

**A HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY**  
**OF**  
**DIVINES.**

**EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS,**

**AND**

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES**

**OF ITS**

**MOST CONSPICUOUS MEMBERS.**

**COMPILED FOR THE BOARD OF PUBLICATION FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.**

**PHILADELPHIA:**  
**PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF PUBLICATION,**  
**JAMES RUSSELL, PUBLISHING AGENT.**

**1841.**

Entered according to the Act of Congress, in the year 1841, by A. W. MITCHELL,  
M. D., in the office of the Clerk of the District Court for the Eastern District of  
Pennsylvania.

Printed by  
WILLIAM S. MARTIN

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## PREFACE.

**THE** authentic minutes or journal of the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly of Divines have unhappily been lost, or lie concealed in some place where they have escaped the notice of all who have given any account of this venerable Assembly. But if we had them, it is not probable that they would afford us much satisfaction, as they of course would contain no more than a dry detail of motions and resolutions, without any report of the reasonings and arguments for or against each proposition.

As far as we know, no history of the Assembly has ever been separately written. Neal, in his "History of the Puritans," has given by far the fullest account of this important synod; but it is interspersed in the civil and political history of the times. Neal seems to have had access to important documents, some of which are referred to as manuscripts, in his possession; he never refers, however, to the journals of the Assembly, from which it may be inferred, that he had not seen them. Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, and one of the Scottish Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly, wrote many letters during his attendance on the body, giving a brief, familiar account of various transactions, and particularly describes their manner of sitting and doing business, with some notice of persons and

transactions. Most of these were addressed to the Rev. Mr. Spang, his own cousin, and minister of an English congregation in Holland. These letters furnish much information of particulars which will be grateful to the curious.

Dr. Lightfoot, so well known to the literary public, was a leading member of this Assembly, and kept a brief journal of the proceedings for more than a year; but his remarks are very concise, and his journal does not extend to the most interesting period of the transactions of the Assembly. This journal has been published in the last volume of the late octavo edition of his works.

Dr. Ayton, in his "Life of Alexander Henderson," has mentioned some facts, not in the other authorities; but he has added very little to the knowledge of this Assembly, previously possessed.

In the life of Dr. Goodwin, by his son, it is asserted, that this distinguished Independent, who occupied a large space in the debates of the Assembly, left behind him a journal of the transactions, extending to eighteen volumes of duodecimo, manuscript; but no part of these volumes has ever been published, and whether they are still extant, is entirely unknown to us.

It might have been expected that Lord Clarendon, in his "History of the Rebellion," would have had much to say about the Westminster Assembly, the influence of which was so considerable on the civil affairs of the country; but the whole that he says, is included in one paragraph; which, however, is replete with contemptuous bitterness.

The compiler of the following history has now

indicated the sources from which he has derived his materials. He puts in no claim to original research: if he deserves any credit, it is merely for collecting and arranging what he found scattered in the authors named. For many years he sought for information on this subject, with but little success. He has found the same complaint of a want of information, and a desire to obtain it, in many persons; especially in young ministers, and candidates for the ministry, which induced him to undertake the labour of collecting, under suitable heads, such information as was accessible to him; and if it should prove unsatisfactory to some, whose knowledge is more extensive, yet he is persuaded that it will supply a *desideratum* to many, who will be gratified with the particulars which he has been able to collect.



# WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

## CHAPTER I.

Application to the Parliament by the London Ministers to call a Synod—A bill presented to the King for this purpose at the Treaty of Oxford—The Parliament enact the same in form of an Ordinance—The Ordinance itself—The names of the Lords and gentlemen chosen to sit in the Assembly—Complete List of the Divines nominated in the Ordinance, and those afterwards added.

As early as the year 1641, the London ministers, in a petition to Parliament, requested them to intercede with the King for the calling of a free synod, to take into consideration and remove the grievances of the Church. The Commons, accordingly, in their grand remonstrance, presented December 1, 1641, made mention of the subject, in the following words:—  
“We desire that there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts, professing the same religion with us, who may consider all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and to represent the result of their consultations, to be allowed and confirmed, and to receive the stamp of authority.”

In the treaty of Oxford, a bill was presented to the same purpose, and rejected. Some time after, Dr. Burgess, at the head of the Puritan clergy, applied again to Parliament, but the Houses were unwilling to take this step without the King's concurrence, until they were reduced to the necessity of calling in the Scots, who insisted, that there should be a uni-

formity of doctrine and discipline, between the two nations. To make way for which, the Parliament turned their bill, which had been rejected by the King, into an ORDINANCE, and convened the Assembly by their own authority. The Ordinance bears date, June 12, 1643, and is the very same as the Oxford bill, except in the point of lay assessors, and the article by which the assembly is restrained from exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction or authority. It is entitled, "An ordinance of the Lords and Commons, in parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church, from false aspersions and interpretations."

The ordinance itself is as follows:

"Whereas, amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this nation, none is nor can be more dear unto us than the purity of our religion; and for that, as yet, many things remain in the liturgy, discipline, and government of the church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation, than as yet hath been obtained; and whereas, it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present church government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissars, deans, and chapters, arch-deacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; and, therefore, they are resolved, that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the church, as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, and other reformed churches abroad; and for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine

of the church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit and necessary, to call an assembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, who, together with some members of both houses of Parliament, are to consult and advise of such matters and things, touching the premises, as shall be proposed unto them, by both or either of the houses of Parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein, to both or either of the said houses, when, and as often, as they shall be thereunto required. Be it, therefore, ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all and every the persons, hereafter, in this present ordinance named; that is to say, [the names were here written,] and such other person or persons as shall be nominated and appointed by both houses of parliament, or so many of them as shall not be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and enjoined, upon summons signed by both houses of parliament, left at their respective dwellings, to meet and assemble themselves, at Westminster, in the chapel, called king Henry the seventh's chapel, on the first of July, 1643, and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall, from time to time, sit, and be removed from place to place; and also, that the said assembly shall be dissolved in such manner as shall by both houses of Parliament be directed; and the said persons, or so many of them as shall be so assembled, or sit, shall have power and authority, and are hereby likewise enjoined, from time to time, during the present Parliament, or until further order be taken by both the said houses, to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things, touching and concerning the liturgy, discipline, and government of the church of England, for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same, from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either said houses of Parliament, and no other; and deliver their opinion, advices of, or touch-

ing matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable unto the word of God, to both or either of the houses from time to time, in such manner and sort, as by both or either of the said houses of Parliament shall be required: and the same not to divulge, by printing, writing, or otherwise, without the consent of both or either house of Parliament.

“And be it further ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that William Twisse, doctor in divinity, shall sit in the chair, as prolocutor of the said assembly; and if he happen to die, or be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, then such other person to be appointed in his place, as shall be agreed on by the said houses of Parliament. And in case any difference of opinion shall happen amongst the said persons so assembled, touching any the matters that shall be proposed to them as aforesaid, that then they shall represent the same, together with the reasons thereof, to both or either of the said houses, respectively, to the end that such further direction may be given therein, as shall be requisite to that behalf. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, that for the charges and expenses of the said divines, and every one of them, in attending the said service, there shall be allowed every one of them that shall so attend, during the time of their said attendance, and for ten days before and ten days after, the sum of four shillings for every day, at the charges of the commonwealth, at such time and in such manner, as by both houses of Parliament shall be appointed. And be it further ordained, that all and every the said divines, so, as aforesaid, required and enjoined to meet and assemble, shall be freed and acquitted of and from every offence, forfeiture, penalty, loss, or damage, which shall or may ensue or grow, by reason of any non-residence, or absence of them, or any of them, from his or their, or any of their church, churches, or cures, for, or in respect of their said attendance upon the said service; any law or statute of non-residence, or other law or statute enjoining their

attendance upon their respective ministries and charges, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And if any of the said persons shall happen to die before the said assembly shall be dissolved by order of both houses of Parliament, then such other person or persons shall be placed in the room and stead of the person or persons so dying, as by both the said houses shall be thought fit and agreed upon; and every such person or persons, so to be named, shall have the like power and authority, freedom and acquittal, to all intents and purposes, and also all such wages and allowances for the said service, during the time of his or their attendance, as to any other of the said persons in this ordinance is by this ordinance limited and appointed. Provided alway, that this ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in this assembly assume to exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical, whatsoever, or any other power than is herein particularly expressed."<sup>1</sup>

The number of persons named in the foregoing ordinance, was one hundred and fifty; thirty of whom were lay-assessors; ten from the house of lords, and twenty from the commons. These, however, had an equal liberty of debating and voting, as the divines.

The names of the members, as contained in the ordinance, were as follows:

#### PEERS.

Algernoon earl of Northumberland.  
 William earl of Bedford.  
 Philip earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.  
 William earl of Salisbury.  
 Henry earl of Holland.  
 Edward earl of Manchester.  
 William lord viscount Say and Seal.  
 Edward lord viscount Conway.  
 Philip lord Wharton.  
 Edward lord Howard of Esrick.

<sup>1</sup> See Rushworth's Collections.

## COMMONERS.

John Selden, esq.  
 Francis Rouse, esq.  
 Edmund Prideaux, esq.  
 Sir Henry Vane knight senior.  
 Sir Henry Vane knight junior.  
 John Glynne, esq., recorder of London.  
 John White, esq.  
 Bulstrode Whitlocke, esq.  
 Humphrey Salway, esq.  
 Oliver St. John, esq.  
 Sir Benjamin Rudyard, knight.  
 John Pym, esq.  
 Sir John Clotworthy, knight.  
 Sir Thomas Barrington, knight.  
 William Wheeler, esq.  
 William Pierpont, esq.  
 Sir John Evelyn, knight.  
 John Maynard, esq.  
 Mr. Serjeant Wild.  
 Mr. Young.  
 Sir Matthew Hale, afterwards lord-chief-justice of  
 the King's Bench, [appeared, says Anthony  
 Wood, among the lay-assessors.]

## LAY-ASSESSORS FROM SCOTLAND.

Lord Maitland, afterwards duke Lauderdale.  
 E. Lothian.  
 A. Johnstone, called lord Warristone

The following is an alphabetical list, from Neal, of the divines, who were named in the ordinance of parliament. But as many never attended, and some attended only occasionally, or for a short time, those who were regular in their attendance, are distinguished by a double asterisk; those whose attendance was occasional or irregular, with a single asterisk, and those who never made their appearance are left without any mark. And those who were afterwards appointed to supply vacancies, have the word *super-added* annexed to their names, respectively.

## ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES.

- \*\* The Rev. Dr. William Twisse, of Newbury, was appointed by parliament, prolocutor.
- \*\* The Rev. Dr. Cornelius Burges, of Watford, Mr. John White, of Dorchester, A. M. assessors.
- \* The Rev. Mr. Henry Roborough, Mr. Adoniram Byfield, A.M. scribes, but had no votes.
- \*\* The Rev. John Arrowsmith, of Lynne, afterwards D.D. and master of Peter-House, Cambridge.
- \*\* Simeon Ash, of St. Brides, or Basingshaw.
- \*\* Mr. Theodore Backhurst, of Overton, Waterville.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Bayly, B. D. of Manningford, Bruce.
- \*\* Mr. John Bond, a superadded divine.
- \* Mr. Bolton, superadded.
- \*\* Mr. Oliver, B.D. of Sutton.
- \*\* Mr. William Bridge, A.M. of Yarmouth.
- Right Rev. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, bishop of Exon.
- Mr. Richard Buckley.
- \*\* Mr. Anthony Burges, A.M. of Sutton-Colefield.
- \*\* Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, A.M. of Stepney.
- \*\* Mr. Richard Byfield, A.M. superadded.
- \*\* Edmund Calamy, B.D. Aldermanbury.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Case, Milk-street.
- Mr. Richard Capel, of Pitchcombe, A.M.
- \*\* Mr. Joseph Caryl, A.M. Lincolns-Inn.
- \*\* Mr. William Carter, of London.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Carter, of Oxon.
- \*\* Mr. William Carter, of Dynton, Bucks.
- \*\* Mr. John Cawdrey, A.M. St. Martin's Fields, superadded.
- \*\* Humphrey Chambers, D.D. of Claverton.
- \*\* Francis Cheynel, D.D. of Petworth.
- \*\* Mr. Peter Clarke, A.M. of Carnaby.
- \*\* Mr. Richard Clayton, of Showell.
- \*\* Mr. Francis Coke, of Yoxall.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Coleman, A.M. of Bliton.
- \*\* John Conant, of Lymington, D.D. afterwards arch-deacon of Norwich and prebendary of Worcester.
- \*\* Mr. Edward Corbet, A.M. Merton-college, Oxon.

- \* Robert Crosse, D.D. afterwards Vicar of Chew, Somerset.
- \*\* Mr. Philip Delmé, superadded.  
Mr. Thomas Dillingham, of Dean,
- \* Calibute Downing, D.D. of Hackney.  
Mr. William Dunning, of Godalston.
- \*\* The Reverend Mr. John Drury, superadded.  
Mr. Edward Ellis, B.D. Gilfield.  
Mr. John Erle, of Bishopstowne.
- \* Daniel Featley, D.D. of Lambeth.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Ford, A.M. superadded.
- \*\* Mr. John Foxcroft, of Gotham.  
Mr. Hannibal Gammon, A.M. of Cornwall.
- \*\* Thomas Gataker, B.D. Rotherhithe.
- \*\* Mr. Samuel Gibson, of Burleigh.
- \*\* Mr. John Gibbon, of Waltham.
- \*\* Mr. George Gippes, of Aylston.
- \*\* Thomas Goodwin, D.D. of London, afterwards president of Magdalen-college, Oxon.
- \*\* Mr. William Goad, superadded.
- \*\* Mr. Stanley Gower, of Brampton-Bryan.
- \*\* William Gouge, D. D. of Blackfriars.
- \*\* Mr. William Greenhill, of Stepney.
- \*\* Mr. Green, of Pentecomb.  
John Hacket, D. D. of St. Andrews, Holborn, afterwards bishop of Litchfield.  
Henry Hammond, D.D. of Penshurst, Kent.
- \*\* Mr. Henry Hall, B.D. Norwich.
- \*\* Mr. Humphrey Hardwicke, superadded.  
\* John Harris, D. D. prebendary of Winchester, warden of Wickham.
- \*\* Robert Harris, D. D. of Hanwell, president of Trinity college, Oxon.
- \*\* Mr. Charles Herle, A. M. Winwick, afterwards prolocutor.
- \*\* Mr. Richard Heyrick, A. M. of Manchester.
- \*\* Thomas Hill, D.D. of Tichmarsh, afterward master of Trinity college, Cambridge.  
\* Samuel Hildersham, B.D. of Felton.
- \*\* Mr. Jasper Hickes, A.M. of Lawrick.



- \*\* Mr. Thomas Hodges, B.D. of Kensington.  
Richard Holdsworth, D.D. master of Emanuel college, Cambridge.
- \*\* Joshua Hoyle, D.D. of Dublin, Ireland.  
Mr. Henry Hutton.
- \*\* Mr. John Jackson, A.M. of Queen's college, Cambridge.
- \* Mr Johnson.  
Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middlesex.
- \*\* Mr. John Langley, of West Tuderley, prebendary, Gloucester.
- \*\* Mr. John Ley, A.M. Great Budworth.
- \*\* The Reverend John Lightfoot, D.D. of Ashby, master of Catharine-house.
- \* Richard Love, D.D. of Ekington.
- \* Mr. Christopher Love, A.M. superadded.  
Mr. William Lyford, A.M. Sherbourne.
- \* Mr. John de la March, minister of French church.
- \*\* Mr. Stephen Marshal, B.D. of Finchingfield.
- \* Mr. William Massam, superadded.  
Mr. John Maynard, A.M. superadded.
- \*\* Mr. William Mew, B.D. of Essington.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Micklethwait, Cheriburton.  
George Morley, D.D. afterwards bishop of Winchester.
- Mr. William Moreton, Newcastle.
- \* Mr. Moore.
- \*\* Mr. Matthew Newcomon, Dedham.
- \* Mr. William Newscore, superadded.  
William Nicholson, D.D. afterwards bishop of Gloucester.
- Mr. Henry Nye, of Clapham.
- \*\* Mr. Philip Nye, of Kimbolton.  
Mr. Herbert Palmer, B.D. Ashwell, afterwards assessor.
- Mr. Henry Painter, of Exeter.
- Mr. Christer Parkly, of Hawarden.
- \*\* Mr. Edward Peale, of Compton.
- \*\* Mr. Andrew Pern, of Wilby, Northampton.
- \*\* Mr. John Philips, Wrentham.
- \*\* Mr. Benjamin Pickering, East-Hoatley.

- \* Mr. Samuel de la Place, minister of French church.
- \*\* Mr. William Price, of St. Paul's Covent-Garden.  
John Prideaux, D.D. bishop of Worcester.
- \*\* Mr. Nicholas Proffet, of Marlborough.  
Mr. John Pyne, Bereferrars.
- \*\* Mr. William Rathband, of Highgate.
- \*\* Mr. William Reyner, B. D. of Egham.
- \*\* Edward Reynolds, of Brampton, D.D. afterwards  
bishop of Norwich.
- \*\* Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke.  
Robert Saunderson, D.D. afterwards bishop of Lin-  
coln.
- \*\* Mr. Henry Scudder, of Colingbourne.
- \*\* Lazarus Seaman, B.D. of London, master of Pe-  
terhouse, Cambridge.
- \*\* Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeshall.  
Mr. Josias Shute, B.D. Lombard-street.
- \*\* The Reverend Mr. Sydrach Sympson, London.
- \*\* Peter Smith, D.D. of Barkway,
- \*\* William Spurstow, D.D. of Hampden.
- \*\* Edmund Staunton, D.D. of Kingston.
- \*\* Mr. Peter Sterry, London.
- \*\* Mr. John Strickland, B.D. New Sarum, super-  
added.
- \*\* Matthew Styles, D.D. Eastcheap.
- \* Mr. Strong, Westminster, superadded.
- \*\* Mr. Francis Taylor, A.M. Yalding,
- \*\* Thomas Temple, D.D. of Battersea.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Thoroughgood, Massingham.
- \*\* Mr. Christopher Tisdale, Uphurstbourne.  
\* Mr. Henry Tozer, B.D. Oxon.
- \*\* Anthoney Tuckney, D.D. of Boston, afterwards  
master of St. John's college, Oxon, and Regius  
professor.
- \*\* Mr. Thomas Valentine, B.D. Chalfort, Saint  
Giles's.
- \*\* Mr. Richard Vines, A.M. of Calcot, master of  
Pembroke-house, Cambridge.  
The most Reverend Dr. James Usher, archbishop  
of Armagh.
- \*\* Mr George Walker, B.D. of St. John Evans.

- Samuel Ward, D.D. master of Sidney college, Cambridge.
- \*\* Mr. John Wallis, afterwards D.D. and scribe.
  - \*\* Mr. John Ward, superadded.  
Mr. James Welby, Sylatten.
  - \* Thomas Westfield, D.D. bishop of Bristol.
  - \*\* Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A.M. Stretton.  
Mr. Francis Whiddon Moreton.
  - \*\* Henry Wilkinson, senior, D.D. Waddesdon, afterwards Margaret professor, Oxon.
  - \*\* Mr. Henry Wilkinson, junior, B.D. St. Dunstan's.
  - \*\* Mr Thomas Wilson, Otham.  
\* Thomas Wincop, D.D. Elesworth.
  - \*\* John Wincop, D.D. St. Martin's in the Fields.
  - \*\* Mr. Francis Woodcock, proctor of the University of Cambridge.
  - \*\* Mr. Thomas Young, Stow-market.

#### MINISTERS FROM SCOTLAND.

- \*\* Mr Alexander Henderson.
- \*\* Mr. George Gillespie.
- \*\* Mr. Samuel Rutherford.
- \*\* Mr. Robert Bayley.

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## CHAPTER II.

The Assembly opened—Rules of proceeding—Solemn oath of the members—Assembly divided into three committees—Revision of the ARTICLES undertaken—Description of the room and manner of sitting, and of transacting business.

THE first day of July, 1643, having been appointed for the meeting of the Assembly, the members of the two houses of Parliament, named in the ordinance, and many of the divines named in the same instrument, and a great congregation beside, being met in the Abbey Church, in Westminster, Dr. Twisse, the appointed prolocutor, preached to them, from John xiv. 18. "I will not leave you comfortless."

After sermon, all the members of the Assembly

went into Henry the Seventh's chapel, where the names of the members being called, sixty three answered; or about that number.

Not being ready to proceed to business, the Assembly adjourned till Thursday, July 6th, when they received from Parliament a set of rules for the direction and government of the body; which are as follows:

"1. That two assessors be joined to the prolocutor, to supply his place in case of absence or infirmity.

"2. That scribes be appointed to set down all proceedings; and these to be divines who are not of the Assembly. The persons selected were, Henry Roborough, and Adoniram Byfield.

"3. Every member, at his first entry into the Assembly, shall make serious and solemn protestation, not to maintain any thing but what he believes to be the truth, in sincerity, when discovered unto him.

"4. No resolution to be given upon any question, the same day wherein it is first propounded.

"5. What any man undertakes to prove as necessary, he shall make good out of Scripture.

"6. No man to proceed in any dispute after the prolocutor has enjoined him silence, unless the Assembly desire he may go on.

"7. No man to be denied to enter his dissent from the Assembly, and his reasons for it, in any point, after it hath been first debated in the Assembly, and thence (if the dissenting party desire it) to be sent to the houses of Parliament by the Assembly, not by any particular man or men in a private way—when either house shall require.

"8. All things agreed upon and prepared for the Parliament, to be openly read and allowed in the Assembly, and then offered as the judgment of the Assembly, if the major part assent. Provided, that the opinions of any persons dissenting, and the reasons urged for it, be annexed thereunto, if the dissenters require it, together with the solutions, if any were given, by the Assembly, to these reasons."

On Saturday, July 8th, the prescribed protestation was taken by every member of the body, Lords and Commons, as well as divines. It was in the following words, viz :

“I. A. B. do seriously and solemnly protest, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will not maintain any thing in matters of doctrine, but what I think in my conscience to be truth; or, in point of discipline, but what I shall conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of his church.” This *formula* was also put into the hands of each member.

The first thing done further, was, to divide the whole body into three committees. In forming these the divines were arranged as their names stood in the ordinance of Parliament; and the members from the Lords and Commons into three several parts, according to their order, also.

The thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were now resolved to be brought under consideration, and the first, second, third, and fourth of these Articles were assigned to the first committee, who were to meet in Henry the Seventh’s Chapel.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh articles were assigned to the Second Committee, whose place of meeting was appointed, in the room used by the lower house of Convocation.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth articles were assigned to the Third Committee, and their meeting to be in Jerusalem Chamber, in the Dean’s lodgings.

Their first meeting was to be of all the committees, in their several places, on Monday, July 10, at one o’clock, P. M.

Mr. John White, of Dorchester, and Mr. Cornelius Burgess were nominated assessors, in case of the sickness or absence of the prolocutor.

A Committee was also appointed from the members of the Lords and Commons, and from the divines, to look out for the most authentic copies of the

**THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.**

The committees having respectively met at the places and time appointed, proceeded to the choice of chairman, when Dr. Burgess was appointed chairman of the first, Dr. Stanton of the second, and Mr. Gibbon of the third committee.

As it was doubted, whether by the rules, the prolocutor had the liberty of speaking, a resolution was proposed and adopted, "That he should speak, and give his advice when he should think fit."

It may be gratifying to the reader to have some particular description of the room which the Assembly occupied, and of the manner in which the members were arranged in their respective seats. This we shall copy from the accurate Baillie. "At the upper end of the room," says he, "there is a chair set on a frame, a foot from the earth, for the prolocutor, Dr. Twisse. Before it, on the ground, stand two chairs, for the two Mr. assessors, Dr. Burgess, and Dr. White. Before these two chairs, through the length of the room, stands a table, at which sit the two scribes, Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The house is all well hung, and has a good fire, which is some dainties at London. Foreanent the table, upon the prolocutor's right hand, there are three or four ranks of forms. On the lowest one five do sit. Upon the other, at our backs, the members of Parliament deputed to the Assembly. On the forms foreanent us, on the prolocutor's left hand, going from the upper end of the house to the chimney, and at the other end of the house, and backside of the table till it came to our seats, are four or five stages of forms, whereupon their divines sit as they please; albeit, commonly they keep the same place. From the chimney to the door there are no seats, but a void for a passage. The lords of Parliament use to sit on chairs in that void, about the fire. We meet every day of the week, except Saturday. We sit commonly from nine to two or three in the afternoon. The prolocutor, at the beginning and end, has a short prayer. The man, as the world knows, is very learned in the questions he has studied; and very good,

and beloved of all, and highly esteemed; but merely bookish, and not much as it seems, acquaint with conceived prayer; among the unfittest of all the company for any action; so after the prayer he sits mute. It was the canny conveyance (contrivance?) of those who guide most matters for their own interest, to plant such a man of purposes in the chair. The one assessor, our good friend Dr. Burgess, a very active and sharp man, supplies so far as it is decent, the prolocutor's place: the other, our good friend Mr. Whyte, has kept in of the gout, since our coming. Ordinarily there will be present about three score of their divines. These are divided into three committees; in one whereof, every man is a member. No man is excluded who pleases to come to any of the three. Every committee, as the Parliament gives order in writ to take any purpose to consideration, takes a portion, and in the afternoon meeting prepares matters for the Assembly; sets down their minds in distinct propositions, and backs their propositions with texts of Scripture. After the prayer, Mr. Byfield, the scribe, reads the proposition and Scriptures, whereupon the Assembly debates in a most grave and orderly way. No man is called up to speak but who stands up of his own accord. He speaks so long as he will without interruption. If two or three stand up at once, then the divines confusedly call on his name whom they desire to hear first. On whom the loudest and maniest voices call, he speaks. No man speaks to any but to the prolocutor. They harangue long and very learnedly. They study the question well beforehand, and prepare their speeches; but withal, the men are exceeding prompt, and well spoken. I do marvel at the very accurate and extemporal replies that many of them usually make. When upon every proposition, and on every text of Scripture that is brought to confirm it, every man who will has said his whole mind, and the replies, and duplies, and triplies, are heard, then the most part calls to the question. Byfield, the scribe, rises from the table, and comes to the prolo-

culator's chair, who, from the scribe's book reads the proposition, and says, as many as are in opinion that the question is well stated in the proposition, let them say *I* (aye,) when aye is heard, he says, as many as think otherwise, say *no*. If the difference of *ayes* and *noes* is clear, as it usually is, then the question is *ordered* by the scribes, and they go on to debate the first Scripture alleged for proof of the proposition. If the sounds of *aye* and *no* be nearly equal, then says the prolocutor, as many as say *aye*, stand up; while they stand, the scribe and others, number them in their minds. When they are set down, the *noes* are bidden to stand, and they likewise are numbered. This way is clear enough, and saves a great deal of time which we spend in reading our catalogue. When a question is once *ordered*, there is then no more of that matter; but if a man will deviate, he is quickly taken up by Mr. assessor, many others confusedly crying, '*speak to order.*' No man contradicts another expressly by name, but most discreetly speaks to the prolocutor; and at most, holds on the general, '*The reverend brother who lately, or who last spoke, on this hand, or that side, above, or below.*'"

From the preceding minute description of the method of transacting business, the reader will be able to compare the order of this ancient and venerable Assembly with the rules of proceeding adopted in our ecclesiastical bodies.

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### CHAPTER III.

Delegation from Parliament and the Assembly to Scotland—Solemn League and Covenant—Commissioners chosen to go to the Westminster Assembly—Their Commission—Reception of the Commissioners—They decline sitting as members.

THE English Parliament having it much at heart to secure the co-operation of the Scottish nation, in pro-



moting the reformation in the church which they contemplated, and to promote which the Assembly of Divines was convened, resolved to send commissioners to Scotland to negotiate such an agreement as they might be able to effect, with a view to the end before mentioned.

The persons selected for this embassy, were, the Earl of Rutland, Sir William Armysn, Sir H. Vane, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley. And from the Assembly of Divines, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Nye were chosen to accompany the aforesaid noblemen and gentlemen. These commissioners were the bearers of a letter from the English Parliament, setting forth the deplorable condition of the Kingdom of England, which, they said, was upon the verge of a most desperate precipice; ready to be swallowed up by Satan and his instruments. They also represented the cruelty of their enemies against all who fell into their hands, being armed against them not only as men, but as Christians, as Protestants, and as reformers; and that if they should be given up to their rage, they feared that it would endanger the safety of all Protestant churches. "Under a deeper sense of this danger," say they, "than we can express, we address you in the bowels of Christ, for your most fervent prayers and advice, for the making of our own and the Kingdom's peace with God, and for uniting the Protestant party more firmly, that we all may serve God with one consent, and stand up against antichrist, as one man."

Before the arrival of the English commissioners, the Scots had appointed, "A Convention of Estates," for securing the country against the royal army in the north; and a General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland had also been called, to meet in Edinburgh, on the 2d of August. The English commissioners were sent to both these bodies, by whom they were cordially and respectfully received. One object of their mission was, to induce the General Assembly of Scotland to delegate a certain number of their most

able divines, to join the Assembly at Westminster, and to aid that venerable body in promoting a reformation in the church of England, and also to bring about a uniformity in doctrine and church government, between the two nations. It was therefore proposed as a preliminary to further negotiation, that the two nations should enter into a perpetual covenant, for themselves and their posterity; that all things might be done in God's house, according to his will. In pursuance of this proposal, the General Assembly appointed a committee to confer with the English commissioners on the subject of a suitable form of league and covenant, to be mutually and solemnly agreed upon, by both nations. The committee who had this matter in charge, presented the form of a SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, to the Assembly, on the 17th of August, 1643, where it was read and highly approved by all, except the King's commissioner. This important document, which makes so great a figure in the history of those times, is said to have been composed by that remarkable man, ALEXANDER HENDERSON, of whose character and conduct, we shall have much to say, in the sequel of this history.

This document having received the unanimous approbation of the members of the General Assembly, was immediately transmitted to the "Convention of Estates," and received also the sanction of that body, in the same day. And as a most ardent desire to consummate this union, was felt in Scotland, the very next morning the solemn League and Covenant was despatched to the English Parliament, by a special messenger, that it might, without delay, be solemnly confirmed and sworn by both nations, as the surest and strictest band of obligation, to make them stand or fall together, in the cause of religion and liberty.

As this instrument had a mighty influence on the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of those two kingdoms, it is proper to insert it entire, in this place.

**“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 Ireland.**

**“We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel and Commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the providence of God, living under one King, and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the honour and happiness of the King’s Majesty, and his posterity, and the true public liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one’s private condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable estate of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have now at last, (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestations, and sufferings,) for the preservation of our lives and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God’s people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most High God, do swear,**

**“I. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, wor-**

ship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

“II. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, church government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical Officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men’s sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

“III. We shall, with the same reality, sincerity, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms; and to preserve and defend the King’s Majesty’s person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty’s just power and greatness.

“IV. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions or parties among the people,

contrary to the League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

“V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of God, granted unto us, and has been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments; we shall each one of us, according to our places and interests, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done on all the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent articles.

“VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same, according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; and, what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed.

“And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son, JESUS CHRIST, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; we profess and declare, before God and the world, our unfeigned desire

to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms: especially, that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive CHRIST in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the cause of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the LORD to strengthen us by his HOLY SPIRIT for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be a deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to the Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like attestation and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths."

The General Assembly and Convention of Estates, having so cordially and unanimously adopted the solemn league and covenant, and having sent it to the parliament of England for their approbation, proceeded now to choose commissioners to attend the Assembly of Divines, convened at Westminster. Whereupon, the following persons were appointed: The earl of Lothian, Archibald Johnston, afterwards lord Warriston, and lord Maitland, afterward lord Lauderdale. These were denominated *lay-assessors*.

The ministers appointed on this commission, were Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, George Gillespie, Robert Baillie, and Robert Douglas.

To these commissioners, the following commission and instructions were given:

*“ Assembly, Edinburgh, Aug. 19, 1643, Session 14.*

“ Commission of the General Assembly, to some ministers and ruling elders, for repairing to the kingdom of England.

“ The General Assembly of the church of Scotland, finding it necessary to send some godly and learned of this kirk to the kingdom of England, to the effect underwritten, therefore, gives full power and commission, to Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. Robert Baillie, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. George Gillespie, John, earl of Cassilis, John, lord Maitland, and Sir Archibald Johnston, of Warriston, elders, or any three of them, whereof two shall be ministers, to repair to the kingdom of England, and there to deliver the declaration sent unto the Parliament of England, and the letter sent unto the Assembly of Divines, now sitting in that kingdom; and to propose, consult, treat, and conclude with that Assembly, or any commissioners deputed by them, or any committee or commission deputed by the houses of Parliament, on all matters which may further the union of this island in one form of church-government, one confession of faith, one catechism, one directory for the worship of God, according to the instructions which they have received from the Assembly, or shall receive, from time to time, from the commissioners of the Assembly, deputed hereafter for that effect; with powers also to them, to convey to his majesty, the humble answer sent from this Assembly to his majesty’s letter, by such occasion as they shall judge expedient; and sick-like, to deliver the Assembly’s answer to the letter sent from some well-affected brethren there;—and generally authorizes them to do all things which may further the much

desired union and nearest conjunction of the churches of England and Scotland, and conform to these instructions aforesaid."

When the Scottish commissioners arrived, they were received with great respect and solemnity by the Assembly; and the prolocutor made a formal address to them in the name of the Assembly, which was answered by Mr. Alexander Henderson, in behalf of the commissioners. Speeches were also made on the occasion by Dr. Hayle and Mr. Case. These commissioners from Scotland were welcomed to the Assembly, and invited to give their aid in the business on hand, and to take a part in all the proceedings of the Assembly. Mr. Henderson, in the name of his brethren, expressed the lively sympathy of the Scottish nation with the present condition of England, and their readiness to lend their aid in whatever way they might be able; and especially, their cordial disposition to contribute their assistance in promoting the work in hand.

The Scottish commissioners were invited to take their seats as regular members of the Assembly; but this they declined, and chose rather to be considered as commissioners from the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, to deliberate and consult with this Assembly, on all matters which related to a conformity in religion, between the two nations; and in this capacity they acted, although they took their full share in the discussions of the Assembly.

But to effect communication, not only with the Assembly, but with the Parliament, a committee was appointed, consisting of certain select persons from the House of Lords, House of Commons, and the Assembly of Divines. Whatever the Scottish commissioners desired to communicate to any, or all these bodies, was transmitted through this committee.



## CHAPTER IV.

Covenant approved by Parliament and the Assembly—Is solemnly sworn by the members of both Houses—Tendered to the people and taken by many—All persons in Office, and all persons Ordained required to take it.

As soon as the solemn League and Covenant was received by the Parliament of England, it was considered and approved, and then sent to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, where its several articles and engagements were read and seriously deliberated on, and a resolution adopted, to swear and subscribe the same. The time fixed upon by parliament, was, Monday, the 25th of September, 1643. Accordingly, on the day appointed, the house of Commons, the Assembly of Divines, and the Scottish commissioners, convened in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, when the solemn transaction was opened by a prayer by Mr. White, of Dorchester, one of the assessors of the Assembly. After which, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Nye, each spoke in justification of taking the covenant, and exhibited the advantages which the church, in former times, had received from such sacred combinations. The covenant was then read, article by article, by Mr. Nye; upon which, each person, standing up, with his head uncovered, with his bare right hand lifted up to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, swore to the performance of the engagements of this solemn league. The solemnity was concluded with a prayer by Dr. Gouge. The members of the house of Commons now retired into the chancel, and respectively subscribed their names on one roll of parchment; and the members of the Assembly did the same, on another roll; on both of which, the covenant had been fairly transcribed. The swearing and subscribing the solemn league and covenant was performed by the house of Peers on another day, namely, the 15th of October; on which occasion, a sermon was preached

by Dr. Temple, and an exhortation given, by Mr. Colman.

The next Lord's day after the covenant had been sworn by the House of Commons and Assembly of Divines, it was, by order of Parliament, read in all the churches, within the bills of mortality in London, and tendered to all persons present, and sworn and subscribed by as many as could be persuaded to do so.

The following is an exhortation to taking the covenant, agreed upon by the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed:

*“Die veneris, Feb. 9, 1648.*

“If the power of religion, or solid reason; if loyalty to the king, and piety to their native country, or love to themselves, and natural affection to their posterity; if the example of men touched with a deep sense of all these; or extraordinary success from God thereupon, can awaken an embroiled bleeding remnant to embrace the sovereign and only means of their recovery, there can be no doubt but this solemn league and covenant will find, wheresoever it shall be tendered, a people ready to entertain it with all cheerfulness and duty.

“And were it not commended to the kingdom by the concurrent encouragement of the honourable houses of parliament, the assembly of divines, the renowned city of *London*, multitudes of other persons, of eminent rank and quality of this nation, and the whole body of *Scotland*, who have all willingly sworn and subscribed it with rejoicing at the oath, so graciously seconded from heaven already, by blasting the counsels, and breaking the power of the enemy more than ever; yet it goeth forth in its own strength with such convincing evidence of equity, truth, and righteousness, as may raise in all (not wilfully ignorant, or miserably seduced) inflamed affections to join with their brethren in this happy bond, for putting an end to the present miseries, and for saving both king and kingdom from utter ruin, now so

strongly and openly laboured by the popish faction, and such as have been bewitched and besotted by that viperous and bloody generation.”—

“It then proceeds to answer objections against taking the covenant; as

“Obj. 1. That it obliges to the extirpation of prelacy, which stands as yet by the known laws of the land.

“Answ. The life and soul of the hierarchy is already taken away; nothing of jurisdiction remaining; and since it is but a human constitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

“Obj. 2. It is said to be inconsistent with the oath of canonical obedience.

