in the new colony, rejoiced for a season in his light. He remained there several years; till afterwards he received an invitation from his old friends at Higham, in his native country, when he returned home, laboured among them, and was of eminent service to the church of God.§

The following account is given of Mr. Peck by one of our historians, the design of which is too obvious: "He was a man of a very violent schismatical spirit. He pulled

\* MS. Remarks, p. 713—715.

† Nalson's Collec. vol. ii. p. 400, 401.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

‡ Wren's Parentalia, p. 95.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 214.

down the rails in the chancel of the church at Higham, and levelled the altar and the whole chancel a foot below the church, as it remains to this day; but, being prosecuted for it by Bishop Wren, he fled to New England, with many of his parishioners, who sold their estates for half their value, and conveyed all their effects to the new plantation. They erected the town and colony of Higham, where many of their posterity still remain. He promised never to desert them; but, hearing that the bishops were deposed, he left them to shift for themselves, and came back to England in 1646, after a banishment of ten years. He resumed his charge at Higham, where he died in the year 1656. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Nathaniel Joceline, and afterwards published; \* but this we have not seen.

STEPHEN GERE, A. B.—This person was elder brother to Mr. John Gere, another puritan divine; was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1594, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his academical pursuits at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, but laboured most probably in the two-fold capacity of minister and schoolmaster. On the approach of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, became minister of Wonnesh, near Guildford in Surrey; but he afterwards removed to Abinger in the same county. Wood, in contempt, styles him “a zealous brother in the cause that was driven on by the saints.” † He appears to have been living in 1656, but died probably soon after that period. He published several sermons, one of which is entitled, “The Ornament of Women; or, a Description of the true Excellency of Women, at the Funeral of Mrs. Eliz. Machel, on Prov. xxxi. 29, 30”—1639. He also published “The Doctrine of the Antinomians by Evidence of God’s Truth plainly Confuted, in an Answer to divers dangerous Doctrines in the seven first Sermons of Dr. Tob. Crisp,” 1644; and “The Golden Meane, being some Considerations, together with some Cases of Conscience, resolved, for the more frequent Administration of the Lord’s Supper,” 1656.

\* Blomefield’s Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 668.

† Wood’s Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 132.

EDWARD CORBET, D. D.—This worthy person was born at Pontesbury in Shropshire, in the year 1602, descended from the ancient family of Corbets in that county, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, where he was chosen fellow. He was made proctor of the university; but, refusing conformity in certain points, he was called before the vice-chancellor. He was no enemy to the church of England, but could not with a good conscience observe all its superstitious ceremonies. And while the vice-chancellor laid his case before Archbishop Laud, chancellor of the university, he petitioned his lordship for relief; but it was not likely he could obtain the least redress.\* The civil war having commenced, and Oxford being garrisoned by the king's forces, he was deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the college, for refusing to espouse the royal cause.† Archbishop Laud, being afterwards prisoner in the Tower, refused him the rectory of Chatham in Kent, because he was a puritan; and when he was appointed rector of that place, by order of parliament, his lordship still refused his allowance; but his refusal was to no purpose.‡ He was witness against the archbishop at his trial, and deposed “that, in the year 1638, his grace visiting Merton college, by his deputy, Sir John Lamb, one article propounded to the wardens and fellows was, ‘Whether they made due reverence, by bowing towards the altar, when they came into the chapel.’—That he and Mr. Cheynel were enjoined by the visitors and commissioners to use this ceremony; but they refused; for which, though he assigned his reasons for refusing, he was particularly threatened.—That, after this, Dr. Frewin, the vice-chancellor, told him that he was sent to him by the archbishop, requiring him to use this ceremony.—That the archbishop afterwards sent injunctions to Merton college, requiring them to bow towards the altar, and the visitors questioned those who refused.—And that in Magdalen college there was a crucifix placed over the communion table, and pictures in the windows; and a new crucifix was set up in Christ's church, none of which innovations were ever heard of before the time of this archbishop.”§

Mr. Corbet was chosen one of the assembly of divines, one of the committee for the examination and ordination of

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. ii. p. 155, 156.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 88.

‡ Prymne's Breviate of Laud, p. 27, 28.

§ Prymne's Cant. Doome, p. 71.

ministers, and one of the preachers before the parliament. He was appointed one of the preachers to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament, one of the visitors of that university, and orator and canon of Christ's Church, in the room of Dr. Hammond. It is observed; "that, though he was one of the visitors, he seldom or never sat among them. And when he usually preached at St. Mary's church, the year before the king was beheaded, he would, in his long prayer before sermon, desire 'that God would open the king's eyes to lay to heart all the blood that he had spilt. And that he would prosper the parliament and their blessed proceedings.' He was an easy man," it is added, "and apt to be guided by the persuasions of others; and, therefore, by Cheynel and Wilkinson, two violent and impetuous presbyterians, he was put into the roll of visitors, merely to make a nose of wax."\* However, he did not continue long in this situation; but, being made rector of Great Hasely in Oxfordshire, he removed to the charge of his flock, where he continued to the end of his days. He took his doctor's degree in 1648, and died in London, in January, 1657, aged fifty-five years; when his remains were conveyed to Great Hasely, and interred in the chancel of the church.† He was a good divine, a valuable preacher; and a person remarkable for integrity. His wife was daughter of Sir Nathaniel Brent, and grand-daughter of Dr. Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury;‡ She was a lady of most exemplary piety. Her funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Wilkinson, and afterwards published, with some account of her excellent character.§ Dr. Corbet appears to have been author of "The Worldling's Looking-glass; or, the Danger of losing his Soul for Gain," 1630. "God's Providence, a Sermon before the House of Commons," 1642. And most probably some others. Some of Bishop Abbot's manuscripts fell into his hands, particularly his Latin Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the Romans. This learned and laborious work, in four volumes folio, Dr. Corbet deposited in the Bodleian library, Oxford, where it still remains.¶

\* Grey's Examination of Neal, vol. ii. p. 300.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 749.

‡ Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 23. Edit. 1778.

§ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 72.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 414.

¶ Biog. Britan. ibid. p. 34.

**JAMES CRANFORD, A. M.**—This excellent minister was the son of Mr. James Cranford, many years minister and master of the free-school in Coventry. He was born in that city in the year 1602, and educated in Baliol college, Oxford, where he took his degrees. Upon his leaving the university, he became minister in Northamptonshire, then removed to London, and became rector of St. Christopher le Stocks, near the old Exchange. This was in the year 1642. The following year he was appointed, by order of parliament, to be one of the licensers of the press for works in divinity. In the year 1644, he was appointed one of the London ministers to ordain suitable young men to the christian ministry. And in 1645, he was brought into trouble for speaking against several members of the house of commons. He was charged with saying, that they had carried on a correspondence with the royalists, and were false to the parliament; for which he was committed to prison; where he continued about five weeks, when the house of commons proceeded to an examination of his case, and passed upon him the following sentence:—"That the words spoken by Mr. Cranford against some members of the house of commons, and of the committee of both kingdoms, *that they kept intelligence with the king's party, and were false to the parliament,* were false and scandalous.—That Mr. Cranford, at a full exchange in London, and at Westminster, shall confess the wrong he hath done them in so scandalizing them.—That he shall pay five hundred pounds to each of those four members for damages.—And that he shall be committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the house."\* Whether this heavy sentence was legal or illegal, we will not pretend to determine.

Though Mr. Cranford thus felt the vengeance of his superiors, he does not appear to have been a man of a turbulent spirit; and though he might be provoked to use the above unjustifiable expressions, he was a man who bore an excellent character, and was highly esteemed among his brethren. Wood denominates him an "exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers, schoolmen, and modern divines; a zealous presbyterian, and a laborious preacher."† Fuller adds, "that he was a famous disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity, moderation, and kindness towards all men."‡ He died April 27, 1657,

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 144, 145.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Fuller's *Worthies*, part iii. p. 118.

aged fifty-five years; when his remains were interred in St. Christopher's church.

**His Works.**—1. *The Tears of Ireland, wherein is represented a list of the unheard-of Cruelties of the blood-thirsty Jesuits and the Popish Faction, 1642.*—2. *An Exposition on the Prophecies of Daniel, 1644.*—3. *Hæresco-Machia; or, the Mischief which Heresies do, and the Means to prevent them, 1646.*—4. *A Confutation of the Anabaptists.*—He wrote also numerous Prefaces to other men's works.

**THOMAS BLAKE, A. M.**—This pious servant of Christ was born in the county of Stafford, in the year 1597, and educated in Christ's Church, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work, and obtained some preferment in the church. He became a faithful steward of the manifold mysteries of God. He was zealous in the work of the Lord, and his labours were made eminently useful. He was the faithful and laborious pastor of St. Alkmund's church, Shrewsbury, but it is doubtful whether this was the first place of his settlement. When the parliament prevailed, and episcopacy was abolished, Mr. Blake took the covenant; but was afterwards turned out for refusing the engagement.\* In the year 1647, he accepted an invitation to Tamworth in his native county, where he continued in the ministerial work all the rest of his days. Here he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners of Staffordshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. He died at Tamworth, aged sixty years, and his remains were interred in his own church, June 11, 1657.† He was a man of great piety, good learning, and a constant and excellent preacher.

Mr. Anthony Burgess, afterwards ejected in 1662,‡ who preached Mr. Blake's funeral sermon, gives the following commendations of his character:—He was a man of many excellent qualifications. He possessed good natural talents, much improved by diligent application, and sanctified by the grace of God. The most eminent feature in his character was his great piety, for which he was highly esteemed. And as he was a man of considerable learning,

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 124.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 133.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 350.

and that learning being directed to proper objects, he was enabled to do more work in the vineyard of Christ than many of his brethren. He did not overlook the younger part of his flock. Being well persuaded of the importance of early religious instruction, he discovered great diligence in catechizing the youth of his congregation. He possessed a peculiar tenderness of spirit, which fitted him in a more eminent degree for this part of his work. As a true shepherd over the flock of Christ, he sought not *theirs*, but *them*: not any worldly advantage, but the salvation of their souls. He was a wise and prudent counsellor. Persons under trouble of soul sought his advice, and he gave it with great ability and readiness. But, while he administered consolation to others, God sometimes left him to walk in spiritual darkness; yet, at length, he dispelled those gloomy fears, and caused him to rejoice in his salvation. Upon his death-bed he found the comfort of the doctrine he had preached. He had not the least doubt of the truth of it; and he left the world in full assurance of eternal life.\*

Mr. Samuel Shaw, afterwards silenced at the restoration,† who delivered Mr. Blake's funeral oration, addressed the people as follows:—"While he lived, it was as impossible for him not to love you, as it is for you to make him an adequate return of love: and his care was answerable to his love. His writings were not read without satisfaction; and his sermons were never heard without approbation, and seldom without following advantage. His awful gravity and commanding presence could not be considered without reverence, nor his conversation without imitation. To see him *live* was a provocation to holy life: to see him *die* might have made us weary of life. When God restrained him from this place, he made his chamber his church, and his bed his pulpit; in which I heard him offer up many prayers to God for you. His death made him mindful of you, who have been too unmindful of his life. I did not see that any thing made him so backward to resign up his soul to God as his unparalleled care for you. His death seemed little to him in comparison of your happiness. I sat by him, and I only, when, with a flood of tears, he prayed: *Lord, charge not me with the ignorance of this*

\* Funeral Sermon for Mr. Blake.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 404.

*people.* His wisdom, justice, and tenderness, were such predominant graces, that it is as much my inability to describe them as it is my unhappiness not to imitate them.”\*

**His WORKS.**—1. *Birth's Privilege; or, the Right of Infants to Baptisme*, 1644.—2. *Infants Baptisme freed from Antichristianisme. In a full Repulse given to Mr. Ch. Blackwood, in his Assault of that Part of Christ's Possession which he holds in his Heritage of Infants, entitled, by 'The Storming of Antichrist,' 1645.*—3. *A Moderate Answer to the two Questions, 1. Whether there be sufficient Ground from Scripture to warrant the Conscience of a Christian to present his Infants to the Sacrament of Baptism?—2. Whether it be not sinful for a Christian to receive the Sacrament in a mixt Assembly?* 1645.—4. *An Answer to Mr. Tombes his Letter in Vindication of the Birth-privilege of Believers and their Issue*, 1646.—5. *Vindiciæ Fœderis. A Treatise of the Covenant of God with Mankind*, 1653.—6. *Infant Baptisme maintained in its Latitude*, 1653.—7. *The Covenant Sealed; or, a Treatise of the Sacrament of both Covenants*, 1655.—8. *Postscript to the Rev. and Learned Mr. Rich. Baxter*, 1655.—9. *Mr. Joh. Humphrey's Second Vindication of a Disciplinary, Anti-erastian, Orthodox, Free Admission to the Lord's Supper, taken into Consideration*, 1656.—10. *Answer to Mr. B. Cox about Free Admission to the Sacrament.*—11. *Living Truths in Dying Times.*—12. *Several Sermons.*

**JOHN JANEWAY.**—This extraordinary person was the son of Mr. William Janeway, and born at Lilley in Hertfordshire, October 27, 1633. He was educated first at Paul's school, London, under the care of the excellent Mr. Langley, where he made great progress in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, and astronomy. Afterwards, he was sent to Eton college, where the eyes of many were upon him, as the glory of the school and the wonder of the age; and at the period of seventeen he entered King's college, Cambridge, when the electors contended for the patronage of so admirable a youth. He afterwards became fellow of the college.

In addition to his great learning, he was endowed with many excellent ornaments of nature. His deportment was candid and agreeable, courteous and obliging. Though he was exceedingly admired and caressed, he did not discover the least vanity or pride. His learning was mixed with much modesty and prudence; and he had great command of his passions, by which he was preserved from the follies and vices of youth. But, hitherto, he was wholly uncon-

\* Funeral Oration for Mr. Blake.

cerned about his best interests. He did not trouble himself about religion, or the salvation of his soul. But God, who had chosen him to shine as the sun in the firmament of glory for ever, was pleased, at the age of eighteen, to enlighten his mind by the power of his grace, convincing him of sin, and his need of a Saviour. Mr. Baxter's "Saints' Everlasting Rest" was principally the instrument of promoting his conversion to God. The important change soon became manifest to all. His time and his talents were now so much employed in the pursuit of future happiness, that he found little leisure, and less delight, in the contemplation of the moon and stars. He now tasted the sweetness of studying the mind of God in his word; and was most concerned to please and to enjoy him for ever. He pitied those who were curious in their inquiries about almost every thing except the knowledge of themselves and Jesus Christ. "What things were once gain to him, he now counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, he counted all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus; and did count them but dung, that he might win Christ." Though he did not look upon human learning as useless, but exceedingly profitable when suitably employed; yet, when fixed on any thing short of Christ, and not employed to his glory, he considered it as a sword in the hand of a madman.

In this state of mind, Mr. Janeway began to think how he could best improve his present attainments, and direct all his future studies in the most proper channel. He was particularly concerned to express his love and thankfulness to God, *who had called him out of darkness into his marvelous light*. He, therefore, addressed many letters to his relations and friends, in which he wrote so judiciously and profitably upon divine subjects, that they were more like the productions of old age than a person of his years. He could not help announcing to others what he had seen, and heard, and felt. To plead the cause of God, to exalt his dear Redeemer, and to bring sinners to Christ, was the only object he had in view. But his uncommon gravity, his striking majesty, his pathological expressions, his vehement expostulations, and his close applications, can be seen only in his own words.

Before he was arrived at the age of nineteen, writing to his father, who was then in great distress of mind, he thus addressed him:—"The causes of your desponding and melancholy thoughts, give me leave, with submission, to

guess. The first, I think, is your reflecting upon your entering into the ministry without that reverence, care, and holy zeal for God, love to Christ, and compassion to souls, which is required of every one who undertakes that holy office. It may be there was a respect to your living in the world, rather than your living to God. Be it thus, be it not so bad, or be it worse, the remedy is the same. These have in them a wounding power, which will be felt to be grievous, when felt as they are in themselves. But continual sorrow and sad thoughts keep the wound open too long, and are not available to produce a cure. Wounds, indeed, must first be opened, that they may be cleansed. They must be opened, that their filth may be discovered, in order to their being purged and healed. But no longer than till the Balm of Gilead is applied, that they may be healed. When Christ is made use of aright, he leaveth joy and comfort; yet a constant humility of spirit is no way inconsistent with this peace with God.

“A second cause of your heaviness may be, a sense of the state of the people committed to your care. And, indeed, who can help mourning over people in such a condition? Objects of pity they are, especially because they pity not themselves. I have often wrestled with God, to direct you in the path of duty concerning them, which, I am persuaded, is your request also. Now, after seriously examining yourself, what your conscience doth conclude to be your duty, do it; and be *sure* you do it: you are then to rest upon God for his effectual working. And this is no more the cause of heaviness to you, than the opposition which the apostles found was to them, who, notwithstanding, rejoiced in tribulations.

“You may have some thoughts and cares concerning your family when you are gone. Let faith and former experience teach you to drive away all such thoughts. Your constitution and solitary habits may also be some cause of melancholy. But there is a duty which, if properly observed, would dispel all. This is heavenly meditation, and the contemplation of those things to which the christian religion tends. If we walk close with God in this duty, only one hour in the day, oh, what influence would it have on the whole day; and, if duly performed, upon the whole life! I knew the nature and usefulness of this duty in some measure before, but had it more deeply impressed upon me by Mr. Baxter’s “Saints’ Everlasting Rest;” for

which I have cause for ever to bless God. As for your dear wife, I fear the cares and troubles of the world take off her mind too much from walking closely with God, and from earnest endeavours after higher degrees of grace. I commend God unto her, and this excellent duty of meditation to all. It is a bitter sweet; bitter to corrupt nature, but sweet to the regenerate part. I entreat her and yourself; yea, I charge it upon you, with humility and tenderness, that God have at least half an hour in a day allowed him for this exercise. Oh, this most precious soul-reviving, soul-ravishing, soul-perfecting duty! Take this from your dear friend, as spoken with reverence, faithfulness, and love.

“One more direction let me give. See that none in your family satisfy themselves in family prayer, without drawing near to God twice a day in secret. Here secret wants may be laid open. Here great mercies may be begged with great earnestness. Here the wanderings and coldness in family duty may be repented of and amended. This is the way to get sincerity, seriousness, and cheerfulness in religion. Thus the joy of the Lord will be your strength. Let those who know their duty do it. If any think it is unnecessary, let them fear lest they lose the most excellent help to a holy, useful, and joyful life.

“Take some of these directions from sincere affection; some from my own experience; and all from a compassionate desire for your joy and comfort. The Lord teach you in this and in the rest. I entreat you, never rest till you have attained to true spiritual joy and peace in the Lord. The God of peace afford you his direction, with the foretastes of his comforts in this life, and the perfection of them, in the enjoyment of his excellency and holiness, through Jesus Christ.”

Having arrived at the age of twenty, he became fellow of his college. He wrote many pathetic letters to his brothers, followed by his prayers and tears for a blessing. He often addressed them individually, in private conversation, when he earnestly recommended Christ, and affectionately urged them to seek an interest in him. And these his labours were not in vain. He was supposed to have been the spiritual father of his own natural father, and several of his brothers, who will have cause to bless God, to eternity, that they ever received his instructions. He spoke to all his brethren in the language of the apostle: *Brethren, my heart's desire*

*and prayer to God for you all is, that you may be saved.* This will best appear in his own words, in a letter addressed to them.

“Distance of place,” says he, “cannot at all lessen that natural bond whereby we are one blood; neither ought it to lessen our love. Nay, where true love is, it cannot. Respecting my love towards you, I can only say, that I feel it better than I can express it. But love felt and not expressed is little worth. I desire, therefore, to make my love manifest in the best way I can. Let us look on one another, not as brethren only, but as members of the same body, of which Christ is the head. Happy day will that be, when the Lord will discover this union! Let us, therefore, breathe and hunger after this, that so we may all meet in Christ. If we be in Christ, and Christ in us, we shall be one in each other.

“You cannot complain of the want of instruction. God hath not been to us as the dry and barren wilderness. You have had line upon line, and precept upon precept. He hath planted you by the rivers of waters. It is indeed the Lord alone who maketh fruitful; yet we are not to stand still and do nothing. There is a crown worth seeking to obtain. Seek then by earnest and constant prayer. Keep your souls in a praying frame. This is a great and necessary duty; yea, a very great privilege. If you can say nothing, come and lay yourselves in humility before the Lord. Through mercy I have experienced what I say; and you may believe me when I say, that there is more sweetness to be got in one glimpse of God’s love, than in all that the world can afford. Oh, do but try! Oh, taste and see how good the Lord is!

“Beg of God to make you sensible of your lost and undone state by nature, and of the excellency and necessity of Christ. Say unto God, ‘Let me be any thing in the world if I may be enabled to value Christ, and be persuaded to accept of him as he is tendered in the gospel. Oh that I may be delivered from the wrath to come! Oh, a blessing for me, even for me!’ and resolve not to give it up till the Lord hath in some measure satisfied you. Oh! my bowels yearn towards you. My heart works. Oh that you did but know with what affections I now write to you, and what prayers and tears have been mingled with these lines! The Lord set these things home, and give you a heart to apply them to yourself.

“Give me leave to deal plainly with you, and come

closer to you. I love your souls so well, that I cannot bear the thoughts of their being lost. Know this, that there is such a thing as the new birth; and *except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* This new birth hath its foundation laid in a sense of sin, and in a godly sorrow for it, and a heart set against it. Without this, there can be no salvation. Look well to yourselves. You will see that you are in hell's mouth, without this first step; and nothing but free grace and pure mercy is between you and a state of damnation. The Lord deliver us from a secure and a careless heart. Here you see a natural man's condition. How dare you then lie down in security? Oh, look to God for your soul's sake! Without repentance, there is no remission of sin; and repentance itself will lose its labour if it be not of the right kind. Prayers, and tears, and groans, will not do without Christ. Most persons, when they are made in some measure sensible of their sins, and are under fears of hell, run to duty and reform some things, and thus the wound is healed, by which thousands fall short of heaven. For if we be not brought off from trusting in ourselves, and from our own righteousness, as well as our sins, we are never likely to be saved. We must see our absolute need of Christ; give up ourselves unto him; and count all things but dross and dung in comparison of his righteousness. Look therefore for God's mercy in Christ alone.

“The terms of the gospel are, Repent and believe. Gracious terms! Mercy for fetching! Mercy for receiving! Do you desire the grace and mercy of God? I know you do; and even this desire is the gift of God. Hunger after Christ. Let your desires put you upon endeavours. The work itself is sweet. Yea, mourning and repentance themselves have more sweetness in them than all the comforts of this world. Upon repentance and believing comes justification; and afterwards sanctification by the Spirit dwelling in us. By this we become the children of God; are made partakers of the divine nature; and lead new lives. It is unworthy of a christian to have such a narrow spirit as not to act for Christ with all his heart, soul, and strength. Be not ashamed of Christ; nor afraid of the frowns of the wicked. Be sure to keep a conscience void of offence; and yield by no means to any known sin. Be much in secret prayer and in reading the scriptures. My greatest desire is, that God would work his own work in you.”

Such was the spirit of his letters addressed to his brethren. He observed this method with every other means of instruc-

tion. He often visited them for this purpose alone; when he most faithfully addressed each according to his necessity. On one of these visits, observing that one of his brothers slept at family prayer, he embraced an early opportunity of shewing him the magnitude of his sin, and the just desert of such contempt of God. The Lord was pleased to apply his instructions as a dagger to his heart; and, though he was only about eleven years of age, it was supposed to be the means of his soul's conversion to God. The change wrought in his young brother gave him great comfort and encouragement. Having occasion to write to him soon after, he reminded him of what the Lord had done for his soul, and urged him never to rest till he enjoyed good evidence of the change. "I hope," said he, "that God hath a good work to do in you, for you, and by you; yea, I hope he hath already begun the work. But, oh! take not up with some beginnings, faint desires, or lazy seekings. Oh, remember your former years! One may weep a little for sin, and yet go to hell for sin. Many who, under some such work, shake off the sense of sin, murder their convictions and return to folly. Oh, take heed! If any draw back, the Lord will take no pleasure in them. But I hope better things of you."

His great love and compassion for souls will appear from the following address to one of his near relations. Having shewn how much it is beneath the christian to have his heart anxiously set upon any thing in this world, he adds, "Oh, what folly is it to trifle in the things of God! But I hope better things of you. Did I not hope, why should I mourn in secret for you, as one cast out among the dead? Oh! what shall I do for you, besides pouring out my soul like water? and give my God no rest till he graciously visit you with his salvation? till he cast you down and raise you up? till he wound you and heal you again?"

Mr. Janeway was mighty in prayer, and his soul was frequently so transported in the duty, that he almost forgot whether he was in the body or out of the body. His converse with God was so familiar, and attended with such divine consolation to his soul, that, when he engaged in this duty, he often found the greatest difficulty to leave it off. He could, by happy experience, testify, that *wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace*. In his approaches to God, like Jacob, he wrestled with the Lord, and was ever unwilling to rise from off his knees without his Father's blessing. He conversed with God as

a man with his friend; and on all occasions of importance sought his direction and his blessing. His prayers were no vain oblations; but were often remarkably heard and answered. We shall give the following instance as worthy of being preserved.

His father, being deeply exercised with affliction, and under painful apprehensions about the safety of his state, he said to his son, "Oh, son, this passing into eternity is a great thing! This dying is a solemn business, and enough to make any one's heart ache, who hath not his pardon sealed, and his evidences clear for heaven. I am under no small fears as to my own state for another world. Oh that God would clear his love! Oh that I could cheerfully say I can die, and am able upon good grounds to look death in the face, and venture upon eternity with well-grounded peace and comfort!" Mr. Janeway, seeing his dear father so deeply afflicted with despondency, presently retired for the purpose of wrestling with God in prayer. He most devoutly prayed, that God would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and fill his soul with joy and peace in believing; that so he might leave the world with joy. Arising from his knees, and coming to his father, he asked him how he did, but received no immediate answer. His father continued some time unable to speak, but wept exceedingly. After recovering himself, he burst forth into these expressions: "Oh, son! Now he is come! Now he is come! Now he is come! I bless God, I can die. The Spirit of God hath witnessed with my spirit that I am a child of God. Now I can look up to God as my Father, and to Christ as my Redeemer. I can now say, *This is my Friend: this is my Beloved*. My heart is full, it is brim-full. I can hold no more. I now know what that means, *The peace of God which passeth understanding*. That fit of weeping which you saw me in was a fit of overpowering love and joy. It was so great, that I could not contain myself, nor can I express what glorious discoveries God hath made to me. Had that joy been greater, I question whether it would not have separated my soul and body. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name; who hath pardoned all my sins, and sealed that pardon. Oh! now I can die. I bless God, I can die. I desire to depart and to be with Christ."

The son was partaker of his father's blessing on two accounts. First, that his father was so clearly satisfied about the safety of his state. And, secondly, that this was

so evident and immediate an answer to his prayer. Young Janeway, therefore, broke forth in strains of the highest joy and praise, saying, "Oh blessed, and for ever blessed, be God for his infinite grace! Oh, who would not pray unto God. Verily, he is a God hearing prayer, and that our souls know right well." He then told his father how much he had been affected with his despondency; that he had just been praying with all earnestness for his soul; and how wonderfully the Lord had answered his prayer. Upon this, his father felt his joys still increased, and exclaimed, saying, *Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. When I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. Oh! how lovely is the sight of a smiling Jesus, when one is dying! How refreshing is it, when heart, and flesh, and all things fail, to have God for the strength of our heart, and our portion for ever!*" He then departed to be numbered with the blessed.\*

Upon the death of his father, Mr. Janeway endeavoured to fill up that relation, in the tender and affectionate care of his mother, sisters, and brethren. His excellent example, prudent instructions, and holy practice, had the desired effect. Those who were older than himself, as well as the younger branches, loved and revered him.

Having returned, after some time, to King's college, he there continued till he was invited to become domestic tutor in the family of Dr. Cox. Here he did not disappoint the expectations of his employer. His deportment was so sweet and obliging, and his conversation so spiritual and holy, that he gained the esteem and admiration of all. But, on account of his ill health, he was obliged to relinquish the situation, to try a change of air, and reside with his mother. Here he continued in a weak and languishing condition, in the prospect of death, but not afraid to die. He was even ashamed of desiring life, and said, "Is there any thing here more to be desired than the enjoyment of Christ? Can I expect any thing here below comparable to that blessed vision? Oh that crown, that rest which remaineth for the people of God! And, blessed be God, I can say it is mine. *I know that when the earthly house of this tabernacle is dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not*

\* Mr. William Janeway, the father of Mr. John Janeway, was minister of Lilley in Hertfordshire, then of Harpenden, and afterwards of Kelsall in the same county. At his death, he left a widow and eleven children, several of whom became worthy ministers of Christ.

*made with hands*; and therefore I desire not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon with Christ. *To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.* Through mercy I can now speak in the language of the apostle: *I have fought a good fight; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness.*"

Perceiving one of his relations much troubled at the prospect of his death, he charged him not to pray for his life, unless it should be more for the glory of God. "I wish you," said he, "to keep your mind submissive to the will of God concerning me. The Lord draw you nearer to himself, that you may walk with him; and if I go to him before you, I hope you will follow." Afterwards, the Lord was pleased so far to restore him, that his friends were in hopes of his perfect recovery. And while God thus remembered him, he did not forget God. His words to an intimate friend discover his deep sense of the love of God. He said, "God holds mine eyes most upon his goodness, his unmeasurable goodness; and upon the promises which are most sure and firm in Christ. His love to us is greater, more sure, more full, than ours to ourselves. For when we loved ourselves so as to *destroy* ourselves, he loved us so as to *save* us."

Mr. Janeway, writing to a friend under perplexing fears about the state of his soul, thus addressed him: "Oh! stand still and wonder. Behold and admire his love! Consider what thou canst discover in this precious Jesus. Here is a sea; cast thyself into it, and thou shalt be compassed with the height, and depth, and breadth, and length of love, and be filled with all the fullness of God. Is not this enough? Wouldst thou have more? Fling away all excepting God. For God is a sufficient portion, and the only proper portion of the soul. Hast thou not tasted, hast thou not known, that his love is better than wine? He is altogether lovely. And while I write, my heart doth burn. My soul is on fire. I am sick of love. But now, methinks, I see you almost drowned in tears, because you feel not such workings of love towards God. Weep on still; for love, as well as grief, hath tears. And tears of love, as well as others, shall be kept in God's bottle. Know that they are no other than the streams of Christ's love flowing to thee, and from thee to him. Christ is thus delighted in beholding his beauties in those whom he loves."

Mr. Janeway, however, was not always on the mount,

He had his cloudy days, as well as others. His sweets were sometimes turned into bitters. He was painfully assaulted by Satan's temptations. The enemy was permitted to come upon him as an armed man. As, in the case of the apostle, lest he should be exalted above measure, the enemy was suffered to buffet him; and it would have made a christian's heart ache to have heard how this gracious man was exercised with Satan's dreadful temptations. But he was well armed for the painful conflict. Having on the shield of faith, wherewith to quench the fiery darts of the wicked one, he came off a complete conqueror. In the trying contest, he sent up strong cries and tears to the Lord for fresh supplies of grace.

This holy man was much afraid of spiritual declension, both in himself and others. He ever laboured to maintain a tender conscience; and took notice of the smallest departures of his soul from God, as well as God's withdrawings from him. His great concern was to build sure, by being rooted and grounded in the faith. He also exercised a similar godly jealousy over his intimate friends and relations. To one of his brothers he wrote thus: "You live in a place," said he, "where strict and close walking with God hath few or no examples. God's own children are too apt to forget their first love. Our hearts are prone to be careless, and to neglect our watch. When conscience is put off with some poor excuse, religion withers; he who once seemed a *zealot*, becomes a *Laodicean*; and he who once appeared an eminent saint, may afterwards come to nothing. It is too common, to *have a name to be alive, and yet to be dead*. Read this and tremble, lest it should be your case. When we are indolent and asleep, our adversary is most awake. I consider your age; I know where you dwell; I am no stranger to your temptations; therefore I cannot help being afraid of you, and jealous over you. Let me remind you of what you know already. Remember what meltings of soul you once had; how solicitously you once inquired after Christ; and how earnestly you seemed to ask the way to Zion, with your face thitherward. Oh, take heed of losing those impressions! Be not satisfied with a slight work. True conversion is a great thing, and very different from what most persons take it to be. Therefore rest not in mere convictions, much less in a lifeless and formal profession.

"There is such a thing as being *almost a christian*; as *looking back unto perdition*; as being *not far from the*

*kingdom of heaven*, and falling short at last. Beware, lest thou lose the reward. The promise is made to him that holdeth fast, holdeth out to the end, and overcometh. Labour to forget the things which are behind, and reach unto the things which are before. He who is contented with just enough grace to escape hell and get to heaven, and desires no more, may be sure he hath none at all, and is far from the kingdom of God. Labour to enjoy converse with God. Strive to do every thing as in his presence, and for his glory. Act as in the sight of the grave and eternity. Let us awake and fall to work in good earnest. Heaven and hell are before us. Why do we sleep? Dulness in the service of God is very uncomfortable, and at best will cost us dear; but to be contented in such a frame is the certain sign of a hypocrite. Oh, how will such tremble when God shall call them to give an account of their stewardship, and tell them they may be no longer stewards! Oh, live more upon the invisible realities of heaven, and let a sense of their excellencies put life into your performances! For your preciseness and singularity you must be content to be laughed at. A christian's walking is not with men, but with God. He hath great cause to suspect his love to God, who does not delight more in conversing with God and being conformed to him, than in conversing with men and being conformed to the world. How can the love of God dwell in that man who liveth without God in the world?"

This shews how anxious he was himself to be undeceived, and to undeceive others. Here we see his delight, his treasure, his life, his all. The great love he had to Christ and the souls of men made him desirous to spend and be spent in the work of the ministry. Accordingly, at the age of twenty-two years, he entered upon the sacred office under a deep impression of its importance and the worth of souls. Yet alas! he never preached more than two sermons; which, it is said, he delivered with such clearness and freedom, such tenderness and compassion, such power and majesty, as greatly amazed those who heard him. He understood the glorious mysteries of the gospel, and what he delivered was the language and experience of his own heart. His two sermons were from Job xx. 21. "*Acquaint now thyself with him, and be at peace: thereby good shall come unto thee.*"

During the closing scene of life Mr. Janeway seemed wholly employed in the contemplation of Christ, heaven,

and eternity. He lived as a stranger in the world, and in the constant prospect of a better state. Like the worthy patriarch, "he looked for a city which hath foundations whose builder and maker is God." His meditations, his discourse, his whole deportment, all made it appear that he was fast ripening for glory. He was never satisfied unless he was employed in those pursuits which brought him nearer to God and the kingdom of heaven. Hereby his faith was increased to full assurance. The Lord often called him up to the mount and let him see his glory. He often feasted upon the fat things of God's house, and enjoyed many foretastes of future blessedness. From his own happy experience, he could say to others, "Oh, taste and see that the Lord is good! Come unto me, and I will declare unto you what he hath done for my soul."

In the midst of all needful worldly comforts he longed for death; and his thoughts of the day of judgment greatly sweetened all his enjoyments. He said, "What if the day of judgment were to come even this hour? I should be glad with all my heart. I should hear such thunderings, and behold such lightnings as Israel did at the mount; and I am persuaded my heart would leap for joy. But this I am confident of, that the meditation of that day hath even ravished my soul; and the thoughts of its certainty and nearness is more refreshing to me than all the comforts of the world. Surely nothing can more revive my spirit than to behold the blessed Jesus, who is the life and joy of my soul." It required no small degree of patience and self-denial to be kept so long from him whom his soul loved.

Mr. Janeway at length found himself in a deep consumption, but was not afraid. The spitting of blood did not in the least intimidate him, who enjoyed an interest in the blood of Christ. During the progress of his complaint, he was seized with dimness in his eyes, which ended in the total loss of his sight. Being in expectation of his departure, he called his mother, and said, "Dear mother, I am dying; but I beseech you be not troubled. Through mercy I am quite above the fear of death. It is no great matter. I have nothing that troubles me, excepting the apprehension of your grief. I am going to Him whom I love above life." From this fainting fit the Lord was pleased to revive him; and for several weeks his soul was so devoutly employed in the contemplation of Christ and heaven, that he almost forgot his pains and sickness. His faith, his

love, and his joys exceedingly abounded. He frequently exclaimed, "Oh that I could let you know what I feel! Oh that I could shew you what I now see! Oh that I could express a thousandth part of that sweetness which I now find in Christ! You would then all think it worth your while to make religion your chief business. Oh, my dear friends, you little think what Christ is worth upon a death-bed! I would not for a world, nay, for a million of worlds, be now without a Christ and a pardon. I would not for a world live any longer; and the very thought of the possibility of a recovery makes me tremble."

When it was said that the Lord might again raise him up to health and strength, so as to live many years, he said, "And do you think to please me with that? No, friend, you are mistaken, if you think that life, and health, and the world are pleasing to me. The world hath quite lost its excellency. Oh, how poor and contemptible is it in all its glory, when compared with the glory of that world which I now live in sight of! And as for life, Christ is my life. I tell you, it would please me incomparably more if you should say to me, 'You cannot possibly hold out long. Before to-morrow you will be in eternity.' I tell you I do so long to be with Christ, that I could be content to be cut in pieces, and to be put to the most exquisite torments, so I might but die and be with Christ. Oh, how sweet is Jesus! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Death, do thy worst. Death hath lost its terrors. Through grace, I can say, death is nothing to me. I can as easily die as shut my eyes. I long to be with Christ. I long to die."

To his mother he said, "Dear mother, I as earnestly beseech you as ever I desired any thing for you in my life, that you would cheerfully give me up to Christ. I beseech you do not hinder me now I am going to glory. I am afraid of your prayers, lest they should pull one way and mine another." Then, turning to his brothers, he thus addressed them: "I charge you all do not pray for my life. You wrong me if you do. Oh the glory, the unspeakable glory that I now behold! My heart is full, my heart is full! Christ smiles, and I am constrained to smile. Can you find in your hearts to stop me, now I am going to the complete and eternal enjoyment of Christ? Would you keep me from my crown? The arms of my blessed Saviour are open to embrace me. The angels stand ready to carry my soul into his bosom. Oh! did you but see

what I see, you would all cry out with me, Dear Lord, how long? Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Oh, why are his chariot wheels so slow in coming!"

A minister having spoken to him of the glories of heaven; he said, "Sir, I feel something of it. My heart is as full as it can hold in this lower state. I can hold no more. Oh, that I could but let you know what I feel! Who am I, Lord; who am I, that thou shouldst be mindful of me? Why me, Lord, why me! and pass by thousands to look upon such a wretch as I! Oh, what shall I say unto thee, thou preserver of men! Oh, why me, Lord, why me! Oh, blessed, and for ever blessed be free grace! How is it, Lord, that thou shouldst manifest thyself unto me, and not unto others? *Even so, Father, because it seemed good in thy sight.* Thou wilt have mercy, because thou wilt have mercy. And if thou wilt look upon such a poor worm, who can hinder? Who would not love thee, oh blessed Father! Oh, how sweet and gracious hast thou been to me! Oh, that he should have me in his thoughts of love, before the foundations of the world!"

Thus he continued admiring and adoring the sovereignty of divine grace. As he experienced the intermissions of triumphant joy, he thus cried: "Hold out, faith and patience, yet a little while, and your work is done. What is the matter, oh! my soul? What! wilt thou, canst thou thus unworthily slight this astonishing condescension of God? Doth it seem a small matter, that the great Jehovah should deal thus familiarly with a worm? And wilt thou pass this over as a common mercy? What meanest thou, oh my soul, that thou dost not constantly adore and praise this unspeakable love! Doth God deal graciously and familiarly with man, and are his love and praise too good for him? Why art thou not, oh my soul! swallowed up every moment with his free, unparalleled, and everlasting love? Stand astonished ye heavens, and wonder ye angels, at this infinite grace! Was ever any one under heaven more beholden to this grace than I? Oh, help me to praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever!"

One of his brothers having prayed with him, his joys became unutterable; and "I believe," says our author, "that it exceeds the highest strains of rhetoric to set forth to the life what this heavenly man delivered." He broke out in such words as these: "Oh, he is come! he is come! Oh, how sweet, how glorious, is the blessed Jesus! How shall I speak the thousandth part of his praises! Oh, for

words to set forth a little of that excellency! But it is inexpressible. Oh, how excellent and glorious is the precious Jesus! He is altogether lovely. Oh, my friends, stand and wonder! Come, look upon a dying man and wonder. Was there ever greater kindness? Were there ever more sensible manifestations of rich grace? Oh, why me, Lord? why me? Surely this is akin to heaven. And if I were never to enjoy more than this, it is more than a sufficient recompence for all the torments that men and devils could inflict. If this be dying, it is sweet. This bed is soft. Christ's arms, and smiles, and love, surely would turn hell into heaven. Oh that you did but see and feel what I do! Behold a dying man, more cheerful than you ever saw a man in health and in the midst of his sweetest worldly enjoyments! Oh, sirs, worldly pleasures are poor, pitiful, sorry things, when compared with this glory now in my soul. Why should any of you be so sad, when I am so glad? This is the hour that I have waited for."

Mr. Janeway took his leave of his friends every evening, hoping that he should see them no more till the morning of the resurrection. He exhorted them to make sure of a comfortable meeting in a better world. He entreated those about him to assist him in praises. "Oh," said he, "help me to praise God! Henceforth, to eternity, I have nothing else to do but to love and praise the Lord. I have my soul's desires on earth. I cannot tell what to pray for which is not already given me. The wants capable of being supplied in this world are supplied. I want only one thing, and that is a speedy lift to heaven. I expect no more here. I desire no more. I can bear no more. Oh, praise! praise! praise! that boundless love, which hath wonderfully looked upon my soul, and hath done more for me than for thousands of his children. 'Bless the Lord, O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name!' O my friends, help me, help me, to admire and praise him, who hath done such astonishing wonders for my soul! He hath pardoned all my sins, and hath filled me with his goodness. He hath given me grace and glory, and no good thing hath he withholden from me. All ye mighty angels, help me to praise God. Let every thing that hath being help me to praise him. Praise is my work now, and will be my work for ever. Hallelujah, hallelujah, hallelujah!"

During his sickness he found the word of God sweet to his soul, especially the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth chapters of John's gospel, and the fifty-fourth

of Isaiah. He often, with abundant joy, repeated those words : *With great mercies will I gather thee.* A short time before his death, he said, " I have almost done conversing with mortals. I shall presently behold Christ himself, who loved me and washed me in his blood. In a few hours I shall be in eternity, singing the song of Moses and the Lamb. I shall presently stand upon mount Sion, *with an innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and JESUS the mediator of the new covenant.* I shall hear the voice of much people, and be one amongst them, saying, *Hallelujah! salvation, glory, and honour, and power be unto the LORD our GOD!* Yet a little while, and I shall sing unto the Lamb, *Worthy art thou to receive praise, who hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and hast made us kings and priests unto God, and we shall reign with thee for ever and ever.* And who can help rejoicing in all this ?"

The day before his departure, his brother James having been praying for him, he said, " I thank thee, dear brother, for thy love. I know thou lovest me dearly ; but Christ loves me ten thousand times more. Dear brother, come and kiss me before I die." Having kissed his cold dying lips, he said, " I shall go before thee to glory, and I hope thou wilt follow after." A few hours before his happy exit, he called together his mother, and sisters, and brethren, to give them one more solemn warning, and pray for them before he departed.

His affectionate mother being first called, he thanked her for her tender love to him ; and desired that she might see Christ formed in the hearts of all her children, and meet them all with joy in the day of judgment.

He prayed that his elder brother might be wholly taken up with Christ and love to souls, and be more holy in his life, successful in his ministry, and finish his course with joy.

For his brother Andrew, living in London, he prayed that God would deliver him from the sins of the city, make him a fellow-citizen of the saints, and of the household of God. " O that he may be," said he, " as his name is, *a strong man,* and that I may meet him with joy."

To James he said : " Brother James, I hope God hath given thee a goodly heritage. The lines have fallen to thee in pleasant places. The Lord is thy portion. Hold on, dear brother ; Christ and heaven are worth striving for. The Lord give thee abundance of his grace."

To his brother Abraham, he said: "The blessing of the God of Abraham rest upon thee. The Lord make thee the father of many spiritual children."

To his brother Joseph he said: "Let him bless thee, O Joseph, who blessed him that was separated from his brethren. My heart hath been working towards thee, poor Joseph; and I am not without hopes that the arms of the Almighty will embrace thee. The God of thy father bless thee."

To his sister Mary he said: "Poor sister Mary, thy body is weak, and thy days will be filled with bitterness. The Lord sweeten all with his grace and peace, and give thee health of soul. Be patient; make sure of Christ; and all is well."

To Sarah he said: "Sister Sarah, thy body is strong and healthful. O that thy soul may be so too! The Lord make thee a pattern of modesty, humility, and holiness."

To his brother Jacob he said: "The Lord make thee an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile. O that thou mayest learn to wrestle with God, and not go without a blessing!"

And of his youngest brother Benjamin, then an infant, he said: "Poor little Benjamin! O that the Father of the fatherless would take care of thee; and that thou who hast never seen thy father on earth, may see him with joy in heaven. The Lord be thy father and thy portion."

He then said to them all: "O that none of us may be found among the unconverted in the day of judgment! O that we may all appear, with our honoured father and dear mother, before Christ with joy; and that they may say, 'Lord, here are we, and the children whom thou hast given us!' O that we may live to God here, and live with God hereafter. And now, my dear mother, brethren, and sisters, farewell. I leave you a short time. *I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among them which are sanctified.* And now, dear Lord, my work is done. *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me the crown of righteousness. Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly;*" and he presently departed. He died in the month of June, 1657, in the twenty-fourth year of his age; when his remains were interred in Kelshall church, where his father had been minister.

The foregoing account of this extraordinary young man was originally published with the recommendatory testimonial

of four eminent presbyterian ministers, giving their attestation to the truth of the narrative.\* A late popular writer observes, that, if ever mortal lived the life of an angel while upon the earth, Mr. Janeway seems to have been the man. And he adds, "that his death-bed scene, above all others I have either read or seen, appears to have had in it the largest share of divine communications."† Wood denominates Mr. Janeway a zealous presbyterian;‡ His three brothers, William, James, and Abraham, were all ejected nonconformists in 1662.§

JOHN LANGLEY, A. M.—This celebrated scholar was born near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Afterwards he was prebendary of Gloucester, where he was master of the college school about twenty years; and, in the year 1640, he succeeded Dr. Gill as chief master of St. Paul's school, London. In both these situations many persons were trained up under his tuition, who became eminently distinguished characters in church and state. Among the number of his learned pupils was Mr. Richard Cumberland, afterwards bishop of Peterborough.¶ He was a judicious divine, a universal scholar, and so celebrated an antiquarian, that his delight in, and acquaintance with, antiquities deserves the highest commendation that can be given.‡ He was highly esteemed by men celebrated for literature, but little regarded by the clergy, because he was a puritan, and a witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial.\*\*

Mr. Langley was indeed called as witness against the archbishop; when he deposed, that, in the year 1616, his lordship, then dean of Gloucester, came down to the cathedral of that place, intending to turn the communion-table into an altar, and to place it altar-wise at the east end of the choir, removing it from its former situation in the midst of the church. Dr. Smith, bishop of Gloucester, opposed the innovation, and warmly protested to the dean and the prebends, that if the communion-table should be removed, or

\* Janeway's Life of Mr. John Janeway. Edit. 1673.—Clark's Lives, last vol. p. 60—81.

† Simpson's Plea for Religion, p. 306, 310. Edit. 1810.

‡ Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 395.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 308. iii. 311, 313.

¶ Biog. Britan. vol. iv. p. 558. Edit. 1778.

‡ Reynolds's Fun. Ser. for Mr. Langley.

\*\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 135.

any such innovation brought into the cathedral, as Dean Laud then intended, he would never come within the walls of the cathedral any more. But the dean was so violent, that, in direct opposition to the order and appointment of the bishop, he caused the Lord's table to be removed and placed altar-wise, from north to south, at the east end of the choir, with popish furniture upon it, bowing towards it himself, and commanding the various officers of the church to do the same. He further deposed, that the bishop was so much offended at these innovations, that he, according to his protestation, came no more into the cathedral to the day of his death. This is the substance of what Mr. Langley testified, which was further confirmed by other evidence.\*

Mr. Langley, being a most celebrated scholar, was chosen one of the licensers of the press for the philosophical and historical department.† A minister of his name, but, according to Wood, a different person, was chosen one of the assembly of divines.‡ He died at his house adjoining Paul's school, September 13, 1657. Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards bishop of Norwich, preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published. Fuller calls Mr. Langley "the able and religious schoolmaster." Archdeacon Echard denominates him "an excellent theologian of the puritan stamp, a great linguist and historian, and a nice and exact antiquary; for which he was highly esteemed by the famous Selden and other learned men."§ Mr. Strype says, "he was a general scholar, and a great antiquary, especially in matters relating to his own country, the stories and curiosities of which he, during his travels, made a considerable collection." His awful presence and speech produced uncommon respect and fear among his scholars; and such was his behaviour towards them, that they both feared and loved him. His remains were interred, with great funeral solemnity, in Mercer's chapel, Cheapside; when all his scholars attended. And, as he died a single man, they walked before the corpse, having white gloves, and being hung with verses instead of escutcheons, from the school through Cheapside to Mercer's chapel. He was so much in favour with the worshipful company of mercers, that they accepted his commendation of a successor.|| Mr. Langley was author of "Totius

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 75—78.

† Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46. ‡ Wood's Athens, vol. ii. p. 135.

§ Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 811.

|| Knight's Life of Colet, p. 319, 320. Edit. 1724.

*Rhetoricæ adumbratio in usum Scholæ Paulinæ,* 1644—  
 “An Introduction to Grammar”—And some other pieces.

**JOHN GUMBLEDEN, A. M.**—This person was born in Hampshire, in the year 1598, and educated first at Broadgate-hall, then in Christ's church, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. In 1632 he was admitted to the reading of the sentences. After completing his studies at the university, he preached for several years at Longworth in Berkshire. When the civil wars broke out, he espoused the cause of the parliament, became chaplain to Robert, earl of Leicester, and afterwards, for some time, rector of Coytchurch in Glamorganshire. In this situation he died about the month of October, 1657, aged fifty-nine years. His remains were interred in the chancel of the church at that place.\*

**His Works.**—1. A Sermon on Gen. vi. 5—7., 1626.—2. A Sermon on Gen. xxii. 1, 2., 1627.—3. God's great Mercy to Mankind in Jesus Christ, a Sermon at Paul's Cross, on Isa. liii. 6., 1628.—4. Two Sermons before the University of Oxford, 1657.—5. Christ tempted, the Devil conquered: or, a short Exposition on a Part of the Fourth Chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 1657.—6. A Sermon on Acts i. 1—5.

**JOHN FROST, B. D.**—This pious minister was son of Mr. John Frost, the ancient and pious minister of Fakenham in Suffolk. During his childhood and youth, he discovered a sweet and amiable disposition, and was ever harmless and affectionate in his behaviour. He received his school learning first at Thetford, then at Bury St. Edmund's, where he made uncommon proficiency, especially in Greek and Latin. But that which added the greatest lustre to his character was his early piety, and a zealous attachment to the word of God. Even in the days of his youth he diligently searched the scriptures, constantly attended upon the word preached, and spent much time in the duty of private prayer. He was desirous, from a child, to be employed in the work of the ministry; therefore, he earnestly and constantly prayed that God would fit him for that important work.

At the age of sixteen he entered St. John's college, Cambridge, where he continued thirteen years, and was chosen

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 135.

fellow of the house. During this period, he made amazing progress in all kinds of useful learning; but, having the christian ministry constantly in view, he directed his studies chiefly to those branches of literature which were likely to be most serviceable in that holy office. At the university, on account of the acuteness of his mind, the mildness of his behaviour, his intense application to study, and his great proficiency in useful knowledge, he was greatly beloved by men of learning and piety. He entered upon his ministerial work during his abode at Cambridge; and afterwards became pastor at St. Olave's, Hart-street, London; where he remained to the day of his death.

In this situation he continued many years, and gained a distinguished reputation. As he lived highly respected, so he died greatly lamented. And having lived a most pious life, he died a most peaceable and happy death. During his last sickness, he discovered a becoming submission to the will of God, being willing to die, if his heavenly Father had so determined; or willing to live, if most for the glory of God and the advantage of his church. When he was asked how he did, he replied, "Full of peace and sweet submission to God my Saviour, and in dependence upon him." The pangs of death evidently approaching, he called his family together and engaged in prayer, for the last time, with much liveliness and affection. And having received something to drink, his affectionate wife reclining upon his bosom, he exclaimed, "We have overcome, we have overcome!" and spoke no more, but resigned his pious soul to God, and immediately entered upon the joy of his Lord, November 2, 1657.

Mr. Crofton, who preached and published Mr. Frost's funeral sermon, gives the following account of his excellent qualifications:—"He was sound in the faith, well studied in polemical divinity, and able to defend the truth, holding fast the doctrines of the gospel, and establishing the minds of his people in the faith, especially against the fancies of arminianism and popery. He was singularly excellent in practical divinity, pressing the observance of duties, rebuking sin with wisdom and affection, and prudently directing persons into all necessary christian conversation, as becometh the profession of the gospel. He was a thorough puritan in principle and practice, but highly esteemed the unity and peace of the church. He studiously laboured to promote concord among the episcopal and presbyterian divines. He was ever solicitous to perform all the duties of his office, by preaching, administering the sacraments, catechizing the youth, and

visiting the sick. He was zealous and fervent, circumspect and wise, and always deeply affected with the worth of souls.

“His excellent ministerial endowments were manifest to all. What he delivered to the people was first deeply imprinted on his memory by an easy method, and deeply engraven on his own heart by serious meditation. He expressed himself with great power and plainness, and enforced the great truths of the gospel with strong arguments and pathetic affections. In his daily conversation he was courteous and affable to all men, whether his superiors, inferiors, or equals. He was meek and grave, holy and exemplary, as was obvious to all who knew him.”\* He was the author of “Select Sermons,” 1657.

HUGH EVANS was born in Radnorshire, but removed in his youth to the city of Worcester, where he lived some years. About the commencement of the civil wars, he left that city and went to reside at Coventry. There he found a society of baptists, when he soon embraced their sentiments, and was admitted a member of their church. This was about the year 1643. He approved himself a very pious, sensible, and hopeful young man. His brethren soon perceived that he was endowed with promising gifts for the ministry, and encouraged him to cultivate and exercise them; which he did to their abundant satisfaction. He now began to pity the state of his native country; and, considering its deplorable condition as overspread with gross darkness, and destitute of the means of knowledge and salvation, he felt a strong desire to devote himself to the laudable, but arduous work of enlightening and converting his countrymen. There were then not above one or two gathered churches in all Wales, and very few preachers of the gospel. His friends approved and countenanced his benevolent inclination, but judged it advisable that he should first have some further literary advantage and instruction. Accordingly, he was placed for some time under the care and tuition of Mr. Jeremiah Ives, a baptist minister of considerable respectability. Having continued with Mr. Ives, and enjoyed the benefit of his instructions for a considerable time, he, according to his original intention, returned into Wales. This, it appears, was about the year 1647.

\* Crofton's Funeral Sermon and Life of Mr. Frost.

Mr. Evans entered upon the ministerial work as one sensible of its importance, and deeply impressed with the worth of souls. It soon appeared that his labours were both acceptable and useful. The good people among whom he preached warmly solicited and pressed him to continue with them, which he did to the end of his days. Though, at the commencement of his ministry, he does not appear to have been above thirty years of age, he was unwearied in all his labours to promote their best interests, and to extend the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom. He presently succeeded in gathering a respectable congregation, which, as our author observes, has continued by a succession of new members down to the present time. After having spent about ten years, with exemplary diligence, unwearied perseverance, and eminent success in promoting the gospel among his countrymen, he finished his course in the prime of life, and in the height of his usefulness, to the unspeakable regret of his numerous friends, by whom he was exceedingly respected and beloved. His ministry was chiefly exercised in Radnorshire and Brecknockshire. Dr. Walker enumerates him among the popular itinerants of Wales, and charges him with having received a salary for itinerant preaching in both those counties.\* If he did so, it only proves his great activity and uncommon labours. When one man does the work of two, it is fit he should receive double wages. There is reason to think, says our author, that he was for some time the only baptist minister in Wales. Some of the other preachers, and Mr. Vavasor Powell among the rest, were probably baptized by him. His people, it is added, were all baptists, and do not appear to have admitted mixt communion, though some of the neighbouring churches did; nor did they practise *singing* in their public worship, except, perhaps, at the Lord's table. The church afterwards increased, and spread into several branches; and now forms three or four distinct and respectable churches, assembling in the counties of Radnor, Brecon, and Montgomery.

Mr. Evans had, doubtless, many enemies; but his principal opponents are said to have been the Quakers; who virulently opposed him from the press, as well as otherwise, conceiving a very strong and unreasonable antipathy against him. A book was published against him, about the time of his death, by one John Moon, who called Mr. Evans "the blind Welsh priest of Radnorshire," and attempted, very

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 158.

illiberally, to asperse and vilify his character and memory. His two friends, Mr. John Price and Mr. William Bownd, answered the Quaker, and successfully vindicated their deceased brother; and, from their own intimate knowledge of him, expressed the highest opinion of his integrity and piety, as well as the truest respect and veneration for his memory. The amiableness and respectability of his character may be safely inferred from the strong attachment of his pious and numerous friends. He died about the year 1657, and probably not more than forty years of age. But he lived long afterwards in the affectionate recollection of those who had attended on his faithful and edifying ministry.\* Mr. Henry Gregory, who had been a member of Mr. Evans's church, was his successor in the pastoral office.†

**OBADIAH SEDGWICK, B. D.**—This excellent person was brother to Mr. John Sedgwick, another puritan divine, born at Marlborough in Wiltshire, in the year 1600, and educated first at Queen's college, then in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he entered upon the ministerial exercise, and became chaplain to Lord Horatio Vere, whom he accompanied to the Low Countries. After his return, he went again to Oxford, and, in the year 1629, was admitted to the reading of the sentences. He was tutor to Matthew Hale, afterwards the celebrated lord chief justice.‡ Leaving the university a second time, he became preacher at St. Mildred's, Bread-street, London; but was driven from the place by the intolerance of the prelates. He became vicar of Coggeshall in Essex, in the year 1639,§ where he continued two or three years. Upon the commencement of the wars, he returned to the city and to his ministry at St. Mildred's, and was often called to preach before the parliament. In the year 1642, he became chaplain to Colonel Hollis's regiment in the parliament's army. The year following, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press, and chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended.|| Wood observes, but certainly with no good design, "that while he preached at Mildred's, which was only to exasperate the people to rebel and confound episcopacy, it was usual with him, especially in hot weather,

\* Theolog. Bib. Mag. vol. v. p. 420—422.

† Ibid. vol. vi. p. 6.

‡ Clark's Lives, last vol. part ii. p. 125.

§ Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 160.

|| Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 556. iii. 46, 53.

to unbutton his doublet in the pulpit, that his breath might be longer, and his voice more audible, to rail against the king's party, and those about the king's person, whom he called popish counsellors. This he did in an especial manner in September, 1644, when he, with great concernment, told the people, several times, that God was angry with the army for not cutting off delinquents.\* Dr. Grey, with a similar design, denominates him "a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense;" for the proof of which, he alleges the following passages from Mr. Sedgwick's sermons preached before the parliament:—"The field which I am at this time to work upon, and go over, you see is large. There is much more ground in it than I can conveniently break up and sow. I shall therefore, by God's assistance, who is the only breaker of hearts, set upon the work, and may he in tender mercy so accompany, and water, and prosper his truths at this day, that all our fallow ground may be broken up, and then be so graciously sown in righteousness, that we and all the land may shortly reap in mercy.—Sirs, you must break up this ground, or it will break up our land. There is not such a God-provoking sin, a God-removing sin, a church-dissolving, a kingdom-breaking sin, as idolatry. Down with it, down with it, even to the ground. Superstition is but a bawd to gross idolatry.—Be as earnest and as active as you possibly can to send labourers into the field; I mean to plant the land with a heart-breaking ministry.—God hath been the salvation of the parliament, and in the parliament, and for the parliament. Salvation at Edge-hill; salvation at Reading and Causon; salvation at Gloucester; salvation at Newbury; salvation in Cheshire; salvation in Pembrokeshire; salvation in the north; salvation from several treacheries; and salvation from open hostilities."† Such are the formidable proofs, in the opinion of the learned doctor, that he was a preacher of treason, rebellion, and nonsense! How far he was guilty, every reader will easily judge.

In the year 1646, Mr. Sedgwick became preacher at St. Paul's, Covent-garden; where he was exceedingly followed, and was instrumental in the conversion of many souls. In 1653, he was, by the parliament, appointed one of the *tryers*; and the year following was constituted one of the assistant commissioners of London for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. He was very zealous to carry on, as

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 139.

† Grey's *Examination*, vol. iii. p. 204—206.

in derision it is called, "the good work of reformation in church and-state." He was a frequent preacher before the parliament. Sir John Birkenhead casts his foul aspersions upon him and Mr. Marshall, saying, "it is pleasant to observe how finely they play into each other's hands. Marshall procures thanks to be given to Sedgwick; and, for his great pains, Sedgwick obtains as much for Marshall; and so they pimp for one another. But, to their great comfort be it spoken, their whole seven years sermons at Westminster are to be sold in Fetter-lane and Pye-corner."\* Had this writer known how many of the episcopal clergy purchased and preached the sermons of the puritans, he might have greatly extended his foul aspersions. Mr. Sedgwick finding, at length, that his health began to decline, he resigned all his preferments and retired to Marlborough, his native place, where he died in the month of January, 1658, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in the chancel of Ogborn St. Andrew, near Marlborough.† He was a learned divine, and an orthodox and admired preacher.‡ In his ministry, he was succeeded by the celebrated Dr. Thomas Manton, ejected in 1662.§

**His Works.**—1. Several Sermons on public Occasions, 1639, &c.—2. Parliamentary Sermons, 1642, &c.; among which were, "England's Preservation," 1642.—"Haman's Vanity," 1643.—"An Ark against a Deluge: or, Safety in Dangerous Times," 1644.—3. Military Discipline for the Christian Soldier, 1639.—4. Christ's Council to his Languishing Church of Sardis, 1640.—5. Speech in Guildhall, 1643.—6. The best and worst Malignant, 1648.—7. The doubting Christian resolved, 1653.—8. The humble Sinner resolved; or, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ the only way for sensible Sinners, discovering the Quality, Objects, and Acts of Justifying Faith,|| 1656.—9. The Fountain opened, and the Water of Life flowing, 1657.—10. The Shepherd of Israel; or, an Exposition of Psalm xxiii., 1658.—11. Anatomy of Secret Sins, 1660.—12. The Bowels of tender Mercy Sealed in the Everlasting Covenant, 1660.—13. The Parable of the Prodigal, 1660.—14. Synopsis of Christianity.—15. A Catechism.

**WILLIAM SANDBROOKE, L. B.**—This pious person was educated in Gloucester-hall, Oxford; and in 1635 he became rector of St. Peter's church in that city, where his preaching

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 48.

† Wood's *Atheusæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 139, 140.

‡ Neal's *Puritans*, vol. iv. p. 184.

§ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 125, 426.

|| The MS. of this excellent work, and apparently in Mr. Sedgwick's own hand, is in the possession of the author.

was much followed by the religious and puritanical scholars. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, left the university, and went to sea as chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, admiral to the parliament. However, in 1644, being tired of a sea employment, he became the officiating minister at St. Margaret's church, Rochester, when Mr. Selvey, the incumbent, to his great honour, allowed him all the profits of the living. Afterwards, by the powers which then were, he was appointed one of the three lecturers at the cathedral in that city, "purposely," says our author, "to preach down the heresies and blasphemies of Richard Coppin, and his bigoted followers." He died at Rochester in the month of March, 1658, leaving behind him the character of a godly and painful preacher.\* He published a work entitled, "The Church the proper Subject of the New Covenant," 1646; and "Several Sermons," 1657.