“Answ. If men have sworn obedience to the laws of the land, may they not endeavour by lawful means the repealing those laws, if they are found inconvenient? Or if any ministers have taken oaths not warranted by the laws of God and the land, ought they not to repent of them?

“Obj. 3. But the covenant crosses the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

“Answ. This is false, for it binds to the preservation of the king’s person and authority, in the defence of the religion and liberties of the kingdom.

“Obj. 4. But it is done without the king’s consent.

“Answ. So was the protestation of May 5, which went through the whole kingdom, his majesty not excepting against it, though he was then at Whitehall. The same has been done by the united Netherlands under king Philip; and more lately in Scotland, his majesty himself declaring by act of parliament, that they had done nothing but what became loyal and obedient subjects.”

Together with the aforesaid exhortation, the following orders and instructions were issued by the parliament, and directed to be printed and dispersed over the kingdom:

“Ordered, That copies of the covenant be sent to all commanders in chief, and governors of towns, forts,

**garrisons and soldiers, that it may be taken by all soldiers under their command.**

**“That copies be sent to the committees of parliament, in the several counties that are under the power of the parliament, and that the committees within six days disperse the said copies, and cause them to be delivered to the ministers, church-wardens, or constables of the several parishes.**

**“That the several ministers be required to read the covenant to the people, the next Lord’s day after they have prepared the people to take it.**

**“That the committees of parliament take it themselves within seven days after they have received the copies; and then disperse themselves throughout their counties, so as three or four of them may be together at the several places appointed for the people to take it. That they summon all the ministers, church-wardens, constables, and other officers, to that place, and after a sermon preached by a minister whom they shall appoint, they shall cause the said minister to tender the covenant to all such ministers, and other officers, to be taken and subscribed in the presence of the committee.**

**“The said ministers are then to be required to tender the covenant to all the rest of their parishioners next Lord’s day, and if any minister refuse, or neglect to appear at the said summons, or refuse to take the said covenant, the committee shall appoint another minister to do it in his place.**

**“If any minister refuse to take, or tender the covenant; or if any other person refuses to take it after a second tender, upon two Lord’s days, their names shall be returned to the committee, and by them to the house of commons; and all persons that absent themselves after notice given, shall be returned as refusers.”**

**So strict was the enforcement of these orders, that even the English who resided in foreign countries, were not exempted from the obligation. Directions were sent to Mr. Strickland, the Parliament’s agent at the Hague, to tender the covenant to all the English**

in those countries, and to certify the names of such as refused. It is a remarkable fact, that the elector Palatine, who happened then to be at the Hague, voluntarily subscribed the covenant; and afterwards, when he went to England, condescended to take his seat in the Assembly of Divines.

In December 20, 1643, it was ordered by the Lords and Commons, that no person should be capable of being elected a common council-man of the city of London, or so much as have a voice in such elections, who had not taken the covenant.

On the 29th of January, 1644, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that the covenant should be publicly read on every day of fasting and humiliation, in every church in the kingdom; and it was enjoined on every congregation to have a copy fairly printed, in a large character, and framed so as to be fitted to be hung up in a public place of the church, so that it might be read by the people. All young ministers at their ordination, were required to take the covenant; and none of the laity were continued in office, whether civil or military, who refused it; and all knights, gentlemen, and officers, who came over from the king's party, were received only on condition of subscribing the covenant.

As soon as the king was made acquainted with these proceedings, he issued the following proclamation, prohibiting all his loyal subjects to take the covenant:—

“By the King.

“Whereas there is a printed paper, entitled, A solemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, &c., pretended to be printed by order of the House of Commons, September 21, which covenant, though it seems to make specious expressions of piety and religion, is in truth nothing else but a traitorous and seditious combination against us and the established religion and laws of this kingdom, in pursuance of a traitorous design and endeavour to bring in foreign force to invade this kingdom; we do therefore straitly charge and command all our loving

members, as appeared in the progress of debate, were divided into three parties, as it related to church-polity; the PRESBYTERIANS, INDEPENDENTS, AND ERASTIANS. Those of the first class, were by far the most numerous; but they were not at first opposed to every form of Episcopacy; but wished and intended to reduce it to the standard of the first and second ages of Christianity. These views were, however, greatly changed after the arrival of the Scottish commissioners; for after a full discussion, they not only laid aside the office of bishop, but advanced so far as to maintain the *jus divinum* of presbytery.

The Independents were few in number, but they were men of eminent learning and abilities, and occupied a large portion of the time of the Assembly, with their debates. Their leading men were, Thomas Goodwin, Sydrach Simpson, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge.

The Erastians were so called from a German divine and physician of the sixteenth century, who maintained, that the pastoral office was merely persuasive, and that no power of the keys was attached to it. A minister might dehort the profane from coming to the sacraments, but he had no right to forbid them, much less to use force to prevent their attendance; nor has he the power to inflict any kind of censure. They referred the punishment of all offences, civil or ecclesiastical, to the civil magistrate. The great benefit, which they promised themselves from their system was, the avoiding all collision between Church and State, by the erection of an *imperium in imperio*; and to cut up by the roots all kinds of priestly tyranny, over the consciences of men. The chief patrons of this scheme, in the Assembly, were Selden, Lightfoot, Colman, and Whittack; all eminent for their profound acquaintance with rabbinical learning. They denied that any particular form of church government was set down in the Scriptures, but maintained that it belonged to the civil magistrate to establish such form as might be judged most expedient. They alleged that Cranmer, Redmayer, Cox, and Whitgift

entertained the same opinions; and cited from the controversy of the latter with Cartwright, the following words, "I deny that the Scripture has set down any one certain form of church-government to be perpetual."—Again, "It is well known, that the manner and form of government expressed in the Scriptures neither is now, nor can, nor ought to be observed, either touching persons or functions."—"The charge of this is left to the magistrate, so that nothing be contrary to the word of God. The government of the church must be according to the form of government in the commonwealth."

The views entertained by the Independents, as expressed in their "Apologetic Narrative," were, in regard to the Church of England, as follows: "As to the Church of England, we profess before God and the world, that we apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of worship, and a great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their church governors; yet we allow many of their parochial churches to be true churches, and their ministers, true ministers."

Their scheme did not go to the length to which the Brownists extended their principles of Independency. They professed to steer a middle course between this system and presbytery, and held, "That every particular congregation of Christians has an entire and complete power of jurisdiction over its members to be exercised by the elders thereof within itself."—"Not that they claim an entire independency with regard to other churches, for they agree that in all cases of offence, the offending church is to submit to an open examination, by other neighbouring churches, and on their persisting in their error, or miscarriage, they then are to renounce all Christian communion with them till they repent, which is all the authority or ecclesiastical power that one church may exercise over another; unless they call in the civil magistrate; for which they find no authority in Scripture."

"Their mode of worship in Holland was the same as other Protestants. They read the Scriptures of the

“form of government” adopted by the Assembly and established by the Parliament, shows clearly enough, what principles they held on this subject. The only extraordinary thing in regard to them is, that having all been educated Episcopalians, there should have been such an agreement among them, respecting the Scriptural form of church government. The fact furnishes a strong argument in favour of this plan of ecclesiastical polity; and an argument of the same kind, but of greater force; may be derived from the agreement of nearly all Protestant churches, in all countries, in the same principles, at the era of the Reformation. For even the English reformers can scarcely be said to form an exception; for Episcopacy was retained by them, not so much from conviction of its Scriptural origin, as from external and political circumstances, which they had no power to control. It is true, that the intolerant and domineering conduct of the bishops, under James and Charles I., had produced in the minds of both clergy and laity, an unfavourable impression, in regard to the Episcopal office; but when the Assembly met, their views of reformation extended, as has been said, no further than to diminishing the authority of bishops, and reducing the system to that form, which was believed to have been prevalent in the times immediately after the apostles, when bishops were poor, pious, and laborious men. Two reasons may be assigned for the general consent of the members of this Assembly, to the Presbyterian form of church government; the first was, that after the arrival of the Scottish commissioners, there was a full and extended discussion of the subject, in which these Scottish divines took a large share; and they possessed the advantage of having thoroughly studied the subject, in relation to their own kirk, and were, therefore, fully prepared to defend the cause of presbytery. It is a remarkable fact that the young Scot, Gillespie, was, on this subject, more than a match for all the learned Erastians and Independents in the Assembly. Many of the English divines, it is probable, had come to the Assembly,



without any determinate opinions on church government, and were now convinced of the just claims of presbytery, from the arguments which they heard; others had come to the same conclusion previously, by the careful study of the Scriptures.

But a second consideration, which might have influenced a number who were not convinced of the *divine right* of presbytery, was, that unless they adopted the Presbyterian polity, there was no prospect of uniformity in religion with the church of Scotland, which was one great object of calling the Assembly, as is set forth in the ordinance of Parliament, heretofore inserted; and it was evident, that the kirk of Scotland would never agree to any form of Episcopacy, however modified. They had recently discarded, utterly, their own bishops, and solemnly excommunicated most of them, in the General Assembly of 1638; and it would have been as easy at this time to introduce popery, as prelacy, into the church of Scotland.

There is one other consideration, which ought to be mentioned, in accounting for the almost unanimous adoption of Presbyterian principles by the Westminster Assembly. The bishops, and high-toned Episcopalians, had generally sided with the king, in the dispute between him and the Parliament. This would very naturally create a prejudice against that form of church government which was so zealously defended by his majesty and his adherents. The Parliament were more and more tending towards republican principles; and it is easy to see, that Presbytery is more in accordance with such principles, than high church Episcopacy.

When the Assembly came to determine the point of the *jus divinum* of Presbytery, most of the Erastians and the Independents withdrew from the body, and returned no more; but of this we shall speak in another place.

## CHAPTER VI.

## Correspondence with Foreign Divines.

**THE** Assembly were naturally led to wish to receive the countenance and aid of foreign churches, and of the most learned and esteemed theologians in the foreign Protestant universities. They therefore addressed the following circular:—

“To the Belgic, French, Helvetian, and other reformed churches.

“Right reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ,

“**WE**, the assembly of divines, and others, convened by the authority of both houses of Parliament, with the commissioners from the general assembly of the church of Scotland, do heartily salute you in the Lord. We doubt not, but the sad reports of the miseries under which the church and kingdom of England do bleed, and wherewith we are ready to be swallowed up, is long since come to your ears; and it is probable, the same instruments of Satan and Antichrist have, by their emissaries, endeavoured to represent us as black as may be among yourselves.— And we sometimes doubt whether we have not been wanting to our own innocence, and your satisfaction, in being thus long silent; but pardon us, dear brethren, if this cup of trembling wherewith our spirits have been filled to amazement, and our wrestling with extreme difficulties ever since our meeting, has hindered from that which was our duty; and give us leave now a little to ease our grief, while we relate the desolation made by the antichristian faction, who are for hindering the work of reformation, and for intro-

ducing and cherishing Popery; and are now arrived to that strength, that if the Lord do not speedily help us, we shall be altogether laid waste by them.

“How great a hand they [the prelates] have had, in the miseries of other reformed churches, in the destruction of the Palatinate, in the loss of Rochel, are so fully known and felt by you all, that we need not speak any thing of them. And we suppose their inveterate hatred against you all is sufficiently manifest, in that multitudes of them have refused to acknowledge any of you for churches of Christ because you are not prelatical, and thereby, as they conceive, want a lawful vocation of ministers. Sure we are, that among ourselves, scarce one thing can be thought of which may be supposed an argument of their design to advance Popery, that has not been attempted. —The laws against popery have been suspended; judges forbid to proceed against condemned priests; Jesuits set free; houses of superstition in Ireland and England have been set up and not discountenanced; notorious Papists harboured about the court and preferred; many released from legal penalties, and their prosecutors discountenanced; agents have been sent into Italy, and nuncios from Rome received, while the most zealous Protestants have been persecuted; many prelates and clergymen have publicly preached, and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points of Popery, except the supremacy, and introduced abundance of corrupt innovations into the worship of God; for noncompliance with which many have been forced to fly for refuge to the remote parts of the world.

“They imposed upon the kingdom of Scotland a new Popish service book and canons, to which, when that nation would not submit, they prevailed with his majesty to proclaim them rebels, and raise an army against them, to which all the Papists, and those who were popishly affected, contributed; and had not the Lord, by his blessing on the Scots’ arms, and by the calling of this Parliament, prevented it, the two nations had been imbruing their hands in each other’s blood.

“But though we hoped through the goodness of God, and his blessing upon this Parliament, whose hearts were inclined to a more perfect reformation, that our winter had been past, yet, alas! we find it to be quite otherwise. We know our sins have deserved all, and if we die and perish, the Lord is righteous; to his hand we submit, and to him alone we look for healing. The same antichristian faction not being discouraged, by their want of success in Scotland, have stirred up a bloody rebellion in Ireland, wherein above one hundred thousand Protestants have been destroyed in one province, within a few months. They have alienated the heart of his majesty from his Parliament, and prevailed with him to withdraw and raise an army, which at first pretended only to be made up of Protestants—but soon after Papists were armed by commission from the king; many great Papists were put into places of public command, and the body of all the Papists have joined his majesty with all their might; they profess and exercise their religion publicly in several parts of the kingdom, and go up and down plundering, murdering, and spoiling of their goods, all such as adhere to the Parliament, and to the cause of religion. Nor has the Parliament been able, by their petitions and remonstrances, to recover his majesty out of their hands, or bring these men to deserved punishment, but the sword rages in almost every corner of this woful land.

“And to complete our miseries, they have prevailed with his majesty so far to own the rebels in Ireland, as not only to call them his Roman Catholic subjects now in arms, but to grant them a cessation of arms for a year, and to hold what they have gotten, with liberty to strengthen themselves with men, money, arms, ammunition, &c., whereby they are enabled not only to destroy the remnant of Protestants in Ireland, but to come over hither (as many of them are already) to act the same butchery upon us.

“In the midst of these troublesome times the two houses of Parliament have called this assembly, to give them our best counsel for the reformation of the

church, requiring us to make God's word only our rule, and to endeavour the nearest conformity to the best reformed churches, and uniformity to all the churches of the three kingdoms.

“The church and kingdom of Scotland have made offer of their humble mediation to the king for a pacification, which being rejected both nations have entered into a mutual league and covenant; and the Scots have resolved to join in arms with their brethren in England, for their mutual preservation from the common enemy, and so far as in them lieth for the safety of their native king. They have also sent their commissioners hither, for uniformity of religion in the churches of both kingdoms.

“And we their commissioners do exceedingly rejoice, to behold the foundation of the house of God, not only in doctrine, but in church-government, laid before our eyes in a reverend assembly of so wise, learned, and godly divines. And we find ourselves bound in all Christian duty, as well as by our late covenant, to join in representing to the reformed churches abroad, the true condition of affairs here, against all mistakes and misinformations.

“And now, dear brethren, we beg of you, first, to judge aright of our innocence and integrity in this our just defence; if our enemies say, that we are risen up in rebellion to deprive the king of his just power and greatness, and to bring anarchy and confusion into the church of Christ, we doubt not but our solemn covenant (a copy of which we humbly present you herewith) will sufficiently clear us. Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom we implore to help us no further than we can plead these things in sincerity.

“Secondly, That you would sympathize with us as brethren, who suffer in and for the same cause wherein yourselves have been oppressed.

“Thirdly, That you would conceive of our condition as your own common cause, which, if it be lost with us, yourselves are not like long to escape, the quarrel being not so much against men's persons, as against the power of godliness, and the purity of

God's word. The way and manner of your owning us we leave to yourselves, only we importunately crave your fervent prayers, both public and private, that God would bring salvation to us; that the blessings of truth and peace may rest upon us; that these three nations may be joined as one stick in the hands of the Lord; and that we ourselves, contemptible builders, called to repair the house of God, in a troublesome time, may see the pattern of this house, and commend such a platform to our Zerubbabels as may be most agreeable to his sacred word, nearest in conformity to the best reformed churches, and to establish uniformity among ourselves; that all mountains may become plains before them and us; that then all who now see the plummet in our hands, may also behold the top-stone set upon the head of the Lord's house among us, and may help us with shouting to cry, Grace, grace, to it.

"Thus much we have been commanded to inform you of, reverend brethren (and by you all faithful Christians under your charge), by the honourable House of Commons, in whose name, and in our own, we bid you heartily farewell in the Lord.

"Your most affectionately devoted brethren in Christ,

William Twisse, *prolocutor*.

Cornelius Burges, John White, *assessors*.

Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield, *scribes*.

John Maitland, A. Johnston, Alexander Henderson, Samuel Rutherford, Robert Bailie, George Gillespie, *commissioners of the church of Scotland.*"

The epistle here inserted, was addressed, To the learned pastors and elders of the classes and churches, of the Province of Zealand, our much honoured brethren. Letters of the same import, were sent to the several churches of the Seven United Provinces; to the churches of Geneva; the Protestant cantons of Switzerland; the churches of Hesse; Hannaw, and Anhalt; and to the Protestant congregation at Paris. All which were received with respect, and answered

by the several classes to which the circular was addressed. The answer of the church of Paris was read in the Assembly, in the beginning of March, and that from the churches of Switzerland on the 12th of June, 1644; and the answer of the church of Geneva, about the same time. That from the classes of Amsterdam, on the 29th of June, of the same year. Mr. Whitlock observes, "That the Dutch Divines expressed, not only their approbation of the proceedings of the Parliament and Assembly, touching the Covenant, but desired to join with the two kingdoms therein."

The king, apprehending himself to be misrepresented, in that part of the assembly's letter, which insinuated a design to introduce popery, and being advised to vindicate his character from that imputation, caused a manifesto to be drawn up, in Latin and English, addressed to all foreign Protestants; which though not published till the following year, will be properly introduced in this place:

"Charles by the special providence of Almighty God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., to all those who profess the true reformed Protestant religion, of what nation, degree, or condition, soever they be, to whom this present declaration shall come, greeting.

"Whereas, we are given to understand, that many false rumours and scandalous letters are spread up and down among the reformed churches in foreign parts by the politic or rather the pernicious industry of some ill-affected persons, that we have an inclination to recede from that orthodox religion which we were born, baptized, and bred in, and which we have firmly professed and practised throughout the whole course of our life to this moment; and that we intend to give way to the introduction and public exercise of Popery again, in our dominions; which most detestable calumny being grounded upon no imaginable foundation, hath raised these horrid tumults, and more than barbarous wars, throughout this flourishing island, under pretence of a kind of reformation

which is incompatible with the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom; we desire that the whole Christian world should rest assured, that we never entertained the least thought to attempt such a thing, or to depart a jot from that holy religion, which, when we received the crown and sceptre of this kingdom, we took a most solemn sacramental oath to profess and protect. Nor does our constant practice, and daily presence in the exercise of this religion, with so many asseverations at the head of our armies, and the public attestation of our barons, with the circumspection used in the education of our royal offspring, besides divers other undeniable arguments, only demonstrate this, but also that happy alliance of marriage we contracted between our eldest daughter and the illustrious prince of Orange, most closely confirms the reality of our intentions herein; by which it appears, that our endeavours are not only to make a profession thereof in our own dominions, but to strengthen it abroad as much as lieth in our power."

"This most holy religion of the Anglicane church, ordained by so many convocations of learned divines, confirmed by so many acts of parliament, and strengthened by so many royal proclamations, together with the ecclesiastical discipline and liturgy, which the most eminent Protestant authors, as well as Germans, French, Danes and Swedes, Dutch and Bohemians, do with many eulogies, and not without a kind of envy, approve and applaud in their public writings, particularly in the transactions of the synod of Dort, wherein, (besides others of our divines who were afterwards prelates) one of our bishops assisted, to whose dignity all due respect, and precedency were given; this religion, we say, which our royal father, of blessed memory, doth publicly assert in his famous concession addressed to all Christian princes, with the hierarchy and liturgy thereof, we solemnly protest, that by the help of God, we will endeavour to our utmost power, and last period of our life, to keep entire and inviolable; and will be careful according



to our duty to heaven, and the tenor of our oath at our coronation, that all our ecclesiastics, in their several degrees and incumbencies, shall preach and practise. Wherefore we command all our ministers of state beyond the seas, as well ambassadors as residents, agents, and messengers; and we desire all the rest of our loving subjects that sojourn in foreign parts, to communicate and assert this our solemn and sincere protestation, when opportunity of time and place shall be offered.

“Given in our university and city of Oxford,  
“May 14, 1644.”

This declaration did not answer the purpose of conciliating the foreign churches and divines; for although it contained an assurance that the king had no intention of turning papist, it convinced them that no alteration in the English hierarchy was to be expected; and his insinuating, that the foreign divines, or at least the most learned of them, preferred the English hierarchy to the government of their own churches, convinced them, that they ought to be more sparing of their compliments, for the future.

Attempts were also made by private correspondence, to engage some of the most learned foreign divines to come out, in some publications, in favour of the principles of the Parliament and Assembly. Mr. Robert Baillie, one of the Scottish commissioners carried on a correspondence, during the whole time of his residence in London, with his cousin german, the minister of the Scottish church in Campvere, and afterwards of Middlebury, in Zealand. In one of these letters, dated April 25, 1544, he writes, “We are all very sensible of your prudent diligence. By all means go on with your divines for an answer. I wish those whom you have engaged in Zealand were put on to engage with themselves, the divines of the other provinces, especially those of the presbytery of Leyden; also RIVET and VOETIUS. There is great need; for this is a very wavering and fickle people.

Write what they please against bishops and ceremonies *obita*, for our confirmation; for these are now out of the hearts of all here almost. But above all, and in earnest, let them exhort to be watchful against anarchical schisms, and the heresies of Antinomians and Anabaptists. These came together cordially against the reformed churches, and increase so much in number and boldness, as easily they would carry all here to a lamentable confusion, if the fear of our armies did not keep them in order."

Baillie exerted himself greatly to procure that some of the most eminent foreign divines should write in favour of the Assembly; and especially that they should appear in favour of Presbyterian church government, in opposition to the Independents and Erastians. There is scarcely a letter to Mr. Spang, in which he does not express his anxiety on this subject. But for some reason, these learned professors in the foreign Universities, seem to have been very averse to volunteer in this controversy. Andrew Rivet had taken offence at something which he understood had been said disrespectfully towards him, by some one in the Assembly; which, however, Baillie declares to have been a false report. Spanheim said, when applied to, that he would not write on that subject, unless commanded to do so by his university. Du Moulin did write a letter, which was more favourable than was expected of him; but the only one who came up to the hopes and wishes of the Presbyterians, was APOLLONIUS.

In a note to Mr. Buchanan, Baillie says, "I conceive it very expedient, that you write to some of the ministers of Paris, Geneva, and Bern, the true state of our affairs, how that a mighty faction is arisen, to prefer *liberty of conscience* for all sects; at least a freedom for Morellius' popular government of the church; but that the Scots, and most of the synod and Parliament are for establishing the government, by synods and classes. It would encourage them much, if the divines of Geneva and Switzerland

would, in their answers to the synod's letter, as the divines of Zealand have done in their letter, and the divines of Hesse also, exhort the synod at some length, and in earnest, to beware of the pernicious liberty of all sects, in particular those who are enemies to the discipline of all the reformed. There is a golden occasion in hand, if improved, to get England conformed, in government and worship, to the rest of the reformed. If nothing dare be written in public, by the French, see if they will write their mind for our encouragement, to any private friend here, or in Holland. You should write for the same purpose to Moulin in Sedan, and Spanheim in Leyden. It were good, if they write, that their letters were conceived in the greatest names they could procure. The Theologie of Bern would get a letter from the Switzerland church; those of Geneva, from their whole ecclesiastic classes; Moulin, from the University of Sedan, and Spanheim, from the university of Leyden. It were not ill that in all their letters, they congratulated the abolition of episcopacy and popish ceremonies; and exhorted to set up quickly, the government of Christ; that so long an anarchy as is here, is the mother of heresies and schisms, and many more evils."

The answers received from the foreign reformed churches, were commonly cordial to the cause in which the Assembly was engaged; but not uniformly so. That from the synod of Hesse Cassel, was very cold and unsatisfactory, at the close of which, they advised the Assembly not to meddle with the bishops.

In another to Mr. Willam Spang, he speaks of the letter from Zealand, and suggests that it would be well to have it printed in Latin and English, as was the Assembly's letter to them; and to send over a number of copies, as there was likely to be a scarcity. He mentions a letter written by Apollonius, one of the Holland divines, and expresses a high approbation of it. "We are," says he, "much obliged to that excellent divine, Apollonius. We trust he will, with all

diligence, go on in his avowed intention. There is nothing wherein he can do better service to God, and the reformed churches." "It is marvelled, that the rest of your provinces and professors, will not follow the gracious and charitable examples of Zealand. Shall they see both the church and state of all these three kingdoms perish, and stand aloof without the least assistance, by the stretch of their pen, when they are called to it by our lamentable letters, and the gracious example of their compassionate brethren? See how they will be answerable for such an apathy, in so necessary a time." "Strange that your divines of Holland will learn nothing from England. Do they sit still, while we are a-dying?"

In a letter, under date of December 6th, 1644, Baillie informs his friend Spang, that Apollonius' book was read in the Assembly, and a copy given to every member; and what is represented to be *absque exemplo*, the thanks of the Assembly were ordered to be transmitted to the author. "Jan Apollonius has done a good service to God and his churches here. I have not yet had time to read it all, but I approve what I have read."

In another letter, to Buchanan, at Paris, he gives thanks for the sympathy felt in the common cause of all the reformed churches, by the friends at Paris. In answer to some queries which they wished to have answered, Baillie informs them, "That the Covenant of Scotland, rejects absolutely, all kinds of Episcopacy; that the Covenant of the Three Kingdoms is expressly for rooting out all prelacy, and not merely the *tyranny* of that office. That no Episcopacy could be tolerated, as being a mere human invention, without the word of God; which, wherever it lodged, has been a very unhappy guest. That ruling elders are conceived here on the old French grounds, by all of our side, to stand on a divine right; and that an ecclesiastical right alone is no just foundation for any officer in the house of God." "That the Independents' common tenets are these: 1. That the power of ecclesias-

tical censures is alone in the Congregational presbyteries. They grant the divine right and many excellent uses of synods lesser and greater, only deny their power of jurisdiction over any congregation. Ordination of all officers, also, their depositions; and excommunication of all members, they give to the Congregational consistory. They give so much authority to a synod, and to every neighbouring congregation, when they receive no satisfaction from any scandalous congregation, to abstain from communion with it; and to pronounce their sentence of non-communion with it.

2. They will admit of none to be members of their congregations, of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidences. By this means, they would keep out of the Christian church, forty for one, of the members of the best reformed churches.

3. They make it necessary to have all the men, who are communicants, present at every act of jurisdiction of the consistory.

4. They give liberty to every one who is able, though he never entered the ministry, to profess and preach publicly in the face of the church.

5. They do not censure in their churches the denial of pædo-baptism, though they profess their dislike of that error.

6. Many of them preach, and some print for a liberty of conscience; at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions; that every man should be permitted without any fear so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto; if he trouble not the public peace, by any seditious or wicked practice."

## CHAPTER VII.

Fifteen Articles of the Church of England revised.—A view of the alterations proposed.

As has been already mentioned, the first object of the Assembly was, not to overthrow the hierarchy, or to set aside the thirty-nine Articles of Religion, but to alter and improve both. Accordingly, one of their first acts was, to divide their whole number into three committees, to each of which was assigned the consideration of a certain number of the ARTICLES of the English Church. The design of this revision was, not to alter any of the doctrines of those Articles, but to render their expression more explicit, in favour of Calvinistic doctrines. Certain persons were appointed to search for the most authentic copies of those articles which could be obtained, and to exhibit the same to the Assembly. Ten weeks were occupied in discussing the amendments proposed to the first fifteen of the THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. At this point, they were arrested in their proceedings, by an order from Parliament, to proceed immediately to the forming a DIRECTORY for public worship; because the liturgy being virtually set aside, the churches were at a great loss how to proceed in the public worship of God. And after the arrival of the Scottish Commissioners, it was ascertained, that uniformity between the English and Scottish churches, could be more easily obtained, by forming a new Confession, than by amending the Articles of the Church of England. The further revision of these Articles was never afterwards resumed in the Assembly. But as so much time was employed in this work, and as the revision is still extant, a history of the Westminster Assembly would not be complete without an exhibition of the changes made in the Articles, which were considered. The fairest view of what alterations were proposed and adopted, in these fifteen Articles, will be afforded by exhibiting, in parallel columns, these Articles in their

original form, and opposite to them, the same Articles as amended.

## ARTICLES

OF THE

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Revised and altered by the assembly of divines at Westminster, in the year 1643, with Scripture references.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THERE is but one<sup>a</sup> living and true God,<sup>b</sup> everlasting,<sup>c</sup> without body, parts,<sup>d</sup> or passions,<sup>e</sup> of infinite power,<sup>f</sup> wisdom,<sup>g</sup> and goodness,<sup>h</sup> the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible.<sup>i</sup> And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.<sup>k</sup>

## ARTICLE II.

*Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very Man.*

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father,<sup>l</sup> the very<sup>m</sup> and eternal God,<sup>n</sup> of one substance with the Father,<sup>o</sup> took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance;<sup>p</sup> so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the manhood, were joined to-

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xli. 9. 1 Cor. viii. 4. 6.  
<sup>b</sup> Jer. x. 10. 1 Thes. i. 9.  
<sup>c</sup> Psal. xc. 2. Rom. xvi. 26.  
<sup>d</sup> Deut. iv. 15, 16. John iv. 24, with Luke xxiv. 39.  
<sup>e</sup> Acts xiv. 15. James i. 17.  
<sup>f</sup> Jer. xxxii. 17, 27. Mark x. 27.  
<sup>g</sup> Psal. cxlvii. 5. Rom. xi. 33.  
<sup>h</sup> Psal. cxix. 68, with Matt. xix. 17.  
<sup>i</sup> Neh. ix. 6. Col. i. 16, 17.

## THE ARTICLES

OF THE

## CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

## ARTICLE I.

*Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

## ARTICLE II.

*Of the Word, or Son of God which was made very Man.*

The Son, which is the word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one

<sup>k</sup> Matt. iii. 16, 17. xxviii. 19. 1 John iv. 7. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.  
<sup>l</sup> Prov. viii. 22-31. John i. 12. 14.  
<sup>m</sup> 1 John v. 20. Rom. ix. 5.  
<sup>n</sup> John xvii. 5. Heb. i. 8, with Psal. xlv. 6.  
<sup>o</sup> John x. 30. Heb. i. 3.  
<sup>p</sup> John i. 14. Isa. vii. 14. Luke i. 35. Gal. iv. 4.

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gether in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man,<sup>q</sup> who for our sakes truly suffered most grievous torments in his soul from God,<sup>r</sup> was crucified, dead, and buried,<sup>s</sup> to reconcile his Father to us,<sup>t</sup> and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men.<sup>u</sup>

## ARTICLE III.

As Christ died for us and was buried, so it is to be believed that he continued in the state of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death,<sup>w</sup> from the time of his death and burial until his resurrection;<sup>x</sup> which hath been otherwise expressed thus: he went down into hell.

## ARTICLE IV.

*Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death,<sup>y</sup> and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature,<sup>z</sup> wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth,<sup>a</sup> until he return to judge<sup>b</sup> all men<sup>c</sup> at the general resurrection of the body at the last day.<sup>d</sup>

## ARTICLE V.

*Of the Holy Ghost.*

The Holy Ghost is very and

<sup>q</sup> Isa. vii. 14, with Matt. i. 23. Rom. i. 3, 4. Heb. xiii. 8.

<sup>r</sup> Isa. liii. 10, 11. Mark xiv. 33, 34.

<sup>s</sup> 1 Peter ii. 24. Phil. iii. 1. 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

<sup>t</sup> Ezek. xvi. 63. Rom. iii. 25. 2 Cor. v. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Isa. liiii. 10. Eph. v. 2. 1 John i. 7. Heb. ix. 26.

<sup>w</sup> Psal. xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 24—27, 31. <sup>x</sup> Rom. vi. 9. Matt. xii. 40.

<sup>y</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 4. Rom. viii. 34. Psal.

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person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

## ARTICLE III.

*Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried: so also is it to be believed that he went down into hell.

## ARTICLE IV.

*Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

Christ did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all men at the last day.

## ARTICLE V.

*Of the Holy Ghost.*

The Holy Ghost, proceeding

xvi. 10, with Acts ii. 31. Luke xxiv. 34.

<sup>z</sup> Luke xxiv. 39, with John xx. 25, 27.

<sup>a</sup> Psal. lxxviii. 18, with Eph. iv. 8. Psal. cx. 1, with Acts ii. 34, 35. Mark xix. 10. Rom. viii. 34.

<sup>b</sup> Acts iii. 21. Psal. cx. 1, with 1 Cor. xv. 25, 26. Acts i. 11.

<sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. v. 20. Acts xvii. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Exod. iii. 6, with Luke xx. 37, 38. Acts xxiv. 14, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 12, to the end. John v. 28, 29.



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eternal God, of one substance,<sup>e</sup> majesty,<sup>f</sup> and glory, with the Father and the Son,<sup>g</sup> proceeding from the Father and the Son.<sup>h</sup>

## ARTICLE VI.

*Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.*

Holy Scripture<sup>i</sup> containeth all things necessary to salvation,<sup>k</sup> so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or necessary to salvation.<sup>l</sup>

By the name of Holy Scripture we understand all the canonical Books of the Old and New Testament which follow :

*Of the Old Testament.*

Genesis, Exodus, &c.

*Of the New Testament.*

The Gospel of St. Matthew, &c.

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inspiration of God; and in that regard, to be of most certain credit, and highest authority.

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from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

## ARTICLE VI.

*Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.*

Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation; so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the Holy Scripture, we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the church.

*Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.*

Genesis, Leviticus,  
Exodus, Numbers, &c.

And the other books, as Hierome saith, the church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine: such are these following, Third of Esdras, Book of Tobias, Fourth of Esdras, Judith, &c.

All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

<sup>e</sup> 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 3. Isa. vi. 5, 8, with Acts xxviii. 25, and v. 3, 4. 1 Cor. iii. 16, and vi. 19.

<sup>f</sup> Job xxvi. 13, 33, 34. 1 Cor. xii. Matt. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.

<sup>g</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 11. Eph. i. 17, and 1 Cor. ii. 8, with 1 Pet. iv. 14.

<sup>h</sup> John xv. 26, and Matt. x. 20, and 1 Cor. ii. 11, 12, with Gal. iv. 6, and Rom.

viii. 9, and Phil. i. 9. John xvi. 14. Isa. xi. 2. Isa. lxi. 1. Gen. i. 2. 2 Chron. xv. 1. 1 Rom. i. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

<sup>k</sup> Psal. xix. 7. 2 Tim. iii. 15—17. James i. 21, 25. Acts xx. 32.

<sup>l</sup> Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Isa. viii. 20. Acts xxvi. 22, with ver. 20, 27. Gal. i. 8, 9. John v. 39.

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## ARTICLE VII.

## ARTICLE VII.

*Of the Old Testament.**Of the Old Testament.*

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New, in the doctrine contained in them;<sup>m</sup> for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ,<sup>n</sup> who is the only mediator between God and man,<sup>o</sup> being both God and man.<sup>p</sup> Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for temporary promises.<sup>q</sup>

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament, everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign, that the old fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the law given from God by Moses; as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christian men; nor the civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

Although the law given from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind Christians; nor the civil precepts given by Moses, such as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the Jews, are of necessity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.<sup>t</sup> By the moral law, we understand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

## ARTICLE VIII.

*Of the three Creeds.*

The three creeds, Nice creed, Athanasius' creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

<sup>m</sup> Acts xxvi. 21. 23. 2 Pet. iii. 2. Luke xxiv. 44. Rom. iii. 31. Gal. iii. 21. 23. 24.

<sup>n</sup> Gen. iii. 15. xxii. 18, with Gal. iii. 8. 14. 1 Cor. x. 2-4. Luke i. 69, 70. Acts iii. 24. Isa. liiii.

<sup>o</sup> Dan. ix. 17. Rom. viii. 34. 1 John ii. 1. Heb. vii. 25. 1 Tim. ii. 5. John xiv. 6.

<sup>p</sup> Gal. iv. 4, 5. Acts xx. 28. Phil. ii. 7, 8.

<sup>q</sup> Acts xxvi. 6, 7. Rom. iv. 11. Gal. iii. 9. Heb. xi. 10. 16. 35.

<sup>r</sup> Gal. iv. 9, 10. Col. ii. 14. 16, 17. Heb. ix. 9, 10.

<sup>s</sup> Acts xxv. 9, 10. 25, with Deut. xvii. 8-13. Rom. xiii. 1. 5. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

<sup>t</sup> Matt. v. 17, to the end. Rom. xiii. 8-10. Eph. vi. 1-3. James ii. 8-12. Rom. vii. 25. iii. 31. Matt. vii. 12.

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## ARTICLE IX.

## ARTICLE IX.

## Of Original or Birth Sin.

## Of Original or Birth Sin.

Original sin<sup>u</sup> standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk;<sup>w</sup> but together with his first sin imputed,<sup>x</sup> it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is propagated from Adam; whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteousness<sup>y</sup> and is of his own nature inclined only to evil.<sup>z</sup> So that the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God;<sup>a</sup> and therefore in every person born into this world it deserveth God's wrath and damnation.<sup>b</sup> And this infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate,<sup>c</sup> whereby the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit.<sup>d</sup> And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate and do believe,<sup>e</sup> yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust is truly and properly sin.<sup>f</sup>

Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, as the Pelagians do vainly talk, but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the Spirit, and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the lust of the flesh, called in Greek φρόνημα σαρκός, which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire of the flesh, is not subject to the law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

## ARTICLE X.

## ARTICLE X.

## Of Free Will.

## Of Free Will.

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn or prepare himself, by his own natural strength, and good works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works pleas-

The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and

<sup>u</sup> Psal. li. 5. John iii. 5. 6.

<sup>w</sup> Job xiv. 4. xv. 14. Rom. vi. 6. John iii. 3. 5. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Rom. v. 12—19. Gen. ii. 17, with 1 Cor. xv. 22.

<sup>y</sup> Col. ii. 13. Rom. vii. 18. Eccl. vii. 29.

<sup>z</sup> Gen. vi. 5. viii. 21. Jer. xvii. 9. Rom. vii. 8. James i. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 7. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Col. i. 21.

<sup>b</sup> Eph. ii. 3. Rom. viii. 6. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Prov. xx. 9. Rom. vii. 17. 20. 23. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Gal. v. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Rom. viii. 1. 13. John iii. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Rom. viii. 17. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Eph. ii. 1. 5. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Eph. ii. 8—10. John vi. 44. 65.

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ing and acceptable to God,<sup>b</sup> without the grace of God by Christ, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working so effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good,<sup>i</sup> and also working with us when we have that will unto good.<sup>k</sup>

## ARTICLE XI.

*Of the Justification of Man before God.*

We are justified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remission of sins,<sup>l</sup> not for, nor by our own works or deservings,<sup>m</sup> but freely by his grace,<sup>n</sup> only for our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake,<sup>o</sup> his whole obedience and satisfaction being by God imputed unto us,<sup>p</sup> and Christ with his righteousness, being apprehended and rested on by faith only.<sup>q</sup> The doctrine of justification by faith only, is a wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort;<sup>r</sup> notwithstanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on still in their trespasses.<sup>s</sup>

## ARTICLE XII.

*Of Good Works.*

Good works, which are the fruits of faith,<sup>t</sup> and follow after justification,<sup>u</sup> cannot put away our

<sup>b</sup> Rom. viii. 8. Heb. xi. 6.  
<sup>i</sup> Ezek. xi. 19, 20. xxxvi. 26, 27. Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, with Heb. x. 11. Phil. ii. 12, 13. John vi. 45. Eph. i. 19, 20. 1 Cor. iv. 7.  
<sup>k</sup> Heb. xiii. 21. Phil. viii. 1. 6. Heb. xii. 22. 1 Pet. v. 10. 1 Thes. v. 23, 24. 1 Kings viii. 57, 58.  
<sup>l</sup> Rom. iv. 5-7. Psal. xxxii. 1, 2.  
<sup>m</sup> Rom. iii. 20. Gal. ii. 16. iii. 10, 11. Phil. iii. 9.  
<sup>n</sup> Rom. iii. 24. Tit. iii. 7.

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acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

## ARTICLE XI.

*Of the Justification of Man.*

We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the homily of justification.

## ARTICLE XII.

*Of Good Works.*

Albeit, that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification, cannot put away

<sup>o</sup> Rom. iii. 24, 25. v. 1. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.  
<sup>p</sup> Rom. v. 9. 17-19. iii. 25, 26. iv. 6. 24. 2 Cor. v. 21.  
<sup>q</sup> Rom. iii. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. ii. 16. Isa. xxviii. 16, with Rom. ix. 33, and 1 Pet. ii. 6. Phil. iii. 9.  
<sup>r</sup> 2 Tim. i. 13. Rom. v. 1, 2. 8. 11. xv. 13. 1 Pet. i. 8.  
<sup>s</sup> Psal. lxxviii. 20, 21. Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7. Luke xiii. 3, 5.  
<sup>t</sup> Gal. v. 6. James ii. 17, 18, 22.  
<sup>u</sup> Tit. ii. 14. iii. 7, 8. Eph. ii. 8, 9. 18.

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Sins,<sup>w</sup> and endure the severity of God's judgment; yet are they, notwithstanding their imperfections,<sup>x</sup> in the sight of God pleasing and acceptable unto him in and for Christ,<sup>y</sup> and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith,<sup>z</sup> insomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree discerned by the fruits.<sup>a</sup>

## ARTICLE XIII.

*Of Works before Justification.*

Works done before justification by Christ, and regeneration by his Spirit, are not pleasing unto God,<sup>b</sup> forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ: neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are sinful.<sup>d</sup>

## ARTICLE XIV.

*Of Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety;<sup>s</sup> for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his

<sup>w</sup> Rom. iii. 20, 21. iv. 4—9. Dan. ix. 18, 19.

<sup>x</sup> Neh. xiii. 22. Psal. cxliii. 2. Job ix. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. xxviii. 38. Rev. viii. 3, 4.

<sup>y</sup> 1 Peter ii. 5. Heb. xiii. 16, 20, 21. Col. i. 10. Phil. iv. 18.

<sup>z</sup> James ii. 16. 1 John i. 4.

<sup>a</sup> James ii. 18, 19. John xv. 4, 5. 1 John ii. 3, 5. Matt. xii. 33.

<sup>b</sup> Tit. i. 15, 16. Matt. vii. 18. Rom.

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our sins, and endure the severity of God's judgment, yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith, insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

## ARTICLE XIII.

*Of Works before Justification.*

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity; yea, rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

## ARTICLE XIV.

*Of Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary works, besides over and above God's commandments, which they call works of supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety. For by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God, as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his

viii. 8. Prov. xv. 2, 26. xxi. 27. Rom. iii. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. xi. 5, 6. Gal. v. 6.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Tim. i. 9. John i. 13. Rom. viii.

7, 8. Hag. ii. 14. Isa. lviii. 1—5. lxvi. 2, 3.

<sup>f</sup> Matt. v. 48. Mark xii. 30, 31. Phil. iv. 8, 9.

<sup>g</sup> Job ix. 2, 3, 20, 21. Psal. cxliii. 2. Prov. xx. 9. Phil. iii. 8—15.

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sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When you have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which was our duty to do."<sup>h</sup>

## ARTICLE XV.

*Of Christ alone without Sin.*

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only excepted,<sup>i</sup> from which he was clearly void both in his flesh and in his Spirit;<sup>k</sup> he came to be the Lamb without spot,<sup>l</sup> who by sacrifice of himself<sup>m</sup> once made,<sup>n</sup> should take away the sins of the world;<sup>o</sup> and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him.<sup>p</sup> But all we the rest, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."<sup>q</sup>

N. B. The Assembly proceeded no farther in the revisal.

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sake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Christ saith plainly, "When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We be unprofitable servants."

## ARTICLE XV.

*Of Christ alone without Sin.*

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, (sin only except,) from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh and in his Spirit. He came to be a Lamb without spot, who by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world; and sin (as St. John saith) was not in him. But all we the rest (although baptized, and born again in Christ) yet offend in many things; and "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

Charles Herle, prolocutor.

Henry Roborough, scriba.

Adoniram Byfield, scriba.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## Confession of Faith Composed.

WHEN the subject of articles of religion was again resumed, it was resolved, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the Scottish commissioners, to pre-

<sup>h</sup> Luke xvii. 10, with ver. 7—9.

<sup>i</sup> Isa. liiii. 3—5. Heb. ii. 17, with v. 15.

<sup>k</sup> Luke i. 35, with Acts iii. 14. John xiv. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Heb. vii. 26.

<sup>l</sup> 1 Pet. i. 19.

<sup>m</sup> Eph. v. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Heb. ix. 26, 28. x. 10. 12.

<sup>o</sup> John i. 29.

<sup>p</sup> 1 John iii. 5.

<sup>q</sup> James iii. 2. 1 John i. 8. 10.

pare new formularies of doctrine, which might be common to both nations, by which means the uniformity in religion between England and Scotland would be secured, according to the provisions of the solemn league and covenant.

Many of the points necessary to be included in a Confession of Faith had already been discussed, in the revision of the first fifteen articles of the church of England; and the most remarkable circumstance attending this venerable assembly was, that having been brought together from every part of the kingdom, and generally unknown to each other before, they should have been so entirely harmonious in their views of the system of evangelical doctrine. It does not appear, that in the whole body there was one who dissented from any of those doctrines which are usually denominated Calvinistic; although they are more properly called THE DOCTRINES OF THE REFORMATION; for they were common to all those eminent and holy men, who were the means of rescuing the truth from the darkness and perversion, which had overwhelmed it, during the long period of papal superstition.

There was not one Arminian or Antinomian in this Assembly; much less one Unitarian or Pelagian. The only matters of discussion respecting doctrines, were concerning the best method of expressing the truth. The committee, to take charge of this important concern, was not appointed until the 9th of May, 1645. They were, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hayle, Mr. Herle, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Vines, Dr. Tuckney, and Dr. Reynolds. The first thing done by this able committee, was, to settle the "titles" of the several chapters, into which the work was to be divided, which were thirty-two in number, and the very same which we now find in the Confession of the Westminster Assembly. For the sake of greater expedition in preparing the work, these chapters were distributed among several sub-committees, into which the general committee divided themselves. These sub-committees sat two days in every week, and when they

had completed the work assigned to them, respectively, they reported to the whole committee, by whom every thing was revised; and when they had agreed on the form of the articles, the same were reported to the Assembly, where every thing, after being publicly read, was considered, and, if need be, discussed, until all, or a majority were satisfied. This was done paragraph by paragraph.

It cannot, therefore, with truth be said, that the Confession of Faith was drawn up by any one man, for the several parts were prepared by different committees; and it is a matter of no importance, for in such cases, the draughtsman of an instrument may not be the person who gives it its impress and shape. He may be little more than the amanuensis, to word the ideas, verbally expressed, by minds of a higher grade. In consequence of the protracted debates respecting the form of government and directory of public worship, the Confession was not finished until the 26th of November, 1646; when Mr. Herle, the prolocutor, returned thanks, in the name of the Assembly, to the several committees who had had this work in charge. The work seems to have engaged the attention of the Assembly, from time to time, for more than a year, and to have occupied a very small portion of their time; every thing having been prepared and well digested by the committee, before it was presented to the Assembly.

In "Baillie's Letters," there is scarcely a mention of any dispute on the several parts of the Confession. In one place,—and this seems to be the only one,—he says, in writing to his friends in Scotland, "In the Assembly, we are going on with the 'Confession of Faith.' We had long and tough debates about the decrees of election; yet, thanks to God, all is gone right, according to our mind." And Neal, who is more full than any other writer, respecting the proceedings of the Assembly, says little or nothing respecting disputes about the articles of religion. Dr. Lightfoot's journal closes before the Confession was



brought under consideration by the Assembly. In a letter of Baillie to his cousin, Mr. Spang, under date of November, 1645, we find a notice of the successful progress of this work, in the following words:—"We go on in the Assembly now with pretty good speed. We have passed the heads of SCRIPTURE—GOD—TRINITY—DECREES—PROVIDENCE—REDEMPTION—COVENANTS—JUSTIFICATION—SANCTIFICATION—FREEWILL—SACRAMENTS, in general—a part of PERSEVERANCE—and the LORD'S SUPPER."

It seems probable, that great assistance in forming, not only the "CONFESSION OF FAITH," but also the CATECHISMS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, and DIRECTORY FOR WORSHIP, was derived from the Scottish commissioners, and especially from Mr. Alexander Henderson. For it is a remarkable fact, attested by Baillie, that in the General Assembly of Scotland, in the year 1641, of which Alexander Henderson was moderator, among other overtures, there was one from the moderator himself, which is described by Baillie, "as a notable motion of drawing up a CONFESSION OF FAITH, a CATECHISM, a DIRECTORY FOR ALL PARTS OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, and a PLATFORM OF GOVERNMENT, wherein possibly England and we might agree. All approved the motion, and thereafter the burden of that labour was laid on the back of the mover, with liberty to vaike (desist) from preaching, whenever he pleased, and to take help of whom he thought meet. He did not incline to undertake it," says Baillie, "yet it will be on him, and readily in this he may do some good."

The same fact is mentioned by Dr. Aiton, the biographer of Henderson, in the following words:—"It was on Wednesday, the 28th of July, 1641, that Henderson first suggested to the Assembly, the propriety of drawing up a "Confession of Faith," Catechism, and a Directory for all the parts of public worship. His first intention seems to have been to frame the system in such a way, as to make it agreeable to the worshippers on both sides of the Tweed. But there is no compromise of Presbyterianism in it

from beginning to end, so as to support the Episcopalian principles of the English.”

There is no doubt, then, that this work was performed and adopted by the kirk of Scotland; and there is evidence that the Scottish commissioners made communications of their views on some of these points to the committees who had these important works in charge. It would seem, therefore, that the outline, at least, of the Confession, as drawn up by the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, originated in Scotland, and was the work of Mr. Henderson; and this will account for the readiness and unanimity with which the General Assembly of Scotland adopted these formularies of the English Assembly. They were, in substance, their own.

When the confession was completed, Dr. Burges was directed to cause it to be fairly transcribed, in order to its being presented to the Parliament. On the 11th of December, 1646, the whole Assembly went in a body to the parliament, and presented the **ARTICLES OF RELIGION**, which they had prepared and approved, under the following title, “**THE HUMBLE ADVICE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AND OTHERS, NOW BY AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT, SITTING AT WESTMINSTER, CONCERNING A CONFESSION OF FAITH.**” The House of Commons having voted the Assembly thanks for their care and labour, in bringing this important work to a conclusion, desired them to insert the proofs in their proper places, and then to have six hundred copies printed, for the perusal of the members of Parliament, and no more. The committee appointed by the Assembly to collect the Scripture proofs, for the confirmation of the articles of religion, were, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Byfield, and Mr. Gower. When they had finished the work assigned to them, and had reported the result to the Assembly, it was ordered, that these proofs should be printed in the margin of the Confession. When this was executed, the whole Confession, with the proofs, was once more submitted to the review of three committees, who made report to the Assembly, of such

other amendments as they thought necessary; and when these were approved by the house, the work was sent to the press. This event did not occur until the 11th of May, 1647.

By order of the House of Commons, Mr. Byfield delivered to the members of Parliament, copies of the Confession of Faith, with Scripture proofs, signed by Charles Herle, prolocutor; Cornelius Burges, and Herbert Palmer, assessors; and Henry Roborough, and Adoniram Byfield, scribes.<sup>1</sup>

The House of Commons commenced their examination of the Confession of Faith on the 9th of May, 1647, and went over the whole of the first chapter, article by article. But further progress in the work of revision, was interrupted by the disturbances which now arose between the parliament and the army; so that during the whole summer, nothing more was done. In October, the work was resumed, and it was adopted as a rule, to discuss, at least one chapter of the Confession, every Wednesday; by observing which, they were able to get through the work by the month of March, 1648. For, on the 22d of that month, we find that the House of Commons, at a conference with the House of Lords, presented to them **THE CONFESSON OF FAITH**, as passed by them, with some alterations.

The House of Lords, having, in their turn, considered and approved the doctrines of this Confession, on the 20th of June, 1648, parliament ordered it to be published, for the satisfaction of foreign churches, under the title of "**ARTICLES OF RELIGION, APPROVED AND PASSED BY BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, AFTER ADVICE HAD WITH AN ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES, CALLED TOGETHER BY THEM FOR THAT PURPOSE.**"

They did not think proper to call it a **CONFESSON OF FAITH**, because the articles did not begin with the words, "**I CONFESS,**" nor did they judge it expedient

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Twisse died before the Assembly had been in session more than one year, and Mr. Herle was appointed in his place; and as Mr. Whyte, on account of bodily infirmity, could not perform the duties of an assessor, Mr. Palmer was substituted in his room.

to annex the chapters, on church government, concerning which the members of Parliament were not agreed among themselves. These chapters, therefore, were never published by order of Parliament, nor did they ever receive their sanction; for, in the first place, they were re-committed, and finally laid aside.

The whole Confession, with the proofs, and also the form of government, were transmitted to Scotland immediately, and there received the approbation both of the General Assembly and the Parliament of that kingdom. Every thing in these formularies seems to have been in exact accordance with the minds of the ministers and people of Scotland; for they adopted the whole, without delay, and without alteration just as it was prepared by the Westminster Assembly; and thus the Westminster Confession and form of church government became the established doctrine and discipline of the church of Scotland; and so they continue to be, without alteration unto this day.

The unanimity in agreeing to so many articles of religion has already been noticed; but candour requires it to be stated, that although the vote of approbation of the Confession, was carried by a great majority both in the Assembly and the Parliament, yet there were a few dissentients in both these bodies, who although they were Anti-Arminian, yet were unable to concur in every point of doctrine there determined, and in every form of expression there used.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### Larger and Shorter Catechisms.

WHILE the Confession of Faith was passing through the Assembly by the report of the committees who had it in charge, two other committees were appointed

to reduce the substance of this system of doctrines into the form of CATECHISMS; one larger, for the service of a public exposition in the pulpit, according to the custom of foreign churches; the other smaller, for the instruction of children, in the principal doctrines of the Christian religion. In both of them, the articles relating to church government and discipline, are entirely omitted. THE LARGER CATECHISM is a comprehensive and excellent system of divinity; and it would be well if every young preacher, in the Presbyterian church, were required to commit it accurately to memory, before he undertakes to preach in public.

The committee to whom was committed the work of reducing the Confession of Faith into the form of a catechism, were Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Arrowsmith, and Dr. Newcomen; and the composition of the Larger Catechism has been commonly attributed to the divine first named. There is often less credit due to the compilers of such formularies than they receive. Dr. Tuckney, no doubt, was an accurate, sound, and learned theologian. But if any one will take the pains to compare the short Latin system of Wollebius with our Larger Catechism, he will find in the latter a very good translation of the former,<sup>1</sup> and will be convinced that this short manual must have been familiar to the person or persons who composed this excellent formulary.

The Shorter Catechism is an excellent summary of Christian doctrine; and has very much the appearance of being an abridgment of the Larger; but the historical fact is, that the Shorter Catechism was first finished and reported to the Assembly. The resemblance, not only in doctrine, but in language, between these two Catechisms, can be accounted for, by considering, that they were both founded on the Confession of Faith: and the similarity spoken of, which was no doubt designed, even as it related to words, might as well.

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth's Collections.

arise from enlarging the Shorter, as from abridging the Larger.

The Shorter Catechism, according to Rushworth, was presented November 5, 1647; but the larger, not until April, 1648, when six hundred copies were ordered to be printed, as in the case of the CONFES-SION, for the use of the members of parliament, who, having examined and approved it, ordered it to be published, by authority, for common use.

These excellent Catechisms have been so long in use, and so highly esteemed by all who agree in the system of doctrines which they contain, that it would be a work of supererogation to eulogize them now. In the negotiations with the king, which were carried on at the Isle of Wight, even *he* offered to license the Shorter Catechism, with a suitable preface; but that treaty proving unsuccessful, the object was not accomplished.

It has often been said, by judicious men, that a better summary of the orthodox faith could not be penned, than the SHORTER CATECHISM of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. It has been the vehicle of conveying to the minds of millions, for two hundred years, nearly, a concise but comprehensive view of the doctrines of the reformation. Though often committed and repeated, by many who never seriously consider the truths which it contains, yet it is exceedingly important to have such a form of sound words lodged in the memory, especially if committed, as it should be, in connexion with some of the clearest and strongest proof-texts, on which the doctrine of each answer is founded, that all may understand that their faith should rest on the word of God, and not on the authority of men. But where this Catechism is judiciously used by parents and pastors, the truths contained in it will be doctrinally understood; and even if the catechumen should lead a life not conformable to the precepts here inculcated; yet at a future day, these neglected and resisted truths may be the means of the sinner's conviction, and a most import-

ant light to guide him to salvation, under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

THE LARGER CATECHISM has never come into common use, for the purpose for which it was principally intended; that is, to be a ground work for lectures to the people. But it is an exceedingly valuable compend, to aid parents, and ministers also, in the discharge of the duty of instructing the young. The writer recollects to have heard an anecdote, which, as the parties are long since dead, it may not be out of place to relate. A young licentiate, fresh from the schools, and having his memory stuffed with the titles of numerous books of theological learning, called upon a grave and simple, but profoundly pious clergyman, and began, in rather an assuming and self-confident manner, to exhibit his extensive acquaintance with authors, new and old, many of whom this country clergyman had not yet seen, and some of whom he had never heard of. The aged minister, after having listened to this parade of book-learning, replied with great apparent simplicity and modesty, "After the Holy Scriptures, I have found the Westminster Larger Catechism of more service to me, in preparing for the duties of the pulpit, than all my other books." Whether it was intended as a delicate rebuke of the pedantry of the young licentiate, or not, it had the effect of bringing him down from his elevated flight, to a more humble state, and afforded exquisite gratification to some intelligent persons who were present at the interview.

If a young preacher of very moderate talents, and humble literary attainments, would agree to take this compend as his guide, in delivering a systematic series of discourses to his flock, and often employing, avowedly, the very language of this formulary, it is more than probable, that by the time he had finished such a course, his people would be better informed, on the doctrine and duties of religion, than many who hear a succession of elaborate and eloquent sermons, on insulated texts. And if young persons, who possess a retentive memory, would redeem time, to commit carefully to memory, the *answers* in this Catechism,

it would be a richer treasure than they could readily lay up in the same time. It would enrich the mind with the very best kind of knowledge; would furnish the individual with a scriptural standard by which to try the doctrines which he might hear, or the books which might fall in his way; and would be a source of consolation in old age, by supplying suitable subjects for meditation, when other means of instruction might not be accessible. If there has been a declension from the pure doctrines of our Confession of Faith and Catechisms, this has been in a great measure owing to the neglect of these formularies, and a decay of catechetical instruction. Other means, by producing more immediate excitement, may promise a richer harvest to the pastor, solicitous for the salvation of his people; but if he should, under these views, neglect, or slightly attend to the duty of catechising, he will not fail to be convinced of his mistake, when these excitements have subsided and left the people more insensible than before they were experienced. It will not do to substitute mere *feeling* for divine knowledge. If there be a practical truth, fully confirmed by all experience, it is, that all true religion is founded on knowledge; and that strong impressions on the minds of the ignorant, where no solid foundation of knowledge is laid, are generally temporary, and, however promising, leave the person in a worse state than they found him; as iron becomes harder in consequence of being heated and then cooled.

The harmony with which all parties in the Assembly at Westminster agreed in adopting the orthodox system contained in these formularies, furnishes a pleasing evidence that the great body of the ministers of the established church, notwithstanding the efforts of fraud to give currency to Arminianism, still adhered steadfastly to Calvinistic doctrine. The doctrines of these Catechisms have been admitted by all, to be in exact conformity with the creeds and confessions of all other reformed churches, and with the writings of all the distinguished theologians in those churches. The divines of this Assembly were actuated by no



prurient love of novelty; nor did they imagine that the system of orthodox theology, which they had received from those who preceded them, needed any improvement, or was capable of amendment. Their object was clearly to exhibit and strongly to confirm the common faith of the reformed churches, and to give it such a form as would be most convenient for the instruction of the people.

This system of truth must have been deeply radiated in the parish churches of England, when so many pastors, selected from every part of the country, were, without one exception, so sound in the faith.

The same remark applies with still greater force to the members of both Houses of Parliament. What an extraordinary fact, that so many hundred noblemen and gentlemen, from every city, borough and county, should all, or nearly all, have been the staunch friends of orthodoxy. We do not find, even among the secular men, many of whom possessed extraordinary learning and abilities, a single infidel, Unitarian, Pelagian, or even Arminian. In regard to sound doctrine, this was surely the age of England's glory. Soon, it is lamentably true, she began to fall from this high standing, and became so corrupt in doctrine and practice, that if it had been possible, the ruling powers of church and state, would have driven serious godliness out of the land; and now, although the doctrines of grace are cordially embraced and preached, by many in that country; yet a vast majority of the guides of the people, it is to be feared, are "blind leaders of the blind." Even the Dissenters, who are the descendants of the persecuted Puritans, do not all adhere to the sound doctrines of the Westminster Assembly. Many of them, alas! have degenerated into the barren fields of Unitarianism, and, in consequence, have been long declining in numbers. But even among orthodox dissenters, there has not been a rigid adherence to the doctrines of the Westminster Assembly. While the Shorter Catechism is still in use, "new divinity" has been there, as well as here, too much countenanced, under the impression,

that the rough points in the Calvinistic system could be polished off, so as to be rendered more acceptable to men of reason. The idea has extensively prevailed, on both sides of the Atlantic, that however sound our fathers were in the faith, they were very deficient in philosophy; and it has been received almost as a maxim, that the philosophy of the present day, is far more improved, than the clumsy systems of our fathers of the 17th century. But it has been found, that while under this pretext, one step of deviation from the old orthodoxy has been taken, no convenient stopping place has been found; and this pretended light of philosophy, has proved a mere *ignis fatuus*, to delude those unwary souls who followed it. No doubt, there are many "hard sayings" in the Bible; many difficulties which no human ingenuity can entirely remove or solve. Sometimes, by rejecting that part of the truth which appears most objectionable, it is hoped, that the difficulty will be removed, and the truth recommended to reasonable men. But in such departures from orthodoxy, the relief is only apparent; for although we may escape a more obvious and prominent difficulty, we are sure to find one more untractable, arising out of our new hypothesis; and if to avoid this, we reject something more of the orthodox doctrine, we only plunge deeper into the mire, until at last, we are obliged, for consistency sake, to give up the whole system, or retrace our steps, and return to the point of our first deviation from the straight line of truth.

Let us then, as Presbyterians, hold fast the form of sound words, received from our fathers, and transmit the sacred deposit, unimpaired to those who are to come after us, that they, in their turn, may hand down the precious treasure, unalloyed, to another generation, and so on, to the end of time. Let these orthodox and instructive catechisms be restored to their proper place, as household books, among Presbyterians. Let the Sabbath evening, as was formerly the practice with our fathers, be devoted to family catechising. Look at the youth of those families, who

in our degenerate age, have been so trained, and see how little they are carried away with novelties in religion. Regard not the sneers of errorists and enthusiasts, who despise doctrinal knowledge, and pretend that such religious instruction only serves to make formalists, or hypocrites. It remains a sound maxim, that if you bring up a child in the way in which he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it. As, in the spring, you sow your seed in the ground, not knowing what will become of it, so implant the word of God in the susceptible minds of youth, and commit the event to God. He will cause it to prosper.

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## CHAPTER X.

### Form of Church Government.

THE people of England had always been accustomed to the Episcopal form of church government; but this having been found unedifying and oppressive, there existed an urgent and increasing demand for a change. At first, no more was thought of than such a reduced form of Episcopacy, as had been recommended by archbishop Usher, but after the arrival of the Scottish commissioners, and an acquaintance was had with the Presbyterian system, as practised in the kirk of Scotland, a large majority of the Westminster divines were strongly inclined to adopt that system; and, after examining the subject, were convinced that this was the system which had its origin in the Scriptures of truth, and was most accordant with the practice of the Apostles, and primitive ages of Christianity. This system is founded on a few plain principles, which as they are accordant with Scripture, so they commend themselves to the reason of unprejudiced and impartial men. These are, that Christ has appointed and established, in the Holy Scriptures, a certain definite

form of government for his church, and has not left this important concern to be regulated by the wisdom or caprice of fallible men. And that as the church is ONE, wherever the members may be scattered, or however many particular churches may be constituted, they are included in this one body; and therefore, as far as circumstances will admit, all the parts of this body should be united in one communion; and where actual fellowship in worship is impracticable, or very inconvenient, yet there should exist a unity of spirit, love to all the members of the body, and a mutual sympathy or tender concern for each other's welfare. The several societies, or churches, therefore, of which this Catholic church consists, should not be considered as independent societies, but as connected parts of one body, having ONE HEAD, and pervaded and united by one SPIRIT. The actions and operations of the several parts should be in subordination to the whole, or to a majority of the whole. This being an organized body, is furnished with officers, for the purpose of communicating instruction, and for the orderly government of the society. These offices were expressly instituted by Christ, the KING OF ZION, before he left the world. Some of them were, at first, endowed with extraordinary powers; but the ordinary and permanent officers of the church are pastors or teachers, elders who rule, and deacons or ministers, who have charge of the alms of the church, for the supply of the wants of the poor. As to bishops and presbyters, the Holy Scriptures make no manner of difference between them. These names are used, in Scripture, promiscuously, and applied indifferently to the same officers. The difference which, in ages after the Apostles, sprung up, has no foundation or vestige in the sacred record. How it arose, it is not difficult to explain. The Apostles, indeed, were invested with authority over all the churches, and all the other ministers; but as they have no successors, in their inspiration and miraculous gifts, by which they were qualified to exercise such a power over their brethren, so they have no

successors in that plenary authority which Christ committed to them. Since their departure out of the world, all regular pastors and teachers, in the church of Christ, are equal in authority; no one being invested with a power to rule over his brethren, in the ministry; although each is appointed a ruler as well as an instructor, over the flock of which he has been regularly constituted the bishop. As all Christ's ministers should aid one another by their counsels, and should assist in preserving the purity, unity, and peace of the church, it is expedient for the officers of Christ's kingdom to meet from time to time, either periodically, or as occasion may require, to consult and determine, respecting all things which are connected with the welfare of the church. And as the body is one, a smaller part should yield to the will and authority of the greater; so for the wise and orderly government of the whole, it is expedient to have a gradation of courts or judicatories, from the authorities which pertain to a particular church, through as many gradations as may have been established, up to the highest judicatory, which can be convened with convenience, for the decision of all matters, according to the word of God, which may relate to the welfare and increase of the church.

The two radical principles of Presbyterian church government, therefore, are, the **PARITY OF MINISTERS** of the gospel, or the identity of bishops and presbyters; and the regulation of all matters in the church, by the counsel and will of the whole body, or their representatives, which comprehends the subordination of inferior to superior judicatories. This form of church polity was adopted by all branches of the Reformed churches, except England, and was administered by consistorial, classical, and synodical judicatories; but was no where more perfectly carried out into practice, in all its details, than in Scotland, in the time of Andrew Melville, who by his unwearied exertions and consummate wisdom, had the whole system fully matured and adopted by the General Assembly of Scotland. Although the beauty and consistency

of Presbyterian government had been deformed and disturbed by the introduction of anomalous bishops, yet in the memorable Assembly of 1698, this excrescence on Presbytery was thrown off, and the system restored to its original simplicity and purity. This was the model which the Westminster Assembly had in their view, and with which they were made acquainted, by the learned Commissioners of the church of Scotland, and by the writings communicated by them, to the members of the Assembly.

Concerning Episcopacy, there were no disputes in the Assembly, at Westminster; for after the expulsion of Dr. Featly there remained no advocate for diocesan Episcopacy in the body. But there were a few learned and able men, who had adopted the principles of the Brownists, in regard to the independence of particular churches, and who, while they divested the system of its most extravagant features, strenuously and tenaciously defended the system of the independency of churches. Much of the time of the Assembly was occupied with this dispute, in which the Independent members, though few in number, by their zeal and pertinacity, often kept off a decision of questions in debate, for weeks together. Their principal speakers were, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Bridges. The Erastian party, while they strenuously opposed every resolution which involved the divine right of any form of church government; yet had no objections to the establishment of presbytery, on mere grounds of expediency. Finally, the Presbyterian system was adopted by the Assembly, by a large majority. Indeed, the vote may be considered as nearly unanimous, for before it was taken, the Independents and most of the Erastians withdrew, and the Presbyterians were left in the quiet possession of the Assembly.

The dissolution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church of England, may be considered as having virtually taken place from the time of the taking of the Covenant by the Parliament, the Assembly, and the nation; for in that instrument, the overthrow of church government by archbishops, bishops, &c., was

explicitly designated, as one great object of this solemn league. The archbishop of Canterbury was directed by Parliament to collate benefices on no persons without their approbation; and for refusing obedience to this order, was suspended from his office. Henceforward, all benefices were conferred by the Parliament, and the Assembly were made use of, to examine all candidates, and ultimately, to provide for the ordination of ministers. In process of time, this business of examining candidates for sequestered livings, occupied so much of the time of the Assembly, that they appointed a large committee to attend to it. The members selected were, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Gouge, Dr. Staunton, Dr. Hayle, Dr. Burges, Dr. Spurstow, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Ley, Mr. Conant, Mr. Gower, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Hill, Mr. Corbet, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Herle, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Bathurst, and Dr. Cheynel. The method of proceeding was this: The names of the applicants who had been recommended by Parliament, or who had petitioned the Assembly, were published two or three days before the examination, that opportunity might be given to any who had any thing to allege against the candidates, to bring it forward. Where no obstacle appeared in the way, the committee, or any five of them, proceeded to the examination; and it was also customary to require the candidate to preach publicly before them. A list of all who were approved was ordered to be kept by the scribes of the Assembly.

This order of things continued to be observed until the adoption of the new form of government and Directory.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### Directory for Public Worship.

THE Assembly, upon their first organization, directed their attention to an amendment of the Articles of

Religion, as being the most important; but the Parliament having virtually abrogated the liturgy, the churches felt very much at a loss for some directory of worship, which might be uniform in all places; and for want of which there was danger that great confusion would ensue. The Parliament, therefore, to prevent this evil, and meet this exigence, sent an order to the Assembly of Divines, commanding them to take immediately in hand the liturgy and discipline of the church. The following is a copy of the order, which proceeded from both houses:

*“ Die Jovis, October 12, 1643.*

“ Upon serious consideration of the present state and conjuncture of the affairs of this kingdom, the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament, do order, that the Assembly of Divines and others do forthwith confer and treat among themselves of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God’s Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad, to be settled in the church, instead and place of the present church government, by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, depending on the hierarchy, which is resolved to be taken away.

“ And touching and concerning the Directory of Worship, or Liturgy, hereafter to be in the church. And to deliver their advices and opinions of and touching the same, to both or either House of Parliament, with all the convenient speed they can.”

In regard to the forms of public worship, it was found much easier to agree in pulling down than building up. The different habits and customs of the Scotch and English gave rise to protracted debates on questions of little intrinsic importance, but necessary to be settled, upon the plan which all approved, of having a complete uniformity in the modes of worship. Concerning public prayer, it seems to have



been generally agreed to lay aside all definite forms, such as they had been restricted to use while the liturgy was in force. But they wished to avoid the other extreme of leaving every minister to pour out promiscuously such petitions as might occur at the moment; they therefore composed a Directory for Prayer, containing the substance of what ought to be included in the Morning Prayer, offered up before the sermon commenced.

As to the reading of the Holy Scriptures, it was agreed by all, that this should make a part of the public service; but there was some diversity of opinion respecting the person who might read the Scriptures in public; and some of the members of the Assembly were of opinion that the Scriptures should never be read publicly to the people, without exposition. The only question much debated relative to this matter, was, whether the public reading of the Scriptures was a part of the duty of the pastoral office. Dr. Lightfoot and some other rabbinical scholars argued from the practice of the Jewish synagogue, that the public reading of the Scriptures did not appertain to the pastor, but to other persons appointed by him. It was, however, determined to be the duty of the pastor. The same was resolved respecting catechising. The chief difficulty arose respecting the mode of administering the sacraments; as whether baptism should always, or generally, be administered in public, in the presence of the church; which was determined in the affirmative; and also whether parents themselves should offer their own children in baptism, and should engage to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; which also received an affirmative answer. Concerning the mode of baptism, it was much discussed, whether *dipping* should be inserted with *sprinkling* and *pouring*, as an allowable mode. On this question, the Assembly appeared to be equally divided; but, upon a more exact scrutiny, it was ascertained that there was a majority of one against inserting this word; and so it was left out.

Concerning the administration of the Lord's Supper, almost the only controversy in the Assembly was relative to the mode of sitting; whether it should be around the table, as when partaking of a common meal; or whether the communicants might participate in their pews, at some distance from the table. On this subject the Scottish divines were exceedingly strenuous and tenacious. They pleaded for a position of the participants at and around the table; and on this trivial matter, the Assembly were detained for two whole weeks. The English divines insisted that their people would never consent to adopt this custom; and yet they were willing to allow the Scotch people to retain their old practice. At length such a mode of expression was adopted, as allowed each nation to retain its own method of sitting at the table. "*The communicants orderly and gravely sitting round the table.*"

A directory was brought in by one of the committees, for "churching women" after safe deliverance in child birth; but, after much discussion, it was laid aside.

The directions for preaching the Word were plain and simple, and such as well recommend themselves to the reason of every pious man, and need not here be specified, as the Westminster Directory for Public Worship is accessible to all.

Directions were also given for the sanctification of the Lord's Day—for the solemnization of marriage—for visiting the sick—concerning the observance of days of public fasting and humiliation—and also of thanksgiving.

As to the ceremonies proper to be used at the burial of the dead, there was considerable difference of opinion between the English and Scottish divines, respecting the propriety of preaching funeral sermons, or using any religious services on this occasion. It was, however, finally determined that the body should be interred "*without ceremony.*" And "kneeling down and praying by or towards the dead corpse," was declared to be superstitious: and in like manner,

“that praying, reading, and singing, in going to and at the grave,” having been so abused, and no way beneficial to the dead, and having proved many ways hurtful to the living, should be laid aside. Nevertheless, the minister, if present, might put the people in mind of their duty.

This directory, however, was not to be so interpreted as to extend to the denial of any civil respects or deferences at the funerals of persons, suited to their rank and condition while living.