JOHN BEVERLY was fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. Towards the close of life he settled at Rowell in Northamptonshire; where, by his pious and useful labours, he gathered a church according to the model of the independents. Having been instrumental in the conversion of about thirty persons, he united them in church fellowship, upon congregational principles, when they entered into a covenant to walk with each other in the order of the gospel. The tenor of their covenant was, "To walk together with God, in gospel faith and order, as a particular church, in the performance of all duties towards God, towards each other, and towards all men, in the strength of the spirit of Christ, and according to his word." They chose Mr. Beverly their pastor, two elders, and two deacons. This was in the year 1656. Under Mr. Beverly's ministry, many of the inhabitants of the town were awakened and received into the church. But his excellent and useful labours were not long continued among them after the above period; for he died in the month of June, 1658. After his death, the good people who composed his church mostly attended upon the ministry of Mr. Thomas Browning of Desborough. Upon his ejection, in 1662, they invited him to the office of pastor, and he continued with them to the day of his death. This church is

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 149.

still in existence, and in rather a flourishing state, under the pastoral care of Mr. John Wood. Mr. Beverly was author of several pieces on church government: as, "The Grand Point of Church Matters."—A Tract against Hornbeck *de Independentismo*, in Latin.—And a piece against free Admission, opposed to the Contradictions of Timson, published in 1659.\*

WILLIAM CARTER was born in the year 1605, and educated in the university of Cambridge, after which he became a very popular preacher in London. In the year 1643, he was appointed one of the licensers of the press; and, the same year, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, upon which he constantly attended. After some time he joined the independents, became one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and discovered his great zeal, learning, and moderation in support of their distinguishing sentiments.† In 1654, he was appointed one of the tryers of public preachers, in which capacity Dr. Walker has endeavoured to depreciate his memory, with that of other learned divines.‡ He had frequent offers of preferment, but, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times, he refused them all. He was, nevertheless, indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every Lord's day to two large congregations in the city, besides weekly lectures and other occasional services. He was one of the preachers before the parliament. His incessant and arduous labours wasted his strength, and put an end to his life about the month of June, 1658, aged fifty-three years. He was a good scholar, an admired preacher, and a man of most exemplary piety. His relations were afterwards great sufferers by the purchase of bishops' lands.§ He was author of a sermon entitled, "Israel's Peace with God Benjamin's Overthrow; preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late solemn Fast, July 27, 1642."

\* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 413, 414.—Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 31—33.

† Dissenting Brethren's Reasons, p. 40—.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 174, 175.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 46.

**JOHN HARRIS, D. D.**—This learned person was the son of Mr. Richard Harris, rector of Hardwick in Buckinghamshire; born at that place in the year 1588, educated in grammar learning at Wickham school, near Winchester, and admitted perpetual fellow of New College, Oxford. In the year 1617 he was unanimously elected one of the proctors of the university; and two years after was chosen Greek professor, both of which offices he filled with great honour. Afterwards, he was prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meanstock in Hampshire, and, in the year 1630, he became warden of Wickham college. In the beginning of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, and was appointed one of the assembly of divines; when he took the covenant and other oaths, and kept his wardenship to the day of his death. He died August 11, 1658, aged seventy years, and his remains were interred in the chapel belonging to Wickham college. Dr. Harris was so admirable a Grecian, and so eloquent a preacher, that Sir Henry Savile used to call him the second Chrysostom.\* He published "A short View of the Life of Dr. Arthur Lake, bishop of Bath and Wells," 1629. Several of his letters to the celebrated Dr. Twisse were also published by Mr. Henry Jeanes, in 1653. One of these letters was "Of God's finite and infinite Decrees;" another, "Of the Object of Predestination." It does not appear, however, that he was any relation to Dr. Robert Harris, another puritan divine who lived at the same time.

**THOMAS GOODWIN.**—This excellent servant of Christ was some years minister at South Weald in Essex, where he was much beloved, and eminently useful. He was a divine of puritan principles, and deeply concerned for the purity and spirituality of christian worship. Though he died young, he was a person of great learning, exemplary piety, and universal reputation. Mr. Bownd, who preached his funeral sermon, gives the following account of him: "He was an eminent light and pillar in the church where he lived. He gave evident proof that he was one in Christ, and is now blessed. He was a good and precious man, and well known to be a minister of great worth, every way qualified for the work to which he was called. It was his desire from a youth to be a minister of the gospel; and, according to that desire, the Lord in due time called him to his service. To his quali-

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 144.—Echard's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 227.

fications for the sacred office, his brethren in the county, with many others in more distant places, could give ample testimony.

He was a learned and a godly person, and it is difficult to say which of the two had the pre-eminence: they seemed to keep pace, and he was eminent in both. He was a great proficient in the study of divinity and in a knowledge of the holy scriptures. Like Ezra, he was a ready scribe in the law of the Lord; and, like Apollos, mighty in the scriptures. Though he was young, his attainments were very great; God gave unto him abundantly of his spirit. In prayer he had much of the spirit of devotion, and was filled with the breathings of the Holy Ghost. In preaching, he was very powerful, and spoke directly to the hearts of his hearers. In his life, he was most exemplary, both as a christian and a minister. His preaching was admired by the godly and the learned, yet persons of the meanest capacity could understand him. He had such a winning method, that his sermons were never tedious, but the attention of his hearers seemed to be chained to his lips. He took great pains in his ministry, and was frequently engaged in preaching, in which he took great delight. The love of Christ, and the souls of the people, made frequent preaching his recreation and his pleasure.

This faithful minister of Christ was very zealous in promoting a further reformation of the church. The zeal of God's house did even eat him up. In the cause of God he manifested undaunted courage, and laboured vigorously to promote the Redeemer's kingdom and glory, whatever oppositions were in the way. One might stand upon his grave and say, "Here lies one who never feared the face of any man." He was never proudly puffed up with his rare endowments; but, in the whole of his conversation, he discovered a happy degree of humility and holiness. He lived free from worldly incumbrances, but full of cares for God's glory and the salvation of his people. He was deeply concerned for persons in sickness and death. He used to tell me, says our author, how sadly it affected his heart when any one was sick, or taken away by death, and he, the pastor, have no knowledge of his condition. He naturally cared for the souls of the people; and he sought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ. He was a minister of the gospel, and he endeavoured to fulfil his ministry. He made his work his business, and "studied to approve himself unto God a workman that needed not to be ashamed."

As this righteous man lived, so he died, and his end was

happy. During the sickness of which he died, I visited him, says Mr. Bownd, and having recommended submission to the will of God under all his dispensations, he readily concurred, and added, "But my desire is to reach farther, and not only to submit, which an ordinary christian may do, but to raise up myself to courage and cheerfulness under the rod. Blessed be God, that hitherto I can date his choicest mercies from some great affliction." Having exhorted him to the lively exercise of faith, that he might be able to quench the fiery darts of the devil, he replied, "I bless God, that Satan hath, as yet, got no ground by this affliction." Coming to him on another occasion, and finding him greatly reduced, he said, "Dear friend, two days since I overheard the doctor speaking to my wife, as if he feared me; and I bless God who so ordered it that I should hear him. For, indeed, till then, I did not so seriously consider of death, as I have done since. I did all along in my sickness set my heart to labour for a sanctified use of the Lord's hand; but, overhearing that, I thought it needful to look most carefully into my heart as to evidences for eternity; and truly, upon a thorough search of my heart, I bless God, I find good old evidences, though I be but a young man, and they stick very close to me. But, friend," said he, "one thing I must tell you, which troubles and afflicts my spirit very much, that when I grew very serious, being exercised about serious work, the searching of my heart for eternity-evidences, I perceived this seriousness of mine was judged by some to be melancholy, for fear of death. Now this, indeed, troubles me very much, that any should take me to be such a one who am afraid to die."

I afterwards called upon him, says his pious biographer, and told him that his friends were about to meet together to offer up prayer to God for him; when, after pausing a little, he broke out in most affectionate expressions of the sense he had of his people's love to him, and how greatly he loved them, saying, "Oh my poor people! Oh the souls of my poor people! How dear, how precious are they to me! Oh, if God should spare me, how would I lay out myself for them!" He then wished me to commend him to his people, and tell them, that which he desired them to beg of God was a clearer sense of his love, saying, "Not that I altogether want it; for, I bless God, I have it;" but could say no more.

The next time I called upon him, continues Mr. Bownd, I heard from his mouth a most precious and powerful discourse concerning the sweetness and fulness of Christ. He

spoke just as if he had been preaching from the pulpit. I could not help wondering to hear him deliver a discourse so clear and methodical, quoting the scriptures, and not failing in the sense, almost without faltering. He very impressively rehearsed those words, "All things are yours, whether Paul or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things;" when he could proceed no further, but afterwards added, "because ye are Christ's." He afterwards said, "Well, it is a sweet thing when he that speaks of Christ hath Christ dwelling in him, at the time when he speaks;" and then gave up the ghost. He died in the prime of life, and in the midst of his usefulness, September 4, 1658;\* but whether he was any relation to the celebrated Dr. Thomas Goodwin, or to Mr. John Goodwin, both of whom lived at the same time, we have not been able to learn.

**ROBERT HARRIS, D. D.**—This learned divine was born at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire, in the year 1578, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he became an excellent scholar, and a famous logician and disputant. By the blessing of God upon his studies, and the pious instructions of his tutor, he was brought to a saving knowledge of the gospel, and soon after became a celebrated paritan. He preached his first sermon at Chipping Campden in his native county. Such, however, is said to have been the ignorance of the times, that when he came to the church there was no Bible to be found; and it was with much difficulty that he could procure one to carry with him into the pulpit. Indeed, the vicar of the parish possessed a Bible, to whose house he was directed; but, as it had not been seen for many months, it was with great difficulty it could be found. Having at length procured the sacred volume, he went to the church and preached an admirable sermon from Rom. x. i.†

The excellent Mr. Dod being silenced for nonconformity, and ejected from Hanwell in Oxfordshire, Sir Anthony Cope invited Mr. Harris to become his successor. He, accordingly, removed to Hanwell, though with much grief and fear. The people would own no man as their pastor except him who had been ejected. It was, however, agreed upon that Mr. Harris should preach so long as there was any hope of recovering Mr. Dod. During this unsettled state at Hanwell,

\* Bownd's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Goodwin.

† Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 314, 315.

Archbishop Bancroft presented the living to one of his chaplains, on pretence of a lapse. But Sir Anthony Cope, then sitting in parliament, together with several other members of the house, waited upon the archbishop, and presented Mr. Harris, whom his grace, after a long contest, reluctantly admitted. Sir Anthony having formerly spoken against insufficient ministers, not without some reflection upon the intolerant proceedings of the archbishops and bishops, Bancroft embraced this opportunity of shewing his resentment; and, therefore, referred Mr. Harris to be strictly examined by the most learned of his chaplains. The chaplain, after sufficient examination, returned Mr. Harris *moderately learned*. This proving unsatisfactory to the archbishop, he was committed to the examination of Bishop Barlow, a person exactly suited to Bancroft's wishes. The bishop was a person of great wit and learning, and extremely glad of the opportunity. He examined Mr. Harris first in divinity, then in other branches of learning, particularly the Greek, in which his lordship was esteemed a celebrated critic. As the story is related, "they Greeked it till they were both run aground for want of words; upon which they burst into a fit of laughter, and so gave it over."\* Barlow returned to the archbishop, and, delivering a most favourable testimony, his grace, it is said, was satisfied.

Mr. Harris being now settled at Hanwell, Mr. Scudder at Drayton, and Mr. Whately at Banbury, they became particularly intimate, and were united in judgment and affection. Mr. Harris married Mr. Whately's sister, and Mr. Scudder his wife's sister. These divines commonly met together once a week, to translate and analyze a chapter of the Bible. This practice was productive of numerous good effects, by stirring them up to greater diligence, and promoting their mutual edification.

Though Mr. Harris was thus comfortably settled, he was called to endure many trials. His faith and patience were much exercised by his wife's long and painful illness. This affliction, said Mr. Dod, was designed to season him and fit him for his work. "And I should have been spoiled," says Mr. Harris, "had I not been thus taken down. Young ministers know not on what ground they tread till God make them humble." He, nevertheless, found much encouragement in his work. His people began to relish his ministry, and the Lord greatly blessed his labours. He did not feed

them with airy notions, and dry speculations, but with "the sincere milk of the word;" and in a method adapted to those of the meanest capacity. And God is said to have so wonderfully blessed his endeavours, that there was not one prayerless family in Hanwell, nor one person who refused his examination and instruction previous to receiving the Lord's supper.

In this situation he continued about forty years, blessed in himself, and made a blessing to his people, until the commencement of the civil wars. The bloody battle of Edgehill, only a few miles distant, was fought October 23, 1642, being the Lord's day; yet, the wind being contrary, he did not hear the least noise of it till the public exercises of the day were over; nor could he believe the report of a battle till soldiers, besmeared with blood, came to make it known. From this time his troubles increased. Rude soldiers were quartered upon him, some calling him *round-head*, others *malignant*; but he continued to attend upon his numerous duties as at other times. One company that was quartered upon him was so outrageous in swearing, that he could not forbear preaching from James v. 12. "Above all things, my brethren, swear not at all." This so offended them, that they swore they would shoot him if he preached again from the same text. Undismayed by their threatenings, he ventured to preach from the same words the following sabbath; when, as he was preaching, he observed a soldier preparing his firelock, as if he meant to shoot; but Mr. Harris went on without fear, and finished his discourse without interruption.\* He, indeed, endured the storm till he had suffered very material injury, and was at length driven from the place.

Mr. Harris, being forced from his flock, fled to London, when he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and preached at St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate. He was one of the preachers before the parliament. In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford; and, the year following, one of the visitors. Dr. Walker, with his usual slander, observes, that when the visitors proceeded to open their visitation, they began, as they did all their other distinguished wickedness, and according to their usual hypocrisy, with *prayers* and a *sermon!* The sermon was preached by Mr. Harris.† He, at the same time, took his doctor's degree, was made presi-

\* Clark's Lives, p. 321.

† VOL. III.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 127.

dent of Trinity college, and became rector of Garlington, near Oxford. He governed his college with great prudence, gaining the affections of all the fellows and students, who revered him as a father.

Dr. Harris, in his last sickness, being desired to admit company, said, "It is all one to me whether I am left alone or have my friends with me. My work is now to arm myself for death, which now assaults me, and apply myself to that great encounter." Accordingly, he spent all his time in prayer, meditation, and reading the scriptures; and when he became unable to read himself, his friends read to him. He said to them, "You must put on all the armour of God, and then go forth in the strength of the Lord. Stand in the fight, and the issue will be glorious: only forget not to call in the help of your General. Do all from him and under him." Being asked whence he derived his comfort, he said, "From Christ and the free grace of God." When it was signified that he might take much comfort from his labours and usefulness, he replied, "All is nothing without a Saviour. Without him my best works would condemn me. Oh! I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin. Oh! I am an unprofitable servant. I have not done any thing for God as I ought. Loss of time sits heavy upon my spirit. Work, work apace. Be assured nothing will more trouble you, when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God, who has done so much for you." He said, "I never saw the worth of Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love, in so great a measure as I do now." When his friends asked what they should do for him, he replied, "You must not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me. O, how good is God! Entertain good thoughts of him. We cannot think too well of him, nor too ill of ourselves. I am now going home, even quite spent. I am on the shore, but leave you still tossing on the sea. Oh! it is a good time to die in." Afterwards, being asked how he did, he said, "In no great pain, I praise God, only weary of my useless life. If God hath no more work for me to do, I would be glad to be in heaven, where I shall serve him without distractions. I pass from one death to another; yet I fear none. I praise God that I can live, and dare die. If God hath more work for me to do, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary." He professed that he lived and died in that faith which he preached, and found its unspeakable comforts now in the immediate prospect of death. He closed his eyes in

peace, resigning his soul to God, December 11, 1658, aged eighty years.\*

Mr. Clark gives the following account of his excellent endowments:—He was a hard student, endowed with great parts, and furnished with all manner of learning necessary to a divine. He was a pure and elegant Latinist, very exact in the Hebrew, and much admired as a subtle, clear, and ready disputant. He excelled in chronology, church history, the councils, case divinity, and in the knowledge of the fathers. But his parts were best seen in the pulpit. His gifts in prayer were very great; his affections warm and fervent; his petitions weighty and substantial; and his language, pertinent, unaffected, and without tautology. He preached with learned plainness, unfolding the great mysteries of the gospel to persons of the meanest capacities. He used to say, "a preacher hath three books to study: the *Bible*, *himself*, and his *people*." He observed, that the humblest preachers converted the greatest number of souls, not the most learned scholars while unbroken. He valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them. Nor did he expect much from any man, were his parts ever so great, till he was broken by temptations and afflictions. He was a man who ruled well his own house, was of great moderation about church discipline, exceedingly charitable to the poor, and eminently distinguished for humility, mortification, and self-denial. In short, he was richly furnished with every necessary qualification to render him a complete scholar, a wise governor, a profitable preacher, and an excellent christian.†

Notwithstanding this account from the impartial pen of one who must have been well acquainted with him, Dr. Walker has stigmatized him as "a notorious pluralist." He rests the evidence of this slanderous accusation upon the authority of a scurrilous and abusive letter, published to expose and pour contempt upon the puritans. The doctor also observes, "that he had somewhere read, that in those times Dr. Harris's picture was drawn with one steeple upon his head, and others coming out of his pockets." We shall not attempt to justify pluralities. They are undoubtedly indefensible. Yet the satire had certainly been more reasonable, if pluralities did no where exist among rigid churchmen.‡ Respecting this charge, Dr. Harris himself made the following open and generous declaration: "I stood clear," says

\* Clark's Lives, p. 325—327.

† Ibid, p. 327—331.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 127.

he, "in my own conscience, and in the consciences of those who best knew me. I was far from allowing nonresidence and a plurality of livings; yet, to such as were ignorant of all circumstances, there was some appearance of evil."\* He undoubtedly possessed several benefices; but whether he received the profits of them all, and enjoyed them all at the same time, appears extremely doubtful. Though Dr. Grey denominates him "a fanatical hero, and a professed enemy to the constitution, both in church and state;" yet he in part acquits him of the vile charge, and invalidates, in a great measure, the authority of the above scurrilous letter.†

The Oxford historian brings accusations against Dr. Harris, which, if true, would prove him to have been one of the basest of men. He charges him with having taken for his own use two bags of gold, containing one hundred pounds each, which he found among some old rubbish in Trinity college, soon after he became president. He also affirms, that Dr. Harris told several most glaring falsehoods, with a view to secure the money to himself. Though our documents will not afford us materials for a complete refutation of these charges; yet the whole of what is asserted, and especially the worst part of it, is so contrary to the uniform spirit and deportment of this learned and pious divine, that the account appears extremely suspicious, and only designed to reproach the memory of the puritans.‡

Dr. Harris's last will and testament contains much excellent advice to his wife and numerous children, but is too long for our insertion.§ His works came forth at different times, but were afterwards collected and published in one volume folio, in 1654. The pious Bishop Wilkins passes an high encomium upon his sermons.¶ It does not appear whether he was any relation to Dr. John Harris, whose memoir is given in a foregoing article.

**CHRISTOPHER FEAKE** was first a minister in the established church, afterwards he joined the brethren of the separation, espoused the sentiments of the baptists, became a fifth monarchy-man, and was exceedingly zealous in the cause. Edwards, who styles him a great sectary, gives the

\* Clark's Lives, p. 323.

† Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 298, 299.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 748.

§ Clark's Lives, p. 336—339.

¶ Wilkins on Preaching, p. 82, 83.

following curious and amusing account of him: "This Master Feake, within this twelvemonth, was preacher in London, and hath preached many strange and odd things at Peter's in Cornhill, besides Wool-church, and other places: as, for separation from our assemblies, expressing many heterodox things about mixed communion at the Lord's supper, against maintenance of ministers by tithes; and, in sermons and prayers, hath had many flings at the assembly; but now is preacher in the town of Hertford, and in All-saints, the greatest parish and church of that town, being put into a sequestered living by the power of some of the independents. As for his carriage at Hertford, where he hath preached since last January, it hath been as follows: His preaching and praying shews him to be no friend to the assembly, nor to the directory; he hath never used the Lord's prayer since he went thither, but hath preached against the use of it as a prayer. It is observed of him by understanding men, his auditors, that they never heard him appoint or sing a psalm; he reads but one chapter, or a piece of a chapter, and hath not baptized any since his going. One of the committee, a justice of peace, put up some articles against him at the assizes at Hertford, to both judges then on the bench. The first was this, 'That God would destroy not only unlawful government, but lawful government, not only the abuse, but the use of it; and as he had begun to destroy it in England, so would he, by raising combustions in the bowels of France and Spain; and that he would destroy aristocracy in Holland, for tolerating arminianism.' When he denied the words, one being present and asked, affirmed him to have preached thus; and there are found four others, understanding men and of good worth, who will testify the same. When Master Feake explained himself before the judges, that there was in monarchy and aristocracy an enmity against Christ, which he would destroy; and as he was preaching, some turbulent fellows and sectaries clambered up by the bench, and cried out, 'My lord, my lord, Mr. Pr. doth it in malice: we will maintain our minister with our blood.' Whereupon the judge threw away the paper, and said he would hear no more of it, though he had before commanded Master Eldred to read openly all those heterodoxies. The Lord's day following Master Feake in the pulpit endeavoured to answer all the articles put up against him to the judges, in a great auditory."\*

\* Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 81, 147, 148.

Upon the sequestration of Mr. William Jenkin he became minister of Christ's church, London,\* and afterwards one of the lecturers at Blackfriars; but was most violent against Cromwell's government. He is denominated a bold and crafty orator, of high reputation among the anabaptists. He preached with great bitterness against the civil administration during the commonwealth, but especially against the protector, calling him "the man of sin, the old dragon, and the most dissembling and perjured villain in the world;" and desired, that if any of his friends were present, they would go and tell him what he said.† The protector, therefore, to support his own authority, ordered him to be taken into custody. He was apprehended in the year 1653, when he was carried before Cromwell and the council, and committed prisoner to Windsor-castle.‡ The baptists, disliking the proceedings of government, protested against them in a work entitled, "A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ, and godly people in and about the city of London, concerning the kingly interest of Christ, and the present sufferings of his cause and saints in England," 1654. In this piece they declare, "That they value the churches of Christ, which are the lot of God's inheritance, a thousand times beyond their own lives; that it is their duty to persevere therein to the utmost hazard of their lives; that the Lord made them instruments to vex all in his sore displeasure, who take counsel against Christ, whom the Lord hath anointed and decreed king; and that they were not merely the servants of man; and that they not only proclaimed Jesus Christ to be king, but that they would submit to him alone upon his own terms, and admit him only to the exercise of his royal authority." This declaration was subscribed by a great number of persons; ten of whom are said to be "of the church that walks with Mr. Feake, now close prisoner for this cause of Christ, at Windsor-castle."§ He remained under confinement several years; was in prison in 1655; but enjoyed his liberty in 1657.|| These tribulations did not cause him to desist from his public labours. For he was no sooner released from prison than he renewed his ministerial exercise, and was preacher in the city, most probably at various places, in the year 1658;¶ but when he died we are not able

\* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 793.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 621.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 67.

§ Declaration, p. 9, 21.

|| Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 485. v. 755.

¶ Ibid. vol. vii. p. 57.

to learn. He was author of several pieces, the titles of which have not come to our knowledge.

RALPH PARTRIDGE was a most worthy minister, and a great sufferer from the persecuting prelates. He was hunted by the severity of the bishops, as he used to express it, "like a partridge upon the mountains, till at last he was resolved to get out of their reach, and took flight to New England." Upon his arrival, he settled at Duxbury in the colony of Plymouth, and was held in very high repute through the country. The synod of Cambridge, in 1648, made choice of him, together with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Mather, to draw up their model of church government. He was a person of great humility and self-denial, and always content with the meanest circumstances. When most of the ministers of Plymouth colony left their places, on account of their want of a sufficient maintenance, this good man continued with his people to the last.\* He lived a pious and unblamable life, possessed a grave and solid judgment, was famous in disputation, and much honoured and beloved by all who knew him. This excellent servant of Christ was scarcely ever interrupted in his ministry by bodily sickness, during the period of forty years. He died in a good old age, in the year 1658.†

SYDRACH SYMPSON, B. D.—This meek and quiet divine received his education in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards became a celebrated preacher in London. He was appointed curate and lecturer of St. Margaret's church, Fish-street; but his preaching soon gave offence to Archbishop Laud, who, in his metropolitcal visitation, in the year 1635, convened him before him, with several other divines, for breach of canons. Most of them having promised submission, they were dismissed.‡ By the intemperate superstition and bigotry of Laud, and the violence with which he exacted conformity, many eminent divines were driven out of the kingdom. Among these were Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Philip Nye, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. William Bridge, and Mr. Sympson. They all retired to Holland, and were afterwards denominated the five pillars of the independent or congregational party; and, in

\* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 99.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 153.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 536.

the assembly of divines, were distinguished by the name of the *dissenting brethren*.\*

Upon Mr. Sympson's arrival in Holland, he went to Rotterdam; and beholding the good order of the English church at that place, under the pastoral care of Mr. Bridge, he desired to become a member; and, upon delivering his confession of faith, was received into their communion. After some time, Mr. Sympson discovered certain things in the church which he did not well approve; and urged the utility of prophesyings, that, after sermon on the Lord's day, the people might express their doubts, and propose questions to the ministers, with a view to their better edification. This, however, with some other things, produced a misunderstanding betwixt Mr. Bridge and Mr. Sympson; which, at length, caused the latter even to separate himself from the church, and begin a new interest. This new society had, indeed, a very small beginning, but afterwards, through the blessing of God, it became very considerable.† Mr. Joseph Symonds, another persecuted puritan, succeeded him in the office of pastor to this church.‡

About the commencement of the civil war Mr. Sympson returned to England; and in the year 1643 was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended during the session. In all their debates he conducted himself with great temper and moderation. He was one of the five divines who published and presented to the house of commons, in 1643, "An Apologetical Narration submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament," in favour of the independents. In the year 1645 he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation.§ In the year 1647 he united with his dissenting brethren in presenting their reasons to the houses of parliament, against certain parts of the presbyterian government.|| In the year 1650 he was appointed, by the parliamentary visitors, master of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, in the room of Mr. Vines, who was turned out for refusing the engagement. In 1654 he was chosen a member of the committee for drawing up a catalogue of fundamentals, to be presented to the parliament. During the same year he was constituted, by order of the council, one of the commissioners for the approbation of public preachers; these commissioners were commonly distinguished by the name of *tryers*. In

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 317.

† Edwards's Antapologia, p. 142, 143.

‡ Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 77.

§ Papers of Accom. p. 13.

|| Reasons of Dissenting Brethren, p. 40, 133, 192.

1655 he was appointed, by a commission from the protector Cromwell, one of the new visitors of the university of Cambridge.\* During the long parliament he gathered a church and congregation in London, upon the plan of the independents, which assembled in Abchurch, near Cannon-street.

Mr. Sympson was a divine of considerable learning, of great piety and devotion, and a celebrated preacher. Dr. Grey calls him a celebrated preacher of *rebellious principles*; which is plain, says he, from the following passage in one of his sermons: "Reformation is liable to inhuman treacheries. Pharaoh's dealing was very treacherous. He bade the people go; gave them liberty by proclamation; and when he had got them at an advantage, he brought up an army to cut them off. The reforming of the church will meet with such kind of enemies."† If the learned doctor had not been in the constant practice of ascribing rebellion to the puritan divines, he would have found some difficulty in discovering *rebellious principles* from this passage. And so far from appearing plain from the passage, that he was a celebrated preacher of those principles, we think it would puzzle all the learning of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge to make the discovery. Mr. Edwards censures him for attempting to propagate his own sentiments relative to church discipline; liberty of conscience, and universal toleration.‡ In his last sickness, he laboured under spiritual darkness and some melancholy apprehensions; on which account certain of his friends and brethren assembled at his house to assist him with their prayers. When they took their leave of him, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul, and lifting up his hands towards heaven, exclaimed, "He is come, he is come!" and died the same evening. This was in the year 1658.§ Mr. Sympson published several sermons preached before the parliament, one of which is entitled, "Reformation's Preservation, opened in a Sermon preached at Westminster before the Honourable House of Commons, at the late solemn Fast, July 26, 1643." He was author of some other pieces, the titles of which have not reached us.

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 197.—Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 27, 183.

† Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 188.

‡ Antapologia, p. 215, 216.

§ Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 207.

**ROBERT DINGLEY, A. M.**—This pious minister was the son of Sir John Dingley, by a sister of Dr. Henry Hammond; was born in Surrey, in the year 1619, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he took orders, and, according to Wood, became “a strict observer of church ceremonies, and a remarkable bower to the altar when he entered the church.” Upon the commencement of the wars, he espoused the cause of the parliament, became an avowed enemy to superstitious ceremonies in divine worship, and a zealous puritan. He was made rector of Brightstone in the Isle of Wight, where he was much followed by those of his own persuasion, for his excellent practical preaching. He was presented to this benefice when Colonel Hammond, his kinsman, was governor of the island. But while Mr. Dingley was thus caressed and followed by his own party, he was *hated* by the royalists, on account of his activity as assistant to the commissioners of Hampshire, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters.\* This is the only crime alleged against him, for which he was even hated by the contrary party. He died at Brightstone, in the year 1659, and his remains were interred in the chancel of his own church. Over his grave was the following monumental inscription erected to his memory:

Here  
lieth the body  
of Mr. ROBERT DINGLEY,  
Minister of this place;  
second son of Sir JOHN DINGLEY, *Knight*,  
who died on the twelfth day of January,  
1659,  
in the fortieth year  
of his age.

His Works.—1. The Spiritual Taste described: or, a Glimpse of Christ discovered, 1649.—2. The Disputation of Angels: or, the Angel Guardian, 1654.—3. Messiah's Splendour: or, the glimpsed Glory of a Beauteous Christian, 1654.—4. Divine Optics: or, a Treatise of the Eye, discovering the Vices and Virtues thereof, 1655.—5. Philosophical, Historical, and Theological Observations of Thunder, with a more general view of God's wonderful Works, 1658.—6. A Sermon on Job xxvi. 14., 1658.

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 155.

JOHN ARROWSMITH, D. D.—This learned divine was born at Gateshead, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne, March 29, 1602, educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and afterwards chosen fellow of Katharine-hall, in the same university. He was elected one of the university preachers, was beneficed at Lynn in Norfolk, afterwards preacher at St. Martin's, Ironmonger's-lane, London, and chosen one of the assembly of divines.\* He constantly attended during the session; he united with several of his brethren in drawing up the assembly's catechism; and was one of the divines approved by the parliament to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters. April 11, 1644, he was elected master of St. John's college, when Dr. Beale was ejected, in the following manner:—“The Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, in pursuance of an ordinance of parliament, for regulating and reforming the university of Cambridge, came in person into the chapel of St. John's college, and, by the authority to him committed, did, in the presence of all the fellows then resident, declare and publish Mr. John Arrowsmith to be constituted master of the said college in room of Dr. Beale, late master there, but now justly and lawfully ejected: requiring him the said John Arrowsmith, then present, to take upon him the said place, and did put him into the said master's seat or stall, within the said chapel: and did likewise straitly charge all, and every of the fellows, &c. to acknowledge him to be actually master of the college, and sufficiently authorized to execute the said office.”

Upon his admission, he was required to make and subscribe a solemn declaration, of which the following is a copy:†

“I, John Arrowsmith, being called and constituted by the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester, (who is authorized thereto by an ordinance of parliament,) to be master of St. John's college, in the university of Cambridge, with the approbation of the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster, do solemnly and seriously promise, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, that, during the time of my continuance in that charge, I shall faithfully labour to promote piety and learning in myself, the fellows, scholars, and students, that do or shall belong to the said college, agreeably to the late solemn national league and covenant by me sworn and subscribed, with respect to all the good and wholesome statutes of the said college, and of the university, correspondent to the said covenant; and by all

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 265.

† Ibid. vol. xii. p. 169, 170.

means to procure the welfare and perfect reformation both of that college and university, so far as to me appertains.

“JOHN ARROWSMITH.”

During the above year he was one of the committee of learned divines, which united with a committee of the lords and commons, to treat with the commissioners of the church of Scotland, concerning an agreement in matters of religion.\* He took his doctor's degree in the year 1647, and was chosen vice-chancellor of the university the same year. In the year 1651 he was elected regius professor of divinity, upon the death of Dr. Collins, who had filled the chair many years; and was at the same time presented to the rectory of Somersham.† In 1653, upon the death of Dr. Hill, he was chosen master of Trinity college, Cambridge, when he was succeeded at St. John's by Dr. Tuckney; and, in 1655, he resigned his professorship, in which office he was succeeded by the same person.‡ He was appointed one of the *tryers*, and one of the preachers before the parliament. He was a man of unexceptionable character, and of great learning and piety; an acute disputant, a judicious divine, and an excellent author, as appears from the learned productions of his pen, which gained him great reputation. He died in February, 1659, aged fifty-seven years, and his remains were interred in Trinity college chapel, the 24th of the same month.§

Mr. Neal having observed that the learning and piety of our divine were unexceptionable, Dr. Grey adds, “And had our learned historian added, that he was an eminent preacher, and famed for his flowers of rhetoric; I could have helped him to passages in support of such an assertion.” He then enumerates the passages as follows:—“You have endeavoured,” says he, “to fence this vineyard with a settled militia, to gather out the malignants as stones, to plant it with men of piety and truth, as choice vines, to build the towers of a powerful ministry in the midst of it, and to make a wine-press for the squeezing of malignants.—The main work of the spirit of grace is to negotiate the treaty of a match betwixt the Lord Jesus and the coy souls of men.—It is a spiritual affection that hath the Holy Ghost for its father, faith for its mother, prayer for its midwife, the word for its nurse, sincerity for its keeper, and trembling for its handmaid.—After some overtures of a match in the reign of king Henry VIII.,

\* Papers of Accom. p. 13.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 965.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 601, 935.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 371.—Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 78, 294.—Baker's MS. Collec. vol. i. p. 265.

the reformed church in this kingdom was solemnly married to Jesus Christ, when the sceptre was swayed by Edward VI. That godly young prince (as became the bridegroom's friend) rejoicing greatly, because of the bridegroom's voice. The famous nine and thirty articles of her confession then framed, were an evident sign of her being *with child*, and that a thorough reformation was then *conceived*, though but *conceived*. Many and sore were the breeding fits she conflicted with in Queen Mary's days, and such as gave occasion to fear she would have miscarried.\*

In another place, says Dr. Grey, "I shall take the liberty of adding a character of the assembly of divines, from a right reverend bishop of those times;" and then cites his lordship's words as follows:—"You may judge of them," says the bishop, "by their compeers, Goodwin, Burroughs, *Arrowsmith*, and the rest of their ignorant, factious, and schismatical ministers, that, together with those intruding mechanics, (who without any calling from God or man, do step from their *botcher's* board, or horses' stable, into the preacher's pulpit,) are the bellows which blow up this fire, that threatened the destruction of this land."†

The reproachful insinuations of the doctor and the learned prelate are sufficiently refuted from the following account of Dr. Arrowsmith, given by one who appears to have been well acquainted with him:—"He was a burning and a shining light; who, by his indefatigable study of the sublime mysteries of the gospel, spent himself to the utmost, to explicate the darkest places of scripture. This he did with a view to enlighten others in the knowledge of Jesus Christ. He was a holy and learned divine; firm and zealous in his attachment to the cause of Christ, from which no worldly allurements would shake his faith, or move his confidence. He was a man of a thousand. Those who best knew him could give testimony of his diligence, his zeal, his integrity. His public ministry discovered his great dexterity, sound judgment, admirable learning, and indefatigable labours. His soul aspired after more than his weak and sickly body was able to perform. He put forth his energy beyond his strength to do good."‡

His WORKS.—1. The Covenant-avenging Sword Brandished, in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their late

\* Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 156.

† Ibid. p. 91.

‡ Arrowsmith's God-Man, Pref. Edit. 1660.

solemn Fast, Jan. 25, 1643—1643.—2. England's Eben-ezer; or, Stone of Help set up in thankful acknowledgment of the Lord's having helped us hitherto, in a Sermon preached to both Houses of Parliament at Christ's Church, London, March 12, 1645—1645.—3. A Chain of Principles; or, an Ordinary Concatenation of theological Aphorisms and Exercitations, 1659.—4. God-Man, 1660.—5. A Great Wonder in Heaven.—6. Tracta Sacra.

**PETER BULKLY, B. D.**—This excellent person was born at Odell in Bedfordshire, January 31, 1582, and educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. He had a considerable estate left him by his father, Dr. Edward Bulkly,\* whom he succeeded in the ministry at the place of his birth. By favour of the excellent Bishop Williams, who connived at his nonconformity, as he had done at the nonconformity of his venerable father, he continued unmolested upwards of twenty years. Towards the close of this period, his ministry was attended with wonderful success in the conversion of souls. But information was no sooner given to Archbishop Laud than he was immediately silenced for nonconformity.† His mouth being stopped, and having no further prospect of ministerial usefulness in his own country, he sold his estate, and, in 1635, went to New England. He took with him a considerable number of planters, who, upon their arrival, settled at a place which they called Concord. There he gathered a church, became its worthy pastor, and expended a large estate, while most of his servants got estates under him. It was his custom, when any one had lived with him a certain number of years, to dismiss him from his service, and fix him in a comfortable situation, and so take another in his room.

Mr. Bulkly was author of "The Gospel Covenant opened," of which the pious Mr. Shepard has given the following account: "The church of God," says he, "is bound to bless God for the holy, judicious, and learned labours of this aged, experienced, and precious servant of Jesus Christ; who hath taken much pains to discover, in demonstration and evidence of the Spirit, the great mystery of godliness wrapt up in the covenant; and hath now fully opened many knotty questions concerning the same, which have not been brought so fully to light until now."‡ The work passed through several editions,

\* Dr. Bulkly was a faithful minister of the gospel, and a person of distinguished eminence. He made additions to Fox's "Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs."—See Fox's *Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 861—863.

† Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 96.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 97.

was highly esteemed, and was one of the first books published in New England.

Mr. Bulkly was twice married. By his first wife he had nine sons and two daughters; and by his second wife, the amiable daughter of Sir Richard Chitwood, he had three sons and one daughter. Old age, and its numerous infirmities, at length coming upon him, put an end to his zealous and useful labours. He was afraid of out-living his work, and died March 9, 1659, aged seventy-seven years. He was an excellent scholar, a thundering preacher, a judicious divine, a strict observer of the sabbath, an exemplary christian, and one who was esteemed as a father, a prophet, and a counsellor in the new commonwealth.\* He had three sons employed in the ministry, Gresham, Edward, and John. Edward succeeded his father as pastor of the church at Concord, where he died. John, his youngest son, was educated, and took his degrees, in Harvard college; and, coming to England, settled in the ministry in this country, but was ejected by the act of uniformity in 1662.†

**SAMUEL JACOMB, B. D.**—This learned divine was born at Burton-Lazers in Leicestershire, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; of which, in the year 1648, he was chosen fellow. By the religious instruction of his pious parents, together with his attendance upon the ministry of Mr. Ludlam, he was brought under serious concern for his soul at a very early period. Having resolved to employ himself in the ministry, he became a hard student, a good scholar, and an excellent divine. His preaching while at the university was much admired and followed by the collegians and others. He was possessed of popular talents, and was appointed one of the university preachers by the authority of the parliament.

Mr. Jacomb continued at Cambridge about twelve years. Afterwards, he removed to London, and was chosen pastor at St. Mary Woolnoth, in Lombard-street. In this situation, his excellent endowments were much esteemed and admired, as well by his brethren in the ministry as by the people of his charge. His sermons were so demonstrative, that they were sufficient to convince an atheist; so clear, as to enlighten the most ignorant; so awakening, as to rouse the most careless; so persuasive, as to charm the most obdurate; so

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 97.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 200.

fervent, as to awaken the most formal; and so discreet, as to reduce the most fiery zealot to a proper temper. In conversation he was grave, humble, cheerful, affable, serious, and affectionate.\* However, with these excellent qualifications, he did not live four years after his removal to London.

During his last sickness, he felt happily resigned to his heavenly Father's will. "God is wise," said he, "therefore let him do with me as seemeth him good." His complaint beginning to affect his head, and to becloud his mind, he was exercised with fears, and said, "This is the only thing that troubles me, lest I should lose my understanding; but my Saviour intercedes for me: he doth, he doth." His fears were altogether groundless. He enjoyed the perfect use of his mental powers, with solid peace and comfort to the last. His last words were, *There remaineth a rest for the people of God.* He died in the month of June, 1659. He lived and died a nonconformist to the church of England.† And he appears to have been brother to Dr. Thomas Jacomb, the ejected nonconformist.‡ Mr. Jacomb published, "Moses his Death, a Sermon preached at Christ's Church in London, at the funeral of Mr. Edward Bright, Minister there," 1657. He was author of two or three other Sermons. Mr. Patrick preached and published his funeral sermon, from which part of this brief memoir is collected.

THOMAS CAWTON, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Rainham in Norfolk, in the year 1605, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge. He was desirous of the ministerial work from a child, and was patronized and supported at the university by Sir Roger Townshend. He made uncommon progress in the knowledge of the arts, the languages, and divinity; and his piety was so remarkable, that it became a proverb in the university. The profane scholars used to stigmatize those who were religiously inclined "as poisoned by Cawton's faction, and as becoming Cawtonists." Having continued seven years at the university, he removed to Ashwell, about twelve miles from Cambridge, to live in the house of Mr. Herbert Palmer, another celebrated puritan. His principal object in this removal was the study of divinity, in which he made a remarkable proficiency, and occasionally assisted Mr. Palmer in the exercises of the pulpit. After-

\* Nichols's Hist. of Leicestershire, vol. ii. p. 270.

† Patrick's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Jacomb.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 160.

wards, he became domestic chaplain to Sir William Armin, of Orton in Northamptonshire; where he was exceedingly beloved for his piety, abilities, and faithfulness. Having continued in this situation four years, he, in the year 1637, became rector of Wivenhoe in Essex,\* being presented to the living by Sir Roger Townshend. When he entered upon his charge at Wivenhoe, it was a place remarkable for drunkenness, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and almost every other scene of profaneness; but, by the blessing of God upon his faithful labours and exemplary deportment, it soon became equally remarkable for sobriety, the observation of the sabbath, and unfeigned piety. The inhabitants of the town usually brought their fish to sell on the sabbath day, when they kept their market near the church-doors. Mr. Cawton's righteous soul was sorely vexed with their ungodly ways; and, by his faithful and unwearied endeavours, the evil practice was abolished, and a happy reformation followed. It is further added, that he was the means of bringing great numbers to the saving knowledge of the gospel; and that no minister was ever more beloved by his people.† He married the daughter of Mr. William Jenkin, the ejected nonconformist.

Mr. Cawton having continued his ministerial labours at the above place about seven years, his health began visibly to decline, when he was advised to remove to some other situation, particularly for a change of air; and receiving, about the same time, an invitation to Bartholomew's church, behind the Exchange, London, he removed to the metropolis. The change proved happily instrumental in the restoration of his health, and the means of preventing the return of the ague. In London, Sir Harbottle Grimstone, who lived in his parish, was his constant hearer and his very good friend. In the year 1648, he united with the London ministers in their declaration against the king's death:‡ and, the same year, was brought into trouble for his zeal in the royal cause. Being invited by the lord mayor and aldermen, to preach at Mercer's chapel, he prayed for the royal family, especially for king Charles II., whom he considered as the legal sovereign: but delivered nothing offensive in his sermon. His prayer, however, proved offensive to the ruling party. The day following, the council of state issued a warrant to apprehend him.§

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 879.

† Life of Mr. Cawton, p. 1—22. Edit. 1662.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743.

§ The warrant, dated from Derby-house, February 26, 1648, was the following:—"These are to will and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to make speedy repair unto any such place where you shall

Upon his appearance before his judges, he was charged with having proclaimed the young king; and that, according to the existing laws, he was guilty of high treason. He was, therefore, required to make his humble submission, and to retract what he had uttered, as the indispensable condition of his release. This Mr. Cawton refused to do, saying, "If I have done any thing not becoming a minister of the gospel, I hope I should be willing to recant." He was then sent prisoner to the Gatehouse, where he continued about six months. But the parliament's forces in Ireland having obtained a signal victory, the house of commons resolved that a certain number of prisoners, and Mr. Cawton among the rest, should be set at liberty, as a testimony of thankfulness to God. He was accordingly released, August 14, 1649.\*

Mr. Cawton having obtained his liberty, returned to his family and his flock, and continued for some time in the zealous and laborious observance of his ministerial duties. But in the year 1651, being deeply concerned in Love's plot,† he fled to Holland, together with Mr. James Nalton. Upon their arrival, the English church at Rotterdam being destitute of a pastor, they were chosen co-pastors to the society. Mr. Nalton, afterwards one of the ejected nonconformists,‡ having leave to come back, returned home; but Mr. Cawton not enjoying the same privilege, remained at Rotterdam to the day of his death. His fame, both as a preacher and a scholar, soon spread through the United Provinces. He shone as a star of the first magnitude, and was highly esteemed by the Dutch, French, and English ministers in those parts. He presently became intimately acquainted with the learned Voetius, Leusden, Uchtman, Hulsius, and others, highly celebrated for piety and literature. The publication of those famous works, "Walton's Polyglot Bible," and "Castell's Lexicon Heptaglotton," were greatly indebted to his encouragement and exertions.§ In the year 1658, he received a

"understand the person of Mr. Thomas Cawton to be, who preached before the lord mayor yesterday; and him you are to apprehend, and bring into safe custody, before the council of state, for seditious preaching; hereof you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant."—*Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 27.

\* *Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 22—42.

† See Art. Christopher Love.

‡ *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 142.

§ *Life of Mr. Cawton*, p. 42—66.—The former of these learned works was printed in six volumes folio, and was the first book published in England by subscription. The latter cost the author the assiduous labour of seventeen years. His unwearied diligence employed in this undertaking injured his health, and impaired his constitution; and the immense

letter from Charles II., then at Brussels, in which his majesty attempts to acquit himself of being at all inclined to popery, and urges Mr. Cawton to use his utmost endeavours to suppress all such unworthy aspersions.\*

At length, Mr. Cawton having served the Lord seven years at Cambridge, seven years at Wivenhoe, seven years in London, and seven years in Holland, died at Rotterdam of a fit of the palsy, August 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was a laborious student, an excellent logician, and an incomparable linguist. He had a most exact knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic; and was familiar in the Dutch, Saxon, Italian, Spanish, and French languages. But that which made his excellent abilities and literature appear to the greatest advantage, was his eminent piety and holy conversation. He was highly distinguished for his faith, patience, sincerity, self-denial, and hospitality. As a minister, he was laborious, affectionate, and faithful; as a master, he was the teacher and governor of his house; as a husband, he was affectionate and tender-hearted; as a father, he was ever careful to promote the best interests of his children; and, it is added, "he was a great honour to his profession, and a pattern of virtue in every social relation. He had few equals in learning, and scarcely a superior in piety." † Wood says, "he was a learned and religious puritan," ‡ which is no mean character from his unworthy pen. The learned Mr. Thomas Cawton, one of the ejected nonconformists in 1662, was his son. § He trod in the footsteps of his father, whose life he published in 1662, with the sermon annexed which his father preached at Mercer's chapel, February 25, 1648, entitled, "God's Rule for a Godly Life; or, a Gospel-Conversation opened and applied," from Phil. i. 27.

**HENRY DUNSTER.**—This person was a pious and learned divine, who, to escape the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, retired to New England in 1640. Upon his arrival, he was chosen president of Harvard college, Cambridge; which

expense attending it entirely ruined him of his fortune. He spent upon it upwards of *twelve thousand* pounds. The author only received a very poor reward for his incredible and indeed Herculean labours.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 29.—*Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 310. Edit. 1778.

\* Life of Mr. Cawton. p. 78—80.

† Ibid. p. 7, 31, &c.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 47. § *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 482.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 252.

office he held with great reputation and usefulness for the space of fourteen years. He is said to have been fitted by the Lord for this work, and to have been a most able proficient in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and an orthodox and powerful preacher. He is denominated "one of the greatest masters of oriental learning that New England had ever known."\* But having espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, the overseers of the college, in the year 1654, procured his removal from the office of president; when he was succeeded by the worthy Mr. Charles Chauncey.† Upon Mr. Dunster's removal from the college, he retired to Scituate, where he died in the year 1659. He had a principal hand in publishing the Psalms in metre for the use of public worship, among the churches of New England; and in his last will and testament he ordered his body to be buried at Cambridge; and, to the honour of his memory, he bequeathed legacies to those very persons who had been the authors of his removal from the place.‡

**CHARLES HERLE, A. M.**—This excellent divine was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lystwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. In the year 1618, he took his degrees in arts; and, having finished his studies at the university, he entered upon the ministerial work. He first settled at some place in Devonshire, where, being always accounted a puritan, he suffered persecution on account of his nonconformity.§ Afterwards, he became rector of Winwick in Lancashire, being one of the richest livings in England. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the assembly of divines, and, upon the death of Dr. Twisse, in 1646, was chosen prolocutor to the assembly. He was appointed one of the morning lecturers at the Abbey church, Westminster, one of the licensers of the press, one of the committee for the examination and ordination of ministers, one of the committee of accommodation,|| and one to assist in preparing materials for the confession of faith. On the dissolution of the assembly, he spoke in the name of his brethren, and "thanked the honourable and reverend Scots commissioners for their assistance; excused,

\* Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 282.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iv. p. 127, 128. ‡ Ibid. b. iii. p. 100.

§ Pryne's Breviate of Laud, p. 6.

|| Papers of Accommodation, p. 2.

in the best manner he could, the directory's not being so well observed as it ought; and lamented that the assembly had not power to call offenders to an account.\* In the year 1647, Hr. Herle and Mr. Stephen Marshall were appointed to attend the commissioners of parliament to Scotland, to give the Scots a just account of the affairs of England. After the king's death, Mr. Herle retired to his flock and stated ministerial exercise at Winwick, where he continued the rest of his days.

In the year 1651, the Earl of Derby having raised a regiment of soldiers for Charles II., then on his march from Scotland, he sent Lieutenant Arundal, with about forty horse, to Mr. Herle's house at Winwick, which filled the whole family with the utmost consternation, expecting to be immediately plundered and ruined. Arriving at his house, Arundal said to Mr. Herle, "My business is to tell you, that the Earl of Derby wishes you to come to him with all speed; and if you will go, there shall be no further trouble to you or your family." Mr. Herle replied, "I will go immediately, and wait upon the right honourable the Earl of Derby, my patron;" and ordered his horse to be brought out. After some kind entertainment of the lieutenant and his soldiers, Mr. Herle accompanied them to the earl's quarters, who received and treated him with the utmost civility. After some friendly conversation with him, his lordship sent him back, attended by a guard of soldiers. It is also observed, that, after the battle of Warrington-bridge, in this year, Arundal's forces being routed, and himself wounded, he retired to Mr. Herle's house, where he was treated with the utmost kindness.†

During the above year, Mr. Herle was appointed, together with Mr. Isaac Ambrose, Mr. Edward Gee, and some others, assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters in Lancashire. Dr. Grey says, that, in this office, he acted "with great severity; and how well he was qualified for such dirty work, his public sermons sufficiently testify." He then transcribes from those sermons the following expressions, to prove the charge alleged against him:—"Do justice to the greatest. Saul's sons are not spared; no, nor Agag, nor Benhadad, though themselves kings. Zimri and Cosbi, though princes of the people, must be pursued to their tents. What an army of martyrs has God given to the fire for our reformation at

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 555. iii. 46.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. A. D. 1651.

‡ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 276.

first! What a calendar of traitors has he given to the gallows, for our preservation since!"—Whether these expressions afford sufficient evidence of the doctor's charge, or whether he designed it only to reproach the memory of this celebrated divine, every intelligent reader will easily judge. The character of Mr. Herle is too well established to be at all impaired by any such calumny. He was a moderate presbyterian, exceedingly beloved by his brethren in the ministry, and the author of several practical and controversial writings. Fuller justly denominates him "a good scholar and a deep divine;" and says, "he was so much the christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment."\* He died at Winwick, towards the end of September, 1659, aged sixty-one years; and his remains were interred in his own church.† Mr. Herle, with the assistance of several other ministers, ordained the famous Mr. John Howe, in his own church at Winwick; on which account Mr. Howe would sometimes say, "that he thought few in modern times had so primitive an ordination; for he considered Mr. Herle as a primitive bishop."‡

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *Microcosmography, in Essays and Characters*, 1628.—2. *Contemplations and Devotions on all the Passages of our Saviour's Passion*, 1631.—3. *An Answer to misled Dr. Hen. Ferne, according to his own method of his Book*, 1642.—4. *Several Sermons before the Lords and Commons*, 1642, &c.; among which were the following:—"A Payre of Compasses for Church and State, before the Honourable House of Commons, at their monthly Fast, Nov. last, 1642."—"David's Song of three Parts, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Lords, June 15, 1643."—"David's Reserve and Rescue, a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, Nov. 5, 1644."—5. *The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches*, wherein the Question of the Independency of Church Government is temperately stated and argued, 1643.—6. *Worldly Policy and moral Prudence, the vanity and folly of the one, and the solidity and usefulness of the other, in a moral discourse*, 1654.

**JOHN ROGERS.**—This zealous man was first employed in teaching school, then presented to the rectory of Purleigh in Essex, worth about two hundred pounds a year. But it is said he became a nonresident; and, hiring another to supply his place, he removed to London, and became lecturer at

\* *Worthies*, part i. p. 25.—*Church Hist.* b. xi. p. 213.

† *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 151, 152.

‡ *Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 81.

St. Thomas the Apostle's, but was soon after ejected. This kind of usage very much troubled him, and he petitioned the lords commissioners for his restoration, but without success.\* He afterwards went to Ireland, most probably with the English army, and was chosen minister of Christ's church, Dublin. But the exact time of his return to England we have not been able to learn. He was a zealous and active man, and in his principles a fifth monarchy-man, and of the baptist persuasion. About the year 1649, he married the daughter of Sir Robert Paine of Huntingdonshire. Wood denominates him "a notorious fifth monarchy-man and an anabaptist, and a busy, pragmatical fellow;" and says, "he was very zealous to promote a quarrel between his party and Oliver Cromwell, for seeming to unite with them till he had got the reins of government into his own hands, and then leaving them with scorn. He, with Mr. Christopher Feake, one as impudent and forward as himself, were the leaders of their party, and not wanting on all occasions to raise a commotion."†

Mr. Rogers, as well as his brethren, was extremely hostile to Cromwell's government. He openly declared his sentiments against it. In his prayer before the public congregation, he used many such expressions as these: "Hasten the time, when all absolute power shall be devolved into the hands of Christ; when we shall have no lord protector, but one Lord Jesus Christ, the only true protector and defender of the faith. Look in mercy on thy saints at Windsor, who are imprisoned for the truth and testimony of Jesus: be thou their freedom and enlargement."‡ Having repeatedly declared against Cromwell's usurpation, both by preaching and writing, he was apprehended and cast into prison.§ This was about the year 1654. Mr. Rogers and several of his brethren were confined at Lambeth, when no one of their party was allowed to have access to them. In the "Declaration of several of the churches of Christ," subscribed and published during this year, twenty-five of them are said to have subscribed "in the name of the whole body that walks with Mr. Rogers, now prisoner for this cause of Christ at Lambeth prison."¶

Mr. Rogers, after remaining in confinement some time, was

\* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 485.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 442.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 483.

§ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 490. Edit. 1699.

¶ Declaration, p. 21.

joined by his friends, who presented a petition to Cromwell for his enlargement; upon which he was brought before the protector's council at Whitehall. The council told him that there were high charges against him, and that he was not a prisoner in the cause of Christ, but suffered as a busy-body and an evil doer. His friends desiring that the cause might be debated betwixt the protector and himself, their request was granted. The same evening, therefore, Mr. Rogers was admitted into the presence of Cromwell; and being reminded of the high charge exhibited against him, it is said, he declared that they who brought the charge were drunkards and swearers. But when the protector asked him which of them were, he could name none of them. When the protector pressed him for scripture, in support of his principles and conduct, he said the scripture was positive and privative; and being asked which of the evil kings whom God destroyed, he would compare with the present state, he gave no answer. "Whereupon the protector," our author adds, "shewed what a disproportion there was: those being such as laboured to destroy the people of God, but his work, (speaking of himself,) was to preserve them from destroying one another; and that if the sole power was in the hands of the presbyterians; the fifth monarchy-men, or the persons re-baptized, they would force all their own way: but his work was to keep all the godly of several judgments in peace." When Mr. Rogers spoke against a national ministry and a national church, applying it to what was done in the commonwealth, calling it antichristian, the protector told him it was not so; for a national church endeavoured to force all into one form.\*

Several persons of respectability and influence having afterwards interceded with the protector for the release of Mr. Rogers, Mr. Feake, and others, or to have them brought to trial; the protector said, that out of mercy he kept them from trial; "because," said he, "if they were to be tried, the law would take away their lives." They were, therefore, sent back to prison. On March 31, 1655, Mr. Rogers, by an order from Cromwell and his council, was removed from his prison in the city to Windsor-castle.† Here it is probable he remained a prisoner for some time. He was living in the year 1659; but whether he survived the restoration we have not been able to ascertain. Granger styles him "a great fanatic," adding, "that he was no less popular among the anabaptists and fifth monarchy-men, than Love was

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 442.

† *Ibid.*

among the presbyterians." After Cromwell had deserted these sectaries, he took umbrage at the great popularity and enterprising spirit of Rogers; and was little less apprehensive of Feake, who was also regarded as a leader of that party. They were both imprisoned, and the protector was thought to act with extraordinary clemency in sparing their lives. This was imputed to a secret regard that he retained for his old friends, the independents.\* Mr. Rogers's writings are very singular. One of his books is entitled, "A Tabernacle for the Sun, or Irenicum Evangelicum, an Idea of Church Discipline," 1653. In the same year Mr. Crofton published a smart reply to this work, entitled, "Bethshemesh Clouded, or some Animadversions on the Rabbinical Talmud of Rabbi John Rogers." Another of his pieces is entitled, "A Christian Concertation with Mr. Prynne, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. James Harrington, for the true Cause of the Commonwealth," 1659.

MORGAN LLOYD was born in Wales, and brought to the knowledge of the gospel by the ministry of Mr. William Erbery. He afterwards entered upon the ministerial work, and preached, during the commonwealth, at Wrexham, where he is supposed to have been the immediate successor of Mr. Walter Cradock. He was a person of great piety and peculiar ministerial talents, but rather inclining to mysticism. He was fond of expressing himself in figurative and mysterious language; yet what he delivered was often very striking. Several of his letters, descriptive of his character and sentiments, are preserved among the writings of Mr. Erbery, to whom they were addressed; one of which we shall give as a specimen. Though it is without date, it was written about the year 1652, and is as follows:†

" Sir,

" The sweetness of the Father's love in you is very pleasant to my taste. Though you have particularly and clearly written to me concerning the things I desired to know of you; yet your promise of more makes me now only mind you again. We never write, hear, or speak in the light of the Father, but when our inner man is withdrawn from the spirit of this world, which is the devil's street, in which his coaches trundle; which life and spirit of nature is a whirlwind that

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 50.

† Erbery's Testimony, p. 104, 111, 234.

catcheth many into the fleshly pits and unprofitable forms, and keepeth the poor offspring of Adam in the outward court of this creation. I dare not believe what I hear of you. It is no matter what flesh without truth speaketh; yet love would be satisfied. I long to know the teachings of God within, more effectually concerning the hypostasis of the Lord Jesus, and in what spirit you leave off public teaching, and what the witnesses are, and the olive trees. If men, and books, and letters, were my teachers, I should little know myself in him who fashioned me; but the more spiritual any is, the more communicative, as the angels of the Father. Therefore I enquire what that morning-star is that is risen; what vial, or seal, or trumpet are we under; and what manner of people should we be in this age. It will possibly be as a word upon the wheel, and as apples of gold in pictures of silver, if you will let me hear further of truth from you, and of the wisdom of God, which, though it cannot be comprehended in any words, is thereby hinted, and so communicated. My true love, with my wive's, to yourself and to Mrs. Erbery. I add this truth, that I am

“ Yours in the love, light, and peace of  
 “ the Comforter, though as nothing,  
 “ MOR. LLOYD.”

Mr. Lloyd was well known and greatly esteemed in the Principality. Some have supposed that he was a baptist, but this appears extremely doubtful. He was pastor of a church formed upon the principles of the independents, which most probably held communion with certain persons of the baptist persuasion. He was author of several pieces, the titles of which we have not been able to collect. Having finished his labours, he died at Wrexham in the year 1659,\* and Mr. Ambrose Mostyn, afterwards ejected in 1662, was his successor in the pastoral office.†

EDWARD BARBER was a person of great learning, and first a minister in the established church, but long before the commencement of the civil wars he embraced the principles of the baptists. He was the means, says Crosby, of convincing many that infant-baptism has no foundation in scripture, and soon gathered a numerous congregation. They assembled in the Spital in Bishopsgate-street, London; and

\* Thomas's MS. History, p. 159, 160.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 479.

they appear to be the first church among the baptists that practised the laying on of hands upon persons when received into the church. He was a man of considerable eminence, but he felt the cruel oppressions of the times in which he lived. Previous to the year 1641, he was apprehended by his inhuman persecutors, and cast into prison, where he remained eleven months. The particular crimes with which he was charged, and for which he was thus punished, were, his disbelieving the baptism of infants, and denying that to pay tithes to the clergy was a divine ordinance under the gospel. He endured this persecution, therefore, for exercising the right of private judgment, and believing according to the convictions of his own mind. He died some time previous to the restoration, but we cannot learn in what year.\*

Mr. Edwards, who has always something base to say of men of this description, gives the following curious account of a meeting, in which, if the account be true, Mr. Barber was a principal person concerned. November 12, 1645, there assembled about eighty anabaptists, many of whom were members of Mr. Barber's church, in a house in Bishopsgate-street, and held a love-feast, at which five new members, lately dipped, were present. The meeting was conducted in the following manner: When the company were assembled, they commenced their exercise by prayer; and after prayer, all the company being on their knees, Mr. Barber and another person went to them one after another, and laid their hands upon each of their heads, women as well as men, and either prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost, or said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." They afterwards sat down to supper; and supper being ended, before the cloth was taken away, they administered the Lord's supper. This finished, the question was proposed for discussion, *Whether Christ died for all men or not?* They next entered upon a disputation, which they continued to a late hour. It is also added, that those persons, who, after the laying on of hands, should possess sufficient gifts, were sent forth to preach.† Mr. Barber published a work entitled, "A Treatise of Baptism or Dipping; wherein is clearly shewed, that our Lord Christ ordained Dipping; and the Sprinkling of Children is not according to Christ's Institution; and also the Invalidity of those Arguments which are commonly brought to justify that Practice," 1641.

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 219. ill. 3.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 136, 137. Second edit.

**JOHN CANNE.**—This learned and zealous puritan was educated in the established church, and he most probably received episcopal ordination, but afterwards espoused the cause of the separatists. According to Neal, he was chosen pastor to Mr. Lathorp's separate congregation in London; when he retired to New England;\* but, according to Crosby, he was chosen pastor to Mr. Hubbard's people, upon their return from Ireland. The latter of these historians certainly appears more correct in his calculations.† Mr. Canne, having laboured among his people, by preaching to them in private houses, for some time, was at length driven by the cruel hand of persecution into Holland, where he was chosen pastor of the Brownist congregation at Amsterdam. He is denominated "a known separatist, and hitherto the busiest disputer for this opinion."‡ He continued at Amsterdam many years, and was greatly esteemed and followed by the puritans who went to Holland. He was banished from his native country, as appears from his own words. "Upon my banishment from Hull," says he, "for what cause I know not, there being nothing to this day (1657) made known to me; I went apart, as Elias did, into the wilderness. And as I lay under hedges, and in holes, my soul in bitterness breathed forth many sad complaints before the Lord. 'It is enough, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers.' Often and sore wrestlings I had with my God, to know his meaning and teaching under this dispensation; and what further work, whether doing or suffering, he had for me, his poor old servant."§ He is said to have succeeded Mr. Ainsworth as pastor of his church; but shortly after his election to that office, he was censured and deposed by part of the people, who renounced communion with him and the other part of the congregation.|| This may be true; but it does not appear that he was deserving of such treatment. The party rejecting him were most probably such as could not endure his sound doctrine or his faithful discipline.

Mr. Canne was a person who rendered himself very popular, particularly by his controversial writings. He delivered his sentiments with great clearness and freedom, especially upon the controverted points of church discipline.

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. ii. p. 374.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 164, iii. 40, 41.—Ainsworth's Life, p. 35.—See Art. Lathorp.

‡ Paget's Defence, Pref.

§ Canne's Time of the End, p. 265. Edit. 1657.

|| Paget's Defence, p. 33.

“None,” says he, “may join in spiritual communion with that ministry which hath not a true calling, election, and approbation of the faithful people to which he is minister. So necessary is a right election and calling to every ecclesiastical office, that, without the same, it cannot possibly be true or lawful. If the ministers scandalously sin, the congregation that chose them freely, hath free power to depose them, and put others in their places.” He also adds: “And it is sure that Christ hath not subjected any congregation of his to any superior ecclesiastical jurisdiction than to that which is within itself: so that if the whole congregation shall err in a matter of faith or religion, no other church or church-officer hath any warrant or power from the word of God to censure, punish, or controul the same; but only to advise them; and so to leave their souls to the immediate judgment of Christ.”