The Directory now agreed upon was intended to supersede the former Liturgy; and in order that there might remain no doubt on this subject, the following reasons were assigned for setting aside the whole service of the Common Prayer Book:

“Because,” say they, “it is evident, after long and sad experience, that the liturgy used in the church of England, notwithstanding the pains and religious intentions of the compilers, has proved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to the Reformed Churches abroad. The enjoining the reading of all the prayers heightened the grievances; and the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies have occasioned much mischief, by disquieting the consciences of many who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have by this means been kept from the Lord’s table, and many faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry, to the ruin of them and their families. The prelates and their faction have raised their estimation of it to such a height, as though God could be worshipped no other way but by the **SERVICE-BOOK**; in consequence of which, the preaching of the Word has been depreciated, and in some places entirely neglected. In the mean time, the Papists have made their advantage, this way, boasting that the Common Prayer Book came up to a compliance with a great part of their *service*; by which means they were not a little confirmed in their idolatry and superstition; especially of late, when new ceremonies were obtruded in the church daily. Besides, the Liturgy has given great encouragement

to an idle and unedifying ministry, who have chosen rather to confine themselves to *forms*, made to their hands, than to exert themselves in the gift of prayer, which our Saviour furnishes all those he calls to that office."

"For these and many other weighty considerations, relating to the book in general, besides divers particulars which are a just ground of offence, it is thought advisable to set aside the former Liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; not out of any affectation of novelty, nor with any intention to disparage our first Reformers; but that we may answer in some measure the gracious providence of God, which now calls upon us for a further reformation; that we may satisfy our own consciences; answer the expectations of other Reformed Churches; ease the consciences of many godly persons among ourselves; and give a public testimony of our endeavours after an uniformity in divine worship, pursuant to what we have promised."

The Independents could with difficulty be reconciled even to as much form as this new Directory contained, for fear of infringing on the *liberty of prayer*; but they acquiesced, and it passed the Assembly with great unanimity.

In the change now made in the forms of public worship, the following things before in use were entirely omitted, viz: the public reading of the Apocrypha in the churches—private and lay baptism—godfathers and godmothers—the sign of the cross in baptism—the private administration of the communion to the sick—the altar with rails was exchanged for the communion table—kneeling at the Lord's table was disused, but not forbidden—no burial service—the ring in marriage disused—all peculiar garments for officiating ministers, and all saints' days, discarded.

The ordinance of Parliament for establishing the Directory, repeals the acts of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, by which the Liturgy had been established; and forbids the use of it in any church, chapel, or other place of public worship; appointing the use of

the Directory in its place. And thus the law continued, until the restoration of Charles II., when the Liturgy was again restored.

The Directory, however, was not immediately observed throughout the kingdom. Changes in the accustomed forms of public worship are always made with difficulty. Habit, with most people, is stronger than reason, or even law. Copies of the Directory could not at once be obtained, which was the reasonable apology of some; but others despised it, and continued the use of the Common Prayer, in defiance of the ordinance of Parliament, while others refused to be restricted by any form, or insisted upon making use of their own forms. The Parliament, to give encouragement and currency to the use of the Directory, called in all copies of the Common Prayer, and imposed a fine upon all who used it. By this ordinance, the Directory was ordered to be publicly read in every church in England and Wales, the first Sunday after it was received. The fine for using the Common Prayer was five pounds for the first offence; ten for the second; and for the third, a year's imprisonment. And for neglecting to read the Directory, as prescribed, every minister incurred a penalty of forty shillings; and any one who should write against it, or otherwise endeavour to bring it into contempt, should forfeit a sum not less than five, nor more than fifty pounds, to be given to the poor.

This attempt, by fines, and forfeitures, and imprisonment, to produce presbyterial uniformity in worship, is no more to be approved than those acts of Parliament by which Episcopal uniformity was established and enforced. Even wise and good men were long in learning that religious uniformity never can be effectually produced by compulsion; and if it could, it would be no more than a hypocritical compliance with rites and institutions, which the worshippers in their conscience disapproved.

The king, although his affairs were now in a serious condition, issued, on the 13th of November, 1645, a proclamation from Oxford, forbidding the use of the

new Directory, and enjoining the use of the Common Prayer. In this public paper, his majesty not only exercises his royal authority, but condescends to reason the case, offering objections to the Directory, and arguments in favour of the Liturgy.

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## CHAPTER XII.

Psalmody, or singing the praises of God.

MR. FRANCIS ROUSE, a highly esteemed member of Parliament, and one of the lay-members appointed to sit in the Assembly of Divines, having composed a metrical version of the book of Psalms, and this version having been communicated by the author to Parliament, was by their order sent down to the Assembly of Divines to be examined; and to judge whether it might be permitted to be used in the public worship of God in the churches. The whole matter was referred to a select committee, who after revising the work, and striking out such things as they disliked, reported in favour of the version, for the purpose in view. The principle was then adopted and acted upon, that in using the book of Psalms, in the praises of God, we should not only keep to the *sense* but to the *words* of the sacred text. After being two years under consideration, and much pains taken in its correction, it was adopted by the Assembly. From "Baillie's Letters," we learn, that, during this period, the version had been sent down to Scotland, by the Scottish Commissioners, and that it had there undergone a revision, and that the alterations suggested there, had been generally adopted. Baillie was much in favour of the new version composed by Mr. Rouse, and strongly recommended it to his countrymen, until in the contest of parties in the House of Commons, his friend Rouse seems to have taken part with those who were in favour of a free toleration of all religions. This seems to have staggered the amiable but rigid

Baillie not a little; and he on this occasion mentions another version, which he earnestly wishes that he had with him in London, as he thought it the best he had seen. It received the approbation of the Westminster Assembly, on the 14th day of November, 1645. It was then returned to the Parliament, with the Assembly's recommendation, and was by them approved, and authorized to be used in all the churches. The form of recommendation, as given by Neal, is in the following words, "Whereas the honourable House of Commons, by an order, bearing date, Nov. 20, 1643, did recommend the Psalms, published by Mr. Rouse, to the consideration of the Assembly of Divines; the Assembly has caused them to be carefully perused, and as they are now altered and amended, do now approve them, and humbly conceive they may be profitable to the church, if they may be permitted to be publicly sung." Accordingly, they were authorized to be used in the worship of God by both Houses of Parliament, as was before mentioned.

This version, however, although composed by an Englishman, and authorized to be used by all the churches in that kingdom, yet never went into general use, in that country; but having been transmitted to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, was taken up for consideration in 1646; and the General Assembly, at their annual meeting, in 1647, appointed a committee to revise said version. The work of revisal was divided among the members of this committee. The first forty were committed to Mr. John Adamson, the second forty to Mr. Thomas Crawford, the third forty to Mr. John Raw, and the remaining thirty to Mr. John Nevey. These persons were directed to compare this version with that which had been in use in the Scottish church, and make such alterations as, in their judgment, would render the version more perfect. Copies were also sent down to the presbyteries, not only for their approbation, but for their suggestions and remarks, which they were directed to transmit as soon as possible to the Commission of the Assembly; and the Commis-

sion, after revising these remarks, were directed to forward them to the provincial synods; and when in these bodies they had passed another revisal, they were to be transmitted to the presbyteries again, that by further consideration the whole matter might be prepared for the General Assembly at its next meeting. And as in the version, as received from England, there were some Psalms in a metre not suited to the tunes used in Scotland, it was also ordered, that these should be turned into common metre; leaving the original unaltered. (See Acts of the General Assembly for this period.) The Assembly having considered all the alterations and amendments proposed by the committee, and the inferior judicatories, adopted the following act, August 10, 1648.

“The General Assembly having taken some view of the new paraphrase of the Psalms, in metre, with the corrections and animadversions thereupon, sent from several persons and presbyteries, and finding that they cannot take the review and examination of the whole, this Assembly do appoint Messrs. James Hamilton, John Smith, Hugh Makail, Robert Trail, George Hutchison, and Robert Laurie, after the dissolving of this Assembly, to go on in that work carefully, and to report their travails (labours) to the Commission of the General Assembly for public affairs, at their meeting in November; and the said committee, after perusal and examination thereof, is hereby authorized, with full power, to conclude and establish the paraphrase, and to publish and emit the same for public use. (Acts, Sept. till Aug. 1649.)

“The Commission of the General Assembly have, with great diligence, considered the paraphrase of the Psalms in metre, sent from the Assembly of Divines in England, by our Commissioners, while they were there, as it is corrected by former General Assemblies' committees from them; and now, at last, by the brethren deputed by the late Assembly for that purpose; and having exactly examined the same, do approve the said paraphrase, as it is now compiled (completed?). And, therefore, according to the power



given to them by the said Assembly, do appoint it to be printed and published for public use, hereby authorizing the same to be the only paraphrase of the Psalms of David to be sung in the kirk of Scotland; and discharging the old paraphrase, and any other than this new paraphrase, to be made use of in any congregation or family, after the first day of May, 1650. And for uniformity in this part of the worship of God, do seriously recommend to presbyteries to cause make publication of this act, and take special care that the same be put timeously in execution, and duly observed."

This version, thus corrected and approved by the General Assembly, shortly after received the sanction of the Parliament of Scotland, in the following act.

"Jan. 8. 1650.

"**THE COMMITTEE OF ESTATES** having considered the English paraphrase of the Psalms of David in metre, presented to them this day by the Commission of the General Assembly, together with their act, and the act of the late Assembly, approving the said paraphrase, and appointing the same to be sung throughout the kirk, doth approve the said paraphrase, and interpose their authority for the publishing and practising thereof; hereby ordaining the same and no other, to be made use of throughout this kingdom, according to the said act of the General Assembly, and their Commissioners."

This version of the book of Psalms, originally composed by Francis Rouse, Esq., is to this day used exclusively in the churches of Scotland, belonging to the establishment, in all the Secession churches; in the Presbyterian churches of every denomination in Ireland, and in all Scottish Presbyterian churches in the United States, not in connection with the General Assembly. From most of the churches, in the last mentioned body, now divided into two parts, this version has been excluded, gradually, not by any act of the General Assembly—for it is still authorized, and still used in a few congregations in this connection—but by the unbiassed judgment and free choice

of the people, who preferring to offer their praises in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, which recognise the advent of the Saviour as having actually taken place, and which celebrate the work of redemption as being fully accomplished, have adopted such versions or imitation of the psalms, together with such evangelical hymns as have, from time to time, been authorized by the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup>

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### CHAPTER XIII.

#### Debates in the Assembly.

It is a matter much to be regretted, that we have no full report of the discussions which took place in this learned, and venerable Assembly, on the various topics which came before them. Dr. Lightfoot kept a journal of what passed, every day, from the commencement of the Assembly, July 1, 1643, till December 31, 1644, which has been published, at the close of his works; but during this period, the debates related almost entirely to matters of ecclesiastical polity, and forms of worship; and he does not attempt an analysis of the speeches of the members; but often, in one or two sentences, indicates the nature of the opinion maintained, and gives a concise view of the arguments used in its support.

Mr. Baillie, one of the Scottish commissioners, in his "Letters," mentions some particulars which are satisfactory, as far as they go, but do not furnish us with any thing like a complete view of the interesting and protracted debates which were carried on in this

<sup>1</sup> The compiler acknowledges himself indebted to some numbers of the Evangelical Magazine of Canada, for useful information respecting the proceedings of the kirk of Scotland on Rouse's version of the Psalms.

This proceeding of the Scottish church has, it is acknowledged, no immediate connection with the History of the Westminster Assembly, but the information will be acceptable to many of our readers.

body for several years in succession, by a number of the most learned and pious ministers, who ever appeared in any ecclesiastical Assembly since the days of the Apostles. These able discussions, as they were not taken down at the time, of course can never be recovered; for even if the minutes of the proceedings of the Assembly should, some day, be discovered, they would furnish nothing more than a dry detail of motions and decisions made, without the arguments and speeches, by which the divines taking part in the debate, supported their respective opinions.

“At our first coming,” says Baillie, “we found them in a very sharp debate anent the office of Doctors. The Independent men, of whom there are some ten or eleven in the synod, many of them are very able men, as Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Burroughs, Bridges, Carter, Caryl, Phillips, and Sterry, were for the divine institution of a doctor, in every congregation, as well as a pastor. To these, the others were extremely opposed, and somewhat bitterly, pressing much the simple identity of pastors and doctors. Mr. Henderson travelled between them, and drew on a committee, for accommodation. In the whilk, we agreed unanimously upon some six propositions, wherein the absolute necessity of a doctor in every congregation, and his divine institution in formal terms, was eschewed; yet, where two ministers can be had in one congregation, the one is allowed, according to his gift, to apply himself most to teaching, and the other to exhortation; according to the Scriptures.

“The next point wherein we yet stick, is ruling elders. Many a brave dispute have we had upon them these ten days. I profess my marvelling at the great learning, quickness, and eloquence, together with the great courtesy and discretion in speaking, of these men. Sundry of the ablest were flat against the institution of any such officer, by divine right, as Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Vines, Mr. Price, Mr. Hall, and many more, beside the Indepen-

dents,<sup>1</sup> who truly speak much and very well. The most of the synod were in our opinion, and reasoned bravely for it, such as Mr. Seaman, Mr. Walker, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Newcoman, Mr. Young, Mr. Calamy. Sundry times, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie; all three spake exceeding well. When all were tired, it came to the question. There was no doubt but we would have carried it, by far most voices; yet, because the opposites were men very considerable, above all, gracious and learned little Palmer, we agreed upon a committee to satisfy, if it were possible, the dissenters. For this end we met to-day, I and hope, ere all is done, we shall agree. All of them were willing to admit elders, in a prudential way; but this to us seemed most dangerous and unhappy, and therefore was peremptorily rejected. We trust to carry at last, with the contentment of sundry once opposite, and silence of all, their divine and Scriptural institution. This is a point of high consequence, and upon no other do we expect so great difficulty, except alone on Independency; wherewith we purpose not to meddle in haste, till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments. However, we are not desperate of some accommodation, for Goodwin, Burroughs, and Bridges, are men full, as it seems yet, of grace and modesty. If they shall prove otherwise, the body of the Assembly and Parliament, city and country, will disclaim them.”<sup>2</sup>

The following is from the pen of the same modest, but learned and judicious Scotchman.

“After that, with great and long debates, we had gotten well near unanimously concluded all we desired about pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, we spent two or three sessions upon widows; not that

<sup>1</sup> The Independents in the Assembly admitted the office of ruling elder to be Scriptural. Baillie means that there were others who dissented from these opinions, besides Independents.

<sup>2</sup> This excellent Scotchman had no objections to enforce good arguments by other considerations than such as were logical.

we needed to stay so long on that subject, but partly because every thing that comes to the Assembly must be debated, and none of their debates are short; and partly, because the committee had prepared no other matter to count of, for the Assembly to treat on. Sundry things were in hands, but nothing in readiness to come to the public. For this reason, among others, many were the more willing to have the Assembly adjourned for the holy-days of Zuil, (Christmas) much against our minds. On the Friday I moved Mr. Henderson to go to the Assembly; for else he purposed to have staid at home that day; that, as all of us had stoutly preached against their Christmas, so in private, we might solicit our acquaintance of the Assembly, and speak something of it in public; that for the discouraging of that superstition it were good the Assembly should not adjourn, but sit on Monday, their Christmas day. We found sundry willing to follow our advice, but the most resolved to preach that day till the Parliament should reform it in an orderly way. To our small contentment the Assembly was adjourned from Friday till Thursday next; yet we prevailed with our friends in the lower House, to carry it so in Parliament, that both Houses did profane that holy-day by setting on it, to our joy and some of the Assembly's shame. On Wednesday we kept the solemn fast. Mr. Henderson did preach to the House of Commons a most gracious, wise, and learned sermon, which you will see in print."

On the subject of ordination, there were long and learned debates. In all questions which related to church government young Gillespie took a very active part, and acquitted himself well; even when opposed by the greatest rabbinical scholars. Baillie speaks of his successful efforts in debate in the following terms: "We get good help in our Assembly-debates of our good friend Warriston; but of none more than of that noble youth Mr. Gillespie. I truly admire his faculty, and bless God, as for all my colleagues, so for him in that faculty, with the first of the whole Assembly."—Again, "Mr. G. Gillespie,

however, I had a good opinion of his gifts, yet I profess he has much deceived me. Of a truth, there is no man whose parts in a public dispute I do so admire. He has studied so accurately all the points ever yet come to our Assembly; he has gotten so ready, so assured, so solid a way of public debating, that however there be in the Assembly divers very excellent men, yet, in my poor judgment, there is not one who speaks more rationally or more to the point than that brave youth has done ever; so that his absence would be prejudicial to our whole cause, and unpleasant to all here that wishes it well." This was in answer to a letter which proposed that Mr. Gillespie should return to Scotland.

The debate on ordination occupied twenty sessions, as appears from the following extract from "Baillie's Letters." "Our Assembly has at last perfected ordination, both in the doctrinal and directory parts. I think, to-morrow, they shall present it to the House. It has cost us much labour, and above twenty long sessions. I hope it shall do good, and over all this land shall erect presently an association of ministers to ordain. Our Presbytery shall shortly follow."

The main contest in the Assembly was with the Independents, about the power of presbyteries and synods. On this point they remained immovable, and exerted themselves to the utmost, in opposition to Presbyterian church government. In a letter, dated May 9, 1644, Baillie writes, "For our Assembly matters we are daily perplexed. Not only do we make no progress, and all far from the sight of any appearance of an end, but also matters are often in hazard of miscarriage. The Independents, so far as we can yet learn, are peremptory for schism; and their party is very strong and growing, especially in the army. The leading men in the Assembly are at this time much divided about the questions in hand, of the power of congregations and synods. Some of them would give nothing to congregations, denying peremptorily all example, precept or reason for a congregational eldership. Others, and many more, are

wilful to give to congregational eldership all and entire power of ordination, excommunication and all. Had not God sent Mr. Henderson, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could agree on any settled government.

“We expect the favour of God to help us over the rocks, through the storms, in the midst whereof we sail, at this hour. The answer and return of your prayers we oft feel and acknowledge. All our company, blessed be God, have had perfect health, good courage, and hearty unanimity in all things; great credit and reputation; sensible assistance in every thing; and very good success to all our motions, either for church or state; so that we are hopeful to wrestle through the present difficulties, as we have done through many before, by the help of the prayers of God’s people among you. The humour of this people is very various, and inclinable to singularities, to differ from all the world, and one from another, and shortly from themselves. No people had so much need of a presbytery.” (Letter to Mr. Robert Ramsay.)

In a letter under date of June 7, 1644, to Mr. Spang, he says, “Our progress in the Assembly, albeit slow, yet blessed be God, is sensible, daily. We have passed, but after a world of debate, all the **DIRECTORY**, which concerns ordinary prayers, reading of the word, singing of psalms, and preaching. Our toil is exceeding great, every day, from eight in the morning till near one; and oft in the afternoon, from three to half past six, we are in exercise. Only the Sunday free, and that for our Sunday’s preaching. All of us long very much to be at home; but we are all commanded to stay and attend this great service. The Independents, our great retarders, it is like, shall not vaunt themselves, in the end, of their opposition. The most of their party are fallen off to Anabaptism. Antinomianism, and Socinianism; the rest are divided among themselves.

The debate respecting the organization of presbyteries and synods, was brought to a favourable conclu-

sion in the month of October, 1644, as appears by a "Public Letter," sent to Scotland from their commissioners. "In the Assembly, thanks be to God, we have throughed, not only our presbyteries, but our synods, provincial and national, and the subordination of all the four meetings, parochial, classical, provincial, and national. We are now to dispute on the power of all four. We have strange tugging with the Independents."

The proposition which involved the point in dispute between the Presbyterians and Independents, was presented to the Assembly by one of its committees, in the following words: "That divers churches may be under one Presbyterial government." To this Dr. Goodwin made the following objections: "If many elders, put together, make one presbytery, classical, then every one of those elders is to be reputed as an elder to every one of those churches. But the word of God doth not warrant any such thing." In support of his argument, he alleged,

1. "The deacons are not to be officers of divers churches; *ergo* not the pastor.

2. "The pastor is not to preach in divers churches; *ergo* not to rule.

3. "The several congregations are not to give maintenance to the pastor of another church.

4. "One pastor was not chosen, ordained, and maintained by divers churches; *ergo* not to have power in them.

5. "Several offices are not to meet in one and the same person."

This argument was first answered by Dr. Hoyle; more particularly by Mr. Vines, who laid down this position, "*Quod convenit toti quia toti, non convenit cuilibet parti.*" The heads of the tribes governed the tribes. Now what did this make, the head of the tribe of Reuben to be the tribe of Manasses? And so in the government of universities, which is by the heads of the colleges. And therefore to argue "*a toto ad partem,*" is no good argument. Mr. Marshall next took up the subject. He argued as follows:



“The whole Catholic church is but one body; part of it is triumphant, part militant. The militant is an aggregation of all the members, be they who they will; and the members are not to act by themselves, as distinct persons, but all as joint members. To maintain this unity, Christ gave apostles, evangelists, &c., which, though they had no dependence upon one another, acted by one spirit. They all laboured to gather members into this body; and all that they converted were baptized, not into this or that particular congregation, but, in general, into this body. This body is cast into societies, which are called by divines, ‘instituted churches.’ Now, for the nature and constitution of them. 1. When these wise master-builders had converted so many in any city or place, as to make a congregation, they appointed them elders; and though they multiplied never so much, in that city, yet there was but one church, though many congregations; as at Jerusalem, from one hundred and twenty, they grew to eight thousand, before they were of many months standing; and then what were they when increased in years? And yet they are called but one church, although they could not but have many meeting places. Now, whether they fed these fixedly, or in circuit, the Scripture is silent. But to him it seemed that the several pastors had their several charges; and he concluded, that our churches should follow this pattern, both in cities and in the country.” Mr. Marshall then proceeded to answer Mr. Goodwin’s arguments, at great length.

Mr. Gillespie proposed, that, to avoid confusion, they should take up Mr. Goodwin’s major proposition first, and said that he concurred in the validity of Mr. Viner’s answer; and gave this example: “The States General govern the Low Countries, yet every commissioner hath not relation to another country;” and added, “that the power of government in a presbytery, is not a power of *order*, but of *jurisdiction*; and they govern not as *presbyteri*, but as *presbyterium*.”

Mr. Seaman observed, that the inconveniences

mentioned by Mr. Goodwin, will fall upon the civil government, as well as upon the presbyterial; and he proved, that a minister may stand in relation to more congregations than one, and the deacon's office may reach as far as the pastor's; and that he may perform the acts of his office in other congregations than his own; and then retorted the argument. If the deacon may act out of his own congregation, so also may the pastor. And he proved that governing is *feeding*, as well as *preaching*, and maintained, that the elders of Jerusalem did teach and preach to all churches indifferently, and exercise their office as occasion required; for proof of which he referred to Acts xv. and xvi. He also showed that more offices than one may meet in one and the same person, as in Christ himself, the Apostles, &c., and then retorted the argument of the Independents thus: "If an elder may have relation to more congregations than one, then may a presbytery; but an elder may, for every elder hath relation to the general visible church, (1 Cor. xii. 28;) otherwise, ordination should be repeated, according as elders changed their places. And baptism is into the general church visible. 2. He argued that he that hath divers assistants, for number and kind, may govern more congregations than one; but the presbytery hath so, *ergo*, &c. 3. Every minister may do his part, in a particular congregation, and yet do his part in the presbytery; as an alderman may do all that is fit in his ward, and yet do the work of the court of aldermen. 4. The people may have their full interest in a presbyterial government, in the call of their minister; as the people of the land have their full interest in the Parliament, in the choice of its members."

Mr. Goodwin reiterated his argument, and endeavoured to show that presbyterial government was inconsistent with the duties of the pastor to his own people, and of his people to him. The Scriptures never speak of duties to be performed to his own flock and *to others*; it tells not what they are to do in their own, and what in the Presbyterial as-

semblies. He referred to Acts xx. 25, where the Apostle speaks plainly of pastors. Now, if one pastor in this city be fixed to one congregation, and another to another, how could they preach to *all the flock*? Here he was admonished, that he did but repeat what he had said the day before; and Mr. Vines called upon him to answer distinctly to his refutation of his argument; when a long dispute arose between these two.

On a succeeding day, the dispute about the jurisdiction of a presbytery over several congregations, was resumed; when Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Burroughs, and Mr. Carter, all attempted to answer the arguments of Mr. Vines and Mr. Marshall. Mr. Vines replied to them all.

Mr. Gillespie next arose, and passed this censure on all the arguments employed by the Independent brethren, "that they do either '*petere principium,*' or '*non concludere negatum.*'"

Mr. Seaman remarked, "that as every particular Christian hath relation to the whole church catholic, yet is he not to do every office of the whole church; so it is with these elders.

Mr. Herle said, "the *fundamentum* of the relation spoken of is, 1. The *assensus* of all the congregations to send their elders. 2. The mission. 3. The union in the presbytery; which is the '*formalis ratio*' of the whole."

Mr. Marshall spoke again, at great length, and so did divers others.

On the next day the debate was renewed, by Mr. Burroughs, Dr. Hoyle, Dr. Young, Mr. Vines, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Nye, Mr. Seaman, and Mr. Rutherford.

A long critical discussion took place, respecting the order given to the Corinthian church, to excommunicate the incestuous power. 1 Cor. v. 4. The question was, whether the power of excommunication was in the body of the people, or in the elders or rulers. The debate on this point was chiefly between Mr. Goodwin and Mr. Gillespie.

Among their rules of proceeding, they had no one

answering to "*the previous question;*" but while this matter was under discussion, some of the members were strenuous in their opposition to allowing the Independents to go on indefinitely, in their objections; and insisted, that the matter had been sufficiently discussed. Twice it was put to the vote, whether these brethren should be permitted to go on with their objections, and in both cases the majority was in favour of indulging them.

Another report from the committee, called the FIRST, was now brought in by Mr. Coleman, relative to the same principle, of several churches under one presbytery. They brought forward the following things in favour of a classical presbytery. 1. The church of Jerusalem. 2. The church of Corinth. 3. Of Ephesus. 4. Of Antioch. The instance of Jerusalem having been already exhibited, they proceeded to prove that the church of Corinth consisted of a number of congregations. 1. From the time of Paul's abode there, Acts xviii. 8—10. 2. From the divers meeting places, as Cenchrea, the house of Justus, and of Chloe, Acts xviii. 7, 1 Cor. i. 11. And from the use of the word *churches* in the plural number, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 2. From the multitude of pastors, 1 Cor. i. 12, iv. 15, iii. 12. They next affirmed, that these several churches were under one presbytery, 1 Cor. v. 1, 2 Cor. ii. In like manner, they undertook to prove that there were several congregations in the church of Ephesus, from Paul's long continuance there, Acts xx. 31. And from his great success, Acts xix. 18—20. Also, from the number of believers—from the value of the books of those who had practised curious acts, and from the reason which Paul assigns for his long continuance there, 1 Cor. xvi. 3, 9. But especially from the multitude of pastors, Acts xx. 17, 28. And that they were all united under one presbytery, they proved from Rev. ii. 1, 2, where the epistle is directed to the angel of *the church of Ephesus*.

That the church of Antioch had many congregations, is argued from the multitude of believers, Acts xi. 21, 24, 26. And from the multitude of pastors

and teachers, Acts xiii. 1, xv. 35. This able report was concluded with this argument: when there were more believers than could meet in one place, and more pastors than could be for one congregation, then there must have been more congregations than one; but it was so in these churches, *ergo*, &c. And it was lawful for these to be under one presbyterial government; therefore, more congregations than one may now be under one presbytery.

The debate was continued for several weeks, and at last was decided in favour of presbytery, by a large majority; and the proposition was then sent to Parliament, when it was confirmed by both Houses.

The preceding specimen of discussion has been extracted from Dr. Lightfoot's Journal.

In general, the debates were deliberate and learned; and the speakers treated each other with great courtesy and deference; but sometimes they became not only warm, but hot, according to Baillie; and in one instance, the Assembly was thrown into hubbub and confusion, while Dr. Burgess was speaking.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

Origin of the difference between the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines.

WHEN the Assembly had gone through the several points which related to presbyterial government, they presented their plan to the Parliament for their sanction. As the judgment of the majority of the Assembly was in favour of the *jus divinum* of presbytery, and wished to have this principle established by the civil government, and as many of the leading men in Parliament were inclined to Erastian principles, this subject gave rise to warm discussion in the House of Commons, as it had done in the Assembly. Mr. Glynn and Mr. Whitaker spoke largely against the *jus divinum* of any particular form of church govern-

ment; and when the question was put to vote, the decision was against the proposition of the Assembly; and instead of determining that the government of the church was of divine authority, by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies, their resolution was "*That it is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies.*"

The loss of this important question in Parliament, greatly affected the minds of the Scottish Commissioners, and the Presbyterians in the Assembly and out of the Assembly. Efforts were made to stir up the people, by representing that the church was in danger. Under this impression, the Common Council of London were induced to petition Parliament, "that the Presbyterian Discipline might be established as the Discipline of Jesus Christ." The House of Commons, however, were no how disposed to recede from the ground which they had taken; and in their answer said, "That the citizens must have been misinformed of the proceedings of the House." And when the ministers of London came forward with a petition to the same effect, they were told by the speaker, "that they need not wait for an answer, but go home and look to the charges of their several congregations." And immediately a committee was appointed to inquire into the origin of these petitions.

The Presbyterian ministers having met with such a rebuff from the House of Commons, resolved to apply to the House of Lords, who received them civilly, and promised to take their request into consideration. But after two months, receiving no answer, they determined to renew their application, and to give it the more weight, they prevailed with the Lord Mayor and court of aldermen to join with them in presenting an address for a speedy settlement of church government, according to the covenant; and that no toleration might be given to popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, profaneness, or any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and that all private assemblies might be restrained." This petition was pre-

sented on the 10th day of January, 1645. The House of Lords thanked them for their zeal, and recommended to the city magistrates to use their authority in suppressing all unlawful assemblies. But nothing was done to satisfy the importunate requests of the petitioners. This, however, was the commencement of a jealousy between the city and Parliament, which afterwards had disastrous consequences. But it was not merely in regard to the *jus divinum* of Presbytery that the Assembly and Parliament were at issue; but also respecting the power of the keys, which the former had voted to be in the eldership in the following words, "The keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were committed to the officers of the church, by virtue whereof, they have power respectively to retain and remit sins; to shut the Kingdom of Heaven against the impenitent, both by the word and by censures, and to open it to the penitent by absolution; and to prevent the profanation of the holy sacrament by notorious and obstinate offenders: the said officers are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, for a season, and by excommunication from the church, according to the nature of the crime and demerit of the person." The Parliament were displeased that they claimed this power *jure divino*, and not by the laws of the land. The Independents claimed the same power, but confined it to each particular church or congregation. But the Erastians were for laying the communion open, and referring all crimes to the civil magistrate.

The Parliament, however, did not think it expedient, altogether to reject the ordinance relating to church censures and excommunication; but wishing to neutralize the measure, they required of the Assembly to specify "what degree of knowledge was necessary to qualify persons for the communion; and for what crimes they deserved suspension or excommunication. Such a specification, after much debate, was made out and sent to Parliament, who inserted it in their ordinance; accompanied, however, with certain provisos of their own.

The ordinance sets forth, that the several elderships, within their respective limits, shall have power to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, all ignorant and scandalous persons within the rules and directions hereafter mentioned, and *no others*. Then follow the rules relating to ignorance: 1. All that do not know and believe the being of a God and the Holy Trinity. 2. They that are not acquainted with original sin and the fall of man. 3. They that don't believe Christ to be God and man, and our only Mediator and Redeemer. 4. And that Christ and his benefits are applied only by faith, which faith is the gift of God, and implies a trusting in him for the remission of sins and life everlasting. 5. The necessity of sincere repentance and a holy life in order to salvation. 6. The nature and importance of the two sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper. 7. That the souls of believers do immediately live with Christ after death; and the souls of the wicked immediately go to hell. 8. The resurrection of the body and final judgment."

The rules for suspension in case of SCANDAL, were the following:

"The eldership shall have power to suspend or excommunicate. 1. All blasphemers against God, his word, or holy sacraments. 2. Incestuous persons. 3. Adulterers. 4. Fornicators. 5. Drunkards. 6. Profane swearers and cursers. 7. Murderers. 8. Worshippers of images, crosses, crucifixes, or relics. 9. All that make images of the Trinity, or of any Person thereof. 10. All religious worshippers of saints, angels, or any mere creature. 11. Such as declare themselves not to be in charity with their neighbours. 12. Such as shall challenge others to a duel, or that shall accept such challenge. 13. Such as knowingly shall carry any challenge, either by word, message, or writing. 14. Such as profane the Lord's day, by dancing, playing at cards or dice, or any other game; or that shall on the Lord's day use masking, wakes, shooting, bowling, playing at foot-ball, or stool-ball, wrestling; or that shall resort to plays, interludes, fencing, bull-



baiting; or that shall use hawking, hunting, coursing, fishing, or fowling; or that shall publicly expose any ware for sale, otherwise than is provided by the ordinance of April 6, 1644; or that shall travel on the Lord's day without reasonable cause. 15. Such as keep known stews, or brothel-houses; or that shall solicit the chastity of any person for himself or another. 16. Such parents as give consent to marry their children to papists; and such as do themselves marry a papist. 17. Such as consult for advice, witches, wizards, or fortune-tellers. 18. Such as assault their parents, or any magistrate, minister, or elder, in the execution of his office. 19. Such as shall be legally attainted of barratry, forgery, extortion, or bribery."

"And the several elderships shall have power to suspend all **MINISTERS** who shall be duly convicted of any of the crimes above mentioned, from giving or receiving the Lord's supper. Persons suspended by one congregation shall not be admitted to the sacrament by another, without a certificate from the one in which he was a member. But in all cases of suspension, if the party suspended shall manifest his repentance before the eldership by which he was suspended, he shall be re-admitted to the Lord's supper, and the suspension taken off."

Then followed the provisos, which completely placed the ecclesiastical courts under the power of the civil.

"Provided always, that if any person find himself aggrieved with the proceedings of the presbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the classical eldership; from them to the provincial Assembly; from them to the national; *and from them to the PARLIAMENT.*

The other provisos went to limit the power of presbyteries in regard to several particulars, not necessary to be here mentioned, as the main point, the allowance of an appeal to Parliament, from the highest ecclesiastical judicatory is sufficient to show, that the

object was to make the ecclesiastical completely subordinate to the civil power.

This proviso, as it justly might, gave great offence to the Scotch Commissioners, and to the whole Presbyterian party. It was obviously founded on Erastian principles, and deprived the church of the right given to her by divine institution. But this was not all. The Parliament enacted, "That an appeal shall be from every classis to the commissioners of Parliament, chosen in every province, and from them to the Parliament itself." And "that if any person commit any scandalous crime, the minister may forbear to administer the sacrament for that time, but shall within eight days certify the same to the commission, who shall send up the case to the Parliament, by whose determination the eldership shall abide.

These rules to limit and regulate presbyteries, were ordained before any such bodies existed; for although the Parliament had resolved, in August 1645, that elders should be chosen throughout England and Wales, yet it did not become a law until the 14th of March in the following year. It was then ordained, "That forthwith a choice of elders should be made throughout England and Wales,—the election to be made, after due public notice, by the congregation or a majority of them being assembled, being heads of families, and such as have taken the covenant."—The act also provided, "that in every presbytery six ministers and three laymen should be appointed TRIERS of the validity of elections, of whom seven to be a quorum. No man to be an elder in any other congregation but the one in which he resides. The qualifications of a ruling elder are, that he be of good understanding in religion, sound in the faith, prudent, discreet, of unblameable conversation, willing to undergo the office, and in the communion of the church."

"All places and parishes to be under the jurisdiction of congregational, classical, provincial, and national assemblies; except chapels within the king's houses."

The ordinance then goes on to direct how the coun-

try should be laid off into presbyteries, of which an account will be given in another place.

It also directed, that every congregational assembly should send one minister, and two elders or more, not exceeding four, to the classical assembly; and every classical assembly to send two ministers, and at least four ruling elders, to the provincial assembly. And each provincial assembly to send two ministers and four ruling elders, - who shall constitute a national assembly, *when such an one shall be summoned by Parliament.*

Thus the Presbyterian church government became the national establishment; but this only by way of *probation*; for in the preamble it was declared, "That if, upon trial, it was not found acceptable, it should be repealed or amended."

But although Parliament aimed at accommodating all parties, none were pleased. By this Presbyterial hierarchy, dissenters were as much excluded as by the Episcopal hierarchy. Of course, the Episcopalians were opposed to it; and the Independents also, because both were by it excluded from the national establishment; and the Presbyterians, by whose influence it was carried into effect, because it took away the power over their ministers and members, to which they believed they had a divine right, would not accept of it.

When the scheme was laid before the Scotch Parliament and General Assembly, as a plan for uniformity between the two nations, they insisted on the following amendments.

"1. That no godly minister be excluded from being a member of classical, provincial, or national assemblies.

"2. That the ordinary time for the meeting of the National Assembly may be fixed, with a reserve of power to the Parliament to convene them when they please, and liberty to the church to meet oftener, on necessary occasions

"3. That the Congregational Assembly have power to judge in cases of scandal, not expressed. This

they conceive cannot be considered lodging an arbitrary power in the church; whereas, on the other hand, the appointing such provincial commissioners, as are settled in the ordinance, will occasion disputes, create a disconformity between this and other churches, and is a mixture in church government, altogether without precedent. This matter, therefore, they think, can better be managed by ministers and ruling elders.

“4. That the ordinance for the ordination of ministers be perpetual.

“5. The manner of subjecting Church Assemblies to the control and decision of Parliament, being very liable to mistakes; the exemption, likewise, of persons of distinction from ecclesiastical censures, and the administering the sacraments to some persons, against the conscience of the ministry and eldership. These, and some other particulars, being more than they can admit, they desire may be altered to general satisfaction.

“6. As to the articles relating to the perpetual officers of the church, with their respective functions; the order and power of church assemblies; the directions for public repentance, or penance; the rules for excommunication and absolution; all these, they desire to be fixed and settled, pursuant to the Covenant, and with the joint advice of the divines of both kingdoms, long since offered to both Houses,” (i. e. by the Westminster Assembly.)

After the delivery of these papers by the Scottish commissioners, and before the Houses had returned an answer, they were published with a preface by a private hand, which provoked the Parliament to such a degree, that they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly.

The answer of the House of Commons was in the following terms: “That their real intentions are, to settle religion according to the Covenant, and to maintain the ancient and fundamental government of this kingdom. They think it strange that any sober,

modest men should imagine, that they are so unwilling to settle any government in the church, after they have declared so fully for the Presbyterian; have taken so much pains for the settling it; have passed most of the particulars brought to them by the Assembly of Divines, without any material alteration, save in the point of commissioners; and have published so many ordinances for putting the same in execution; only because they cannot consent to grant an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories, to be erected within this kingdom, and this demanded in such a way as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same, and by necessary consequence, excluding the Parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This has been the great cause, that church government has not been long since established. And we have the more reason not to part with this power, out of the hands of the civil magistrate, since the experience of all ages will manifest, that the reformation and purity of religion, and the protection and preservation of the people of God, in this kingdom, has been owing, under God, to the Parliament's exercise of this power. If then, the minds of any are disturbed for want of the present settling of church government, let them apply to those, who having sufficient power and direction from the Houses on that behalf, have not as yet put the same in execution."

This answer of the Commons was far from being satisfactory; and the English Presbyterians having resolved to stand or fall with their Scotch brethren, peremptorily refused to comply with the ordinance of Parliament, relying upon the aid and support of that nation. Mr. Marshall stood up in the Assembly, on the 20th day of March, and said, "That since an ordinance of Parliament, for church government, was now published, and speedily to be put in execution; and since there were some things in that ordinance which lay very heavy on his conscience, and upon the consciences of many of his brethren—though he

blessed God for the zeal of the two Houses in settling the government of the church thus far—yet, being much pressed in spirit with some things contained therein, he moved that a committee be appointed to examine what things in the ordinance were contrary to their consciences, and to prepare a petition to present them to the two Houses. A petition was accordingly drawn up and presented on the 23d of March, by the whole Assembly, with Mr. Marshall at their head. In this petition they asserted the **DIVINE RIGHT** of Presbyterian government, and complain of a clause in the late ordinance, which establishes *an appeal from the censures of the church to a committee of Parliament*. The House of Commons, alarmed at this petition, appointed a committee to take into consideration the matter and manner of it, who, after some time, reported it as their opinion, that the Assembly of Divines, in their late petition, had broken the privileges of Parliament, and were guilty of a **PRÆMUNIRE**; and whereas, they insisted so peremptorily on the **JUS DIVINUM** of Presbyterian government, the committee had drawn up certain queries which they desired the Assembly might resolve for their satisfaction. The report was adopted, and the House sent three of their members, namely, John Evelin, Nathaniel Fiennis, and Mr. Brown, to the Assembly, to acquaint them with their resolutions. These gentlemen, in several speeches, set before them the rashness and imprudence of their conduct, and showed them wherein they had exceeded their province, which was “to advise the Houses in such points as they should lay before them, but not to dictate to those to whom they owed their being as an Assembly.” They then read to them the queries which the committee had prepared, touching the point of the *jus divinum* of church government, and to which they required an answer from the Assembly. These were the following:

“1. Whether the congregational and presbyterial elderships, appointed by ordinance of parliament, or any other congregational or presbyterial elderships

are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? and whether any particular church government be *jure divino*? and what that government is?

“2. Whether all the members of the said elderships as members thereof, or which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

“3. Whether the classical, provincial and national assemblies, or any of them, and which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

“4. Whether appeals from congregational elderships, to classical provincial and national assemblies, or any of them, and to which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? and whether their powers upon such appeals are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

“5. Whether œcumenical assemblies are *jure divino*? and whether there be appeals from any of the former assemblies to the said œcumenical *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

“6. Whether by the word of God, the power of judging and declaring what are such notorious and scandalous offences, for which persons guilty thereof are to be kept from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and of convening before them, trying, and actually suspending from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper such offenders, is either in the congregational eldership, presbytery, or in any other eldership, congregation, or persons? and whether such powers are in them only, or any of them, and in which of them *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ?

“7. Whether there be any certain and particular rules expressed in the word of God, to direct the elderships or presbyteries, congregations or persons, or any of them, in the exercise and execution of the powers aforesaid, and what are those rules?

“8. Is there any thing contained in the word of

God, that the supreme magistracy in a Christian state may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid notorious and scandalous offences, and the manner of suspension for the same; and in what particulars concerning the premises is the said supreme magistracy by the word of God excluded?

“9. Whether the provision of commissioners to judge of scandals not enumerated as they are authorized by the ordinance of Parliament, be contrary to that way of government which Christ has appointed in his church? and wherein are they so contrary?”

In the Assembly's answer, the Parliament required that the proofs from Scripture should be set down, with the several texts at large, in the express words of the same; and that every minister of the Assembly, who should be present at the debate of any of these questions, should subscribe his respective name in the affirmative or negative, according as he gave his vote; and that those who dissented from the majority should set down their positive opinions, with the express texts of Scripture on which their opinion is founded.

Immediately upon receiving this communication, the Assembly being alarmed, adjourned, that they might have an opportunity of consulting their brethren in the city. They then appointed a day of fasting and humiliation for themselves, in reference to their present circumstances, and sent letters to all the members to give their attendance. The fast was observed within their own walls on the 6th of May, from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon. They also appointed committees to consider of an answer to the queries sent to them from the House of Commons.

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## CHAPTER XV.

Parliament and the London Ministers.—Disputes about Toleration and Uniformity.

THE London divines were accustomed to meet every Monday at Sion College, to consult together how they



might best promote the cause of religion, and also how they might afford the most effectual support to their Presbyterian brethren, in the Assembly; for, out of the sixty ministers in London, all were Presbyterians except one or two. And in the difficult circumstances in which they were now placed, they sympathized with them cordially; and how they exerted themselves to promote the good cause, will appear in the sequel.

The Scottish nation were thoroughly roused by this proceeding of the English Parliament; so that the Parliament of that kingdom wrote a letter to the two houses, acquainting them, "that it was expected the honourable houses would add the civil sanction to what the pious and learned Assembly have advised; and *I am commanded by the Parliament of this kingdom* (says the President) *to demand it, and I do, in their name, demand it.* And the Parliament of this kingdom is persuaded, that the piety and the wisdom of the honourable houses will never admit toleration of any sects or schisms, contrary to our solemn league and covenant." At the same time they appealed to the people, and published a declaration against toleration of sectaries and liberty of conscience; which, say they, "is the nourisher of all heresies; observing, that there was a party in England who were endeavouring to supplant the true religion. They declared that all such opinions were inconsistent with the true religion, and favourable to the introduction of all manner of licentiousness. They say, "that however the Parliament of England may determine in point of toleration and liberty of conscience, they were resolved not to make the least start, (advance,) but to live and die for the glory of God, in the entire preservation of the truth."

These intolerant sentiments should be considered as the error of the age, and were common to the Puritans and the Reformers; and while we cannot but condemn them, yet we should never forget, that they originated in a sincere love of truth, and ardent zeal for the honour of God. And it should also be

remembered, that many of the most zealous advocates for *liberty of conscience*, have only sought the free liberty of professing and propagating pestiferous error. If civil governments were infallible in their knowledge, then might it become their duty to suppress error by coercive measures; but even in that case, it is evident to all reflecting men, that pains and penalties never did, nor can, enlighten the minds of men. No doubt the prevalence of error is a momentous evil, exceeded by none which exists among men; but the only proper and effectual remedy is the clear exhibition and forcible vindication of the truth, by appealing to evidence and argument. While the Presbyterians, in both kingdoms, were zealous opposers of toleration, the Independents were in favour of a limited toleration, as they, being a minority, needed liberty of conscience, to profess and propagate their own views of church polity. But some persons, at this time, entertained correct views on the subject; and this may be considered as the dawn of that day of religious liberty, which has shone more and more until this time. A writer who animadverted on the answer of the Assembly to the city divines, seems to have been in advance of most of his countrymen, in maintaining clear views on this important subject. He maintained, "that liberty of conscience is the natural right of every man." He goes the whole length to which his principles led him; and in replying to the objection of the ministers, "that if we tolerate one sect, we must tolerate all," he admits the consequence, in its widest extent, and maintained, "that men have as good a right to the liberty of their consciences, as to their clothes and estates;" and lays down the broad principle, "that no opinions or sentiments of religion are cognizable by the magistrate, any farther than they are inconsistent with the peace of civil government." Which is undoubtedly the only true and safe principle, and is universally admitted in this country now. He argues, "that persecution will breed more confusion than toleration; and then proves that religious liberty is the doctrine of

the New Testament: 1. From the parable of the tares. 2. From the apostle's declaration, "Let every man be persuaded in his own mind." 3. And from this: "That whatsoever is not of faith, is sin." And finally, from our Saviour's golden rule, "That whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, ye ought to do to them."

This pamphlet was answered by one entitled "ANTI-TOLERATION," in which the most unlimited power of persecution is vindicated. The high ground taken by the Presbyterians on this subject, was very injurious to them, and rendered them unpopular with many, who now saw that the contest was not for *liberty*, but for *power*; and that all the benefit likely to arise from the change, was to wear the yoke of Presbyterial, instead of Episcopal uniformity.

This subject of *toleration* had much to do with the differences between the Assembly and Parliament; for while the former were steady in their opposition to religious liberty, the latter were more and more inclined to favour it, as they saw that the divines themselves could not agree in church government; and as the successes of the army gave them influence in Parliament, their principal leaders being Independents in principle, were desirous of obtaining for them some *accommodation*, or at least such toleration as would preserve them from persecution. As early as September, 1644, the Committee of Lords and Commons, appointed to treat with the Scottish Commissioners, were directed to take into consideration the differences of the opinions of the members of the Assembly in point of church government, and endeavour to bring about a union, if possible; and if that could not be accomplished, to endeavour "to find some way by which tender consciences which cannot in all things submit to the same rule, may be borne with according to the word of God, and consistent with the public peace. This was called the GRAND COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION, which met first on the 20th of September, 1644, and appointed a sub-committee of six divines of the Assembly, to consider

the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the consideration of the grand committee. The persons selected for this sub-committee, were Mr. Marshall, Mr. Herle, Mr. Vines, Dr. Temple, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye. After due deliberation, they gave it as the opinion of the majority, that the Presbyterian plan of government should first be established, and then they might consider such exceptions as the circumstances of the case might require. But the Independents wished that their objections should be heard and disposed of before any plan of church polity was established. The Presbyterians also insisted, that those who objected to the Presbyterian government, should be a committee to bring in the whole frame of their government, in a body, with their grounds and reasons; whereas, the Independents wished to have the liberty to bring in their objections by parts, as the Presbyterians had done by their *advices*. But this not being admitted, they desired time to perfect their plan before any other scheme passed into a law. The Presbyterians, however, by the aid of their Scottish friends, pushed the business onward to a conclusion, in Parliament. This occasioned a remonstrance from the Independents, in which they complained of unfair treatment, as the system of church government had been established before they had time to bring in their plan and reasons; and now there was no room for a comprehension. The House of Commons appeared to be convinced that they had acted hastily in this business; and of their own accord, in November, 1645, they received the Committee of Accommodation. This Committee was made to consist of five peers, from the House of Lords: the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Manchester, Lord Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Wharton, and Lord Howard. These were, with the Scottish Commissioners, to confer with Dr. Burgess, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Herle, Mr. Reynolds, Dr. Hoyle, Mr. White, Mr. Vines, Mr. Hill, Dr. Temple, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Tuckney, Mr. Arrowsmith, Dr. Smith, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Newcoman, and Mr. Young,

together with the dissenting brethren of the Assembly, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Nye, Mr. Burroughs, Mr. Bridges, and Mr. Drury.

This committee met in the Jerusalem Chamber, November 17, 1645, and were about to enter upon the consideration of some scheme for comprehension; but the Independents alleged, that the time had passed for accomplishing any thing of this sort; and that *now* nothing was left for them but simply a *toleration*, as they were already excluded from the establishment; and accordingly, they offered the following proposals: 1. That their congregations may have the power of ordination within themselves. 2. That they may not be brought under the power of the classes, nor forced to communicate in those parish churches where they dwell; but that they may have the liberty to join with such congregations as they please, and to have all church censures within themselves, subject only to Parliament. To these proposals, the Presbyterians objected: 1. "That this implied a total separation from the established rule. 2. That it granted the lawfulness of gathering churches out of other true churches. 3. That by this means, the Parliament would destroy what they had set up. 4. That the members of Independent churches would have greater privileges than those of the establishment. 5. That this would countenance a perpetual schism; and, 6. Introduce all manner of confusion in families." They therefore proposed, that such as, after conference with their minister, were not satisfied with the establishment, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's Supper, nor be liable to censures from classes and synods, provided they joined with the parish congregation where they lived, and were under the government of it in other respects.

The Independents replied, that they did not intend a total separation, but should argue with their brethren in the most essential points, as in worshipping according to the Directory, in choosing the same officers, pastors, teachers, ruling elders, with the same

qualifications as in the *rule*. That they should require the same qualifications in their members. That they should practise the same discipline, and would be accountable for their conduct to their superiors. They were willing also, to hold occasional communion with their Presbyterian brethren, and receiving their members to communion in return. That their ministers also, might interchange ministerial services, as occasion required; and when in difficulty would call for assistance and advice from each other. Such a separation, they insisted, ought not to be branded with the odious name of *schism*, as they were disposed to maintain Christian law, and communion with those from whom they differed on minor points. They also declared their willingness to be restricted as to the number of their places of worship, if they could only have as many as would be receptacles for persons of tender consciences.

The Presbyterians replied to these proposals, by blaming them for not seeking a comprehension, and then attempted to refute them by reasoning thus:—“If a pretence of conscience be a sufficient ground of separation, men may gather impure and corrupt churches out of purer; because, upon the dictate of an erring conscience, may disallow that which is pure, and set up that which is agreeable to their erring consciences. And,” say they, “we very much doubt, whether tenderness of conscience in doubtful points, will justify a separation. It may oblige men to forbear communion, but not to set up a contrary practice.” They then argued from the concessions of the Independents, that if they agreed on so many points with the established religion, they ought not to separate on account of minor matters. “If,” said they, “you can communicate with the established church *occasionally*, why not constantly? As for the toleration which our brethren desire, we apprehend it will open a door to all sects; and though the Independents *here* plead for it, their brethren in New England do not allow it.” As to the charge of schism, they said, they did not consider that all difference of

judgment, in every point, amounted to schism; nor every want of conformity in external regulations and forms of worship. "But our brethren further desire, to set up separate communions, which is a manifest rupture of our societies, and is therefore a schism in the body; as Austin says, '*Schismaticos facit non diversa fides, sed communionis disrupta societas.*'" To which they added, that this indulgence if granted, would be the mother of all contentions, strifes, heresies, and confusions in the church; and contrary to their covenant, which obliged them to seek to their utmost an UNIFORMITY.

The Independents argued, that uniformity was not necessary to the unity and peace of the churches, and ought not to extend beyond people's light and measure of understanding, according to the apostolical canon, "As far as we have attained, let us walk by the same rule."

At the last meeting of the committee, March 9, 1646, the Presbyterians insisted on all their former positions, and concluded their answer by saying, "If uniformity," as our brethren say, "should be urged no further than is agreeable to all men's consciences and their edification, it seems as if they not only desired liberty of conscience for themselves but for all men; and would have us think that we are not bound by covenant, to bring the churches in the three kingdoms to any nearer uniformity than is consistent with the liberty of all men's consciences; which, whether it be the sense of the covenant, we leave with the honourable committee." Upon which Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, a divine of great candour and moderation, declared in the name of the Independents, "that if their congregations might not be exempted from the coercive power of the classes; if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or to go to some other place of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But while men think that there is no way of peace, but by forcing all to be of the same mind;

while they think that the civil sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies of divinity, and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonments 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 disturbance in the Christian world.

"Little did the Presbyterians then think," says Neal, "that in less than twenty years all their artillery would be turned against themselves, and that they should be excluded the establishment by an act of *prelatical uniformity*; that they should be reduced to the necessity of pleading for that indulgence which they now denied their brethren; and esteem it their duty to gather churches for separate worship, out of other churches, which they allowed to be true churches." He goes on to observe, "If the leading Presbyterians in the Assembly and city, had carried it with temper towards the Independents, and allowed even of a limited toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the disputes between the army and Parliament, which involved them in one common ruin. They might then have saved the constitution, and made their own terms with the king, who was now their prisoner, but they were enamoured with the charms of their *covenant uniformity*, and the *divine right of presbytery*, which, after all, the Parliament would not admit in its full extent." Mr. Baxter, who was no friend to Independency, says, "that the Presbyterian ministers were so little sensible of their own infirmities, that they would not agree to tolerate those who were not only tolerable, but worthy instruments and members of the churches. Prudent men were for *union in things necessary, liberty in things unnecessary, and for charity in all*; but they could not be heard."

After the king had fled to the Scots for refuge, and every thing seemed to promise full success to the cause of the Parliament, the Presbyterians of London re-



sumed their courage, and framed a bold remonstrance, in the name of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and presented it to the House of Commons on the 26th day of May, 1646, complaining of the laxity of discipline, and of the swarming of Sectaries, in consequence of the toleration granted to tender consciences. They put the Parliament in mind of their covenant engagements by which they were bound, to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever else was found contrary to sound doctrine, &c. They, therefore, requested, "that all separate congregations might be suppressed; that all such separatists who conform not to the public discipline may be declared against; that no person disaffected to the Presbyterian government set forth by Parliament, may be employed in any place of public trust." This remonstrance was seconded by the whole Scotch nation, who acted in concert with their English brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks from the General Assembly, to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, written shortly after the delivery of the remonstrance. They also addressed letters to the Parliament; and to the Westminster Assembly. These letters were printed and dispersed all over the kingdom.

The Parliament were not much pleased with the bold language of the remonstrance; but they felt the importance of conciliating the Presbyterians of London, and also were unwilling to give offence to the Scottish nation, they therefore received the remonstrants respectfully, and promised to take the particulars mentioned into consideration.

But now the army began to speak concerning these matters; and being full of Independents and Sectarists, they began to be alarmed at the storm which impended; and obtained from their friends in London a counter petition, signed by many hands, in which they applaud the Parliament for their labours and successes in the cause of *liberty*; and pray them to go on and manage the affairs of the kingdom according

to their wisdom, and not to suffer the free-born people of England to be enslaved, on any pretence whatsoever; nor to *suffer any set of people to prescribe to them* in matters of government or conscience, and the petitioners promise to stand by them, with their lives and fortunes.

The Parliament was much embarrassed between the contenders for liberty, and for uniformity; and endeavoured to avoid a decision until they saw the success of their negociation with the king. They kept the Presbyterians in suspense, by insisting on an answer to the queries submitted to them for solution long since; insinuating that they themselves were the obstacle to a full settlement of church government. Upon this the Assembly appointed three committees to consider of suitable answers to these queries. But the committee to consider the first question, "Whether any church government was of divine right?" being partly composed of Erastians, could not agree, and the report brought into the Assembly was therefore not in the usual form, but the report of some brethren of the committee. When the vote was about to be taken on the proposition presented, in answer to the first query of the Parliament, the Erastians withdrew from the Assembly, intending to prosecute their cause before the House of Commons, where they knew that they had many friends, and would have much more likelihood of success than in the Assembly. Neal says, "that they left the high Presbyterians to themselves, who agreed, with only one dissenting voice, '*that Jesus Christ, as King of the church, hath himself appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate.*'" He then gives a list of fifty-two ministers who subscribed this proposition; but instead of being all *high Presbyterians*, we find the names of Goodwin, Nye, Caryl, and Carter. And it should be remembered, that although the Independents opposed the *jus divinum* of presbytery, they held the divine right of congregational church government; and therefore could as consistently subscribe this proposition as the Presbyterians. The single

dissenter, when this vote was taken, was Dr. Lightfoot; but if Mr. Coleman had not been sick, there would have been two. The Assembly were engaged from May to the latter end of July, in discussing the remaining questions; and in the mean time, the Independents also withdrew, and left the Presbyterians to themselves.

The Assembly, however, since their fright about a *præmunire*, were very unwilling to come before Parliament, with such answers as their sentiments would lead them to make to the queries which they had so long under consideration. But the London ministers felt themselves under no such restraint, and did not hesitate to come out boldly in giving expression to their opinions. At a meeting which they held at Sion College, they drew up a paper, or rather a treatise, entitled, "THE DIVINE RIGHT OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT BY THE LONDON MINISTERS." In this work they gave a distinct answer to each of the queries sent to the Assembly by the Parliament, and undertook to demonstrate that every branch of the Presbyterian government was of divine right, and boldly maintained that the civil magistrate has nothing to do with the censures of the church, and no right to interfere with them. And to show that they were in good earnest in maintaining this principle, they came to a solemn resolution that they would not comply with the existing establishment until it was delivered from the yoke of the civil magistrate. They also drew up a paper containing their reasons for opposing the principles established by the ordinance of Parliament, which paper they sent to the Lord Mayor of London, who, after consulting with the city council, sent a deputation to the convention at Sion College, offering to concur with them in a petition for redress. Such a petition was accordingly prepared and signed, and sent to the House of Commons, but produced no effect. The Parliament to counteract this combination, published an order requiring the city of London to observe the ordinance relating to the government of the church; and moreover, requiring them to send

copies of the ordinance to every parish within their jurisdiction, and to take effectual care that its provisions should be carried into immediate execution.

Upon this, the ministers of London and Westminster held another convention at Sion College, and now found it expedient to recede from the ground which they had assumed. At this meeting they agreed upon and published "certain considerations, according to which they agree to put the Presbyterial government into practice, according to the present establishment." They still, however, retained and repeated their principle, "That the power of church censures ought to be in the hands of church officers, **BY THE WILL AND APPOINTMENT OF JESUS CHRIST.** But they admitted that the magistrate ought to be satisfied of the truth of that church government, which by law they authorize. And although it be not right in every particular, yet church officers may act under it, provided they are not required to declare or acknowledge the rule to be right in every point. Therefore, although they conceived the ordinances of Parliament already published, are not *a complete rule, nor in all points satisfactory to their consciences*; yet, because in many things they are so, and provision being made to enable the elderships by their authority, to keep away from the Lord's Supper all ignorant and scandalous persons, and a further declaration being made, that there shall be an addition to the list of scandalous offences, heretofore enumerated, therefore they conceive it their duty to put in practice the present settlement, as far as they conceive it correspondent with the word of God, hoping that the Parliament will, in due time, supply what is lacking to make the government entire, and rectify what shall appear to be amiss."

Thus, at the last, Parliament maintained its ground, and brought the stout hearts of the Presbyterian ministers of London to a reluctant submission to their authority.

The Presbyterial form of government was now carried into operation in the city of London, and in

other places; but the particulars will be reserved for another chapter.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Sequestration of Ministers.—Ejection of Masters and Professors from the University of Cambridge.

FROM the time of taking the covenant the virtual dissolution of the English hierarchy may be dated; although the actual repeal by an ordinance of Parliament did not take place until some time afterwards. And when the archbishop of Canterbury was suspended for disobedience to the orders of Parliament, all collation to benefices was by the nomination and order of the two Houses. But as soon as the Westminster Assembly were convened, all ecclesiastical matters, by direction of Parliament, went through their hands. The parishes elected their ministers, the Assembly examined and approved them, and the Parliament confirmed them in their benefices. This created much business for the Assembly, and after a while occupied the greater portion of their time, for the number of persons who applied for sequestered livings was very great. To facilitate this business, they were obliged to choose a select committee to attend to it. The names of this committee were, the Rev. Dr. Gouge, Dr. Staunton, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Smith, Dr. Temple, Dr. Packney, Dr. Hayle, Dr. Burges, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Sey, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Couant, Mr. Garver, Mr. Colman, Mr. Hill, Mr. Cor-teel, Mr. Gataker, Mr. Herle, Mr. Hall, Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Bathurst, and Mr. Cheynell.

“The method of examination,” says Neal, “was this: the names of the ministers who petitioned for livings, or were recommended by either House of Parliament, being published in the Assembly two or three days before the examination, liberty was given

in that time to make exceptions to their character. If nothing was objected, they were examined by the aforesaid committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the Assembly, and they then received a certificate of recommendation to the parish for which the application was made; and the scribes were directed to keep an exact list of all ministers recommended to sequestered livings, and to enter the same in a book kept for that purpose.

From Dr. Lightfoot's Journal, it appears that these candidates were required to preach before the committee as one part of their trials; and such trial sermons were often delivered several days in the week, so great was the number of candidates.

The sequestration of ecclesiastical livings, which made so many vacancies, was chiefly owing to the fact, that many of the clergy took part in the civil dispute with the king; and when their livings were situated in a place under the power of the Parliament, they either forsook them, or were ejected as being hostile to the Parliament. But it appears, that at that time, there were in the church many incompetent ministers, and many whose lives were scandalous. These also were ejected, and qualified men substituted in their place.

The University of Oxford and also the town were devoted to the cause of the king; and here he held his court, and here was for a long time the headquarters for the army. The University of Cambridge was also friendly to the royal cause, but the town was favourable to the Parliament, and the place was within their power. A committee of sequestration was appointed for the University of Cambridge, and for removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties. The ordinance appointing them, sets forth "that the service of the Parliament was retarded, the people's souls starved by the idle, ill-affected, and scandalous clergy of the University of Cambridge, and the associated counties. The earl of Manchester, therefore, was empowered to appoint committees who should have authority to call before them all

provosts, masters, and fellows of colleges, and all students of the university, all ministers in the counties of the association, and all school masters that were scandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the Parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural war, or that shall wilfully refuse obedience to the orders of Parliament, or have deserted their ordinary places of residence, not being employed in the service of the king and Parliament. The said committee were also authorized to send for witnesses, and examine complaints against the fore-mentioned delinquents on oath, and to certify the names of the persons accused to the earl of Manchester, who shall have power to eject such as are unfit for their places; to sequester their estates, and to dispose of them as he shall think fit, and place others in their room, being first approved by the Assembly of divines at Westminster. He also had power to administer the covenant to whom he would, and to assign one fifth of the sequestered estates for the maintenance of the wives and children of delinquents.

The Earl of Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton) repaired in person to Cambridge, and required the heads of the several colleges to send him their statutes, with the names of their members, and to certify who were present, and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance. The fellows of a number of the colleges were ejected, for non-residence, not returning after due summons, and for political misdemeanors. The covenant was used as a test, and offered to such as were suspected of being disaffected. The whole number expelled in this and following years, including masters and fellows, according to Dr. Walker, was little short of two hundred; which was something more than one half the graduate members. Out of sixteen heads of colleges, six by compliance kept their places. These were Dr. Bainbrigg of Christ's College, Dr. Eden of Trinity Hall, Dr. Richard Love of Bennet College, Dr. Brownrigg of Katherine Hall, (ejected in 1645,) Dr. Bachcroft of Caius College, and Dr. Rainbow of Magdalen

College. The ten ejected, at this visitation, were, Dr. John Cosins from Peter House, succeeded by Dr. Lazarus Seaman; Dr. Thomas Pask from Clare Hall, succeeded by Dr. R. Cudworth; Dr. Benjamin Laney, from Pembroke Hall, succeeded by Mr. Richard Vines; Dr. Samuel Collins from King's College, succeeded by Dr. Benjamin Whichcote; Dr. E. Martin from Queen's College, succeeded by Mr. H. Palmer; Dr. R. Stern from Jesus' College, succeeded by Dr. T. Young; Dr. W. Beale from St. John's College, succeeded by Dr. J. Arrowsmith; Dr. Thomas Comber from Trinity Hall, succeeded by Dr. Thomas Hill; Dr. R. Holdsworth from Emanuel College, succeeded by Dr. Anthony Tuckney; Dr. Samuel Ward, Sidney College.—by Dr. R. Minshull; and in 1645, Dr. R. Brownrigge from Kath. Hall, succeeded by Dr. Spurstow, and afterwards by Dr. Lightfoot.<sup>1</sup>

Some of those heads of colleges, who were ejected on this occasion, were undoubtedly men of great worth and great learning; and perhaps, in the mere learning of the schools, were superior to their successors; but it would be difficult to find a brighter constellation of distinguished scholars and theologians, than those now placed at the heads of the colleges of the University. And if they were in any respect inferior to their predecessors, in diligence and fidelity, in the execution of their functions they were greatly before them; and exerted a religious influence on the youth, greatly to the benefit of the nation.

The oath now prescribed to the masters of colleges, was very strict and solemn. It was in the following words, viz. "I do solemnly and seriously promise, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, that during the time of my continuance in this charge, I shall faithfully labour to promote learning and piety in myself, the fellows, scholars, and students that do, or shall belong to the said college, agreeably to the late SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT, by me sworn and subscribed," &c.

<sup>1</sup> Neal, Vol. ii. p. 82.



The only thing which bears an unfavourable aspect in these appointments, was, that almost all the masters were selected from the Assembly: but it may be said in apology for this, that the most learned divines in the country, who adhered to the Parliament, were in the Assembly; and again, that by being there, their talents came to be more fully and generally known.

The filling up the fellowships now vacated, was a more serious business. All candidates were examined by the Assembly, and in about six months the requisite number was made up. The University now enjoyed a delightful tranquillity and harmony; and learning and religion flourished in the several halls and colleges. Yet some of the writers of the King's party, have represented the change now made, as though the Goths and Vandals had invaded the University, and had reduced all things to confusion and anarchy; and had not left a vestige of true learning and discipline in the place.

The earl of Manchester also extended his *visitation* to the ministers of the seven associated counties, by giving a warrant to commissioners to proceed in examining into the several cases requiring their attention. To these he gave special instructions how to proceed in all the parts of the trial. And when any minister was, upon trial, convicted, report was made to the earl, who directed a warrant to the churchwardens of the parish, to eject him out of his parsonage, and all the profits thereof. At the same time he directed the parishioners to choose a proper minister for the vacant place, and upon their presentation he was sent to the Assembly of divines, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a certificate from the Assembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox divine, and qualified to officiate in the pastoral function, his lordship issued his last warrant, authorizing and appointing him to teach, preach, and catechise; and to take possession of the church, parsonage, &c.

It is difficult to ascertain the number of ministers that were cast out of their livings during the war.

Dr. Nalson says, that in five of the associated counties, one hundred and fifty-six clergymen were ejected in the course of a year; and allowing a proportionable number for the remaining counties of this district, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen. And if we suppose the same proportion in the fifty-two counties of England, the whole number would be sixteen hundred and upwards. Dr. Walker, however, has by a fallacious computation, increased the number to eight thousand. Upon the fairest calculation, the number will fall considerably short of two thousand, in all the counties of England. Mr. Baxter says, "They cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous clergy, and some few civil men, that had acted in the wars for the king; but left in near one half of those that were but barely tolerable." He further states, "That in the counties where he was acquainted, *six to one* of the sequestered ministers, were by the oaths of witnesses, proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both."

This ejection does not admit of a comparison with that which took place at the restoration, for non-conformity. In this case, the principal ground was either political, because they were considered enemies to the existing government; or, because they were totally unfit for the sacred office of the ministry; whereas, the ejected ministers of 1662, were loyal subjects of the king; had had a considerable share in his restoration, and were certainly among the most pious and best qualified ministers in the kingdom. There was another striking difference in the two cases: in the ejection by Parliament, *one-fifth* of the income of all ejected ministers was appropriated to the support of their wives and children; whereas in the case of those ministers cast out after the restoration, no provision whatever was made for the suffering families of the ejected ministers; but on the contrary, by severe penalties, they were prohibited from coming within five miles of any incorporated town; so that their opportunities of making a living by teaching, or in any other way, were exceedingly circumscribed.

Still we are not disposed to deny, that it was a hard case to be thus cast out on the world, without the means of comfortable subsistence; and no doubt there were many cases of suffering which demand our sympathy. Civil dissensions are attended always with deplorable effects; and often deserving and innocent persons are as deeply involved in the disasters of such wars, as the most guilty.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Prevalent Errors and Sectaries during the period of the Assembly.*

THE civil war in England having been undertaken, partly on a religious account; that is, to resist ecclesiastical tyranny, and to secure liberty from the domination of a proud hierarchy; many persons went into the Parliament's army who were truly religious men; and many more who were actuated by an enthusiastic spirit, and entertained views of civil and ecclesiastical society which were exceedingly visionary. Perhaps there never was an army in which religious feeling, of one kind or another, so predominated. Frequently their commanding officers preached and prayed in public, and the soldiers were deeply imbued with the same spirit, and spent much of their time, when in quarters, in disputing, or praying. In consequence of this state of things, the army became a hot bed, in which were generated and nourished the wildest fanaticism, and the most extravagant opinions on religion. But this religious spirit animated them with an invincible courage, when they thought they were contending against tyranny, and fighting for religion, as well as liberty. A full view of the state of the Parliament's army may be found in Baxter's "Life and History of his own Times." The number of sects which now sprung up, cannot easily be enumerated, as many of them had only an ephemeral

existence, and are only mentioned incidentally by the writers of the times. The general tendency was to discard all regular authority in the church, and to set at nought all religious ordinances, as a hinderance to the impulses of the Spirit, by which they professed to be favoured. The only sects, however, which now arose in England, and which having assumed a regular form, have come down to our times, are the Quakers and Baptists, which have long since divested themselves of those extravagances which characterized their founders. Indeed, the present society of Baptists, grown to be a numerous and respectable denomination of Christians, differ from Independents in scarcely any thing else, but the denial of infant baptism, and insisting on total immersion as the only proper mode of administering this ordinance. From the admonitions and precautions against Antinomianism, in the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, we may infer that, in that period, there existed a strong tendency to this extreme. One of the first objects which occupied the attention of this venerable body, was the censure of certain Antinomian writings, which had recently been published. We find in Neal's History of the Puritans, the following paragraph, viz :

“As the Assembly were for strengthening the doctrines of the church against Arminianism, they were equally solicitous to guard against the opposite extreme of Antinomianism; for which purpose, they appointed a committee to peruse the writings of Dr. Crisp, Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Saltmarsh, and others, who, having drawn out some of their most dangerous positions, reported them to the Assembly, where they were not only condemned, but confuted, in their public sermons and writings.”

It also appears from Dr. Lightfoot's journal, that of the candidates examined for sequestered livings, more were found tainted with this error, than with Arminianism. The sectaries, in general, entertained a great abhorrence of the Westminster Assembly, and many pamphlets were written against them. And

when the army, or their officers, assumed the reins of government, and liberty of prophesying was granted, the floods of fanatical error spread over the land, and threatened desolation to the church. But when the enemy comes in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord always lifts up a standard against him. Many able writers drew their pens against the prevailing errors of the times, and soon the fury of fanaticism wasted itself, exhausted by the violence of its own efforts. Religion suffered more by the low Arminianism and lax principles of morals, which came in with the restoration of Charles II., than by all the ranting and extravagance of the sectaries, during the time of the Commonwealth.

Among those who laboured with zeal, fidelity, and unshaken courage, in opposition to the errors of the times, was the Rev. Thomas Edwards, who wrote an answer to the "Apologetic Narrative of the Independents," and vindicated the Assembly from the accusations of that work. He also wrote a famous work, entitled, "**GANGRÆNA; OR, A CATALOGUE AND DISCOVERY OF MANY OF THE ERRORS, HERESIES, BLASPHEMIES, AND PERNICIOUS PRACTICES OF THE SECTARIES OF THIS TIME,**" &c. This work has now become very scarce, and will probably be soon out of print, as the state of the church to which it relates, has entirely passed away. But, it is more than probable, that in this free country, the same scenes, with some new aspects, will be acted over again; or, rather, have already been exhibited in many parts of our land. It is not, therefore, merely to gratify the curiosity of the reader, that I extract a number of particulars from his catalogue of errors; of which he enumerates no less than one hundred and eighty-six in the first part of his *Gangræna*; to which, in the second part, he adds twenty or thirty more. In his preface, he reduces the sectaries to the number of sixteen, as follows: 1. Independents. 2. Brownists. 3. Chilianists, or Millenarians. 4. Antinomians. 5. Anabaptists. 6. Arminians. 7. Libertines. 8. Familists. 9. Enthusiasts. 10. Seekers, and Waiters. 11. Per-

fectists. 12. Socinians. 13. Arians. 14. Anti-trinitarians. 15. Sceptics and Questionists, who question every thing in matters of religion. 16. Anti-Scripturists. The author remarks, that seldom will you find one of these sects confined to a single error. They are strangely and confusedly mixed up together. He says, that it is not uncommon to find, in some one society, some of almost all these opinions, such as Anabaptists, Antinomians, Manifestarians, Libertines, Socinians, Millenarians, &c. &c.; and often the same person will be infected with the errors of many sects. The army, says he, is frequently spoken of as made up of Independents; but I am of opinion, founded on good information, that upon a true muster of the commanders and common soldiers, there would not be found above one in six, of that way. I do not think that there are more than fifty pure Independents, but they are higher flown and more seraphical, compounded of Anabaptism, Antinomianism, Enthusiasm, Arminianism, Familism, &c. All these errors, and more too, sometimes, meeting in the same persons—"Strange monsters, having their heads of Enthusiasm, their bodies of Antinomianism, their legs and feet of Anabaptism, their thighs of Familism, their hands of Arminianism, and Libertinism as the great vein running through the whole."

The following is extracted from his catalogue of errors:

"1. That the Scriptures cannot be said to be the word of God.

"2. That the Scriptures are a mere human composition, and cannot discover a divine God.

"3. That the Scriptures are uncertain; and no infallible foundation to build our faith upon.

"4. That all the histories, and even the proper names of Scripture, are all allegories.

"5. That the men who wrote the Scriptures were moved by their own spirit, and they were no more inspired in this than in any thing else; for it is in God that we live and move.