Mr. Canne, while in a state of banishment, published a work entitled, “A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved from the Nonconformists’ Principles,” 1634; in the preface to which he thus observes:—“I know what I say, and have good experience of this thing; for there is not ten of a hundred which separate from the church of England, but are first moved thereto by the doctrines of the nonconformists, either in word or writing, taught to the people. And, indeed, upon their grounds, how can any one do less than separate, if his heart be tender against every sin; seeing that they confidently affirm, that the ministry, worship, and discipline are from antichrist, and that in the church are swarms of atheists, papists, adulterers, liars, &c. These are their own testimonies, and we know they are true; and, therefore, in obedience to God, and care of our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standing in their assemblies, and, through the Lord’s mercy to us, do walk in the holy order of his gospel, although daily sufferers for it.”†

Soon after the meeting of the long parliament, Mr. Canne returned to his native country. Writers are divided in their opinions whether he espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists. Crosby himself leaves the matter undetermined;‡ There is no doubt, however, that he belonged to this denomination. For it is observed, that, in the year 1640, the baptist congregation in Broad-mead, Bristol, separated from the established church; soon after which, Mr. Canne was called

\* Baillie’s Dissuasive, p. 40—42.

† Grey’s Examination, vol. i. p. 43, 44.

‡ Crosby’s Baptists, vol. iii. p. 41.

to preach among them; when he settled them in the order of a christian church, and declared himself to be a baptist; but did not make adult baptism a necessary qualification to church communion.\* The particular circumstances of his introduction to these people are preserved in the ancient records of the church in Broad-mead, from which my worthy and esteemed friend, Mr. Isaac James of Bristol, has generously communicated to me the following curious extract, being the whole of what relates to Mr. Canne:

“Shortly after, on a time called Easter, because Mr. Hazard could not in conscience give the sacrament to the people of the parish, he went out of town to visit his kindred at Lime.† At this juncture, the providence of God brought to this city one Mr. Canne, a baptized man. It was that Mr. Canne that made notes and references upon the Bible. He was a man very eminent in his day for godliness, and for reformation in religion, having great understanding in the way of the Lord. When Mrs. Hazard heard that he was come to town, she went to the Dolphin inn and fetched him to her house, and entertained him all the time he stayed in the city; who helped them much in the Lord. He being skilful in gospel order, like Aquila, taught them the way of the Lord more perfectly, and shewed them the difference between the church of Christ and antichrist, and left with them a printed book treating of the same, and divers printed papers to that purpose. So that by Mr. Canne the Lord did confirm and settle them, shewing them how they should join together and take in members. He exhorted them to wait upon God together, and expect the presence of God with those gifts they had; and to depart from those ministers who did not come out of antichristian worship. When he had stayed some time in the city, he departed, and, on a Lord's day following, preached at a place called Westerleigh, about seven miles from this city; and many of the professors from hence went thither to hear him, with Mrs. Hazard, willing to enjoy such a light as long as they could: where he had liberty to preach in the public place (called a church) in the morning; but in the afternoon could not have entrance. The obstruction was by a very godly great woman that dwelt in that place, who was somewhat severe in the profession of what she knew: hearing that he was a baptized man, by them

\* Thompson's MS. Collections.

† This Mr. Hazard was minister of Ratcliff parish and St. Ewen's, Bristol, whence he was ejected at the restoration.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 177.

might be exalted; and I remain still a worm in my hole, and numbered among the dead. Neither have I rested in the experience of God's inward workings upon my soul; but the holy scriptures have been the man of my counsel. Insomuch that I have not hearkened any further to the persuasions and operations of the Holy Spirit than what I might do, yea and ought, by faith grounded upon the blessed word. The scriptures, through the free grace of a divine blessing, by a humble application of them, have sweetly supported me."\*

In this work Mr. Canne gives his opinion of the times, which will undoubtedly afford the reader some amusement. He considered the state policy during the commonwealth as the *second* apostacy. "Are not the tryers," says he, "zealous men against the idolatry of the *first* apostacy? They will tell you, there must be no inventions in God's worship; but every thing must be according to the pattern, as in the ministry, worship, and government. But what say ye of the character of the later apostacy? Are they not lovers of themselves, covetous, proud? I wish for their own sakes it be not so. The tryers are the great *crackers*, and they think they deserve to be named *mend-all*, as having done a great piece of service about church reformation. This, I think, I may safely say, and that truly by experience: That the present national clergy is more corrupt, and far worse, than it was in the bishops' time. For, first, there were then no professors but could have found, within a few miles of their dwellings, some honest puritan, or nonconformist, to go to, whereby to be refreshed and built up in faith, knowledge, and holiness: whereas now, men may travel twenty, thirty, forty miles, and not find a parish priest that hath any gospel savour in his ministry: no power, sweetness, or life; but old, formal, fruitless stuff, said over a hundred times. Secondly, though it be true, the bishops took little care to reform the clergy, but rather how to suspend and silence, as some do know, such as witnessed against their unsanctified callings and places; nevertheless, if the times be compared, the enormities of the national clergy are less looked into and reformed. I say less now than in the prelates' times. I remember the old nonconformists were wont to call the bishops making of priests, their licenses, and visitations, *the picking of men's pockets*. I wish it may not appear so in the day of Christ, that some of these men have done little better."†

In speaking of the three horns plucked up by the roots, he

\* Canne's Time of the End, p. 266—270.

† Ibid. p. 49, 57, 58.

says, "I shall propound this to the reader, to be considered and weighed by him, whether England, Scotland, and Ireland are not three kingdoms; and these three at one time, as to their privileges, laws, rights, freedoms, broken? And whether this be not done by men who have the characters of the last apostacy upon them, and such as call themselves a state and government, but never could formally put themselves either into a kingdom or commonwealth? I think this certainly may be asserted, that if the present state apostacy be not the little horn, it hath not yet risen. This horn takes two sorts of people for its greatest enemies, the fifth monarchy-men, and the commonwealth men."\*

We make no comment on these opinions, but leave the reader to exercise his own judgment. Mr. Canne afterwards published a piece entitled, "A Query to William Prynne," 1659, printed with "An Indictment against Tythes," by John Osborne. The curious reader will doubtless be gratified with the following extracts from this work, which we give in the author's own words:—"A few months before the sitting of this present parliament," says Mr. Canne, "I declared my opinion concerning the late government by a single person, or the *second* state apostacy, how it should be plucked up, root and branch, by the representatives of the people. These representatives of the people, whoever they should be, (for I positively pitched upon none,) I took to be the earthquake in Rev. xi. 13. Now so it is, and blessed be the Lord for it, we see the same is come to pass, to the great joy and comfort of all upright ones every where.

"This blessed work of the Lord, which is marvellous in our eyes, not only strengthens me in my former opinion, that the earthquake is begun; but likewise what I have there spoken concerning the effects of that earthquake, as to tithes, the carnal church, ministry, worship, and government, with all the corrupt laws of the nation, will, in some short time, be utterly overthrown. The sun may shine, yet not be seen, because it is under a cloud. I am persuaded the great works of the last day are upon us, and the spirit is moving on the face of the waters, howbeit darkness covereth the earth. That I may not be mistaken when I speak of the earthquake, I would not be understood as fixing either persons or time. For, as I said before, the earthquake, I think, is begun among us; yet, for the instru-

\* Canne's *Time of the End*, p. 141, 145, 166.

ments whom the Lord will make use of to carry on this work, it is known only to himself. So the time, though I humbly conceive it shall gradually go forward, and have no more such a death upon it as it had before; notwithstanding, like the hand of a watch, the motion may not easily be discovered."

Mr. Canne next considers some of the glaring evils which arise from paying tithes, which he expected would soon be abolished, and which he thought would be the first effect of the earthquake. "There hath been of late discovered," says he, "such horrid oppression and cruelty in tithe-takers, as, I think, the like was never heard of in any former generation. It is almost incredible what inhuman and most unchristian cruelty hath been lately exercised upon many poor people, for refusing, of conscience, to pay tithes. There seems to be a great desire among the godly, on all sides, to have all ignorant and scandalous ministers rejected. I think, by this time, it doth appear to every one who understands the present state of the nation, how impossible it is, that such unsavoury salt should be cast out upon the dunghill, while tithes do stand. Those who get rid of rooks, as an annoyance to them, destroy their nests. If England be ever freed from such unclean birds, viz. ignorant and scandalous priests, tithes must be taken away. This is that which keeps them in their places, as the nests do the rooks. So long as such a way of maintenance stands, the most unworthy wretches will creep into public places, whatever care be taken to prevent them.

"By wishing to have tithes put down, we are so far," says he, "from seeking to stop the progress of the gospel, that one main end why we desire the removal of them, is to have the gospel thereby advanced, and ignorant and carnal people the sooner turned from the error of their ways. Doubtless, whensoever this shall come to pass, the truth of God, and the power of it, will more increase and spread abroad than ever it hath done since the rise of the beast. Though we are against tithes, we are not against a godly gospel ministry; but would have it in all places encouraged, and care taken that the people every where through the nation may be instructed in a way agreeable to the gospel."

Mr. Canne dates the above piece from his own house without Bishopsgate, London, the 13th of the 5th month, 1659. Kennet confounds him with one John Camm, a quaker, and says, he was sent to prison, in 1658, from the

famous fifth monarchy meeting in Coleman-street.\* Wood observes that when Needham, the furious satirist, was turned out of his place of writing the weekly news, in the time of Richard Cromwell, one John Can was appointed to succeed him in the same office; but it is very difficult to ascertain whether this was the same person.† Mr. Canne was certainly a man of considerable learning and piety, and of unshaken constancy and zeal in the cause he espoused; though for want of more light, he appears to have been too rigid and enthusiastic. We have not been able to learn when he died.

That which made this learned person most known to the world, and for which his name will be transmitted to posterity, was the publication of his marginal references in the Bible. He was author of *three sets of notes*, which accompanied three different editions of the Bible. One of these was printed at Amsterdam in 1647; the title of which refers to a former one. "Here are added," observes the title, "to the former notes in the margin, many Hebraicall, diversity of readings, with consonancy of parallel scriptures, taken out of the last annotations, and all set in due order and place." This is followed by a dedication "To the Right Honourable Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament." Another is commonly known and has been often reprinted. There was an edition of it published at Amsterdam, in the year 1664. To the title of this edition is added, "With marginal notes, shewing scripture to be the best interpreter of scripture." In the preface he makes mention of another edition, with larger annotations, which he designed to publish: "A work," says he, "in which he had spent many years; and which would still require time and care." We have not, however, been able to learn whether this was ever published. And it is greatly to be regretted that the later editions of that in 1664, though printed in the name of Canne, have the margin so numerously crowded with references, in addition to those originally done by Mr. Canne, that the reader is perplexed instead of being instructed. His references are exceedingly opposite and judicious. A new edition of the Bible of 1664, is certainly a desideratum; the printing of which, says my author, would, I am persuaded, reward any correct and elegant workman.‡

Dr. Grey, endeavouring to depreciate the character of

\* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 73, 363.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ Life of Ainsworth, p. 35, 36.

our divine, relates the following anecdote of him:—"This Canne," says he, "because no human inventions were to be allowed about the worship of God, cut out of his Bible the contents of the chapters, and the titles of the leaves, and so left the bare text without binding or covers."\* Admitting this to be the fact, surely it was not in the power of bigotry itself to account what he did a very great crime. It was no violation of any existing canons, constitutions, or act of parliament; nor could it be followed by any very evil consequences, so long as he preserved the whole of the sacred text unadulterated.

His Works, in addition to those already noticed.—1. The Way of Peace, or good Counsel for it: Preached upon the 5th day of the second month, 1632, at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences, 1632.—2. Syon's Prerogative Royal; or, a Treatise tending to prove, that every particular Congregation hath, from Christ, absolute and entire Power to exercise in and of herself every Ordinance of God, 1641.—3. A Stay against Straying: wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, he undertakes to prove the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England, 1642.—4. Truth with Time, 1659.—5. A twofold Shaking of the Earth.—6. The Churches Plea.

**EZEKIEL ROGERS, A. M.**—This pious minister of Christ was born at Wethersfield in Essex, in the year 1590; at the age of thirteen he was sent to the university, and, at twenty, took his degrees in arts. He was son to the venerable Mr. Richard Rogers, and brother to Mr. Daniel Rogers, both famous for their ministry and nonconformity at the above place. Having finished his academical pursuits, he became domestic chaplain to Sir Francis Barrington, whose family was celebrated for religion and hospitality. Here he was conversant with persons of the first rank, and was greatly admired for his devout prayers, his judicious sermons, and his excellent strains of oratory. After he had remained about six years in this worthy family, Sir Francis presented him to the benefice of Rowley in Yorkshire. This he did, in hopes that his evangelical and zealous preaching would awaken the people in that part of the country to a serious concern for their souls. His church was situated in the centre of many villages, whence a numerous assembly attended on his ministry.

Though great numbers at this place were enlightened and comforted by his preaching, he enjoyed but little comfort

\* Examination of Neal, vol. i. p. 231.

himself. He laboured under many fears and great distress, lest he did not experience the influence of those truths on his own heart which he zealously enforced upon others. He trembled to think of his own heart remaining unimpressed with those important doctrines and pathetic expressions, by which others were moved and affected. It very much increased his affliction, that he had not one serious friend in that part of the kingdom, to whom he could communicate the troubles of his mind. His wounded spirit was so deeply afflicted, that he resolved to take a journey into Essex to obtain the advice of his brother at Wethersfield, or his cousin, Mr. John Rogers of Dedham. Upon his arrival at the latter place, it was the lecture day; and, instead of consulting his kinsman, as he intended, he went to hear him preach, entering the assembly just before the sermon. To his great surprise, the subject was perfectly suited to the state of his afflicted spirit; and, before the close of the sermon, all his perplexing doubts and fears were fully resolved. Having obtained the desired peace and comfort, he returned to his stated ministerial exercise with fresh courage, and a remarkable success attended his future labours.\* Being naturally of a lively spirit, and having a feeble body, his animated discourses often exhausted his strength. This induced him to study physic, in which he obtained considerable skill.

By the encouragement or connivance of Archbishop Matthews of York, the lectures or prophesyings, put down in the days of Queen Elizabeth, were again revived. These lectures were the means of diffusing the light of the gospel into many dark corners of the land, particularly in Yorkshire. The ministers within a certain district held their monthly assemblies, when one or two of them preached, and others prayed, before a numerous and attentive congregation.† Mr. Rogers took an active part in these exercises as long as the archbishop lived. From one of these public lectures, a vile accuser waited upon the archbishop, and charged one of the ministers with having prayed, "that God would shut the archbishop out of heaven." The worthy prelate, instead of being offended, as the slanderer expected, only smiled and said, "Those good men know well enough

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 101, 102.

† There are monthly lectures, when two ministers usually preach, still held by the independent ministers in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. These periodical associations, which are often very numerous attended, most probably originated in the above exercises.

that if I were gone to heaven, their exercises would soon be put down."\* The words of the good archbishop were, indeed, found true; for his head was no sooner laid in the dust than they were put down. Mr. Rogers, having preached at Rowley about thirty years, was silenced for nonconformity; but, as some kind of recompence, he was allowed the profits of his living for two years, and permitted to put another in his place. He made choice of one Mr. Bishop for his successor; who, for refusing to read publicly the censure passed upon Mr. Rogers, was himself presently silenced.†

In the year 1638, our pious divine, not allowed to open his mouth for the good of souls, in his own country, retired from the cruel oppression with many of his Yorkshire friends, and went to New England. They took shipping at Hull, and on their arrival procured land, and formed a new plantation, which they called Rowley. Here he dwelt near his kinsman, the worthy Mr. Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich; and continued about the same period that he had done at Rowley in Yorkshire. Some time after his settlement in the new colony, he was appointed to preach the sermon at a public election, which is said to have rendered his name famous throughout the commonwealth. While he was praised abroad, he was venerated at home. His ministry was highly esteemed and extensively useful among the people of his charge. The principal topics on which he insisted were, regeneration and union to Christ by faith; and when addressing his people on these subjects, he had the remarkable talent of penetrating their feelings, and unvailing the secrets of their hearts. His sermons and his prayers expressed the very feelings and exercises of their souls. They often stood amazed to hear their minister so exactly describe their thoughts, their desires, their motives,

\* This excellent prelate, who had been an ornament to the university of Oxford, was no less an ornament to his high station in the church. He was noted for his ready wit; and was equal, if not superior to Bishop Andrews, in the faculty of punning. He had an admirable talent for preaching, which he never suffered to lie idle; but used to go from one town to another to preach to crowded congregations. He kept an exact account of the number of sermons which he preached after his preferment; by which it appears, that he preached, when Dean of Durham, 721; when Bishop of that diocese, 550; and when Archbishop of York, 721; in all, 1992. He died March 29, 1628; when his wife, a person of most exemplary wisdom, gravity, and piety, generously gave his library, consisting of 3000 volumes, to the library of the cathedral of York.—*Le Neve's Lives*, vol. i. part ii. p. 114.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 343.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 102.

and their whole characters. They were sometimes ready to exclaim, "Who hath told him all this?" His conversation among his people was serious and instructive. He took great pains in the religious instruction of the youth, especially those who had been recommended to him by their dying parents. He was a tree of knowledge richly laden with fruit, from which even children could pluck and eat. He was remarkable for healing breaches, and making peace among contending parties; and so great was his ability and influence, that, when any contentions arose among his people, he sent for the parties, examined the grounds of their complaints, and commonly quenched the sparks of discord before they burst into an open flame. His labours proving eminently useful, it was thought improper, after some years, that a minister of his splendid talents should confine his efforts to one small congregation. He was, therefore, induced to commence public lectures, particularly for the benefit of the adjacent towns, upon which the people attended with great satisfaction. On account of the increase of his labours, an excellent young man was obtained as his assistant. This, however, proved the means of exciting an unhappy jealousy among the people, that Mr. Rogers was not sufficiently zealous for his settlement; and, at length, produced that alienation of affection which was never entirely healed.\*

The latter part of this worthy man's life was a dreary winter of trials and sufferings. It was during this period that he buried his wife and all his children. A second wife, together with her little one, was soon snatched from his arms. The very night of his third marriage, his house was burnt down, with all his furniture, and his excellent library which he took with him from England. After having rebuilt his house, he had a fall from his horse, which so bruised his right arm that it became entirely useless, and he afterwards wrote with his left. Under these painful trials, he was cheerfully resigned to the will of God, and enabled to rejoice amidst all his tribulations. Writing to a minister at Charlestown, a short time before his death, he very much lamented that the younger part of his people were so little affected with the things of God, and that many of them strengthened each other in the ways of sin. In this letter he says, "I tremble to think what will become of this glorious work which we have begun, when the ancients

\* Mather's New England, b. iii. p. 103.

shall be gathered to their fathers. I fear grace and blessings will die with them. All is hurry for the world: every one is for himself, and not for the public good. It hath been God's way not to send sweeping judgments, when the chief magistrates are godly. I beseech all the Bay ministers to call earnestly upon the magistrates, and tell them their godliness is our protection. I am hastening home. Oh! that I might see some signs of good in the generation following, to send me away rejoicing. I thank God I am near home; and you, too, are not far off. Oh! the weight of glory that is ready waiting for us, God's poor exiles. We shall sit next to the martyrs and confessors. Cheer up your spirits with these thoughts; and let us be zealous for God and for Christ, and make a good conclusion.\*

Mr. Rogers closed his labours and his life, January 23, 1660, aged seventy years. He gave his new library to Harvard college, and his house and lands to the town of Rowley for the support of the gospel. A part of the land is said to have been bequeathed on consideration of the people's supporting a pastor and teacher, according to the principles of the original settlers in the country; but this having been long since neglected, the corporation of Harvard college, to whom the land was forfeited, made their rightful claim and obtained it; so that Mr. Rogers is numbered among the distinguished benefactors of that university. But still, in the first parish of Rowley, the rent of the lands left them by Mr. Rogers amounts to more than the salary of their minister.†

**WILLIAM STYLES, A. M.**—This divine was born at Doncaster in Yorkshire, and educated in Trinity college, Cambridge. On his entrance upon the work of the ministry, he was ordained both deacon and priest in the year 1620, when he was presented by Richard Harebread, esq. to the vicarage of Ledsham or Ledston, to the parsonage-house of which he was a considerable benefactor; and, March 3, 1624, he was presented by the king to the vicarage of Pontefract. He was a divine of puritan principles, was disaffected to ecclesiastical ceremonies, and was prosecuted by the high commission of York for the enormous crime of baptizing a child without the sign of the cross; but Alexander Cooke, by his powerful mediation

\* Mather's New England, b. iii. p. 103, 104.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 108.

with the archbishop, got the prosecution to be withdrawn. About the year 1642 he succeeded the famous Mr. Marvel in the vicarage of Hessel cum Hull, whence he was afterwards ejected for refusing the engagement.\*

Dr. Walker says Mr. Styles was turned out about the year 1647, for preaching against the intended murder of the king; and was succeeded by one Hibbert, who, it was thought, was not in orders till after the restoration. "I am further informed," says he, "that Mr. Styles was once of the parliament's party, and was in Hull when Sir John Hotham excluded the king, and was present when, upon his majesty's demand of his town and garrison of Hull, Sir John denied him admittance: at which, as I was told by a drum-major who stood by, Mr. Styles clapped Sir John upon his shoulder, and said, 'Honour should sit upon his shoulders for that day's work.' I am also informed," says he, "that he never appeared in the commission against scandalous ministers, but for the safety and deliverance of some persons that were loyal and episcopal; and this I am sure of, that he died a very great penitent, and openly declared, in his last sermon, in favour of loyalty and conformity."† But this account, transmitted in the "Sufferings of the parochial Clergy," says Mr. Thoresby, is full of mistakes.‡

Mr. Styles having refused the engagement, as intimated above, President Bradshaw wrote to Lieutenant-colonel Salmon, deputy-governor of Hull, to turn him by force out of the church and secure his person. Upon this a petition and testimonial was subscribed by the inhabitants, certifying—"That he was a very orthodox and laborious preacher, of a most blameless conversation; and, by his constant and unwearied pains in the gospel, he had won many souls to God; and consequently their loss of him would be exceeding great; that he was a very old man, unfit to travel, and had not a house in the world to put his head in, offering to be bound for his peaceable demeanour; and that if he could not in conscience comply, before the latter end of March, he should then yield to the law." The president was by this means prevailed upon to allow his continuance till the winter was over, when he was finally turned out and driven from the place. Upon his ejection he removed to London, and preached nearly a year in Ironmonger's-lane; but his health very much declining, he returned into

\* Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 95.

† Walker's *Attempt*, part ii. p. 378.

‡ Thoresby's *Vicaria Leodiensis*, p. 98.

his native county, and was preferred to the vicarage of Leeds, with the free consent of Mr. Robinson, the legal vicar, who had been driven away during the national confusions. Here he met with kind reception, and was highly honoured by the magistrates and people, for his excellent practical preaching. Though he was a puritan, he was a person of great loyalty, and had the courage to pray publicly for the king, then in a state of exile. He died a little before the restoration, and, March 16, 1660, his remains were interred in his own church. Mr. Christopher Nesse, afterwards one of the ejected ministers, was his lecturer; and Dr. Lake, afterwards bishop of Chichester, was his successor.\* Mr. Thoresby says, he had in MS. his "Catechism preparatory to receiving the Lord's Supper," which he styles, "solid and judicious." He had also some of his sermons in MS. and had seen several volumes of them, written by the aldermen and others, his devout hearers. He had likewise in his possession his judgment concerning several matters in religion, attested by Mr. Hill of Rotherham, who, in the presence of Mr. Wales and Alderman Maxon, wrote it from his own mouth a little before his death.†

**PETER STERRY, B. D.**—This zealous minister was born in the county of Surrey, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, where, in the year 1636, he was chosen fellow. In 1643 he was appointed one of the assembly of divines for the city of London, and gave constant attendance during the session. He was afterwards one of Cromwell's chaplains, and is styled "a high-flown mystical divine." He lived till after the restoration of King Charles, when he is said to have held a conventicle in London. It is further observed, that he and one Sadler were the first who were observed to make a public profession of Platonism in the university of Cambridge.‡

During the national confusions Mr. Sterry appears to have been a zealous and firm advocate in the cause of the parliament. He frequently preached at Whitehall§ and before the parliament, on which occasions he declared his sentiments without the least reserve. As these sentiments

\* Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 441.

† Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, p. 96—98.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. vi. p. 84.

§ Edwards's Gangræna, part ii. p. 119.

are selected and transcribed, too evidently with a view to reproach his memory, we shall give them in the words of our author. In his sermon before the house of commons, November 26, 1645, speaking of the discomfiture of the royal forces, he adds, "What ailed you, ye mighty armies, at Keinton, Newbury, York, Naseby, that ye fled, and were driven backwards? What ailed you, ye strong treasons, close conspiracies, that ye trembled and fell, and your foundations were discovered before you could take effect? They saw thee, O Jesus! They saw thee opening in the midst of us; so they fled before us. You sit at the right hand of the Lord Jesus in this commonwealth; as the Lord Jesus sits at the right hand of his Father, in that kingdom which is over all. The Lord Jesus hath his concubines, his queens, his virgins; saints in remoter forms; saints in higher forms; saints unmarried to any forms, who keep themselves single for the immediate embraces of their Lord."\* The impartial reader is left to judge for himself what degree of reproach is attached to these sentiments.

Mr. Sterry was author of a number of tracts, the titles of which have not reached us. He appears to have been deeply tinctured with mysticism. Mr. Baxter observes that he was intimate with Sir Henry Vane, and thought to have been of his opinion in matters of religion; and that "*vanity and sterility* were never more happily conjoined."† He was so famous for obscurity in preaching, that Sir Benjamin Rudyard said, he was "too high for this world, and too low for the other."‡ Mr. Erbery includes him in the list of divines "who had the knowledge of Christ in the

\* L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 10—13.

† Sir Henry Vane, a principal leader in the house of commons, was one of those singular characters that are seen but once in an age, and such an age as that of Charles I. It is hard to say whether he was a more fantastic visionary or profound politician. He did not, like the generality of enthusiasts, rely supinely on heaven, as if he expected every thing from thence; but exerted himself as if he entirely depended on his own activity. His enthusiasm seems never to have precipitated him into injudicious measures, but to have added new powers to his natural sagacity. He mistook his deep penetration for a prophetic spirit, and the light of his genius for divine irradiation. The solemn league and covenant was the fruit of his prolific brain, which teemed with new systems of politics and religion. He deserves to be ranked in the first class of mystics; yet he had a genius far above the level of mankind; and he spoke like a philosopher upon every subject except religion. He preserved a uniformity of character to the last, and died in expectation of the crown of martyrdom. He was beheaded June 14, 1662.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 213. iii. 109.

‡ *Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.

Spirit, and held forth Christ in the Spirit. These men," says he, "are nearest to Zion, yet are they not come into it. For as every prophet shall one day be ashamed of his vision; yea prophesy itself shall fail; so it is manifest these men are of a dark and deeper speech than can be easily understood; therefore it is not Zion."<sup>\*</sup>

It is related by Ludlow, that when news was brought of Cromwell's death, Mr. Sterry stood up, and desired those about him not to be troubled. "For," said he, "this is good news: because, if he was of great use to the people of God when he was amongst us, now he will be much more so, being ascended to heaven to sit at the right hand of Jesus Christ, there to intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occasions."<sup>†</sup> This, if true, was flattery or phrenzy in perfection.

EDWARD GEE, A. M.—This pious man was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the year 1613, and educated first at Newton school, near Manchester, then in Brazen-nose college, Oxford. About the year 1636 he became chaplain to Dr. Parr, bishop of Soder and Man, and minister at some place in Lancashire. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and, for his great activity in promoting the *holy cause*, as Wood in derision calls it, he became rector of the rich living of Eccleston, in the same county; † He was assistant to the commissioners of Lancashire for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters.

This worthy puritan, during his last sickness, laboured under the painful assaults of Satan. After enjoying the sweetest consolations, the enemy was suffered to come against him like an armed man, grievously tempting him to despair of his own salvation. But, by the help of God, he was enabled to resist the enemy, and to say unto him, "Away with thee, away with thee, thou accuser of the brethren: God confound thee." On one of these occasions, observes Mr. Gee, "I was in a most woeful condition; and it was much worse with my soul than any pangs of death. I was so full of horror that I was ready to tumble off my bed into the grave, yea, into the pit of hell. And I was the more full of horror, because I had before spoken so much of my

<sup>\*</sup> Erbery's Testimony, p. 69.

<sup>†</sup> Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 198.

<sup>‡</sup> Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 163.

assurance and comforts. I was ready to cry out, Oh, damned wretch that I am! But my most merciful Father, at length restoring unto me the joys of his salvation, enabled me to say unto the tempter, 'Thou implacable and irreconcilable enemy of my soul, away with thee, away with thee.'"<sup>\*</sup> This holy, tempted servant of Christ, died May 26, 1660, aged forty-seven years; when his mortal part was interred in the church at Eccleston. He published "A Treatise of Prayer and Divine Providence," 1653; and "The Divine right and original of the Civil Magistrate," 1658.

**HUGH PETERS, A. M.**—This unhappy man was born at Fowey in Cornwall, in the year 1599. His father was a respectable merchant, and his mother of the ancient family of the Treffys, of Place in that town. At fourteen years of age he was sent to Cambridge, where he became a member first of Jesus college, then of Trinity college. During his residence at the university, he was greatly addicted to the follies and vain delights of youth; but afterwards, by attending the preaching of Dr. Sibbs, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and others, he was awakened to a sense of his sins, and turned from the error of his way. It is indeed observed, that when he was at Cambridge, he was so lewd and insolent, as to be whipt in the Regent's-walk, a punishment scarcely ever inflicted upon any since, or perhaps a long time before, and so expelled for ever from the university.<sup>+</sup> It is further added, that after this he betook himself to the stage, where he acquired that gesticulation and buffoonery which he practised in the pulpit.<sup>‡</sup> He was admitted into holy orders by Bishop Montaigne of London;§ and he preached for a considerable time, and with

<sup>\*</sup> Ambrose's Works, p. 764. Edit. 1701.

<sup>+</sup> Kennet's Chronicle, p. 277.

<sup>‡</sup> Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 54.

<sup>§</sup> Bishop Montaigne was equally zealous for the conformity of his clergy as the rest of his brethren. It is related that, in the year 1622, he sent his servant on a Saturday to the minister who was to preach before him on the following Lord's day, desiring a sight of his sermon. The minister, not coming as was expected, greatly increased the prelate's jealousy, who sent for him on the sabbath morning about an hour before divine service. When the preacher came his lordship began to give him advice, especially that he should take heed and say nothing unfit for the present times. He inquired what was his text; and being told Gal. i. 6—8., *I marvel that you are so soon removed, &c.*, the bishop struck his hand upon his breast, and swore the text was not allowable for those times. "No, my lord," said

great acceptance and success, at St. Sepulchre's in the city. A certain scurrilous writer says, "he set up the trade of an itinerary preacher, never being constant or fixed to any one place or benefice; and he roved about the world like universal churchmen, called jesuits."\* Mr. Peters, speaking of his labours at Sepulchre's, says, "there were six or seven thousand hearers;" and adds, "I believe above one hundred every week were persuaded from sin to Christ."† His great popularity and usefulness, together with his nonconformity, at length awakened the envy and malice of his enemies. He was noticed by the ruling prelates; and having prayed for the queen in Sepulchre's church, "That as she came into the Goshen of safety, so the light of Goshen might shine into her soul, and that she might not perish in the day of Christ;" he was apprehended by Archbishop Laud, silenced from his ministry, and committed close prisoner to New Prison, where he remained for some time before any articles were exhibited against him: and though certain noblemen interceded and offered bail for him, it was refused;‡ and at length, after obtaining his release, he was obliged to flee to New England.§

We are aware that several writers of the adverse party have assigned a very different reason for his going into exile. Langbaine insinuates something of "an affair that he had with a butcher's wife of Sepulchre's;" and Granger says, "That being prosecuted for criminal conversation with another man's wife, he fled to Rotterdam."|| Mr. Peters himself appears not to have been insensible of his ill character among his enemies; but he terms it altogether a *reproach*, and attributes it to his zeal in the cause he espoused. "By my zeal," says he to his daughter, "it seems I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach: but

one of his chaplains, who stood by, "the very mention of the text is not allowable for the present times." The bishop said, "Look to thyself; for if thou speakest any thing that shall not please, I vow to break thy neck and thy back too." The preacher replied, that he had nothing to speak but the truth, and so was dismissed. Though his lordship was exceedingly displeased with the sermon, it contained a faithful account of the awful condition of those who forsake the faith they once received: only he observed, that they might expect some application, but he was not ambitious of lying in prison; and thus closed the sermon.—*Baker's MS. Collec.* vol. xxi. p. 104.

\* Bates's Lives of the King's Murderers, p. 40. Edit. 1661.

† Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 100. Edit. 1660.

‡ Hantley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 162.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 419.

|| Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters, p. 34. Edit. 1751.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 54.

I wish you to know, that, besides your mother, I have had no fellowship that way with any woman since I knew her, having a godly wife before also, I bless God.\* It may not be improper further to observe, that when he was afterwards under sentence of death, and only a short time before his execution, an intimate friend waiting upon him, put the question seriously and directly to him, whether he was guilty of the above accusation. To whom he replied, "I bless the Lord, I am wholly clear in that matter, and I never knew any woman but my own wife."† A man is not, indeed, allowed to be witness in his own cause; nor should the testimony of his adversaries be deemed a full proof. A person loaded with so vile an accusation as Mr. Peters was, and suffering as a traitor in the way that he did, when party spirit ran high, and revenge actuated those who bore rule; for such a one to be traduced and blackened beyond his deserts, is only what might be naturally expected. What reproach is not envy, malice, and a bigoted party spirit, able to cast upon men of the worthiest character? Mr. Peters's future popularity, and his high esteem among persons of the first rank in the nation, as will appear in the present narrative, certainly render the truth of the above charge at least extremely doubtful.

Mr. Peters having fled to Rotterdam, there gathered a congregation, and formed a church upon the plan of the independents, to which he was chosen pastor. He had the celebrated Dr. William Ames for his colleague in the same church; but this excellent divine did not long survive his removal from Francker to this place. Mr. Peters continued five or six years, not without the blessing of God upon his ministry, and was succeeded in the pastoral charge by Mr. William Bridge, Mr. Sydrach Sympson, and Mr. Samuel Ward, all famous in their day, and all driven from their native country for nonconformity.‡ Mr. Peters, during his stay in Holland, appears to have behaved himself so well as to procure great interest and a high degree of reputation in the country: "For, being afterwards in Ireland, and seeing the great distress of the poor protestants, who had been plundered by the Irish rebels, he went into Holland, and procured about *thirty thousand* pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief."§ We hence see how

\* Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 106.

† Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges, p. 61. Edit. 1660.

‡ Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 75.

§ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 75. Edit. 1699.

little credit is due to Dr. Nichols, that bold champion for high-church principles, who says, that Mr. Peters, *growing into contempt* among the people at Rotterdam, was obliged in a little while to leave the place.\*

On the resignation of his charge at Rotterdam, in the year 1635, he went to New England, and was chosen pastor of the church at Salem.† There he obtained a high reputation, and was greatly esteemed in the new colony. By an order from the general court of government, dated Boston, March 3, 1636, Mr. Peters, Mr. John Cotton, and Mr. Thomas Shepard, were appointed to assist the governor, deputy-governors, and others, "to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God, which might be fundamentals of the commonwealth, and to present the same to the next general court."‡ Mr. Peters, after residing there seven years, was sent to England by the government of the new commonwealth to mediate for ease in customs and excise. Upon his arrival in his native country, he found the nation deeply involved in the horrors of civil war; and being obliged to remain in England, he was not able for some time to accomplish the object of his mission.§ He always intended returning to New England, but one thing or another occurred, in those unsettled times, to prevent him.||

Mr. Peters had not been long arrived in England, before he became a zealous preacher in the parliament's army. In the year 1644, he was with the Earl of Warwick at the siege of Lime, a particular account of which he gave to the house of commons. In 1645, he attended Sir Thomas Fairfax at the taking of Bridgwater; and, bringing letters from the general, he was called before the house, and gave a circumstantial account of the siege; when the house voted him to receive one hundred pounds, as a reward for his unwearied services. As a preacher he was undoubtedly very serviceable to the cause of the parliament. When it was determined to storm Bridgwater, "Mr. Peters, in his

\* Nichols's Defence of the Church, p. 50. Edit. 1740.

† History of New Eng. p. 79.

‡ Backus's New Eng. Baptists, vol. i. p. 76—79.

§ Peters's Dying Legacy; p. 97—103.

|| Mr. Thomas Peters, a minister of puritan principles, went to New England during the civil war; and after staying about three years, he returned to his native country. He was a worthy man, and author of several excellent pieces; but whether he was any relation to Mr. Hugh Peters, we have not been able to learn.—*Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 214.

sermon on the Lord's day before, encouraged the soldiers to the work."\* It would certainly have looked much better, and have been much more consistent with his office as a minister of the gospel of peace and love, if, instead of this, he had excited them as much as possible to spare the effusion of human blood. His conduct in this, however, was not singular. This was too much the spirit and infatuation of the times.

During the above year, Mr. Peters was called before the house of commons; when he gave a particular account of the siege of Bristol, and the cause of sitting down before it, to prevent the plunder and cruelties of Prince Rupert in that part of the country. On this occasion, he pressed the desire of Sir Thomas Fairfax to have more recruits sent him. He afterwards brought letters from Lieutenant-general Cromwell, concerning the taking of Winchester-castle; after which, being called before the house, he gave a circumstantial account of it, when the house voted him to receive fifty pounds. In this year he returned from the army, and gave an account to the house of the storming and taking of Dartmouth; when he spoke of the valour, unity, and affection of the army, and presented letters, papers, and crucifixes, with other popish relics taken in the place. During his stay on this occasion in London, says Mr. Edwards, "he improved the whole of his time in preaching against the presbyterian government, the assembly, uniformity, common council, and the city of London, and FOR A TOLERATION OF ALL SECTS!"† About the same time, having preached in the market-place at Torrington, and convinced many, it is said, of their errors in adhering to the king's party, he was sent, with Lieutenant-colonel Berry, to Plymouth, to treat with the governor. Towards the close of this year, he was again called before the house of commons, and, after giving a particular relation of the proceedings of Sir Thomas Fairfax, he signified, that Lord Hopton's army of five thousand men was disbanded; that Hopton was not gone to Oxford, but had taken shipping for France; that many of the commanders had accompanied him, and others were gone to their own homes; that Pen-dennis-castle was closely besieged; and that the general intended to return towards Exeter. An order, at the same time, passed the house, for one hundred pounds a year to be settled upon Mr. Peters and his heirs, out of the Earl of

\* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 88, 156.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 214. Second edit.

Worcester's estates. And shortly after, an ordinance passed for settling upon him two hundred pounds a year.\*

Mr. Peters, about this time, became a kind intercessor in behalf of a lady of quality who was under confinement. This appears from a letter written with his own hand, dated June, 1646, and now before me. It begins as follows:—  
“To my worthy friend Mr. Rushworth, secretary to the general.

“Honoured friend, I understand that the Lady Harlaw is out, and the Lady ——. You may remember that I had a promise for my Lady Newport, when you know my Lord Newport is here with you. I pray therefore let me entreat you in favour of her enlargement,” &c.†

In the year 1649, Mr. Peters accompanied the parliament's army to Ireland, when he is said to have had the command of a brigade against the rebels, and came off with honour and victory. In a letter dated Dublin, September 15, 1649, he gives an account of the bloody slaughter in the taking of Drogheda, which was as follows:‡—

“Sir,

“The truth is, Drogheda is taken: 3552 of the enemy slain, and sixty-four of ours. Colonel Castles and Colonel Symonds of note. Ashton the governor killed: none spared. We have also proceeded to Trym and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny. I come now from giving thanks in the great church. We have all our army well landed.

“I am yours,

“HUGH PETERS.”

It was the common expression in those days, “that the saints should have the praises of God in their mouths, and a two-edged sword in their hands.”§ This was a principle evidently too prominent in the life of Mr. Peters. However, from the above detail, it appears how much he was in favour with the generals and the parliament, and that he must have made a distinguished figure in the transactions of those times. Nor is it improbable that the distinction with which he was treated by them, attached him so firmly to their interest, that in the end it cost him his life.¶ From Ireland, says Dr. Walker, he was sent into Wales, with the commission of a colonel,

\* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 157, 165, 169, 195, 200, 203, 204, 223, 228, 410.

† Sloane's MSS. No. 1519.

‡ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 411.

§ Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 314. Edit. 1810.

¶ Historical Account, p. 11.

to raise a regiment : but having misspent his time, and raised only three companies, Cromwell's wife drew up articles against him. Mr. Peters, hearing of this, contrived, with Colonel Philip Jones and one Mr. Sampson Lort, "to settle a congregational church of their own invention;" hoping by this means to make it appear, that, instead of being idle, he had been all the time very well employed. Afterwards he went to London; and, says our author, being asked his advice, "How to drive on the great design of propagating the gospel in Wales," he briefly delivered it to this effect: "That they must sequester all ministers without exception, and bring the revenues of the church into the public treasury; out of which must be allowed one hundred pounds a year to six itinerant ministers to preach in every county."\*

During the wars he had several interviews and conferences with the king; when, says Mr. Peters, "He used me civilly; and I offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety."† Mr. Peters assisted Mr. Challoner in his last moments, being executed for his concern in Waller's plot.‡ He also assisted Sir John Hotham, whom he attended upon the scaffold, and from whom he received public thanks.§

When Archbishop Laud was under confinement, it was moved in the house of commons to send him to New England; but the motion was rejected. "The plot," says Laud, "was laid by Peters, and others of that crew, that they might insult over me."|| The archbishop, at the commencement of his trial, delivered a speech in his own defence, in the conclusion of which, he challenged any clergyman to come forth, and give a better account of his zeal for the church, and his conversion of papists to the protestant religion; when Mr. Peters, standing near his lordship, asked him whether he was not ashamed of making so bold a challenge in so honourable an assembly? adding, that he himself, the unworthiest of many hundred ministers in England, was ready to answer his challenge; and to

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 147.

† Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 257, 364.—Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 103.

‡ This was a plot of considerable magnitude, with Mr. Waller, a member of the house of commons, at the head. It was the design of the king, and those concerned in this conspiracy, to compel the parliament to a peace: but the confederacy was soon discovered, and several leading persons were apprehended. Challoner and three others were executed: but Waller saved his life by paying a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was banished from the kingdom.—*Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii. p. 467, 488.

§ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 117.

|| Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 203.

produce a catalogue, not of *twenty-two* papists, but of above *one hundred and twenty*, whom he, through the blessing of God, had converted and brought home to God, making them other kind of converts than any he had recited, who were made neither good protestants nor good christians. He further added, that he, and many other ministers in England, were able to produce hundreds of true converts to Christ, for every one of his pretended ones; some of whom, by his own confession, soon turned apostates, and the rest were little better.\* Whatever truth there might be in this reply, it certainly discovered Mr. Peters's too great forwardness, while it very much offended the archbishop.

During the archbishop's trial, his library at Lambeth, it is said, was given to Mr. Peters, as a reward for his remarkable services.† The truth of this, however, is rendered rather doubtful, and appears, even from the very words of Laud himself, to have been founded merely on report. "All my books at Lambeth," says he, "were, by order of the house of commons, taken away, and carried I know not whither; but are, as it is *commonly said*, for the use of Mr. Peters. Before this time," his lordship adds, "some good number of my books were delivered to the use of the synod," meaning the assembly of divines.‡

In the year 1651, Mr. Peters was one of the committee appointed by the parliament to take into consideration what inconveniencies were in the law, and how the mischiefs that arose from delays, and other irregularities in the proceedings of the law, might be best and soonest prevented. In this committee were Mr. Rushworth and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards the Earl of Shaftsbury and lord chancellor; besides many others of high rank. "But none of them," says Whitlocke, "was more active in this business than Mr. Hugh Peters, who understood little of the law, and was very opinionative."§ Mr. Peters, speaking of these transactions, says, "When I was called about mending laws, I was there to pray, rather than to mend laws. But in this, I confess, I might as well have been spared."|| Here, in his own words, his ignorance and inability, in things of this nature, are as frankly acknowledged as they are plainly described by the learned historian. But it is

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 56. -

† Walton's Life of Hooker, Pref.—Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 263.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 365.

§ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 496, 497. || Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 109.

difficult to reconcile his being *very opinionative* and his *activity in the cause*, with his attending the committee to *pray*, rather than to *mend laws*.

It is observed of Mr. Peters, that in the year 1653, he prayed and preached for peace, and exhorted the people to peace, and zealously warned them against the sins of the times.\* The year following, he was appointed one of the *tryers* of ministers. Dr. Walker intimates that he and Mr. Philip Nye were the most active and busy among them. He brings a foul accusation against Mr. Peters, as if he were guilty of simony. The charge is founded on no other evidence than that one Mr. Camplin, a clergyman in Somersetshire, applied to Mr. Peters, by means of some other person, to obtain a settlement in the rectory of Kingston in that county; when Mr. Peters said to him, "Hath thy friend any money?"† A slender proof is this of so severe an accusation! They who are acquainted with the jocose temper and conversation of Mr. Peters, will not in the least wonder at such an expression from his mouth. Mr. Peters, speaking of himself in the above capacity, makes use of very modest and humble language. "When I was a tryer of others," says he, "I went to hear and gain experience, rather than to judge."‡

In the year 1658, Mr. Peters went to Dunkirk, where he laboured in the capacity of preacher to the English garrison.§ In a letter from Colonel Lockhart to Secretary Thurloe, dated from Dunkirk, July 18, 1658, we have the following account of him: "I could not suffer our worthy friend, Mr. Peters, to come away from Dunkirk without a testimony of the great benefits we have all received from him in this place, where he hath laid himself forth, in great charity and goodness, in sermons, prayers, and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; and, in all these, profitably applying the singular talent God hath bestowed upon him to the chief ends proper for our auditory. For he hath not only shewed the soldiers their duty to God, and pressed it home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath likewise acquainted them with their obligations of obedience to his highness's government, and affection to his person. He hath laboured amongst us here with much

\* Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 330.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 172, 174.

‡ Peters's Dying Legacy, p. 109.

§ Whitlocke's Mem. p. 674. Edit. 1732.

“good will, and seems to enlarge his heart towards us, and care of us for many other things.—Mr. Peters hath been twice at Bergh, and hath spoke with the cardinal (Mazarin) three or four times. I kept myself by, and had a care that he did not importune him with too long speeches. He returns loaden with an account of all things here, and hath undertaken every man’s business.”\*

Mr. Peters returned to England at the above period, bringing an abundant store of intelligence to the government. January 29, 1660, when General Monk was on his march from Scotland towards London, he was appointed to preach before him on a fast-day at St. Alban’s; when, it is said, “he troubled the general with a long fast sermon; and at night too he supererogated, and prayed a long prayer in the general’s quarters.” Our author gives the following account of the sermon on this occasion:—“As to the sermon, he managed it with some dexterity at the first, allowing the cantings of his expressions. His text was Psalm cvii. 7. *He led them forth by the right way, that they might go to a city of habitation.* With his fingers on the cushion he measured the *right way* from the Red Sea, through the wilderness to Canaan; said it was not forty days march, but God led Israel forty years through the wilderness, before they came thither; yet this was still the Lord’s right way, who led his people *crincedum cum cranchedum*. He particularly descended into the lives of the patriarchs, how they journeyed up and down, though blessings and rest were promised them. Then he reviewed our civil wars, our intervals of peace, and fresh distractions, and hopes of rest. But though the Lord’s people,” he said, “were not yet come to a city of habitation, he was still leading them on *the right way*, how dark soever his dispensations might appear to men.”†

May the 16th, in the above year, an order passed the house of commons, now modelled in favour of loyalty, “That the books and papers in the hands of John Thurloe and Hugh Peters, heretofore belonging to the library of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, be forthwith secured.” But it does not appear from our author whether any such books were found in their possession.‡ After the king’s restoration, Mr. Peters being apprehended and committed to prison, his majesty sent a warrant to Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, to obtain information of his

\* Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. vii. p. 223, 249.

† Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 36.

‡ Ibid. p. 150.

royal father's library; when Mr. Peters underwent an examination, and declared upon his oath, "That, in the year 1648, he preserved the library in St. James's against the violence and rapine of the soldiers; that the same continued three or four months in his custody; that he did not take any thing away, but left it unviolated as he found it; and that he delivered up the key and custody of all to Major General Ireton."\*

Mr. Peters was thought to have been deeply concerned in the king's death, on which account his name has been treated with much severity. It was supposed that the warrant for the king's execution was directed to him and Colonel Hacker, and that they were the two persons who were in mask upon the scaffold when his majesty was beheaded. There was some demur in the house of commons whether he should be excepted from the act of oblivion.† But, in the conclusion, it was declared against him, and he was apprehended, committed to the Tower, and tried with the rest of the regicides, in all twenty-nine. Bishop Kennet in one place says, that for a while he had been sculking up and down in secret, but was at length apprehended in Southwark; and in another, that he was discovered by one of those confidants whom he brought from New England, and seized upon in bed with another man's wife.‡ This vile calumny is cast upon him on the slender evidence of a bigoted and abusive piece, entitled, "Regicides no Saints, nor Martyrs."

Mr. Peters was brought to the bar, October 13, 1660; when he was indicted for high treason, to which he pleaded *not guilty*. "After the indictment was read," says Bishop Kennet, "he saw a whole congregation of witnesses against him, who upon their oaths testified him guilty of the most horrid crimes that any man could be guilty of." These crimes are next enumerated as follows:—"That he not only took arms, but was himself actually a colonel, and gave out commissions.—That he met in private consultation, near the time of the king's trial, at the Star in Coleman-street, with Cromwell, Pride, and others of the bloody plot.—That in December, 1648, the head-quarters were at Windsor, where Cromwell, Ireton, Rich and Peters, usually sat in consultation, till two or three o'clock in the morning, with strict guard about them; soon after which the king was brought to trial.—That during this consultation at Windsor, Peters

\* Biog. Britan. vol. i. p. 230. Edit. 1747.

† Ludlow's Mem. p. 394. Edit. 1771. ‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 169, 278.

commonly called his majesty tyrant and fool, saying, 'he was unfit to be a king, and that the kingly office itself was dangerous, chargeable, and useless.'—That an aged gentleman having said, 'God save the king, and preserve him out of the hands of his enemies,' he was offended, and said, 'Old gentleman, your idol will not stand long.'—That at Margaret's, Westminster, he preached upon these words, *Not this man, but Barabbas*, comparing all along his majesty to Barabbas, and bloodily inciting his auditory to kill the king; intimating that God would bring every tyrant to justice, signifying that there was no exception for king, or prince, or any of that rabble.—That he rode next before the king when he was brought from Windsor to his trial.—That in the painted chamber, the first day the high court of justice sat, Hugh Peters and John Goodwin were with them, when all others, except the judges and officers of the court, were kept out. That he was present at making proclamation in Westminster-hall for the high court of justice, and did there openly say to Sergeant Dendy, 'All this you have done is worth nothing, unless you proclaim it in Cheapside and the Old Exchange.'

“That the said Hugh Peters was marshalling and encouraging the soldiers who guarded the king in St. James's Park, a little before his trial.—That he was constantly in private consultations at Bradshaw's house during the trial, with them who sat upon the king.—That he bid Stubbs command his soldiers, when the king came near the high court, to cry out *justice! justice!*—That being at the high court of justice on the twentieth of January, he was heard to say, 'This is a most glorious beginning of the work.'—That on Sunday the twenty-first of January, he preached at Whitehall, from Psalm clix. 8., *To bind their kings with chains, &c.*, applying his text and sermon to the late king, and highly applauding the proceedings of the army, saying, 'This is a joyful day, and I hope to see such another day to-morrow.'—That the Sunday after his majesty was sentenced to die, he preached again upon the same text at St. James's, saying, 'He intended to have preached upon another text before the poor wretch; but that the poor wretch refused to hear him.'—That in the afternoon of the same day, he preached at Sepulchre's, and repeated all his parallel between his late majesty and Barabbas, crying out, that none but Jews would let Barabbas go.—That in this sermon, he said, 'Those soldiers who assisted in this great work had Emanuel written on their bridles.'

“ That in the painted chamber, on one of the days of the king’s trial, Peters kneeled down and prayed for a blessing ; and amongst other things, he said, ‘ O Lord, what a mercy is it to see this great city fall down before us ! ’—That he was upon the scaffold a little before the execution, and then whispered to Tench, the carpenter, who thereupon did there knock and fasten four staples, pulling a cord out of his pocket.—That after the king was murdered, Peters said, ‘ Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation. ’—That a while after the execution, he said, ‘ I rejoyce to think of that day ; for to me it seemed like the great and last day of judgment, when the saints shall judge the world. ’ ”\*

This is a full account of all the charges which even his enemies bring against him ; but whether these things prove “ him guilty of the most horrid crimes that any man could be guilty of,” is left with the reader to judge. Most of the foregoing particulars, as every reader will easily perceive, fell far short of high treason. Though it is said, that to all these particulars he made not one word of answer, except in cant and impertinence ;+ yet, when the witnesses were produced to find him guilty of having been one of the king’s judges, their evidence completely failed, and they could only prove that he was present on the occasion, when he used some indiscreet language. When the court attempted to prove that he was upon the scaffold the day on which the king suffered, he produced witness deposing that he was sick on that day, and confined to his own house. What Mr. Peters observed in his own defence, was little more than a protestation of his own innocence. He said that the war commenced before he came to England ; that since his arrival, he had endeavoured to promote sound religion, good learning, and the employment of the poor ; and that, for the better attainment of these ends, he had espoused the interest of the parliament. He then added, “ I had neither malice nor mischief in my heart against the king. I had so much respect to his majesty, particularly at Windsor, that I propounded to him my thoughts three ways, to preserve him from danger, which were good, as he was pleased to signify, though they did not succeed. As for malice, I had none in me.” † Whitlocke observes, that, “ upon a conference between the king and Mr. Peters, the king desiring one of his own chaplains might be permitted to come to

\* Kennet’s Chronicle, p. 277, 278.

+ Ibid.

† Trial of Regicides, p. 30, 153—183. Edit. 1660.

him, for his satisfaction in some scruples of conscience, Dr. Juxton, bishop of London, was ordered to go to his majesty.\* “And Sir John Denham being entrusted by the queen to deliver a message to his majesty, who at that time was in the hands of the army, by the assistance of Hugh Peters he got admittance to the king.”†

These were certainly very considerable services, and could hardly have been expected from a man, who, according to Burnet, “was outrageous in pressing the king’s death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor.”‡ As to the vile insinuation of many writers, that he was supposed to have been one of the masked executioners, besides the deposition at his trial, that he was then confined by sickness, no stress was laid by the king’s counsel on any suspicions or reports on this head. So that in all good reason, Dr. Barwick, Mr. Granger, and others, should have foreborne saying, “that he was upon no slight grounds accused to have been one of the king’s murderers.”§

Mr. Peters, in further protestation of his own innocence, says, “I thought the act of indemnity would have included me; but the hard character upon me excluded me. I have not had my hand in any man’s blood, but saved many in life and estate.”|| All that was proved against him consisted merely in words; but words, it must be acknowledged, unfit to be uttered. Yet, when it is recollected that many greater offenders than Mr. Peters escaped capital punishment, we shall be led to suspect that he met with some unkind and hard usage. When he was asked why sentence should not be passed upon him, to die according to law, he only said, “I will submit myself to God; and if I have spoken any thing against the gospel of Christ, I am heartily sorry for it.”¶ The sentence of death was then passed upon him; when he was confined in Newgate only three days and then executed. According to Ludlow, it was of no use to plead in his own defence: the court was fully resolved on his execution. “It was not expected,” observes this author, “that any thing he could say should save him from the revenge of the court; and, therefore, he was without hesitation brought in guilty.”\*\*

Mr. Peters, the day after his condemnation, preached to

\* Whitlocke’s Memorials, p. 364.

+ Historical Account, p. 24.

† Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 162.

‡ Historical Account, p. 25.—Granger’s Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 55.

§ Peters’s Dying Legacy, p. 104, 106.

¶ Trial of Regicides, p. 182—184.

\*\* Ludlow’s Memoirs, p. 407.

his friends and fellow-prisoners in Newgate. His text was Psalm xlii. 11. *Why art thou cast down, O my soul? And why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God.* The subject was particularly appropriate. For, during his imprisonment, he was exercised with a painful conflict in his own spirit, fearing, as he often said, that he should not go through his sufferings with courage and comfort. To his friends he said he was somewhat unprepared for death; and therefore he felt in some degree unwilling to die. Some things, he observed, he had committed, and others he had omitted, which troubled him; but he believed the light of God's countenance would at last break forth. And the favour of God did at length appear. For a little time before he went to the place of execution, his mind became perfectly composed; and with the utmost cheerfulness he said, "I thank God, now I can die. I can look death in the face, and not be afraid." To the truth of this many could bear witness.\*

Bishop Kennet observes, that "after the trial and condemnation of the regicides, Dr. Barwick and Dr. Dolben were sent to persuade them to repentance, and to confess their impious deeds." It is also added, "that they might employ their pious endeavours to better purpose with others, their first care was to solicit Hugh Peters, the principal and ring-leader of all the rest. The wild prophecies uttered by his impure mouth were still received by the people with the same veneration as if they had been oracles, though he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness. He was accused, upon no slight grounds, to have been one of the masked executioners hired to murder the king, but it could not be sufficiently proved against him." To all that these divines could say to him, says our author, "Peters answered with much surliness, negligence, and stupidity, and stopped his ears against all admonitions. He had so perfectly shook off all sense of piety and religion, if ever he had any, that his accomplices earnestly requested these divines to intercede with his majesty that a person so deaf to advice, and so impenetrable to their sacred ministrations, might not be hurried into another world till he were brought, if possible, to a better sense of his condition."†

To this account, too evidently designed to reproach his

\* Speeches and Prayers of the King's Judges, p. 58.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 284, 285.

memory, we shall only observe, from other authority, that the two doctors used their utmost endeavours to persuade him to a recantation of his former activity in the cause of the parliament, with promises of pardon from the king if he would comply. Though he was then much afflicted in spirit, he was enabled to resist their insinuations. He told them, "he had not the least cause to repent of his adherence to the parliament; but only that, in the prosecution of that cause, he had done no more for God and his people." And thus, with civility, he dismissed his visitants.

The day on which he suffered he was carried on a sledge from Newgate to Charing-cross, the place of execution; where he was made to behold the execution of Mr. Cook, another of the regicides. Here a person came to him, and upbraided him with the death of the king, bidding him now repent: to whom Mr. Peters said, "Friend, you do not well to trample upon the feelings of a dying man. You are greatly mistaken. I had nothing to do in the death of the king." When Mr. Cook was cut down, and brought to be quartered, the hangman was commanded to bring Mr. Peters near, that he might behold the mangled remains of his fellow-sufferer. As the hangman approached him, being all over besmeared with blood, and rubbing his bloody hands together, he said, "How do you like this, Mr. Peters? how do you like this work?" To whom Mr. Peters replied, "I thank God, I am not terrified at it. You may do your worst." As he was going to be executed, he gave a piece of gold to a friend, requesting him to carry it to his daughter as a token of respect from her dying father; and to let her know, "That his heart was as full of comfort as it could be; and that before that piece should come into her hands, he should be with God in glory." When he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before mine eyes, and have made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God hath ordered it for my strengthening and encouragement." "If Peters said this," a learned doctor observes, "it is plain he died as he lived, and went out of the world with a *notorious lie* in his mouth;" then insinuates, that he had taken a large potion; that he behaved himself like an idiot; that he was stupidly drunk, and therefore was not in a condition to make such a reflection. This surely needs no comment.\* When he was going off, he

\* Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 296.

said, "*What, flesh! art thou unwilling to go to God through the fire and jaws of death? Oh,*" said he, "*this is a good day. He is come whom I have long looked for, and I shall be with him in glory;*" and went off with a smile on his countenance.\* He suffered October 16, 1660, aged sixty-one years; and his head was set upon a pole on London-bridge.

Mr. Peters, it is allowed by all, intermeddled too much in state matters, and was too much the tool of the ruling party, which evidently brought him to this disgraceful end. Few men have suffered greater infamy and reproach. He is accused of many enormous crimes, but whether justly or not, we leave it with God to judge. Bishop Burnet, speaking of the triumphant death of the regicides, says, "It was indeed remarkable that Peters, a sort of enthusiastical 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 that was the most sunk in his spirit, and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it, nor the strength of mind to suffer for it as all the rest of them did. He," our author adds, "was observed all the while to be drinking some cordial liquors to keep him from fainting."†

Kennet styles him a virulent incendiary in the king's death, and says he was not fit to die, and was unable to bear up under the prospect of it. "And," he adds, "without any reflection on the wickedness of the man, there never was a person suffered death so unpitied; and, which is more, whose execution was the delight of the people, which they expressed by several shouts and acclamations, when they saw him go up the ladder, and again when the halter was putting about his neck; but when his head was cut off, and held up aloft on the end of a spear, there was such a shout as if the people of England had acquired a victory."‡ Such was their loyal infatuation, brutality, and outrage!

Granger says that Mr. Peters, together with his brethren, went to his execution with an *air of triumph, rejoicing that he was to suffer in so good a cause*. But, he adds, it appears from this instance, and many others, that the presumption of an enthusiast is much greater than that of a saint. He

\* Speeches and Prayers, p. 59—62.

† Burnet's Hist. of his Time, vol. i. p. 162.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 169, 292.

was a great pretender to the saintly character, a vehement declaimer against Charles I., and one of the foremost to encourage and justify the rebellion.\* Dr. Barwick says, "he was known to be infamous for more kinds of wickedness than one."† Wood denominates him "a theological and pulpit buffoon, and a diabolical villain."‡ Dr. Grey says, "he was a juggling, scandalous, and infamous villain, and that he got the mother and daughter with child." He styles him, "the gingerbread prophet, the late pastor of a hunger-starved flock at Salem in New England, that mongrel minister, that military priest, that modern Simon Magus, that disguised executioner, that bloody butcher of the king."§

These are, indeed, very heavy charges. They require good evidence for their support. On the one hand, it is easy for an historian to assert what he wishes to be true, though he cannot prove it; and on the other, it is often extremely difficult to disprove what is asserted, though it may in fact rest on no good evidence. Though we would by no means connive at sin, or attempt to lessen the guilt of any man, the truth of the above charges appears extremely doubtful. Some of these accusations are unquestionably the language of scurrility, misrepresentation, and abuse; and they all come from known enemies, those who hated the cause in which he was engaged, and looked upon it as detestable. We do not find, that they knew of any of those things of Mr. Peters *themselves*; and, therefore, what they have published must be considered only as common fame, which in those times, when malice, bigotry, and revenge ran so high, might easily have been propagated without even the shadow of proof. Mr. Peters suffering as a traitor, they were probably too forward to believe those reports; the truth of which was at best extremely uncertain.

Indeed, the times in which Mr. Peters was on the stage, were far enough from favouring such vices in the ministerial character. He must be a novice in the history of those times, who knows not what a *precise* and *demure* kind of men were the preachers among the parliamentarians. They were careful, not only of their actions, but of their words, and even their looks and gestures. Drunkenness, whoredom, swearing, and such like vices, were quite out of

\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 55, 339.

† Historical Account, p. 33.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 113, 739.

§ Grey's Examination, vol. ii. p. 358. iii. 287.

vogue among them. It was their sobriety and strictness of behaviour, joined with their popular talents in the pulpit, which caused them to be so much revered and esteemed. If Mr. Peters had been so vicious, so infamous for wickedness, and so scandalous and diabolical a villain, as he is represented, he could certainly have had no influence over the people, nor would he have been treated in the manner that he was by some of the principal men in the nation. They must have parted with him even for their own sakes, unless they wished to have been looked upon as enemies to religion.

Besides, if it be recollected who were the patrons of Mr. Peters, the truth of his accusations will appear very doubtful. We have seen how he was entertained by the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, and how much he was caressed and rewarded by the parliament. How improbable then is it that he was infamous for wickedness! His patrons, it is observed, were never accused of *personal* vices. They were men who at least made high pretensions to religion; and the cause for which they fought, they avowed to be the cause of God. With what face could they have done this, if their chaplain, their confident, their tool, had been known to be so vicious, so infamous for wickedness, and so scandalous and diabolical a villain? Or, how could they have said and done so much against scandalous ministers, who employed one of the most scandalous? In short, how could they *publicly reward* Mr. Peters, when they always professed great zeal for godliness, and endeavoured to promote it in the highest degree? Men of their wisdom, courage, and zeal, can hardly be thought to have acted so inconsistent a part.\*

Mr. Edwards observes of Mr. Peters, that he was a great agent for the sectaries; and that by preaching, writing, and conference, he greatly promoted the cause of independency.† In addition to the thirty thousand pounds which he collected for the persecuted protestants in Ireland, as already noticed, he was a diligent and earnest solicitor for the distressed protestants in the vallies of Piedmont, who, by the tyrannical oppressions of the Duke of Savoy, had been most inhumanly persecuted and reduced to the utmost extremity. . . Also, in gratitude to the Hollanders for the sanctuary he had found among them, during his persecutions under Archbishop Laud, he was of signal service to

\* Historical Account, p. 35—39.

† Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 120.

them in composing their differences with England, in the time of Cromwell.\*

Mr. Peters, during his imprisonment, wrote certain papers, as a legacy to his daughter, which were afterwards published, from which some parts of this memoir have been extracted. Though a comfortable annual maintenance was conferred upon him by the parliament, he was deprived of all at the restoration; and Mrs. Peters, who lived many years after his death, was wholly dependent upon her friends for support.†

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *God's Doings, and Man's Duty*, opened in a Sermon preached before the House of Commons, the Lord Mayor, and the Assembly of Divines, 1646.—2. *Peters's Last Report of the English Wars*, occasioned by the Importunity of a Friend, pressing an Answer to some Queries, 1646.—3. *A Word for the Army*, and two Words for the Kingdom, to clear the one and cure the other, forced in much Plainness and Brevity from their faithful Servant, Hugh Peters, 1647.—4. *Good Work for a Good Magistrate*, or a short Cut to a great Quiet, 1651.—5. *Some Notes of a Sermon* preached the 14th of October, 1660, in the Prison of Newgate, after his Condemnation, 1660.—6. *A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an only Child*; or, *Mr. Hugh Peters's Advice to his Daughter*, written by his own hand, during his late imprisonment in the Tower of London, and given her a little before his death, 1660.—The portrait of Mr. Peters is prefixed to this little work.

**JOHN DURY.**—This zealous divine was born in Scotland, but sojourned some time in the university of Oxford, particularly for the benefit of the public library. He was there in the year 1624, but it does not appear how long he continued. Afterwards, he travelled into various foreign countries, particularly through most parts of Germany, where he visited the recesses of the muses. By long continuance in foreign parts, he spoke the German language so fluently, that, upon his return to England, he was taken for a native German. Our author adds, that he was by pro-

\* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 407.

† Mr. John Knowles, in a letter to the governor of New England, dated July 6, 1677, thus observes:—"There is another trouble which I presume to put upon you, that is, to speak to the Reverend Mr. Higginson, pastor of Salem, to move that congregation to do something for the maintenance of Mrs. Peters; who, since her husband suffered here, hath depended wholly upon Mr. Cockquaine, and that church whereof he is pastor. I fear she will be forced to seek her living in the streets if some course be not taken for her relief, either by Mr. Higginson, Mr. Oxenbridge, or some other sympathizing minister."—*Massachusetts Papers*, p. 514.

fession a divine and a preacher, but whether he took orders according to the church of England, which he always scrupled, doth not appear.\* However, these scruples, by some means or other, he overcame. For, though he had been ordained in one of the foreign reformed churches, he was required to be re-ordained before he could be admitted to a benefice in England; and, accordingly, submitted to the renewal of this ceremony under the hands of Bishop Hall of Exeter.†

Mr. Dury was for many years employed in a design of promoting a reconciliation between the Calvinists and Lutherans abroad; or, as he used to express it, "for making and settling a protestant union and peace in the churches beyond the seas." We shall give an account of this object, in the words of one who warmly censures both Mr. Dury and his undertaking. "He made a remarkable figure in his time, by running with an enthusiastic zeal for uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists. He was so strongly possessed with the hopes of success, that he applied to his superiors for a dispensation of nonresidence upon his living, in order to travel through the christian world to accomplish the design. And he not only procured a license for the purpose, but obtained the approbation and recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury,‡ and was assisted by Bishop Hall, and the Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland.§ He began by publishing his plan of an union in 1634; and, the same year, appeared at a famous assembly of Lutherans at Frankfort in Germany. The churches also of Transylvania sent him their advice and counsel the same year; and he afterwards negotiated with the divines of Sweden and Denmark. He directed his attention to every quarter. He consulted the universities, communicated their answers, and was not discouraged by the ill success which he met with. He conferred with the learned divines in most of the places on the continent, and obtained their approbation of his design. His project, however, was much ridiculed:

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 849, 850.

† Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 390.

‡ Archbishop Laud made mention of this circumstance at his trial. But although he at first espoused Mr. Dury's undertaking, he appears afterwards to have thrown some difficulties in the way.—*Ibid.* p. 539, 541.

§ Bishop Bedell of Kilmore, who loved to bring men into the communion of the church of England, but did not like compelling them, was of opinion, that protestants would agree well enough if they could be brought to understand each other. He was therefore induced to promote Mr. Dury's design, and, towards defraying the expenses of which, he subscribed twenty pounds a year.—*Biog. Britan.* vol. ii. p. 136. Edit. 1779.

but this only served to inflame his zeal. He afterwards endeavoured to unite, not only the Lutherans and Calvinists, but even the whole christian world. To this end, he travelled through many parts of Germany, where he was cordially received and liberally entertained. He seems to have been an honest man, but enthusiastical. His notions were but idle fancies, and his scheme was equally wild and impracticable.\*

Notwithstanding the censures of the above writer, it is manifest that Mr. Dury's undertaking received the warmest patronage and encouragement of many celebrated divines. In the year 1635 he exchanged several letters upon the subject with the learned Mr. Joseph Mede. He first solicited this celebrated scholar to give his thoughts upon the best method of pursuing the design; and then stated the method in which he had addressed the Batavian churches, desiring his remarks upon it. Mr. Mede most cordially approved of his endeavour to promote a pacification, but was doubtful of its success. He commended Mr. Dury's method of addressing the foreign churches; owned his good intentions; and spoke of his abilities in terms of the highest approbation. "From his wisdom and abilities therein," says he, "I am fitter to receive knowledge and instruction than to censure or give direction."† Mr. Dury communicated his design to the most celebrated divines of New England, who signified their hearty concurrence in the generous undertaking.‡ And Mr. Baxter observes, that "Mr. Dury having spent thirty years in his endeavours to reconcile the Lutherans and Calvinists, was again going abroad upon that work, and desired the judgment of our association how it might be most successfully accomplished; upon which, at their desire, I drew up a letter more largely in Latin, and more briefly in English."§

Upon the commencement of the civil wars, Mr. Dury espoused the cause of the parliament, and was chosen one of the superadded members to the assembly of divines. He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was appointed one of the committee of accommodation.|| It is said, that he afterwards joined the independents, took the engagement, and all other oaths that followed to the restoration.¶ He was certainly a man of a most worthy character,

\* Biog. Britan. vol. vii. p. 4383. Edit. 1747.

† Mede's Works, p. 804, 863—866.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 39, 40.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 117.

|| Papers of Accom. p. 13. ¶ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 850.

and was exceedingly revered and beloved by numerous persons highly distinguished for learning and piety; among whom, it would be a great omission not to mention the famous Sir Robert Boyle, who was his kind friend.\* In the great design of promoting concord among christians, he discovered a most excellent spirit, and was indefatigably laborious. Though he was not so successful as the best of christians desired, his endeavours were certainly useful. Through the whole, he acted upon the most generous and worthy principles. This will appear from his letter, dated July, 1660, addressed to the Lord Chancellor Hide; which was as follows:

“ My Lord,

“ In the application which I made to your honour when you were at the Hague, I offered the fruit of my thirty years labours towards healing the breaches of protestants; and this I did as one who never had served the turn of any party, or have been biassed by particular interests for any advantage to myself; but walking in the light by rules and principles, have stood free from all in matters of strife, to be able to serve through love. My way hath been, and is, to solicit the means of peace and truth amongst the dissenting parties, to do good offices, and to quiet their discontents, and I must still continue in this way if I should be useful. But not being rightly understood in my aims and principles, I have been constrained to give this brief account thereof, as well to rectify the misconstruction of former actings, as to prevent further mistakes concerning my way: that such as love not to foment prejudices may be clear in their thoughts concerning me; and may know where to find me, if they would discern me or any of the talents which God hath bestowed upon me for the public welfare of his churches, which is my whole aim; and wherein I hope to persevere unto the end, as the Lord shall enable me, to be without offence unto all, with a sincere purpose to approve myself to his majesty in all faithfulness.

“ Your lordship’s most humble servant in Christ,

“ JOHN DURY.”

During the same month he sent another letter, giving an account of certain proceedings relative to the universal pacification among christians. It was addressed to the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain of his majesty’s

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 497. Edit. 1778.

household.\* The author now cited denominates Mr. Dury "the Lithuanian scholar," and observes that in December, 1660, he was presented, by favour of the Earl of Manchester, with so much of the Lithuanian Bible as was then printed, which was down to the Chronicles.+ Thus, Mr. Dury lived till after the restoration, but does not appear to have conformed, nor yet to have been ejected. Every thing seems to have given way to his favourite object; therefore he most probably discontinued his stated ministerial exercises some time before this period.

His Works.—1. Consultatio Theologica super negotio pacis Ecelesiast. 1641.—2. Epistolary Discourse to Tho. Goodwin, Ph. Nye, and Sam. Hartlib, 1642.—3. Of Presbytery and Independency, 1646.—4. Model of Church Government, 1647.—5. Peace-maker the Gospel way, 1648.—6. Seasonable Discourse for Reformation, 1649.—7. The reformed School, 1650.—8. The reformed Library-Keeper, 1650.—9. Bibliotheca Augusta sereniss. Princ. D. Augusti Ducis Brunovicensis etc., 1650.—10. The unchanged, constant, and single-hearted Peace-maker drawn forth into the World: or, a Vindication of John Dury from the Aspersion cast upon him in a nameless Pamphlet, called, 'The time-serving Proteus, and ambidexter Divine, uncased to the World,' 1650.—11. Supplement to the reformed School, 1651.—12. Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion, 1654.—13. A Summary Platform of Divinity, 1654.—14. A Declaration of John Dury to make known the Truth of his Way and Deportment in all these Times of Trouble, 1660.—15. Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus, 1662.—And some others.

HENRY WHITFIELD was the son of an eminent lawyer; and, his father designing him for the law, he was educated first in one of the universities, then at the inns of court. He was inclined to religion from a child; and as he grew up to years of maturity, being desirous to be employed in preaching the gospel, he gave up all thoughts of the law, and entered upon the ministerial function. He became minister of Ockham in Surrey; at which place, as also in the adjacent country, his labours were wonderfully blessed in the conversion of souls. During the period of twenty years he remained a conformist, but was highly esteemed by all pious nonconformists, many of whom, under the molestations and persecutions of the bishops, were sheltered under his roof. At length, however, upon mature investigation and thorough conviction, he could no longer conform to the church of England. This soon brought him into those

\* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 197, 198.

† Ibid. p. 868.

troubles from which he had protected others. He was prosecuted by Archbishop Laud, particularly for refusing to read the Book of Sports.\* Mr. Whitfield, being a man of great moderation and self-denial, would not contend with the metropolitical power of the archbishop; but peaceably resigned his benefice and the public charge of his flock. As there was no prospect of any reformation of the church, nor of his further employ in the ministry in his native country, he sold his estate, and, in the year 1639, retired to New England. Many of his religious friends and acquaintances accompanied him; who, upon their arrival, began a new plantation, and called the place of their settlement Guildford. There they formed themselves into a christian society, choosing Mr. Whitfield to the office of pastor. After sojourning at Guildford eleven years, patiently enduring the hardships of the new colony; and having a pressing invitation to his native country, he returned to England in 1650. On his arrival, he was most cordially received by his old friends, and highly respected by some of the first persons in the nation. He settled in the ministry at Winchester, where he probably continued the rest of his days. He was an excellent preacher, eminent for liberality and self-denial, and appears to have died about the restoration.† He was author of a work entitled, "Some Help to stir up to Christian Duties," 1636.

**ADONIRAM BYFIELD, A. M.**—This pious divine was the son of Mr. Nicholas Byfield, another worthy puritan, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. In the year 1642 he became chaplain to Sir Henry Colmly's regiment, in the parliament's army; and the year following was appointed scribe to the assembly of divines, being, according to Wood, "a most zealous covenanter."‡ Upon the first publication of the Directory, by order of the parliament, the profits arising from the sale of it were bestowed upon Mr. Byfield and Mr. Henry Roborough, the other scribe, who sold the copy, it is said, for several hundred pounds.§ In the year 1646, when the "Confession of Faith" was drawn up by the assembly of divines, Mr. Byfield, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and Mr. Stanley Gower, were

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 151.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 217, 218.

‡ Athene Oxon. vol. ii. p. 229.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 222.

appointed to collect proofs of the various articles from scripture; all of which, upon the examination of the assembly, were inserted in the margin; and the year following, when it was printed, Mr. Byfield, by order of the house of commons, delivered a copy to each member of the house.\*

He was rector of Fulham in Middlesex; and after the wars, he became rector of Collingborn-Ducis in Wiltshire. Upon his removal to the latter situation, he was nominated assistant to the commissioners in that county for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers. In this capacity he was not likely to escape the bitter censures of Dr. Walker; who endeavours to prove, that in the examination of Mr. Bushnell, he was not only too officious, but guilty of some illegal proceeding. The charges are supported, however, by very slender evidence, or rather no evidence at all.† Mr. Byfield is one of those few writers, says Granger, who have, by name, been stigmatized by Butler, in his "Hudibras." This may be true, and he might be, as he was in truth, a very pious, excellent, and useful divine. He observes, that Mr. Byfield was said to have been a broken apothecary; that he was of special note; and a very active zealot in the busy and boisterous reign of Charles I.; and then adds, that his portrait was published, "with a windmill on his head, and the devil blowing the sails."‡ The best of men have, in all ages, suffered the vile reproaches of the wicked, who frequently account them "the offscouring of all things." Mr. Byfield, with two or three others, assisted Dr. Chambers in compiling his "Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wiltshire," 1654. He died in the year 1660.§ Mr. Isaac Knight, his successor at Fulham, and Mr. Daniel Burgess, his successor at Collingborn, were both ejected nonconformists in 1662.¶

CONSTANTINE JESSOP, A. M.—This person was the son of Mr. John Jessop, minister of Pembroke, born in the year 1602, and educated in Jesus college, Oxford. Having passed through a regular course of study in that university, he went into Ireland, and entered Trinity college, Dublin;

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 351.

† Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 182—194.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. ii. p. 187. § Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 230.

¶ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 447. iii. 361.

but after some time returned to Oxford. About the year 1632 he entered into the ministerial office; and, upon the commencement of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, and succeeded the celebrated Dr John Owen, as minister of Coggeshall in Essex. Having continued his ministerial labours for some time at this place, he removed to Wimborn-Minster in Dorsetshire; in which county he was appointed assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. He did not, however, continue in this situation many years, but became rector of Tyfield in Essex, where he died about the year 1660, aged fifty-eight years. The Oxford historian denominates him "a learned, faithful, and suffering minister of Jesus Christ."\* He was author of "The Angel of the Church of Ephesus, no Bishop of Ephesus," 1644; and a piece "Concerning the Nature of the Covenant of Grace; wherein is a Discovery of the Judgment of Dr. Twisse in the point of Justification, clearing him therein from Antinomianism," 1655.

**HENRY DENNE.**—This zealous person was educated in the university of Cambridge, and ordained by the Bishop of St. David's about the year 1630. Afterwards he signalized himself by his preaching and writings, his disputing and sufferings. He entered upon his ministerial labours at Pirton in Hertfordshire, where he remained about ten years, and was much beloved and respected by his parishioners. In the year 1641 he was appointed to preach at a visitation held at Baldock in the same county. This occasioned him to be more publicly known, and made him many friends and enemies. He had always been suspected of puritanism. The difference now subsisting betwixt the king and parliament gave many ministers an opportunity of declaring their sentiments more openly; and of endeavouring to promote the desired reformation of the church. Among these was Mr. Denne, who embraced this opportunity of exposing the sin of persecution, the vices of the clergy, and the numerous corruptions in the worship and discipline of the established church. The introduction to his sermon was extremely singular, but discovered considerable ingenuity. His text was John v. 35. *He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light.*

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 175, 176.

In the sermon he freely censured the principal evils of the time, and laid open the numerous vices of the clergy; particularly their pride, their covetousness, their pluralities, and nonresidence. His applications were close and searching; one instance of which it may not be improper to give. The court for receiving presentments against nonconformists being held at those visitations, after having enumerated and exposed some of the most flagrant crimes of the clergy with great freedom, he said, "I must call upon those in authority, that they would make diligent search after these *foxes*. If the courts had been as diligent to find out *these*, as nonconformable ministers; surely by this time the church would have been as free from *them*, as the land is from *wolves*. But they have preferred the traditions of men before the commandments of God. I tell you, that conformity hath ever fared the worse for their sakes, who, breaking the commandments of God, think to make amends by conformity to the traditions of men."

During the delivery of the sermon, some of the clergy could hardly exercise patience to hear it out; and afterwards there was so great a noise in the country, and so many false reports were propagated against both the preacher and the sermon, that he was obliged to publish it in his own defence. From this time he began to be much noticed, not only as a man of considerable parts, but as one suitable to help forwards the reformation of the church. The revolution which soon after took place in the state occasioned a material alteration in the affairs of religion. Many learned men were led to a closer study of the sacred scriptures, as well as a more accurate investigation of some doctrines, then generally received as true. Of this number was Mr. Denne, who, judging that the baptism of infants had no foundation in scripture, or in the purest ages of the church, publicly professed himself a baptist, and, about the year 1643, was baptized by immersion. He immediately joined himself to Mr. Lamb's church, meeting in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London; where he still continued to preach, as well as in different parts of the country.\*

This change in Mr. Denne's sentiments exposed him to the resentment of the ruling powers, who put frequent obstructions in the way of his preaching and public usefulness. In the year 1644 he was apprehended in Cambridgeshire, by the committee of that county, and sent to prison

\* Crosby's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 297—302.

for preaching against infant baptism. Having suffered confinement for some time, his case, through the intercession of friends, was referred to a committee of parliament. He was accordingly sent up to London, where he was kept prisoner in Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate-street, till the committee heard his case and released him.\*

At this time there was confined in the same prison, the learned Dr. Daniel Featly, famous for his opposition to the baptists. The doctor having just published his book, entitled, "The Dippers Dipt; or, the Anabaptists Ducked and Plunged over Head and Ears, at a Disputation in Southwark," it was laid in the way of Mr. Denne, who having read it, thought himself called upon to defend his principles. He therefore challenged the doctor to a disputation, which being accepted, Mr. Denne is reported to have had the best of the argument, and that the doctor declined proceeding further, under pretence that it was dangerous so to do without a license from government. Mr. Denne, upon the invitation of the doctor, immediately set about answering the book, and in the course of a few weeks produced a very learned and ingenious reply.

After his release, notwithstanding the obnoxious nature of his opinions, Mr. Denne obtained, by some means, the vicarage of Eltisley in Cambridgeshire, where he preached publicly in the church, and was much followed. But this excited the jealousy and opposition of the presbyterians. Having, on a certain occasion, to preach a lecture at St. Ives in Huntingdonshire, the committee of the county issued an order to prevent him; upon which he went into a neighbouring church-yard, and preached under a tree to a great number of people, and to the great mortification of his opponents. In June, 1646, he was again committed to prison, for preaching his own sentiments and baptizing by immersion, at Spalding in Lincolnshire. Here his chief persecutors were two justices, who sent the constable on the Lord's day morning to apprehend him. Their object was to prevent him preaching; for, to their great mortification, multitudes flocked to hear him. Upon the examination of his case, the only crime brought against him was that of *dipping*, and only one person could be produced in evidence of the charge. When first called before his spiritual judges, he was urged to accuse himself; but this he utterly refused. The single witness produced in proof of the

\* Edwards's Gangrana, part i. p. 77.

charge was one Anne Jarrat, who, June 22, 1646, made the following deposition: "This examine saith, on Wednesday last, in the night, about eleven or twelve o'clock, Anne Stennet and Anne Smith, the servants of John Mackernesse, did call out this examine to go with them to the little croft, with whom this examine did go; and coming thither, Master Denne, and John Mackernesse, and a stranger or two, did follow after. And being come to the river-side, Master Denne went into the water, and there did baptize Anne Stennet, Anne Smith, Godfrey Roote, and John Sowter, in this examine's presence."\*

It was accounted a sad crime to perform this ceremony in the night. The oppressions of the times not suffering it to be observed in open day, ought, however, to bear all the blame. Though his persecutors discovered a most intolerant spirit, and by their extreme bigotry, exposed themselves to the reproach of all unbiassed minds, they succeeded in one thing according to their wishes. For, through their repeated oppressive proceedings, Mr. Denne was at length obliged to quit his living; and seeing no prospect of usefulness in the church, he went into the army. As he was a man of great courage and zeal for the liberties of his country, he behaved himself so well in the character of a soldier, as to gain a reputation not inferior to many who had made it the profession of their lives. At the conclusion of the war he returned to his former exercise of preaching, and took every opportunity of defending his principles.

In the year 1658 Mr. Denne was engaged in a dispute concerning baptism with Dr. Gunning, in St. Clement's church, near Temple-bar, London. The disputation lasted two days; and he is said to have afforded strong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good scholar and a complete disputant. Indeed, he was accounted by one who had a considerable hand in the public affairs of the nation, "the ablest man in the kingdom for prayer, expounding, and preaching." In his views of the doctrines of the gospel he took the middle way, with Bishop Usher, Bishop Davenant, Mr. Baxter, and others.+ Mr. Edwards, who was never suspected of partiality to those called *sectarians*, acknowledges "that he had a very affectionate way of preaching, and was much esteemed among the people;" yet he denominates him a *great antinomian*, and a *desperate arminian!*"‡ Another writer observes, that he was formerly "a high altar-

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 86, 87.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 221—224, 302—307.

‡ Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 76, 77.

man, a bower at the name of Jesus, and a conformist to the abominable innovations introduced by Canterbury; that he opposed the remonstrance and the petition of the well-affected, pleading for a riddance of episcopacy, the ceremonies, and other corruptions; and that he was a rigid arminian, an enemy to free grace, and an antinomian.\* Mr. Denne united with his brethren, the baptist ministers in London, in their protestation against Venner's insurrection, and in avowing their unshaken loyalty to the king.† His death is supposed to have taken place towards the close of the year 1660. After his interment the following lines were put upon his grave-stone :

To tell his wisdom, learning, goodness, unto men,  
I need to say no more, but here lies HENRY DENNE.

**His WORKS.**—1. *The Doctrine and Conversion of John the Baptist: a Visitation Sermon*, 1642.—2. *Antichrist Unmasked*, 1644.—3. *The Foundation of Children's Baptism Discovered and Raised*, 1645.—4. *The Man of Sin discovered, whom the Lord will destroy with the Brightness of his coming*, 1645.—5. *The Drag-Net of the Kingdom of Heaven; or, Christ drawing all Men*, 1646.—6. *The Levellers Design discovered*, 1649.—7. *A Contention for the Truth; in two Public Disputations between Dr. Gunning and Henry Denne, concerning Infant-Baptism*, 1658.—8. *Grace, Mercy, and Peace*.

**FRANCIS TAYLOR, A. M.**—This excellent divine was for some time rector of Clapham in Surrey, and afterwards rector of Yalding in Kent, to one of which places he was presented by Archbishop Laud; In the year 1643 he was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and paid constant attendance. In the assembly he discovered great learning and moderation. His distinguished abilities and erudition were, however, most richly displayed in his writings. He wrote the *Annotations upon Proverbs*, in the *Assembly's Annotations*, as they are commonly called. He was most famous in all kinds of Hebrew learning and Jewish antiquities. He held a correspondence with Boetius, Archbishop Usher, and the most celebrated scholars of his time. Among the letters to the archbishop, still preserved, there is one from Mr. Taylor, dated from Clapham, in 1635.‡ Upon his removal from Yalding, he became preacher at Christ's church in the city of Canterbury, where he appears to have died about the restoration. He left behind him the character of an able

\* Rutherford's *Survey of Antichrist*, part i. p. 193. Edit. 1641.

† Kennet's *Chronicle*, p. 358.

‡ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 369.

§ Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 475.

critic and a most celebrated divine.\* He had a son of the same name, who, though he lost his sight by the small-pox, while a student in Cambridge, was a minister of good learning, genuine piety, and great usefulness; but was silenced and imprisoned in 1662.†

His WORKS.—1. *The Danger of Vowes Neglected, and the Necessitie of Reformation, a Sermon before the House of Lords, at the late solemn Fast in the Abbey-church, Westminster, May 27, 1646—1646.*—2. *God's Glory in Man's Happiness, 1654.*—3. *Opuscula Rabbinica, 1654.*—4. *Examen Prefationis Morini in Biblia Græca de Textus Ebraici Corruptione, 1660.*—5. *Tractatus de Patribus Rabbi Nathau.*—6. *Capitula Patrum.*—And most probably some others.

EVAN BOWEN appears to have been born in Wales, where he laboured in the work of the ministry. He was employed for some time in the Principality as one of the itinerant preachers, whom Dr. Walker profanely denominates *gospel-postillions*.‡ Afterwards he obtained a settled ministry. Mr. William Williams being ejected for some delinquency, he was appointed by the commissioners to be his successor at Llanafan. Dr. Walker mentions this affair more than once. He observes that there were four thousand souls in the parish; and brings four separate charges against Mr. Bowen: as, “That he had been an itinerant, and had received a salary for his labours, as appeared from the account of the sequestration.” We may, therefore, suppose he was a man of approved abilities for so laborious an office; and he might have been many years employed in the ministry. After he had proved himself to be an able minister of the gospel, he would be accounted no unfit person for the charge of so large a parish.

“He was fifty-five years of age.” This is a heavy charge, indeed! if such a number of years necessarily disqualify a man for the ministerial work. This, surely, could be no great blemish in his character. By the experience of many years, and a long acquaintance with the world, he would not be less qualified for the numerous duties of so populous a parish.

But “he was a mason by occupation.” The charge may be true, and be no greater blemish in his character than his years. Dr. Walker himself mentions several clergymen who kept tipping-houses, and, surely, the occupation of a mason will not be accounted less honourable. But the

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iv. p. 271.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 323.

‡ Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 159.

fact most probably was, that Mr. Bowen, when a youth, or during the former part of his life, had been employed in this business; and what disgrace was there in this? If the doctor had said, that he followed his trade even while he was an itinerant, it would have shewn him to be a man of most extraordinary abilities, and the charge would have been no great crime.

“ He was untaught in the *English* tongue, and confessed he had never read the Primer in English.”\* Had he been well taught in the *English* tongue, it would have been no very important qualification for preaching among the mountains of *Wales*. There were thousands of excellent scholars who never read the Primer. The puritans were not very partial to that book. The truth is, Mr. Bowen was a most laborious, acceptable and useful preacher. He was a nonconformist to the established church, and supposed to have been of the baptist denomination. He died about the year 1660.†

WALTER CRADOCK was descended from a reputable family, born at Tre’fela, near Llangeven in Monmouthshire, and educated at Oxford, most probably with a design to the christian ministry. Upon his return from the university, having heard of the fame of Mr. Wroth, a zealous puritan minister in *Wales*, and of his singular way of preaching, he had the curiosity to go and hear him. The happy consequence was, that he believed Mr. Wroth was a true minister of Christ; was fully convinced of the truth and importance of his doctrine; and began himself not long after to preach the same gospel, with much concern for the salvation of his countrymen. Afterwards he became curate to Mr. William Erbery, another zealous puritan, who was vicar of St. Mary’s church, Cardiff, in Glamorganshire. Mr. Cradock was remarkably zealous and courageous in the cause of Christ; on which account the Bishop of Landaff calls him “ a bold ignorant young fellow;” and says, “ he was very disobedient to his majesty’s instructions,” most probably by refusing to read the Book of Sports, and that he preached very schismatical and dangerous doctrine; for which he suspended him and deprived him of his curacy. For proof of his disobedience, and of his schismatical and dangerous doctrine, his lordship observes, “ that he used this base and unchristian passage in the pulpit:

\* Walker’s Attempt, part i. p. 161. ii. 409.

† Thomas’s MS. Hist. p. 129.

*That God so loved the world, that he sent his Son to live like a slave, and die like a beast.\** These troubles came upon him in the year 1634.

Mr. Cradock having received the episcopal censure, and being driven from his stated ministerial exercises, he preached up and down the country as he found an opportunity, sometimes in the churches and sometimes out of them. In imitation of his Master, "he went about doing good," and wherever he could procure hearers, there he preached. He was uncommonly zealous and laborious, and preached in most places throughout north and south Wales, with great acceptance and usefulness.† His fame spread through the country, and his labours were made a blessing to the people. This gave him comfort and encouragement in his work. His ministry was instrumental in the conversion of Mr. Vavasor Powell, who became his zealous fellow-labourer in the vineyard of the Lord.‡

In the year 1639, Mr. Cradock, with the assistance of Mr. Wroth, formed a church according to the model of the independents, at Llanfaches.§ About the same time he settled at Wrexham, where he preached in the church. His constant and laborious preaching made him many enemies; and his name is said to have made so deep an impression on their minds, that they denominated all persons eminent for piety, *Cradockims*. It was accounted a sufficient reproach to call them by his name; which, in fact, was conferring no small honour upon him, and was no real disgrace to them. This term of supposed reproach continued in practice above a hundred years.|| By Mr. Cradock's ministry at Wrexham many sinners were called "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God;" among whom were Mr. Morgan Lloyd and Mr. David ab Hugh, who afterwards became eminent ministers of the gospel.‡

During the confusion of the civil wars, this pious divine was obliged to leave Wrexham; and being driven out of Wales, he fled to London, where he became pastor of

\* The king, in his remark on this expression, observes, that this was not much unlike that not long since uttered: "That the Jews crucified Christ like a damned rogue between two thieves." Then, surely, the royal comment was equally schismatical as the text!!—*Wharton's Troubles of Laud*, vol. i. p. 533.

† Cradock's Works, Pref. Edit. 1800.

‡ Life of Vavasor Powell, p. 106. Edit. 1671.

§ Thomas's MS. Materials, p. 131.

|| Thomas's MS. Hist. of Baptists, p. 159.

¶ Thomas's MS. Eccl. Hist. p. 299.

Alhallows the Great. In this situation he continued till things became more settled in the nation, and then, with several others, resumed his labours in his native country. It does not appear, however, that he returned to his former charge at Wrexham, or to any other stated ministry, but was employed, with many others, as an itinerant, under the direction of the parliament, for propagating the gospel in Wales. He was a leading man among the *travelling gospellers*, as Dr. Walker is pleased to call them;\* and went from place to place preaching the word of God with great popularity and success. This incurred the displeasure and roused the malice of his enemies. The writer just mentioned cannot speak of him without misrepresentation and abuse. He observes that Mr. Cradock, Mr. Powell, and other enthusiasts, represented their countrymen to the parliament "as pagans and infidels, and a people that understood nothing of God, or of the power of godliness; and so had need be converted to the faith." From the deplorable darkness which at this time overspread the whole of the Principality, there was certainly too much truth in this representation. But he adds, "that they made it their business, by all possible methods of calumny and reproach, to decry not only the old ministers, but the ministry itself, and the tithes and revenues, as Babylonish and antichristian; and this they did from the pulpit, with all the bitter railings and invectives that can be imagined."† They undoubtedly disapproved of the ceremonies, government, and persecution of the church of England, as savouring too much of the church of Rome. They might also endeavour to instil the same sentiment in the minds of the people. This was certainly the practice among all parties. In those distracted times, all ministers, whether friends or enemies to the established church, laboured to propagate their own opinions. And, surely, if they believed their opinions to be the truth, they were sufficiently authorized so to do, provided they proceeded with christian moderation. That Mr. Cradock, or his brethren, acted at all inconsistent with sound christianity, could appear only to Dr. Walker and writers of a similar spirit, whose pens are always dipped in gall.

It was impossible for him to escape the bitter censures of Mr. Edwards's presbyterian bigotry. This intolerant writer says, "There is one Master Cradock, who came out of Wales, and is going thither again to be an itinerary preacher, who declined coming to the assembly; but now lately, seeing

\* Walker's Attempt, part i. p. 158.

† Ibid. p. 147, 159.

the pay could not be had without the concurrence of the lords, and having made some leading men his friends, he came to be examined, and is passed. Besides that he hath gathered a church, and administered the Lord's supper in a house at evening, he hath preached many odd things in the city, strains tending to antinomianism and libertinism, speaking against men of an Old Testament spirit, and how poor drunkards and adulterers could not look into one of our churches but hell fire must be flashed in their faces. That, if a saint should commit a gross sin, and, upon the commission of it, should be startled at it, that would be a great sin in him." This heavy charge appears, however, to be without the least foundation, and stands directly opposed to Mr. Cradock's clear and consistent views of the gospel, and his uniform christian character.

The bigoted historian also observes of our pious divine: "That lately he preached on that text in Thames-street, *We are not of the night, but of the day*; when he delivered matter to this effect; that since the apostles' times, or presently after, there had been a great night, but now the day was breaking out after a long night, and light was coming every day more than other; and there were many gospel privileges, and of the new Jerusalem that we should then enjoy. In that day there should be no ordinances to punish men for holding opinions; there should be no confessions of faith; there every one should have the liberty of their consciences, as in Micah it is prophesied of those gospel times: *All people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God, for ever and ever*; which place was brought by him for liberty of conscience; and in that day neither episcopacy, nor presbytery, nor any others should intermeddle or invade the rights of the saints. Many such flings he had; and this sermon was preached just at the time when the ordinance against heresies was taken into debate, and the confession of faith to be brought into the house of commons: so that by these and many more particulars, his frequent hints about dipping, and suffering such, shews what are the first fruits of these itinerary preachers, and what a sad thing it is, that men so principled should go among such people as the Welsh, with so large a power of preaching as he and his fellows have."\* Mr. Cradock was a zealous advocate for religious liberty and universal toleration, as the

\* Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 163.

birthright of man, which awakened the intolerance of this furious presbyterian.

He was a man of an excellent character and of high reputation; therefore, in the year 1653, he was appointed by the parliament to be one of the committee for the approbation of public preachers, commonly called *tryers*. Here his name is classed with those of Dr. Owen, Dr. Goodwin, Dr. Manton, and many other celebrated divines.\* This probably called him out of Wales, and brought him back to London. He died about the year 1660. Mr. Cradock was an independent in his views of church government; but he could agree in the important doctrines of the gospel, with those who differed from him in matters of discipline. He had a low opinion of himself, and a very high esteem for his Lord and Master. He excelled in clear views of the doctrine of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, and in the great simplicity of his manner of preaching.† His "Works," consisting of sermons, expositions, and observations, were collected and published in one volume octavo in the year 1800. By his zealous endeavours he procured the New Testament to be printed in Welsh, for the use of the common people.‡

WILLIAM JEFFERY was the son of pious parents, born at Penhurst in Kent, about the year 1616, and afterwards lived at Seven-oaks in the same county; where he and his brother David were the chief supporters, if not the founders, of a congregation of baptists. He was chosen pastor to this congregation, which greatly increased under his zealous and laborious ministry. At the time of his ordination to the pastoral office, it was denominated the church of Bradburn; and afterwards that which assembled at Bedsell's-green. He did not confine his labours to any one place; but, while he took particular care of his own flock, he extended his labours to distant places in the country. By his unwearied assiduity, many separate congregations were raised, and a church was formed about Speldhurst and Pembury, over which Mr. John Care was ordained elder. This church afterwards removed to Tunbridge-wells. By the united labours of Mr. Jeffery and several others, it is said there were more than *twenty* particular congregations gathered in the county of Kent;

\* Scobell's Collec. part ii. p. 279.

† Cradock's Works, Pref.

‡ Parliament Explained, p. 29. Edit. 1646.

which, with very little variation, continued many years, and some of them were very respectable interests. The great object of this constant and faithful labourer was to preach and establish the fundamental truths of the gospel, without entering upon points of controversy and matters of mere speculation. He was very zealous in maintaining the love of God; a vigorous and successful promoter of the interests of the baptists; and one who suffered much with great patience and pleasure in his Master's cause. He had several disputations with the episcopalians, the independents, and quakers. With the last, he and Mr. Matthew Caffin had several contests. He was author of a piece entitled, "The whole Faith of Man; being the Gospel declared in plainness, as it is in Jesus, and the way thereof, of old confirmed by divers signs, wonders, miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost," second edition, printed in 1659.

The following anecdote is related of Mr. Jeffery's congregation:—The magistrates of Seven-oaks sent their officers to his congregation, then meeting at Bradburn; who took all the men into custody, and carried them up to the town, where they were kept prisoners during the night. The following day, when the justices were assembled, the prisoners were brought before them, and they underwent an examination; after which they were dismissed. They all, with one heart, full of wonder and joy, returned to the meeting-house whence they were carried, to return their united thanks to God for this unexpected deliverance. When they entered the place, to their great surprize and inexpressible joy, they found the women there, who had not departed from the house of God, but spent the whole night, and following morning, in fasting and prayer to God in their behalf.\*

Mr. Jeffery survived the restoration, and bore his share of persecution with the rest of his brethren; on account of which, they unitedly published an address to the king, the parliament, and the people, entitled, "Sion's Groans for her Distressed: or, sober endeavours to prevent innocent blood," &c. This is dated March 8, 1661, and is signed by Thomas Monck, William Jeffery, William Reynolds, Joseph Wright, Francis Stanley, Francis Smith, and George Hammon.

Many pious and worthy persons were now prisoners in Maidstone jail, among whom were Mr. Jeffery, Mr. John Reeve his colleague, Mr. George Hammon a minister at Canterbury, and Mr. James Blackmore, minister at some

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 97—100.

other place in Kent. These persecuted servants of Christ, while under the cruel rod of oppression, published a work entitled, "The humble Petition, and Representation of the Sufferings of several peaceable and innocent subjects, called by the name of Anabaptists, inhabitants of the county of Kent; and prisoners in the jail of Maidstone for the testimony of a good conscience." It is addressed "To his Majesty Charles II. King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," and is as follows:\*

"May it please your majesty,

"For as much as by authority derived from yourself, several of us your subjects, inhabitants in the county of Kent, are now imprisoned; it therefore much concerns thee, oh king, to hear what account we give of our distressed condition. Thou hast already seen our confession of faith, wherein our peaceable resolutions were declared. We have not violated any part thereof, that should cause that liberty promised from Breda to be withdrawn. And now for our principles that most particularly relate to magistrates and government, we have with all clearness laid them before thee; humbly beseeching they may be read patiently, and what we say weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, and then judge how worthy we are of bonds and imprisonment. And this we the more earnestly desire, because not only our own lives are in danger, but also an irresistible destruction cometh on our wives and little ones by that violence which is now exercised on us. Disdain not our plainness in speaking, seeing the great God accepts of the like. And now, oh king, that all thy proceedings, both towards us and all men, may be such as may be pleasing to the eternal God, in whose hands thy and our breath are, who ere long shall judge both quick and dead according to their works, is the prayer of thy faithful subjects and servants."

After stating their sentiments respecting his majesty's authority, they conclude with an earnest supplication to be released from their present bondage, and to enjoy the full liberty of worshipping God. It is signed in the name of the baptists now prisoners in the jail of Maidstone, by

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| WILLIAM JEFFERY, | JOHN REEVE,      |
| GEORGE HAMMON,   | JAMES BLACKMORE. |

It does not, however, appear what was the result of this application to his majesty, nor when Mr. Jeffery and his brethren were released from prison. He was a person much

\* Ivimey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 314, 315.

esteemed for his steady piety and universal benevolence. When he had finished his labours and his sufferings, he died in a good old age, but at what period we cannot learn, and was succeeded in the pastoral office by his son Mr. John Jeffery.\*

CHRISTOPHER BLACKWOOD received a learned education, and was probably trained up at one of our universities. He was beneficed in Kent, and possessed of a parochial charge in that county at the commencement of the civil wars. In the year 1644, Mr. Francis Cornwell, a zealous baptist, having preached a visitation sermon at Cranbrook in Kent; and having openly declared his sentiments upon the subject of baptism, Mr. Blackwood, who heard the sermon, and took it down in short-hand, became a proselyte to his opinions. Having changed his sentiments about baptism, he did not long continue in the established church. He was equally zealous against national churches, as against infant baptism. Upon his leaving the ecclesiastical establishment, he collected a separate congregation at Staplehurst in Kent; but his sentiments being *Calvinistic*, and contrary to those of the society, he afterwards left it to the pastoral care of Mr. Kingsnorth. He was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and as much opposed to the establishment of presbyterianism as episcopacy. In the first piece he published, he joined together infant baptism and compulsion of conscience, calling them "The two last and strongest garrisons of antichrist." He was accounted, by one who lived in those times, "among those worthy guides, in all respects well qualified for the ministry, who voluntarily left their benefices in the establishment." In the year 1653 he went into Ireland with the army under the command of General Fleetwood and Lieutenant Ludlow; and preached to a congregation in Dublin.† He lived till after the restoration, and signed the apology of the baptists in 1660, declaring against Venner's insurrection.‡

His Works.—1. The Storming of Antichrist in his two last and strongest Garrisons, Compulsion of Conscience and Infant-baptism, 1644.—2. A brief Catechism concerning Baptism, 1644.—3. Four Treatises. First, the Rxeollency of Christ. Second, a Preparation

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 99.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 90.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 347—351.

for Death. Third, our Love to Christ. Fourth, our Love to our Neighbours, 1653.—4. A Treatise concerning Repentance, wherein the Doctrine of Restitution is largely handled, 1653.—5. A Soul-searching Catechism, 1653.—6. An Exposition of the ten first Chapters of Matthew, delivered in Sermons, 1659.—7. Apostolical Baptism; or, a sober Rejoinder to a Treatise of Mr. Blake's.

**WILLIAM TAYLOR, A. M.**—This worthy person was born at Keighley in Yorkshire, September 30, 1616, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was employed for some time in the capacity of schoolmaster, at Keniton in Herefordshire, and afterwards at Cirencester in Gloucestershire. At the latter place he succeeded one Mr. Henry Toppe, who is said to have been ejected by the puritanical townsmen. In the year 1642 the place was stormed and taken by the royal forces, when Taylor was ejected, and Toppe restored. Mr. Taylor being driven from the place, retired to London, became minister at Bow, near the city, and afterwards at St. Stephen's church, Coleman-street, in the place of Mr. John Goodwin, who was turned out by the parliament. Here he met with considerable opposition, and therefore resigned the place; upon which he preached for some time in a church in Wood-street, and delivered a lecture every Lord's day at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, and another on a week day at St. Peter's, Cornhill. It is said, that he was afterwards called by the rump parliament to his former charge in Coleman-street, which he kept to the day of his death;\* but, from the register of the place, this manifestly appears to be a mistake.† Dr. Calamy says he was ejected from St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, after the restoration, but he afterwards corrected his improper statement.‡ Mr. Taylor united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the death of King Charles; when, it appears, he was pastor at the above place.§ He published several sermons, one of which is in the "Morning Exercise at St. Giles's," on Christ's Exaltation; and collected and revised several of Mr. Christopher Love's sermons, to which he prefixed recommendatory epistles. He died September 5, 1661, and his remains were interred in the chancel of the above church. Dr. William Spurstowe preached and published his funeral sermon, giving a high commendation of his character. Wood denominates him

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 169. † Kennet's *Chronicle*, p. 793.

‡ Calamy's *Account*, vol. ii. p. 39.—*Continuation*, vol. i. p. 58.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 744.

“ a frequent preacher, a laborious divine, a learned man in his profession, and a zealous and loyal presbyterian.”\*

JOHN JAMES.—This unfortunate man was minister to a baptist congregation which assembled in Bulstake-alley, Whitechapel, London, observing the seventh day as the sabbath. October 19, 1661, being assembled for public worship, with the doors of their meeting-house open, they were interrupted by Justice Chard and Wood the headborough, as Mr. James was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be silent and come down, charging him with treason against his majesty. As Mr. James proceeded in his discourse without noticing their summons, the headborough approached him, and commanded him again to come down, or he would pull him down. The disturbance then became so great that he could not proceed, but told the headborough he would not come down except he was pulled down; upon which he pulled him down and dragged him away. Mr. James was charged by one Tipler, a man of base character, with uttering certain treasonable words in his sermon. The men and the women who were at the meeting were carried at the same time, by sevens, before four justices, then sitting at the Half-moon tavern; to whom they tendered the oath of allegiance, and committed those who refused, some to Newgate, and some to other prisons.†

Afterwards the justices assembled in the meeting-house, and sent for Mr. James. In the mean time the lieutenant of the Tower, pulling a paper out of his pocket, said, he would inform them what doctrine had that day been preached in that place. Upon the reading of this paper, certain women belonging to the meeting, and still detained, were asked how they could hear such things delivered; to which they, in the fear of God, unanimously replied, “ That they never heard such words, as they should answer it before the Lord, and they durst not lie.” Nevertheless, upon the evidence of this paper, taken from the mouth of Tipler, the prosecution of Mr. James was founded. When he was brought before the justices he underwent an examination; and among other questions put to him were the following: When the lieutenant asked him whether he had not been before him before, he answered, that he had. “ And,” said the lieutenant,

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 169.

† Narrative of the Condemnation and Execution of Mr. James, p. 7, 8. Edit. 1662.

“were you not civilly used?” “Yes,” replied Mr. James, “and I thank you for your civility.” “And were you not counselled,” said the lieutenant, “to take heed in future?” “Yes,” said Mr. James, “I have taken heed, so far as I could with a good conscience.” Upon this, the lieutenant said, “You shall *stretch* for it; and if you be not hanged, I will be hanged for you.” To which Mr. James meekly replied, “I am not careful in that matter: you can do no more than the Lord shall permit you to do.” Then said the lieutenant, “I think you are not careful; for you have a mind to be hanged, as some of your holy brethren have before you.” Mr. James being asked whether he owned the *fifth kingdom*, and signifying in the affirmative, they laughed at him, and said, *now they had it from his own mouth*. He was also charged with having learned to sound a trumpet, in order to a rising with Venner’s party; when he said, there was a friend of his who lodged in his house, and who, designing to go to sea, and wishing to learn the sound, desired that he might have liberty to be taught in his house: but he never learned himself, neither was he at all concerned in that *rising*, judging it to be a *rash act*. The lieutenant of the Tower then called in Captain Hodgakin, who commanded the party of soldiers standing at the door, and said, “Take this man, be careful of him, and commit him close prisoner to Newgate,” and gave him a warrant for that purpose.\*

November 14th, Mr. James was brought to the bar in the King’s-bench, Westminster, and was indicted, 1. “For compassing and imagining the king’s death.—2. For endeavouring to levy war against the king.—3. For endeavouring a change of government.” In compassing, imagining, and contriving the king’s death, he was charged with having maliciously, traitorously, and by instigation of the devil, not having the fear of God before his eyes, declared these words: “That the king was a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, and a blood-thirsty man, and his nobles the same.—That the king

\* This warrant was as follows:—“To the keeper of the goal of Newgate, or his deputy, Middlesex.

“These are in the king’s majesty’s name, to require you to receive into your custody, the body of John James, whom we send you herewith; being taken this present day at a *conventicle*, or private meeting, in the parish of Whitechapel; and there speaking in the audience of the people present, treasonable words against his majesty’s royal person; you shall therefore keep him close prisoner until further order, and this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands this 19th day of October, 1661.

“John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, Edward Chard,  
Thomas Bide, Thomas Swallow.”

*Narrative*, p. 9, 10.

“and his nobles had shed the blood of the saints at Charing-cross, and the blood of the covenanters in Scotland.—That the king was brought in to this end, to fill up the measure of his iniquity; and that the king’s cup of iniquity had filled more within the last year than in many years before.—That he did bemoan they had not improved their opportunity when they had power in their hands, and he said it would not be long before they had power again, and then they would improve it better; and that he did bewail the apostacy of the people of God, and say, they had not fought the Lord’s battles thoroughly, but when the Lord should give power to them again, and give his work into their hands, they would do it better.—That the death and destruction of the king drew very near.”

The indictment being read, and Mr. James required to plead guilty or not guilty, he desired a copy of his charge, and time to consider of it; pleading, that he humbly conceived it to be his privilege as an Englishman, and till then he was unable to plead one way or the other. He alleged, that Chief Justice Cook and Judge Heath had declared it good law, and that the latter gave John Lilburn a copy of his charge, being arraigned for high treason. His request, however, was peremptorily denied; and he was told, that if he would not plead, they would proceed against him for contempt, and consider him as mute. Mr. James seeing he was overruled, pleaded *Not guilty* either in *matter* or *form*. Upon this he was sent to the King’s-bench prison in Southwark, where he remained till November 19th, when he was again brought to the bar.

During this interval Mr. James received information from a person of respectability, that there was a jury picked on purpose to take away his life; and that if he did not except against them, or most of them, he was a dead man. Upon his appearance at the bar at Westminster before four judges, and still pleading *not guilty*, four witnesses were produced against him. John Tipler, the first witness, said, that he was, at the time mentioned in the indictment, in a yard adjoining the meeting-house, and, through a window, saw Mr. James preaching, and heard him repeat those words mentioned in the indictment. To this evidence Mr. James excepted, that it was difficult to swear that he was the person, when the witness was not in the place, and only saw him through the window, which might intercept the light. The second witness was Justice Chard, who said he could declare nothing of the words spoken, only he found Mr. James preaching in the place

alleged in the indictment, and pulled him out of the pulpit. The next witness was a Yorkshireman, whose name does not appear, who said he was at Tipler's house, and heard one say, "That the Lord had a great work to do for his people, and that they were the people who must do it." The judge asked him, if he heard nothing concerning the king's cup of iniquity, and he answered, *No*. When he was asked whether the prisoner at the bar was the man, he said he could not say that he was. The last witness was one Bernard Osburn, who said he heard Mr. James say, "That King Charles was a blood-thirsty, tyrannical king, and that the nobles of England were blood-thirsty. That he had drunk pretty deep of the blood of the saints already, in that he had shed their blood twelve months ago at Charing-cross, and the blood of the covenanters in Scotland, and that God had brought him in to that end, to fill up the measure of his iniquity, and he had filled it up more in twelve months than in many years before. That they should have power in their hands, then they should fight the Lord's battles more thoroughly. That the ruin of the king was very near." Upon this, Mr. James being allowed to call his witnesses, four were produced in court, who gave evidence, "That this Bernard Osburn confessed to them, that upon a previous examination, he had sworn against Mr. James he *knew not what*: and one of them, a person whom Osburn was about to marry, further declared, that he told her, he did not only swear he knew not what, but that he was affrighted into what he swore." Osburn repeatedly refused to swear at all; nor would he take the oath as witness against Mr. James, till he was threatened to be sent to prison for refusal, and rewards were offered him for swearing against the prisoner.\* Mr. James then produced four other witnesses, all of whom swore, "That the words charged against him were not spoken."

After the examination of all the witnesses, Mr. James was allowed to speak for himself, but did little more than make a declaration of his own innocence. He denied the charge both in matter and form, and declared he had not any malicious thought against the king, but desired the salvation of his soul, as he did his own; that he had never dealt maliciously against him; but that what he had done, he had done in the fear of God. He denied the various particulars of the charge, that he ever spoke any such things, and therefore desired they would clear him of all such evil things. He then

\* Narrative, p. 10—18.

said, " I have but one word for the Lord, and I have done : The Lord Jesus Christ is king of nations, as well as of saints, and the government of all kingdoms of right belongs to him. ' And the seventh angel sounded, and there were great voices in heaven, saying, ' The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.'" Having spoken these words, he was interrupted by Lord Chief Justice Foster, who said, " Hold sirrah, sirrah, you think you are preaching in the conventicle in Whitechapel." Afterwards, when his judges would not allow him to speak even to the jury, he replied, " If you will not suffer me to speak to the jury, you had as good have hanged me in Bulstake-alley, before I came here, and not brought me hither to cover the matter over with the pretence of law."

The jury having brought in a verdict of *guilty*, judgment was deferred till November 22d, and he was sent back to the place of his confinement. During the interval, his wife, by the advice of some friends, endeavoured to address the king, with the view of acquainting him with her husband's innocence, and the condition of those loose persons who had falsely accused him. This she put in writing, lest she should either want an opportunity, or not have courage enough to speak to him. With some difficulty, however, she at last met the king, and acquainting him who she was, presented him with the paper. To whom his majesty held up his finger and said, " Oh ! Mr. James, he is a sweet gentleman ;" but following him for some further answer, the door was shut against her. Not being discouraged, she attended again next morning ; and an opportunity being soon presented, she implored his majesty's answer to her request. His majesty then replied, *He is a rogue, and shall be hanged.* One of the lords, who attended him, asking her of whom she spake, the king immediately replied, " Of John James, that rogue : *he shall be hanged ; yea, he shall be hanged.*"\*

Mr. James was brought to the bar on the above day, and being asked what he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, he answered, that he had not much to say, only two or three scriptures he would leave with them. *As for me, said he, do as seemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if you put me to death, you shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.—Precious in the sight of the*

\* Narrative, p. 19—24.

*Lord is the death of his saints.—He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye.\** He then told them he had no more to say for himself; only one word for the Lord, and then he had done: "Jesus Christ the Son of God, is King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all the kingdoms of the world." He had no sooner spoken this, than he was silenced, and the judge immediately pronounced upon him the following sentence:—"John James, thou hast been here indicted, arraigned, and tried, as a false traitor of his majesty, his crown and dignity, and hast put thyself upon the trial of God and thy country, and the country hath found thee guilty; and therefore, John James, thou art to be carried from hence to prison, and from thence to the place of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck, and, being yet alive, to be cut down, and thy bowels to be taken out, and to be burnt before thy face, (a fire being prepared,) and thy head to be severed from thy body, and thy body to be quartered, and thy head and body to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure." This being done, Mr. James had only time to say, "Blessed be God, that he whom man hath condemned God hath justified," and so was immediately carried to Newgate, where he was confined in a dungeon.

During his confinement in the dungeon, one of his friends visiting him, and weeping over him, he, with a smiling countenance, said, "I beseech you, let me not see any of this, for all is well. I beseech you forbear such carriage, which will encourage the Lord's enemies. I pray you let me not see a sad countenance from any of you." To others of his friends he said, "This poor weak body has often been near the gates of death, and now the Lord chooses to take it off in such a way as this. Oh! blessed be God! let him take it." He spoke much of the goodness of God, who supported and comforted him under so great a trial; and added, "I have got the start of my brethren, and am going to the place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest." God hath delivered me from all my fears. My good Lord hath helped me over two of my steps, and I have only one more to get over: I am going to a place where my sins will trouble me no more." Being asked how he did, he replied, "I bless God I am well; never better in all my life. No poor creature ever dreaded this condition more than I have done. I have been so much afraid of a prison, that I have trembled to think of it, and

\* Jer. xxvi. 14, 15.—Psalm cxvi. 15.—Zech. ii. 8.

would have fled out of the land to have escaped it; but now my fears are all gone, every cloud is blown over. I bless God, I no more fear this death, than to lie down upon this bed. Oh! how good the Lord is." At another time, being asked how he was, he answered, "Very well, I bless the Lord, never better in my life. My wife and I have had the best morning that we ever enjoyed. We have been giving up one another to the Lord; and, I bless the Lord, he hath made us as willing to part as ever we were to come together." To his friends, who urged him to petition the king for his life, he said, "I have discharged my duty and conscience in clearing myself already, and to the king I have done no wrong; therefore I will submit myself to the Lord, and rest satisfied in his good pleasure." The night before he suffered, being at supper with some of his friends, he said to them, "I sup with you to-night, but you would be glad to sup with me to-morrow night." When the messenger brought him tidings of the time of his execution, he said, "Blessed be God, that is good news."\*

Upon the morning of his execution, Mr. James was carried from Newgate to Tyburn on a sledge; and having leave from Mr. Sterling the sheriff, he delivered a speech of some length to the people. In this speech, after giving an account of his parentage, clearing himself of some foul aspersions, and relating his religious sentiments, he said, "I am not come here to sow sedition: the Lord knoweth I have it not in my heart. This hath not been my practice, though it be the pretended cause of bringing me hither; but the Lord knows, before whom I now stand, and with whom I shall shortly be, that I am free from those things of which I am accused; and I desire you may hear and remember, that the things charged upon me are *notoriously false*. I speak this as my last words; and the Lord, who knows all hearts, and will call all men one day to an account, knows I speak the truth, both in respect of the *manner* and *matter* of the things charged against me. I do, in the fear of the Lord, also tell you, that I bless the Lord I have not the least hard thought of those who swore against me, nor the least rising of spirit against the judge, the jury, or any other, the Lord knoweth: but have sought their pardon upon my bended knees, and I hope to do it again, if God permit."

Mr. James having finished his speech, fell upon his knees, and offered up a prayer to God at considerable length, part

\* Narrative, p. 24—27.

of which was as follows:—"Glorious and holy majesty, in whose eyes all the nations of the world are only as the drop of a bucket, or as the small dust of the balance; and therefore, O Lord, this mighty concourse of people are as nothing in thy sight. Thy eyes are open to the ways of thy people, and thy ears are open to their cries, and thou wilt one day shew thyself strong in behalf of them that fear thee. Sweet Father! blessed be thy dear and holy name, that such a poor worm as is now before thee can call thee Father, and come and take hold of thee through thy dear Son. O Lord, what am I, or what was my father's house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? This, O Lord, has been but a small thing in thy sight, but thou hast spoken thy servant's welfare, even to eternity. Dear Lord, in the audience of all this people, thy poor worm cannot but bless thee that thou didst ever call him, and wert ever pleased to engage his soul to walk in thine own paths; and, blessed be thy holy name, thy paths do not seem in the eyes of thy servant ever the worse because of this thing: but he can bless thee; he can rejoice before thee; he can say, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless his holy name.' Blessed be thy holy name, that thou hast hitherto been pleased to keep the soul of thy poor servant, and that he does not suffer as an evil doer; yea, blessed be thy name, thy poor worm can approve his heart unto thee *even now at the very giving up of the ghost, that he is not guilty*. Dear Father, thy poor worm can now with much boldness lift up his face unto thee, and is assured that he whom man hath condemned God hath justified: and now, for thy dear name's sake, give thy poor worm leave, in integrity and godly simplicity, to beg one request at thy hands for the poor witnesses. O Lord, pardon them in that very thing they have done, and shew them as much grace as thou hast done to thy poor worm. As they have done their utmost to wash their hands in the blood of thy servant, O that thou wouldest thoroughly wash their souls in the blood of Jesus Christ. Be pleased, for thy tender mercy's sake, to deal graciously with every one, from the least to the greatest, from the first to the last, that hath had any hand against thy servant."\*

Having finished his prayer, and being very much exhausted, he said he had done. The hangman then said, "The Lord receive your soul." Mr. James replied, *I thank you*. A friend saying, "This is a happy day," he added, *I bless the*

\* Narrative, p. 38—44.

*Lord, it is indeed.* His friend adding, "The Lord make your passage easy;" he said, *I trust he will.* Being asked if he had any thing to say to the sheriff, he said, *No, but only to thank him for his civility.* The hangman then preparing him for death, and drawing away the cart, Mr. James cried aloud, with his hands lifted up towards heaven, *Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit.*

The sheriff and hangman were so civil to him in the execution, that they suffered him to be dead before his body was cut down. The hangman then took out his heart and bowels, and burned them in a fire prepared for the purpose. He then cut off his head, and cut his body into four quarters; and, by the appointment of the king, the quarters were fixed upon the gates of the city, and his head first upon London-bridge, then upon a pole opposite the meeting-house in Bulstake-alley.\*

This tragic and brutal scene was transacted upon the remains of this humble and holy man, November 26, 1661. But if there were any undue combination against him; and if he suffered for some reason of state, rather than for any crime that he was guilty of, his blood will God require at the hands of his enemies. Several remarkable judgments befell those who were active instruments in promoting his sufferings, or expressed their delight in them.†

PRAISE-GOD BAREBONE was of the baptist persuasion, and pastor to a church of that denomination, meeting in Fleet-street, London. This church was originally part of that under the pastoral care of Mr. Stephen More; which, upon his death, divided by mutual consent, just one half choosing Mr. Henry Jessey for its pastor, the other half Mr. Barebone. He was by trade a leather-seller, afterwards a very popular preacher, and at last a member of parliament, and a man of so much celebrity, that one of Cromwell's parliaments was, out of contempt, called Barebone's parliament. In a pamphlet entitled, "New Preachers, New," is the following scurrilous, but amusing account of him and several others:— "Greene, the felt-maker; Spencer, the horse-rubber; Quartermine, the brewer's clerk; and some few others, who are mighty sticklers in this new kind of talking trade, which many ignorant coxcombs call preaching. Whereunto is added the last tumult in Fleet-street, raised by the disorderly preach-

\* Narrative, p. 46.

† Ibid. p. 47.

ment, pratings, and prattlings of Mr. Barebones, the leather-seller; and Mr. Greene, the felt-maker, on Sunday last, the 19th of December."

The tumult alluded to is thus curiously described:—"A brief touch in memory of the fiery zeal of Mr. Barebones, a reverend unlearned leather-seller, who, with Mr. Greene, the felt-maker, were both taken preaching or prating in a conventicle, amongst a hundred persons, on Sunday, the 19th of December last, 1641.

"After my commendations, Mr. Rawbones, (Barebones, I should have said,) in acknowledgment of your too much troubling yourself, and molesting of others, I have made bold to relate briefly your last Sunday's afternoon work, lest in time your meritorious pains-taking should be forgotten, (for the which you and your associate Mr. Greene, do well deserve to have your heads in the custody of young Gregory, to make buttons for hempen loops:) you two having the spirit so full, that you must either vent, or burst, did on the sabbath aforesaid, at your house near Fetter-lane end, in Fleet-street, at the sign of the Lock and Key, there and then did you and your consort (by turns) unlock most delicate strange doctrine, where were about thousands of people; of which number the most ignorant applauded your preaching, and those that understood any thing derided your ignorant prating. But after four hours long and tedious tattling, the house where you were beleaguered with multitudes that thought fit to rouse you out of your blind devotion; so that your walls were battered, your windows all in fractions, torn into rattling shivers, and worse the hurly-burly might have been, but that sundry constables came in with strong guards of men to keep the peace, in which conflict your sign was beaten down and unchanged, to make room for the owner to supply the place; all which shews had never been, had Mr. Greene and Mr. Barebones been content (as they should have been) to have gone to their own parish churches."\*

This account shews that these *new preachers* excited uncommon attention, and were so very popular as to draw thousands after them. The tumult was occasioned, not by their preaching, but by the opposition that was raised against it, "by certain lewd fellows of the baser sort." The preachers and a hundred of the people were taken by the constables, but it is not said whether they were taken to preserve them from the fury of the mob or to bring them to justice. Had

\* New Preacher's, New.

the latter been the case, and they had suffered any thing for their conduct, it is highly probable this writer would have transmitted some account of it to posterity. Mr. Barebone, however, continued his ministerial labours for many years among the people; and, in the year 1654, when the baptist churches published their "Declaration," he was still pastor of this church. Among those who subscribed it, "twenty-two were of the church that walks with Mr. Barebone."\*

According to Rapin, he passed among his neighbours for a notable speaker, and used to entertain them with long harangues upon the times.+ This undoubtedly pointed him out to the notice of Cromwell, who nominated him a member of the legislative body that succeeded the long parliament in 1653. Thus he continued pastor of his church, even after he became member of parliament. In this assembly, he was so greatly distinguished for ability and activity, that the members, who were but little skilled in politics, received from him, in derision, the appellation of Barebone's parliament.‡ As a politician, he was constantly zealous in the cause of the commonwealth; but upon the dissolution of the above assembly, about five months afterwards, he appears to have retired from any further concern in the government. Upon the motion of inviting home the king, he took part with the opposition, and presented a petition to the parliament, from the "well-affected persons, inhabitants of the cities of London and Westminster," declaring their determination to support the commonwealth. General Monk, being then in London, with a view to restore the king, and intent upon the re-admission of the secluded members, who knew Mr. Barebone's popularity, was obliged to make a general muster of his army; when he wrote a letter to the parliament, expostulating with them "for giving too much countenance to that furious zealot and his adherents." The petitioners, however, received the thanks of the house for the expression of their good affections to the parliament.§

Mr. Barebone was at this time concerned in the publication of a book against the court of Charles the Second, entitled, "News from Brussels, in a letter from a near attendant on his majesty's person, to a person of honour here. Dated March 10, 1659, O. S." A reverend prelate styles this "a rascally piece against the king, to expose him to the hatred of his people;"|| and it was designed, it is said, "to

\* Declaration, p. 22.

† Rapin's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 590.

‡ Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 68.