"6. We have no concern with the Scriptures of

the Old Testament; and texts brought from them are no proof.

“7. Right reason is the rule of faith; and we are bound to believe no further than we can understand.

“8. That no Scripture obliges any further than our spirit reveals to us that it is the word of God.

“9. That God is the author of all sin.

“10. That no man is cast into hell, for any sin, but only because God would have it so.

“11. That man’s soul is a part of the divine essence; and when he dies, it will return to God again.

“12. That God loves the merest reptile as much as he does man.

“13. That God is the ‘prince of the air,’ who rules in the children of disobedience.

“14. That men, in doing what God decreed, do not sin; therefore, he did not decree all things.

“15. That God is not displeased with any man; for if he were, and then should be pleased again, he would change.

“16. That God did not love one man, before the world was, more than another, and that there is no such thing as particular election.

“17. That the soul dies with the body, and every thing has an end but God, who remaineth for ever.

“18. Every created thing was a part of God, and shall return to God again.

“19. That in the unity of the Godhead, there is not a trinity of persons.

“20. That there are not three persons, but only three offices.

“21. That Jesus Christ is not very God, but only nominally; not the Eternal Son of God by eternal generation, ‘but only as he was a man.’

“22. That Christ’s human nature is defiled with original sin.

“23. That we cannot look for much from a Christ crucified at Jerusalem, sixteen hundred years ago; but it must be a Christ formed in us. The writer

who expresses this opinion, says, 'Christ came into the world to live thirty-two years, and to do nothing else that he knew; and, blessed be God, he never trusted in a crucified Christ.' (How much like the late Elias Hicks.)

"24. Christ was a true man when he created us; yea, from eternity, and though he had no flesh, he was a very man without flesh.

"25. That Christ died for all men alike; for the reprobate as well as the elect; and not only sufficiently, but effectually; for Judas as well as Peter; for the damned in hell as well as the saints in heaven.

"26. That by Christ's death, all the sins of all the men in the world, Turks and Pagans, as well as Christians, committed under the moral law and first covenant, are forgiven; and this is the everlasting gospel.

"27. That Christ did only satisfy for sins against the first covenant, but not for sins against the second. He died not for the unbelief of any.

"28. That Christ died only for past sins, before the gospel was revealed.

"29. Every man must satisfy himself for sins against the second covenant, namely, unbelief; because the wrath of God abides on him that believes not; so that for a year's unbelief, a man bears a year's wrath; and this is all that God requires.

"30. That no man shall go to hell for any sin but unbelief.

"31. That the heathen who never heard the gospel by the word, have the gospel revealed to them in every creature; as the sun, the moon, and stars; and in them is revealed the knowledge of Christ crucified, and sin pardoned, if they had eyes to see it.

"32. Those heathen that perish, are condemned for not believing the gospel they enjoy.

"33. Christ by his death did not purchase life and salvation for the elect; but Christ himself was purchased by love, &c.



“ 34. Christ Jesus came into the world to declare the love of God to us; not to procure it for us, or to satisfy God.

“ 35. That the unction which believers receive, (1 John ii. 20,) is one with the Christhood of Christ.

“ 36. That Christ was a legal preacher; for until after his ascension, the gospel was not preached.

“ 37. That Christ shall come and live again upon the earth, and for a thousand years reign visibly, as an earthly monarch, all over the world, in outward glory and pomp, putting down all empires and kingdoms.

“ 38. That during Christ’s personal reign, the church shall not only have perfect peace, and include both Jews and Gentiles, but all that live without sin; without the word and sacraments, or any ordinance whatever; begetting many children, eating and drinking, and enjoying all lawful pleasures, which the creatures, then redeemed from corruption, can afford.

“ 39. That men may be saved without Christ; and that the very heathen may be saved, if they live according to the light they have.

“ 40. That the least truth is worth more than Jesus Christ himself.

“ 41. That Christ, by his death, freed all men from temporal death, (which is the only punishment which Adam’s sin deserved,) to purchase for them a resurrection. Thus far he died for all, and further for none.

“ 42. It is a vain conceit to think the Spirit of God works within us; it is only our own spirit.

“ 43. Perfection is attainable in this life, not by the word, sacraments, prayer, and ordinances, but by the experience of the Spirit in a man’s self.

“ 44. That a man baptized with the Holy Ghost, knows all things, even as God knows all things.

“ 45. That if a man by the Spirit knows himself to be in a state of grace, if he commit murder, or adultery, it is no sin.

“ 46. That sanctification is no evidence of justification; and all signs and marks of a Christian’s state are illegal and unlawful.

“47. Believers have no inherent sanctification nor habits of grace, but all their sanctification is inherent in Christ.

“48. Though Adam had not sinned, he had died a natural death.

“49. The image of God, in which man was created, was in his countenance; therefore, wicked men have this image as well as saints.

“50. Adam lost not the image of God, but by his sin incurred temporal death; which was suspended for a while, upon the promise of a Saviour.

“51. There is no original sin in us; Adam’s sin was the only original sin.

“52. That the guilt of Adam’s sin is imputed to no man; no man is punished for Adam’s sin.

“53. That one man is not more spiritual than another; but all the difference between men is outward in the word, which guides one man, and not another.

“54. That all men who have the gospel preached to them, are able to believe of themselves.

“55. There is no free-will in man, either to good or evil; either in his natural or glorified state.

“56. That there is a power in man to resist grace; and that the grace which converts one man would not convert another.

“57. Natural men may do such things to which God has promised grace.

“58. That regenerate men may fall totally and finally from a state of grace.

“59. The moral law is of no use to believers; it is no rule for them to walk by, nor to examine themselves by; and Christians are freed from the precepts as well as the penalty of the law.

“60. Believers are not justified by faith, but from all eternity.

“61. Neither faith, nor repentance, nor humility, are duties required of any Christian; or things in which they should exercise themselves; or they have no part in Christ.

“62. True faith is without any doubts of our salvation.

“63. That the act of faith, and not the object of faith, is imputed for justification.

“64. That the doctrine of repentance is a soul-destroying doctrine.

“65. Under the old dispensation, repentance was of use to obtain remission, but not under the gospel.

“66. That it is as impossible for a child of God to sin, as for Christ himself to sin.

“67. That fast days, under the gospel, are unlawful.

“68. That God does not chastise his people for sin; let them sin as much as they will, it is immediately washed away.

“69. That believers need exercise no solicitude about themselves; Christ will do this for them.

“70. That God loves his children as well, sinning or praying.

“71. That after conversion, Christians should not be grieved for their sins; that what Peter did when he sinned, was owing to the weakness of his faith.

“72. That the children of God are not to ask for the pardon of their sins; for such to ask for pardon, is infidelity, and near akin to blasphemy. David's asking for pardon, was his weakness.

“73. That when Abram denied his wife, all his thoughts and words were holy.

“74. Those truly called of God, may have sin in the external conduct, but they can have none in the spirit. Guilt of conscience and the faith of God's elect can no more consort together than light and darkness.

“75. That the souls of believers after death do sleep till the day of judgment.

“76. That the bodies of the saints shall not rise, but they shall be furnished with other bodies at the resurrection.

“77. That infants will not rise, because they are incapable of knowing and enjoying God.

“78. That none of the saints go into heaven till after the resurrection.

"79. There shall be a resurrection of all brute creatures, as well as of men.

"80. There is no hell, but in this life, consisting in fear, remorse, &c.

"81. There is now no true church of Christ upon earth.

"82. No man is now condemned for rejecting the gospel, because it is not confirmed to him by signs and miracles, as in the apostles' days.

"83. God has connected the preaching of the gospel indissolubly with signs and miracles.

"84. That many now have greater knowledge than the apostles, because the church was then in its infancy.

"85. That there should be no building of churches, nor ordinances.

"86. That baptism is not a seal and sign of the covenant of grace.

"87. That Pædobaptism is unlawful and anti-christian.

"88. That it is as lawful to break any of the ten commandments as to baptize an infant.

"89. That all disciples have a right to baptize.

"90. That it is not necessary that the baptizer should be a baptized person.

"91. That Christ's words, "This is my body," should be understood literally.

"92. That all maintenance of ministers of the gospel, is unlawful.

"93. That ministers of the gospel should work with their own hands, and not burden the church.

"94. That there is properly no distinction between clergy and laity.

"95. That to Christians, all days are alike; and there is no obligation to keep the Lord's day.

"96. That Saturday, or the Jewish Sabbath, ought to be observed.

"97. That there should be no ministry; but every one should preach that is moved to it.

"98. That it is as lawful for women to preach as men.

“99. That they who preach should not study or premeditate what they are to say.

“100. Some dozen women in a certain town held it to be unlawful for them to hear any man preach, lest they should be like those who were ‘ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.’

“101. That it is unlawful for Christians to pray, even in private, with those who are not members of the church.

“102. That Christians should not pray at set times, but only when moved to it by the Spirit.

“103. That unregenerate men should not pray at all.

“104. That all singing of psalms or hymns is unlawful.

“105. That Presbytery is the false prophet spoken of in the Revelation.

“106. That there ought to be, among Christians, a community of goods.

“107. That parents should not catechise their children, nor teach them to pray.

“108. That children are not bound to obey ungodly parents.

“109. That all war, however necessary for defence, is unlawful.

“110. That the use of forms of prayer is idolatrous.

“111. That it is inconsistent with the goodness of God, to damn his own creatures.

“112. That there will be a general restoration, when all men shall be reconciled and saved.

“113. That it is not lawful for a Christian to accept the office of a magistrate.

“114. That a Directory for the worship of God is a breach of the second commandment.

“115. That no man is yet in hell, nor will be till after the judgment; for God does not hang first and judge after.

“116. Eternal death was not the penalty of the law, but only of the gospel.”

From the above catalogue of errors, we may see that the deceitfulness of the human heart, and the cunning and malice of Satan are much the same in every age. Almost every form of error prevalent in our times, has existed centuries ago; in heresy, it would be hard to find any thing entirely new.

Our author next proceeds to give a list of blasphemies which had been uttered by one and another, either in writing or with the living voice; but it would not be for edification to repeat them, or in any way to perpetuate their memory.

He also has collected numerous facts to show the impiety and extravagance of the sectaries; and also letters from clergymen and others, confirming the facts, which he charged upon them.

This book was animadverted on by John Goodwin, on a work, entitled "Cretensis," which gave occasion to the writing the second part of the *GANGRÆNA*, in which he deals very sarcastically and severely with his antagonist. This John Goodwin was a very remarkable man, learned, acute, violent in temper, exceedingly abusive in controversy, and a great enemy to Calvinism, and to the Assembly. He was known by the name of the Red Dragon of Colman street. He was often engaged in public controversy, and on one occasion, challenged all the Presbyterian ministers in the kingdom, whether in the Assembly or out of the Assembly, to dispute with him. He is often confounded with Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the learned, orthodox, and pious member of the Assembly, and leader in that body of the Independents; but it would be hard to find two men more opposite in their views and characters. The one was a thorough-going Arminian, in every point; the other a high-toned Calvinist: the one was a man of an humble, meek, and conscientious spirit; the other was a fierce and abusive polemic. It cannot be denied, however, that John Goodwin was a man of extraordinary talents. Perhaps his "Redemption Redeemed," is as able a defence of the Arminian system as has been published

in the English language. After being long out of print, it has again been republished in London, and will be considered an acquisition by many.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### Presbyterial Church Government carried into Effect.

IT was found much easier to pull down than to build up. The English hierarchy had been abolished by the almost unanimous consent of both the Assembly and the Parliament, and Presbyterian church government had been adopted, by a great majority, in both these bodies; but when it was attempted to reduce the new system to practice, numerous difficulties and hindrances arose to retard the full accomplishment of the object. For certain reasons, heretofore explained, Parliament was reluctant to exert its authority to carry into effect the plan which it had sanctioned. Of this delay, great complaints were made by the Assembly; and more especially, by the London ministers, who were nearly all Presbyterians. But the greatest obstacle was the provision annexed to their ordinance, establishing Presbytery by Parliament, by which all the ecclesiastical assemblies, of every grade, were made subject to Parliament, and to commissioners appointed by them. Of this, an account has already been given. The Parliament excused themselves for not acting with more efficiency in this business, and seemed disposed to lay the blame on the tardiness of the Assembly in answering the questions which they had propounded to them. But at length, on the 22d of April, 1647, certain resolutions were adopted by both houses, and published, entitled, "Remedies for Removing Obstructions to Church Government." Letters also were ordered to be written by the Speakers of both Houses; and to

be sent to the several counties in England, to divide themselves into distinct presbyteries, or classes. Directions were also given to the ministers and elders of the several presbyteries, in the province of London, to hold their provincial assembly in the Convocation House of St. Paul's, upon the first Monday in May, and to adjourn their meetings, from day to day, and when the business was finished, to adjourn the body to the next time of meeting. But it was provided, that no act of the synod should be valid, unless there were present at least thirty-six members, whereof twelve should be ministers and twenty-four ruling elders. It was also directed, that in the presbyteries, or classical assemblies, every question should be decided by the majority of votes; but no act to be valid unless at least fifteen members were present, of whom five to be ministers and ten ruling elders. According to the plan of ecclesiastical polity, established by Parliament, in all the judicatories, the number of elders was to be double that of the ministers.

Instead of dioceses, the kingdom of England was now divided into a certain number of provinces, made up of representatives from the several classes, within their respective boundaries. Every parish had a congregational or parochial presbytery or consistory (session) for the affairs of the parish. These parochial presbyteries were combined into classes; these returned representatives to the provincial assembly, or synod, as the provincial did to the national assembly. For example, the province of London, being composed of twelve classes, or presbyteries, chose two ministers and four ruling elders, to represent them in a synod, or provincial assembly; and this judicatory received appeals from the parochial and classical presbyteries; in the same manner, the national assembly was a court of appeals from the decisions of all the inferior courts. The system here detailed, differs from the one in existence in the Presbyterian Church in the United States, only in one



particular; the proportion of elders to ministers; which in this system was double; but in ours, they are equal.

It seems scarcely necessary to enlarge on the symmetry and equity of this system of church government. Undoubtedly, there is in the distinguishing features of this system, evidence of consummate wisdom, consistency, and order. While the government is calculated to be energetic, the liberties of the people are effectually secured by the lay representation; for ruling elders may well be considered as the representatives of the people, in all the judicatories of the church; and in this light they are viewed in the system of the Presbyterian church.

Instead of having the ministers subjected to the will of one man, often inferior to many of them in wisdom and piety, they all meet in council, on terms of perfect equality; all having received the same commission from the Head of the Church. No one can claim an authority over his brethren, which Christ expressly forbade, except a mere temporary presidency, bestowed by themselves, for the sake of order, in the transaction of business. And instead of a popular assembly, in which every man takes a part, and where but few are capable of deliberating understandingly; as is the practice of the Congregationalists, we have here the gravest and wisest of the people associated with the ministers; so that there is the best conceivable provision for having every thing transacted deliberately and in an orderly manner, and the interests of all parties provided for. And, as all local societies, or single congregations, are subject to fall under the influence of party feelings, and prejudices, and under this influence to judge partially and unjustly, it is exceedingly desirable to have the opportunity of appealing, or complaining, to higher tribunals, so constituted and situated, as to be exempt from the local influences which may have given obliquity to the judgment of inferior courts. And in this system we have a beautiful subordination in judicatories, from a national assembly down to church

sessions. A case, improperly or unjustly decided in the lowest court, can be carried up to the presbytery or classical assembly; and if still, either of the parties is dissatisfied, it can be transferred, by complaint or appeal, to the provincial assembly or synod; and finally to the highest tribunal which can with convenience be constituted. The theory of Presbyterian church government would lead not merely to a national assembly, but to an œcumenical council, where the whole Catholic church should be represented; for it is founded on the principle of the unity of the whole church. But as such assemblies would, in any condition of the world, be extremely inconvenient, and in its present state impossible, the system seems to be extended as far as expedient, when it embraces all who agree in any one nation. While this system guards against prelatical tyranny and usurpation on the one hand, and popular anarchy on the other, it is adapted not only to recognise and to give visibility to the unity of the church, but to preserve a consistency and harmony in the action of the several subordinate parts, constituting the whole body. For although a perfect uniformity, in all the forms of worship, and in all the rules of discipline, is not to be expected, nor attempted, by any coercive or authoritative measures, yet who can deny that there is a peculiar beauty in a large society, consisting of thousands of constituent parts, not only existing in a state of exact subordination of the parts to the whole, but exhibiting a delightful uniformity in all their religious customs, modes of worship, and rules of discipline?

There may be an approximation to this system in Congregational churches; and which has often been found in practice, where committees are appointed by the people, to act for them, in the transaction of church affairs. But while we think, that this is not consistent with the rigid principles of Congregationalism, yet we believe that mere agents of the people, selected from time to time, will never have the same

influence, or possess the same advantage for regulating ecclesiastical matters, as ruling elders, believed to have their authority from Jesus Christ himself, as "helps" to the minister; and who are solemnly consecrated to this office; and who enter into sacred obligations to be faithful and diligent in the performance of its duties.

Nothing has been said, in the preceding remarks, respecting deacons, because they have no part assigned them in the government of the church. A deacon, as such, cannot sit as a member, even of the lowest judicatories of the church; yet is the office a permanent one, and of great importance in certain states of the church, where the number of poor saints is multiplied by persecution, famine, or any other cause. And, as "we always have the poor with us," and ought "to do them good," every church should be furnished with officers, or servants, to attend to this very thing. And accordingly, the qualifications of a deacon, and of his family too, are as distinctly set down in Scripture, as those of presbyters or bishops.

The plan of Presbyterian government went more fully into effect in the province of London, and Lancashire, than any where else; but even here it met with many obstructions, not growing out of the system itself, but owing to the increasing troubles of the times, and especially to the difference which arose between the Parliament and the army. As the latter were unfriendly to the Presbyterian system, and favourable to Independency, just in proportion as their counsels prevailed, the influence of the Presbyterians decreased, until at length, all power was usurped by one individual, who was an Independent in principle; and although he gave liberty of conscience professedly, except to Prelatists and Papists, yet was inimical to the rule of Presbytery, and had it in his power to paralyse all the operations of the new system.

But although Presbyterianism, as the established religion of England, had but a short continuance, and was but partially carried into effect, yet it will be grat-

ifying to the reader, to have laid before him, the system, as it existed in the province of London.


The province of London was divided into twelve classical Presbyteries. The first contained fifteen parishes. (The names of the parishes are here omitted, but may be seen in Neal.) The second, also fifteen; the third, twelve; the fourth, fourteen; the fifth, twelve; the sixth, thirteen; the seventh, nine; the eighth, ten; the ninth, thirteen; the tenth, nine; the eleventh, eight; the twelfth, eight; in all, one hundred and thirty-eight parishes in this one province.

The first provincial assembly, or synod, met according to the appointment of Parliament, and consisted of three ministers and six elders from each of the presbyteries, making in all, about one hundred and eight members. Dr. Gouge was chosen prolocutor, who opened the synod with a sermon, in his own church, Black-friars. Mr. Manton, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Cardel, were appointed scribes. When the synod was thus organized, a committee of seven ministers and fourteen elders was appointed, to consider what business required their attention. The ministers selected for his committee, were Messrs. Whitaker, Seaman, Calamy, Spurstow, Tuckney, Proffit, and Jackson. (The names of the elders are omitted, but may be seen in Neal.) Any six of this committee were to be a quorum, provided two of them were ministers, and four ruling elders.

At the second session a petition was sent to the Parliament, requesting that they might be permitted to meet elsewhere, than at the Convocation House; and it was granted that they might hold their sessions anywhere, within the precincts of London. They, therefore, selected Sion college, as the place of meeting, where they continued their sessions twice in the week, until the end of the year 1659.

While in session at St. Paul's, they adopted the following rules, for their government, and the regulation of business:

1. That the Assembly (synod) should meet on every Monday and Thursday.



2. That the moderator should begin and end every meeting with prayer.

3. When a new moderator is to be chosen, the oldest member shall preside.

4. The moderator shall be subject to the censure of the majority of the Assembly, and shall leave the chair when his own conduct is under consideration.

5. Every speaker shall address the moderator, and be uncovered.

6. None shall speak more than three times to the same question.

7. When any business respects a member, he shall withdraw, if the majority requests it.

8. When the Assembly is set, no member shall withdraw without leave.

9. The names of the members present, shall be recorded by the scribes.

The second provincial Assembly met on the 8th of November, 1647, when Dr. Seaman was chosen moderator. This Assembly went, in a body, and presented a petition to Parliament, on the 11th of January, 1648, in which they prayed,

1. That the number of delegates to the provincial Assembly might be enlarged, as they found it would be difficult, at all times, to make a quorum, which, by the rule, required thirty-six members.

2. That Parliament would hasten the formation of those presbyteries which were not yet organized, of which there were four in number.

3. That greater encouragement should be given to a learned ministry.

4. That some more effectual provision should be made against clandestine marriages; for the punishment of fornication, adultery, and other sins of impurity.

5. That church censures should be so established, that scandalous persons might be more effectually excluded from church communion.

The Parliament treated the petitioners respectfully, and promised to take into consideration, the matters-

presented to them in the petition. But there the business ended, for the subject was never afterwards called up.

Beside their synod, or provincial Assembly, the London ministers had their weekly meeting at Sion College, to consult about the affairs of the church; in one of which they resolved, as they could do no more, to bear their public testimony against the errors of the times. They accordingly drew up and published a paper, entitled, "**A TESTIMONY TO THE TRUTH OF JESUS CHRIST, and TO THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT; AS ALSO AGAINST THE ERRORS, HERESIES, AND BLASPHEMIES OF THESE TIMES, AND THE TOLERATION OF THEM:** to which was added a catalogue of the errors referred to. This Testimony bore date, December 14, 1647, and was signed by fifty-eight of the most eminent ministers in London, and not long afterwards, sixty-four ministers of Gloucestershire, published their concurrence. The ministers of Lancastershire did the same, where the number of subscribers was eighty-four; and in Devonshire, eighty-three; and in Somerset, seventy-one—so that the whole number of ministers, who joined in this TESTIMONY, was no less than three hundred and sixty.

In the preface to this Testimony, they declared their assent to the Westminster Assembly's Confession of Faith, and expressed a cordial desire, that it might receive the sanction of authority, as the joint Confession of the three kingdoms, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. In regard to heresies, they declared their abhorrence and detestation of the following among others:

1. That the Holy Scriptures are not of Divine authority, and the only rule of faith.

2. That God hath a bodily shape—that God is the name of a person, and that God is the author of sin; having a greater hand in it than sinners themselves.

3. That there is not a Trinity of persons in the Godhead; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and that the Holy Ghost is only a ministering spirit.

4. That God has not elected some to everlasting life, and reprobated others; and that no man shall perish in hell for Adam's sin.

5. That Christ died for the sins of all mankind; that the benefits of his death were intended for all, and that natural men may do such things to which God has promised grace and acceptance.

6. That man hath a free will, in himself, and power to repent, to believe, to obey the gospel, and do every thing that God requires unto salvation.

7. That faith is not a supernatural grace; and that faithful actions are the only things by which man is justified.

8. That the moral law is not the rule of life; that believers are as clean from sin as Christ himself, and that such have no occasion to pray for pardon of sin; that God sees no sin in his people, nor does he ever chastise them for it.

9. That there is no church, nor sacraments, nor Sabbath, as is maintained by the Seekers, now called Quakers.

10. That the children of believers ought not to be baptized, nor baptism to be continued among Christians; and that the meaning of the third commandment is, "thou shalt not forswear thyself."

11. That persons of the next kindred may marry; and that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from natural causes, are a just reason of divorce.

12. That the soul of man is mortal;—that it sleeps with the body, and that there is neither heaven nor hell until the day of judgment.

13. The last error against which they testified was that of TOLERATION. "Patronizing and promoting all other errors and blasphemies whatever, under the abused name of *liberty of conscience*. And here they complain that men should have liberty to worship God in that way and manner which shall appear to them as most agreeable to the word of God, as a very great grievance; and they consider it a crying evil that men should be allowed to exercise

such liberty without being discountenanced or punished for the same. They also testify against the opinion, that an enforced uniformity of religion, throughout a nation or state, confounds the civil and religious powers, and denies the very principles of Christianity and civil government.

From the foregoing testimony we have additional evidence of the various kinds of errors which prevailed at that period; and it is humiliating to learn, that whatever progress religious liberty had made among others, it had made none among Presbyterian ministers. For here we have no less than three hundred and sixty, including a number of the most pious and learned theologians in the country, who solemnly bore their testimony against that religious freedom which is now assumed by all, at least in our country, as a self-evident truth. That as every man must give account of himself to God, so every man has an inherent and unalienable right to worship and serve God according to the light of his own mind, and not according to the opinions and dictates of others, however invested with authority in church or state. But a further consideration of this sentiment will, in another place, receive our attention.

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### Conclusion of the Assembly.

**WHEN** the Assembly had brought to a close the important work of preparing formularies of doctrine and discipline, and a directory for public worship, Mr. Rutherford moved that it might be entered on record in the minutes of their proceedings, that the Scottish ministers had attended and given their assistance during the whole time they had been discussing and perfecting these four things mentioned in the covenant, namely **"A DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC**



WORSHIP—A CONFESSION OF FAITH—A FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE, and A PUBLIC CATECHISM; some of their number being present during the whole of these transactions. The record requested was accordingly made, when the Scottish commissioners took leave of the Assembly. Before they left the House, Mr. Herle, the prolocutor, rose up, and in the name of the Assembly, thanked the honourable and reverend commissioners for their assistance. In his speech, he excused, as well as he could, the neglect of the observance of the directory, and lamented the want of power in the Assembly, to call offenders to account. He confessed that they were very much embarrassed, and that they were still in a chaos of confusion;—noticed the distresses of the Parliament, while the common enemy were high and strong, and concluded by saying that their extraordinary successes, hitherto, were owing to the prayers of their brethren in Scotland, and other Protestants abroad, as well as their own.

The Scottish commissioners went home under a heavy concern for the storm which they foresaw to be gathering over England, and for the hardships the Presbyterians lay under respecting their discipline; but having succeeded in accomplishing the important work for which their assistance had been needed and called for, and yet deeply sensible of their own defects, the first thing which they did after returning home was to hold a solemn fast to lament their own defection from the solemn league and covenant.

If the Parliament had dissolved the Assembly at this time, as they ought to have done, they had broke up with honour and reputation; for afterwards, they did little more than examine candidates for the ministry, and dispute about the *jus divinum* of Presbyterian church government. For as soon as the provincial synod of London was established, all consultations respecting the public affairs of the church were transferred to this body, and to the weekly meeting of the London clergy at Sion college. From this time, also, the members of the Assembly were

daily diminished, for the main business for which they had been convened, being finished, most of the country ministers, who had left flocks behind them, returned home to attend to their pastoral duties, and to take care of their families, and the daily allowance was so small, and so badly paid, that necessity compelled those who had no resources of their own, to retire. Those who remained were principally such as had charges in, or about London, and as was said, their principal employment now was the examination of candidates for ordination, or for sequestered livings. Thus they continued until the 22d of February, 1649, about three weeks after the king's death. The whole time which they were in session was **FIVE YEARS, SIX MONTHS and TWENTY-TWO DAYS.** During which time, they held one thousand, one hundred, and sixty-three sessions.

There never was any formal dissolution of the Assembly by act of Parliament. After the time just mentioned, those members who remained, met every Thursday to examine candidates, until the year 1652, at which time Cromwell, having assumed the reins of government, and having put an end to the long Parliament, the remnants of this venerable Assembly were of course without authority, the body which had called them into existence being defunct. The works which they performed have been already mentioned. Other works have been attributed to them, in which, as an Assembly, they had no concern. The "Annotations on the Bible," which are commonly entitled "The Annotations of the Westminster Assembly," were never submitted to them, nor in any manner received their sanction. Some of the members of the Assembly, it is true, were concerned in this work, as they were in many other publications, for which the Assembly are in no degree responsible. This is not said to disparage the work, which is believed to be valuable, but to state a historical fact which ought to be generally known.

The authors of this work, according to Neal, were the following. The annotations on the Pentateuch

by the Rev. Mr. Ley, subdean of Chester; those on the books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, by Dr. Gouge; on the Psalms, by Mr. Merie Casaubon, and on Proverbs by Mr. Francis Taylor; Ecclesiastes, by Dr. Reynolds; Solomon's Song, by Mr. Smallwood; Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations, by Mr. Gataker; Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets, by Mr. Pemberton, in the first edition; but in the second, by Mr. Richardson. The annotations on the Four Gospels were by Mr. Ley, and Paul's Epistles, by Dr. Featly. He, however, having died before the work was completed, his notes were left in an imperfect state.

Before closing this chapter, it may be proper to give some account of the manner in which the labours of the Westminster Assembly of divines were appreciated in Scotland. No sooner were the **CONFESSION OF FAITH, CATECHISMS, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, AND DIRECTORY OF WORSHIP** published, than they were unanimously approved and adopted by the General Assembly of the church of Scotland; of which these formularies continue to be the standards of doctrine and discipline, without alteration, until this day. And although many have seceded from the established church of Scotland, yet all these adhere to these standards, without the least change in any part of them. So, also, the Presbyterian church in Ireland have adopted, as their standards, these same formularies. All the Presbyterian churches in the United States, Canada, and Nova Scotia, have also received the Confession of Faith and Catechisms as their creed; and the Form of Government and Discipline prepared by the Westminster Assembly, as the rule for their government, and the regulation of their respective churches; except that the Presbyterian Church in the United States, as being altogether opposed to any alliance between church and state, and to all religious establishments, altered those articles which related to the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion.

But, besides, the Independent churches in England, and the Congregational churches in New England,

have been much in the custom of using the Shorter Catechism; and, indeed, although the Independents, after the time of the Westminster Assembly, drew up a Confession of their own, yet as it contained the same doctrines as the Westminster formulas, it never came into common use even in their own churches, but the Confession and Catechisms, prepared by the Assembly, continued to be made use of in the instruction of their people. And when the Particular Baptists drew up a Confession, they adopted that of the Westminster Assembly, with no other alteration than their peculiar tenets respecting baptism required.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### Character of the Assembly.

PERHAPS no synod or ecclesiastical council has been more variously represented, both as it relates to learning and abilities, and the purity of their motives. On account of the opposite views given by distinguished writers, Judge Hailes, in his "Remarks on the History of Scotland," expresses the opinion, that an impartial history of this famous Assembly can now be scarcely expected. In our view, however, the character of this venerable body of divines is buried in no obscurity, and enveloped in no mist which an impartial survey of their doings will not at once dissipate. It cannot be expected, indeed, that royalists and high churchmen, especially such as were involved in the disputes of the times, would give a favourable character to an assembly whose sentiments were so entirely opposed to their own. But in the judgment of all orthodox, evangelical theologians, there has, from the first, been but one opinion; and that is, that probably, since the days of the apostles, a more learned, judicious, and pious assembly of divines has never been convened. A large number of the divines who were members of that Assembly, are so eminent for

their own learned works, or so distinguished as profound theologians and judicious casuists, that the best eulogy on the Assembly, would be a succinct biography of the men who composed it, with some account of their writings. Such a work has been attempted by the Rev. Andrew Reid of Ireland, included in two volumes. This pious collector has used much diligence in searching for materials for his interesting work, and has executed the task which he undertook with great fidelity; and, in our opinion, Presbyterians are much indebted to him for the service which he has performed, in rescuing from oblivion, information respecting many of these divines, concerning whom nothing was before generally known. This work, however, is rendered somewhat tedious, by the frequent remarks which the author has thought proper to intersperse through every part of the narrative; for although his observations are just, and always pious, as they interrupt the history, they are out of place, and give unnecessary extension to a work, which for usefulness should be confined to a moderate size. It is our purpose to present the reader with the substance of Dr. Reid's two volumes, in a much narrower compass. Some of the lives of the more eminent men, however, we have compiled from other sources within our reach: indeed, we had already collected biographical sketches of several of the eminent men of this venerable Assembly for another purpose, before we saw Dr. Reid's History.

As we wish to be impartial in our character of the Westminster Assembly, we hesitate not to lay before the reader the opinions of those writers who have spoken most unfavourably of it, as well as of its admirers and friends; and especially, we have sought the testimony of such men as might be expected to be impartial. We do not claim for them perfection or infallibility. They were men; and were subject to human infirmities, and were infected with some of the prejudices of the age in which they lived, which is more or less true of all men. The chief blot which rests on this Assembly, of which however they par-

took, in common with all good men of the ages preceding them, and of all in that age, with very few exceptions, was an opposition to religious liberty; and an unwillingness to tolerate even those who differed from them in points, confessedly not essential to piety, or to the system of the Christian religion. We know that many of the advocates of religious liberty run to a dangerous extreme of latitudinarianism; and lose sight of the importance of maintaining the truth and suppressing error. Those good men did not overrate the value of truth, and the deleterious consequences of error. Their mistake related to the proper and legitimate method of defending the one, and suppressing the other. They believed sincerely, that this was one great duty incumbent on the civil magistrate, and were constantly urgent with the government to put forth the strong arm of power in support of the truth, and in the extirpation of heresy and schism. Now if this be the duty of the civil magistrate, those who dissent from the state-religion, whether it be true or false, must be persecuted. In whatever countries a false religion is the established religion, the professors of the true religion will of necessity be exposed to privations and penalties; to exile or imprisonment; or even worse, to tortures and a cruel death. Now the history of the world, and the Bible account of the character of man, conspire to teach that the men of power and authority in the world, are not likely to be on the side of truth and piety. It has been noticed as a just retribution of divine Providence, on these orthodox and pious divines, that many of them were called to suffer severe persecution, on the very principle which they laboured so hard to get the Parliament to establish. They were not contented to enjoy liberty themselves, but they insisted that all others should be made to conform to their standard, not only as it related to doctrine, but to church government and discipline, and modes of worship. Civil power, however strenuously exerted, can never effect any other conformity in religion than in externals; for all the power which

the magistrate can exert, can have no tendency to enlighten or convince the mind of any truth; so that even if civil rulers possessed infallibility, it would be preposterous to endeavour to convert men to the truth by inflicting pains and penalties upon them.

But there is now no need to argue this point in this land, where the most perfect religious liberty exists, and all interference with the consciences of men guarded against by constitutional provisions. It is true, the current of public opinion may change, and sentiments and principles once exploded, may be received; for we live in a changing world; but, at present, the tendency is rather to an abuse of liberty, than to restrictions upon it. Many seem to misapprehend the true principles of religious liberty. They seem to suppose, that one set of opinions is just as good as another, and that no man should be the less esteemed on account, even of atheistical opinions; and that principle which is correct in application to civil government, they are desirous to see applied to the church; so that as all errors are tolerated by the state, they conclude that all errors should be tolerated in the church, not considering that the civil government has no right to interfere with men's conscientious opinions; but the church is founded on the belief of the truth, and a profession of the Christian religion is required of every one who enters the church. If then, the members of any church, publish doctrines contrary to those contained in the standards of the church, they do violate the fundamental principle on which such a society is built, and are properly censured by the rulers of the church; and if they persist in such a course, they are properly excluded from a society to whose principles they no longer adhere. But the authority of the church, in the utmost stretch of her discipline, goes no further than to excommunication, or exclusion from her communion: she has no right nor power to inflict pecuniary mulcts, or physical punishments of any kind.

But to return to the character of the Westminster Assembly. It will not now, by Presbyterians at least,

be deemed strange that Lord Clarendon, who considered the Parliament, Assembly, and all that adhered to them in a state of rebellion, should speak disrespectfully of a body, by whose advice the episcopal hierarchy was subverted. But let us hear him. In his history of what he calls the "Rebellion," he says: "And now the Parliament showed what consultation they meant to have with learned and godly divines, and what reformation they intended by appointing the knights and burgesses to bring in the names of such divines for the several counties as they thought fit to constitute an assembly, for the framing a new model for the government of the church, which was done accordingly. Those who were true sons of the church not so much as endeavouring the nomination of sober and learned men; abhorring such a reformation as began with the invasion and suppression of the church's rights, in a synod as well known as Magna Charta. And if any well affected members, not considering so much the scandal and consequences of that violation, did name an orthodox, and well reputed divine to assist in that Assembly, it was argument enough against him, that he was nominated by a person in whom they had no confidence. And they had only reputation enough to recommend to this consultation those who were known to desire the utter demolishing the whole fabric of the church; so that of about one hundred and twenty, of which the Assembly was to consist, though by a recommendation of two or three members of the Commons whom they were not willing to displease, and by the authority of the lords, who added a small number to those named by the House of Commons, a few very reverend and worthy men were inserted; yet of the whole number, there were not above twenty who were not declared and avowed enemies of the doctrine or discipline of the church of England. Some of them infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts in learning, if not of scandalous ignorance; and of no other reputation but of malice to the church of



England. So that that convocation hath not produced any thing which might not then reasonably have been expected of it."<sup>1</sup>

Prejudice, or ignorance of the character of the men composing this venerable Assembly, is manifest in every line of this short account, the only notice taken of this important council, in the whole of the history of that period.

Milton also, who belonged to a party, the very antipodes of that to which lord Clarendon was attached, wrote bitterly against the Assembly of divines. His observations are contained in his "Fragments of a History of England," and are as follows:

"And if the state were in this plight, religion was not in a much better, to reform which a certain number of divines were called, neither chosen by any rule nor custom, ecclesiastical nor eminent for either knowledge or piety above others left out; only as each member of Parliament, in his private fancy thought fit, so elected one by one. The most of them were such as had preached or cried down, with great show of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was employment enough for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not rather a charge above human strength. Yet these conscientious men, (ere any part of the work was done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness to the ignominy and scandal of their pastorlike profession, and especially of their boasted reformation—to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept, besides one, two or more of the best livings—such as collegiate masterships in the university, rich livings in the city; setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms. By which means these rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves; a fearful condemnation, doubtless, out of their own mouths. And yet

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Oxford Ed., p. 770.

the main doctrine for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than the gospel, was to tell us in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience, than evangelical persuasion; distrusting their own spiritual weapons which were given them, if they might be rightly called, with full right of sufficiency to pull down all imaginations and thoughts that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion, without conviction, which long before they complained of as executed unchristianly against themselves, their contents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church delinquencies, whereof civil laws have no cognizance. And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers; trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices upon their commendations for zealous, (and as they hesitated not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation; nor more cause of blaspheming given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of the reformation."

Undoubtedly, Milton attacked the Assembly in their most vulnerable points; the spirit of intolerance indulged by them, and the readiness of the members to accept of places of honour and profit. But it should be remembered, that he did not assail them until some of them had denounced his work on the "DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE," which led to his being brought before the House of Lords for that publication. Milton, however, suffered no

injury in consequence of this affair; but he never forgave the Presbyterian clergy the offence, and revenged himself on the Assembly by the foregoing bitter invective. And that it was a mere ebullition of violent resentment, of which his great mind was exceedingly susceptible, is evident from the fact, that he dedicated the aforesaid treatise on Divorce, to this very Assembly, in which he addresses them as a "Select Assembly"—"Of so much piety and wisdom"—"A learned and memorable synod," in which "Piety, and learning, and prudence were housed." And let it be remembered, that this dedication was written two years after the Assembly had commenced its sessions, when its character was fully known.

That the Westminster Assembly contained a number of divines as learned as any in the kingdom, or perhaps in the world, will be acknowledged when we mention the names of Lightfoot, Gataker, Greenhill, Arrowsmith, Twisse, Reynolds, Wallis, Tuckney, &c., &c. And among the laymen, Selden himself was a host; undoubtedly one of the most learned men of the age. But where there were so many eminent men, it is, perhaps, invidious to select individuals. The fairest method of estimating the real character of this Assembly will be to examine lives and writings.

Mr. Richard Baxter may be considered as a competent and impartial witness of the character of this famous Assembly; not only because he was a man of a penetrating mind, but because he had a personal acquaintance with many of the members, and had the opportunity of observing all their proceedings; and was not a man to lavish undeserved or indiscriminate praise on any set of men. "They were," says he, "men of eminent learning, godliness, and ministerial abilities and fidelity. And being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may more fully speak the truth, which I know, even in the face of malice and envy. That as far as I am able to judge, by the information of history, and by any other evidences, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles,

the specimens which have come down to us, was solemn, searching, evangelical, pungent, and powerful. Mr. Baillie incidentally observes, in one of his letters, that "Mr. Marshall was reckoned to be the best preacher, and Mr. Palmer the best catechist, in England." Most of the sermons preached before the Parliament, on these fast days, were ordered to be printed, but it is probable that few of them have escaped the corroding tooth of time.

But after all, the Westminster Assembly needs no other encomium, than the works which they prepared for the instruction and edification of the church. Their Confession of Faith is full, sound, and systematic. It has stood the test of the most rigid scrutiny; and yet no alteration has been found necessary in a single article which has relation to doctrine. In this country, where by the Constitution of the United States, and by the universal consent of all denominations, the civil magistrate has nothing to do in regulating religion, a change has been made in what relates to the power of the civil magistrate. Certain men, of late, have talked much of improvements made in theology; but where are they? Our "new divinity" turns out to be nothing more than a revival of old, exploded errors. Half-learned theologians are very apt to boast of having struck out new light, when the same opinions had been vented, discussed, and refuted, long before they were born. As far as we have observed, every attempt to improve on the system here so clearly laid down, and deduced from Scripture, has been an utter failure. Not that the Westminster divines discovered these doctrines: they never pretended to have found out any thing new. They aimed to teach simply and plainly, what had been received from the beginning. Their greatest abhorrence was of innovations in religion. It has often been alleged, that Presbyterians put their Confession of Faith in the place of the Bible, or at least on a level with it. Nothing can be more false. They value this formula only as believing it to exhibit the prominent truths of the Bible. They never consider it as teach-

ing any thing different from what the Holy Scriptures contain; nor as adding any thing to the system of truth taught in the Sacred Volume. It is, therefore, never contrasted with the Bible, but is the substance of the Bible, arranged in a systematic and convenient form. And this reproach is proved to be without foundation, by the fact, that those persons who are most familiar with our Confession and Catechisms, are the very persons who feel the profoundest reverence for the volume of inspiration, and yield to its doctrines the most implicit credence, and to its precepts the most unreserved obedience.

Although this system of doctrine is repulsive to the pride of man, and which carnal reason does not readily receive; and although, sometimes, the oppugners of it please themselves with the thought, that Calvinism will soon be banished from the world; yet whenever true religion is received, and men are led seriously to study the word of God, they almost invariably adopt this system, for two reasons: first, because they cannot but see, that these doctrines are plainly taught in the Scriptures; and secondly, because their own experience leads them to the same conclusions. Even plain Christians, who have been instructed in another theory, yet entertain a practical belief in accordance with the doctrines of grace, and their prayers are almost sure to recognise the truth of the Calvinistic system.

The formularies prepared by the Westminster Assembly have stood the test of two centuries, and are received as standards of doctrine and discipline by all Presbyterians in the world, who speak the English language. Some good and orthodox men have wished to have some expressions changed, or some explanation added, to prevent misconstruction; but as this could not be done with the consent of all who have adopted this Confession as the confession of their faith, and as it is not pretended that the parts objected to are really erroneous in doctrine, it is earnestly to be wished and hoped that no attempt will be made to add to, take from, or in any way to alter these

venerable standards. Every sound Calvinist will find no difficulty in subscribing the Confession as it stands; and those who do not adopt the Calvinistic system of theology, should never be guilty of the dishonesty of subscribing a creed, which is not a fair exhibition of their own belief. The principles on which this and other articles of religion have frequently been subscribed, are humiliating to think of: such disingenuity is utterly unworthy of ministers of the gospel, who are by profession preachers of the truth, and whose conduct should be characterized by an unwavering and strict regard to truth, in all their declarations and promises. Yet we now frequently have exhibited to us the example of men solemnly adopting this Confession, at their licensure and ordination, and then preaching and writing against some of the doctrines which it contains. The attempts which have been made to reconcile this conduct with common honesty, not to say Christian sincerity, must be pronounced to be jesuitical, and belong to a school of morals very different from that of the New Testament. But what if a man, after having adopted these standards, should, in the progress of investigation, change his mind, is not the obligation to receive and profess the truth, superior to that arising from any subscription to a creed, which he made in the time of his ignorance? Undoubtedly it is; and no man whose moral feelings are right, will be restrained from an impartial investigation and judgment of truth, according to new evidence which may be presented to his mind. The obligation to embrace the truth, when perceived, is paramount to all other obligations. No man has a right to bind himself never to believe otherwise than he now does; and all such obligations, however formally or solemnly made, are null and void; for as soon as any man finds himself to be in error, he is bound to renounce it. These positions are so nearly self-evident, that there seems to be no need of argument to support them. Thus far, it may be presumed, that all will agree. What, then, is the duty of the conscientious lover of truth,

when he is constrained to believe that the creed which he has received is erroneous? The path of duty, in this case, is perfectly plain. Let him renounce what he believes to be an error, as publicly as he adopted it, and withdraw from the society which maintains it, if it be a point of real importance. Men are never to be censured for professing what they believe, and acting accordingly, although they may be much to blame for adopting the opinions which they have received. But the conduct which we are now censuring is that of those who, while they disbelieve certain articles in the creed of a church, still continue in her connexion, and make use of the office, power, and influence which he has conferred upon them, in attempting to subvert her system. If, indeed, a theologian should be of opinion that he has discovered some considerable error in the standards of his church, he may propose his new views to the consideration of those who govern the society, that they may have the opportunity of changing their creed, in conformity with the new light which he is able to give them. But as there is seldom any prospect of producing a change of opinion in a whole church by an individual, the path of duty is, commonly, for the person quietly to withdraw; and then he may consistently attempt to refute the errors of the body to which he has recently belonged.

We never appeal to these standards as the ultimate authority for our faith. We exhort all to compare these doctrines with the Holy Scriptures, and only to receive what they find confirmed by the "oracles of God." "If they speak not according to these, it is because there is no light in them." Our last appeal is always "to the Law and to the Testimony." But it affords a strong confirmation of these doctrines, that so many pious and learned men, in so many different countries, have embraced them as the doctrines clearly taught in Scripture. It is pleasing to observe the exact agreement in all the creeds of the Reformed churches, all over the world. Their doctrines were so much the same, that any one of them

might have adopted the "Confession" of any other as its own, without perceiving the least discrepancy. And how can this uniformity be accounted for? Error has no such evidence as to recommend it to so great a multitude of honest inquirers. The reason is obvious. These doctrines are clearly and prominently exhibited in Scripture. They are so plain that an intelligent mind cannot miss them; unless the intellect is obscured by a mist of prejudice, and the judgment already warped by the reception of error. But let the mind be free from prejudice, and honest in the pursuit of truth, and we are not afraid that there will be found any material deviation from those doctrines, which are so lucidly exhibited in the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism.

While we are desirous of rescuing the character of this venerable Assembly from the unjust aspersions which calumny has heaped upon them, and to exhibit them in their true character, as a convention of eminently learned and godly ministers; many of whom have enriched the Christian church with their own valuable writings; yet our firm adherence to the doctrines which they taught, does not, in any measure, depend upon a knowledge of their abilities or piety. But we receive this system of divinity, because we see it strongly supported by the repeated and unequivocal declarations of the inspired writers. Many, even of those who are teachers in our churches, know little or nothing of the history of this venerable Assembly: and yet their faith in these doctrines is unwavering, because they accord with Scripture, and their own experience. It has been our earnest wish, however, that Presbyterians should become better acquainted with the origin of their own formularies, and with the history of the men who were honoured of God to compose them for the edification of so many millions. And having now completed our work, we commit it to God, and to the favourable notice of his people.

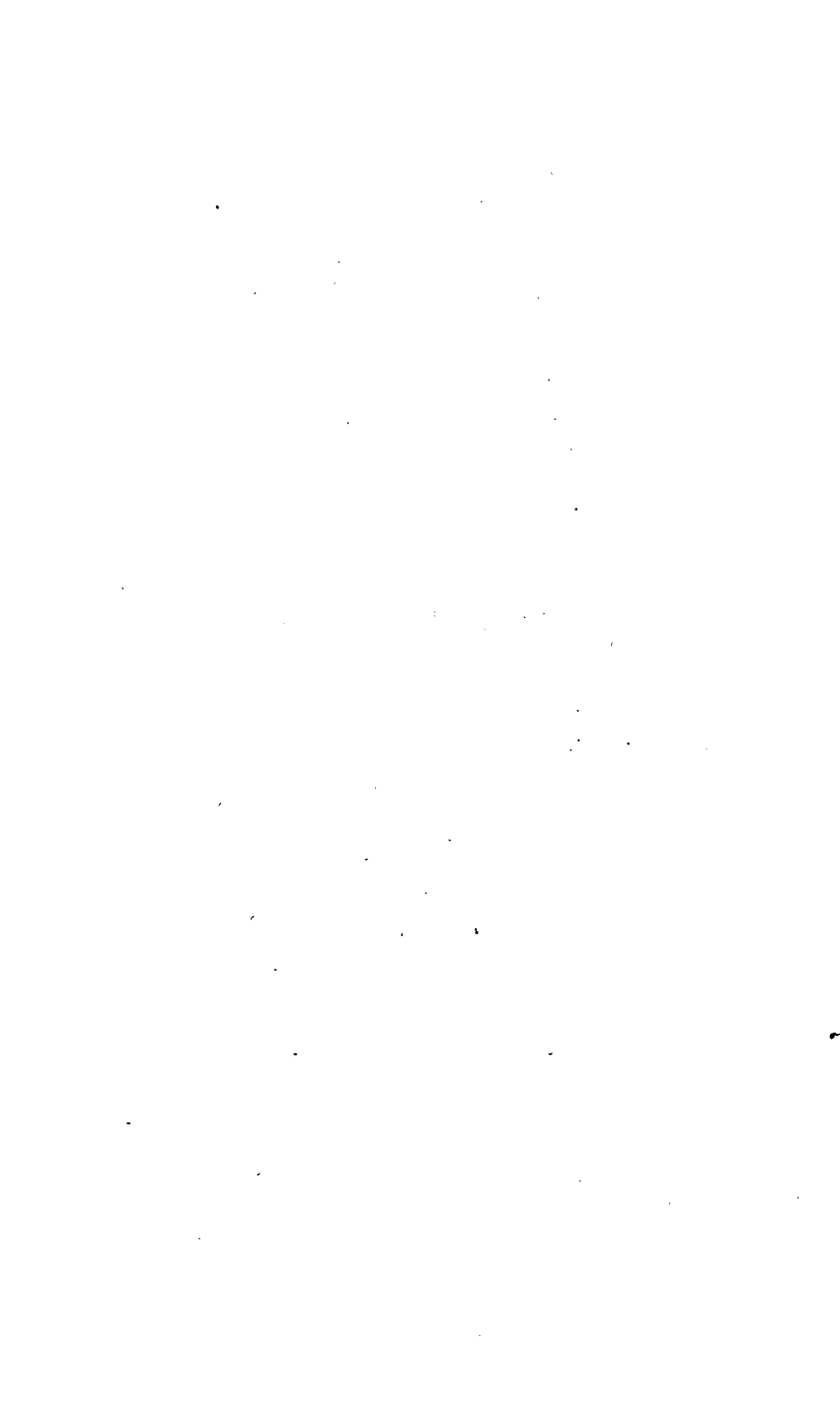


**PART II.**

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES**

**OF THE**

**WESTMINSTER DIVINES.**



## PREFACE.

**THERE** is an increasing desire, in our church, to know something of the men who formed the Assembly of Divines, convened at Westminster, in the year 1643. As our Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, which are the standards of doctrine in our Church, were composed by this Assembly, the desire before mentioned, is natural and laudable; and to furnish, in some measure, the means of its gratification, the following biographical notices have been collected. The authors from whom they have been derived, are Calamy, Neal, Brooks, Wilson, Reid, Smith, &c. The writer had, for another purpose, collected a number of biographical sketches, of eminent theologians, among whom were several members of this venerable Assembly; but by the kindness of a friend, he afterwards obtained the use of the work of James Reid, entitled, "*Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of those Eminent Divines, who convened in the famous Assembly, at Westminster, in the seventeenth century.*" This work contains some account of almost all the members of the Westminster Assembly; and the author deserves much credit for the pains which he has taken, in making this compilation. The author of the present work has drawn his materials from the sources referred to above, with very little alteration of

the style of the original memoirs; but in some cases, his work may be considered original, as he laboriously searched for some memorials of those members, of whom no biographical memoir has been published. The principal objection to the re-publication of this work, in connexion with our history of the Westminster Assembly, is, its bulk, being contained in two considerable volumes; and the one half of this bulk, is entirely unnecessary for our purpose; as consisting of pious reflections on the incidents recorded; and minute and uninteresting circumstances, which can well be dispensed with, in a work intended for the Presbyterian Church, in America. As far as the work of Reid has been used, therefore, the memoirs have been much abridged; but in a number of cases, where there is an agreement in language, with this author, our memoir was written before his work came to hand, and the coincidence is to be accounted for, by the fact, that we drew our materials from the same source. The same similarity is observable, between the "Memoirs," by Reid, and those by Thomas Smith, entitled, "*Select Memoirs, &c., of English and Scottish Divines,*" published in Glasgow, in 1829. The compiler of this volume lays claim to no original research, or composition: he has merely taken such memoirs as he could find; generally abridging them to less than one half their original bulk; but omitting nothing which appeared important to a fair exhibition of the persons, of whom a notice has been given. In looking over Reid's "Memoirs" of the members of the Westminster Assembly, it was observed, that some names had been entirely omitted, and that too, of persons of considerable distinction. These have been supplied, as far as it could be done, with the materials in our pos-

session; and as no notice is taken by him, of any of the laymen, who were members of that Assembly, a brief memoir, therefore, of each of those eminent men, *John Selden*, and *Matthew Hale*, has been appended. To these it was wished to add that of *Francis Rouse*, Esq., a member of Parliament, and of the Assembly, and much distinguished, in his day, as the friend and patron of evangelical ministers, and a man of great influence in both civil and ecclesiastical matters. But no memoir of this excellent person has been found. He will have his memory, therefore, perpetuated, chiefly, by his version of the Psalms, adopted by the Westminster Assembly, and, after careful revision, by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

In proportioning the length allowed to these memoirs respectively, the compiler was governed by two considerations; the importance of the person, and the access to materials, from which a biographical sketch could be made out. Of some of the members of this venerable Assembly, who were in their day, distinguished for learning, piety, and eloquence, very few memorials have been preserved; while of others, not more distinguished, we have, in print, extended biographies. The lives of some eminently pious and profoundly learned men, run on in a tenor so even and uniform, that they furnish no incidents for biography; while, in regard to others, many vicissitudes and interesting occurrences so chequer their course through life, that they furnish large materials for the biographer.

As the object of this compilation is, not only to give a sketch of the lives of these eminent divines, but also, as far as it could be done, a complete list of

their publications, a larger space has been commonly allowed to authors of valuable and voluminous works, than to others. The lists of the writings of the divines of this Assembly, will, we think, be gratifying and useful to the young theologian; and will enable such persons as are curious to learn the theological opinions of these divines, as recorded in their own writings, to gratify their curiosity. And in looking over these memoirs, the reader will be surprised to find how many of them were authors; and also how many learned and pious works are still extant, and in demand, which were written by the members of this Assembly. The information contained in the two parts of this history, would, at any period of his life, have been very acceptable to the compiler; and he is therefore ready to conclude, that there are many others who will be gratified to have these scattered materials collected into one view; so that the information which they desire, respecting the Westminster Assembly, may now be had, in a single volume, of moderate price.

That the work may be useful in promoting the best interests of the Presbyterian Church, in these United States, is the sincere prayer of the author.

## ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY.

**ARROWSMITH, D. D., JOHN**, was born near New-castle-upon-Tyne, in the county of Northumberland, in England, March 29, 1602. It has been remarked as a coincidence worth noting, that he was born in the same year, and on the same day, and probably in the same hour, as Dr. John Lightfoot. His early history is unknown; but he must have been well educated, as he was a distinguished scholar. He was first settled as a pastor in Lynn, in Norfolk county, whence he was called to sit in the Westminster Assembly, where he was eminently useful. Principal Baillie, in giving an account of the transactions of this venerable Assembly, speaks of Mr. Arrowsmith thus: "Our letter to foreign churches, formed by Mr. Marshall, except some sentences put in by Mr. Henderson, has been turned into Latin, by Mr. Arrowsmith, a man with a glass eye, in place of that which was put out by an arrow; a learned divine, on whom the Assembly put the writing against the Antinomians."

The Earl of Manchester having been appointed to reform abuses in the Universities, displaced, at Cambridge, five heads of Colleges, and selected five members of the Assembly to fill their places. These were, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Vines, Mr. Seaman, Mr. Young, and Mr. Arrowsmith. This appointment was unanimously confirmed by the Parliament. Mr. Arrowsmith, after undergoing an examination before the Assembly of Divines, and being approved, was constituted Master of St. John's College, in the year 1644. Being placed in this high and responsible station, as the head of a Seminary, where young men

were trained for the ministry, he set himself vigorously and vigilantly to the discharge of the duties of his office; and to qualify himself for his work, he applied himself incessantly to study. His great object, while in this office, was to promote in the college, genuine piety in union with solid learning. To this end all his lectures tended; and he caused the Lord's day to be observed with an exactness unknown there before. While in this situation, he commenced writing an elaborate work, of the nature of a body of divinity. It was entitled, "A CHAIN OF PRINCIPLES," in thirty distinct "aphorisms," which he intended to illustrate by exertations, under each; but sickness and death interposed, so that no more than six out of the thirty were ever finished. These have been published, and give occasion for regret that the whole was not completed.

After some time, Mr. Arrowsmith was advanced to be Master of Trinity College, which is reckoned the best preferment in the University. It has been recorded as a remarkable fact, that these high preferments had no effect in diminishing the spirituality of this eminent professor; but as he grew daily in knowledge, so he grew in grace. He was a very powerful and useful preacher of the gospel: one instance of his success has been recorded. A young man by the name of Mack, who had spent his youth in vanity and sin, came to Cambridge, where so great a change was wrought in him, by the preaching of Dr. Hill, and Dr. Arrowsmith, that it became a matter of observation to all around, and was manifest in the altered style of his epistles to his friends. By these, it was believed, that three sisters and both his parents were brought to the saving knowledge of the truth.

As a professor of theology, Dr. Arrowsmith also excelled. His method of instruction was clear, and at the same time profound; so that he acquired a distinguished reputation in the University, for his learning, his wit, and his amiable manners; and that which gave value to all his abilities was, that they were consecrated to the service of God. He departed



this life shortly before the restoration, so that he neither experienced nor witnessed the disastrous events which followed. Concerning the particular circumstances of the death of this great and excellent man, no memorial has been left. The event seems to have occurred in the year 1659. He was one that had a special hand in drawing up those excellent formularies of doctrine and worship, adopted by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and which are still the standards of doctrine in the Scottish Church, and in the Presbyterian Church in the United States; and as far as doctrine is concerned, by most of the Dissenting churches in England, and the Congregational churches in America. Mr. Neal says, that "Dr. John Arrowsmith was of unexceptionable character for learning and piety. He was an acute disputant, and judicious divine; a real friend to true religion—whose shining example of piety and diligence in his Master's service deserves to be transmitted to posterity. His name should be in the list of eminent and learned divines who were ornaments to the Reformed Church, in the seventeenth century."

As a writer, he is distinguished for judiciousness, erudition, and good taste.

Works of Dr. Arrowsmith:

1. The Covenant—avenging sword brandished. Lev. xxvi. 28. Preached before the House of Commons, January 25, 1642.
2. England's Ebenezer, a sermon from 1 Samuel vii. 12.
3. A Great Wonder in Heaven. Rev. xii. 1, 2.
4. *Tactica Sacra, Tribus Libris Comprehensa.*
5. A Chain of Principles, (an unfinished body of divinity.)
6. God—Man. Exposition of John i. 1—18.

Dr. Cotton Mather says, "Every thing of Arrowsmith is admirable." The names of Lightfoot, Selden, Gataker, Greenhill, Arrowsmith, Twisse, Reynolds, Wallis, &c., will always be famous in the learned world."

**ASHE, SIMON.**—This excellent man was educated in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He commenced his ministry in Staffordshire, where he enjoyed the society of some very worthy persons, with whom he held secret communion in the things that relate to Christ's kingdom. When the order to read the "Book of Sports" was issued, Mr. Ashe suffered with many of his brethren for refusing to comply. When the civil wars broke out, he became chaplain to the Earl of Manchester, and had a considerable part in the visitation of the University of Cambridge, which was carried on by this nobleman. He was present at the battle of Edge-hill, which first effectually broke the peace between the king and Parliament, and which was fought on Sunday, October 23, 1642.

When the Assembly of divines was called to meet at Westminster, Mr. Ashe was nominated as a member; and he is noted by Neal, as one of those who gave constant attendance.

After his coming to London to attend on the Assembly, he became the minister of a parish in London, in which he continued until his death. He joined in a "vindication of the ministers of the gospel in and about London, in regard to the death of the king." He uniformly opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and was active in promoting measures to bring back Charles II.

Mr. Ashe was possessed of a good estate, and was very liberal and hospitable, and his house much frequented. He was a Christian of primitive simplicity, and a nonconformist of the old stamp. He was exceedingly diligent in preaching the gospel of the grace of God, in season and out of season; and his death was conformable to his holy and exemplary life; for he left the world in the cheerful exercise of faith, and abounding in the consolations of Christ, molested neither with doubts nor fears. He died on the 20th of August, 1662, a short time before the fatal Bartholomew day; so that his ejection with his brethren was only prevented by his decease.

Mr. Calamy, who knew him well for more than twenty years, during which period they were both pastors in London, gives the following testimony to his character. "I can freely and clearly profess, and that with a sad heart, that I and many others, have lost a wise and godly friend, brother, and fellow labourer in the Lord. The church has lost an eminent member and choice pillar; and this city has lost an ancient, faithful, and painful minister.

"The ministerial excellencies of many ministers were collected and centered in one, Simeon Ashe. He was a Bezaleel in God's tabernacle, a master builder, an old disciple, a burning and a shining light. One whom many ministers and other good Christians called *father*." Mr. Rutherford, one of the Scottish commissioners, called him "*The gracious and zealous Mr. Ashe*."

The following are a list of his writings:

1. The best Refuge for the most oppressed. A sermon before the House of Commons, Ps. ix. 9. on one of their solemn fasts, March 30, 1642.

2. Good Courage Discovered and Encouraged. A sermon before the Military Forces of London, from Ps. xxxi. 24. May 16, 1642.

3. Religious Covenanting Directed, and Covenant Keeping Persuaded. A sermon before the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London, from Ps. lxxvi. 11.

4. The Church sinking, saved by Christ,—before the House of Lords, from Is. lxiii. 5. February 26, 1644.

5. God's Incomparable Goodness to Israel Unfolded and Applied. A sermon before the House of Commons, from Ps. lxxiii. 1. April 28, 1647.

6. Christ the Riches of the Gospel and the Hope of Christians.

7. Living loves between Christ and Dying Christians. A Funeral Sermon.

BACKHURST, THEODORE, of Overton, Waterville, was a member of the Assembly of Divines, but no-

monuments of his labours or his character, more than can be inferred from this fact, remain.

**BAILLIE, ROBERT, D. D.**—One of the most learned, most moderate, and most esteemed of the Presbyterian ministers of the day in which he lived, was born in Glasgow, in the year 1599. He received his education in the University of Glasgow, under the tuition of M. Sharp, who was then the head of the college. After completing his course in the University, in 1622, he received Episcopal ordination from the hands of bishop Law, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy, and with whom he kept up a correspondence. He was now received into the family of the earl of Eglintoune, as tutor to his son; and by this nobleman he was presented to the parish of Kilwinning. In 1626, Mr. Baillie was admitted a regent in the college of Glasgow; on which occasion he delivered an inaugural discourse, *De Mente Agente*. About this time he turned his attention to oriental literature, in which it is admitted, that he was a great proficient. Baillie was not only ordained an Episcopalian, but, it is said, had imbibed from principal Cameron the doctrine of passive obedience; but between the years 1630 and 1636, he seems to have undergone a great change in his views; for in the latter year, being requested by archbishop Law to preach a sermon before the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, in commendation of the "Common Prayer," he positively refused; but returned a very respectful answer to the archbishop. He now became a favourite with the strict Presbyterians—and was commissioned by the presbytery of Irvine to attend the famous General Assembly of 1638, when Episcopacy was completely eradicated from the Church of Scotland; and most of the bishops deposed, and solemnly excommunicated. Of this Assembly, which forms an era in the history of the Church of Scotland, Mr. Baillie has left a very particular and authentic account in his "Letters," which have been published in two octavo volumes. In this

Assembly he conducted himself with great propriety and moderation. And as the proceedings of this Assembly brought on a war with England, Baillie entered cordially into the defence of his countrymen, and of the General Assembly. Indeed, so great was his zeal in this cause, that he accompanied the army in the capacity of a chaplain to the regiment of his patron, the earl of Eglintoune, and has furnished a graphic description of the encampment at Dunse-law.

“It would have done you good,” says he, “to cast your eyes athwart our brave and rich hills as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy; for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who accompanied Lord Eglintoune. I furnished to half a dozen good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy, a broad sword. I carried myself—as the fashion was—a sword, and couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but, I promise, for the offence of no one, except a robber by the way; for it was our part alone, to pray and preach for the encouragement of my countrymen, which I did, to my power, most cheerfully.” (Letters vol. 1, p. 174.) In another, he says, “Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, and favour daily. Every one encouraged another. The sight of their nobles, and their beloved pastors, daily roused their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them, for bells; the remonstrance very frequent, of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly divine; also Leslie’s skill and prudence and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared, that emulation among our nobles, might have done harm, when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, (Leslie) that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solymán. Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially

at even, and heard in the tents, the sound of some singing psalms, and praying, and some reading Scriptures, you would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing and cursing, and brawling in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; but we hoped, if our camp had been settled, to have gotten some way for these disorders; for all of any fashion did regret, and all promised to do their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time, since we came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken leave of the world, and was resolved to die in that service, without return." But this expedition ended in a treaty with their sovereign, by which all hostilities ceased for a few months. On the renewal of the war, Baillie accompanied the army in its march into England, and has left us the most authentic and particular chronicle of the events which occurred.

In the year 1640, Baillie was selected as a suitable person to accompany the commissioners sent to London, to prepare charges against archbishop Laud, for his innovations on the Scottish Church, which were considered the true causes of the civil war. He had, the year before, published a pamphlet, particularly directed against Laud, in which he undertook to demonstrate "the Arminianism, popery, and tyranny of that faction, from their own confessions," and this, no doubt, pointed him out as a suitable person to be joined in commission with those sent to accuse the great adversary of presbytery. Not long after his return to his native country, he was appointed joint professor of divinity, with Mr. David Dickson, another very eminent Presbyterian minister, of that period. It furnishes a strong evidence of the high estimation in which he was held, as a man of learning, and able theologian, that he had the offer of this office from each of the four Universities of Scotland. All these invitations he rejected, except the one from his native city, and his *alma mater*.

In the year 1643, Mr. Baillie was chosen by the

General Assembly, a commissioner, with several others, to go to London, and hold correspondence with the English Parliament, and especially to assist the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in the important work in which they were engaged. In this venerable Assembly, in which he sat until all its important business was finished, he acted a very modest part, seldom ever obtruding himself upon them, in public speeches, the tediousness of which he greatly lamented; but in private, and on committees, his opinions were received with great deference, and had great weight in leading to the results which the deliberations of this synod produced. And from his Letters, written at the time, we have the most particular and authentic account of the transactions of that venerable Assembly.

After his return home, in 1646, he resumed the duties of his professorship, which he continued diligently to perform, until the year 1649; when he was selected as a suitable person, by the General Assembly of the Scottish Church, to carry their homage to Charles II. at the Hague, and to invite him to assume the government of Scotland, under the limitations and stipulations of the Solemn League and Covenant. This embassy he executed with a dignity and propriety, which could have been expected from no member of the church but one, who, like him, had been engaged in conducting high diplomatic affairs in England. Indeed, Mr. Baillie, in every transaction of his life, appears to have possessed all the accomplishments of a perfectly well bred man; yet while he was conciliatory, and ready to yield to expediency where truth and conscience were not concerned, no man was more firm in adhering to his religious principles, in the profession of which he was altogether sincere. He had, in early life, been educated in prelatical principles; but after a thorough examination and mature deliberation, he became a warm friend of Presbytery, and a zealous opposer of Episcopacy. When he appeared before the king at the Hague, he delivered to his majesty a speech full of loyalty, in which he ex-

pressed, in the name of his church and country, the strongest detestation of the murder of his royal father; and their joy at the prospect of the succession of his son to the throne. In these sentiments, the Presbyterian clergy of both kingdoms cordially united; and although they were ungratefully treated by Charles II., there can be little doubt that to them, as the chief instruments, he owed his restoration to his country and kingdom.

During Cromwell's usurpation, the Church of Scotland was unhappily divided into parties, or factions; Baillie, as might have been expected, from his character for moderation, sided with the more moderate party, who received the denomination of "Resolutions." Indeed, he became the leader of this party in the church, and wrote many of their most important public papers. He was regularly a member of the Assembly from his return from England until the year 1653.

After the restoration, by the influence of lord Lauderdale, Mr. Baillie was made principal of the University of Glasgow; and had the offer of a bishopric, which he refused.

His health now began to decline, and when visited by the new made archbishop, "Mr. Andrew," said he, "for I will not call you my lord, king Charles would have made me one of these lords, but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ had any lords in his house." He said he considered this form of ecclesiastical government, "inconsistent with Scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposed to the true interest of the country."

Mr. Baillie was a man of undoubted and extensive learning. He had made himself acquainted with thirteen languages; and his Latin style was so pure and elegant, that good judges have said, that it would not have disgraced the Augustan age. He kept up a correspondence with several of the most learned theologians of the continent of Europe, as Spanheim, Rivet, Salmasius, Leusden, and Constantine L'Em-



pereur. His single work, entitled, "*Opus Historicum and Chronologicum*," is itself a monument of profound erudition. This work was printed in folio at Amsterdam; and may still be consulted with great advantage.

His greatest defect was one which he possessed with most good men of that age; it related to toleration. Against this liberal doctrine he opposed himself strenuously, as believing, in the sincerity of his heart, that it would be an inlet to every species of heresy and monstrous error. He never mentions the subject in his "Letters," but with marked disapprobation. He has been charged also, with some narrowness of opinion, on some points which he held in common with his countrymen of that age. He, and all the Scottish commissioners were zealously opposed to paying any attention to the day called CHRISTMAS. From his "Letters," it appears, that they were grieved that the Assembly of divines at Westminster, would not agree to sit on that day; and they rejoiced that the House of Commons refused to adjourn over that day; but sat as usual, and had no religious services extraordinary. Another opinion which he held tenaciously, and which shows its Scottish origin, was, his dislike to funeral sermons. Even when Mr. Marshall preached the funeral sermon of Mr. Pym, the celebrated member of Parliament, Mr. Baillie would not attend to hear the sermon, although the Assembly adjourned for the very purpose.

His opposition to Prelacy continued firm to the very last. Shortly before his death, one of his pupils, who afterwards succeeded him, asked him what he now thought of the state of the church. He said, "Prelacy is coming in like a land-flood. I have studied this controversy as far as I was able; and after all my inquiry, I find it inconsistent with Scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposite to the interests of this country."

Archbishop Spotswood, in his history, says of him, "Robert Baillie was a learned and modest man; though he published some very violent writings."

Mr. Woodrow, in his "Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, has given him the following character: "Mr. Robert Baillie may be justly reckoned among the great men of this time; and was an honour to his country, on account of his profound, various, and universal learning; his exact and solid judgment; that vast variety of languages that he understood, to the number of twelve or thirteen, and his writing a Latin style, which might become the Augustan age: but I need not enlarge on his character; his works praise him in all the gates."

His published writings are,

1. A Defence of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland, against Maxwell, bishop of Ross.
2. A Parallel between the Scottish Service Book and the Roman Missal, Breviary, &c.
3. Queries anent the Service Book.
4. The Canterburion Self-conviction.
5. Antidote to Arminianism.
6. A Treatise on Scottish Episcopacy.
7. Laudensism.
8. Satan the Leader in Chief of all who resist the Reparation of Zion.
9. Sermons—before the House of Commons, from Zach. iii. 12, at their solemn fast, Feb. 28, 1644. Before the Lords, from Isaiah lxiii. 17, on a fast day, July 30, 1645.
10. A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times, especially, of the Independents. Second Part.
11. A Reply to the Modest Inquirer.
12. *Opus Historicum and Chronologicum.*
13. Letters and Journals. 2 vol. 8vo. Extracted from his papers.

BAYLIE, THOMAS, B. D., was born in Wiltshire, England, and was entered of St. Alban's Hall, in the University of Oxford, in 1600, and was chosen demy of Magdalen College, in 1602, and perpetual fellow of the house in 1611, after he had taken his master's degree.

Mr. Baylie was strongly attached to the principles

of the Puritans; and was open in the declaration of his opinions, and took the covenant. He was chosen by the Parliament one of the Assembly of divines at Westminster. Mr. B. was an indefatigable preacher; and was presented with the rich rectory of Mildenhall, in Wiltshire; from which he was ejected by the act of uniformity, in 1662; upon which he retired to Marlborough, and had a private congregation; where he died in 1663, aged eighty-one.

Both Wood and Walker charge him with holding the opinions of the Fifth Monarchy men; but Dr. Calamy remarks, that this was not the cause of his ejection, but his non-conformity. The published writings of Mr. Baylie were,

1. *De Merito Mortis Christi, et De Modo Conversionis. Diatribæ Duo.*

2. *Concio ad Clerum, habita in Templo B. Mariae. Oxon.*

3. Wood ascribes to him a few sermons.

BOND, JOHN, was born at Dorchester, in Dorset county, and was educated under the Rev. John White, whose ministry appears to have been much blessed to him in his youth. In due season he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he took the degree of bachelor in civil law. He was openly an advocate for the Puritans, and suffered with them for conscience sake. He was zealous for the Solemn League and Covenant, and bent on a reformation of the church in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government.

Mr. Bond was minister of the Savoy in London, and was chosen a member of the Assembly of divines at Westminster; but not one of the original members, but of the number superadded, to supply vacancies. He sometimes preached before the long Parliament, and some of his sermons are extant. He was appointed Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, which place Mr. John Selden had refused. He was one of the commissioners for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers and school masters, in 1554. In

the latter part of his life he resided at Lutton, in Dorsetshire, where he died about 1680.

Mr. Bond's writings are,

1. A Door of Hope.
2. Holy and Loyal Activity.
3. Salvation in a Mystery; or a Prospective Glass for England's case: a sermon before the House of Commons, from Is. xlv. 15.
4. A Dawning in the West: a thanksgiving sermon, before the House of Commons, from Is. xxv. 9.
5. *Job in the West*. Two fast sermons.
6. A thanksgiving Sermon, before the House of Commons, from Psalm l. 23.
7. A sermon entitled, "Grapes among Thorns," before the House of Commons.