§ Ibid.—Kennet's Chronicle, p. 52.

|| Ibid. p. 80.

destroy the favourable impressions that many had received of his natural inclination to *mildness* and *clemency*.\* It ought, however, to be observed, that the reputed author of this book was Marchmont Needham, and Mr. Barebone was only his agent in conveying it to the printer or bookseller.†

On the thirtieth of the foregoing month, Mr. Barebone was summoned before the council of state, to answer such matters as were objected against him; but, on signing an engagement not to act in opposition to the existing government, or to disturb the same, he was discharged from any further attendance.‡ After the restoration of the king, he was looked upon with a jealous eye, and on November 26, 1661, was apprehended, together with Major John Wildman, and James Harrington, esq., and committed prisoner to the Tower, where he continued for some time.§ On the meeting of parliament, early in the following year, Lord Clarendon, then lord chancellor, thought fit to alarm the house with the noise of plots and conspiracies, and enumerated the names of several persons whom he reported to be engaged in traitorous designs against the government. Among these were Major Wildman, Major Hains, Alderman Ireton, and Mr. Praise-God Barebone.|| How far the charge against these persons was substantiated, or whether it was only a political engine of government to get rid of suspected individuals, we will not take upon us to affirm. Certain it is, that Mr. Barebone had now to contend with the strong arm of the civil power, which was directed with all the acrimony of party prejudice against persons of his stamp. Wood, in contempt, styles him “a notorious schismatic, and a grand zealot in the good old cause.”¶

The time of Mr. Barebone's death is not mentioned by any author we have seen, nor are we acquainted with any further particulars of his history. It may be observed, however, for the amusement of the reader, that there were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a sentence for his christian name, viz. Praise-God Barebone; Christ-came-into-the-world-to-save Barebone; and If-Christ-had-not-died-thou-hadst-been-damned Barebone. In this last instance, some are said to have omitted the former part of the sentence, and to have called him only “Damned Barebone.”\*\* This style

\* Biog. Britan. vol. v. p. 613. Edit. 1778.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 469.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 101.

§ Ibid. p. 567.

|| Ibid. p. 602.

¶ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 469.

\*\* Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 68.

of naming individuals was exceedingly common in the time of the civil wars; yet the absurd practice was not peculiar to that period; but was in use long before, and continues, in some measure, even to the present day. It is said that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in Cromwell's regiments; and that the muster-master used no other list than the first chapter of Matthew.

JOHN LEY, A. M.—This laborious divine was born at Warwick, February 4, 1583, and educated at Christ's Church, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was presented to the vicarage of Great Budworth in Cheshire, where he continued a constant preacher for several years. Afterwards, he was made prebendary and sub-dean of Chester, where he had a weekly lecture at St. Peter's church, and was once or twice elected member of the convocation. But having always been puritanically inclined, he, upon the commencement of the civil war, espoused the cause of the parliament, took the covenant, was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and appointed Latin examiner to the assembly.

A certain writer has placed Mr. Ley at the head of those divines who, he says, "encouraged tumults," and whom, in derision, he styles "able, holy, faithful, laborious, and truly peaceable preachers of the gospel." The proof of his accusation is contained in Mr. Ley's own words, which are as follows:—"It is not unknown, nor unobserved by the wise, that the ministers have been very serviceable to the civil state, and to the military too; not only by their supplications to God for good success in all their undertakings, and their happy proceedings in all their warlike marches and motions, as at the removal of the ark, Num. x. 35., *Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered: Let them that hate thee, flee before thee*; but by their informations and solicitations of the people to engage both their estates and persons in the cause of God and their country." The author, having produced these, with some other similar citations, triumphantly adds: "After these proofs and declarations of the ministers' zeal and industry for promoting, supporting, and carrying on the late bloody, impious, and unnatural war; let any man take upon him any longer to acquit the nonconformist divines of the guilt and consequence of that execrable rebellion."\* These are certainly

\* L'Estranges's Dissenters' Sayings, part ii. p. 51, 55.

very heavy charges, and ought to be supported by very substantial evidence. Though some of the nonconformist divines were zealous in the cause of the parliament, will any unprejudiced person affirm, that they "encouraged tumults," any more than those who were conformable? No man who is conversant with the history of those distracted times, and is uninfluenced by a bigoted party spirit, I am persuaded will affirm any such thing. With respect to the "execrable rebellion," as it is called, it is well known to all parties to have originated in the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the king and his tyrannical courtiers, which, after many years, led to all the horrors of a civil war. If, therefore, there was any rebellion, it is easy to see who was guilty.

Mr. Ley became rector of Ashfield in Cheshire, and for a short time, rector of Astbury in the same county, chairman of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers, one of the committee of printing, and one of the committee for the ordination of ministers. About the year 1645 he was chosen president of Sion college, and about the same time, inducted into the rich living of Brightwell in Berkshire. In 1653 he was appointed one of the tryers of ministers, and, the year following, assistant to the commissioners of Berkshire for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters. After some time he resigned the living of Brightwell, and was presented to that of Solihull in Warwickshire. But by too much exertion and constant preaching, he broke a blood vessel; and being disabled from attending to the duties of his office, he resigned Solihull, and retired to Sutton Colfield in the same county, where he lived privately the rest of his days. He died May 16, 1662, aged seventy-nine years, and his remains were interred in the church at Sutton Colfield. He was accounted "an excellent preacher, a person of great learning, deeply read in the fathers and councils, and one of the chief pillars of presbyterianism."\*

**HIS WORKS.**—1. An Apology in Defence of the Geneva Notes on the Bible, which were, in St. Mary's in Oxford, publicly and severely reflected on by Dr. John Howson. Written about 1612, and examined and approved by Bishop Usher.—2. A Pattern of Piety; or, the religious Life and Death of Mrs. Jane Ratcliff of Chester, 1640.—3. Several occasional Sermons, 1640, &c., one of which is entitled, "The Fury of Warre, and Folly of Sinne, a Sermon before the Commons, April 26, 1643."—4. Sunday a Sabbath: or, a

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 190—194.

preparative Discourse for discussion of Sabbatarian doubts, 1641.—He was assisted in this work, by the MSS. and advice of Archbishop Usher.—5. The Christian Sabbath maintained, in Answer to a book of Dr. Pocklington, styled, 'Sunday no Sabbath,' 1641.—6. Defensive doubts, hopes, and reasons, for refusal of the Oath, imposed by the sixth Canon of the Synod, 1641.—7. A Letter against the Erection of an Altar, written June 29, 1635, to John, Bishop of Chester, 1641.—8. Case of Conscience concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 1641.—9. A Comparison of the Parliamentary Protestation with the late canonical Oath, and the Difference between them, 1641.—10. A further Discussion of the Case of Conscience touching the receiving the Sacrament, 1641.—11. Examination of John Saltmarsh's New Query, 1646.—12. A Censure of what Mr. Saltmarsh hath produced, 1646.—13. Apologetical Narrative of the late Petition of the Common Council and Ministers of London to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, 1646.—14. Light for Smoak; or, a clear and distinct Reply to a dark and confused Answer, in a book made and entitled, 'The Smoak of the Temple, by John Saltmarsh,' 1646.—15. An After-reckoning with Mr. Saltmarsh; or, an Appeal to the impartial and conscientious Reader, 1646.—16. A learned Defence of Tithes, 1651.—17. General Reasons grounded on Equity, Piety, Charity, and Justice, against the payment of a fifth part to sequestered Ministers, their Wives, and Children, 1654.—18. An Acquittance or Discharge from Dr. E. H. (Edward Hyde) his demand of the fifth part of the Rectory of Br. (Brightwell) in Berks, pleaded as in the Court of Equity and Conscience, 1654.—19. A Letter to Dr. Edward Hyde, in Answer to one of his, occasioned by the late Insurrection at Salisbury, 1655.—20. A Debate concerning the English Liturgy, between Edward Hyde, D. D. and John Ley, 1656.—21. A Discourse of Disputations chiefly concerning Matters of Religion, 1658.—22. Animadversions on John Onely, 1658.—23. A Consolatory Letter to Dr. Bryan, upon the Death of his worthily well-beloved and much bewailed Son, Mr. Nathaniel Bryan, 1658.—24. Equitable and necessary Considerations for the Association of Arms throughout England and Wales.—25. A Petition to the Lord Protector by divers, for the establishment of themselves, and other their brethren, in the places to which they are admitted to officiate as Ministers of the Gospel, without institution and induction by Bishops.—26. A Comparison of the Oath of the sixth Canon of the last Synod of Bishops, and the Protestation set forth by Parliament, in Answer to a Letter of Pedael Harlow, Gent.—27. Attestation of the Ministers of Cheshire, to the Testimony of the Ministers of London, against errors, heresies, and blasphemies.—28. Exceptions many and just.—29. Annotations on the Pentateuch, and the four Evangelists, in the Assembly's Annotations.

JOHN SIMPSON.—This person was a zealous fifth monarchy-man of the baptist denomination, and for some time lecturer at St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate, London. One Mr. Simpson, and no doubt this person, was for a time silenced from preaching, because he differed in certain points from the assembly of divines; but, October 28, 1646, he

was restored to his ministry.\* He and Mr. Feake are styled "two of the chief captains of the anabaptists, who preached most scornfully against Cromwell's government."† Mr. Erbery, in his piece entitled "The Bishop of London; being a brief Narrative of what passed at London-house among church Ministers, Mr. Simpson at Bishopsgate, and others, on Monday night, November 22, 1652," has given us the following very curious information, which, because Mr. Simpson took an active part on the occasion, and it may afford the reader some amusement, we shall give in the author's own words:—"The churches of London," says he, "both independent and baptized, having formerly associated and girt themselves with a sword, or martial power; I mean some army preaching men, joined in a body at Great Alhalls, to pray for a new representative, and to preach against the old: for which they received no countenance, but rather a check from those in authority. Having there 'laboured in vain, and spent their strength for nought,' not finding the spirit in a presbyterial or parochial church, they changed their quarters, and came to seek it in the episcopal see at London-house. There, as men who would again build up Babylon, they founded a structure of two stories high: not a pulpit and reading pew, but a stately frame of wood to preach and pray in two distinct forms. The one being the highest, I conceive, is for the independent fellowship; the other is the baptized footstool.

"The Lord brought me there to behold their order, but seeing their confusion, I heard one praying below, afterwards another above, Captain Spenser; at whose loud and long prayer, my spirit was stirred: I could scarcely refrain from crying, 'A noise and nothing else.' The first man that I heard preaching was Mr. Feake, who, I thought, spake to the purpose concerning prayer, even that the saints should now return to their old spirit of prayer in gospel times, which was not in loose requests, and long confessions of sins, but in short breathings of their present desires to God, with abundance of fervency and faith to obtain a blessing. Looking up on high, I spied Mr. Simpson, Mr. Cockayn and others, preparing themselves to do something. The first, instead of praying, began to preach, or prophesy, as he terms it. Before Mr. Simpson would name his text, he opens himself in a large preface; and, as if he stood on the stool of repentance, he confesseth his faults before us all.

\* Whitlocke's Mem. p. 230.

† Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 67.

First, he profeseth himself a fool, for the rising of his heart against that which another held forth not according to his apprehension. Secondly, he said again that he was a fool, for that rigidness of spirit to stick to his own opinion, or to oppose the light that might shine in another. He shewed further how God had judged that rigidness in prelacy and presbytery, and would also in independency or dippers. But see how the man doth judge and condemn himself, or back-slide into the same sin or folly which just now he confessed. For, as Mr. Feake had truly declared what was said before concerning prayer, Mr. Simpson doth presently censure, and publicly condemn, what his brother had spoken in peace and truth, and with much submission. I wondered at the magisterial spirit and self-confidence in the honest man. But he confessed himself before to be a fool, and, it may be, he had not thoroughly repented of it.

“My spirit, indeed,” says he, “was exceedingly stirred; and though I came thither to hear in silence, yet my spirit being hot, I spake at last with my tongue, saying, ‘Mr. Simpson, you have preached long. Will you suffer another fool to speak a little concerning prayer?’ There was much reluctancy and murmuring in many, who bid me hold my peace. Then said I, whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, I must speak a word to the churches. It is this: Prelates had their common prayers, and your prayers are common also. Presbyters had their directory, so have you this day, teaching one another how to pray. I could not be suffered to speak any more, only I told the churches, saying, Sirs, your prayers are legal, and your preaching legal; I see you are all in the dark; and so I bid you good night.”\* Such is the curious account given by our author.

Mr. Simpson and Mr. Feake preached with great warmth against the protectorship of Cromwell, for which, in the year 1653, they were both apprehended and sent prisoners to Windsor-castle, where they continued for some time.† But, July 26, 1654, Mr. Simpson was released from confinement, and allowed to preach at any place within ten miles of London.‡ This, however, was not the conclusion of his troubles. He was again cast into prison, most probably after the restoration, when many fifth monarchy-men were apprehended and committed to Newgate, where they continued several months.§ Upon Mr. Simpson’s release from

\* Erbery’s Testimony, p. 43—46.

† Thurloe’s State Papers, vol. iii. p. 435.

‡ Whitlocke’s Mem. p. 564, 579.

§ Kennet’s Chron. p. 363.

prison, he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, for which he was severely censured by many of his brethren. It is, indeed, observed, that, for some time previous to his imprisonment, he had publicly declared his readiness to take the oaths; the same he also made known to his friends while he was in confinement. When he was brought before the court, he found that he must take them, or return to prison, when he complied without hesitation. He was of opinion, that, if he had refused, "he should have sinned against God, against the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, against his family, and against himself.\*"

In the "Declaration of the several churches of Christ, and godly people in and about the city of London," published in the above year, nine of those who subscribed it are said to be "of the church that walks with Mr. Simpson."† Dr. Calamy mentions one John Simpson as silenced from his lecture at Botolph's church, Bishopsgate or Aldgate, whom he denominates "a great antinomian." He afterwards acknowledges, that he died previous to the black Bartholomew-day, in 1662, and so should not have been included in the list of *ejected* ministers.‡ This was undoubtedly the same person.

Whether Mr. Simpson was, indeed, a great antinomian, we shall not attempt, because we are unable, to ascertain; but, from the account given of him by the author of his funeral sermon, he appears to have been a diligent, pious, and useful minister of Christ. We will let the author speak for himself. Addressing the bereaved congregation, he says, "Many of you lived for years under the ministry of this faithful servant of Christ, and his ministry hath been to you as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: you have heard his words, but you would not do them. There hath not been a suitable conversation to such a ministry. A gospel, spiritual, and heavenly ministry, calls for a gospel, spiritual, and heavenly conversation. Such was his ministry, but such, I fear, hath not been the conversation of many of his hearers. Indeed, all of us who enjoyed more or less of his labours, have cause to mourn before the Lord this day for our misimprovement of his ministry, and for taking no more care about hearing, receiving, and practising what God was pleased to reveal unto us by his servant. This faithful man, according to the judgment of reason, might have lived

\* Funeral Sermon for Mr. Simpson.

† Declaration, p. 22.

‡ Calamy's Account, vol. i. p. 39.—Contin. vol. i. p. 58.

many years, and done much service: but for God to take away his faithful labourers in the midst of their days, and cause their sun to set at noon, is a providence of a dreadful aspect upon unfaithful and unfruitful hearers. Oh! what would many a condemned wretch give at the great day of the Lord, to have Christ, and mercy, and pardon proffered him, as they have been proffered by this glorified saint! God took him away immediately upon his release from prison, when you had some hopes of the further enjoyment of his labours; at a time when there is the greatest want of such faithful and zealous labourers; especially of such as are enlightened in, and are zealous for church-work; such as have a heart and abilities to encourage the people of God in their separation from the world and antichristian defilements.

“There was a near relation between this servant of the Lord and many of you present. He was to many of you a faithful pastor and teacher, labouring among you in word and doctrine. If the Lord prevent not, now that the shepherd is smitten, you will be scattered. It will be hard to find a person so ready to venture life and liberty to serve you. To many of you he might be a spiritual father, a means of your conviction and conversion; and oh! what hard hearts must you have, if you cannot mourn over a dead father, a dead shepherd, a faithful pastor, when taken from you. Consider those blessed qualifications with which this servant of Christ was endowed, and by which he was enabled to promote the glory of God and the welfare of your souls. He had love for all the saints. He had room in his heart to receive every one whom Christ received. He held communion with the saints, not on account of their names, or forms of worship, but on account of their union to Jesus Christ. He loved no man on account of his opinions, but his union to Christ, as he often declared in his congregation. He made known to the members of his church, to whom he gave the right hand of fellowship, that their union to Christ was the ground of their communion with saints; and that the reason of their admission was not because they were of this or that opinion, but because they were looked upon as interested in Christ; and that they who were heirs of glory ought to receive all saints, not as presbyterians, or independents, or anabaptists, but as saints.

“He had a great insight into the doctrines of grace. Having cast anchor within the vail, he understood well the great mystery of the mercy-seat. It was the glory of his ministry to hold forth the riches of the grace of God in Christ Jesus.

In preaching this doctrine he was a mystery to a blind world : they could not understand him ; and, therefore, they hardly knew by what name to call him. He was an offence to many professors, who charged him with giving liberty to sin, notwithstanding he often preached upon the apostolic cautions against it. As at many other times, so a little before his imprisonment, he so charged professors with their lukewarmness, their hypocrisy, their neglect of closet devotion, family religion, and the duties of public worship, that he left a sufficient testimony to stop the mouths of such for ever. The doctrine of the covenant was, indeed, his great delight. When he spoke of the unsearchable riches of the grace of Christ, he was carried beyond himself : he had a flood of words, yet seemed to want words to express what he knew and enjoyed of divine grace.

“ He was a faithful servant of Christ. Whatever the Lord made known to him, he made known to his people without reserve, whether it pleased or displeased. He did not shun to declare all the counsel of God, so far as it was revealed to him. Also, if at any time he was convinced that he had delivered any thing not consonant to scripture, he would openly and publicly confess his error, and trample upon his own name and honour, rather than deceive the souls of his people by leading them to imbibe false doctrine. While he thus ingenuously and openly confessed his mistakes, it shews how eminently faithful he was to truth and to the souls of his hearers.

“ He was a zealous servant of Christ. He was willing to spend and be spent, that he might fulfil his ministry, and do good to souls. How laborious was he in preaching ; how constant in attending the assemblies of the church ; and how often did he blame his people for neglecting them ! He was not one who did the work of the Lord negligently, but he served his God with fervency of spirit. He did not stand upon terms with God, saying, Lord, I will serve thee, if my name, and estate, and liberty may be secured : but whatever he judged to be his duty he would be sure to attend to it, and leave the event to the Lord. He enjoyed much communion with God, and a rich experience of his goodness. Many a faithful minister of Christ lived but low, compared with what this blessed saint enjoyed. By this rich experience of divine favour, he was enabled to administer comfort to others.

“ He was a very humble and holy man. For the sake of peace, he would condescend to the meanest member of his

church. He followed after those things which made for peace, and laboured always to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. After the Lord was pleased to work upon him by his mighty power, and to reveal the grace of Christ to his soul, he was of a heavenly conversation. He walked closely with God in his family. He was a saint at home as well as abroad; and he made it appear that he was really and relatively good, by being a good husband, a good father, &c. He lived loose from the world, and made not his gain his godliness. He had no design to make merchandize of Christ and the gospel. He often refused money for preaching, especially funeral sermons; and if, on those occasions, any was forced upon him, or sent after him, he soon disposed of it by giving it to the poor. His discourse was mostly upon spiritual and heavenly subjects, in which he always discovered great pleasure and forwardness. In his youthful days he was greatly addicted to vanity and ungodliness, which, to his own shame, and to the praise of divine grace, he acknowledged to his dying day.

“ His ministry was very successful, and attended by the abundant blessing of God. He was instrumental in the conversion of many souls; and he left behind him many seals to his ministry. Every faithful preacher was not so remarkably blessed. God blessed him above scores, nay, hundreds of preachers, in the great work of conversion, by ‘turning souls from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.’ His happiness is unquestionable. Your loss is his gain. He is taken up into glory, and there hath communion with God. He is out of the reach of all his enemies. They can now imprison him no more. He will never have any thing more imposed upon him contrary to his conscience. He will never suffer there for nonconformity. There God will be for ever served, adored, and glorified with one heart, and with one consent.”\* Mr. Simpson’s funeral sermon, entitled, “The Failing and Perishing of good Men a matter of great and sore Lamentation,” was preached June 26, 1662, the day of his interment.

JOHN BIDDLE, A. M.—This great sufferer was born at Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, in the year 1615, and educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, where he took his degrees in arts. Here he prosecuted his studies with great

\* Funeral Sermon.

assiduity and success, and became an ornament to his college. In 1641 he was chosen master of the free-school of Crypt,\* in the city of Gloucester; where, for his excellent talents and diligence in his profession, he was highly esteemed. Here his freedom of inquiry in his academical studies was directed to the subjects of religion. His opinions concerning the Trinity differed very soon from those commonly received; and, having expressed his thoughts with much freedom, he was presently accused of heresy. He was accordingly summoned before the magistrates; to whom he presented, on the point about which he was accused, the following confession of faith:

1. "I believe that there is but one infinite and almighty essence, called God.

2. "I believe, that, as there is but one infinite and almighty essence, so there is but one person in that essence.

3. "I believe that our Saviour Jesus Christ is truly God, by being truly, really, and properly united to the only person of the infinite and almighty essence."†

This confession, dated May 2, 1644, proved unsatisfactory to the magistrates, who urged him to be more explicit concerning a plurality of persons in the divine essence. Accordingly, about four days after, he confessed, that there were three in that divine essence, commonly called persons. This appears to have given greater satisfaction.

Mr. Biddle, having made up his mind more fully upon this subject, drew up his thoughts upon a paper entitled, "Twelve Arguments, drawn out of Scripture, wherein the commonly received opinion touching the Deity of the Holy Spirit is clearly and fully refuted." This paper he shewed to one whom he supposed to be his friend, but who was ungenerous enough to betray him to the magistrates of Gloucester, and to the committee of parliament, then residing there. Upon this information, he was committed to the common gaol, December 2, 1645, being at the same time ill of a dangerous fever. The design of his imprisonment was to secure his person, till the parliament should take his case into consideration. The intolerance of this proceeding was, however, soon mitigated by the interposition of a compassionate friend, a person of eminence in Gloucester, who, by giving bail for his appearance, procured his enlargement.

About June, 1646, the famous Archbishop Usher, passing through Gloucester on his way to London, had a conference

\* Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 303. Edit. 1778.

† Toulmin's Life of Biddle, p. 18. Edit. 1791.

with Mr. Biddle, respecting his sentiments upon the Trinity, and endeavoured to convince him of his dangerous error. Mr. Biddle, our author observes, had but little to say, and was none moved by the zeal, piety, and learning of the archbishop, but continued obstinate.\* In about six months after Mr. Biddle was set at liberty, he was summoned to appear at Westminster, when the parliament appointed a committee, to whom the consideration of his cause was referred. Upon his examination he freely and candidly confessed, "That he did deny the commonly received opinion concerning the Deity of the Holy Ghost, as he was accused: but that he was ready to hear what could be opposed to him, and, if he could not make out his opinion to be true, honestly to acknowledge his error."† However, at the distance of sixteen months from his first imprisonment, being wearied by tedious and expensive delays, he wrote a letter to Sir Henry Vane, a member of the committee, requesting him either to procure his discharge or to report his case to the house of commons. This letter, dated April 1, 1647, answered the end proposed. Sir Henry became a friend to Mr. Biddle, and reported his case to the house; but the result was not favourable to Mr. Biddle's comfort and liberty. Instead of obtaining his release, the house committed him to the custody of one of its officers, and he remained under this restraint five years. In the mean time the matter was referred to the assembly of divines, before some of whom, it is said, he often appeared, and gave them in writing, his "Twelve Arguments against the Deity of the Holy Spirit."‡

The answers which he received on these occasions not producing sufficient conviction in his mind, he was induced, during this year, to print this tract, with the above title. The piece was no sooner published than its author was summoned to appear at the bar of the house of commons, when he owned the book, and the sentiments therein contained, to be his. Upon this, he was sent back to prison; and by an order from the house, dated September 6, 1647, the book was appointed to be called in and burnt by the common hangman, and the author to be examined by the committee of plundered ministers.§ Accordingly, he was

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 87, 88.—Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 197.

† *Life of Biddle*, p. 28.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 28—34.

§ *Whitlocke's Memorials*, p. 270, 271.

examined, and the book was burnt, on the eighth of the same month.\*

In the year 1648 Mr. Biddle published "A Confession of Faith touching the Holy Trinity, according to Scripture;" and another work, entitled, "The Testimonies of Ireneus, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Novatianus, Theophilus, Origen," &c. Upon the appearance of his writings, the presbyterians, having now the ecclesiastical government in their own hands, and being altogether averse to a universal toleration, solicited the interference of the parliament, and obtained an ordinance for the punishment of all blasphemies and heresies. Hence Mr. Biddle's life was in danger. But the act was directed to so many objects, and so various, and meeting with considerable opposition from the army; and because there was a dissention in the parliament itself, it lay unregarded for several years. Though the force of this severe ordinance remained dormant, Mr. Biddle suffered, for several years, the miseries of a prison. His keeper, however, at length allowed him more liberty, and permitted him, upon security being given, even to go into Staffordshire. Here the oppressions he had suffered were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the patronage and kindness of a justice of the peace, who received him into his house, courteously entertained him, made him his chaplain, and appointed him preacher in one of the churches in that county, and, at his death, left him a legacy.

Mr. Biddle was not long permitted to enjoy the comfort of this friendly asylum. Sir John Bradshaw, president of the council of state, being informed of his retreat, issued orders for him to be recalled, and more strictly confined. In this confinement he continued in prison till February, 1651; and, during the whole of his seven years' imprisonment, no divine, it is said, except Mr. Peter Gunning, afterwards bishop of Ely, ever paid him a visit, not even to attempt to convince him of his errors. In addition to his long confinement in prison, he was reduced to great poverty and want. After having endured much suffering for want of the comforts and necessaries of life, a door was unexpectedly opened for providing him a comfortable supply. A printer in London, being about to publish a Greek version of the Old Testament, Mr. Biddle, having an exact knowledge of that language, was employed

\* This piece was answered by the learned Mr. Matthew Poole, in a work entitled, "A Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghost."—*Wood's Athens Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 198.

in correcting the press, by which means he obtained a comfortable subsistence.\*

In the year 1651, such public measures were taken as proved favourable to Mr. Biddle, and he again obtained his release. He improved his liberty by meeting his friends in London, every Lord's day, for the purpose of expounding the scriptures, and discoursing upon them. In 1654 Dr. Gunning, who had before visited him in prison, came to their meeting on the Lord's day, accompanied by several of his friends. His conduct soon explained his intentions; that he was not come to be a hearer of Mr. Biddle, but to confound and refute him publicly, and in the face of his own adherents. Therefore, he presently commenced a disputation with him, first concerning the Deity of the Holy Spirit; then, on the next Lord's day, concerning the Deity of Christ. His biographer informs us, "That Mr. Biddle acquitted himself with so much learning, judgment, and knowledge in the sense of the holy scriptures, that he gained much credit by the contest."† The doctor, however, paid him another visit, when they had another disputation.

During this year, Mr. Biddle's life was distinguished more by the publication of "A Two-fold Catechism; the one simply called A *Scripture* Catechism, the other called A brief *Scripture* Catechism for *Children*," than by his public disputations with Dr. Gunning. The celebrated Dr. John Owen published an answer to the "Two-fold Catechism," entitled, "Vindiciæ Evangelicæ; or, the Mystery of the Gospel Vindicated, and Socinianism examined." Also, for this publication, he was brought to the bar of the house of commons; and, December 12th, was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, and forbidden the use of pen, ink, and paper, and denied the access of any visitant. On the 13th of the same month, the parliament having voted that the book contained many impious and blasphemous opinions against the Deity of the Holy Ghost;‡ it was called in, and burnt by the common hangman. But the protector dissolving the parliament, he obtained his liberty, May 28, 1655.

This great sufferer did not, indeed, enjoy his liberty very long. For July 3d, this year, he was, by an order from Cromwell, apprehended and committed to the Compter, then to Newgate; and, at the next sessions, was tried for his life, on the ordinance against blasphemy and heresy before mentioned. At his trial, when he requested that counsel might

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon*, vol. ii. p. 199.—*Life of Biddle*, p. 34—62.

† *Ibid.* p. 70.

‡ Whitlocke's *Mem.* p. 591.

be allowed him to plead the illegality of the indictment, and it was denied him by the judges, he gave in his exceptions, and, by much struggling, at length had counsel allowed him; but the trial was deferred to the next day. In this emergency, the principles and policy of Oliver Cromwell operated in favour of Mr. Biddle.\* He saw it would be against the interest of his government to have Mr. Biddle either condemned or absolved. He, therefore, took him out of the hands of the law, and detained him in prison. The protector, at length being weary with receiving petitions for and against him, to terminate the affair, and, in some degree, meet the wishes of each party, banished Mr. Biddle to the island of Scilly, whither he was sent October 5, 1655. After he had been some time in a state of exile, Cromwell, who could by no means approve of his sentiments, allowed him a hundred crowns a year for his subsistence. This act of pure generosity, shewn to a persecuted man, reflects no small honour on his name.†

In 1658, through the continued solicitations of friends, the protector suffered a writ of habeas corpus to be granted out of the upper-bench court, by which Mr. Biddle was brought back, and, nothing being laid to his charge, was by that court set at liberty. Upon his return to London, he resumed his ministerial exercises among his friends, and became pastor of a congregation in the city, formed on the principles of the independents in matters of discipline. Here he did not continue very long. For, upon the death of Cromwell, in about five months, and his son Richard calling a parliament

\* The protector was an enemy to persecution. Among the capital articles on which his government was founded, was this: "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though they differ in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession and exercise of their religion; and that all laws, statutes, and ordinances against such liberty shall be esteemed null and void."

† The name of Cromwell was formidable abroad as well as at home. This will appear from the following anecdotes: "A tumult having arisen at Nismes in France, in which some disorder had been committed by the Huguenots; and they, apprehending severe proceedings upon it, sent one over with great expedition to Cromwell, who sent him back to Paris in an hour's time, with a most decisive letter to his ambassador at the court of France, requiring him either to prevail that the matter might be overlooked, or to come away immediately. Cardinal Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding as too imperious; but the state of their affairs made him yield." It is also observed, that the cardinal would change his countenance whenever he heard the name of Cromwell mentioned; so that it became a proverb in France, "That Mazarin was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver Cromwell."—*Burnet's Hist. of his Time*, vol. i. p. 77.—*Welwood's Memoirs*, p. 104.

consisting chiefly of presbyterians, whom of all men Mr. Biddle most dreaded, he retired privately into the country. On the dissolution of the parliament he returned to his former station. But this period of tranquillity was of very short continuance. Upon the restoration of Charles II. all dissenters from the episcopal worship were treated on the same intolerant principles. Their liberty was taken away, and their assemblies were punished as seditious. Mr. Biddle endeavoured, however, to avoid the threatening storm, by restraining himself from public to more private assemblies. Nevertheless, June 1, 1662, he was dragged from his lodgings, where he and a few of his friends were met for divine worship, and carried before Sir Richard Brown, a justice of the peace, who committed them all to prison, without admitting them to bail. Mr. Biddle was doomed for some time to a dungeon; but the recorder afterwards released them on giving security for their appearance. Accordingly, they were tried at the following sessions, when his hearers were fined in a penalty of *twenty* pounds a piece, and Mr. Biddle himself in *one hundred*; and they were ordered to lie in prison till their several penalties were paid. But in less than five weeks, Mr. Biddle, through the noisomeness of the place and the want of fresh air, contracted a disease which presently cut him off. He died September 22, 1662, aged forty-seven years.\* His life was irreproachable, and, according to Wood, there was little or nothing blame-worthy in him, excepting his opinions. He was a hard student, an exact Grecian, a ready disputant, and had a prodigious memory.† It is, indeed, said, that he retained all the New Testament in his memory, and could repeat it *verbatim*, both in English and in Greek, as far as the fourth chapter of Revelation.‡ In addition to the articles already mentioned, Mr. Biddle published a piece upon the Apocalypse, and several translations of other men's productions.

**BENJAMIN COX, A. M.**—This learned divine appears to have received his education at Broadgates-hall, Oxford, where he took his degree of master of arts in the year 1617.§ He had a parochial charge in Devonshire, where, for some time, he was particularly zealous for the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the established church; but afterwards he

\* Life of Biddle, p. 70—100.

† Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 197—202.

‡ Life of Biddle, p. 13.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 927.

found sufficient reason for altering his opinions. In the year 1639 he was convened before Bishop Hall, his diocesan, who sent him to Archbishop Laud, for preaching a sermon from Hosea iv. 4., in which he proved that the church of England did not maintain the calling of bishops to be *jure divino*. This sermon, it appears, made a great noise in the country. "But when he came to me," says the archbishop, "it pleased God so to bless me, that I gave him satisfaction, and he went home very well contented, and made a handsome retraction."\*

Mr. Cox afterwards espousing the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, and opposing the presbyterian establishment of religion, the presbyterians upbraided him with his former superstitions and innovations. Mr. Edwards, whose pen was mostly dipped in gall, says, "he came out of Devonshire, was an innovator, and a time-server in the time of the bishops; and that against the will of Dr. Hall, bishop of Exeter, he had brought innovations into the church."† Admitting this account to be correct, his change of sentiments was undoubtedly on conviction, and therefore no disgrace to his character.

When the affairs of state led men to think and speak more freely upon religious subjects, Mr. Cox was among the first in promoting a further reformation, when he had flattering prospects of high preferment; but his sentiments upon baptism obstructed his advancement in the established church, and prejudiced against him those divines who were at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. He preserved, however, the character of a man eminently furnished with abilities and learning. After episcopacy and the common prayer were laid aside, he was, for some time, minister at Bedford. In the year 1643, some pious persons in Coventry having embraced the opinions of the baptists, invited Mr. Cox, being an aged minister and of good reputation, to come to them, and assist them in the formation of a distinct church, according to the peculiar sentiments of the baptists. Several presbyterian ministers, among whom was Mr. Baxter, had taken refuge in that city. Mr. Baxter, being zealous in opposing the peculiar opinions of the baptists, therefore challenged Mr. Cox to a disputation upon the points of difference. The challenge was accepted, and they disputed both by conference and by writing: but it was broken off by the interference of the committee, who required Mr. Cox to depart from the city, and to promise not to return. As he refused to observe their tyrannical requisitions, he was imme-

\* Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 568.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 95.

diately committed to prison, where he remained for some time; till Mr. Pinson made application to Mr. Baxter, by whom his release was procured. This was, indeed, complained of as very hard and illegal usage, not without some reflections upon Mr. Baxter himself, as having procured his imprisonment. This, however, Mr. Baxter denied.\*

Mr. Cox, after his departure from Coventry, went to London, and was one of the principal managers, on the part of the baptists, of a public dispute concerning infant baptism, at Aldermanbury church, to which a stop was afterwards put by the government. In the year 1644, when the seven churches in London, called anabaptists, published a confession of their faith, and presented it to the parliament, his name was subscribed to it, in behalf of one of those congregations.† Though, when the act of uniformity came out, in 1662, he at first conformed, yet his conscience soon after smote him for what he had done, when he threw up his living, and died a nonconformist and a baptist, at a very advanced age. He was a divine of great abilities, learning, and piety, and is said to have been the son of a bishop.‡ It seems more probable, however, that he was the grandson of one; as Dr. Richard Cox, upwards of twenty years bishop of Ely, died in the year 1581.§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Declaration concerning the public Dispute which should have been in the public Meeting-house of Aldermanbury, December 3, 1645, concerning Infant Baptism.—2. God's Ordinance the Saints Privilege, proved in two Treatises: viz. The Saints Interest by Christ in all the Privileges of Grace cleared, and the Objections against the Same answered. And the peculiar Interest of the Elect in Christ, and his saving Graces: wherein is proved, that Christ hath not satisfied for the Sins of all Men, but only for the Sins of those that do or shall believe in Him; and the Objections against the Same answered.

**JOHN NORTON, A. M.**—This excellent divine was born at Storford in Hertfordshire, May 6, 1606, and educated in Peter-house, Cambridge, where he became a celebrated scholar. Having finished his studies at the university, he became curate at Storford, the place of his nativity; when he formed an acquaintance with the excellent Mr. Jeremiah Dyke of Epping, by whose ministry he was first awakened to

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 220, 221.

† Featley's Dippers Dipt, p. 177.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 353, 354.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 162.

a serious concern for his soul. He now resolved to devote himself wholly to the ministerial work, and soon became a most accomplished and popular preacher. He frequently preached upon the necessity of faith, repentance, and holiness, which, by the eloquence of his language, accompanied with a spirit of most serious devotion, he set forth in a most interesting and engaging light. Though his prospect of rising in the church was very flattering, he refused all preferment, on account of the ecclesiastical impositions. His aversion to arminianism and the superstitious ceremonies, hindered him from possessing a rich benefice which his uncle designed to have conferred upon him. It is also observed, that the pious Dr. Sibbs was so taken with his excellent endowments, that he earnestly solicited him to accept a fellowship at Cambridge; but he was so thoroughly dissatisfied with the terms of admission, that he could not do it with a good conscience. He was content with lesser things, and therefore became domestic chaplain to Sir William Masham, preaching as he found opportunity. Though no minister was more highly admired and esteemed for every engaging and excellent accomplishment, he was utterly silenced for nonconformity. Having no prospect of any further usefulness in his native country, he resolved to remove to America, where he could worship God according to the light of scripture and his own conscience, without the impositions of men.\* He accordingly sailed for New England, where he arrived in October, 1635. During the voyage, the ship, in a most dreadful storm, was in the utmost danger of being lost. The storm is said to have been so tremendous, that as it washed several of the seamen overboard on one side of the ship, it threw them on board on the other side.

After Mr. Norton's arrival, he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich, where he laboured with great zeal, assiduity, and success about seventeen years. But upon the death of Mr. Cotton, pastor of the church at Boston, he accepted an invitation to become his successor. Upon the restoration of Charles II., Mr. Norton and Simon Bradstreet, esq. were sent to England, as agents of the colony, with an address to his majesty, soliciting the continuance of their privileges. This address contained, among other things, the following passages:—"To enjoy our liberty and to walk according to the faith and order of the gospel, was the cause of us transplanting ourselves, with our wives, our

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iij. p. 32, 33.

“ little ones, and our substance ; choosing the pure scripture  
 “ worship, with a good conscience, in this remote wilder-  
 “ ness, rather than the pleasures of England, with submission  
 “ to the impositions of the hierarchy, to which we could not  
 “ yield without an evil conscience. We are not seditious to  
 “ the interests of Cæsar, nor schismatical in matters of reli-  
 “ gion. We distinguish between churches and their impu-  
 “ rities. We could not live without the public worship of  
 “ God, but were not allowed to observe it without such a  
 “ yoke of superstition and conformity as we could not con-  
 “ sent to without sin.”\*

In the month of February, 1661, they entered upon their voyage ; and having obtained the king's letter, confirming the privileges of the colony, they returned in September following. Mr. Norton, however, did not long survive his return. His death was very sudden. For he expected to have preached in the afternoon of the day on which he died ; but, instead of preaching, his heavenly Father received him to himself. He departed greatly lamented, April 5, 1663, nearly fifty-seven years of age. Mr. Richard Mather preached his funeral sermon to his numerous and mournful flock. He was a man of great piety, an excellent scholar, and a good divine, but certainly of too irritable a temper. He is said to have been at the head of all the hardships which were inflicted upon the quakers in New England, for which they afterwards reproached him as dying under the just judgment of God. “ John Norton,” said they, “ chief priest in Boston, was smitten by the immediate power of the Lord ; and as he was sinking down by the fire-side, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died.”† Though this reflection was undoubtedly unjust, it certainly would have been much better, if neither he, nor any others, had, by their unchristian severities, given them occasion to make it.

Mr. Norton was author of several learned and excellent works. His book, entitled “ *Responsio ad Gal. Appollonium*,” 1648, rendered his name famous in the controversial world. Fuller observes, “ that of all the authors he had ever perused, concerning the opinions of the dissenting brethren, none gave him more information than Mr. John Norton, a man of no less learning than modesty, in his answer to

\* Massachusetts Papers, p. 345—371.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 37.

† Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. ii. p. 340.

Apollonius."\* This is supposed to have been the first Latin book that was written in America.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. *The Sufferings of Christ*, 1653.—2. *The Orthodox Evangelist*, 1654.—3. *The Heart of New England rent at the Blasphemies of the present Generation; or, a brief Tractate concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers, demonstrating the destructive Nature thereof to Religion, the Churches, and the State; with Remedies against it*, 1660.—4. *Several Sermons*.

**SAMUEL NEWMAN.**—This pious divine was born at Banbury in Oxfordshire, in the year 1600, and educated in the university of Oxford. He imbibed the spirit of genuine christianity, became an able minister of the New Testament, and shewed himself an avowed, but moderate nonconformist. This, indeed, rendered him obnoxious to the ruling prelates, by whom he was cruelly harassed and persecuted. Through the episcopal molestations he was silenced, and driven from one place to another, no less than seven times.† But, agreeably to the advice of Christ, when he was persecuted, and not suffered to labour for the good of souls in one place, he fled to another. This he did till he could find no place of rest; and, at length, to avoid the fury of the persecuting bishops, he resolved to transport himself to New England, where he should be out of their reach. He arrived in the new plantation, with many other excellent christians, in the year 1638; and spent one year and a half at Dorchester, five years at Weymouth, and nineteen at Rehoboth, in Plymouth colony. He gave the name to the town last mentioned, because, upon a removal to that place, his flock, which before had been short of room, might then say, "The Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitful in the land."

Mr. Newman was particularly attentive to the state of religion, both in his family and in the church of God. He was in like manner exceedingly mindful over his own heart, and most exactly attentive to the duty of self-examination. This will appear from an account transcribed from his own papers. For his own advantage, it was his daily practice to examine himself, and make such memorials as the following:—  
"I find, that I love God, and desire to love him more.—I find a desire to requite evil with good.—I find, that I am looking up to God, to see him, and his hand, in all things.—I find a

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 213.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iiii. p. 114.

greater fear of displeasing God than all the world.—I find a love to such christians as I never saw, or received good from.—I find a grief when I see the commands of God broken.—I find a mourning when I do not enjoy the assurance of God's love.—I find a willingness to give God the glory of all my ability to do good.—I find a joy in the company and conversation of the godly.—I find a grief when I perceive it goes ill with christians.—I find a constant love to secret duties.—I find a bewailing of such sins as the world cannot accuse me of.—I find I constantly choose suffering to avoid sin.\*

This method did Mr. Newman daily observe betwixt God and his own heart. Towards the close of his life he became more and more watchful. He became more fruitful towards God, as he approached nearer his heavenly Father's kingdom. His last sermon was from Job xiv. 4. *All the days of my appointed time will I wait, until my change come.* He felt sick immediately after his sermon, and in a few days closed his eyes in peace, saying, "Now, ye angels of the Lord Jesus Christ, come, and do your office." He died July 5, 1663, aged sixty-three years. He was a hard student, a lively preacher, remarkably charitable to the poor; and a person of invincible patience and constancy under numerous and painful trials.† He was author of "A Concordance to the Bible," a work well known at the present time.

SAMUEL STONE.—This very pious divine was born at Hertford, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. Having finished his studies at the university, he sojourned for some time in the house of the excellent Mr. Richard Blackerby. Here, while he received useful instructions from his venerable tutor, he imbibed his excellent spirit and principles. Afterwards, he became minister at Towcester in Northamptonshire, where his superior accomplishments and great industry were manifest to all. This, however, would not screen him from the oppressions of the times. He was an avowed, but modest nonconformist to the ecclesiastical impositions; and having no prospect of enjoying his liberty in his native country, he resolved to withdraw from the scenes of persecution, and retire to New England. He went in the same ship with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, and arrived in the year 1633; when he was chosen colleague to Mr. Hooker over

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 115, 116.

† Ibid. p. 114.

the church which they gathered in a new plantation, which they called Hartford. This church afterwards became famous in the new commonwealth.

Dr. Mather gives the following account of this holy and excellent man. He was godly, sober, and righteous, and could with truth appeal to God, and say, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee." He was remarkable for the observance of days of fasting and prayer, by which his spirit was wonderfully ripened for the heavenly inheritance. His conversation was grave, serious, and holy; and he was a most exact observer of the sabbath. The sermons which he intended to deliver on the Lord's day, he usually delivered in his own family on a Saturday evening. In his sermons, which were rather doctrinal, he handled the great points of divinity with admirable skill. He delivered them with an uncommonly nervous address, and concluded with a close and direct application to the hearts of the people: by his fervent prayers, his sound doctrine was turned into devotion.

Towards the close of life Mr. Stone was exercised with much trouble. A misunderstanding arose betwixt him and one of the elders of the church, which could not be rectified without the dismissal and removal of several pious members further up the country. It is not easy to conceive how extremely painful this was to his humble and holy soul. He, however, continued feeding the flock of God fourteen years with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him. In due submission to God, he was desirous to leave the world and be with Christ. Expressing his longing desires for heaven, he used to say, "Heaven is the more desirable for such company as Hooker, and Shepard, and Hains, who are got there before me."\* He died July 20, 1663. Mr. Stone was a pious, learned, and judicious divine, equally qualified for the confirmation of the truth and the refutation of error. His ministry was attended with the powerful demonstration and application of the truth. His views of church discipline were congregational.† He published "A Discourse upon the Logical Notion of a Congregational Church," of which Dr. Mather gives a very high character.

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 116—118.

† Merton's Memorial, p. 168.

THOMAS PATIENT was some time an independent minister in New England, where he embraced the sentiments of the baptists. This was probably the reason why he is not mentioned by Dr. Cotton Mather, who seems to have possessed a portion of that bigotry which disgraced some of his countrymen. Mr. Patient not being suffered to live quietly on the other side the Atlantic, came over to England about the commencement of the civil wars, and was chosen colleague with the excellent Mr. William Kiffin,\* pastor of the baptist church in Devonshire-square, London. Their names are united in the confession of faith published by the seven baptist churches in London, in 1644.† After this, he travelled about the country, and was very industrious in propagating his opinions. Crosby informs us, that he went over to Ireland with General Fleetwood, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, who, having displaced Dr. Winter, appointed Mr. Patient to preach in the cathedral of Dublin. He also preached at other places through the country.‡ In Dublin he became chaplain to Colonel John Jones, who married the sister of Oliver Cromwell, and was one of the lords of his house. Colonel Jones is described as a person lost in fanaticism; which, it is said, led him to prefer his favourite chaplain Patient, before the regular clergy. Accordingly, he was appointed to preach before Jones and the council, in Christ's-church, Dublin, every Lord's day. It appears, from Milton's State Papers, that Mr. Patient travelled into different parts of Ireland along with the English army: He dates a letter from the head-quarters, Kilkenny, April 15, 1650. Mr. Thomas has preserved the copy of a very excellent letter, dated Dublin, the 12th of the 4th month, 1656, addressed to the churches of Ilston and Llantrisant, in Glamorganshire; which is subscribed by Mr. Patient and many others, and contains much excellent advice.§ Crosby says, he was very instrumental in promoting the interests of the baptists in that country; and was probably the founder of the baptist church at Clough-Keating, which, at the time he wrote, was in a very flourishing state.||

We do not find in what year Mr. Patient returned to England, but it was, most probably, after the restoration. After his return, being chosen to the office of joint-elder with

\* A very interesting account of Mr. Kiffin has been lately published.—See Wilson's Hist. and Antiquities of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 400.

† Featley's Dippers Dipt, p. 177.

‡ Thurloe's State Papers, vol. iii. p. 90.—Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 43.

§ Thomar's MS. History, p. 14, 15.

|| Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 43.

Mr. Kiffin, he was set apart in Devonshire-square, June 28, 1666; Mr. Harrison and Mr. Knollys assisting on the occasion. In this office, however, he was not suffered to continue long, by reason of death; as appears from the following memorandum in the church-books belonging to that society:—“ July 30, 1666: Thomas Patient was, on the 29th instant, discharged by death from his work and office, he being then taken from the evil to come; and having rested from all his labours, leaving a blessed savour behind him of his great usefulness and sober conversation. This his sudden removal being looked upon to be his own great advantage, but the church's sore loss. On this day he was carried to his grave, accompanied by the members of this and other congregations, in a christian, comely, and decent manner.”\* Mr. Patient published nothing besides “*The Doctrine of Baptisme,*” 1654.

WILLIAM THOMPSON was a lively, powerful, and useful preacher, but much persecuted for nonconformity. He was preacher at some place in Lancashire; where, through a divine blessing upon his zealous and affectionate labours, many souls were converted to God. This worthy servant of Christ having endured manifold interruptions, he, to avoid the furious proceedings of the prelates, retired from the scenes of oppression and persecution; and, in the year 1637, he went to New England.†

Upon his arrival in the new plantation, he was chosen pastor of the church at Braintree, where he continued for many years in the faithful and successful discharge of his numerous ministerial duties. Some time after his settlement at Braintree, he was sent, by the churches of New England, with the glad tidings of the gospel, to Virginia. But the good effects of his mission became no sooner manifest than persecution was raised against him, and he was driven from the place by those who called themselves *The Church of England*.‡ The good man, therefore, returned to his stated charge at Braintree, where he continued the rest of his days.

Towards the close of life Mr. Thompson was deeply afflicted with melancholy; and was obliged, several of his last years, to relinquish all public ministerial exercises. It pleased

\* Wilson's Hist. and Antiq. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 432, 433.

† Morton's Memorial, p. 181.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 119.

God, however, in his last sickness, to remove the clouds of darkness from his mind, and to administer sweet consolation to his soul. He fell asleep in the Lord, December 10, 1666, in the enjoyment of great peace and comfort. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is peace." Mr. Thompson had so warm an affection for the welfare of his people, and was so ardently zealous in the propagation of the gospel among them, that he laid aside his own ease and worldly advantage, and wholly employed himself in promoting the salvation of their souls.\*

SAMUEL OATES, father to the infamous Titus Oates,† was a popular preacher among the baptists, and a fellow-labourer with Mr. Thomas Lamb, at the meeting-house in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London. Edwards, who is mostly angry with separatists from the established church, denominates him a weaver, and endeavours to place him in the most odious light. It appears, from this author, that he spent much time in travelling through different parts of the country, with the view of disseminating his opinions. Speaking of the county of Essex, he says, "Oates hath been sowing his tares and wild Oates in those parts these five weeks, without any controul, and hath seduced and dipped many in Bocking river; and when that is done, he hath a feast in the night, and then the Lord's supper. All these are the works of darkness." If Mr. Oates observed these things in the night, the fault, if there were any, was none of his. The intolerance of the times would not allow such exercises to be observed

\* Hist. of New England, p. 161.

† The following account is given of this man: He was restrained by no principle, human or divine: like Judas, he would have done any thing for *thirty shillings*, and was one of the most accomplished villains that we read of in history. He was successively an anabaptist, a conformist, and a papist; and then again a conformist. He had been chaplain on board the fleet, whence he was dismissed for an unnatural crime. He was a man of some cunning, more effrontery, and the most consummate falsehood. Soon after the accession of James II., he was convicted of perjury, upon the evidence of above *sixty* reputable witnesses. He was sentenced to pay a fine of *two thousand* marks; to be stripped of his canonical habit; to be whipped twice in three days by the common hangman; and to stand in the pillory at Westminster-hall gate, and at the Royal Exchange. He was, moreover, to be pilloried five times every year, and to be imprisoned during life. The hangman performed his office with uncommon rigour. The best thing James ever did was punishing Oates for his perjury; and the greatest thing Oates ever did was supporting himself under the most afflictive part of his punishment with the resolution and constancy of a martyr. The æra of Oates's plot was the grand æra of Whig and Tory.—*Granger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 201, 202, 348.

in the light of day. Crosby, alluding to the above circumstance, observes that, in the year 1646, Mr. Oates took a journey into Essex, preached in several parts of that county, and baptized by immersion great numbers of people, especially about Bocking, Braintree, and Terling. This made the presbyterians in those parts very uneasy; especially the ministers, who complained bitterly that such things should be permitted, and would have urged the magistrates to suppress them. "No magistrate in the country, however, dare meddle with him; for they say they have hunted such persons out of the country into their dens in London, and imprisoned some of them, but they have been released."\*

If any credit may be given to Mr. Edwards, the conduct of Mr. Oates and some others, in one of their excursions, was highly censurable. He says, "I was informed for certain, that, not long ago, Oates, an anabaptist, and some of his fellows, went their progress into Essex to preach and dip, and among other places they came to Billericay. On a Tuesday at a lecture kept there, Oates and his company, with some of the town, when the minister had done preaching, went up in a body, about twenty of them, (divers of them having swords,) into the upper part of the church, and there quarrelled with the minister that preached, pretending they would be satisfied about some things he had delivered, saying to him, he had not preached free grace. But the minister, one Mr. Smith, replied, if they would come to a place where he dined he would satisfy them; but it was not a time now to speak. Whereupon these anabaptists turned to the people, and said to them, they were under antichrist, and in antichrist's way," and more to the same purpose. After this they committed a riot in the town.†

The same author relates a circumstance in the life of Mr. Oates, that was attended with more serious consequences. "Last summer," says he, "I heard he went his progress into Surrey and Sussex, but now this year he is sent out into Essex. This Oates is a young lusty fellow, and hath traded chiefly with young women and young maids, dipping many of them, though all is fish that comes to his net. A godly minister of Essex, coming out of those parts, related, that he hath baptized a great number of women, and that they were called out of their beds to go a dipping in rivers, dipping many of them in the night, so that their husbands and masters could not keep them in their houses; and it is

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part ii. p. 3, 8.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 236.

† Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 106. Third edit.

commonly reported, that this Oates had for his pains ten shillings a piece for dipping the richer, and two shillings and six-pence for the poorer. He came very bare and mean into Essex, but, before he had done his work, was well lined, and grown pury. In the cold weather in March he dipped a young woman, one Ann Martin, whom he held so long in the water that she fell presently sick, and her belly swelled with the abundance of water she took in; and within a fortnight or three weeks died, and upon her death-bed expressed her dipping to be the cause of her death.\* The enemies of the baptists considered this as a fair opportunity for exercising their power to oppress them. Accordingly, for this, "and other misdemeanors, he was committed to Colchester jail, made fast in irons, and bound over to the next sessions at Chelmsford. The other crimes laid to his charge were these: 'That he had preached against the assessments of the parliament and the taxes laid upon the people, teaching them that the saints were a free people, and should contribute not by compulsion, but voluntarily; but now, contrary to this, they had assessment upon assessment, and rate upon rate.' That in his prayers he made use of this petition: 'That the parliament might not meddle with making laws for the saints, which Jesus Christ was to do alone.' Since his commitment," our author adds, "there hath been great and mighty resort to him in the prison. Many have come down from London in coaches to visit him; and I have a letter by me," says he, "from a minister in Colchester, wherein he writes thus: 'Oates, the anabaptist, hath had great resort to him in the castle, both of town and country; but the committee ordered the contrary last Saturday.'"

Mr. Oates was brought to trial April 7, 1646, and acquitted of the charge of murder; but the judge bound him to his good behaviour that for the future he should neither preach nor dip. This, however, had very little effect upon him; for, on the following Lord's day, he returned to his work as usual. Though Mr. Oates escaped with his life, the presbyterians were determined he should not go unpunished. "The people at Wethersfield," says Edwards, "hearing that Oates and some of his companions were come to the town, seized on them (only Oates was not in the company) and pumped them soundly. And Oates coming lately to Dunmow in Essex, some of the town hearing where he was, fetched him out of

\* Edwards's *Gangraena*, part ii. p. 121.

† *Ibid.* p. 122.

the house, and threw him into the river, thoroughly dipping him.”\*

Dr. Calamy gives an account of a public disputation, in which Mr. Oates was engaged with Mr. William Sheffield, a minister afterwards ejected. He says, “Mr. Oates, an anabaptist, coming into the country, disturbed several congregations, and dispersed public challenges to dispute with any minister or ministers upon the point of baptism. Several justices of the peace sent to Mr. Sheffield, desiring him to accept the challenge, and dispute the point with him in Leicester-castle. He yielded to their desire, and, by agreement, Sir Thomas Beaumont was moderator. At the entrance of the dispute, Mr. Sheffield openly protested that it was truth, and not victory, he was aiming at and pursuing; and that, therefore, if he could not answer the arguments that should be brought against him, or maintain the points he pretended to defend, against the opposition of his opponent, he would frankly acknowledge before them. He desired the same of Mr. Oates, who also agreed. The dispute continued three hours, and was managed with great fairness and temper. At length, Mr. Oates was gravelled with an argument, and yet loudly called on by the people present either to answer, or, according to promise, to confess he could not. Whereupon he frankly confessed that he could not at present answer it. The justices, at the breaking up of the meeting, obliged Mr. Oates to give his promise that he would no more disturb the congregations in that county.”†

Mr. Oates lived till after the restoration, when a place of considerable importance was offered him by the Duke of York. This temptation prevailed with him at first to conform; and he was presented to the living of Hastings in the county of Sussex. Afterwards, according to Crosby, his conscience smote him, and he left his living. Coming again among the nonconformists, he returned to Mr. Lamb's congregation, where he continued about five or six years, and died about the year 1666. The same author, who styles him “a popular preacher and a great disputant,” says he was minister to a baptist church in Lincolnshire.‡ Edwards charges Mr. Oates with

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 105, 106.

† Calamy's *Account*, vol. ii. p. 421, 422.—Such disputations as that now related, and many others mentioned in this work, are to be regarded only as a sort of religious duels, which can no more decide the equity of any cause than an appeal to the sword or pistol, and ought to be as much discountenanced among all denominations of christians.

‡ Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 60, 61.

the tenets of *arminianism*; and with having publicly declared in his sermon in Bell-alley, "That the doctrine of God's eternal election and predestination was a damnable doctrine."\* Bailie, on the other hand, charges him with propagating *antinomianism*.† These contradictory charges we shall not, however, attempt to reconcile. There is probably no more truth in either of them than there was in similar charges which they brought against his fellow-labourer, Mr. Lamb.‡

JOHN WILSON, A. M.—This excellent divine was born at Windsor, in the year 1588, and educated first at Eton school, then in King's college, Cambridge, where he was chosen fellow. While at Eton, he twice narrowly escaped being drowned. He was a youth of considerable talents, application, and improvement; and when the Duke of Biron, ambassador from the court of France, visited the school, he was appointed to deliver a Latin oration in his presence, of which this honourable person manifested his high approbation by making him a very handsome present. During his abode at Cambridge he became seriously concerned about his soul. This soon awakened in his breast the warmest desires for the welfare of others, especially the malefactors in prison, whom he assiduously visited and instructed. He remained for some time exceedingly bigoted to the established church, and decidedly averse to the puritans, as if they held many strange and erroneous opinions. He utterly declined their acquaintance; yet, on account of his precise deportment, he was denominated one of them. Afterwards, by reading some of their works, he saw cause for altering his opinion, and for thinking more favourably of them, when he formed an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Richard Rogers, Mr. Greenham, Mr. Dod, and others. He now saw, as our author observes, that they who were stigmatized by the name of puritans were the most suitable companions for one seriously concerned about his own salvation. He, therefore, embarked with them, though accounted the offscouring of all things, and united with several of his brethren in the university in keeping private meetings for prayer, fasting, and religious conversation.§

Hitherto he remained a conformist, but determined to examine the subject for himself. To this end he procured all

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 126. Second edit.

† Bailie's *Anabaptism*, p. 95.

‡ See Art. Thomas Lamb.

§ Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 41, 42.

the books in his power, both for and against conformity, and entered upon a minute and impartial examination of the arguments on both sides; the result of which was, that he cordially espoused the principles of the nonconformists. Mr. Wilson having, upon conviction, imbibed these sentiments, acted upon them, and omitted certain human impositions in the worship of God; for which the Bishop of Lincoln pronounced his expulsion from the university within fifteen days, if he did not conform. His father, Dr. William Wilson, rector of Cliff, and prebendary of St. Paul's, Rochester, and Windsor, used all the means in his power to bring him back to conformity, and interceded with the bishop to have a longer time allowed him. He sent his son to several learned doctors, with a view to have his scruples and objections removed; but this, instead of reclaiming him, only served to confirm him the more in his principles. His father then diverted his attention from the ministry, and directed him to the study of the law. He accordingly went to London, and spent about three years at one of the inns of court. All his father's efforts, nevertheless, proved ineffectual. He was still bent upon the ministry, and he could be satisfied with no other employment. Therefore, with the consent of his father, he returned to Cambridge, and, by the favour of the Earl of Northampton, obtained admission into Emanuel college without subscription.

Mr. Wilson, having finished his studies at the university, became chaplain in several respectable families; and after preaching about three years at Bumsted, Stoke, Clare, and Cavendish, in Suffolk, he was chosen to succeed old Mr. Jenkin, minister at Sudbury in that county. Here he preached with great acceptance and applause for several years; but was at length suspended by the Bishop of London; and after being restored, he was again silenced by the Bishop of Norwich. Afterwards, by the favour and mediation of the Earl of Warwick, he again obtained his ministerial exercise. But, as he found himself constantly exposed to fresh troubles, he resolved to withdraw from the scenes of persecution, and retire into a foreign land. Previous to his departure, visiting his father on his death-bed, the old gentleman thus addressed him:—"I have taken much care of thee," said he, "while thou wast at the university, because thou wouldst not conform. I fain would have brought thee to some higher preferment; but I see thy conscience is very scrupulous about some things imposed in the church. Nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see the grace

and fear of God in thy heart; and seeing thou hast hitherto maintained a good conscience, and walked according to thy light, do so still. Go by the rule of God's holy word, and the Lord bless thee."\* Previous to his departure from his native country, he married the pious daughter of Lady Mansfield.

In the year 1630, Mr. Wilson, together with a number of his friends, embarked for New England, where they arrived in the month of July. As the great object of these christian pilgrims, in leaving their native country and settling in this wilderness, was "to enjoy the ordinances of the gospel, and worship the Lord Jesus Christ according to his own institutions;" so they were no sooner arrived than Mr. Wilson, Governor Winthrop, and some others, entered into a formal and solemn covenant with each other, to walk together in the fellowship of the gospel. This covenant was as follows:—"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance, we whose names are here underwritten, being, by his most wise and good providence, brought together to this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves in one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as God shall give us grace."

"JOHN WINTHROP,  
THOMAS DUDLEY,

ISAAC JOHNSON,  
JOHN WILSON, &c."†

A foundation was thus laid of the church at Charlestown, in the Massachusetts colony. This was in July, immediately on their arrival; and in the month of August the court of government ordered, that a dwelling-house should be built for Mr. Wilson at the public expense, and the governor and Sir Richard Saltonstall were appointed to put the same into effect. By the same authority it was also ordered, that Mr. Wilson's salary, till the arrival of his wife, should be twenty pounds a year. However, before the following winter, he, with the greater part of the church, removed from Charlestown and settled at Trimountain,

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. p. 42—44.

† Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 46.

afterwards called Boston. This they found a more healthy and agreeable situation.\*

Some time after Mr. Wilson's settlement at Boston, he came over to England, when his wife, with many others, returned with him to the new plantation. He afterwards came to England a second time, and, upon his return, four ministers and nearly two hundred passengers accompanied him. He continued pastor of the church at Boston to the day of his death, and was greatly admired and beloved. The celebrated Dr. Ames used to say, "If I might have my choice of the best situation on this side heaven, I would be teacher to a congregational church of which Mr. Wilson was pastor." This happiness enjoyed Mr. Cotton, and after him Mr. Norton, in the church of Boston. He was a most exact and judicious preacher, especially in his younger years, and was greatly admired by Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and other celebrated divines. During the latter part of his life he took greater liberties; when his sermons chiefly consisted of exhortations, admonitions, and counsels, delivered with much warmth and affection.

He was a man of great piety, and uncommon charity and liberality, employing all his estate to supply the wants of the necessitous. Being of a sweet natural disposition, he was universally beloved, and accounted the very father of the new plantation. All the inhabitants of the town being once upon a general muster called together, a gentleman present thus observed to Mr. Wilson: "Sir," said he, "here is a mighty body of people, and there are not seven of them all who do not love Mr. Wilson." To which he replied, "Sir, I will tell you something as strange: There is not one among them all but Mr. Wilson loves."

Mr. Wilson was a man of a meek and quiet spirit, and always discovered a becoming resignation to the will of God. When at any time he sustained any outward losses, he quietly submitted himself to his heavenly Father's will. Having been once on a journey, a person of his acquaintance met him on the road and told him, saying, "Sir, I have bad news for you. While you have been abroad, your house is burnt down." To which he meekly replied, "Blessed be God: he has burnt down this house, because he intends to give me another." He vigorously opposed the antinomian and familistic errors in the synod of 1637, but too much favoured the prosecutions of the quakers and

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 39, 40.

baptists, by encouraging the magistrates to put the penal laws in execution against them. Indeed, this was the common error of those times.\*

Mr. Wilson, during his last sickness, was visited by all the neighbouring ministers, who took their final farewell with many tears. The elders of his own church also came to see him, when the venerable old man, after offering up a short prayer, lifted up both his hands, and blessed them, saying, "I am not likely to be long with you. The Lord pardon and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning lights by our doctrine and example. I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless all his churches, to bless all his people, all your families, all your wives, and all your children, and your children's children, and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and in good time bring us to enjoy it." As the hour of his departure approached, he lifted up his hands towards heaven and said, "I shall now soon be with my old friends, Dr. Preston, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibbs, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Ames, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norton, and my children and grandchildren in the kingdom of my God." And after offering a short and affectionate prayer, he died, August 7, 1667, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, having been pastor of the church at Boston thirty-seven years.+ During all the changes through which he lived, "he continued unmoved in his principles, full of faith and prayer, eminent for sincerity and humility, and highly distinguished for love and acts of kindness. He was eminently charitable in his deportment, orthodox in judgment, and holy in conversation; and few ever left the world so universally revered, beloved, and lamented."‡

ABRAHAM CHEARE was born at Plymouth; and being favoured with religious parents, he enjoyed a pious and useful education. He knew the scriptures from a child, and found constant delight in searching them. Having espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, he was baptized by immersion, and, about the year 1648, admitted a member of the baptist church at Plymouth. He was soon after called by the church to the office of pastor. He possessed eminent gifts and graces, and preached the gospel with great success. The Lord having owned and blessed his labours, the church, by its united efforts, purchased

\* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 44—46.

+ Ibid. p. 46—49

‡ Morton's Memorial, p. 183.

certain premises within the borough of Plymouth, near Frankford-gate, about the year 1651, and after making suitable alterations for their own convenience, they used the same for a place of public worship. Here they continued to assemble in peace and comfort till the fatal year 1662; when Mr. Cheare was apprehended, and cast into prison, for holding an unlawful conventicle. The church now became as sheep without a shepherd, surrounded with cruel and hungry wolves. The worthy pastor endured five years' confinement in six different prisons, and was at last banished, for a testimony of his love to Christ, to the island of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth; where he died a most happy death, March 5, 1668. The church, at the time of his death, consisted of one hundred and fifty members.\*

Crosby, by mistake, says he was *ejected* from Plymouth, and was afterwards minister to a numerous congregation at Looe in Cornwall. He was a very pious, laborious, and useful preacher; he took great pains in his ministry, and wrote many seasonable lessons to youth while he was in bonds for Christ. In the year 1665 he was imprisoned in the Guildhall, Plymouth; from whence, after a month's detention, he was sent to the above island. Previous to this removal he affixed the following lines to the wall of the prison :†

Nigh four years since, sent out from hence  
 To Exon goal was I;  
 But special grace, in three months' space,  
 Wrought out my liberty:  
 Till Bartholomew, in sixty-two,  
 That freedom did remain:  
 When, without bail, to Exon goal  
 I hurried was again.  
 Where having lain, as do all the slain,  
 'Mong dead men, wholly free;  
 Full three years' space, my native place  
 By leave I come to see.  
 And thought not then, I here again  
 A *month's* restraint should find:  
 Since to my den, cast out from men,  
 I'm during life design'd.  
 But since my lines, the Lord assigns  
 In such a lot to be;  
 I kiss the rod, confess my God  
 Deals faithfully with me.  
 My charged crime, in his due time  
 He fully will decide;  
 And until then, forgiving men,  
 In peace with him I 'bide.

\* Meen's MS. Collec. p. 494, 495.

† Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 12.

This excellent person, after suffering the most cruel usage, and enduring numerous inhumanities from merciless jailers, for more than three years, was continued a prisoner under military guard upon the foregoing island. On the Lord's day preceding his death, he addressed a christian lady, then all the family, in the following manner :

"Ah! sister," said he, "the Lord gave you a heart to own and profess him, his name, and ways early, when they were ways *every where spoken against*; and you have held up, and out, the profession thereof in a flourishing day, and now are concerned in, and with the same, in this hour of temptation, at which I beseech you be not affrighted or offended. You know how it fared with our Lord and Master, whom the religious, as well as the profane world, persecuted and expelled their coasts. *The servant is not above his master.* It is true, you have had the name of a gentlewoman, and of being descended of great parentage, and raised to great things on a worldly account: but keep these all under foot as you ought, and let that still be the song, *Worthy is the Lamb to receive power and riches, wisdom and strength, honour and glory, and blessing.* Oh! give up all to him, as Arauah of old, as a king to a king, so let the offering be given up cheerfully, and resignedly, entirely to him.

"I bless God, I have learned something of this in conversing with you, of your readiness and freeness heretofore and now to lay out for the Lord. Though I now go the way of all flesh; yet you know in all your hearts, and in all your souls, that we have none of us cause to be sorry or repent for what we have laid out for the Lord. And you, for your part, have heretofore entertained saints, yea, it may be angels, unawares. The Lord reward you for it; and the God, under whose wings you trust, be your great reward. But, oh! take heed your good be not evil spoken of; and that your table become not a trap, nor what was provided for good, turn to your hurt. I desire the Lord Jesus may teach you to look carefully about you, that you lose not the things you have wrought, but receive a full reward. I remember it is said of Abel, that though dead, he yet speaketh; and have thought that word, in a bad sense, looked at me and many others, who, while living, have been but dead speakers: but I am now hastening to another kind of death, where, after worms have consumed this flesh and bones, I may be brought forth as a living,

speaking witness in those words of mine, against such as slight the instruction of them."

He then gave thanks to God for the hope he possessed of eternal life through Jesus Christ, and warned his friends to improve the present dispensation, and the religious opportunities now afforded. He spoke, with the deepest concern, of the national guilt in persecuting God's faithful servants; and, with the strongest assurance and joy of the delight which God takes in his suffering saints, and the ample recompence with which he will crown their present sorrows. He then addressed his friends as follows:

"I charge you," said he, "in the name of the Lord Jesus, and as you will ever answer it at the great day, that you make religion your business, and that you make not godliness a slight thing, nor walking with God a small matter, as ever you hope to stand with boldness before God in judgment. God, indeed, hath taken strength from these arms of mine. I speak it not as if I murmured at it, or by way of discouragement, as if he could not, if it pleased him, raise dead bones, and of stones make children to Abraham."\*

This pious servant of God, having thus addressed those about him, desired them to lift up his arms, when he solemnly charged them, that they would, by lifting and holding up his hands, bear witness to it as his dying charge to them all. He pressed them to make it their great business the remainder of their days, to live to the praise and glory of the Lord Jesus, and in true obedience to his will. During nearly the whole of his illness, he continued glorifying God, and exhorted all who visited him to steadfastness and perseverance, notwithstanding the perils of the times. About three hours previous to his dissolution, a friend perceiving him under great pressures, said to him, "They looked unto the Lord, and were lightened: a right look will bring down relief under all difficulties." "Yea," replied he, with great earnestness, "and their faces were not ashamed;" after which he spoke no more, but fell asleep in the Lord.

Mr. Cheare, during his imprisonment, wrote many excellent letters to his friends, in which he warmly and affectionately exhorted them to holy constancy and steadfastness. One of these epistles was occasioned by certain

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 13—16.

provisions sent to him and his fellow-prisoners; and is dated the 22nd of the 9th month, 1667, and addressed, "Unto our brethren and friends, in the bonds and bowels of the gospel, whose hands have made them willing, under the bounteous influences of the God of Israel, to comfort the hearts of the unworthy prisoners of the Lord in Plymouth Island by a costly present; and to every one who hath contributed or helped therein to a tender groan, or the value of a cup of cold water, be a large recompence of reward given in grace, and ascertained in glory, by him who is not unfaithful to forget such labour of love shewed to his name." This letter, containing many pious and generous sentiments, is still preserved.\*

This holy man wrote several religious tracts, some of which were published after his death, entitled, "Words in Season;" to which was annexed the following account of the author:—"If any inquire," says the writer, "what might occasion so much severity as to detain the author a prisoner so many years, and till death? It may suffice to insert here, that he left the state of his case, under his hand, setting forth the illegality and unrighteousness of the proceedings against him. He never, in the former wars, was enlisted in any troop or company under pay; and in the trained-bands of the town where he served, never was accounted worthy of promotion; nor in the corporation, whereof he was a member, ever advanced so high as a constable; and never bettered his estate one farthing by all the propitious advantages that might have given him opportunity of so doing: nor was he conscious to himself of the least desire of adding to what he possessed, by any present or future advantages, to which any favourable overtures of the times might tempt him. He never improved his own interest in any place or office of trust or profit, civil, military, or ecclesiastical; save only for a few weeks, unknown to him, and against his will, he was made a chaplain to the fort, but quickly got himself discharged from it. Never was he concerned in, or truly charged with any plot, mutiny, or tumult, giving the least disturbance, occasion of fear, or jealousy. This then was the only thing that could give colour to such proceedings; that he, being convinced of his duty to his Lord, by the light of scripture, joined himself in a holy covenant, *to walk in all the ordinances of the Lord blameless*, to the best of his light and power, in fellowship with a poor and despised people."†

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 17—24.

† Ibid. p. 24—26.

**RICHARD MATHER.**—This excellent divine was born at Lowton in Lancashire, in the year 1596, and educated first at Winwick school in that county, then at Brazen-nose college, Oxford. Afterwards he was chosen minister and schoolmaster at Toxteth-park, near Liverpool. His first sermon was preached November 13, 1618, to a crowded assembly, and with great acceptance. He was ordained by Bishop Morton of Chester, who, at the close of the service, selected him from the rest who had been ordained, intimating that he wished to speak to him alone. Mr. Mather was afraid of some information on account of his puritanism; yet, when the bishop had called him from the rest of the company, he said, "I have an earnest request to make of you, sir, and you must not deny me. I know the prayers of men who fear God will avail much; and you I believe to be such a one. I therefore request that you would pray for me."

Mr. Mather entered upon his sacred charge with great zeal and fidelity. He preached twice every Lord's day at Toxteth, and delivered a lecture regularly at Prescot. This he did without interruption for fifteen years, until the month of August, 1633; when complaints were brought against him, and he was suspended for nonconformity. His suspension did not, however, continue very long; for in November following, by the kind intercession of several worthy friends, he was again restored. This awakened him to a close examination of the controversy about ecclesiastical matters, the result of which was, that he became more than ever dissatisfied with the established church, and fully persuaded that the principles and government of congregational churches was the model laid down in the New Testament.

This worthy divine did not, indeed, long enjoy his liberty. For, the next summer, Archbishop Neile of York,\* sending his visitors into Lancashire, he was again brought under the ecclesiastical censure. During his examination before his unmerciful judges, they would not suffer him to speak for himself; but proceeded to suspend him, without hearing what he had to say in his own defence. While his persecutors treated him with so much rashness and severity, he was enabled to exercise much wisdom,

\* It is observed that Archbishop Neile taught the people to pray for his predecessor after he was dead, on which account the king very seasonably admonished him for his inclinations to popery.—*Mather's Hist of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 125.—*Clark's Lives annexed to his Martyrologic*, p. 130.

prudence, and submission to the will of God. This appears from his own private memorial following:—"I have this to bless God for," says he, "that the terror of their threatenings, their pursuivants, and the rest of their pomp, did not terrify my mind: but I stood before them without being in the least daunted; and answered for myself, when permitted to speak, with that truth and soberness which the Lord put into my mouth, not fearing their faces. This supporting presence of the Lord I count not a much less mercy than if I had been altogether preserved out of their hands." When the pious ecclesiastics inquired how long he had been a minister, and being told fifteen years; they asked how long he had wore the surplice, and being informed that he had never wore it, "What," said one of them, with an oath, "preach fifteen years and never wear a surplice! It had been better for him if he had gotten seven bastards!!!"\*

Mr. Mather being again deprived of his liberty, and all means of obtaining his restoration proving ineffectual; and having no prospect of deliverance from the tyrannical sentence in future, he resolved to remove with his family to New England. He accordingly drew up his reasons, and presented them to his friends, who justified his conduct; and even his friends at Toxteth, who dearly loved and valued him, could not oppose the design. By transporting himself to the new continent, he said, "He should remove from a corrupt to a purer church:—from a place where the truth, and the professors of it, are persecuted, to a place of greater quiet and safety:—From a place where all the ordinances of God cannot be enjoyed, to a place where they may be enjoyed:—From a place where the discipline of the Lord Jesus Christ is wanting, to a place where it may be practised:—From a place where the ministers of God are unjustly prohibited from the exercise of their functions, to a place where they may freely execute the same:—And from a place where there are fearful signs of desolation, to a place where one may have a well-grounded hope of God's protection."†

He was further encouraged in the undertaking by letters which he received from Mr. Hooker and others, already settled in the new colony. In one of these letters, Mr. Hooker gave him the most flattering account, saying, "If I speak my own thoughts freely and fully, though there

\* Clark's Lives, p. 130.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 122—125. † Ibid.

are many places where men may expect and obtain greater worldly advantage; yet, I do believe, there is not a place on the face of the earth where a person of a judicious head and a gracious heart may receive greater spiritual good to himself, and do more temporal and spiritual good to others." Therefore, after taking leave of his numerous friends, he travelled to Bristol in disguise, to escape the hungry pursuivants, who sought to apprehend him; and sailed from thence May 23, 1635, and arrived at Boston the 17th of August following. Thus he was delivered from the persecution with which he was exercised while in his native country.

When the ship in which he sailed arrived on the coast of New England, they were involved in a most tremendous hurricane, and in the utmost danger of being lost. Mr. Mather, in his journal of the 15th of August, after giving a circumstantial and very affecting account of the danger, observes: "In this extremity and appearance of death, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have mercy upon us. By his overruling-providence, he guided the ship, and assuaged the violence of the sea and the wind. The Lord on that day granted us as wonderful a deliverance, I think, as ever any people enjoyed; and the seamen confessed they never knew the like. I hope we shall not forget it to our dying day. During the whole of the storm my fear was the less when I considered the clearness of my call from God. In some measure, the Lord gave us hearts to be content and willing that he should do with us and ours as he pleased, and as might be most for his glory: and here we rested. But when the news was brought that the danger was over, oh! how our hearts did melt within us. We burst into tears of joy and love to our gracious God, and in admiration of his marvellous deliverance."\*

The year after his arrival, Mr. Mather was chosen pastor of the church newly formed at Dorchester, where he continued all the rest of his days. He was a man of most exemplary piety and diligence. His excellent spirit and character may be seen from the following instrument, which, about this time, he threw up or renewed for his own private use:†

"Promises made to God, by me, Richard Mather.

1. "Touching my ministry.—That I will be more painful

\* Clark's Lives, p. 130.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 126. † Ibid. p. 127.

and diligent in private preparation, by reading, meditation, and prayer.—That in and after preaching I will earnestly strive against inward pride and vain-glory.—That before and after preaching I will seek unto the Lord for his blessing upon his word, more carefully than in time past.

2. “Touching my family.—That I will be more frequent in religious discourse with those in my house, and be more careful in catechizing my children.

3. “Touching myself.—That I will strive more against worldly cares and fears, and the inordinate love of worldly things.—That I will be more frequent and regular in private prayer.—That I will practise more seriously and frequently the duty of self-examination.—That I will strive against carnal security and excessive sleeping.—That I will strive against vain jangling and the misspending of time.

4. “Touching others.—That I will be more careful and zealous to do good to their souls by private instructions, exhortations, and reproofs.—That I will be ready to do offices of kindness and love, not for the praise of men, or to purchase commendation, but out of conscience to the command of God.

“Renewed with a profession of my own inability, and a desire that I may fetch power from Christ, to live upon him, and act from him in all spiritual duties. June 15, 1636.

“RICHARD MATHER.”

Such were the promises and engagements into which this pious divine entered. He was resolved, by the help of the Lord, to devote his time, his talents, and his all, to the honour of his God and the welfare of immortal souls. Mr. Mather preached his last sermon from 2 Tim. iv. 6—8. *The time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight. I have finished my course, &c.* He was presently after seized with a total obstruction of urine. Though he laboured under extreme pain, he was a pattern of patience to all beholders. He never murmured, and seldom groaned, but resigned himself to the will of God. Being asked how he did, he meekly answered, “Far from well, yet better than mine iniquities deserve.” When his son reminded him of the Lord’s goodness and faithfulness towards him all his days, he immediately replied, “Yes, I must acknowledge the mercy of God hath been very great towards me all my life; but I must also acknowledge, that I have had many failings, and the thoughts of them abaseth

me, and worketh patience in me." Being desirous to be carried into his study, where, he observed, "his books wanted him," his friends endeavoured to help him: but finding himself unable to bear the fatigue, he said, "I see I am not able. I have not been in my study for several days. Is it not a lamentable thing that I should lose so much time?" His son, perceiving the symptoms of death upon him, said, "If there be any thing which you would have me to do, in case the Lord should spare me, and take you to heaven, I wish you to mention it." After pausing a little, with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he said, "That which I would commend to you is, the care of the rising generation, that they may be brought under the government of Christ; and that, when grown up and qualified, they and their children be baptized. I must confess I have been defective in practice; yet I have publicly declared my judgment, and manifested my desires to practise that which I think ought to be attended to; but the dissenting of some in our church discouraged me. I have thought that persons might have a right to baptism, and not to the Lord's supper; and I see no cause to alter my judgment." His extreme pain continued to the last; and he died April 22, 1669, aged seventy-three years. According to our historian, "he was a man of most exemplary piety, an excellent scholar, and a plain, judicious, and majestic preacher, shooting the arrows of divine truth into the hearts of his hearers."\* Wood denominates him "a pious man, and a zealous and laborious preacher;" and adds, "that he was much followed by the precise party," as he in contempt styles them; but "that he was a severe Calvinist, and no friend to the church of England."†

A copy of Mr. Mather's last will and testament, dated October 16, 1661, is still preserved; the conclusion, which is an address to his children, is worthy of being transmitted to posterity.—"I think it not amiss," says he, "for the spiritual good of my children, to lay upon them the solemn charge of a dying father; that none of them, after my decease, may presume to walk in any way of sin, or in a careless neglect of God, and the things of God, and their own salvation by Christ. For if they shall do so, (which God forbid,) then, and in such case, I do hereby testify unto them, that their father who begat them, and their mother

\* Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 127, 129.

† Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 305, 306.

who bore them, with all the prayers which they have offered up, and tears which they have shed for them; their example, their admonitions, and their exhortations, which they have delivered to them, together with this my last will and solemn charge; all these will rise up against them, as so many testimonies for their condemnation at the last day. But I hope better things of them; and do hereby declare unto them, that if they shall seriously repent of their sins, believe in the Lord Jesus, and by his grace walk in all the ways of God, as this will be to the honour and glory of him who made them, so it will redound to their own unspeakable comfort and benefit, both in this and another world: and their father who now speaketh to them, with their dear mother, now with God, shall exceedingly rejoice in the day of Christ, when we shall receive our children into those everlasting habitations; and shall, not ourselves only, but those who came out of our bowels, enjoy their portion in that eternal glory. I desire and hope it may be so. I commend them all to the Lord's gracious blessing; and let the blessing of God in Jesus Christ be poured out and remain upon them all for evermore, amen."\*

Mr. Mather was twice married. His first wife was the pious daughter of Edward Holt, esq. of Bury in Lancashire, and his second wife the widow of Mr. John Cotton. He had four sons employed in the ministry, all eminent in their day. Nathaniel, Samuel, and Increase were preachers in England, and all ejected by the fatal Act of Uniformity, in 1662.+ His son Eleazer was pastor of the church at Northampton in New England, where he died a few months after his father. The celebrated Dr. Cotton Mather, well known by his historical and other writings, was his grandson.

His WORKS.—1. A Discourse on the Church Covenant, 1643.—2. An Answer to Thirty-two Questions, 1643.—3. Answer to Mr. Charles Herle and to Mr. Samuel Rutherford, wherein is defended the Congregational Way of Church Government, and how it differs from the Presbyterian, 1646.—4. An Heart-melting Exhortation, together with a Cordial of Consolation, presented in a Letter from New England to his Countrymen in Lancashire, 1650.—5. A Catechism, 1650.—6. A Treatise of Justification, 1652.—7. A Defence of the Churches of New England.—8. A Farewell Exhortation to the Church and People at Dorchester, consisting of seven Directions. —He had a principal hand in drawing up "The Platform of Church Discipline, agreed unto by the Elders and Messengers of the Churches assembled in the Synod at Cambridge in New England, in the year 1648."

\* Clark's Lives, p. 137.

† Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 4, 245, 355.

**ZACHARIAH SYMES** was born at Canterbury, April 5, 1599, and received his education at Cambridge. He descended from worthy and pious ancestors, who opposed the progress of idolatry, and favoured the gospel, during the persecutions of Queen Mary. He trod in the steps of his forefathers; was pious from a child, averse to superstitious novelties in divine worship, and a sufferer for nonconformity. After finishing his studies at the university, he was employed by several persons of quality as tutor to their children; yet not without molestation from the prelates. In the year 1621 he was chosen lecturer at St. Antholin's church, London; where he met with many troubles from the ecclesiastical courts, for refusing to observe certain rites and ceremonies contrary to the convictions of his conscience. He was, at length, obliged to leave the place, when he removed, in 1625, to Dunstable; but there his persecutors followed him. He was often summoned to appear in the bishops' courts, and interrupted in his ministry; and seeing no prospect of better days in his own country, he withdrew from the cruel persecution, in the year 1635, and fled to New England. Upon his arrival in the new colony he was chosen teacher to the church at Charlestown, of which Mr. James was pastor, where he continued the remainder of his days. He was a man of excellent abilities, integrity, and zeal, and a reverend and laborious preacher.\* He died February 4, 1670, in the seventy-first year of his age. Mr. Symes being invited to assist in the formation of a christian church at Woburn in New England, it is said, "he continued in preaching and prayer about *four or five hours.*"† He appears, however, to have exercised some degree of severity against the baptists.‡

**JOHN DAVENPORT, B. D.**—This learned divine was born at Coventry, in the year 1597, and educated first in Merton college, then in Magdalen-hall, Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he was called to preach in London, where his rare ministerial endowments, and his pious courage in visiting the sick during the raging of the plague, soon brought him into public notice. His sermons were distinguished by the labour with which they were prepared, and by the gravity, the energy, the plea-

\* Hist. of New Eng. p. 70.—Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 131, 132.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 110.

‡ Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 362.

santness, and the engaging elocution with which they were delivered. His very enemies allowed him to be an excellent preacher; and by his midnight studies, and his uncommon industry, he obtained the just reputation of a universal scholar.

About the year 1626 Mr. Davenport was chosen one of the feoffees for buying impropriations; but Bishop Laud, looking with great jealousy upon the undertaking, lest it should become the nursery of puritanism, put an effectual stop to it. This he did, to the great grief of all good people, and the lasting reproach of his own character. About the same time Mr. Davenport, by a conference with Mr. Cotton, became an avowed, but a peaceable nonconformist. Soon after his removal to London he became vicar of St. Stephen's church, Coleman-street, where he continued some years. Here his preaching, with that of Mr. Norton's, was instrumental in the conversion of the excellent Mr. Kiffin.\* In the year 1631 he was convened before Bishop Laud, by whose arbitrary proceedings he was afterwards driven into Holland.† He was also convened before the high commission as a notorious delinquent, only for uniting with some other worthy persons in promoting a private subscription for the poor distressed ministers of the Palatinate, even after public collections failed.‡ Previous, however, to his departure for Holland, finding himself in danger, he called together the principal people of his charge, desiring their opinion and advice; when he acknowledged their right to him as their pastor, and declared that no danger should drive him from any service which they required or expected from him. But with a noble disinterestedness of soul, which reflected great honour upon them, and demonstrated their tender affection, they relieved him from his scruples of conscience; and, though aware of their own loss, they advised him to resign his office for his own safety. Having sent in his resignation, instead of enjoying the peace and quietness which he expected, he found himself more officiously watched than ever, being continually hunted by hungry pursuivants. Therefore, in the year 1633, he fled from the storm and retired to Holland, where he was immediately chosen co-pastor with Mr. John Paget to the English church at Amsterdam.§

\* Wilson's Hist. and Antiq. of Dissenters, vol. i. p. 404, 403.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 526.

‡ Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 164.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iiii. p. 51—53.

Mr. Davenport did not, however, enjoy much comfort in this new situation. His objections against the promiscuous admission of children to the ordinance of baptism excited considerable opposition; and he soon found that he must baptize children when there was no charitable evidence of their belonging to christian parents, or give up his pastoral relation to the church. Therefore, in the year 1635, he resigned his charge, and opened a catechetical exercise at his own lodgings every Lord's day evening, after the public services of the city were over. But the popularity of his talents soon collecting great numbers, increased the jealousy and opposition of the contrary party. He then returned to England, saying, "that he thought God had carried him to Holland on purpose to bear witness against that promiscuous baptism, which bordered on a profanation of the holy ordinance." He used to observe, that when the reformation of the church had been effected in any age or country, it was seldom advanced beyond the improvements of the first reformers; and that it was as easy to remove Noah's ark from Ararat, as to persuade people to proceed beyond the first remove of their leaders.\* This coincides with the just observation of the celebrated Mr. John Robinson. "The Calvinists," said he, "stick just where John Calvin left them."

Mr. Davenport had long been a warm friend to New England. He took an active part with some others in obtaining the patent of Massachusetts colony. His purse and his time had been employed to promote the advantage of the new plantation, even before his departure to Holland. This now seemed to be the only field in which he could carry his ideas of ecclesiastical reformation to their full extent. About the same time Mr. Cotton, of Boston in New England, wrote to him, saying, "that the order of the churches and commonwealth was now so settled in that country, that it reminded him of the new heaven and new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness," which led him to determine to cross the Atlantic. Therefore, in the year 1637, Mr. Davenport, with several eminent christians and their families, went over to New England. Among these adventurers were Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, two London merchants, men of good estates, and highly celebrated for wisdom and piety. The Oxford historian, by mistake, therefore observes, that Mr. Davenport did not return from Holland till after

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 51—53.

the commencement of the civil wars, when he came to England, and obtained a benefice in the church; but afterwards went to New England.\*

When this learned divine fled to New England, with a view to escape the storm of persecution in his own country, Archbishop Laud said, "My arm shall reach him there;" but whether the cruel oppressions of this arbitrary prelate were, in this instance, equally extensive as his wishes, appears extremely doubtful.† Upon the arrival of Mr. Davenport and his friends, they found the colony deeply agitated by the antinomian and familistic errors, which, by the influence of a bold woman, had shaken the pillars of the government, and threatened the existence of the churches. She held public assemblies in her own house, and expounded the scriptures to all who came. Mr. Davenport arrived just before the famous synod at Cambridge, appointed to consider the errors that were then propagated. His assistance and influence on this occasion were peculiarly seasonable. In the conclusion, he was appointed to announce the result of the synod, when he preached a sermon from Phil. iii. 15., in which, it is said, "he shewed the occasion of differences among christians, and, with much wisdom and sound argument, persuaded the people to unity."‡

In the month of March, 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, and Mr. Eaton, brother to the above person of this name, removed, with many families, from Massachusetts, intending to form a new settlement at Quinipioke. They had formed a high opinion of the situation, and expected there to escape the power of a general governor, whom they feared would soon be sent over. The good people of Massachusetts parted very reluctantly with these valuable brethren. Charlestown made them large offers to induce them to settle there. Newbury generously offered them their whole town, and the legislature kindly offered them any place they should choose, which had not been already granted. But Quinipioke, which they now called New Haven, was the spot on which they resolved to fix their station, and no allurements could divert their attention from it. The first public service observed in this new plantation was on Lord's day, April 18, 1638, under a large spreading oak. Mr. Davenport preached from Matt. iii. 1. on the temptations of the wilderness. Here he endeavoured to

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 334.

† Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 348.

‡ Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 71.

establish a civil and religious order more strictly according to the word of God, than he had seen exhibited in any other part of the world. He was an original genius, and the plan he adopted was his own; and, our author adds, "if success be any evidence of merit, he certainly has high claims to the veneration and gratitude of nations."\* There the famous church of New Haven, as also the neighbouring towns, enjoyed his ministry, his discipline, his government, and his *universal direction* for many years. The holiness, the watchfulness, and the usefulness of his ministry, are worthy of the remembrance of all who would set before them an example of ministerial excellence. His attention and influence extended to all the churches. He was a man of much devotion; and he used to say, "ejaculatory prayer is like arrows in the hands of the mighty; and happy is the man who hath his quiver full of them."

Mr. Davenport was scrupulously careful in the admission of persons to the Lord's table. To promote church-purity was one important object of his life. It was a fixed principle with him, that no person should be admitted a member of a church who does not make such a profession of faith as the church may in discretion conclude he is in a state of salvation. He was persuaded that there are many rules in the word of God, by which it will appear who are saints, and by which those who admit others to gospel ordinances are to be guided; so as to separate between the precious and the vile. This, indeed, is no more than all sects and even individuals claim for themselves. The only difference is, they do not all fix on the same standard for the admission of members. Mr. Davenport had the same right to his terms of communion that other men have to theirs. He thought too much caution could not be used, where some persons might think very little to be necessary. His own words are these: "The officers and brethren of churches are but men, who judge by outward appearance; therefore, their judgment is fallible, and hath been deceived, as in the reception of Ananias, Sapphira, and Simon Magus. Their duty is to proceed as far as possible by rule, with due moderation and gentleness, to try those who offer themselves to church fellowship, whether they be true believers. And when they have done all, hypocrites will creep in."†

Mr. Davenport continued at New Haven till the year

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 69, 71.

† Mather's Hist. b. iii. p. 54, 55.

1667, when his fame was so great in all the churches, that he was invited to Boston, even in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to succeed a Cotton, a Norton, and a Wilson. He remained in this new situation only till March 15, 1670, when, by a fit of apoplexy, he was called to his everlasting rest. He was seventy-two years old, and his remains were interred in the same tomb with those of Mr. Cotton. He was a great scholar, an admirable preacher, and a man of exemplary piety. He was so remarkably diligent in his studies, that the Indians used to call him, *The big study man.*\* And even Archbishop Laud denominates him "a most religious man, who fled to New England for the sake of a good conscience.† He was a millenarian in sentiment; being fully persuaded of Christ's personal reign upon the earth for a thousand years. He was, nevertheless, one of the greatest men that New England ever enjoyed.‡ Mr. Oxenbridge, ejected in 1662, succeeded him as pastor of the church at Boston.§

**His Works.**—1. A Letter to the Dutch Classis, containing a just Complaint against an unjust Doer, 1634.—2. Certain Instructions delivered to the Elders of the English Church deputed, which are to be propounded to the Pastors of the Dutch Church in Amsterdam, 1634.—3. A Report of some Passages or Proceedings about his Calling to the English Church in Amsterdam, against John Paget, 1634.—4. Allegations of Scripture against the Baptizing of some kind of Infants, 1634.—5. Protestation about the Publishing of his Writings, 1634.—6. An Apologetical Reply to the Answer of W. B., (William Bradshaw,) 1636.—7. The Profession of the Faith of the Reverend and Worthy Divine Mr. John Davenport, sometimes Preacher at Stephen's, Coleman-Street, London: made publicly before the Congregation at his Admission into one of the Churches of God in New England, 1642.—8. A Catechism containing the chief Heads of the Christian Religion, 1659.—9. The Saints Anchor-hold in all Storms and Tempests, 1661.—10. The Power of Congregational Churches asserted and vindicated, 1672.—11. An Essay for Investigation of the Truth.—12. Several Sermons and some other articles.

**CHARLES CHAUNCEY, B. D.**—This learned divine was the fifth and youngest son of George Chauncey, esq.; born at Yardley-Bury in Hertfordshire, in the year 1589,|| and

\* Mather's Hist. p. 56. † Laud's Ans. to Lord Say's Speech, p. 47.

‡ Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. ii. p. 370.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 299.

|| He is said to have been born in the year 1592. He was great uncle to Sir Henry Chauncey, author of "The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire;" and descended from a family which came to England with William the Conqueror.—*Biographia Britannica*, vol. iii. p. 482—484. Edit. 1778.

educated at Westminster school, then in Trinity college, Cambridge; where he took his degrees, was chosen Greek lecturer, and fellow of the college. In the year 1627 he became vicar of Ware, in his native county, and afterwards minister at Marston-Lawrence in Northamptonshire.\* At each of these places his labours were made a blessing to many souls; "for the hand of the Lord was with him, and a great number believed and turned unto the Lord." Upon the publication of the Book of Sports, under the direction of Laud, Mr. Chauncey was prohibited preaching on the Lord's day afternoon, that the people might have the better opportunity for their profane sports. He then catechized all, both old and young, who would come to him. "This," said the bishop, "*was as bad as preaching!*"†

Most of the puritan divines were now treated with the utmost cruelty. Bishop Laud was determined to bring them to an exact conformity, or stop their mouths, or cast them into prison, or drive them out of the land. Mr. Chauncey did not escape the vengeance of this tyrannical prelate. In January, 1629, he was questioned in the high commission court for having used the following expressions in his sermon:—"That idolatry was admitted into the church; that not only the prophets of Baal, but Baal himself, was received, and houses multiplied for their entertainment; and that the preaching of the gospel would be suppressed. That there wanted men of courage to remind their superiors of their neglect, and that there was a great increase of atheism, heresy, popery, and arminianism in the church." To the charges founded upon these expressions, Mr. Chauncey gave his answer upon oath in the high commission, in the month of April following. The next day, the cause, by order of the court, was referred to the decision of Bishop Laud. This was on condition, that, if Mr. Chauncey did not submit to observe what the bishop should appoint, his lordship might, if he pleased, refer him back to be censured in the high commission. But he is said to have made his submission to the bishop.‡

This, however, was not the end of his troubles. For in 1635 he was again prosecuted in the high commission for opposing the railing in of the communion table at Ware; when he was suspended, cast into prison, condemned in costs, and obliged to make the following degrading recantation:

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 904.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 94.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 134, 135.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. ii. p. 34.

“Whereas I, Charles Chauncey, clerk, late vicar of Ware, in the county of Hertford, stand, by sentence of this honourable court, legally convicted for opposing the setting of a rail about the communion table in the chancel of the parish church of Ware, with a bench thereunto affixed, for the communicants to resort unto, and to receive the blessed sacrament there, kneeling upon their knees, saying it was an innovation, a snare to men’s consciences and a breach of the second commandment, an addition to the Lord’s worship, and that which hath driven me out of the town. I, the said Charles Chauncey, do here, before this honourable court, acknowledge my great offence in using the said invective words, and am heartily sorry for them. I protest, and am ready to declare by virtue of mine oath, that I now hold, and am persuaded in my conscience, that kneeling at the receiving of the holy communion is a lawful and commendable gesture; and that a rail set up in the chancel of any church by the authority of the ordinary, with a bench thereunto affixed for the communicants to repair unto, to receive the holy communion kneeling, is a decent and convenient ornament for that purpose, and this court conceiveth, that the rail set up lately in the parish church of Ware, with the bench affixed, is such a one. And I do further confess, that I was much to blame for opposing the same, and do promise, from henceforth, never, by word or deed, to oppose either that or any other the laudable rites and ceremonies prescribed and commanded to be used in the church of England.

“CHARLES CHAUNCEY.”\*

This submission is said to have been forced from Mr. Chauncey, and designed only to deter others from opposing the archbishop’s innovations. After he had made this disgraceful recantation in the open court, the archbishop judicially admonished him “to carry himself peaceably and conformably to the doctrine, the discipline, and rites and ceremonies of the church of England; and that, in case he should be brought before them again for any similar

\* This prosecution was procured chiefly by the tyrannical power and influence of Laud; and when Dr. Merrick, counsel to Mr. Chauncey, endeavoured to vindicate his client, because the setting up of the rail was done by a few parishioners, and without any warrant from those in authority, the archbishop, in a rage, threatened to suspend the doctor from his practice, for pleading thus in his favour.—*Prynne’s Cant. Doome*, p. 93, 95, 96.—*Rushworth’s Collect.* vol. ii. p. 316.

offence, the court intended to proceed against him with all severity ;” and so dismissed him.\*

Though Mr. Chauncey was overcome in the hour of temptation ; and enforced, by the terrors and censures of his cruel oppressors, to make the above recantation, he afterwards felt the bitterness of it, and deeply bewailed his sinful compliance. Though he obtained forgiveness of God, he never forgave himself as long as he lived. He often expressed a holy indignation against himself, as well as the superstitious innovations in the church. He was a most exemplary man, and lived a most holy life ; yet, at the time of his death, nearly forty-years after, he made the following humiliating declaration in his last will and testament :— “ I do acknowledge myself to be a child of wrath, and sold under sin, and one who hath been polluted with innumerable transgressions and mighty sins ; which, as far as I know and can call to remembrance, I keep still fresh before me, and desire, with mourning and self-abhorrence, still to do, as long as life shall last ; and especially my so many sinful compliances with, and conformity unto, vile human inventions, and will-worship, and hell-bred superstitions, and other evil things patched to the service of God, with which the *English mass-book*, I mean the Book of Common Prayer, is so fully fraught.”† Our author further observes, that there were very few who suffered more for nonconformity, by fines, by jails, by necessities to abscond, and at last by an exile from his native country.

At length he withdrew from these perils and tribulations and went to New England, where he arrived January 1, 1638. There he preached for some time, and with great applause, at Plymouth ; and would have been chosen pastor of the church, had not his peculiar sentiments hindered his settlement. He was of opinion, “ that the Lord’s supper ought to be administered in the evening, and every Lord’s day ; and that baptism ought only to be by dipping or plunging the whole body under water, whether in the case of children or adults.”‡ Afterwards, he became pastor of the church at Scituate, where he continued twelve years a zealous and faithful labourer in the vineyard of the Lord. At the time of his settlement, in his discourse to the congregation, reflecting upon his sinful compliance with the arbitrary and superstitious demands of the high commission,

\* Prynne’s Cant. Doome, p. 96, 494.

† Mather’s Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 135.

‡ Backus’s Hist. of New Eng. Bap. vol. i. p. 115, 145.

he said, with tears in his eyes, "Alas! my soul hath been defiled with false worship; and how wonderful is the free grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, that I am still employed to labour in his vineyard."\*

When the episcopal power was destroyed in England, and his friends at Ware invited him to return, he came as far as Boston with a view of returning to England. There he was interrupted by the overseers of Harvard college, who, being very unwilling that the country should lose so valuable a person, pressed him to accept the office of president of the college, in the room of Mr. Henry Dunster, removed for his antipædobaptist sentiments. Mr. Chauncey yielded to their earnest and repeated importunities, and spent the rest of his days in the education of the youth of the country. He continued his labours to the very last, even when his years and infirmities required a recess. When he was desired to spare himself, he replied, "It behoveth a general to die on the field; and I should be glad to die in the pulpit." However, finding himself at last almost worn out, he delivered a farewell oration in the college, in which he took his solemn leave of his friends, and died February 19, 1671, aged seventy-two years, having been president seventeen years. In his last sickness he was speechless; but as the hour of his departure approached, Mr. Urian Oakes, who had been praying with him, desired him to give some sign of his assurance of future glory; when the speechless old man lifted up both his hands as high as he could towards heaven, and then expired. He was a man of most exemplary piety, an admirable preacher, an excellent scholar, and an indefatigable student, even in old age. He rose at four o'clock in the morning, winter and summer; and after spending about an hour in his closet, he visited the college, prayed with the students, expounded a chapter out of the original Hebrew, and, in the evening, prayed and expounded a chapter out of the Greek. His natural temper was rather hasty and passionate, but, by watchfulness and prayer, he was enabled to bring it into the obedience of Christ. He had six sons, Isaac, Ichabod, Barnabas, Nathaniel, Elnathan, and Israel, all ministers.† His son Isaac was ejected by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.‡ Mr. Chauncey was author of "Sermons on Justification;" and "Antisynodalia Americana."

\* Mather's Hist. p. 136.

† Ibid. p. 136—140.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 380.

**JOHN ALLEN.**—This very pious divine was born in the year 1596, and educated, probably, in the university of Cambridge. He was a hard student, a good scholar, an excellent preacher, a grave and pious divine, and a man of a most humble, heavenly, and courteous behaviour, full of sweet christian love to all; earnestly, and with much meekness of spirit, contending for the faith and peace of Christ. All these excellencies, however, were insufficient to screen him from the persecutions of the times. Though it does not with certainty appear at what place he was settled, after his removal from the university, he bore his share of sufferings with the holy and zealous puritans of those times. A divine of his name, and probably the same person, was minister at Ipswich, who, during the oppressions of Bishop Wren, voluntarily departed from his cure, and went to London.\* Having no prospect of better days, or of enjoying rest from persecution, he went, with many others, to New England, where he arrived about the year 1637. Soon after his arrival he was chosen pastor of the church of Dedham, where he continued, much beloved and very useful, all the rest of his days. He died greatly lamented, August 26, 1671, aged seventy-five years. His flock published his last two sermons; the one from Cant. viii. 5., *Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning on her beloved*: and the other from John xiv. 22., *Peace I leave with you*. In their preface to these sermons, written with tears of grief, they denominate him “a constant, faithful, diligent steward in the house of God, a man of peace and truth, and a burning and shining light.” He published “A Defence of the Nine Positions;” and “A Discourse in Defence of the Synod held at Boston in the year 1662.” He, with the assistance of Mr. Thomas Shepard, wrote upon “Church-reformation.”†

**THOMAS GRANTHAM** was a faithful and laborious minister of Christ, born in the year 1634. He feared the Lord from his youth, and, about the age of nineteen, he joined the baptist church at Boston in Lincolnshire. Having obtained favour of the Lord, he had a good reputation in the church of God, and soon discovered his abilities for making known the gospel to others. In the prosecution of

\* Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 96.

† Hist. of New Eng. p. 115, 125.—Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. fii. p. 132, 133.

his work he had the honour to be classed among the sufferers for Christ and his cause; for he soon became the object of cruel persecution, and was cast into Lincoln jail, where he continued some time, during which period he wrote his first piece, entitled, "The Prisoner against the Prelate." This book contains the reasons of his separation from the church of England; and, though it is written in verse, the argument is said to be close and nervous.

Crosby says, there is extant a manuscript of Mr. Grantham's, entitled, "Christianitas restaurata, or Christianity restored;" from which it appears, that, about the year 1644, there was a reformed christian church gathered in the south marshes of Lincolnshire, the members of which endured great persecution, in their names and substance, by slanders and confiscations; because they could not in conscience conform in all points to the national establishment. These pious and holy people, being zealous in the service of God, firmly adhered to the holy scriptures, and readily carried forwards the work of reformation. At length a separation took place in the society, when four of the members, who had espoused the sentiments of the baptists, formed themselves into a distinct society. Among these Mr. Grantham exercised his gifts privately, and procured ministers to dispense the word to them publicly. By the blessing of God upon their co-operation, the society soon increased in number; and, in the year 1656, Mr. Grantham was chosen to the pastoral office, though he was only twenty-two years of age.

This christian society, being settled in the order of the gospel, like a fruitful vineyard, grew and multiplied, and sent forth several ministers to preach the gospel. While these zealous christians were respected by the friends of true piety, they met with uncivil and unkind usage from others, particularly the bigoted clergy; who, by warrants, carried Mr. Grantham and several others before the magistrates; but having only falsehood to support their accusations, the wisdom of the magistrates soon perceived their innocence, as well as the malice of their persecutors, and immediately set them at liberty. Their release was no small reproach to their adversaries, and comfort to themselves. They went on cheerfully and prosperously, not only at Halton, but at many other places, though they received much rude treatment from those of the baser sort, who sometimes dragged them out of doors, and stoned them with stones; all of which they received with patience and

meekness. At length they obtained the use of Northholm chapel, where they remained some years, enduring the scoffs and frowns of their enemies. In this situation Mr. Grantham and his brethren had many seals to their ministry, among whom was Mr. John Watts, a person of great repute, who had been educated at the university; but who could not conform to the national establishment, and therefore became pastor of a baptist church which assembled in his own house.

Soon after the restoration of Charles II. Mr. Grantham experienced the revival of persecution. He was apprehended and carried before a magistrate, who bound him over to the assizes held at Lincoln; and others of the baptists were cruelly harassed, being constrained to pay fines of *twenty* pounds a month, for not going to the established church. Under these barbarities, Mr. Grantham and his people resolved to present a petition to his majesty, humbly imploring his favour, and to be relieved from these cruel oppressions. Agreeably to this resolution, Mr. Grantham and Mr. Joseph Wright were chosen the two messengers; who, in the year 1661, were admitted into the king's presence; when they declared their grievances to him, and delivered into his hands, "Their brief confession, or declaration of faith, set forth by the baptized churches, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice." The king received their petition and the declaration of their faith, treated them very courteously, protested against the cruelty of their adversaries, and promised them their liberties. Accordingly, he set forth his declaration in their favour, December 26th following; when they who had been indicted for religion, were, at the next sessions or assizes, acquitted in open court, to the shame and vexation of their persecutors, who were then sitting on the bench.

Upon the passing of the "Conventicle Act," another persecution was raised against these pious christians, and soldiers were sent to disarm them, on account of their separation from the established church. Though they could not find any arms in their possession, they rifled their houses, took away their goods, and forced Mr. Grantham, Mr. John Gree, and several others, from their wives and families, making them run along like lackeys by the sides of their horses; nor would they tell them whither they designed to lead them, nor whether they should be prosecuted by law, or punished by force of arms. They were constrained, however, to go where the soldiers pleased, who

dragged them from town to town; but, night coming on, they put up at an inn, where the prisoners were confined in a room not fit for entertainment, and so tied up all night that they could enjoy no rest. Also the soldiers sat near them, cursing and swearing, drinking and singing through the night, by which they made the place a kind of hell to these devout and pious souls. When the morning arrived, they were carried to Louth, committed to the house of correction, and afterwards convened before a committee; when, instead of being charged with any crimes, their persecutors sought, by ensnaring questions, to pick up some accusation against them; then tendered oaths to them, and inquired whether they would conform to the established worship of the church of England. In the conclusion, Mr. Grantham, Mr. John Gree, and Mr. John Green, were, by strict command, sent to jail, where they remained half a year. During this period were the assizes, at which time their unfeeling persecutors prevented them from being heard; and afterwards, when they were brought before the justices at the quarter sessions, the bench refused to own them, or proceed to hear their cause. Upon which the sheriff said, that, as he had shewed them in open court, he was released from his charge, and so they were all set at liberty.

Notwithstanding Mr. Grantham's release, his troubles were not over. Soon after the above, his enemies attempted to ruin him, by bringing an action against him of one hundred pounds, upon a pretence that he, with force of arms, did beat and uncivilly use the wife of a certain person, only because he had *baptized* her. But, to the shame and reproach of his prosecutors, the cause at next assizes was cast out of court as a malicious prosecution. Great, indeed, was the opposition of the bishop and clergy against the baptists in Lincolnshire. They were exposed to public contempt; on which account they invited one Mr. Robert Wright, who had renounced their sentiments, to a friendly conference. Though the bishop was greatly moved by this bold adventure of the baptists, only an angry paper was sent them, drawn up by Mr. William Silverton, the bishop's chaplain, who stigmatized them "erroneous, antick baptists." To this paper Mr. Grantham replied, promising Mr. Silverton either to hear and discuss his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place; or reply to him, if he would defend his sentiments from the press. But Mr. Silverton thought

proper to decline the proposal; and here the affair ended.\*

Upon his majesty's declaration of indulgence, in 1671, granting liberty to the dissenters to meet and worship God according to the light of their consciences, without restraint or disturbance, provided their teachers were licensed, their doors set open, and they refrained from all sedition; Mr. Grantham and another person were appointed by the baptists in Lincolnshire to wait upon the king with their humble address to his majesty. In this address, after offering praise to Almighty God, with thanks to his majesty for his late indulgence, they set forth wherein they thought his royal declaration infringed upon that liberty which they deemed the birthright of all christians: they beseeched him to leave them to the light of scripture, in all the exercises of christian worship; and they signified that they should continue in this practice till they should obtain his permission, assuring his majesty that no less liberty than the scriptures expressed would satisfy the church of God. They then concluded with thanks to his majesty for all his lenity; praying that God would magnify his grace in his princely soul, that, while he reigned here on earth, he might excel in all true honour; and, after this life, enjoy a crown of immortality, and a throne of glory in the kingdom of heaven.

It does not appear what effect this bold address produced upon the mind of the king. Mr. Grantham and his brethren had many enemies, who endeavoured to oppress them to the uttermost. He therefore wrote a vindication of them, in a piece that was never published, entitled, "The Baptists' Complaint against the Persecuting Priests;" in the introduction to which he thus expressed himself: "Although we acknowledge ourselves sundry ways obliged to honour many of the learned of the church of England; yet, seeing some of them are so evidently of a persecuting spirit as that they daily seek our utter ruin, both by persecuting us themselves, and by stirring up those that are in authority to trouble us, by imprisonment and seizure of our goods, we are therefore constrained to exhibit this our just complaint; and the rather, because we have faithfully endeavoured to obtain peace and brotherly concord with them, both by our friendly deportment and by proposing, in a more public manner, such things in our 'Friendly

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. ii. p. 241—244.

Epistle to the Bishops and Ministers of the Church of England,' as also in our 'Apology for the baptized Believers,' as do, we trust, sufficiently evidence that there is nothing more dear to us than *truth*, and *peace* with all that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ."

He further observes, in the name of himself and his brethren: "We have borne the unkind usage of many of our countrymen, and of persecuting priests in particular, for more than *thirty* years.. For, in the time of Cromwell's usurpation, they did then hale us before the judgement-seats, because we could not worship God after the will of their lord protector; for so they stiled him in their articles against us. We had then our goods taken away, and never restored to this day." In the enumeration of their multiplied sufferings, he says, "We have sustained the imprisonment of not less than one hundred persons. We have borne the trial of no less than *three hundred* levies, of sixty, forty, twenty, or ten pounds. Indictments at the assizes and sessions, for two-pence per week and twenty pounds per month, we have had not less than a *thousand*. Presentments and excommunications in the commissary courts we have had some *hundreds*, with many other vexations not here inserted."

Mr. Grantham, who bore his share in these oppressions, greatly encouraged and comforted his brethren under all their sufferings. He seems to have been an eminent person in his day, but it does not appear when he died. In addition to the article already mentioned, he was author of "Christianismus Primitivus;" also, "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cause of Division discovered;" and "The Pædobaptists Apology for the baptized Churches."\* He is classed among the principal advocates for the practice of *laying on of hands* upon persons newly baptized; and he united with his brethren in publishing a treatise in defence of it, entitled, "A Search for Schism."†

THOMAS LAMB was a native of Colchester; and, during the reign of Charles I., a zealous and popular preacher among the baptists. At the instigation of Archbishop Laud, he was brought from Colchester to London, and prosecuted for nonconformity to the established church, and for preaching to a separate congregation. Being brought

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 75—90.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 292.

before the star-chamber, he was commanded to confess that he had administered the Lord's supper; which, if he had done, he would have been banished from his country: but, without giving a positive answer, he pleaded that a subject of England was under no obligation to bear witness against himself. He was, therefore, sent to prison, where he remained a long time. During his confinement, his wife often went to the star-chamber, and, in behalf of herself and eight children, earnestly solicited the archbishop to procure the liberty of her husband, which it was in his power to do; but the relentless prelate, instead of listening to her tender supplications, called to the people about him to take away that "troublesome woman!" Mr. Lamb was often in bonds for his nonconformity, and was confined in almost all the jails in and about London; always returning to his delightful work of preaching as soon as he had regained his liberty. He was of so courageous a resolution as often to say, "That the man was not fit to preach who would not preach for *God's* sake, though he were sure to die for it as soon as he had done."\*

A minister of the same name was made vicar of South Benfleet in Essex, July 23, 1641; but it does not appear how long he held the benefice, nor whether he was the same person.† Not long after this period, Mr. Lamb was chosen pastor of a baptist church in Bell-alley, Coleman-street, London,‡ but did not confine his labours wholly to his own particular charge. He visited various parts of the kingdom to confirm and strengthen the brethren, and plant churches agreeably to his own sentiments. However, in the year 1645, he was brought into fresh troubles; for, upon the publication of the ordinance of parliament against unordained preachers, in that year, the lord mayor sent his officers to the baptist meeting in Coleman-street, upon an information that certain laymen preached there. On their arrival, they found two ministers engaged, Mr. Lamb the elder, and a young man, a teacher in the church, whom Edwards calls "a weaver." The congregation was so greatly provoked, by being thus disturbed in the midst of public worship, that some of them treated the officers with very rough language, calling them "persecutors," and "persecuting rogues." But Mr. Lamb treated them with greater civility, and having passed his word for their

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 54, 55.

† Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 48.

‡ Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 124—126.

appearance before the lord mayor at six o'clock, they were suffered to proceed in their worship. Appearing at the appointed time, the lord mayor asked them by what authority they took upon themselves to preach; and told them they had transgressed an ordinance of parliament. The young man being interrogated, gave several whimsical answers, apparently the offspring of enthusiasm, and deserving of censure. Mr. Lamb was more rational in his replies: he said, "he was called and appointed to the office of preaching by as reformed a church as any in the world!" alluding to the words of the ordinance. He also acknowledged his rejection of the baptism of infants as invalid. After examination, the lord mayor bound them over to answer for their conduct before a committee of parliament; and, upon their appearance before the committee, they were sent to prison, where they continued a short time, and then, by the intercession of friends, they were released.\*

Mr. Lamb was no sooner delivered out of prison than he went on preaching as usual, and, as formerly, made his excursions to distant places in the country. On one of these journies, he had a narrow escape from the violence of his enemies. Having to baptize a woman in Oldford river, a place then much frequented for the purpose, the husband of the woman, a bitter enemy to the baptists, carried a great stone under his coat, designing, as he afterwards confessed, to have thrown it at Mr. Lamb, while he stood in the river. But he was so much affected with the prayer at the commencement of the service, that he dropt the stone, fell into tears, and was himself the next person baptized.† Mr. Lamb was made chaplain to a regiment in Cromwell's army; and many other persons of the same stamp being appointed to similar situations, the sectarian principles, as they were called, made rapid progress among the soldiers.

During this period, a spirit for public disputation, especially upon points of religion, very much prevailed among all parties; and the most important doctrines of the gospel were frequently risked upon the strength or weakness of the parties engaged. A dispute of this nature, in which Mr. Lamb was engaged, took place at the Spital, on the day of public thanksgiving for the taking of Dartmouth by the parliament's forces. It respected the immortality and

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part i. p. 124—127. Second edit.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 225, 226.

† Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. lii. p. 55.

immateriality of the human soul. A very curious account of this meeting is preserved by Mr. Edwards; and as it will serve for a specimen of the manner in which public disputes were then conducted, as well as afford some amusement to the reader, it shall be inserted. The lord mayor, it appears, had private notice of the meeting, and sent his officers to prevent it. Upon their arrival, they acquainted Mr. Lamb with their errand. He told them he would go up and acquaint the brethren; which he did, standing in a desk above the people, at one end of the room, and one Batty, a teacher in the same church, at the other. Mr. Lamb told them that the lord mayor had sent to forbid their meeting, or rather to request them not to dispute on that day. Batty then stood up and said, "That Mr. Mayor was a limb of antichrist, and a persecutor of the brethren; and he questioned what power or authority he had to forbid them: he was sure the parliament gave him no such power, but gave them liberty to use their consciences; and, for his part, he durst undertake to make it good to Master Mayor, calling my Lord Mayor," says Edwards, "in a most base and scornful manner, *Master Mayor*." Overton, the moderator on Batty's side, next stood up and said, "Brother Lamb, had Paul done well, if he had desisted from preaching in the name of Jesus, when commanded by the high-priest to forbear?" To this Mr. Lamb answered in the negative. Upon which Overton replied, in a most scornful manner, "Nor ought we to obey Master Mayor." "And thus did these men argue the power of my Lord Mayor for an hour's space, till they came to state the question and fall to their dispute. The question was, *That God made man, and every part of man, of the dust of the earth; and therefore man, and every part of man, must return to the dust again*, which Batty could not prove; nor could Lamb tell well how to answer: but they both ran off from scripture, never clearing any one thing to the people. When they had rambled a long time, so that neither of them could tell what to say, then another stood up and said, 'Brother Lamb, or Brother Batty, leave this point to the consideration of the brethren, and take up some other.' After these two had spent four or five hours in this confusion, they sat down and rested; and then stood up one Mellish, a cobbler, and Lawson, a schoolmaster, both anabaptists, and to work they went. Lawson calls to Mellish, and saith to him, 'Brother Mellish, speak either categorically or hypothetically.' Mellish answered

Lawson, that he spake now to him in an unknown tongue, and prayed him to explain himself. Lawson told Mellish that he was not fit to dispute, if he knew not the meaning of these words. Mellish replied, that if he should stand up and tell the people that the moon was made of green cheese, he did not question but some would be of his mind.\*

Mr. Lamb lived till after the restoration, and was one of the ministers who, on the part of the baptists, signed a renunciation of Venner's insurrection.† It is probable that he continued preaching at his meeting-house in Bell-alley till the time of his death. He died, it is said, about the year 1672.‡ Mr. Edwards, speaking of him and his church, says, "This man, who was a soap-boiler, and his church are very erroneous, strange doctrines being vented there continually, both in preaching and discoursing, and strange things are done by them, both in their church-meetings and out of them. Many used to resort thither, and all preach universal redemption. Lamb preaches universal grace and the arminian tenets."§ Mr. Bailie says, that Mr. Lamb's congregation was by far the largest and most fruitful of the seven baptist congregations in London, but that it was pestered with the gangrene of arminianism; then, in the very next page, charges him with preaching the various opinions of the antinomians.¶ These writers, who were equally indignant against all who presumed to oppose the impositions of the national church, wrote under the influence of a spirit of bigotry, or they received very incorrect information.

There are, at least, three publications extant by Mr. Lamb, from which his real sentiments may be collected with much greater accuracy than from any party-historian whatever. The first is a small octavo pamphlet, entitled, "The Fountain of Free Grace opened." The second is a larger pamphlet, in quarto, entitled, "A Treatise of particular Predestination, wherein are answered three Letters; the first tending to disprove particular Predestination: the second to show the contradiction between Christ's dying for all, and God's election of some: the third to prove, that the soul doth not come from the parent, and consequently that there is no original sin," 1642. The title of Mr. Lamb's third

\* Edwards's Gangræna, part ii. p. 14, 15.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 358.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 55.

§ Edwards's Gangræna, part i. p. 124. Second edit.

¶ Bailie's Anabaptism, p. 94, 95.

piece, published in 1656, and dedicated to the lord protector, was, "Absolute Freedom from Sin, by Christ's Death for the World, as the Object of Faith, in Opposition to conditional; set forth by Mr. John Goodwin, in his book entitled, 'Redemption Redeemed;' and the final Perseverance of the Saints proceeding from Election, by the Grace of God alone, maintained and sweetly reconciled with the aforesaid Doctrine. And the great Question, of God's eternal Decree of reprobating the unbelieving World, cleared from that Odium cast upon it by Mr. Goodwin."\* From these publications, it is evident how grossly both Edwards and Bailie have misrepresented the fact, in stating that Mr. Lamb maintained and taught either the arminian or antinomian tenets. On the contrary, it is extremely obvious, that, upon the disputed points, he was a strict Calvinist.

During the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell, one Mr. Thomas Lamb was pastor of a baptist church which met in Lothbury, London, having one Mr. William Allen to his colleague in the pastoral office. After the restoration, the two pastors conformed to the church of England, and wrote with great zeal against separation. Notwithstanding the improbability of there being two persons of the same name, both preachers among the baptists at the same time, and in the same neighbourhood, it is evident that this Mr. Lamb was a different person from the former.† Our author had a son called Isaac, who was a zealous and useful preacher among the baptists, but, like his father, he endured the cruel persecution of his enemies.‡

**OLIVER BOWLES, B. D.**—This venerable divine was fellow of Queen's college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He was a man of great piety, an excellent scholar, and a celebrated tutor. The famous Dr. Preston was one of his pupils. Upon his removal from the university, he became rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, about the beginning of the year 1607, where he continued upwards of fifty years. He was chosen one of the assembly of divines; when he constantly attended, and was very useful in that learned company. The assembly having petitioned the parliament for a fast, previous to its entering upon business, Mr. Bowles and Mr. Matthew

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 55, 56.

† Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 180. iii. 180. Appen. p. 81.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 101—103.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 76.

Newcomen were appointed to preach before both houses and the assembly, and both sermons were ordered to be published. Mr. Bowles's sermon is entitled, "Zeale for God's House Quickened; or, a Sermon preached before the Assembly of Lords, Commons, and Divines, at their solemn Fast, July 7, 1643, in Abbey Church, Westminster: expressing the Eminency of Zeale required in Church-Reformers," 1643. Mr. Bowles was author of a work entitled, "De Pastore Evangelico," 1649. Dr. Calamy denominates this an excellent book. It was published by his son, and dedicated to the Earl of Manchester. He adds, that it was "a book not suffered to creep out in the time of the rampant episcopacy, not for any evil there is in it, but because some men do not care to be put upon too much work.\*

Though Mr. Bowles survived the restoration many years, he does not appear either to have conformed or to have been ejected; but, on account of his great age, and for several other reasons, there is the strongest probability to suppose that he gave over preaching about the year 1659 or 1660.† He calmly resigned his soul into the hands of his dear Redeemer, September 5, 1674, supposed to be upwards of ninety years of age. He had twelve sons. His son Edward, a celebrated divine, was an ejected nonconformist in 1662.‡ The excellent Mr. Timothy Cruso was favoured with the friendship and counsel of Mr. Bowles. He attended him during his last illness, and received the following affectionate advice from him the day before his death:—"Have a care of yourself, Timothy, in this evil world; and be not so entangled with the vanities of it as to lose the substance for the shadow. Seeing you design yourself for the work and office of the ministry, I would advise you never to trouble your hearers with useless or contending notions; but rather preach all in practicals, that you may set them upon doing, and more advance a holy life. I would not any longer live that idle and unserviceable life which I have lately done; and therefore if God have some work for me yet to do here, he will continue me yet here: but if not, I am sure there is better work for me in heaven, whereby I shall act for his praise and glory more." When I took my last leave of him, says Mr. Cruso, he said, "Farewell, Timothy; and if I see thee not any more in this world, (as indeed he did not,) I hope I shall in the next, which is

\* Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 779.

† Theolog. and Bib. Mag. vol. iv. p. 207.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 455.

better!" and so I hope also, replied Mr. Cruso. "Only remember," continued Mr. Bowles, "to keep a good conscience, and walk closely with God." These last words he twice repeated with considerable emphasis, that it might make a deeper impression upon his mind.\*

**JOHN FISK, A. M.**—This worthy minister was born in St. James's parish, Suffolk, in the year 1601, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. His ancestors were eminent for zeal in the cause of Christ, several of whom were sorely persecuted in the sanguinary days of Queen Mary.† He was the eldest of four children, all of whom afterwards went to New England. He was blessed with pious parents, who devoted him to the Lord from a child; and after finishing his academical pursuits at Cambridge, he entered into the ministry. But the persecution of all who could not conform, being at that time extremely hot, he was presently silenced for nonconformity. He afterwards practised physic; but at length removed to New England, where he had an opportunity of preaching without the impositions and oppressions of men. He took shipping in disguise, with the excellent Mr. John Allin, to avoid the fury of their persecutors. Having passed the land's end, they made themselves known, and entertained the passengers with two sermons every day, besides other devotional exercises. Indeed, the whole voyage was so much devoted to the exercises of religion, that when one of the passengers

\* Theolog. and Bib. Mag. vol. iv. p. 139, 139.

† Among these ancestors there were six brothers, three of whom were papists, and three were protestants; but the papists disowned their brethren. Two of the protestant brothers were sorely persecuted, of whom the following anecdotes are related;—One of them being in the utmost danger, and the pursuivant having great respect for him, sent him private information of his coming to apprehend him; upon which the good man immediately called his family together for prayer, and then hastened to hide himself in a ditch, together with his pious wife with a sucking child at the breast. Here they were upon the point of being discovered. For the pursuivant was near at hand, and, by leaping into the ditch, a thorn in the hedge so deeply marked the child's face, that it never wore out; at which the child began to cry aloud, when the mother presently clapt it to the breast, whereby it immediately became quiet, and so they remained undiscovered.—Another of these brethren, at the same time, to avoid burning, hid himself many months in a pile of wood; then, for half a year, in a cellar, where he was diligently employed in his wonted manufactory, by candle light, so as to remain in like manner undiscovered. But his numerous hardships shortened his days, put an end to his life, and added to the number of those whose blood cried aloud for vengeance.—*Mather's Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 141.

was examined about diverting himself with the hook and line on the Lord's day, he protested, saying, "I do not know which is the Lord's day. I think every day is a sabbath day; for you do nothing but preach and pray all the week long."\*

Mr. Fisk married a lady of piety and of a good fortune, several hundred pounds of which was denied her, through the displeasure of her father, upon accompanying her husband to New England. On their arrival, in the year 1637, he preached for several years at Salem, and became tutor to a number of gentlemen's sons. In the month of October, 1644, he was chosen pastor of the church at Wenham, where he abode twelve years. He was content with a small salary, while he spent a considerable estate in promoting the welfare of the new colony. About the year 1656, he removed, with the greater part of the church, to Chelmsford; where he spent the remainder of his days. There his greatest trial was the loss of his pious wife; who, having so extensive a knowledge of the scriptures, served him, says our author, *instead of a concordance*. Mr. Fisk, upon his death-bed, said to his children, "You have the sure mercies of David. Study to emulate one another, and provoke one another to love." He died January 4, 1676, aged fifty-five years. He was a most able, faithful, and useful preacher.† He published "The Olive Plant Watered."

THOMAS PARKER, A. M.—This excellent divine, the son of Mr. Robert Parker, the famous old puritan, was born in the year 1595, and admitted into Magdalen college, Oxford, before his father's exile. His father being driven out of the land for nonconformity, he removed to Ireland, where he pursued his studies under the famous Dr. Usher. Thence he went to Leyden in Holland, where he enjoyed the assistance of the learned Dr. Ames. His labours were indefatigable, and his progress answerable to his exertions. Before the age of twenty-two he received the degree of master of arts with universal admiration and applause. He was greatly beloved and admired by the renowned Mac-covius. Afterwards he returned to England to pursue his theological studies; and he settled at Newbury in Berkshire, where, for some time, he preached and kept a school. Here he appears to have been assistant to the celebrated

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. p. 142.

† Ibid. p. 142, 148.

Dr. Twisse. Being, however, dissatisfied with the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the ruling prelates, he removed to New England, with a number of christians from Wiltshire, in the year 1634. He went in the same ship with Mr. James Noyes, another puritan minister, with whom the greatest intimacy and affection subsisted as long as they lived.

Mr. Parker, and about one hundred of his friends, upon their arrival in the new plantation, sat down at Ipswich. In this situation they continued about a year, then removed to Quafcacunquen, which they now called Newbury. The beautiful river, on whose banks they settled, was, in honour to their revered pastor, called Parker's river: tradition says, "because he was the first who ascended it in a boat."\* Mr. Parker was chosen pastor of the church, and Mr. Noyes teacher. There Mr. Parker, by the holiness and humility of his life, for many years, gave his people a lively commentary of his doctrine. But, by his incessant application to study, he became blind several years before his death; yet, even then, he taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. The loss of both his eyes was certainly very painful; yet he bore the cross with becoming submission to the will of God, and would sometimes pleasantly say, "Well, they will be restored shortly, in the day of the resurrection." He departed to the world of light in the month of April, 1677, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the fifty-second of his ministry. He was exceedingly charitable, a hard student, an excellent preacher, and one of the best scholars and divines of the age. He considered the sabbath as beginning on the Saturday evening, yet kept the sabbath evening as his people did. When he was asked why he adopted a practice different from his opinion, he replied, "Because I dare not depart from the footsteps of the flock for my own private opinion." When he kept a school he refused any reward, saying, "he lived for the sake of the church; therefore he was unwilling to receive any scholars, besides those who were designed for the ministry." His whole life was employed in prayer, study, preaching, and teaching school.† He published "Meditations on the Prophecy of Daniel;" and "De Tractatione Peccatoris;" and left behind him many volumes of manuscripts.

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 43, 44.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 143, 144.—Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 46.

PETER HOBART, A. M.—This pious person was born at Higham in Norfolk, in the year 1604, and received his education at Cambridge, where he discovered much gravity, sobriety, and hatred of all vice. By his pious parents he was dedicated to the Lord from his earliest infancy. After he had finished his studies at the university, he taught school, and preached occasionally for a conformist minister, at whose house he lodged. This minister being requested to give his opinion of young Hobart, said, "I do highly approve of his abilities. He will be an able preacher; but I fear he will be *too precise*." He was afterwards exceedingly harassed and persecuted from one place to another, on account of his nonconformity; yet the good providence of God took care of him and his family, and they never suffered want. His last place of abode was Haverhil in Suffolk, where his labours were rendered a blessing to many souls. The arbitrary proceedings of the prelates became, at length, so intolerant, that he resolved to retire to New England, where he should be free from all episcopal molestation, obtain a settled place of abode, and be constantly employed in the work of the Lord. Accordingly, in the year 1635, he embarked with his wife and four children; and, after a long and sickly voyage, arrived at Charlestown, where he found his parents, brethren, and sisters, got safe before him. He received invitations from several churches, but settled, with his friends, upon a new plantation, which he called Higham. There he gathered a church, and continued its able and useful pastor many years.

Mr. Hobart was a hard student, and always studied *standing*, which practice he recommended to others. He was a man of exemplary piety, and loved good people of all persuasions. He used pleasantly to say, that those who were furiously hot about church discipline, and cold about the life and power of godliness, were all *church* and no *Christ*. He was pastor of the church at Higham about forty-three years; after which, old age and its infirmities coming upon him, he was obliged, during the last year, to resign his charge. A few weeks before his death, having assisted at the ordination of his successor, he exclaimed, "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;" and, soon after, he resigned his soul into the hands of God, on January 20, 1678, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.\*

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 153—155.

**SAMUEL WHITING, A. M.**—This worthy divine was born at Boston in Lincolnshire, November 20, 1597, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was awakened to a serious concern for his soul by attending upon the ministry of the excellent Dr. Sibbs and Dr. Preston. After he had finished his studies at the university, he became domestic chaplain to Sir Nathaniel Bacon and Sir Roger Townsend, in whose families, by his wise and serious instructions, the interests of religion were greatly promoted. He was next chosen colleague in the ministry with Mr. Price of Lynn in Norfolk, where he continued three years. During this period he was interrupted by the Bishop of Norwich, and prosecuted in the high commission court, where, for the single sin of nonconformity, he expected to lose a considerable estate; but, happily for him, while the cause was pending, King James died, and so for the present the prosecution was dropped. The Earl of Lincoln interceding for him, the bishop promised to molest him no more, if he would remove out of his diocese.\*

Mr. Whiting afterwards settled at Shirbick, near Boston, where he remained for some time unmolested, the Lord blessing his labours. In this situation he was among his old friends, and near Mr. Cotton and Mr. Tuckney, by whom he was highly esteemed. He found, however, that there was no continued rest under the government of persecuting ecclesiastics. He was again prosecuted and silenced for rejecting the traditions of the popish fathers. He considered the imposition of human rites and ceremonies in divine worship as involving the very spirit and conduct of the church of Rome. The gospel he thought was insecure, while such rites and ceremonies were imposed; therefore concluded that the parade of human ceremonies, and the preaching of the word of God, had a direct tendency to drive each other out of the church. Having no prospect of being ever restored to his ministry, he resolved to withdraw from the cruel oppressions, when he found an asylum in New England. On leaving his native country, and expecting never to return, he sold all his estates, saying, "I am going to sacrifice unto the Lord in the wilderness, and will not leave a hoof behind." He embarked in the beginning of April, 1636, and arrived in New England towards the end of May, being so sick during the whole voyage that he could preach only one sermon. Upon his safe arrival he made

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 156, 157.

the following pious reflection: "We have left our friends who were near and dear unto us; but if we can get nearer to God, he will be unto us more than all. In him there is a fulness of all the sweetest relations. We may find in God whatsoever we have forsaken, whether fathers, or mothers, or brethren, or sisters, or friends, who have been near and dear to our souls."\*

He had no sooner arrived in the new colony than he was chosen pastor of the church at Lynn, where he spent the remainder of his days. The following year Mr. Thomas Cobbet, another puritan minister, going to New England, became his colleague in the pastoral office. They lived together in mutual love and attachment twenty years, until Mr. Cobbet removed to Ipswich. Towards the close of life, Mr. Whiting's youngest son became his assistant; and during the last twenty years he was much afflicted with the stone in the bladder, which he bore with exemplary patience. Though he enjoyed scarcely one day of perfect ease through the whole of this period, he was never hindered one day from attending upon his public ministerial exercises. He died December 11, 1679, aged eighty-two years. He was a person of exemplary meekness, holiness, and peace; a hard student, and an excellent scholar, especially in Latin and Hebrew.† He was author of "A Discourse on the last Judgment," 1664; and "Sermons on the Prayer of Abraham."

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT was minister at some place in Lincolnshire, where he was instrumental in the conversion of many souls, and highly esteemed among serious christians, but was silenced for his nonconformity. After he was silenced, he lived privately, for some time, near Lincoln, but, on account of the oppressions of the times, was obliged to remove from one place to another.‡ Finding no rest for the sole of his foot, he withdrew from the scenes of persecution, and retired to New England. We do not, indeed, find in what particular year he crossed the Atlantic, but it is certain he was among some of the first settlers in the new colony. In the year 1629, part of the present state of New Hampshire in New England was purchased of the Indians, when a deed was obtained from them by Mr. Wheelwright and others from Massachusetts. Before the year 1637,

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 157, 158. † Ibid. p. 158—160.

‡ Life of Mr. Hansard Knollys, p. 11. Edit. 1692.

Mr. Wheelwright changed his religious sentiments, and appears to have become too much tinged with antinomianism. Never were any communities, it is said, in more alarming danger than the churches of Massachusetts about this time; and seldom have any measures, to allay a public frenzy, been more successful than those now adopted. The cause of these evils was as singular as the effects were alarming. "Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church at Boston, a woman of ready wit and a bold spirit, had adopted two remarkable opinions:—1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in those who are justified.—2. That sanctification is no evidence of justification. From these two sentiments spread numerous branches: as, that our union with the Holy Ghost is such, that we are dead to every spiritual action, having no gifts nor graces more than hypocrites, nor sanctification, but the Holy Ghost himself, &c. Mr. Wheelwright, who was her brother, joined with her."

The news of these things soon spread abroad; and the ministers who attended the general court in October, 1636, made it an object of their attention to converse with Mr. Wheelwright and others, who had adopted these opinions, when they appeared to discover an accommodating spirit. Soon after, certain of the members of the church at Boston, who adopted the new opinions, publicly moved that Mr. Wheelwright should be called to be their teacher. This fanned the flame of opposition. The new opinions still rapidly spreading, the general court, in December, called together the ministers of the churches to advise with them respecting the existing divisions. As their passions grew warmer by constant disputation, they became more sanguine in their belief, bold in their expressions, and multiplied in their novelties. On public occasions it was now said, that the Holy Ghost dwelt in believers, as he is in heaven; that a man is justified before he believes; that the letter of scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; that the covenant of grace was the *spirit* of the scripture, which was known only to believers; and that the ground of all religion was an assurance by immediate revelation.

These, and many other things, being so complete a jumble of nonsense and impiety, as appears almost too tedious to be read, were accounted of the very first importance; and all the congregation of Boston, except four or five, espoused most of these new opinions. At the next election it was agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring these dissensions to an issue. Previous to this, a general

fast was appointed to be kept in all the churches; the occasion of which, beside other things, was, "the dissensions in the churches."\* On the day of public fasting, Mr. Cotton, it is said, preached a very healing sermon from Isa. lviii. 4.; but Mr. Wheelwright, the other preacher at Boston,† filled his sermon with bitter invectives against the magistrates and ministers of the country, telling the people, "that they walked in such a way of salvation as was no better than a covenant of works." Under his third use, he said, "The second sort of people that are to be condemned, are all such as do set themselves against the Lord Jesus Christ: such are the greatest enemies to the state that can be. If they can have their wills, you will see what a lamentable state both church and commonwealth will be in: then we shall have need of mourning. The Lord cannot endure those that are enemies to himself, and kingdom, and people, and his church." He compared them to Jews, Herods, Philistines, and exhorted such as were under a covenant of grace to combat them as their greatest enemies. The above fast was held January 19, 1637.

March 9th following, being the next court-day, Mr. Wheelwright was brought before the magistrates, who, after hearing what he could say in defence of his sermon, condemned it as *sedition*, and *tending to disturb the public peace*. They endeavoured to convince him of his offence, but without effect; and allowed him till the next session to consider whether he would make his submission or abide the sentence of the court. In the mean time, nearly all the church of Boston presented a petition to the court, declaring, "That Mr. Wheelwright had not been guilty of any sedition; that his doctrine was not seditious, being no other than the expressions of scripture; that it had produced no seditious effects, for his followers had not drawn their swords, nor endeavoured to rescue their innocent brother: they desired the court, therefore, to consider the danger of meddling with the prophets of God, and to remember, that even the Apostle Paul himself had been called 'a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition, and the ringleader of a sect.'" This petition was presented in the court presently after Mr. Wheelwright's censure, signed by above sixty hands, some of whom were members of the court; but it was rejected by the

\* Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 61, 142.

† Mr. Wheelwright was preacher to a branch of the Boston church, which assembled at Braintree, a place near Boston.—*Backus's Hist. of New Eng. Bap.* vol. i. p. 81.

majority, and the chief petitioners were severely punished for it the next session.\*

In the above petition two things were requested: "That as free men they might be present in cases of judicature, and that the court would declare, whether they might deal in cases of conscience before the church." The members of the court considered this as a reflection upon them, and replied, that their proceedings had been always open. Mr. Wheelwright was accused of calling those by the name of antichrist, who believed sanctification to be an evidence of justification, and of stirring up the people with bitterness and vehemence. He endeavoured to justify himself; but the court adjudged him guilty of sedition and contempt. Many pamphlets were published on both sides of the question. Mr. Wheelwright published a "Treatise in Defence of his Sermon," to which the ministers answered, and Mr. Cotton replied. Mr. Wheelwright appeared before the court to hear his sentence; but they gave him respite till the next session, in August, that he might have time, it is said, for cool reflection. But he appeared bold and confident; and to the court he said, that, if he had been guilty of sedition, he ought to die; that he should retract nothing, but should appeal to the king; adding, that he had been guilty neither of sedition nor contempt; that he had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and the application of his doctrine was made by others, and not by himself." At length, in October, 1637, the court sentenced him to be disfranchised, to be banished from the colony, and to be taken into immediate custody, unless he would give security for his departure. He was, therefore, banished, with several others, and he continued in a state of banishment seven years.†

Mr. Wheelwright afterwards growing wiser, renounced his errors, begged pardon of God and the country, was restored to his people, and lived many years a useful minister of Christ, at Hampton, in New Hampshire. "He was literally a wandering star. At Boston, at Quincy, at Exeter, at Salisbury, and at Wells, difficulties pursued him." From this last place he wrote to the government of Massachusetts, whence he had been banished, a very humble confession, which was accepted, and he had the liberty to return. In

\* Backus's Hist. of New Eng. Bap. vol. i. p. 81.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 169, 170.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 87, 143—145.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 174. Mrs. Hutchinson, his sister, was sent into banishment about the same time, and was afterwards murdered by the Indians.—*Sylvester's Life of Baxter*, part i. p. 75.

this confession, he said, "It is the grief of my soul, that I used such vehement and censorious speeches. I repent me that I did adhere to persons of corrupt judgments, to the countenancing and encouraging of them in any of their errors or evil practices." The order of the court for taking off the sentence of his banishment, and receiving him as a member of the commonwealth, is dated Boston, May 29, 1644.\* His difficulties taught him wisdom. After his confession and restoration he lived nearly forty years "a valued servant of the church;"† and he died about the year 1680, being an old man and full of years.

**ROGER WILLIAMS.**—This remarkable person was born in Wales, in the year 1599, and educated in the university of Oxford. He became a subject of divine grace at ten or twelve years of age. In early youth he attracted the attention, and obtained the patronage, of Lord Chief Justice Coke; who, seeing him at some place of public worship, was struck with the attentive behaviour of one so young, and his taking notes of the sermon. When the service was over, he sent for young Williams, and desired to see his notes, and, finding them very judiciously taken, took him under his patronage, and sent him to Oxford. Having finished his studies at the university, he entered into the ministerial office, and was some years minister in the established church. He afterwards joined the puritans, and became a zealous nonconformist; but the intolerable oppressions of Bishop Laud forced him from his native country, when he fled to New England.‡ Mr. Neal says he was a rigid Brownist, precise, uncharitable, and of most turbulent and boisterous passions.§ But Mr. Hubbard, who lived in those times, denominates him "a godly and zealous preacher."||

Mr. Williams arrived in New England February 5, 1631, and was immediately called by the church at Salem to be assistant to Mr. Samuel Skelton. His settlement was, however, opposed by the magistrates, "because he refused to communicate with the church at Boston, unless they would make a public declaration of their repentance, for having held communion with the church of England when in their native country; and because he declared it as his opinion,

\* Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 154.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 101.

‡ Account. § Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 140, 141.

|| Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 53, 508.

that the civil magistrate might not punish any branch of the first table." In consequence of this, he was called by the church of Plymouth to assist Mr. Ralph Smith; where, says Governor Bradford, "he was freely entertained, according to our poor ability, and exercised his gifts among us; and, after some time, was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved; for the benefit whereof I still bless God; and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs." He continued assistant to Mr. Smith two or three years; but finding some of the leading members of the church to be of different sentiments from himself, and having received an invitation to succeed Mr. Skelton as pastor of the church at Salem, he requested his dismissal to that church. After some demur, his request was granted. He preached at Salem, it is said, all the time of Mr. Skelton's sickness, and insinuated himself so far into the affections of the people, by his vehement manner of delivery, that he was chosen pastor after the other's death.\* His request was granted by the particular persuasion of Mr. Brewster, the venerable elder, who signified his fears "that Mr. Williams would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smyth had done at Amsterdam." Those who adhered to him were also dismissed and removed to the church at Salem. Though his settlement was still opposed by the magistrates, he became their pastor, and laboured among them about two years. We are, indeed, informed, "That in one year's time he filled that place with the principles of rigid separation, tending to anabaptism."†

Mr. Williams never withheld his opinions, but openly and publicly declared whatever appeared to him to be the truth. This exposed him to the censure of his enemies, and involved him in troubles even soon after his settlement at Salem. At length, July 8, 1635, he was summoned before the general court, and was charged with maintaining, "That it is not lawful for godly men to have communion in family prayer with such as they judge unregenerate; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table, only in cases of disturbance to the civil peace; that he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament, nor after meals; that there ought to be an unlimited toleration of all religions; that to punish a man for following the dictates of his conscience is persecution;

\* Neal's New Eng. vol. i. p. 141.

† Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 54-57.

and that the patent which was granted by King Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice, being injurious to the natives, the king of England having no power to dispose of their lands to his own subjects.\*

In the month of October following he appeared again before the court, and received the sentence of banishment for his dangerous opinions, as they are called; the ministers, as well as the magistrates, approving of the sentence. The sentence of the court was as follows: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates; has also written letters of defamation, both of the magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction. It is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction, within six weeks now next ensuing, which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the governor and two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the court."†

Having received the barbarous sentence, he left his house, his wife, and his children at Salem, in the depth of a most severe winter, and was driven among the wild Indians, where, for fourteen weeks, as he himself observes, "he knew not what bread or bed did mean." But he found more favour among those blind pagans than among the protestants of New England. They allowed him to settle among them, and ever after treated him with kindness and respect. He there laid the foundation of the colony of PROVIDENCE and RHODE-ISLAND, and is supposed to have been the founder of the first free government the world ever knew, at least since the rise of antichrist; effectually securing to all subjects FREE AND FULL LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE. The principle of his government was adopted by fourteen out of the seventeen United States, at the time of the American revolution. The grand principle of this government was, "That no man, or company of men, ought to be molested by the ruling powers, on account of their religion, or for any opinion received or practised in any matter of that nature; accounting it no small part of their happiness that they may therein be left to their own liberty." Whether Mr. Williams, indeed, espoused all those sentiments with

\* Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 68.—Morse and Parish's Hist. of New Eng. p. 86.

† Ibid. p. 156.

which he was charged, we do not attempt to determine; but he appears to have been the first of our countrymen who thoroughly understood the grounds of civil and religious liberty. The famous Mr. John Cotton, and the rest of the ministers of New England, were so far concerned in his prosecution and banishment as to shew, that while they made loud outcries against popery, they themselves retained and cherished the very worst part of it, even its intolerant and persecuting spirit. This will be a reproach to them, even to the latest posterity.\* Mr. Williams called the place to which he was banished PROVIDENCE, "from a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress; and though, for a considerable time, he suffered much fatigue and want, he provided a refuge for persons persecuted for conscience' sake."†

About the year 1639 he embraced the sentiments of the baptists; and being in want of one to administer the ordinance of baptism, "he was baptized by one of his community, then Mr. Williams baptized him and the rest of the society." This appears to have been the first baptist church in America.‡ In the year 1644 Mr. Williams came to England, with the view of procuring a charter; and though, upon his arrival, he found the nation deeply involved in civil war, he succeeded in obtaining it of the parliament, under the name of "The INCORPORATION OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN THE NARRAGANSET-BAY, IN NEW ENGLAND, with full power and authority to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their state and condition."

While Mr. Williams was in London to procure this charter, he published a book, called, "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience," 1644. This work appeared to Mr. Cotton of dangerous tendency, therefore he published an answer to it, entitled, "The Bloody Tenet washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb," 1647. Mr. Williams replied to this in a work entitled, "The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's endeavour to wash it White in the Blood of the Lamb," 1652. The grand principle for which he contended was, "That persons may, with less sin, be forced to marry whom

\* MS. Account.—Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 69, 70, 112.—Mather's New England, b. vii. p. 7—9.

† Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 87.

‡ Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 106.

they cannot love, than to worship where they cannot believe:" and he denied "that Christ had appointed the civil sword as a remedy against false teachers." Mr. Cotton affirmed, and endeavoured to prove, the contrary sentiment. He maintained that the civil sword was appointed as the remedy in this case; and that it was matter of perpetual equity to put to death any apostate seducing idolater, or heretic, who sought to draw the souls of the people from the Lord their God. Mr. Williams clearly saw the result of these principles, and in his work he addressed a letter to Governor Endicot, in which he said, "By your principles and conscience, such as you count heretics, blasphemers, and seducers, must be put to death. You cannot be faithful to your principles and conscience without it." About four years after this Endicot put to death four persons, and pleaded conscience for the propriety of his conduct.\*

Mr. Williams, in pleading the cause of religious liberty, asks Mr. Cotton, "If Jesus Christ have left a power with the civil governors of this world, for establishing, governing, and reforming his church, what is become of his care and love, his wisdom and faithfulness; seeing in all ages, since he left the world, he hath generally left her destitute of such qualified princes and governors, and in the course of his providence furnished her with those whom he knew would be as fit as *wolves* to protect and feed his *sheep*?"† The publication of his book in England gave great offence to the presbyterians, who exclaimed against it as full of heresy and blasphemy. But his principles having been tried, and found to be the soundest policy, both England and America should unite in erecting a monument to perpetuate the name of Roger Williams, as the first *governor* who ever pleaded that liberty of conscience was the birthright of man, and granted it to those who in opinion differed from himself, when he had the power of withholding it.

His practice, also, was founded on the generous principles of the gospel. He was "not overcome of evil, but overcame evil with good;" and, in their wars with the Indians, he was exceedingly useful to those by whom he had been persecuted. He was at the same time particularly zealous and laborious in promoting the conversion of the Indians, an account of whose manners, customs, and languages he afterwards published. He was so universally beloved and revered, that he was sometimes chosen governor of the colony: he, never-

\* Ivey's Hist. of Baptists, p. 218, 219.

† Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 189.

theless, continued pastor of the baptist church to the end of his days. This enlightened legislator died in the year 1689, aged eighty-four years.\* In addition to the pieces mentioned above, he was the author of a work entitled, "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's; or, a Discourse touching the Propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, humbly presented to such pious and honourable Hands whom the present Debate thereof concerns," 1652. Also, "George Fox digged out of his Burrows;" written against the quakers.

**JOHN SHERMAN.**—This excellent divine was born at Dedham in Essex, December 26, 1619, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. By the pious instructions of his worthy parents, and the excellent preaching of Mr. John Rogers, he was led to "remember his Creator in the days of his youth." He was much admired for his youthful piety, ingenuity, and industry. At Cambridge he made great progress in the various departments of useful literature; but, being required to subscribe, in order to his taking the degrees, he scrupulously refused. His arguments against subscription were to him so powerful, that, after consulting Mr. Rogers, Dr. Preston, and other eminent divines, who commended his objections, he left the university under the reproachful name of a college puritan. Those objections which he had against the established church, its subscription and its ceremonies, by which he was induced to leave the university, soon occasioned his removal out of the kingdom. When he found that he could not enjoy the peaceable exercise of his ministry in his native country without defiling his conscience, he embarked for New England, with several other ministers, in the year 1634. There he hoped to employ his talent for the glory of God and the good of souls, and to enjoy rest from the oppressive measures of the prelates.

Mr. Sherman, upon his arrival in America, preached at various places with universal applause. Having preached before an assembly of ministers, Mr. Hooker pleasantly said to his reverend brethren, "Brethren, we must look to ourselves and to our ministry; for this young divine will outdo us all." He settled at Newhaven; where, for about two or three years, he suspended the exercise of his ministry. During this period, he was so highly esteemed in the colony, that

\* Backus's Hist. vol. i. p. 106—531.

he was chosen one of the magistrates, and he served the public with exemplary discretion and fidelity. At the expiration of that period he resumed his ministry, and continued a most zealous and faithful preacher the remainder of his days. He was invited to various places; and, upon the death of Mr. Philips of Watertown, he became his successor in the pastoral office. There he lived near Cambridge; he became fellow of Harvard college, and performed many valuable offices for that society. For upwards of thirty years the students attended upon his lectures. He experienced the happiness of growing in grace, and enjoyed the vigorous exercise of his mental powers, even to old age. "Such keenness of wit," says Dr. Mather, "such soundness of judgment, such fulness of matter, and such vigour of language, were rarely seen in a man of his years." This was, indeed, manifest in his last sermon, from Eph. ii. 8. *By grace are ye saved.* He was soon after attacked by a malignant fever, and died triumphing in the Lord, August 8, 1685, aged seventy-two years. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, a constant preacher, a wise counsellor, a great divine, and an excellent mathematician and astronomer. He was a great reader, and possessed so strong a memory, that his own mind, it is said, became his library. In his public ministry, he was judicious, industrious, faithful; and so fine an orator, that he was called the *golden-mouthed* preacher. His wisdom, discretion, and meekness were conspicuously manifest in the orderly and pious government of his large family. He was twice married. By the first wife he had six children, and by the second he had *twenty*.\*

THOMAS COBBET was born at Newbury in Berkshire, in the year 1608, and educated in the university of Oxford. Having finished his academical studies, he returned to Newbury, and became a pupil under the celebrated Dr. Twisse. He first settled in the ministry at a small place in Lincolnshire; but here he felt the vengeance of the ecclesiastical governors. On account of his nonconformity, he was tossed for some time in the storm of persecution, and at length driven to New England. He went in the same ship with Mr. John Davenport, in the year 1637. He found New England a comfortable asylum, and a secure retreat from the storm. Upon his arrival, he was cordially received by his old friend, Mr. Whiting of Lynn, and was chosen his

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 162—165.

colleague in the pastoral office. About the year 1657, upon the removal of Mr. Norton to Boston, he was chosen pastor of the church at Ipswich. In this situation he continued, in the faithful and laborious discharge of his numerous pastoral duties, to the end of his days. He died in the beginning of the year 1686, aged seventy-nine years.\*

Soon after Mr. Cobbet undertook the pastoral charge at Ipswich, the people of the town voted him to receive one hundred pounds, for the purpose of buying or building himself a house; and, to raise the money, all the inhabitants were taxed. This being a new thing in the colony, several persons refused to pay the money required, and accordingly were prosecuted for it.† But religion is a voluntary thing. The pecuniary aids requisite to its support ought, in like manner, to be altogether voluntary. All impositions and compulsions from the predominant party, is a direct violation of the laws of equity, an infringement upon the rights of christians, and enters into the very spirit of antichrist. Mr. Cobbet, however, was an eminent preacher, a man much devoted to God in prayer, and the excellent author of many books, the titles of some of which we have been able to collect.

**HIS WORKS.**—1. A Vindication of the Covenant of Children of Church Members, 1643.—2. A Vindication of Children's Church-membership and Right to Baptism, 1645.—3. The Civil Magistrate's Power in Matters of Religion, 1653.—4. A Discourse on Prayer, 1657.—5. The Honour due from Children to their Parents.

**JOHN ELLIOT.**—This renowned servant of Christ was born in the year 1604, and educated at Cambridge. Upon his removal from the university, he became assistant to the venerable Mr. Hooker, in his school at Chelmsford. While in this situation, he was awakened to a sense of his sins, and brought to experience a work of grace on his heart. We give the account of it in his own words: "To this place I was called," says he, "through the infinite riches of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul. For here the Lord said unto my dead soul, live! and, through the grace of Christ, I do live, and shall live for ever. When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigour and efficacy."

Having continued for some time in the office of school-master, he resolved to devote himself to the Lord in the

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 166.

† Backus's Hist. of Baptists, vol. i. p. 310.

ministry of the gospel; but he was at a loss for an opportunity. He had imbibed the principles of nonconformity, and therefore could not enter upon any stated charge on the terms required of the clergy. The ruling prelates of the Laudian faction were at this time stopping the mouths of all the learned and useful ministers in the nation, who could not in conscience observe their popish and superstitious impositions. It appeared to young Elliot, that a conformity to these impositions, in the worship of God, was a direct violation of the second commandment. His conscience not permitting him to observe the unwarrantable ceremonies, he was not suffered to preach in any part of England. Great numbers of people were driven out of the nation by the arbitrary and cruel proceedings of the bishops; among whom was Mr. Elliot, who, in the year 1631, fled to New England. On his arrival in the new colony, he joined himself to Mr. Wilson's church at Boston, where he preached occasionally for some time. But, the year following, several of his old acquaintance following him to New England, he settled with them at Roxbury, and was chosen pastor of the church, in which office he continued among them almost *sixty* years.

Mr. Elliot was a man of distinguished eminence. His piety was most exemplary. He lived under the habitual influence of a praying heart. He knew, by happy experience, the utility of private prayer, and was ever urgent in promoting it among others. When he was informed of any important public news, he would say, "Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer." When he paid a visit to his intimate friends, he used to say, "Come, let us not have a visit without prayer. Let us pray down the blessing of heaven on your family before we go." And whenever he was in the company of ministers, he said, "Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes notice of what is said and done among his ministers. Come, let us pray before we part." He had an exceedingly high value for his Bible, was a close student of that sacred volume, and a constant and useful preacher. He lived, in a great measure, as if he were in heaven while upon the earth.\*

Mr. Elliot was most exemplary in the duty of mortification. It could never be said, that he sought great things for himself. This world, and all things in it, were to him just what they ought to be to a dying man. He looked upon them all as mere trifles. He always rose early in the morning,

\* Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 175, 176.

and was ever abstemious in eating and drinking. When the countenance of a minister at any time appeared to indicate too much indulgence, he thus addressed him: "Study mortification, brother; study mortification!" These pointed reproofs came from him with a becoming majesty and solemnity, and rarely gave offence.

His liberality was as a star of the first magnitude in the constellation of his excellent virtues. His bounty to public and private charities far exceeded his annual income. The poor esteemed him as their common father; and every object of distress found him to be a brother and a friend. He was constantly zealous in promoting family religion. But the loss of his wife made no common impression on his mind. They lived together, in the enjoyment of great happiness, upwards of half a century; but, a few years before his death, he followed her remains to the grave with great lamentation and many tears. They were usually called *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*. Their family was a Bethel. They brought up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. They commanded their children, and their household after them, that they should keep the way of the Lord."

Mr. Elliot was a considerable scholar, especially in his knowledge of the Hebrew. He was eminently qualified for the ministerial work. He took great care to distribute to all their portion in due season. It was food, not froth, with which he fed the souls of the people. His method of preaching was very plain, but remarkably powerful. His sermons contained much of Christ; and he constantly laboured to bring sinners to the Saviour. To young preachers he frequently said, "Pray let there be much of Christ in your ministry." And having heard a sermon which greatly savoured of Christ, he would say, "Blessed be God, that we have Christ so much and so well preached in poor New England." He was a great friend to sermons well studied, always commending those which discovered close thought and much reading. Yet he wished to perceive something more in a sermon than mere human study. His frequent complaint was, "It is a sad thing, when a sermon wants that one thing, *the Spirit of God*."

In his views of church discipline, Mr. Elliot was a thorough puritan, but peaceable in his separation from all usurpations over men's consciences. He was a modest and humble nonconformist to the unwarrantable inventions and impositions of men; and was deeply afflicted to see that

the work of reformation was opposed, particularly by the bishops, in the church of England. It was a settled principle with him, that, in promoting the reformation of churches, every thing ought to be reduced to the primitive and apostolic institution. He was persuaded that a church, according to the New Testament, "is a congregation of professed believers, with officers of divine appointment, agreeing to meet together for the celebration of divine ordinances, and their mutual edification." After the closest examination, it was his settled opinion, "that no approved writers, for the space of two hundred years after Christ, make any mention of any other organized, professing christian church, than that only which is congregational." He could not conceive how a church could arise from any other formal cause than the voluntary consent and confederation of the several parties concerned, by first giving themselves to the Lord, and then to one another.

This great man could not be satisfied with his regular ministerial exercises among his own people: his soul longed for the conversion of the wild Indians. After much consideration, and earnest prayer for the direction and blessing of God, he entered upon the arduous work. His design was no sooner made known than several favourable circumstances concurred to afford him encouragement. The enterprize was, indeed, laborious; but all the good people in the country rejoiced in his undertaking, and neighbouring ministers kindly supplied his pulpit while he laboured abroad. Also the Lord inclined great numbers of religious persons in England to make liberal contributions for its encouragement and support. Oliver Cromwell warmly espoused the cause, and commanded collections to be made in all the parishes throughout England for this important object. The sum collected was very considerable. For, in addition to other stock, lands were purchased to the amount of seven or eight hundred pounds a year; and a corporation was appointed to employ the rents for promoting the conversion of the Indians.\*

Mr. Elliot's first business was to obtain a correct acquaintance with the Indian language, a work of immense difficulty, on account of the excessive length of the words, and the little affinity with any other language. Many of the words are so prodigiously long, that one would think, says Dr. Mather, they had been growing in length ever since the confusion of

\* Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part ii. p. 290.

Babel.\* But Mr. Elliot's zeal surmounted all these difficulties. He hired a native Indian, who understood English, to assist him; and after some time, by his own indefatigable pains and industry, he became a complete master of the language. He afterwards reduced it to a method, and published a grammar, entitled, "The Indian Grammar." At the end of this laborious production he thus wrote: "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing." In addition to this grammar, he compiled two catechisms in the Indian language; and translated into that language Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted," "The Practice of Piety," and the whole Bible. The translation of the Bible, a work of immense labour, says our author, he wrote with one pen. It was printed at Cambridge in New England, and was the first Bible that was ever printed in America.†

When he was properly furnished for the work, he entered upon it in the year 1646. Having called together a number of the Indians, at a fixed time and place, he paid them a visit, accompanied by several of his friends. After offering up fervent prayers to God, he preached to them about a quarter of an hour, from Ezek. xxxvii. 9, 10. *That by prophesying to the wind, the wind came, and the dry bones lived.* He introduced into his sermon a short account of the principal articles of the christian faith, and applied the whole to the Indians before him. Having finished his discourse, he inquired whether they understood; when they said they understood all. He then desired, as was his usual method afterwards, that they would ask him whatever questions they pleased. These questions generally referred to the sermon they had heard, and discovered what advantage they had derived.

It is almost incredible what hardships he endured in the prosecution of this great work; how many wearisome days and nights went over his head; how many tiresome journies he travelled; and how many terrible dangers he encountered. Some idea of the trials he endured, and of the supports he experienced, may be gathered from the following extract of his letter to Governor Winslow:—"I have not been dry, night nor day," says he, "from the third day of the week to the sixth, but so travelled; and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so

\* The two following words may serve as a specimen of their length. Nummatchekodtantamooonganunnonash, signifies, *Our lusts.* Kummogkod-onattoottummoetiteaonganunnonash, signifies, *Our question.*—*Mather's New England*, b. iii. p. 193.

† *Ibid.* p. 197.

“continue. But God steps in and helps. I have considered those words: *Endure hardness, as the good soldier of Jesus Christ.*”\*

These labours of love were not in vain, but crowned with abundant success. The natives, who felt the impression of the word of God on their hearts, were soon distinguished by the name of *Praying Indians*. Those who had wandered continually from place to place soon became inclined to a fixed life. Instead of living like wild beasts in a wilderness, they formed small settlements and built themselves little towns. They also formed for themselves a civil government, in which Mr. Elliot assisted them, taking the word of God for his model. Of these little settlements Natick was the principal. So early as the year 1648, this laborious servant of Christ could see the happy fruit of his ministry; and, said he, “I could find at least twenty men and women with whom I durst freely join in church fellowship.”† In the year 1651 the first Indian church was formed. The natives, having abandoned polygamy, fornication, drunkenness, and sabbath-breaking, confessed their sins with tears, and professed their faith in Jesus Christ. And giving satisfactory evidence of their conversion to God, they and their children were baptized. They were then solemnly united into a church covenant, and Mr. Elliot administered to them the Lord’s supper.‡ For many years he had the unspeakable felicity of seeing the abundant fruit of his holy and arduous labours. He was so much engaged in the work of converting these wild pagans, that he was usually styled, the APOSTLE OF THE INDIANS.§

As this eminent man of God approached towards his end, his conversation became still more holy, savoury, and divine. He was desirous of doing something for the Lord to the very last. When he looked upon his talents as too far gone for any further usefulness to the English, he desired to be employed in catechizing the negroes. At the very close of life he undertook to teach a poor blind boy the knowledge of the scriptures. He discovered much concern for the poor Indians to the very last. “There is a cloud,” said he, “a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among the poor Indians. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am dead. It is a work about which I have been

\* Mather’s New England, b. iii. p. 196.

† Thorowgood’s Jews in America, p. 121. Edit. 1650.

‡ Mather’s New England, b. iii. p. 197.

§ For a full account of Mr. Elliot’s zeal, labours, and success, together with others who were inspired by his example to prosecute the same work, see Mather’s *Hist. of New England*, b. iii. p. 190—206.

doing much and long. What was the word I spoke last? I recall that word, *my doings*. Alas! they have been poor and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them."

Mr. Elliot often told his friends that he should shortly go to heaven, and that he would carry much good news with him. He said, he would carry tidings to the old founders of New England, who were gone to glory, that church-work was still carried on in the country: that the number of churches was continually increasing: and that the churches were still as large as ever by the daily addition of those who should be saved. As the hour of his departure approached, the coming of the Lord Jesus was the principal subject of his serious contemplation. While he was thus retreating from the world, he used to say, "Come, Lord, I have been a great while ready for thy coming." He said to his friends, "Pray, pray, pray;" and, before his departure, he said to Mr. Walter, his successor, "Brother, thou art welcome to my very soul. Retire to thy study to pray for me, and give me leave to be gone." He then exclaimed, *welcome joy*, and so departed, in the year 1690, and in the eighty-sixth of his age. He had six children, all apparently converted to God, four of whom were preachers of the gospel.

Mr. Elliot was remarkable for resignation in all circumstances to the will of God. Having been one day out to sea in a boat, the boat was upset by a larger vessel, when he immediately sunk, without the most distant expectation of rising any more. In this situation he was perfectly collective and resigned to his heavenly Father's will. He could say within himself, "The will of the Lord be done." His life, however, was spared. But the following circumstance, as closely connected with it, was rather remarkable. Many profane persons were exceedingly enraged against him for labouring among the Indians; and one of this description hearing of his narrow escape, anxiously and profanely wished he had been drowned. But within a few days that very man was drowned in the very place where Mr. Elliot found deliverance.

He possessed the happy talent of raising profitable observations from common occurrences, with such a mixture of pleasantries and gravity, as rendered his company exceedingly desirable. Being once on a visit at the house of a merchant, and finding only books of business on the table, and all his books of devotion on the shelf, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "here is earth on the table, and heaven on the shelf;

pray do not sit so much at the table as to forget the shelf. Let not earth by any means thrust heaven out of your mind."

Mr. Elliot was an avowed enemy to all contention, and a great composer of differences. His advice was often sought in difficult cases; and when any minister complained of such cases among his people, he used to say, "Brother, compass them. Brother, learn the meaning of those three little words: *bear; forbear; forgive.*"\*

He was a man of great piety, uncommon zeal in the cause of Christ, and almost unbounded charity. When he was quite sunk with age and hard labour, being asked how he did, he replied, "Alas! I have lost almost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but, I thank God, my charity holds out still: I find that rather grows than fails."

He lived till he was quite worn out, and used pleasantly to say, "My old acquaintance are gone to heaven so long before me, that I am afraid they will think I am gone the wrong way, because I stay so long behind."† In addition to the articles already mentioned, he was author of "The Harmony of the Gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ;" and "The Divine Management of Gospel Churches."

**HANSERD KNOLLYS.**—This pious and venerable divine was born at Cawkwell in Lincolnshire, in the year 1598, and educated in the university of Cambridge. He had the privilege of pious parents, who were careful to have him instructed betimes in the principles of religion and good literature. His behaviour at the university, where he became a graduate, was particularly exemplary. He divided his time between study, conversation, and religious duties; and though he had been long noticed for his pious disposition, he attributed his conversion to the sermons which he there heard. It was at Cambridge, most probably, that he received his first tincture of puritanism; as he conversed chiefly with persons of that persuasion. Having finished his studies at the university, he was chosen master of the free-school at Gainsborough in his native county.

June 29, 1629, Mr. Knollys was ordained deacon, and the day following presbyter, by the Bishop of Peterborough; soon

\* Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 190—206.

† Neal's Hist. of New England, vol. ii. p. 471.

after which the Bishop of Lincoln presented him to the vicarage of Humberstone in his own county. He was indefatigably laborious, and preached mostly three times on the Lord's day, and not unfrequently four times; but he did not hold his living above two or three years. For, scrupling the lawfulness of using the surplice, the cross in baptism, and the admission of persons of profane character to the Lord's supper, he resigned it into the hands of the bishop; but, through his lordship's connivance, he continued to preach for two or three years longer in different churches. When he resigned the benefice of Humberstone, the bishop offered him a better living; but he resisted the temptation, and modestly refused to accept it. About the year 1636 he left the church entirely, renounced his episcopal ordination, and joined himself to the puritans. This exposed him to numerous difficulties and hardships. He was driven out of Lincolnshire, and, at length, out of the kingdom, for his nonconformity. Upon his going to Boston, probably with the view of being sheltered from the storm, he was apprehended by virtue of a warrant from the high commission, and, for some time, put under confinement. But, by his serious discourse, he so terrified the conscience of his keeper, that he set open the prison doors, and suffered him to depart. Having thus escaped the snare of his persecutors, he removed with his family to London; but, being still harassed by the high commission, he resolved to escape the violence of his enemies, and to depart into a foreign land. After suffering numerous hardships, being persecuted from one place to another, he took shipping in the river Thames, and, after many difficulties during the voyage, at length safely arrived at Boston in New England. When he went abroad he had only *six farthings* of his money left, only his wife had saved five pounds unknown to him, which she then gave him.

Mr. Knollys continued in America about five years, at the expiration of which period he returned to England upon the invitation of his aged father, and arrived in London, December 24, 1641. The dreadful massacre which during that year deluged Ireland with blood, was succeeded the following year by the civil wars which burst forth between the king and the parliament. Mr. Knollys, not long after his arrival, was again reduced to great poverty, and, after paying for his lodgings, had only *six-pence* left; but having many friends, he met with unexpected kindness and relief. For his better support, he took under his care a few scholars, whom he continued to instruct in his own house upon Great Tower-hill,

London, till he was chosen master of the free-school in St. Mary-Axe. There, in the space of one year, he had no less than one hundred and fifty-six scholars. But he quitted the benefits arising from this employment to go into the parliament's army; where he preached freely to the soldiers, till he perceived that the commanders sought their own glory and advantage, more than the cause of God and his people, breaking their vows and solemn engagements. Upon this he left the army and returned to London.

After the abolition of episcopacy, Mr. Knollys preached for some time in the parish churches with great approbation. But the presbyterians obtaining the ascendancy, and abusing their power, too much in imitation of their predecessors, proscribed all who did not fall in with their peculiar sentiments. Mr. Knollys, who had some years before embraced the leading opinions of the baptists, then a rising sect in England, propagated them with great zeal, freedom, and success. He engaged, about this time, in a public disputation with Mr. Kiffin and the learned Mr. Henry Jessey, on the subject of baptism, which continued several weeks.\* One of the most considerable of his converts was Mr. Jessey, to whom he administered the ordinance of baptism by immersion.† But the publicity with which he declared his sentiments, at length awakened the jealousy and incurred the displeasure of those in power.

Mr. Knollys, having been earnestly and repeatedly requested to preach one Lord's day at Bow-church, Cheapside, took occasion in his sermon to speak against the practice of infant baptism. This giving offence to some of the auditory, a complaint was immediately lodged against him to the parliament; and, by a warrant from the committee of plundered ministers, he was apprehended by the keeper of Ely-house, who refused bail, and kept him several days in prison. He was afterwards brought before the committee, in the presence of about thirty divines, and examined by Mr. White the chairman; to whom he gave such satisfactory answers, that he was discharged without blame, or paying fees; when the jailer was sharply reprov'd for refusing him bail, and threatened to be turned out of his place.

Not long after this, Mr. Knollys went into Suffolk, and preached at several places as opportunity offered, at the request of his friends. But, being accounted an "antinomian"

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. iii. p. 311.

† Mr. Jessey was afterwards silenced and imprisoned for nonconformity at the restoration.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 129—134.

and an "anabaptist," his sentiments were deemed seditious and factious, and the virulence of the mob was instigated against him by the high-constable. At one time he was stoned out of the pulpit; and at another time the doors of the church were shut against him and his hearers; upon which he preached in the church-yard. But this was a crime of too great magnitude to be connived at or excused. He was, therefore, taken into custody, and prosecuted at the petty-sessions of the county; then sent a prisoner to London, with articles of complaint against him to the parliament. On his examination he proved, by witnesses of good reputation, that he had neither sowed sedition nor raised tumult; and that all the disorders which had happened were owing to the malignity and violence of his opposers, who had acted contrary to law and common civility. He also produced copies of the sermons he had preached, and afterwards printed them. Indeed, his answers on this occasion were so perfectly satisfactory, that, on the report of the committee of the house of commons, he was not only discharged, but a vote passed that he should have liberty to preach in any part of Suffolk, when the minister of the place did not himself officiate. And, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Ipswich, the house ordered, January 17, 1648, that Mr. Knollys and Mr. Kiffin should go there to preach.\* In addition to all the trouble which the above business gave Mr. Knollys, it cost him no less than *sixty* pounds.

This persecuted servant of Christ, finding how much offence was taken at his preaching in the church, and to what painful and expensive troubles it exposed him, set up a separate meeting in Great St. Helen's, London; where the people flocked to hear him, and he had commonly a thousand hearers. This, however, gave greater offence to his presbyterian brethren than his former method; and the landlord was prevailed upon to give him notice to remove from the place. After this he had a large meeting-house in Finsbury-fields; and still continuing to preach, he was summoned before a committee of divines, in Queen's-court, Westminster. Being brought to examination, Mr. Leigh, the chairman, asked him, why he presumed to preach without holy orders. To whom he replied, that, though he had renounced his episcopal ordination, he was ordamed in a church of God, according to the order of the gospel; and then explained the manner of ordination among the baptists. At last, when he was com-

\* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 363.

manded to preach no more, he told them, that he would preach the gospel, both publicly and from house to house; saying, "It is more equal to obey Christ who commandeth me, than men who forbid me;" and so went his way, and ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ and him crucified. The displeasure of the presbyterians against Mr. Knollys, at this time, seems to have been occasioned chiefly by a letter which he wrote to a friend in Norwich, containing some sharp but just reflections on the proceedings of the London ministers against toleration. This letter, by some means, came into the hands of the Suffolk committee, who sent it up to London, where it was published.\* It is dated London, the 13th of the 11th month, called January, 1645, and addressed "to his beloved brother, Mr. John Dutton in Norwich," of which the following is a copy:†

"Beloved Brother, I salute you in the Lord.

"Your letter I received the last day of the week, and upon the first day I did salute the brethren in your name, who re-salute you, and pray for you. The city presbyterians have sent a letter to the synod, dated from Zion college, against any toleration; and they are fasting and praying at Zion college this day about further contrivings against God's poor innocent ones; but God will doubtless answer them according to the idol of their own hearts. To-morrow there is a fast kept by both houses and the synod at Westminster. They say it is to seek God about the establishing of worship according to their covenant. They have first vowed, now they make inquiry. God will certainly take the crafty in their own snare, and make the wisdom of the wise foolishness; for he chooseth the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and weak things to confound the mighty. My wife and family remember their love to you. Salute the brethren that are with you. Farewell:

"Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,  
"HANSERD KNOLLYS."

When Mr. Knollys quitted the army, he returned to his employment of teaching school, from whence he derived the principal means of his support. The allowance he received from the church, on account of the poverty of its members, was only trifling: "but," says he, "I coveted no man's silver or gold, but chose rather to labour, knowing it is more blessed to give than to receive." He, accordingly, gave

\* Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 231.

† Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 48.

liberally, out of his own earnings, to the poor of the church. Notwithstanding his constant avocations, he did not neglect the charge of his flock, but preached constantly two or three times a week, and visited his people from house to house, especially those who were sick. In the year 1644 he subscribed the confession of faith published by the seven baptist churches in London.\* Afterwards, in the year 1651, the sectaries labouring under severe persecution, he united with them in their "Humble Proposal," addressed "To the right honourable the committee of parliament, for receiving such proposals as shall be tendered to their consideration by persons fearing God, in order to the propagating of the gospel." It contains many excellent hints, tending to promote unity, concord, and the toleration of all worthy subjects.† In the "Declaration" published by the baptists, in the year 1654, fourteen of those who subscribed it are said to have walked with Mr. Knollys.‡

The life of this good man was one continued scene of trouble and vexation. Upon the rising of Venner, immediately after the restoration, in 1660, Mr. Knollys, with many other innocent persons, was dragged from his own dwelling-house, and committed to Newgate. There he suffered eighteen weeks' imprisonment, till released by an act of grace upon the king's coronation. At that time four hundred persons were confined in the same prison, for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The rebellion of Venner occasioned a royal proclamation, prohibiting *anabaptists* and other *sectaries* from worshipping God in public, excepting at their parish churches. This unnatural edict was the signal for persecution, and only the forerunner of those cruel laws which afterwards disgraced the reigns of Charles and James the second. Mr. Knollys, as may be supposed, was often obliged to shift his abode. After removing into different parts of England and Wales, he went over to Holland, from thence to Germany, and back again to Rotterdam; from whence he returned to London. These frequent revolutions occasioned a great variation in his circumstances. Sometimes he was worth several hundred pounds; at other times, he had no house to dwell in, no food to eat, nor any money to lay out. But these sudden changes tended very much to the exercise and confirmation of his graces, and furnished him with frequent instances of the goodness of Divine providence.

\* Featley's Dippers Dipt. p. 177.

† Grey's Examination, vol. iii. Appen. p. 144.

‡ Declaration, p. 22.

During his absence on the continent Colonel Legge, lieutenant of the ordnance, commenced a suit in chancery against him, to obtain possession of his house and ground, which he had left in charge with a friend, and which was alleged to be the property of the king. But the law not favouring his majesty's pretensions, the colonel sent a party of soldiers, and took violent possession of the premises, which had cost Mr. Knollys upwards of *seven hundred pounds*. He had, also, *two hundred pounds* lodged with the weaver's company, which was in the same manner given to the king, without the formality of the owner's consent. Much larger sums belonging to other persons shared the same fate. When a great monarch descends to such paltry and dishonourable methods of replenishing his empty coffers, he quits the dignity of his station, and becomes at once an object both of terror and contempt.

Mr. Knollys, upon his return from Holland, betook himself to his former employment of teaching school, by which he was enabled, through the blessing of God, to repair his losses, and to provide things honest and convenient for his family. For this service he was admirably qualified, being an excellent linguist, and having adopted an excellent method of instruction. So that when the times would permit him to follow this employ, he never wanted sufficient encouragement; and many persons eminent for piety and learning were educated under him. While he was employed in the education of youth, he was by no means negligent of that work which was the great labour of his life: but he continued in the faithful discharge of the pastoral office to his gathered congregation, in various places, till his death; at which time his meeting-house was in Broken-wharf, Thames-street. He also preached a morning lecture every Lord's day at Pinner's-hall. The bigotry and malice of men, indeed, occasioned frequent interruptions in his work. By virtue of the conventicle act, commencing May 10, 1670, he was apprehended at a meeting in George-yard, and committed by the lord mayor to the Compter, Bishopsgate. But having favour in the eyes of the keeper, he was permitted to preach to the prisoners. Not long after, at the sessions in the Old Bailey, he was set at liberty. The good man was no sooner delivered from these troubles than he was called to endure heavy bodily affliction; and afterwards some domestic trials, first by the loss of his wife, who died April 18, 1671, and then by the death of his only son.

Towards the close of life, this venerable servant of the

Lord recorded the following reflections, which are worthy of preservation :—“ My wilderness, sea, city, and prison mercies,” says he, “ afford me very many and strong consolations. The spiritual sights of the glory of God, the divine sweetness of the spiritual and providential presence of my Lord Jesus Christ, and the joys and comforts of the holy and eternal Spirit, communicated to my soul, together with suitable and seasonable scriptures of truth, have so often, and so powerfully revived, refreshed, and strengthened my heart in the days of my pilgrimage, trials, and sufferings, that the sense, yea, the life and sweetness thereof, abides still upon my heart, and hath engaged my soul to live by faith, to walk humbly, and to desire and endeavour to excel in holiness to God’s glory and the example of others. Though, I confess, many of the Lord’s ministers, and some of the Lord’s people, have excelled and outshined me, with whom he hath not been at so much cost nor pains as he hath been with me. I am a very unprofitable servant ; yet by grace I am what I am.”

The life of this holy and venerable person was prolonged to a good old age ; and he came to his grave like a shock of corn that is gathered in its season. During his last illness, which was of short continuance, he discovered extraordinary patience and resignation to the Divine will, longing to be dissolved and to be with Christ, not so much to be freed from pain and trouble as from sin. He kept his bed a few days only, and departed in a transport of joy, September 19, 1691, aged ninety-three years ; when his remains were interred in Bunhill-fields. Mr. Thomas Harrison preached his funeral sermon at Pinner’s-hall, which was afterwards published ; and Mr. Benjamin Keach published an elegy upon his death.

About two years previous to the death of this venerable divine, liberty was afforded to all denominations of dissenters, when the baptists took immediate steps to improve their privileges and promote the prosperity of their churches. To convene a general meeting for this purpose, a circular letter, signed by some of the London ministers, was sent to the different churches. That which was sent to the church at Luppitt in Devonshire, dated London, July 22, 1689, was signed by Mr. Knollys and several of his brethren. He also took an active part in several other transactions relative to the churches of his own denomination.\* Therefore,

\* Crosby’s *Baptists*, vol. iii. p. 93, 94, iv. 295, 296.—Ivimey’s *Hist. of Baptists*, p. 478—480, 488—502.

though he lived in evil times, and endured many persecutions, and other tribulations, he lived to see better days.

Mr. Knollys was favoured with an extraordinary measure of bodily strength, which fitted him the better for his great labours in the ministry, and enabled him to bear with resolution his numerous sufferings in the cause of Christ and a good conscience. He was very diligent and laborious in his work, both before and after his separation from the established church. While a conformist, he commonly preached three or four times on the Lord's day: at Halton, at seven in the morning; at Humberstone, at nine; at Scartho, at eleven; and at Humberstone again, at three in the afternoon. In addition to this, he preached every holiday, and at every funeral, as well of the poor as the rich. Nor was he less diligent in his beloved work after he became a nonconformist. For upwards of forty years successively he preached three or four times every week, whilst he enjoyed health and liberty; and when he was in prison it was his usual practice to preach every day. He possessed an excellent gift in prayer, and has recorded several remarkable answers to his petitions, particularly during the time of the great plague. The success of his ministry, after he became a baptist, was very great; but he seems to think that his labours were without any fruit while he continued in the church. How far this statement might proceed from prejudice, we will not pretend to ascertain; but the manner in which it is recorded appears to savour too much of it. He seems at first to have carried his separating principles to the same rigorous extent as the Brownists, who, not wholly unlike their episcopal brethren, were too free in their uncharitable censures. Indeed, bigotry, even in good men, appears to have been the prevailing evil of those times.

Mr. Knollys continued in his work as long as he had strength to perform it. He often entered the pulpit when he could scarcely stand, and when his voice could with difficulty be heard. Such an affection he had for his work, that he was unwilling to leave it. He bore his sufferings with the greatest courage and cheerfulness; took up his cross and followed the Lord daily; and behaved with great meekness towards his enemies. Through the whole of his life he exhibited a bright example of christian piety. He did not confine his affections to christians of his own party, but loved the image of God wherever he saw it. And so circumspect was he in the whole of his behaviour, as even to command the reverence and esteem of those who were

enemies to his principles.\* Dr. Mather, speaking of other excellent men, makes honourable mention of him as a person of a most pious and worthy character.† Though our excellent historian, Mr. Neal, appears to cast some reflections upon him, he does not seem to have deserved them.‡ Granger uncandidly and unjustly insinuates, “that he was strongly tinctured with quakerism.”§

**HIS WORKS.**—1. Christ exalted; a lost Sinner sought and saved by Christ; God’s People an holy People; being the Sum of divers Sermons preached in Suffolk, 1646.—2. The Shining of a Flaming Fire in Zion; an Answer to Mr. Saltmarsh, his thirteen Exceptions against the Grounds of New Baptism, in his Book, entitled, *The Smoke of the Temple*, 1646.¶—3. A Preface to Mr. Collier’s book, entitled, *The Exaltation of Christ*, 1647.—4. The Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven Expounded, Matt. xxv. 1—3., 1664.—5. Grammatica Latinæ, Græcæ & Hebraicæ, cumpendium; rhetoricæ ad umbratio; item radices Græcæ & Hebraicæ, omnes quæ in sacra-Scriptura veteris & novi Testamenti occurrent, 1665.—6. An Exposition of the whole Book of the Revelations, 1668.—7. An Essay of sacred Rhetoric, used by the Holy Spirit in the Scripture of Truth, 1675.—8. Last Legacy to the Church, 1692.—9. Some Account of his Life, to the year 1670, continued by Mr. Kiffin, 1692.—10. The World that now is, and that which is to come.—11. A Defence of Singing the Praises of God.—12. Preface to Mr. Keach’s Instructions for Children.

**JOHN WARD, A. M.**—This excellent person was the son of Mr. Nathaniel Ward, and grandson of old Mr. John Ward of Haverhil in Suffolk, where he was born, November 5, 1606. He possessed the spirit of his forefathers, being a pious, learned, and conscientious nonconformist. Refusing to aspire after worldly emolument, he was content with a mean and obscure situation in the county of Suffolk. Though he used to say, “as there is no place like the sea for fishing, so the more hearers a minister has, the greater reason there is to hope that some will be caught in the gospel net;” yet, on account of his uncommon modesty and humility, he preferred entering upon his ministry where he should be least exposed to public notice. He was so extremely

\* Life of Mr. Knollys, by himself. Edit. 1692.—Crosby’s Baptists, vol. i. p. 226—232, 334—344.—Harrison’s Fun. Ser. for Mr. Knollys.

† Mather’s Hist of New Eng. b. iii. p. 7.

‡ Neal’s Puritans, vol. iii. p. 151.

§ Granger’s Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 338.

¶ The author last mentioned observes on these two books of controversy; “If the reader should have patience to peruse these two very singular pieces, he will most probably be of opinion, that there is much more smoke than fire in them both.”—*Ibid.*

diffident of his own opinion, that he would never undertake any thing important relative to the church without previously consulting some judicious friend. And he used to say, "I had rather always follow advice, though it sometimes mislead me, than ever act without it, though I may do well with my own opinion." In the year 1633 he became rector of Hadley in the above county;\* but was obliged to resign it on account of his nonconformity. The dowery of his wife was a parsonage worth two hundred pounds a year, in case he could have conformed to the church of England. But a living of two hundred pounds a year was too weak an argument to convince his understanding and conscience of the lawfulness of conformity. As he could not, with a good conscience, continue in the church without manifold interruptions, he retired, in the year 1639, to New England, as an asylum from the rage of persecution. After his arrival, in 1641, he became pastor of the church at Haverhil; where he continued to watch over the flock of Christ, and to labour for the salvation of souls, during the period of fifty-two years. He preached his last sermon after he had entered upon the eighty-eighth year of his age; and being soon after seized with a paralytic affection, he died December 27, 1693. He was a person of quick apprehension, clear understanding, strong memory, and facetious conversation. He was a good scholar, an excellent physician, and a celebrated divine. His wife was a person of most exemplary piety, with whom he lived, in the greatest harmony and affection, upwards of forty years; during which period, he used to say, "she never gave him one offensive word."†

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 291.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 167, 168.

## ADDENDA :

CONTAINING A SKETCH OF THOSE PURITAN DIVINES  
OF WHOM NO FURTHER INFORMATION COULD BE  
OBTAINED.

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MR. ALLEN was an eminent puritan divine, and among the first sufferers for nonconformity in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1564 he was convened before the high commission at Lambeth, when he was sequestered and deprived for refusing subscription. He afterwards obtained absolution, and was again restored to his ministry.\*

MR. BROKLESBY was vicar of some church in the city of London, but prosecuted for nonconformity. He was accused of having asserted, 1. "That it was not lawful for women to baptize.—2. That, in the ministration of sacred things, he was above the queen.—3. That the Virgin Mary was begotten and conceived in sin.—4. That the purifying of women, according to the usage of the church, was superstitious.—And, 5. That the ecclesiastical ceremonies were the abominable rags of popery." Though it does not appear what sentence was inflicted upon him for these assertions; yet, April 3, 1565, he was deprived of his ministry for not wearing the surplice, and was the first who was thus punished for this significant crime.†

MR. EVANS was one of the ministers belonging to the congregation of separatists in London, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and, as a punishment for his

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 98.

† MS. Register, p. 10.—MS. Remarks, p. 170.

nonconformity, he was sent by the high commission into Scotland. He did not, however, continue long in the north, but, in May, 1568, returned to his native country. Because he could not, with a good conscience, conform to the ecclesiastical establishment, he kept private assemblies, with others of his brethren, as he had done before. But, by the recommendation of Archbishop Grindal, he was convened before her majesty's council for keeping conventicles; though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him. Mr. Evans is said to have been "a man of more simplicity than the rest of his brethren."\*

MR. FITS was one of the pastors of the separate congregation noticed in the above article. This church having assembled in private places for some time, was discovered, December 19, 1567, at Plumbers'-hall, when the members were committed to prison, and kept under confinement nearly two years. As the name of Mr. Fits is not in the list of those released from prison, he became pastor to these people, most probably, some time after this period.† One of the elders of this separate church was Mr. John Bolton, who afterwards revolted from his brethren and recanted at Paul's cross; for which he was reproved and excluded by the rest of the church.‡ His recantation was occasioned by the flattery and threatenings of the bishops. But finding afterwards that they slighted him, and considering how he had sinned against his own conscience, the terrors of the Almighty fell upon him, and, like Judas, he hanged himself.§

HUGH BOOTHE, A. M. was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. This presently awakened the attention of the ruling ecclesiastics; and, February 1, 1572, he was convened before the heads of colleges; but it does not appear whether he was released, or some heavy punishment inflicted upon him. Mr. John Studley, A. M. of the same college, was convened at the same time, and for the same offence; but this is all we know of him.||

\* Strype's Grindal, p. 121, 122.

† Ainsworth's Counterpoison, p. 38.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 392.

† See Art. Hawkins.

§ Cotton's Churches, p. 4.

**THOMAS GRESHOP, A. M.** was educated in All-Souls college, Oxford; a nonconformist of great learning and piety in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and a most loyal subject under her majesty's government. In the days of Edward VI. he went as chaplain in the army of Lord Gray of Wilton, in his expedition against the Scotch rebels.\* He translated into English, "A Treatise concerning a Declaration of the Pope's usurped Primacy;" written in Greek, above 800 years ago, by Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica.

**JAMES ROSIER** was vicar of Winston in Norfolk, but a zealous nonconformist to the ecclesiastical ceremonies, particularly in refusing to wear the surplice. Though he was willing to conform in all points as far as the word of God allowed, he was, in the year 1573, suspended from his ministerial exercise.†

**DR. PENNY** was a puritan minister of considerable eminence and popularity in London. In 1565 he was appointed by the lord mayor to be one of the preachers at the Spital the following Easter; which no sooner came to the ears of Archbishop Parker than he put a stop to it, on account of his nonconformity. He is, nevertheless, included in the list of peaceable nonconformists, who are said to have been gently treated, and were favoured with a license, or a connivance, to preach and hold ecclesiastical preferments. He afterwards gave up the ministry and turned physician, most probably on account of the oppressions of the times. He was living in the year 1573.‡ One Thomas Penny united with several others in addressing a letter, in 1577, to the celebrated Mr. Cartwright, in which they declare their firmness in the cause of nonconformity; but whether this was the same person we cannot learn.§

**MR. SPARROW** was a puritan divine of considerable eminence; but in the year 1573 was apprehended and carried first before the council, then the high commission. Being examined about Mr. Cartwright's opinions, and not answering to the satisfaction of his spiritual inquisitors, he was

\* MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 373. (8.)

† Strype's Parker, p. 452.

‡ Ibid. p. 213, 243, 414.

§ See Art. Gawton.

cast into prison, and threatened with banishment, if he would not conform.\*

MR. WALSH was preacher at Little Waldingfield in Essex, but, in 1573, was obliged to leave the place for non-conformity.† He afterwards preached in Suffolk, where he was esteemed a holy and painful divine, a great light in his time, and famous for his ministerial labours, his fervent zeal, and abundant charity. Mr. Samuel Crook, another worthy puritan, married his eldest daughter.‡

MR. FULWER was a puritan minister in London, but treated with great cruelty by the ruling prelates. He was a man of most exemplary piety, and greatly esteemed by his brethren, but cast into prison for nonconformity. Towards the close of the year 1573, he was, with several of his brethren, confined in the Compter; but how long he remained we have not been able to learn.§

MR. LOWTH was some time minister at Carlisle, but, in 1574, was prosecuted in the high commission of York for nonconformity. Having compared the severe proceedings of Archbishop Grindal and other commissioners to the Spanish inquisition, he was charged with slander. But the principal crime alleged against him was, that, though he had laboured in the ministry about sixteen years, he had never been ordained according to the practice of the church of England. After receiving the ecclesiastical censure, he made suit to the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury for pardon; which, said Grindal, was *intolerant*. Grindal, therefore, wrote to his brother of Canterbury, and prayed him, if it were in his power, to stay Mr. Lowth's pardon.¶ This, as might be expected, Archbishop Parker promised to do with all faithfulness.¶

JOHN BROWN was chaplain to the Duchess of Suffolk, but, in 1573, was convened before the council; and being

\* Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413.

† Ibid. p. 452.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologie, p. 205.

§ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 441, 442.

¶ Strype's Grindal, p. 185, 186.

¶ Strype's Parker, p. 480, 481.

examined upon certain articles, he was suspended from his ministry.\* The year following, he was concerned in Undertree's sham plot. Though Undertree had written many letters in his name, yet, when the case was brought under examination, the whole was proved to be a forgery, and Mr. Brown's innocence was proved and announced in open court.† He wrote certain letters, with ten questions proposed and answered, addressed to his brethren in the ministry, copies of which are still preserved.‡ One John Brown, B. D. was made canon of Windsor in the time of Queen Mary, and canon of Westminster in 1565, which he resigned, or was deprived of, in 1572; and died in 1584; but whether this was the same person it is difficult to ascertain.§

DAVID THICKPENNY was curate of BRIGHTHELMSTONE in Sussex, a man of good learning, and much beloved by his parishioners; but, in 1575, he was suspended by the Bishop of Chichester for nonconformity. He was charged, indeed, with the novel doctrines of the Family of Love; but, upon his examination, the charge was proved to be false. Although his innocence was fully proved, and his suspension taken off by Archbishop Grindal, he was soon after brought into fresh troubles for the same cause.||

EDWARD CHAPMAN was educated in Trinity college, Cambridge, where he maintained, in a public disputation, that Christ, at his death, did not descend locally into hell. He also observed, that for ministers to hold two or more livings was unlawful; by which he gave great offence to the ruling ecclesiastics.¶ He had a prebend in the church of Norwich, and was minister at Bedford; but, in 1573, was deprived by the Bishop of Lincoln. Having received his lordship's sentence, he made complaint to the court, which occasioned the bishop some trouble.\*\* In the year 1577, Mr. Chapman, and several of his brethren, fell into the hands of Bishop Aylmer, who recommended, as a just punishment for their nonconformity, that they should be sent into the most barbarous parts of the kingdom, where

\* Strype's Parker, p. 412, 413.

† Ibid. p. 466.

‡ MS. Register, p. 310, 665.

§ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 604, 722.

¶ Strype's Grindal, p. 197—199.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. 4, p. 583.

\*\* Strype's Parker, p. 449.

they might be profitably employed in reclaiming the people from ignorance and popery. This he recommended, not because he liked them, but because he wished to get rid of them.\*

RALPH LEVER, A. M. was educated in King's college, Cambridge, and afterwards archdeacon of Northumberland, but he resigned this preferment in 1573, when he was succeeded by Mr. Francis Bunney.† In 1577 he succeeded his brother, the celebrated Mr. Thomas Lever, as master of Sherborn hospital, near Durham. He was one of the canons in the church of Durham, and deeply concerned in drawing up the articles against Mr. Whittingham, whom he most probably succeeded in the office of dean.‡ He is, notwithstanding this, denominated a puritan. His assertions concerning the canon law, the English papists, and the ecclesiastical affairs of this realm, are still preserved.§ One of the same name was rector of Snatterton in Norfolk, in 1588, where his remains were interred, June 3, 1605; but whether this was the same person is perhaps doubtful.||

WILLIAM DREWET was committed to Newgate by the bishops, in 1580, for not consenting, it is said, to the traditions and filthy ceremonies of antichrist. He was of opinion, that men could not worship God in spirit and in truth, so long as they maintained human traditions, worldly ordinances, and popish ceremonies. How long he remained in prison we are not able to learn.¶

JOHN NASH, a zealous puritan minister, was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea for nonconformity. From the prison he wrote a bold letter, dated January, 1580, to the bishops and clergy in convocation. In this letter, a copy of which is still preserved, he styles himself *The Lord's Prisoner*, and boldly exposes the manifold errors and corruptions of the established church.\*\*

\* Strype's Aylmer, p. 55, 56.

† Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 356, 671.

‡ Strype's Parker, p. 275.

§ Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 319. ii. 514.

|| Blomefield's Hist. of Norfolk, vol. i. p. 285.

¶ MS. Register, p. 289.

\*\* Ibid. p. 291—298.

MR. EVANS, a worthy and conscientious minister, was presented by the Earl of Warwick to the vicarage of Warwick; but Dr. Whitgift, then bishop of Worcester, refused his allowance. When the worthy earl sent him to his grace, requesting that he might be admitted with a favourable subscription, the bishop said, "O, I know you, Mr. Evans, to be worthy of a better place than Warwick. I would very gladly gratify my lord; but there is a Lord in heaven whom I fear; and, therefore, I cannot admit you without subscription." Though the good man offered to subscribe in all points as far as the law required, the bishop would not admit him, unless he would enter into bonds to observe all things in the Book of Common Prayer. Upon this, Mr. Evans boldly addressed him, saying, "Will the law then permit you thus to play the tyrant, bishop? I shall see a premium upon you one day for these pranks."\*

RICHARD PROWD was a puritan minister of Burton-upon-Dunmore. In the year 1580 he wrote a very affecting letter to Lord Burleigh, giving a melancholy account of the state of religion, produced by the suppression of the religious exercises; and by forbidding ministers and others meeting together, to pray for the preservation of the protestant religion in so dangerous a crisis as the present, when there was a prospect of the queen's marriage with a papist. He expressed his doubts to his lordship whether he dealt so plainly with her majesty as the importance and his knowledge of these things required, and warmly urged him to interpose in the present alarming crisis. But it does not appear what effect this letter produced.†

JOHN HOOKE was minister at Wroxall in Warwickshire, but was suspended in 1583 for nonconformity. This was doubtless for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He continued a long time under the ecclesiastical sentence, and whether he was ever restored is rather doubtful. His annual stipend was only 5*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*‡

\* MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 328. (8.)

† Strype's Annals, vol. ii. p. 600. Appen. p. 22.

‡ MS. Register, p. 744.

**JOSEPH NICHOLLS** was minister in Kent, a laborious and faithful servant of Christ, endowed with great piety and rich ministerial accomplishments. In 1583 he was suspended for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles, when he united with his brethren, the ministers of Kent, in addressing the archbishop for relief.\* He is styled "the ringleader of the puritans."†

**JOHN HARRISON** was vicar of Histon in Cambridgeshire, and a conscientious nonconformist. For refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles he was twice warned, by virtue of his canonical obedience, to subscribe, but he still refused. In the end, when sentence should have been inflicted upon him, the commission was called in; and so he continued vicar of Histon, without observing the order of the Book of Common Prayer.‡

**WILLIAM FLEMING** was rector of Beccles in Suffolk, but because he could not, with a good conscience, subscribe to Whitgift's articles, he endured frequent molestation in the ecclesiastical courts, and at length, July 23, 1584, was suspended and deprived by Bishop Scambler. This is attested by Richard Skinner, the bishop's register.§

**JAMES GOSWELL** was a puritan minister of considerable eminence, most probably at Bolton in Lancashire, who corresponded with the venerable Mr. Anthony Gilby, of Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire. Two of his letters we have seen; and though they are without date, they were evidently written about the year 1584. In the latter, written from Bolton, he says, "I have no news to write out of this county. Here are great store of Jesuits, seminaries, masses, and plenty of whoredom. The first sort our sheriff courseth pretty well. Other good news is, that the Bishop of Canterbury has not yet, God be thanked, stung us with his articles, which in the south parts have so great power, that, by report, they have quenched the Lord's lights nearly to the number of *two hundred*."¶

\* See Art. Dudley Fenner.

† MS. Register, p. 389.—Strype's Whitgift, p. 140.

‡ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 211. § MS. Register, p. 585, 586.

¶ Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 436, 437.

**JOHN HOPKINS** was the puritanical vicar of Nasing in Essex, to which he was preferred in 1570, but was afterwards persecuted for nonconformity. About the year 1584 he was deprived of his benefice, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles.\*

**THOMAS FARRAR**, minister of Langham in Essex, was charged with rebellion against the ecclesiastical laws, and suspended by Bishop's Aylmer's chancellor for not wearing the surplice. On receiving the ecclesiastical censure, he procured a letter from certain respectable persons, addressed to the bishop himself, soliciting his favour and the removal of the sentence. This letter he carried to his lordship at Fulham, November 14, 1586; when, after demanding his reasons for not wearing the surplice, he said to Mr. Farrar, "that except he and his companions would be conformable, he and his brethren the bishops, in *good faith*, would, in one quarter of a year, turn them all out of the church;" and dismissed him without relieving him from his suspension.†

**JOHN OXENBRIDGE**, B. D. was minister at Southam in Warwickshire, and afterwards at Coventry, where he was celebrated for his great learning, piety, and usefulness. In 1576 he was convened before the high commission for nonconformity; but it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him.‡ About the year 1583 he was again called before his ecclesiastical judges, and suspended from his ministry. He was one of the heads of the associations; he subscribed the "Book of Discipline;" and ended his days among his friends at Coventry.§

**MR. HARSNET** was a learned and pious divine of Pembroke-hall, Oxford, but was persecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1586 he was convened before the Bishop of Oxford, and cast into prison for refusing to wear the surplice; but how long he remained under confinement we cannot learn.||

\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 432.

† MS. Register, p. 800, 805.

‡ Strype's Grindal, p. 212.

§ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 161.—Neal's Puritans, vol. i. p. 423.

|| MS. Register, p. 801.

**NICHOLAS WILLIAMSON** was minister of **Castle-Ashby** in Northamptonshire, but was suspended in the year 1586 for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He continued a long time under the sentence; and whether he was ever restored is uncertain.\*

**MR. GIBSON** was rector of **Ridlington** in Rutlandshire, but often convened before the Bishop of Peterborough, and, about the year 1586, deprived of his living for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. Being driven from his flock and his benefice, he went to London, and entered a suit against the bishop; but with what success we have not been able to learn. Indeed, he had not much prospect of success in contending with one of the persecuting prelates. **Mr. Wilkinson** and **Mr. Wilbloud**, two other ministers in the same county, were at the same time both suspended, when their livings were sequestered, and they were threatened with deprivation. But, laying their case before **Sir Thomas Cecil**, their worthy patron, he went himself to the archbishop, and procured an order to the bishop for their restoration.†

**MR. HORROCKS**, a worthy divine of puritan principles, was vicar of **Kildwick** in the West Riding of Yorkshire. In the year 1587 he was convened before the high commission of York, committed prisoner to the castle, and, having continued there for some time, was enjoined a public recantation, for the singular crime of suffering **Mr. John Wilson**, another puritan minister, to preach in his pulpit, though it was his native place.‡

**SAMPSON SHEFFIELD**, A. M. of Christ's college, Cambridge, was one of the preachers to the university. Having delivered a sermon, in the year 1587, containing certain erroneous and scandalous positions, as they are called, he was convened before his ecclesiastical judges, though it does not appear what punishment was inflicted upon him. These positions were the following:—"That it is unlawful for a minister of the gospel to be a civil magistrate.—That in the present troubles about conformity, brethren conspire against

\* MS. Register, p. 203.

† Ibid. p. 714.

‡ Ibid. p. 767.

brethren.—And he denounced a woe against him who had lately put out some lights that were used to shine in Cambridge.”\*

RICHARD GARDINER was a puritan divine of considerable repute in the university of Cambridge; who, in 1583, united with other learned divines in warmly requesting Mr. Cartwright to answer the Rhemist Translation of the New Testament. In 1587 he often met with the nonconformists at their private assemblies in London, Cambridge, and other places.† It does not appear whether he was any relation to Mr. John Gardiner, another puritan divine.

MR. KENDAL was a learned and peaceable divine, of a holy life and conversation, and one of the public readers in the university of Oxford; but he could not in conscience subscribe and observe the ceremonies, yet he refrained from speaking against them. He was, therefore, suspended by Archbishop Whitgift. The lord treasurer interceded with the archbishop for his restoration, in a letter dated April 21, 1590, in which he speaks of Mr. Kendal in terms of the highest commendation, and earnestly prays his grace to restore him to his ministerial exercise, at least till he was found guilty of disturbing the peace of the church. “But,” our author adds, “I do not find what success he had with the archbishop.”‡

EZEKIEL CULVERWELL, educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, was some time rector of Stambridge in Essex,§ and afterwards vicar of Felsted in the same county. When in the latter situation he was prosecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1583 he was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, for not wearing the surplice.|| He was a man of great piety and excellent ministerial abilities, and instrumental in the conversion of the celebrated Dr. William Gouge, when a boy at school. His sister was the doctor’s mother.¶ He is classed

\* Strype’s Annals, vol. iii. p. 489, 490.

† MS. Chronology, vol. i. p. 419. (1 | 3.)

‡ Strype’s Whitgift, p. 342.

§ Newcourt’s Repert. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 542.

|| MS. Register, p. 584.

¶ Clark’s Lives annexed to Martyrologic, p. 234.

among the learned writers of Emanuel college;\* and was author of "A Treatise of Faith," 1633; also, "A ready Way to Remember the Scriptures," 1637.

MR. BERNHERE was fellow in the university of Cambridge, where he received his education. He, like many of his puritanical brethren, scrupled the episcopal ordination of the national church, and went abroad, when he was ordained in one of the foreign reformed churches. About the year 1590, his claim to his fellowship was disputed in the university, because he was not a minister according to the church of England; but it does not appear whether he suffered deprivation. Upon his appearance before the governing ecclesiastics, Mr. Alvey very zealously defended his cause, and boldly maintained, that he was as good a minister as any there present.†

GEORGE NEWTON was the puritan minister at Barnwell in Northamptonshire. He never wore the surplice, nor used the cross in baptism, nor allowed the use of the ring in marriage, nor would he permit the oldest of his parishioners to come to the Lord's supper till they had passed his examination. Mr. Newton having spoken in a public discourse on the afflictions of the righteous, observed, that the proceedings of the bishops in the suspension of worthy ministers were *tyrannical*; for which he was accused to those in authority. When he appeared before his superiors, and was required to explain his meaning, he said that he meant this of *antichristian* bishops.‡

JOHN ALLISON was fellow in the university of Cambridge, and afterwards minister at the place mentioned in the last article, but was suspended in 1583, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's articles. He afterwards served the cure of Horningsheath in Suffolk, where he was again suspended by Dr. Legg; and it is added, that, although he was in neither case absolved, he still continued to preach.§

\* Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii, p. 210.

‡ Ibid. p. 211.

§ Ibid.

**WILLIAM BOURNE** was fellow in the above university; but, upon his entrance into the ministerial office, he scrupled subscription to Whitgift's articles. He sought to be ordained by the Bishop of Chester, but without success, because he could not in conscience subscribe. He then waited upon his lordship of Peterborough, and was in like manner repelled. At last he made application to the Bishop of St. Asaph, when it seems he gained admittance without subscribing to what he did not believe. The following persons, all fellows in the university of Cambridge, were nonconformable to the orders of the church: Mr. Thomas Binges, Mr. James Crowther, Mr. William Peachy, Mr. John Cupper, and Mr. Sparke.\*

**WILLIAM SMYTHURST** was beneficed at Sherrington in Buckinghamshire; but was convened before the high commission, and deprived of his living on account of his nonconformity. This was about the year 1595, when the Earl of Essex, his great friend, repeatedly applied to the lord keeper for his restoration, but apparently without the least success. In one of these applications, he affirms, that Mr. Smythurst had by various methods been molested, and wrongfully pursued, by the governing ecclesiastics.†

**MR. ADERSTER**, the puritanical minister of Gosberton in Lincolnshire, was tried in the year 1596, at the public assizes before Judge Anderson, who treated him with great cruelty. He had some years before been a great sufferer in the high commission at Lambeth, by silencing, deprivation, and other ecclesiastical censures, but was afterwards pardoned and restored. Being accused of the same things before Anderson, he was treated worse than a dog; and the good man could not obtain his release without entering into bonds and suffering other grievances.‡

**MR. B. BRIDGER** was a poor persecuted nonconformist minister; who, March 31, 1603, presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of the tyrannical proceedings of the ruling ecclesiastics, and praying for a redress of his grievances; which was no sooner read than he was immediately sent a prisoner to the Tower. Being pressed

\* Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xii. p. 211.

† Ibid. vol. xv. p. 179.

‡ Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 266, 267.

at his examination to confess whether any other persons were concerned in this petition, he refused to answer; lest, as he said, he should bring others into trouble as well as himself. His petition is entered in the commons' journal.\*

THOMAS NEWHOUSE, B. D. was educated in Christ's college, Cambridge, and chosen fellow of the house. He afterwards became minister of St. Andrew's church, Norwich, where he proved himself to be a learned and pious divine. Being, it is supposed, in some trouble for nonconformity, he sent his "Theses about Things Indifferent," to Bishop Jegen, his diocesan, in 1606. He was author of a volume of Sermons, published in 1614.† One T. N. wrote an "Account of Church Discipline," and an "Answer to the Archbishop's twenty-one Articles," copies of which are still preserved. This was probably the same person.‡

THOMAS EDMUNDS, B. D. was a puritan minister of distinguished eminence, and a person of great moderation. He was a member of the presbytery erected at Wandsworth in 1573;§ and about the same time he was cast into prison, it is said, "for the testimony of the truth."|| Afterwards he subscribed the "Book of Discipline." Being convened before the high commission and the star-chamber, in 1590, he took the oath *ex officio*, and discovered the associations.¶ In the year 1585 he became rector of Alhallows, Bread-street, London, which he kept to the end of his days. He died at a very great age, towards the close of the year 1610. Mr. Richard Stock, another worthy puritan, was his assistant while he lived, and his successor when he died.\*\*

STEPHEN GOUGHE, A. B. of Magdalen college, Oxford, but afterwards the puritanical rector of Stanmer in Essex. According to Wood, "he was a good logician, and an excellent disputant, but a very severe puritan." He was eminent for training up several famous scholars, among

\* MS. Remarks, p. 551.

† MS. Chronology, vol. ii. p. 657. (10.)

‡ MS. Register, p. 423, 447.

§ Fuller's Church Hist. b. ix. p. 109.

|| Baker's MS. Collec. vol. xxxii. p. 442.

¶ Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 77.

\*\* Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. vol. i. p. 246.—Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 62.

whom was Dr. Robert Harris, another puritan divine, and some time president of Trinity college, Oxford. Mr. Goughe was living in 1610.\*

ROBERT CLEAVER was minister at Drayton in Oxfordshire, but silenced by Archbishop Bancroft for nonconformity. In the year 1571, Mr. Thomas Merburie of Christ's college, Cambridge, left a legacy in his last will and testament "to that grave and learned man, Mr. Cleaver."† He was a most pious, excellent, and useful preacher. Mr. Clark styles him "a godly minister, a bright shining star, and a very able textman."‡ He died about the year 1613.§ He was author of "An Exposition on the last chapter of Proverbs." Mr. Cleaver and Mr. Dod were joint authors of "An Exposition on the ten Commandments," for which they were usually called *decalogists*. They also published "The Patrimony of Christian Children," containing a defence of infant-baptism, with some strictures on the sentiments of the baptists.

ROBERT MANDEVILL, A. M. was born in Cumberland, in the year 1578, and educated first in Queen's college, then at Edmund's-hall, Oxford. In the year 1607, he was elected vicar of Abby Holm in his native county. Although he met with great opposition in this place, yet, by his zealous and frequent preaching, his exemplary and pious life, he was successful in propagating the gospel. He shewed himself a zealous enemy to popery and all profaneness. He dissuaded his parishioners from keeping markets on the Lord's day, and from the observation of profane sports. According to Wood, "he was accounted a great man, a hard student, a laborious preacher, a zealous and religious puritan." He died at Abby Holm in 1618, aged forty years. He was author of "Timothy's Task, being two Sermons preached in two synodical Assemblies at Carlisle," 1619; and "Theological Discourses."¶

JOHN WILKINSON, denominated an ancient and stout separatist,¶ was a great sufferer for nonconformity. He was

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 888. ii. 171.

† Baker's MS. Collec. vol. iii. p. 314.

‡ Clark's Lives annexed to Martyr. p. 318, 319.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 457.

¶ Ibid. p. 375. ¶ Jessop's Errors of Anabaptism, p. 77. Edit. 1623.

author of a work entitled, "An Exposition of the xiii. chap. of the Revelations of Jesus Christ," 1619. This came out after his death, in which the publisher observes, that it was the author's desire and purpose to have published a work upon the whole of Revelation, but was prevented through the malice of the prelates, who several times spoiled him of his goods, and kept him many years in prison. A minister of the same name was A. M. and rector of Babcary in Somersetshire, in the year 1587; but whether he was the same person it is difficult to say.\*

JOHN MORTON was one of Mr. John Smyth's disciples at Amsterdam, from whom he received baptism by immersion. He afterwards came to England, was a zealous preacher of the sentiments of the general baptists, and a sufferer in the cause of nonconformity. He was contemporary with Mr. Helwisse, and a popular preacher in the city of London.† He is supposed to have been the author of a book entitled, "Truth's Champion," a work in high repute among those of his own persuasion.‡

MR. HUBBARD was a learned divine, and episcopally ordained, but afterwards he separated from the church of England. A congregation of separatists having been formed in Southwark, London, in the year 1621, he was chosen to the office of pastor. The pastor and members of this church resolving afterwards upon a removal, most probably on account of the oppressions of persecution, accompanied him to Ireland, where he died. Having lost their pastor, they returned to their native country, and settled in the vicinity of London, choosing the famous Mr. John Canne for their pastor.§

JOHN YATES, B. D. was fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and afterwards minister of St. Andrew's in the city of Norwich.|| About the year 1625, Dr. Montague having published his *Appello ad Casarem*, declaring himself in favour of arminianism, and making dangerous advances towards popery, Mr. Yates answered it in a work entitled,

\* Wood's Athenæ, vol. i. p. 816.

† Baillie's Anabaptism, p. 93.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 276—278.

§ Ibid. p. 163, 164.

|| Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 442.

*Ibis ad Cæsarem*, which he performed in a learned manner.\* He was a divine of puritan principles, and is classed among the learned writers and fellows of Emanuel college.† He was author of "The Saints' Sufferings and the Sinners' Sorrows," 1631.

JOHN FREWEN was the puritanical rector of Nordan in Sussex, a learned divine, and a constant preacher. He died towards the close of the year 1627, when his remains were interred in his own church.‡ He was father to Accepted Frewen, archbishop of York. The son was at first inclined to puritanism, but, upon his introduction to the court, and obtaining some preferment, it soon wore off. He afterwards expended £20,000 in repairing and beautifying the cathedral of Lichfield, part of which was at his own charge, the rest was raised by contribution.§ Mr. Frewen was author of "Fruitful Instructions and necessary Doctrine, to Edifie in the Fear of God," 1587.—"Fruitful Instructions for the general cause of Reformation, against the Slanders of the Pope and League," 1589.—"Certain choice Grounds and Principles of our Christian Religion, with their several Expositions, by way of questions and answers," 1621.

FRANCIS BRIGHT was a minister of puritan principles, trained up under the excellent Mr. John Davenport. In the year 1629 he accompanied Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton to New England; and upon his arrival settled with several of his friends at Charlestown.¶

MR. UDNEY was lecturer on a Lord's day afternoon at Ashford in Kent, enjoying a benefice in the neighbourhood. Ashford is said to have been the most factious town (the most addicted to nonconformity) in all Kent; and that Mr. Udney was invited there by factious persons, such as were registered in the high commission for holding conventicles. He had, however, the king's recommendation to the place; but is charged with having always preached con-

\* Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 121. † Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.

‡ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

§ Le Neve's Lives, vol. i. part i. p. 236.

¶ Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183, 184.—Morse and Parish's Hist. p. 36.

trary to his majesty's instructions, and with holding a benefice near the place, at which, for the space of ten years, he had never constantly resided.\* Therefore, about the year 1629, by the particular instigation of Bishop Laud, he was suspended for nonconformity; but Archbishop Abbot presently restored him to his ministry, and inhibited the archdeacon from his jurisdiction; which, says our author, exposed all who acted in it to scorn and contempt.†

**SAMUEL BLACKLOCK** was preacher to a baptist congregation in London. A number of pious persons about the metropolis having espoused the sentiments of the baptists, could not be satisfied that any person in England was suitable to administer the ordinance of baptism; but hearing that some in the Netherlands baptized by immersion, they agreed to send over one Mr. Richard Blount, who understood the Dutch language, to receive baptism at their hands. He accordingly went, carrying letters of recommendation with him, and was kindly received both by the church there, and by Mr. John Batte their teacher. On his return, he baptized Mr. Blacklock the minister, and these two baptized the rest of the company, to the number of fifty-three. The generality of English baptists, however, accounted all this as needless trouble, and as founded on the old popish doctrine, that an uninterrupted succession is requisite to the proper administration of the sacraments.‡

**MR. BRADSTREET**, born of a wealthy family in Suffolk, was one of the first fellows of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and highly esteemed by persons distinguished for learning. In the year 1603 he appears to have been minister at Hobling in Lincolnshire, but was always a nonconformist to the church of England. He was afterwards preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg, where he was most probably driven by the severity of persecution. He was living about the year 1630. The first planters of New England had the highest respect for him, and used to style him, "The venerable Mordecai of his country." He was father to the celebrated Simon Bradstreet, governor of New England, who died in 1697, aged ninety-four years.‡

\* Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 373.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 201.

‡ Crosby's Baptists, vol. i. p. 102, 103.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. ii. p. 19.

**MR. CROWDER**, vicar of Vell in Surrey, was a pious man, and a frequent preacher, but endured cruel persecution. About the year 1631 he was committed close prisoner to Newgate for sixteen weeks, and then deprived of his living by the high commission, without any articles, witness, or other proof brought against him. It was, indeed, pretended that he had spoken some treasonable words in the pulpit; but the truth was, he preached twice on a Lord's day too near the court, which at that time was not conformable to the oppressive measures of the ruling prelates.\*

**SAMUEL SKELTON** was a pious and zealous minister in Lincolnshire, but much harassed and persecuted for non-conformity. In the year 1629 he accompanied Mr. Higginson and others to New England. Arriving in the Massachusetts bay, they settled at Naumkeak, which they called Salem, where their first work was the formation of a christian church. Having on this occasion appointed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher.† Mr. Skelton survived his colleague, and, after enduring many painful hardships, entered into the joy of his Lord, August 2, 1634.‡ He was a man endowed with a strong faith, a most heavenly conversation, and was well furnished with ministerial abilities.§

**HUMPHREY BARNET** was minister at Uppington in Shropshire, where he and Mr. Wright of Wellington were accounted the first puritans in the county, for no other reason than their sedulous preaching and their sober and pious lives, though at that time they were both conformable to the established church. He was a celebrated preacher, and much admired by the country people, who flocked to hear him twice every Lord's day, a practice then not very common. When the Book of Sports came forth, instead of reading it, he preached against it; for which he was cited to appear before the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and forced to leave the diocese. Being driven from the people of his charge, he removed into Lancashire, where he closed his labours and sufferings, probably about the year 1634.¶ Mr. Joshua Barnet, silenced in 1662, was his son.‡

\* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 161.

† Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183, 189.

‡ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 76.

¶ Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 726.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. iii. p. 150.

§ Hist. of New Eng. p. 22.

**MR. BRODET** was a zealous puritan minister, but shamefully persecuted by the intolerant prelates. For preaching against profane sports on the Lord's day, and some other instances of nonconformity, he, together with many others, was, about the year 1634, prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts, subjected to heavy fines, and suspended or degraded from his ministry.\*

**RICHARD DENTON**, a pious and learned man, was born in Yorkshire, and afterwards preacher at Halifax in that county. Having laboured at this place for some time, and with good success, the storm of persecution which drove multitudes out of the kingdom, forced him to New England; where first at Wethersfield, then at Stamford, "his doctrine dropt as the rain, his speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain on the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass." He was a little man, but he had a great soul, and a well-accomplished mind; and, though he had but one eye, he had a deep insight into those things which eye hath not seen.†

**JOHN VINCENT** was born in the west of England, and died in the rich living of Sedgfield, in the county of Durham. It is observed of this excellent man, that he was so harassed and tossed about for his nonconformity, that, though he had many children, no two of them were born in the same county. He was living in the year 1634.‡ Mr. Thomas and Mr. Nathaniel Vincent, both ejected nonconformists, were his sons.§

**JOHN TRASK** was born in Somersetshire, and afterwards removed to London, where he discovered his zeal for nonconformity. He opposed the observance of the first day of the week, maintaining the obligation of the fourth commandment, and the necessity of keeping the seventh day as the sabbath of the Lord. For these opinions, he was, about the year 1655, convened before the tribunal of the star-chamber, and sentenced to be set in the pillory at Westminster, and to be whipt from thence to the Fleet, where he was ordered to

\* Huntley's Prelates' Usurpations, p. 175.

† Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 95.

‡ Calamy's Contin. vol. i. p. 30.

§ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 155, 304.

remain a prisoner. It is said, that about three years after he wrote a recantation of his schismatical errors.\*

**ADAM BLACKMAN** was a pious and useful preacher, first in Leicestershire, then in Derbyshire. But having endured the severity of persecution in his native country, he went to New England, and settled first at Guildford, then at Stratford in the new colony. Many pious friends accompanied him from England, who said to him, "Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you. For whither you go, we will go; and your God shall be our God." He was a man of great holiness, a plain and profitable preacher, and a most worthy divine. He went to New England probably about the year 1636.†

**THOMAS WARREN** was a puritan minister, and some time curate at St. Lawrence's church, Ipswich. On account of his nonconformity, he was admonished by Bishop Wren's chancellor to observe the good orders of the church, and to certify his obedience on a future court-day: but, to avoid suspension, he gave up his curacy and left the place. It is observed, that he had no license to preach in the diocese of Norwich, nor had he produced his orders. He is charged with neglecting all the orders of the church and the rules of divine service, and with having quoted many dangerous passages in the pulpit, tending to the disparagement of the state and disquiet of the people. He was, therefore, cited to appear before the bishop; but, having left the town and removed into Bedfordshire, he heard no more of it.‡

**WILLIAM HERRINGTON** was some time curate at St. Nicholas's church, Ipswich, where he met with similar usage as Mr. Warren, mentioned in the preceding article. He was admonished by his diocesan's chancellor to observe the good orders of the church, and to certify his obedience on a future court-day: but, to avoid further trouble, he resigned his curacy. It is insinuated, that he and Mr. Warren, after they were admonished, raised a great clamour, and deserted their cures: and it is added, that they refused to observe the orders

\* Paget's Heresiography, p. 161, 184. Edit. 1662.

† Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 94.

‡ Wren's Parentalia, p. 96, 97.

of the church only through fear of losing the means of their support, and not from any dislike to them.\* This, however, is exceedingly improbable. They were certainly in greater danger of losing their cures and support by refusing the ecclesiastical orders, than by a universal conformity.

**NICHOLAS BEARD** was a puritanical curate in one of the churches in Ipswich, but suspended by the intolerant proceedings of Bishop Wren. The principal cause for which he was thus censured was his refusal to produce his letters of orders and his license to serve the cure. This tyrannical prelate, it is said, was not hasty to restore him, because he had some years before overheard him inveigh very bitterly in his sermon against the state, and against a noble earl and great officer of the realm. His lordship was also informed, that Mr. Beard was of a very turbulent spirit, and was suspected of having been the secret promoter of a riot committed by a dangerous concourse of mean people against the bishop himself.† Had he been suspected of so atrocious a crime, he ought to have been tried in a court of justice; and, if proved guilty by a regular course of law, to have been punished according to his deserts. But guilty or not guilty, his lordship, without waiting the formality of law, was determined to stop his mouth.

**WILLIAM GREEN** was curate of Bromholm, but, about the year 1636, was suspended by Bishop Wren for nonconformity. It is said that many defects were found in him, particularly his refusal to wear the clerical habit. This was certainly his greatest defect. Afterwards, however, upon his submission, he was absolved, and only his license to preach taken from him, for being illiterate and formerly a man of trade.‡

**WILLIAM POWELL** was minister in the diocese of Norwich, and suspended or deprived by the arbitrary proceedings of Bishop Wren. It is said he was treated thus "for many defects against the canons, and had absolution soon after granted to his proctor, without coming for it himself." Mr.

\* Wren's Parentalia, p. 96.

† Ibid. p. 94.

‡ Ibid. p. 96.

Richard Raymund, another puritan minister, experienced similar treatment, on account of his nonconformity,\*

**WILLIAM KENT** was minister in the city of Norwich, and suspended for his nonconformity. It is observed, "that Bishop Wren's chancellor suspended him about ten o'clock in the forenoon, and absolved him before three in the afternoon of the same day, without receiving any fee for his admission." He died soon after his troubles. Messrs. Hudson, Brown, Mott, Ward, and many others, were among the great sufferers from Bishop Wren's intolerant proceedings.†

**MR. DAVENISH**, minister of Bridgwater in Somersetshire, was suspended by Bishop Pierce of Bath and Wells, about the year 1636, for preaching a lecture in his own church on a market day, though it had continued ever since the time of Queen Elizabeth; and he refused to absolve him till after he had faithfully promised to preach it no more. When his lordship absolved him upon this promise, he said, *Go thy way; sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee.* This tyrannical prelate put down all the lectures in his diocese as factious and nurseries of puritanism, and said, **I THANK GOD, I HAVE NOT ONE LECTURE LEFT IN MY DIOCESE,** hating the very name.‡ He enjoined Mr. Humphrey Blake, churchwarden of Bridgwater, to do penance, because he had not presented Mr. Davenish for expounding the church catechism on the Lord's day afternoon, and using a short prayer before he entered upon that exercise. "This," said his lordship, "was against his orders and commands."§

**MR. BARRET** was rector of Barwick in Somersetshire, but prosecuted by Bishop Pierce for refusing to observe his oppressive injunctions. This divine, and many others, instructed their parishioners in the principles of religion by catechizing them on a Lord's day afternoon; for which they were sharply reproved by this prelate, and threatened to be severely punished if they persisted in the practice. His

\* Wren's Parentalia, p. 94.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

† Ibid. p. 94, 95.—Rushworth's Collec. vol. iii. p. 353.

‡ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 377.

§ Impeachment of Bp. Pierce, p. 3, 4.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 378.

lordship said, "That this was catechizing sermon-wise, and AS BAD AS PREACHING." He also charged them, "That they should not ask any other questions, nor receive any other answers from the people, than those contained in the Book of Common Prayer." Those who refused to obey his lordship were convened before him, and punished for their disobedience; among whom was Mr. Barret, who, as the reward of his transgression, was commanded to do penance.\*

MR. SALISBURY was a pious and zealous divine, and an avowed enemy to popery and arminianism. In the warmth of his zeal for the welfare of Zion, in his sermon on Matt. xxiv. 6., he made use of the following expressions:—"How many thousands have made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, renounced our true church, stept aside to arminianism, and from thence, being the widest gate open to Rome, relapsed to popery! Thus are we scattered in our Jacob, and divided in our Israel. The Low Countries not long since, if not still, sighed as deeply, and mourned as strongly, finding themselves overgrown with arminianism. And what a faction is likely to be in our deplorable England, between popery and arminianism together, except God be more merciful, and our state more vigilant and mindful! We shall see sooner than tell, and feel sooner than see."—For only using these expressions, the good man was convened before Archbishop Laud, and endured other troubles.†

MR. JEFFRYES was some time preacher in the diocese of Bristol, but driven from his place by the oppressions of the times. Archbishop Laud gives the following account of him:—"In the diocese of Bristol, in 1638, the bishop found out one Jeffryes, who commonly administered the blessed sacrament of the Eucharist, being either not in holy orders at all, or at least not a priest. As soon as he was discovered he slipt out of the diocese; and the bishop thinks, that he now serves in a peculiar under the dean and chapter of Wells." The archbishop then adds, "I will send thither to know the certainty, and see the abuse punished, if I can light upon the person."‡

\* Impeachment, p. 4.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 378.

† Ibid. p. 362.

‡ Wharton's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 555.

**HENRY PAGE** was the pious vicar of Ledbury in Herefordshire, who, in the year 1638, was complained of to Archbishop Laud, and prosecuted in the high commission for refusing to read the Book of Sports. But that which proved an aggravation of his crime, was his uttering the following opprobrious and disgraceful expressions, as they were called: "Is it not as lawful to pluck at a cart-rope on the sabbath day, as at a bell-rope? Is it not as lawful for a weaver to shoot his shuttle on the sabbath-day, as for a man to shoot his bow? And is it not as lawful for a woman to spin at her wheel, or for a man to go to his plough, as for a man to dance that devilish dance?"\*

**RALPH SMITH** was a minister of puritan principles, who, in the year 1629, to escape the severities of persecution, fled to New England. He accompanied Mr. Higginson and the first planters of the Massachusetts colony.† He settled for a short time at Natasco, but was afterwards chosen pastor of the church at Plymouth, to which office he was separated by fasting and prayer, with the imposition of hands from the elders of the church. He was a grave man, of a good understanding, and much beloved by his people. For the space of two years he had Mr. Roger Williams for his assistant.‡ He was living as pastor of this church in the year 1638.§

**EPHRAIM HEWET** was minister of Wroxhall in Warwickshire, but persecuted for nonconformity. Archbishop Laud, in the account of his province in 1638, says, "He hath taken upon him to keep fasts in his parish, by his own appointment, and hath contemned the decent ceremonies commanded by the church. My lord the Bishop of Worcester proceeds against him, and intends either to reform or punish him."¶

**DR. JENNINGSON**, the pious lecturer at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was much persecuted for nonconformity. In the year 1639, by the instigation of Archbishop Laud, he was

\* Fryne's Cant. Doome, p. 149, 150.

† Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ Ibid. p. 188, 189.—Neal's Hist. of New Eng. vol. i. p. 115, 141.

§ Morton's Memorial, p. 108.

¶ Whartoa's Troubles of Laud, vol. i. p. 554.

questioned in the high commission at York. The articles of his examination, together with the doctor's answers, were sent to Lambeth, for the archbishop's consideration. This was going the sure way to work. And the good man was so cruelly harassed in the various ecclesiastical courts, that he was obliged to quit the place, and the kingdom too; when, to avoid the fury of his tyrannical persecutors, he fled to New England.\*

JOHN JEMMET, lecturer at Berwick-upon-Tweed, was barbarously handled for his nonconformity. The outstretched arm and tyrannical oppressions of Archbishop Laud, were carried so far north. For, in December, 1639, he caused the Bishop of Durham to apprehend him by a pursuivant, to silence him from preaching any more at Berwick, and to banish him from the town, without any article or witness ever being examined against him.†

JOHN STOUGHTON, D. D. was fellow of Emanuel college, Cambridge, where he most probably received his education. He is classed among the learned writers and fellows of that college, and is denominated a pious and learned divine.‡ He was rector of St. Mary's church, Aldermanbury, London; where he succeeded the excellent Dr. Thomas Taylor. Here, for the space of seven years, he was a laborious, orthodox, and useful preacher; but having occasionally touched upon the popish and arminian innovations, he was, by the instigation of Laud, prosecuted in the high commission. § He died in the year 1639, when he was succeeded by Mr. Edmund Calamy, the ejected nonconformist. || He was author of "Choice Sermons," 1640.—"Heavenly Conversation, and the Natural Man's Condition," 1640.—"A Form of Sound Words, with the Righteous Man's Plea to true Happiness."

MR. BURCHELL was minister at St. Martin's, Micklegate, York, where he was much esteemed by persons of piety. Previous to the civil wars, when the nonconformists were

\* MS. Remarks, p. 901.—Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 382. † Ibid.

‡ Fuller's Hist. of Cam. p. 147.—Leigh on Religion and Learning, p. 330.

§ Prynne's Cant. Doome, p. 362.

|| Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 77.

severely persecuted, he was a zealous puritan, and kept conventicles in the house of Dr. Scott, dean of York, though unknown to him. The doctor being much addicted to cards and other games, had not the least concern about puritanism. But Mrs. Scott, the dean's wife, being much inclined to conventicles, her house was chosen not only as the most convenient place, but the most secret and secure in those perilous times. Lady Bethell, with other persons of quality, and those in meaner circumstances, united in these private religious exercises.\*

THOMAS SCOTT was a zealous puritan minister in the diocese of Norwich, but suspended for nonconformity. He was under the ecclesiastical censure, said Bishop Wren, when he first entered personally into the diocese; and, with all tender and respectful usage, he absolved him for three months, then for six months, and, at the expiration of that period, for eight or nine months longer. During this period, Mr. Scott sent his lordship several letters, expressing his grateful acknowledgments of these favours. After all, it seems extremely doubtful whether he was ever fully restored to his ministry. He died in the year 1640.† There were two ministers of the same name, who lived about this time; but it is difficult to say whether either of them was this Mr. Scott.‡

WILLIAM MADSTARD was a pious minister at Bridgnorth in Shropshire, where, towards the close of life, he had the celebrated Mr. Richard Baxter for his assistant. He was a nonconformist, particularly in refusing to wear the surplice and the use of the cross in baptism; but a man of an exemplary christian character. Mr. Baxter denominates him "a worthy pastor, a grave and severe-divine, very honest and conscientious, and an excellent preacher;" but adds, "he was deeply afflicted with a dead-hearted, unprofitable people." He died, together with his wife, of a malignant fever, in the month of July, 1641, at an advanced age. Mr. Baxter preached his funeral sermon.§

\* MS. Chronology, vol. iii. A. D. 1640. p. 12.

† Wren's Parentalia, p. 94.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 846.—Granger's Biog. Hist. vol. i. p. 367.

§ Sylvester's Life of Baxter, part i. p. 15, 20.

**MR. COOPER** was the pious rector of Alton in Hampshire. In the year 1634 he was suspended by Dr. Rone and Sir John Lamb, visitors to Archbishop Laud, for refusing to read the Book of Sports; and he continued under the cruel sentence about seven years. In 1641, his case being laid before the house of commons, it was resolved, "That his suspension was illegal; that the sentence should be taken off; that he should be restored to his living; and that Dr. Rone and Sir John Lamb ought to make him reparations for the damages he had sustained."\*

**EDMUND SMALL** was minister at Holm in Lincolnshire, but persecuted in the high commission and deprived of his benefice. In the year 1641, having remained a long time under the ecclesiastical censure, his case was laid before the house of commons; and, after due examination, it was resolved, "That the sentence of his deprivation was illegal; and that he should be restored to his living."†

**MR. SMITH** was suspended by Sir John Lamb; and having remained a long time under the sentence, his case, in the year 1641, was laid before the house of commons. After due examination, the house resolved, "That he had been illegally suspended; and that Sir John Lamb ought to give him reparation and satisfaction for his damages sustained by that suspension."‡

**JOHN SPENCER** was an unordained and popular preacher in the city of London; for which he was brought into trouble, with several others, in the year 1641. It is said that one Robinson, a clerk in the custom-house; John Spencer, a horse-courser; Adam Banks, a stocking seller; John Durant, and one Greene, being complained of for their lay-preaching, were summoned to appear before the house of commons. On their appearance, the speaker reprimanded and threatened them, saying, "That the house had a general distaste to their proceedings; and that, if they should offend in like manner in future, the house would take care that they were severely punished."§ It does not, however, appear whether Mr. Spencer and his brethren obeyed this order. He is

\* Nalson's Collection, vol. ii. p. 454.

† Ibid. p. 319.

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‡ Ibid. p. 446.

§ Ibid. p. 265, 270.

classed among the zealous sectaries; and Edwards says, he was formerly Lord Brook's coachman, and an early preacher.\*

**HANNIBAL GAMMON, A. M.** was born in the city of London, in 1585, and educated in Broadgates-hall, Oxford. He was afterwards beneficed at Maugan in Cornwall, where he became a very popular preacher. On the commencement of the civil war he espoused the cause of the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines. Wood says, "he was much followed by the puritanical party for his edifying and practical preaching."† He was author of "An Assize Sermon," 1621.—"A Sermon at Lady Roberts's Funeral," 1627.—"Praise of a Godly Woman, a Wedding Sermon," 1627.—"God's Smiting to Amendment, an Assize Sermon," 1629.

**MR. WAINWRIGHT** was a beneficed minister in the county of Suffolk; but he resigned his living, worth two hundred pounds a year, on account of his nonconformity. He would not hold his benefit any longer, because he deemed it anti-christian; and after he had given it up, he said, "I have ever since asked God forgiveness for holding it." According to my author, he boasted that he had pulled down the bishops, and that he would do the same by the presbyterians;‡

**JOHN SIMS** was a minister of the baptist persuasion, who preached at Hampton. In a journey to Taunton he was prevailed upon to preach in the parish church of Middlesoy. This gave so much offence to the dominant party, that he was seized by virtue of the act against unordained ministers; and the letters which he was to deliver to some pious friends were taken from him. These, with his examination, were sent to London, by way of complaint against him, and printed. The charges specified in the examination were, his preaching when unordained, and denying infant-baptism. He acknowledged the latter, and pleaded against the former, that, "as Peter was called to preach, so was he."§

\* Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 49.

† Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 26.

‡ Edwards's *Gangræna*, part iii. p. 81.

§ *Ibid.* p. 50.—Crosby's *Baptists*, vol. i. p. 232, 233.

**JOHN FOXCROFT, A. M.** was educated in Magdalen-hall, Oxford, and afterwards minister at Gotham in Nottinghamshire; where, according to Wood, he continued a puritanical preacher several years. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he joined the parliament, was molested by the royal party, and chosen one of the assembly of divines, and he constantly attended. Removing to London, he became a frequent preacher in the city; and he preached sometimes before the parliament. One of his sermons is entitled, "The Good of a Good Government, and Well-grounded Peace, being a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, on Isa. xxxii. 1, 2."—1646.\*

**RALPH MARSDEN** was a pious minister of puritan principles at West Kirby in Cheshire, where he was succeeded by Mr. John Murcot, another puritan, who married his daughter.† He died minister of Great Neston in the same county, January 30, 1648. He had four sons in the ministry; Samuel, Jeremiah, Gamaliel, and Josiah, all silenced nonconformists at the restoration.‡

**NICHOLAS DARTON, A. B.** was born in Cornwall, in 1603, and educated in Exeter college, Oxford. Having entered into holy orders, he became minister of Killesby in Northamptonshire. He was always accounted a puritan; so that, on the commencement of the civil war, he joined the presbyterians, and espoused the cause of the parliament.§ He published "The true and absolute Bishop, with the Converts Return unto him," 1641.—"Ecclesia Anglicana; or, a clear and protestant Manifesto, as an evangelical Key sent to the Governor of Oxford, for the opening of the Church-doors there, that are shut up without prayers or preaching," 1649.—And "Several Sermons."

**HENRY ROBOROUGH** was chosen one of the scribes to the assembly of divines, and, about the same time, appointed rector of St. Leonard's, East-cheap, London, which he held to his death.|| He was one of the committee of divines appointed to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry;‡

\* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 827.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 340. iii. 421, 436, 475.

§ Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 68.

|| Ibid. p. 116.

¶ Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 140.

and he united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the king's death.\* The profits of printing the Directory being given to him and Mr. Byfield, the other scribe to the assembly, they are said to have sold the copy-right for several hundred pounds.† Mr. Roborough died in the year 1650, and was succeeded in his living by Mr. Matthew Barker, one of the silenced nonconformists in 1662.‡

**ABRAHAM PEIRSON** was born in Yorkshire, where he probably laboured in the ministry, but was driven by the severity of the times to New England. On his arrival, about the year 1640, he was invited to be first pastor of the church at Southampton on Long Island, where he continued about eight years. He then removed, with part of the church, to Brainford, where he probably continued the rest of his days. He left behind him the character of a pious and prudent man, and a true child of Abraham.§

**HOWEL VAUGHAN** was a pious minister, of the baptist denomination, in Wales. A baptist church having been formed at Olchon, about the year 1633, which is said to have been the first separate church in Wales, Mr. Vaughan, being one of its members, was chosen to the pastoral office. His name was Vaughan, but wrote by some Ychan, or Fychan, which is the Welsh spelling of Vaughan.¶ He attended the associations of ministers in the Principality; and his name is among those who signed the minutes of the association at Abergavenny, in the year 1653.¶

**ROBERT MATON, A. M.** was born at Tudworth in Wiltshire, in the year 1597, and educated at Wadham college, Oxford. Having entered upon the ministerial work, he was probably beneficed in his native county. He was a zealous millenarian; and upon the commencement of the civil wars, the press being open, he published his sentiments to the world in the following articles:—"Israel's Redemption; or, a Prophetical History of our Saviour's Kingdom on Earth," 1642.—"A Discourse of Gog and Magog, or the Battle of

\* Calamy's Contin. vol. ii. p. 743. † Fuller's Church Hist. b. xi. p. 222.

‡ Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 146.

§ Mather's Hist. of New England, b. iii. p. 95.

¶ Thomas's MS. Materials, p. 11.

¶ Thomas's MS. Hist. p. 45.

the Great Day of God Almighty," 1642.—"A Comment on the twentieth chapter of Revelation," 1652.—"Israel's Redemption Redeemed; or, the Jews general and miraculous Conversion to the Faith of the Gospel, and Return to their own Land, and our Saviour's Personal Reign on Earth, proved from the Old and New Testament," 1646.—This he republished with additions, entitled, "A Treatise of the Fifth Monarchy; or, Christ's Personal Reign on Earth a Thousand Years with his Saints," 1655.\*

PETER PRUDDEN was born in the year 1600, and afterwards preached in Herefordshire and on the borders of Wales, where God marvellously blessed his pious labours. But he was driven from his station by persecution, when he fled to New England, and was accompanied by many worthy persons. Upon their arrival, they settled for a short time at New-Haven, then removed to Milford, where he was chosen pastor of the church, and lived many years an example of piety, gravity, and christian zeal. He died about the year 1656, aged fifty-six years. He had a remarkable talent for softening and composing exasperated spirits, and for healing contentions.†

ROBERT BOOTH was a minister of puritan principles, and ornamented with a most excellent character. He was first curate at Sowerby in Yorkshire, then vicar of Halifax, where his remains were interred, July 28, 1657. "He was a man of that worth and excellency in learning and divinity, that he deserved the title of an Apollos, and seemed, like Jeremiah and the baptist, to be separated from the womb to the ministerial office; so temperate and healthful, so industrious and indefatigable in the labours of his study, and so divinely contemplative in the exercises of his mind, that he approved himself to be made up of virtue, being a stranger to all things but the service of heaven. When he spoke to his congregation from the pulpit, it was with that power of truth, and elegance of style, that he charmed his hearers into love and admiration."‡ Mr. Ely Bentley, his assistant and successor at Halifax, was ejected in 1662.§

\* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 123.

† Mather's *Hist. of New Eng.* b. iii. p. 93, 94.

‡ Watson's *Hist. of Halifax*, p. 461. Edit. 1775.

§ Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* vol. iii. p. 436.

WALTER ROSEWELL, A. M. was a worthy puritan minister, first in Friday-street, London, then at Chatham in Kent, where he died in the year 1658. One of his name, and probably the same person, was severely persecuted by Bishop Pierce.\* He was a man of considerable eminence. Mr. Thomas Case preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards published it, entitled, "Elijah's Abatement; or, Corruption in the Saints, on James iii. 17,"—1658; but this we have not seen. Mr. Rosewell was cousin to Mr. Thomas Rosewell, the nonconformist minister who was tried for high treason before Judge Jefferies; and who in early life derived great advantages from his pious and grave instructions.†

THOMAS BALL, A. M. was born in Shropshire, in the year 1590, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge, under the celebrated Dr. Preston. He afterwards became fellow of Emanuel college in the same university, then minister of the gospel at Northampton, where he died, and his remains were interred, June 21, 1659, aged sixty-nine years. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. John Howes, rector of Abbington near that place, who gave high commendations of his departed friend. This sermon was published, entitled, "Real Comforts, extracted from moral and spiritual Principles, presented in a Sermon preached at the Funeral of that reverend Divine, Mr. Thomas Ball, with a narrative of his Life and Death," 1660; which, however, we have never seen. Mr. Ball was author of several books, among which were, "The Life of Dr. John Preston," and "Pastorum propugnaculum; or, the Pulpit's Patronage against the force of unordained Usurpation and Innovation, in four Parts," 1656.‡

STANLEY GOWER was a puritan divine of considerable eminence, chosen one of the assembly at Westminster, and he constantly attended during the session. He was minister at Brampton-Bryon; but on his removal to London, he preached in Ludgate-street, and was one of the preachers to the parliament. He was appointed one of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers who petitioned for sequestered livings; and one to examine and ordain candidates

\* Impeachment of Bp. Pierce, p. 8.

† Life of Rosewell prefixed to his Trial, p. 8. Edit. 1718.

‡ Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 861.

for the ministry.\* He united with his brethren, the London ministers, in their declaration against the king's death.† He was living in 1660, was then minister at Dorchester, and is denominated a zealous and eminent presbyterian.‡ He wrote the life of Mr. Richard Rothwell, published in Clark's "Lives annexed to his Martyrologie." One of his sermons has this singular title, "Things Now-a-doing: or, the Churches Travaile of the Child of Reformation Now-a-bearing, in a Sermon before the Honourable House of Commons, at their solemn Fast, July 31, 1644."

HENRY FLINT was a most holy and worthy minister, driven from his native country by the tyrannical oppressions of Archbishop Laud. In the year 1635 he fled to New England, where he was chosen teacher to the church at Braintree, of which Mr. William Thompson was pastor. There he closed his life and his labours, April 27, 1668.§ He was a man of great piety, gravity, and integrity, and eminently qualified for the ministerial work.||

JAMES SICKLEMORE was minister of the church at Single-ton, near the city of Chichester, and a person famous for his great learning and piety. About the year 1640, he espoused the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, and became a zealous assenter of his opinions. Previous to this, being concerned for the instruction of the rising generation, he usually catechized the young people of his parish, and explained to them the questions and answers contained in the church catechism. On one of these occasions, as he was discoursing on the promises of godfathers and godmothers in the name of the infants at their baptism, one of his catechumens asked him, "what warrant there was from the holy scriptures for what he had been speaking?" Feeling himself at a loss to give a direct answer, he warmly insisted on the general voice of the christian church. Upon further examination, he renounced infant-baptism altogether, and refused to baptize the children of his parishioners. He was also opposed to the maintenance of ministers by tithes; and

\* Neal's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 89, 140.

† Ibid. p. 491.

‡ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 185.

§ Mather's Hist. of New Eng. b. iii. p. 122.

|| Morton's Memorial, p. 190.

therefore he gave away the greatest part of his income to the poor and needy. Though after the change of his sentiments he continued in his parish, he frequently preached at other places, particularly at Seamore and Portsmouth; at both of which places he was instrumental, under God, of making and baptizing many disciples. This practice he continued to the end of his days. Though it does not appear when he died, he laid the foundation of the two baptist congregations at Portsmouth and Chichester.\*

Crosby's Baptists, vol. iv. p. 245—247.

## APPENDIX :

*Containing a correct List of the principal Authorities referred to in the Work, with the particular edition of each. The Works in Folio are the following :*

- Prynne's Breviate of the Life of Laud, 1644.  
——— Canterburies Doome, 1646.  
Fuller's Church History of Britain, 1655.  
——— History of the University of Cambridge, 1655.  
Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning, 1656.  
Scobell's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, 1658.  
Fuller's History of the Worthies of England, 1662.  
Lloyd's Memoires of Excellent Personages, 1668.  
Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, 1668.  
——— History of the Presbyterians, 1670.  
Mede's Works, with his Life prefixed, 1672.  
Wood's Historia et Antiquitatis Univer. Oxon. 1674.  
Foulis's Wicked Plots of our Pretended Saints, 1674.  
Heylin's History of the Reformation in England, 1674.  
Clark's Martyrologie, with Lives annexed, 1677.  
Heylin's Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts, 1681.  
D'Ewes's Journals of Parliaments, 1682.  
Whitlocke's Memorials of English Affairs, 1682.  
Nelson's Collection of Affairs of State, ii. vols. 1682, 1683.  
Clark's Lives of Eminent Persons, last vol. 1683.  
Fox's Acts and Monuments of the Martyrs, iii. vols. 1684.  
Rushworth's Historical Collections, v. vols. 1659—1692.  
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. vols. 1691, 1692.  
Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, 1694.  
Sylvester's Life of Baxter, 1696.  
Wharton's Troubles and Trial of Abp. Laud, ii. vols. 1695, 1700.  
Prince's Worthies of Devon, 1701.  
Mather's History of New England, 1702.  
Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, iii. vols. 1704.  
Kennet's Complete History of England, vol. ii. and iii. 1706.  
Newcourt's Repertorium Ecclesiasticum, ii. vols. 1708.  
Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, 1710.  
——— Parker, 1711.  
Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. 1714.  
Walker's Attempt at the Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714.  
Burnet's History of the Reformation, iii. vols. 1681, 1715.  
Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, 1718.  
Echard's History of England, vol. ii. 1718.  
Stow's Survey of London and Westminster, ii. vols. 1720.  
Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, iii. vols. 1721.  
Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i. 1724.  
Winwood's Memorials of State Affairs, ii. vols. 1727.

- Strype's Annals of the Reformation, iv. vols. 1709—1731.**  
**Thurloe's Collection of State Papers, vii. vols. 1732.**  
**Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, ii. vols. 1732.**  
**Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, 1740.**  
**Rapin's History of England, vol. ii. 1743.**  
**Kennet's Historical Register and Chronicle, 1744.**  
**Blomefield's History of Norfolk, vol. i. and ii. 1739, 1745.**  
**Wren's Parentalia, 1750.**  
**Warner's History of England, vol. ii. 1759.**  
**Biographia Britannica, vii. vols. 1747—1766.**  
**Bridges's History of Northamptonshire, ii. vols. 1792.**  
**Biographia Britannica, v. vols. 1778—1793.**

*Works in Quarto.*

- Parte of a Register, containyng sundrie Memorable Matters, no date.**  
**Examinations of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, no date.**  
**Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, 1593.**  
 ——— Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, 1593.  
**Ainsworth's Counterpoison, 1608.**  
**Paget's Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists, 1618.**  
**Ames's Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship, 1633.**  
**Huntley's Breviate of the Prelates' intolerable Usurpations, 1637.**  
**Paget's Defence of Church Government, 1641.**  
**A Briefe Discourse of the Troubles at Frankeford, 1642.**  
**Edwards's Antapologia, 1644.**  
**Bailie's Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, 1645.**  
**Edwards's Gangræna, iii. parts, 1646.**  
**Bailie's Anabaptism, 1647.**  
**Cotton's Way of Congregational Churches, 1648.**  
**Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 1651.**  
**Featley's Dippers Dipt: or the Anabaptists Duck'd, 1651.**  
**Paget's Heresiography, 1654.**  
**Clark's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, 1654.**  
**History of New England, from 1628 to 1652; printed 1654.**  
**Bailie's Vindication of his Dissuasive, 1655.**  
**Erbery's Testimony left upon Record, 1658.**  
**Morton's Memorial of New England, 1669.**  
**Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. 1675.**  
**Baxter's Second Plea for the Nonconformists, 1681.**  
**L'Estrange's Dissenters' Sayings, ii. parts, 1681.**

*Works in Octavo, &c.*

- Lupton's History of Protestant Divines, 1637.**  
**Heylin's Examen Historicam, 1659.**  
**Wilkins's Discourse on Preaching, 1678.**  
**Paule's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, 1699.**  
**Welwood's Memoirs of Transactions, 1700.**  
**Barlow's Sum of the Conference at Hampton Court, 1707.**

- Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, 1717.  
 Neal's History of New England, ii. vols. 1720.  
 Thoresby's Vicaria Leodiensis, 1724.  
 Oldmixou's Critical History of England, ii. vols. 1726.  
 ——— Clarendon and Whitlocke Compared, 1727.  
 Calamy's Account and Continuation, iv. vols. 1713, 1727.  
 Strype's Life and Acts of Bishop Aylmer, 1728.  
 Maddox's Vindication of the Church, against Neal, 1733.  
 Neal's Review of Do. 1734.  
 An Illustration of Neal, in the Article of Peter Smart, 1736.  
 Prince's Chronological History of New England, vol. i. 1736.  
 Grey's Examination of Neal, iii. vols. 1736—1739.  
 Crosby's History of the English Baptists, iv. vols. 1738—1740.  
 Grey's Review of Neal, 1744.  
 Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, 1748.  
 Harris's Life of King Charles I. 1758.  
 British Biography, vol. iv. and v. 1767, 1768.  
 Papers of Massachusetts Bay, 1769.  
 Backus's History of New England's Baptists, vol. i. 1777.  
 Life of Ainsworth, prefixed to his "Two Treatises," 1789.  
 Toplad's Historic Proof, ii. vols. 1793.  
 Neal's History of the Puritans, v. vols. 1793—1797.  
 Williams's Christian Preacher, 1800.  
 Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, iii. vols. 1802, 1803.  
 Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. and v. 1803.  
 Hume's History of England, vol. v.—vii. 1803, 1804.  
 Granger's Biographical History of England, iv. vols. 1804.  
 Morse and Parish's History of New England, 1808.  
 Churton's Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell, 1809.  
 Ivimey's History of the English Baptists, 1811.

*The Manuscripts referred to are the following:*

- Sloane's MSS. deposited in the British Museum.  
 Harleian MSS. deposited in Do.  
 Baker's MS. Collection, xxxviii. vols. folio.\*  
 MS. Register.†

\* This invaluable collection was made by the indefatigable and celebrated Mr. Thomas Baker, the first *twenty-three* volumes of which are deposited in the British Museum. They constitute part of the Harleian collection, from No. 7028 to 7050. The remaining *fifteen* volumes are deposited in the university library, Cambridge.

† This invaluable treasure, entitled, "The Second Part of a Register," was collected by Mr. Roger Morrice, who was ejected at the restoration, from Duffield in Derbyshire. Bishop Maddox, with great injustice, warmly censures this MS. as unworthy of credit: but Mr. Strype, who was intimate with the author, gives him a very high character. He styles him "a very careful inquirer into ancient records;" and, says he, "This gentleman was a very diligent collector of ecclesiastical MSS. relating to the latter history of the English church, whereof he left vast heaps behind him, and he favoured me with his correspondence."—*Strype's Annals*, vol. i. p. 241.—*Stow's Survey of London*, b. iv. p. 57.—*Maddox's Vindication*, p. 190—192.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. i. p. 404.

MS. Remarks on History, from the year 1646 to 1640.

MS. Chronology of Eminent Persons, iii. vols.\*

*Certamina Ecclesiastica Anglicana*, &c.†

Thomas's Materials for the History of Churches in Wales.

———— Ecclesiastical History of Wales.

———— History of Churches in Wales.‡

Meen's MS. Collections.§

\* This collection, with the two foregoing, being five very large folio volumes, are deposited in Dr. Williams's library, Red-Cross-Street, London.

† This collection, now deposited in the Old College library, Homerton, was made by Mr. John Kingdom, by mistake called John *Ridge*, and who was ejected after the restoration. There is a Supplement to this MS. by Mr. John Corbet, who was also one of the ejected ministers.—*Palmer's Noncon. Mem.* vol. ii. p. 259. iii. 318.

‡ These three volumes were written by the late Mr. Joshua Thomas of Leominster, father to the present Mr. Timothy Thomas of Islington, who generously favoured the author with the use of them.

§ This collection was made by Mr. Joseph Meen of Biggleswade in Bedfordshire, who very kindly favoured the author with the use of it.

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END OF VOL. III.

\* \* \* *The author regrets that in the former part of this work he has discovered some few inaccuracies in the spelling of proper names; but he trusts that in other respects it will be found correct.*

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