**BOWLES, OLIVER**, a member of the Assembly of divines at Westminster, was pastor of Sutton, in Bedfordshire, England. He is marked in Neal's list as one who gave constant attendance at the sessions of the Assembly.

Though, in his time, he was esteemed a very eminent divine, very few facts relative to him are left on record. The only publications of his which are now known, are

1. A sermon preached before the Parliament and the Assembly of divines, from John xii. 17, entitled, "Zeal for God's House Quickened."
2. *De Pastore Evangelico Tractatus*; said to be eminently judicious and useful.

**BRIDGE, WILLIAM**, was a student in Cambridge for thirteen years, and sometime fellow of Emmanuel College, in that University. After he entered the ministry, he was first settled in Essex, where he continued about five years; and afterwards was called to a church in Norwich, where he continued until he was silenced for non-conformity, by Bishop Wren, in 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated; but when the writ came out against him, he fled to Holland. In 1642, he returned again to England; and

the following year was chosen a member of the Assembly of divines at Westminster, and was frequently invited to preach before the long Parliament.

Mr. Bridge was in principle an Independent, and belonged, of course, to the dissenters in the Assembly. They were, Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, Sydrach Sympson, William Bridge, William Greenhill, William Carter; all men of eminence; and though few in number, in talents were a host.

Mr. Bridge, after his return from Holland, was settled in Yarmouth, where he continued to preach the glorious gospel of the grace of God, until his ejection in 1662. After this event he preached occasionally at Clapham, in Surry, until his death, which occurred March 12, 1670, when he was seventy years of age.

The character of Mr. Bridge, as given by Neal, is, "That he was a good scholar, a hard student, an excellent and useful preacher, and a candid and charitable man." He had a well furnished library, and rose every morning, winter and summer, at four o'clock, to pursue his devotions and studies. His works are,

1. Babylon's Downfall.
2. The Hiding Place of the Saints.
3. Twenty one Treatises, 2 vols.
4. Eight Sermons of Good and Bad Company.
5. The Freeness of the Gospel Grace, and Love of God to Believers.
6. The Sinfulness of Sin, and Fulness of Christ.
7. A Word to the Aged.
8. His Remains—Eight Sermons.

**BURGESS, ANTHONY**, was born and brought up at Watford, Hartfordshire, England, where Dr. Cornelius Burgess was minister; to whom, however, he was not related. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; but was chosen a fellow of Emmanuel College, in the same University, simply on account of his moral worth and good scholarship. He was eminently distinguished in the University, by his learning, piety, good disposition, and as a good tutor.

After leaving the University, Mr. Burgess was pastor of a church in Sutton-Coldfield, in Warwickshire, where he acquired a high reputation, as a preacher and a solid divine. He remained here, diligently and faithfully performing the duties of his office, until by the disorders produced by the civil war, he was obliged to flee for safety from his country. Many able ministers, and praying, pious people were convened in this place; for these were the kind of persons most annoyed by the king's troops. Among these, beside Mr. Burgess, were Mr. Baxter and Mr. Vines. While confined to this place, they had a lecture, every morning, in which Mr. Burgess was frequently called upon to take a part.

In 1643, he was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, where he was held in high estimation, and was eminently distinguished for his genuine piety and solid learning. While in attendance upon the Assembly, he was frequently called upon to preach before the Parliament, at their solemn fasts and other public occasions. He was also, during this period, employed as a lecturer at Lawrence-Jury. By the ministers of London, he was earnestly solicited to preach a course of lectures against Antinomianism; which were delivered at Lawrence-Jury, and afterwards published. These lectures were highly prized, as containing a solid refutation of the errors against which they were directed.

As soon as Mr. Burgess was relieved from his duties in London, he returned to his flock, and resumed his pastoral charge at Sutton-Coldfield, where he remained till 1662, when he was ejected, with so many other ministers, eminent for their piety and learning. Before the civil war, he had conformed; but with the new requisitions, after the restoration, he could by no means comply; and, on his death bed, he professed great satisfaction, on the review of this part of his conduct. After his ejection, he lived at Tamworth, in Staffordshire, in a very cheerful and pious manner. Before his ejection, the new bishop

of Coventry sent for him, hoping to be able to bring him to conform. In this he failed; but the interview gave him so high an opinion of Mr. Burgess's abilities, that he said, "That he was fit for a professor's place in the University." There are many other testimonies which might be cited, to show his high reputation; but we will mention only two. Mr. Flavel, in his "Fountain of Life," says, "that Mr. Anthony Burgess was a grave divine." Dr. John Wallis, who was a member of the Assembly of Divines, and a very eminent scholar, gives him the following character: "I was sent to the University of Cambridge, and there admitted, in Emmanuel College, under the tuition of Mr. Anthony Burgess, a pious, learned, and able scholar, a good disputant, a good tutor, an eminent preacher, a sound and orthodox divine, and afterward minister of Sutton-Coldfield, in Warwickshire."

As a writer, Mr. Burgess was truly eminent. Dr. Fullen, in his History of the University of Cambridge, says that he had omitted several still alive, "as Mr. Anthony Burgess, the profitable expounder of the much mistaken nature of the two covenants." Bishop Wilkins puts him in the list of divines, most eminent for sermons and practical divinity. Dr. Cotton Mather says, in his quaint way, "I may say he has written for thee excellent things." His style is neat and plain, and his doctrine always sound.

The following is a list of his published writings:

1. The Difficulty of, and Encouragements to, a Reformation. A sermon before the House of Commons, from Mark i. 2, 3.
2. Judgments Removed, where Judgment is Executed. A sermon, from Psalm cvi. 30, 31, before the Court Martial; Lawrence-Jury.
3. The Magistrates' Commission from Heaven, from Rom. xiii. 4. At the election of Lord Mayor, September 28, 1644.
4. Rome's Cruelty and Apostasy. A sermon, preached before the House of Commons, from Rev. xix. 2, November 5, 1644.

5. **The Reformation of the Church to be endeavoured, more than that of the Commonwealth.** A sermon, from Judges vi. 27, 28, 29, before the House of Lords, at a public fast, August 27, 1645.

6. **Public Affections Pressed.** A sermon, from Numb. xi. 12, before the House of Commons, February 25, 1645.

7. *Vindiciæ Legis.* A Vindication of the Moral Law and the Covenants, from the Errors of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and more especially Antinomians. In twenty-nine lectures, preached at Lawrence-Jury, 1646.

8. **The True Doctrine of Justification Asserted and Vindicated from the Errors of Papists, Arminians, Socinians, and more especially Antinomians,** in thirty lectures, preached at Lawrence-Jury, 1651.

9. **A Treatise of Justification. Part II. The Natural Righteousness of God, and Imputed Righteousness of Christ.** In forty-five sermons, 1645.

10. **Spiritual Repining; or a Treatise of Grace and Assurance.** 1652.

11. **Spiritual Repining. Part II. Or, a Treatise of Sin, with its Causes, Differences, Mitigations, and Aggravations.** 1654.

12. **One Hundred and Forty-five Expository Sermons, upon the whole seventeenth chapter of the Gospel according to John, &c.** 1656.

13. **The Doctrine of Original Sin, Asserted and Vindicated, against the Old and New Adversaries thereof, Socinians, Papists, Arminians, and Anabaptists.** 1659.

14. **The Scripture Directory, for Church Officers, and People; or a Practical Commentary on 1 Cor. iii.**

15. **An Expository Commentary on the whole first chapter of 2 Corinthians.** 1661.

**BURGESS, CORNELIUS,** was born in Somersetshire, and was educated in the university of Oxford, into which he entered as a student in 1611. He appears to have been connected with several colleges in this university, but took his first degree in Wadham, and his



second in Lincoln. He entered into holy orders, and afterwards took both degrees, in divinity, and became chaplain to Charles I. in 1627.

Dr. Burgess was brought into the high commission court, by a powerful adversary, who charged him with permitting some to partake of the Lord's Supper, in a sitting posture; and with disaffection to Episcopal government. His first appearance before this court was in 1622; but again, in 1629, he was called to account for refusing to read the common prayer, in his surplice and hood. In the year 1635, he preached a sermon in Latin, to the London ministers, by order of the governors of Sion College, in which he urged upon them the duty of using all possible diligence in preaching the "Gospel of the kingdom," and enforced his exhortation, by the example of ancient bishops, who were more frequently to be found in the pulpit, than in the palaces of princes. After which he cited a canon of the sixth council in Trullo, which enjoined bishops to preach often, at least every Lord's day, or be canonically admonished for their neglect; and then, if they reformed not, that they should be excommunicated. Complaint of this sermon was made to the archbishop of Canterbury, who caused him to be cited before the high-commission court, where he was charged with being disaffected to the book of common prayer, and ceremonies of the church; and also with the government of the church, by bishops. He was also charged with making invidious comparisons between the ancient and modern bishops. The prelates were exceedingly displeased with him, and were determined that he should be both deprived and disgraced. But they had a man of invincible courage to deal with; for he professed his willingness to stand to what he said in that sermon, even to the death. His defence was so bold and convincing, that he obtained a complete victory over his accusers. When the long Parliament was opened, in 1640, a public fast was observed, November 17, on which occasion Dr. Burgess and Mr. Marshall were called to preach to the House of Commons. The text of

Dr. Burgess was from Jer. l. 5, "They shall ask the way to Zion with their faces thitherward, saying, come and let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual covenant, that shall not be forgotten." The sermon is still extant, and is replete with excellent matter. In the year 1641, he delivered an animated speech in the House of Commons, against deans and chapters. This greatly alarmed the cathedral men, who sent up a deputation to Parliament, of which Dr. Hackett was the chief, who asked and obtained leave to deliver a speech in defence of cathedrals and their officers. To this speech of Dr. Hackett, Dr. Burgess made an elaborate and able reply. In the division which was now beginning to be formed, Dr. Burgess took sides with the Parliament; and in 1641, was one of the divines who held a meeting in the Jerusalem chamber, Westminster, for accommodating ecclesiastical differences. This conference sat six days, but could come to no agreement. He was frequently appointed to preach before the House of Commons; and his zeal, courage, and fidelity being well known, he was chosen chaplain to the regiment of horse, raised for the earl of Essex's army.

In 1643, Dr. Burgess was selected as a suitable person to be a member of the Assembly of divines, which the Parliament determined to convene; and when this body was organized, in Westminster, was chosen, with Mr. John White, an assessor, or assistant to the prolocutor.

When the Solemn League and Covenant was sent down to the Assembly, September, 1643, Dr. Burgess argued against imposing it, and at first, refused to take it, for independence was a characteristic feature of his mind. But after mature deliberation he overcame his scruples, and became a Covenanter.

As the bishops now refused to ordain the candidates who adhered to the Parliament, the Assembly was requested to deliberate on the course proper to be pursued; upon which they recommended, that certain persons should be appointed to examine and ordain such candidates, as were qualified for the office.

The Parliament accordingly passed an ordinance, October 2, 1644, by which ten presbyters, members of the Assembly, were appointed to attend to this business. Among these was Dr. Burgess, who is first named.

When St. Paul's cathedral was again opened, at the request of the people, Dr. Burgess was appointed lecturer there, on Sunday evening, and on other days of the week, with a salary of £400 per annum, to be paid out of the revenues of the cathedral. As the Parliament was in great need of funds to support themselves and the war, they invited all who could afford it, to lend money to them; but when they sold the estates of the bishops, they offered advantageous terms to their creditors, if they would purchase these lands. Dr. Burgess having lent considerable sums to the Parliament, out of zeal for their cause, and having a wife and ten children to support, and not seeing how he was otherwise to be reimbursed, became a purchaser of a certain portion of these ecclesiastical estates, all which he utterly lost without compensation at the restoration of Charles II.

In 1648, Dr. Burgess preached boldly against the design of executing the king, and joined with a number of ministers in and about London, in subscribing a paper in which they vindicated themselves from the aspersions cast upon them, that they had promoted the bringing the king to capital punishment. This paper was subscribed by fifty-seven names, and in it they express their strong disapprobation of the proceedings against the life of the king, and solemnly exhorted their respective charges, and all over whom they had influence, to adhere to their covenant vows, and to humble themselves in penitence before God, on account of their sins.

Dr. Burgess and many other Presbyterian ministers have been bitterly censured, in relation to the death of the king; but their calumniators have not taken the pains to examine carefully into the facts. The aforesaid paper, published at the time, and with no small risk, is sufficient to convince any impartial per-

son, that he could have had no agency in this regicidal transaction.

Dr. Burgess, at the time of the restoration, was minister of St. Andrews, at Wells, from which living he was ejected, in 1662, for refusing to comply with the conditions required by the cruel Bartholomew act.

After his ejection, Dr. Burgess lived in retirement, and was reduced to great straits and necessities; for by his adherence to the Parliament, as has been stated, he lost all his property, which was abundantly sufficient for his support. The latter days of this excellent minister were dark and cloudy, and embittered with many afflictions. He died at Watford, in the year 1665, and was buried in the middle of the church in that place on the 9th of June.

Dr. Calamy speaks of him as a man excellently skilled in the controversies respecting liturgies, and church government; and Dr. Neal says, "That he was esteemed a very learned and judicious divine."

The published writings of Cornelius Burgess are,

1. A Chain of Graces drawn out at length, or a brief Treatise of Virtue, &c.
2. A New Discovery of Personal Tythes, &c.
3. The Fire of the Sanctuary, newly uncovered, &c.
4. Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants, &c.
5. Sermons on Public Occasions, and Treatises on Several Points.

**BURROUGHS, JEREMIAH**, a dissenting, (that is, an Independent,) member of the Assembly of divines at Westminster, was educated at the University of Cambridge. After he entered the ministry, he suffered much vexation and persecution for non-conformity, under Bishop Wren's visitation articles.\* By these he was induced to forsake his country and seek a refuge in Holland, where he became the minister of

\* The book contained one hundred and twenty-nine articles in which were eight hundred and ninety-seven questions, some trivial, some superstitious, and some difficult to be answered. These questions were intended to entangle and root out the Puritans from the church.

an English congregation in Rotterdam. But when the long Parliament came into power, he received encouragement to return home; and was chosen the preacher of two of the largest congregations about London, Stepney and Cripple-gate. He was also called to sit in the Assembly of divines at Westminster, where he manifested great candour, modesty, and charity.

Though a popular and powerful preacher, he never gathered a separate congregation; nor accepted a parochial living, but wore out his strength by continual preaching.

When the dispute between the Presbyterians and Independents was agitated in the Assembly, Mr. Burroughs declared, "That if the Independent congregations might not be exempted from the coercive power of the classes, nor have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or to go to some other part of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty."

In his doctrine, he was strictly Calvinistic; but his sermons were plain, practical, and powerful. His aim was to guide his hearers in the way to heaven; and with this view, he was much occupied in laying open the great evil of sin, and the benefits of redemption through Christ's atoning blood. In his day, he was esteemed an ornament to the pulpit; so that Mr. Hugh Peters called him the morning and evening star of Stepney; because he preached there early in the morning and in the evening. Mr. Burroughs died of a pulmonary complaint, November 14, 1646, in the forty-seventh year of his age. Mr. Neal says, "that he was an excellent scholar, a good expositor, and a most popular preacher." He is now principally known by his writings, which are evangelical and practical; and have always been held in great esteem. Dr. Wilkins, in his Preacher, reckons him among the most eminent of the English divines, for practical divinity. Cotton Mather also, in his "Student and

Preacher," strongly recommends the writings of Burroughs; especially, his "Moses' Choice." And Dr. Fuller has enrolled his name among the learned writers of Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge.

The works of Jeremiah Burroughs, are,

1. The Excellency of a Gracious Spirit.
2. The Seaman's Direction in time of storm.
3. Moses' Self-denial.
4. Moses' Choice.
5. Zion's Joy.
6. The Glorious name of God, the Lord of Hosts.
7. An Exposition of the Prophecy of Hosea.
8. A Sermon before the House of Peers, from Phil. iv. 12.
9. A Fast Sermon before the Commons, from Matthew, v. 6.
10. Irenicum to the lovers of Truth and Peace.
11. Gospel Worship, or the right manner of sanctifying the name of God, in hearing the Word, the Lord's Supper, and Prayer.
12. Gospel Conversation.
13. The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment.
14. Two Treatises. 1. Earthly Mindedness. 2. Conversing in Heaven and walking with God.
15. A Treatise of the Evil of Evils; or the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin.
16. The Saint's Treasury.
17. A Treatise on Faith and Hope, and walking by Faith.
18. Gospel Reconciliation.
19. Christ inviting Sinners to come to Him for rest.
20. The Saint's Happiness.
21. The Gospel Revelation. Three Treatises.
  1. The Nature of God.
  2. Excellencies of Christ.
  3. Excellency of Man's Immortal Soul.
22. The Excellency of Holy Courage in evil times.
23. Gospel Remission.
24. Four Useful Discourses. 1. The Improvement of Prosperity for the Glory of God. 2. Christian Submission. 3. Christ a Christian's Life, and

Death his Gain. 4. The Gospel of Peace, sent to the Sons of Peace.

25. The Difference between the Spots of the Godly and of the Wicked.

**BYFIELD, RICHARD**, was born in Worcestershire, in England; and when sixteen years of age, was entered a student in Queen's College, Oxford. When he had taken his degrees in the arts, he left the University, and having entered the ministry was first settled as curate of Isleworth; but afterwards was made rector of Long Ditton, in the county of Surrey. From this charge he was ejected for non-conformity, in 1662. After his ejection he retired to Mortlake, a pleasant village in Surrey, situated on the Thames, a few miles from London. Here he spent his time in the godly instruction of his own family, and in preparing for death, which he perceived to be approaching. His decease took place in December, 1664, when he had reached his sixty-seventh year.

He is allowed to have been a man of great piety and zeal; and distinguished himself especially in the vindication of the morality of the Christian Sabbath.

There is an anecdote related of him, which exhibits Oliver Cromwell's character in a favourable light. Mr. Byfield and his patron, Sir John Evelyn, had a difference about repairing the church. Mr. B. complained to the Protector, who summoned them both to appear before him, with a view to reconcile them. Sir John said that Mr. Byfield reflected on him in his sermons; but he solemnly declared that he had no such intention. Cromwell, turning to Sir John, said, "I doubt there is indeed something amiss: the word is penetrating and finds you out. Search your ways." Then he spoke so pathetically, and with so many tears, that both Sir John Evelyn and Mr. Byfield were deeply affected, and fell to weeping also. The Protector made them good friends before he dismissed them; and to remove the ground of their controversy, ordered his secretary to pay £100 towards the repair of the church.

Mr. Byfield's writings are,

1. The Light of Faith and Way of Holiness.
2. The Doctrine of the Sabbath vindicated.
3. The Power of the Christ of God.
4. Zion's Answer to the Nations' Ambassadors—  
a sermon before the House of Commons, from Isaiah  
xiv. 32.
5. Temple-Defilers defiled; wherein a true visible  
church is described.
6. The Gospel's Glory, without prejudice to the  
Law.
7. The Real Way to Good Works.
8. A Treatise of Charity.

CALAMY, EDMUND, B. D., was born in London, in the month of February, 1600. His father was a citizen of London. The subject of this memoir was sent to Cambridge, when in his sixteenth year, where he was matriculated in Pembroke Hall, July 4, 1616. In the year 1619, he took his bachelor's degree; and in 1632, that of bachelor of divinity. He was prevented from obtaining a fellowship by his avowed hostility to the prevailing Arminian party; although by his talents, learning, and good character, he was fully entitled to it. At length, however, he was elected to what was denominated *tanquam socius*, that is, he had a stipend and certain privileges, but no share in the government of the House; and the *tanquam socius* held his office for only three years, unless he was re-chosen.

Calamy received much kind attention from the very excellent and pious bishop Felton, who received him into his favour, and gave him a living near Cambridge, where he was the means of much good. The good bishop also assisted him in his studies, which he pursued with unwearied assiduity. In this retirement, he read over the whole of Bellarmine's Controversies, and the answers to this great polemic, which were written by Chamier, Whitaker, Reynolds, and others. He also read with attention, the writings of some of the principal schoolmen, particularly those



of the *angelical doctor*, Thomas Aquinas. But although by his diligence in study he laid up treasures of knowledge, he never affected learning in the pulpit, but studied a plain, familiar manner of speaking, which did not in the least savour of the schools. Though much conversant with other books, the Bible was not neglected; every day he read a certain portion of the Scriptures with critical care; making use of such commentaries as he had at command. By this means, his mind became enriched with those sacred treasures, for which he always manifested a high esteem and veneration.

After the death of bishop Felton, Mr. Calamy was chosen one of the lecturers at Edmund's-Bury, in the county of Suffolk, where he had Mr. Burroughs as his fellow labourer. Upon receiving this call, he resigned the vicarage of Swaffham, near Cambridge, and devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office, at Bury. In this situation, he laboured about ten years; and while he conscientiously avoided such ceremonies as appeared to him wrong, he conformed to such as he thought he innocently could. But when "*The Book of Sports*" came out, and was enforced by the authority of bishop Wren, he found it necessary to take a firmer stand against such profane innovations, and resolved to avow his dissent; and publicly apologized to his flock for conforming as far as he had done. The consequence was, that he and about thirty others were expelled from the diocese. He now became distinguished as a determined non-conformist; and, on account of his abilities and zeal, was held in high esteem by all who found it necessary, in order to keep a good conscience, to take the same ground. Being much in favour with the Earl of Essex, this nobleman presented him with the living of Rachford; but it proved a destructive benefit; for, removing from the salubrious air of Bury, to the sickly marshes of Essex, he lost his health, and in fact broke his constitution; for ever afterwards he was afflicted with a distressing dizziness of the head.

In the year 1639, Mr. Calamy was chosen minister

of Mary-Aldermanbury, in London, where he soon rose very high in reputation, as a preacher. He now became conspicuous for the active part which he took in the disputes then agitated, about church government. He was one of the writers of the famous book entitled "SMECTYMNUUS," each of the letters of which word was the initial of the Christian surname of a person who had some hand in its composition. This work, it was the opinion of many, gave a fatal blow to Episcopacy in England. The writers were, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow. To this work bishop Hall wrote an answer, or rather, "A Vindication," of his "Humble Remonstrance," in answer to SMECTYMNUUS. The authors were not slow in publishing a reply. The learned Usher also attempted an answer, and met with a powerful antagonist in John Milton, who at that time sided with the Puritans and Presbyterians. His reply was entitled, "Prelatical Episcopacy, whether it may be deduced from the apostles' times, by virtue of those testimonies which are alleged to that purpose, in some late treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James Lord Bishop of Armagh." The work by SMECTYMNUUS, has always been reckonéd an able work. Dr. Wilkins speaks of it in his ECCLESIASTES, as an able work against Episcopacy. And both Neal and Dr. Calamy represent it as among the best things on this controversy.

Mr. Calamy was eminently distinguished for his intrepid integrity, his solid learning, his genuine piety, and ministerial fidelity. He was just such a man as suited the metropolis, where his influence was powerful, and his usefulness great. His mind was enlarged and his views benevolent; for he made vigorous efforts for the promotion of knowledge and piety, for overthrowing error, and propagating truth. In 1641, he was chosen by the House of Lords, a member of the sub-committee for accommodating ecclesiastical matters; which consisted of a number of eminent divines. Mr. Calamy gave a striking example of his

public spirit and tender compassion for the distressed, in another country, in the case of the Irish Protestants, after the cruel massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, 1641, by exerting all his influence and eloquence to obtain a liberal contribution to supply their pressing wants. And so successful were his efforts, in his own charge, that between six and seven hundred pounds sterling were taken up in that single parish; which, for those times, was an extraordinary contribution.

Being chosen to sit in the Assembly of Divines, to meet at Westminster, he was an active and influential member during the whole of their sessions. In the long dispute which occurred, about the divine right of the office of ruling elders, when so many eminent men opposed it with zeal and much learning, Mr. Calamy defended the scriptural authority of the office by bold and powerful arguments; and by the assistance of the Scottish commissioners and some others, a large majority of the Assembly were brought to vote in favour of having ruling elders in the churches, not only as a matter of convenience, but by divine appointment.

He was one of the most popular preachers in London; and it is probable that no man possessed a greater influence in the city. He seems also to have been a favourite with the Long Parliament, as they invited him so often to preach before them. He is said, by Wood, to have been the first who openly avowed before a committee of Parliament, that bishops, according to the Scriptures, were not superior to presbyters. His audience at Aldermanbury was very large and very respectable; seldom fewer than sixty coaches frequented the church where he preached. He was one of those London ministers who remonstrated against the measures of the army, by which they meant to bring the king to capital punishment. This event he earnestly deprecated; and, to prevent it, he and some other ministers held several conferences with the general and his council, in which they expostulated in the same bold and earnest manner in

which they afterwards did in their written protestation.

When Cromwell usurped the reins of government, and carried every thing with a high hand, and in an arbitrary manner, Calamy kept himself for the most part quiet, but sometimes he came out and opposed the Protector's measures. Cromwell having formed the design of placing the crown on his own head, sent for some eminent divines, that he might hear their opinion. Among these was Mr. Calamy, who opposed the measure as both *unlawful* and *impracticable*. Cromwell promptly answered, that whatever the safety of the nation required, was lawful; "but, Mr. Calamy," said he, "why is it impracticable?" "Because," answered he, "nine-tenths of the people are against you." "But," said the Protector, "what if I disarm the nine, and put a sword into the hands of every tenth man; would not this do the business?" He was uniformly and zealously opposed to the secretaries, who swarmed in the country during Cromwell's usurpation.

Calamy was a bold man, and would speak his mind before the greatest men. An instance is related, in relation to General Monk, whom he, with others, had encouraged to bring back the king, but whose conduct and motives he afterwards held in great detestation. Some time after the restoration of the king, he was preaching in his place, when Monk was present. The subject was one which led him to speak of *filthy lucre*. "And why," said he, "is it called *filthy*? Because it makes some men do base and *filthy* things. Some men will betray three kingdoms for *filthy lucre*;" and brandishing his handkerchief, either by accident or design, it flew out of his hand in the direction where Monk was sitting. Mr. Calamy had much hand in bringing back the king; yet he soon was convinced that this should not have been done without first having every thing settled by treaty. The Presbyterians, in this thing, made a fatal mistake; for they had every thing in their

hands, and might have prescribed their own terms; but they, with childish simplicity, trusted every thing to his majesty's word, and to his gratitude; by both which they were egregiously deceived.

When a deputation was sent over to Holland to meet the king, Mr. Calamy was selected as one of the ministers proper to be sent on such an embassy; for he was reckoned to have the greatest interest at court, city, and country. At first he was much caressed; but he soon saw the design and tendency of things. He was appointed chaplain to the king, but was never permitted, more than once, to preach before his majesty. But he had free access to the king, and conversed freely with him concerning the affairs of church and state. He had a principal hand in drawing up the proposals, which were laid before the king, respecting church government, and which led to the Savoy-conference; and being appointed one of the commissioners, he was employed, with others, in drawing up *exceptions to the liturgy*. And also, the reply to the reasons of the Episcopal Divines, against the Exceptions, which were given in by the Presbyterians, at the conference. He also was concerned in preparing *the petition of peace*, which was composed in a very moving strain, but not duly considered. The unsuccessful issue of the Savoy-conference is too well known to require to be repeated here. He was selected by his brethren in London to represent them in the *Convocation*, but was not permitted to take his seat. Foreseeing what was coming, he preached on the 17th of August, 1662, his farewell sermon, just a week before the act of uniformity went into force. His text on that occasion was, 2 Sam. xxxv. 14: "And David said unto God, I am in a great strait: let us now fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercies are great, and let me not fall into the hands of men."

The Presbyterian ministers, in and about London, who had a decisive influence in restoring the king, now found themselves in a truly deplorable condition, just about to be deprived of the means of support,

and what seemed to them more intolerable, precluded from any further exercise of their ministry. Under these painful circumstances, it was determined to make one more appeal to the compassion of the king. Accordingly, a petition was drawn up, in the following words:

“To the King’s most Excellent Majesty. The humble petition of several ministers in your city of London.

“May it please your most Excellent Majesty—

“Upon former experience of your Majesty’s tenderness and indulgence to your obedient and loyal subjects, (in which number we can with all clearness reckon ourselves,) we, some of the ministers within your city of London, who are likely, by the late Act of Uniformity, to be cast out of all public service in the ministry, because we cannot in conscience conform to all things in the said act, have taken the boldness, humbly to cast ourselves and concerns at your Majesty’s feet, desiring that of your princely wisdom and compassion, you would take some effectual course, whereby we may be continued in the exercise of our ministry, to lead your people in obedience to God and your Majesty. And we doubt not, but by our dutiful and peaceable carriage therein, we shall render ourselves not altogether unworthy of so great a favour.”

This petition was presented to his majesty just three days after the Act of Uniformity went into force, by Mr. Calamy, Dr. Manton, Mr. Bates, and others. Mr. Calamy made a speech on the occasion, intimating that those of his persuasion were ready to enter the lists with any, for their fidelity to his majesty; and did little expect to be dealt with as they had been; and they were now come to his majesty’s feet, as the last supplication they should make, &c. The king promised to take the matter into consideration. His majesty, when the matter came before his council, declared his resolution to grant some *indulgence*, if it could be feasibly done; but bishop Sheldon, in a speech of great warmth, declared, that it

was now too late to think of suspending the law; and that he had already ejected such of his clergy as refused to conform; and should they now be restored by the king, after being so much exasperated against him, he could never hope to govern his diocese; for his clergy, as feeling that they were countenanced by the court, would not fail to insult him. "Should the law now be suspended," said he, "it would render the legislature ridiculous and contemptible. And if the importunity of such disaffected people were a sufficient reason to humour them, neither the church nor the state would ever be free from distractions and convulsions. So it was carried in the council, that no indulgence should be granted.

Thus the celebrated, learned, and pious Mr. Calamy was cast out from Aldermanbury, by the Act of Uniformity. He was offered a bishoprick, which he refused, because he could not have it on such terms as he could accept; and he considered several things in conformity, as heinous sins; and therefore he could not comply. He preserved his moderation and decorum of behaviour, after his ejection, and lived very much in retirement. On a certain day, he went to the church of Aldermanbury, where he expected to be a hearer; but the minister failing to come, to prevent a disappointment, and in compliance with the importunity of the people, he arose and preached to them from 1 Sam. iv. 13, respecting old Eli's care for the ark. This sermon, though entirely extempore, was afterwards written and published. For this breach of the Act of Uniformity, Mr. Calamy was prosecuted, and by the warrant of the Lord Mayor, was imprisoned in Newgate. But in his affliction, he was not forsaken by his friends. A lady passing one day by Newgate, while he was in confinement, could with difficulty make her way through many coaches collected there. This lady, who was a Roman Catholic, inquired why there was such a collection of people, at such a place, and was informed that a certain Mr. Calamy, a person much beloved and respected, had been imprisoned there for preaching a single

sermon. This so struck the lady, that she took the first opportunity of waiting on the king, and related all the circumstances; and expressed her apprehensions lest he should lose the affections of many of his good people of London, in consequence of the imprisonment of this popular minister. This, together with the general indignation expressed, is thought to have been the occasion of his speedy release, by the express orders of the king. Such, however, was the spirit of the new Parliament, that a complaint was made of this act of clemency; upon which it was represented that there was a defect in the law, which did not provide for a longer confinement. A committee was therefore appointed, to consider the defects of the law; and report such amendments as the case demanded. And from this time no indulgence was shown to any non-conformist minister.

Mr. Calamy lived to see those heavy judgments which, in the righteous providence of God, fell upon the devoted city in which he was born, and where he had spent so many years in faithfully preaching the gospel. The great fire, which consumed so large a part of London, took place in 1666, when thirteen thousand houses were burned, and eighty-nine churches. This awful conflagration affected Calamy's feelings exceedingly, and is said, indeed, to have broken his heart; for he survived the catastrophe but a little time. Being driven in a coach to survey the ruins which the fire had made, when he returned home he retired to his chamber, from which he never came out alive, but died within a month, in October, 1666, and in the 67th year of his age.

The character of Edmund Calamy will be sufficiently understood, from the preceding memoir. No minister of his time was more popular; and none had more energy and public spirit, together with a fearless boldness in declaring his sentiments, and going forward in the path which conscience directed. He may well be considered the leader of the Presbyterian party; their confidence in his courage, prudence, and integrity, was unbounded; and they manifested their



estimation of his talents and address, by generally making him their chairman, at all their meetings.

Mr. Calamy lived too much in active life, to have much leisure for writing books. His talents, too, were more of the active than the contemplative kind; but he has left writings enough to show that he was capable of writing with great force and ingenuity.

Besides *SMECTYMNUUS*, in which he had his full share, Mr. Calamy assisted in drawing up "The Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry," 1650; and also the "*Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici and Anglicani*," in 1654.

His other works are sermons, of which the following are the titles:

1. England's Looking Glass. Jer. xviii. 7—10. Preached before the House of Commons, December 22, 1641.
2. God's Free Mercy to England. Ezek. xxxvi. 32. Also before the Commons, on a Fast, February 22, 1642.
3. The Nobleman's Pattern of True and Real Thankfulness, from Job xxiv. 15. A Thanksgiving Sermon, before the House of Lords, June 15, 1643.
4. England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil War, from Acts xvii. 20. Before the House of Commons, on a solemn Fast, October 22, 1644.
5. An Indictment against England, because of her Self-murdering Divisions; with an Exhortation to Concord, from Matt. xii. 25. Before the House of Lords, on the Monthly Fast, December 25, 1644.
6. The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing and Covenant-breaking, from 2 Tim. iii. 3, January 24, 1646. Before the Lord Mayor, with the Sheriff, Aldermen, and Common Council.
7. The Door of Truth Opened, against the Invectives of Mr. Burton. 1646.
8. The Saints' Rest, or their Happy Sleep in Death, from Acts vii. 50, August 24, 1651, next Sabbath after Mr. Love's execution.
9. The Doctrine of the Body's Fragility. Phil. iii. 21. At the funeral of Dr. Samuel Bolton, 1655.

10. *The Monster of Sinful Self-seeking, Anatomized, together with a Description of the Blessed and Heavenly Self-seeking.*

11. *A Sermon at the Funeral of the Earl of Warwick, 1658.*

12. *A Sermon from Isaiah lvii. 1, at the funeral of Mr. Ashe.*

13. *The Godly Man's Ark, or City of Refuge, in the Day of his Distress. This is a small book containing five sermons, from Psalm cxix. 92.*

14. *A Sermon at the Morning Exercise. Acts xxvi. 8.*

Mr. Calamy's eldest son was ejected from Moreton, by the Act of Uniformity.

**CARTER, THOMAS.**—A member of the Westminster Assembly of divines, was minister of Dyntax, in Buckinghamshire. He preached a sermon before the House of Commons, from *Exod. xxxii. 9, 10.*, which is entitled, "Prayer's Prevalence for Israel's Safety." There are no other memorials of this divine.

**CARTER, WILLIAM.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards became a very popular preacher in London.

Though a young man, he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines, and in that body, agreed in opinion with those who insisted that besides a pastor, every well organized church should have a doctor or teacher. After some time he joined the Independents, or dissenting brethren in the Assembly. Mr. Carter had numerous invitations to settle in the ministry, but he declined them all, because he was not satisfied with the parochial discipline of those times; nevertheless he was a most laborious, and zealous preacher of the gospel. Besides preaching twice, on the Lord's day, he attended frequent weekly lectures, and was often called on for occasional sermons. Mr. Carter finished his earthly course in the year 1658, and in the 53d year of his age.

The only sermon of his, which has been published, was entitled "Light in Darkness," preached before the House of Commons, from Psalm lxxv. 5.; on the solemn fast of November 24, 1647.

CARYL, JOSEPH, M. A., was born in the city of London, in 1602. His parents were persons of respectability, and when he was prepared, sent him to Exeter College, Oxford. There he had the advantage of a good tutor, and became a noted disputant. In 1627, he proceeded Master of Arts; about which time he entered into holy orders, and for a while preached about Oxford. He then removed to London, where he was preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn. In 1643, he was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, and became a frequent preacher before the Long Parliament. In 1645, he was presented to the living of Magnus, in London, which he held until the restoration, when he was ejected.

Mr. Caryl was appointed several times by the Parliament, to attend on Charles I. In January, 1646, he, and Stephen Marshall, were nominated chaplains to the commissioners sent to the king at Newcastle, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation. The king, however, would not hear either of them preach, nor so much as permit them to ask a blessing at his table. He also attended the commissioners sent to the king in the Isle of Wight, in 1648. He was one of those appointed to wait on the king, and afford him spiritual consolation just before his death, but the king declined their services.

In 1649, Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Marshall, were sent to invite the excluded members to resume their places in Parliament; and in 1650, he, with John Owen, accompanied Oliver Cromwell to Scotland. In 1653, he was appointed one of the Triers of Ministers, and the next year, an assistant to the commissioners appointed for displacing ignorant and scandalous ministers.

Mr. Caryl was a member of the committee of In-

dependent Divines who met at the Savoy, A. D. 1658, to draw up a uniform confession of their faith. In 1659, he accompanied General Whalley, and Col. Goffe, into Scotland, to acquaint General Monk with the true state of affairs in England.

After his ejection, 1662, Mr. Caryl gathered a separate congregation, from among his former hearers, to whom he preached until removed by death, February 7, 1672, aged seventy-one years.

The following account of his death was given at the time, by Mr. Henry Dorney, in a letter to his brother: "That famous and laborious minister, Mr. Joseph Caryl, your ancient friend and companion, is departed this life, aged seventy-one years; whose death is greatly lamented by the people of God, throughout this city. About the beginning of his sickness, I was with him, and he inquired about you as he was wont to do. . . . His labours were great, his studies incessant, his conversation unspotted. His sincerity, faith, zeal, and wisdom, gave a fragrant smell among the churches, and servants of Christ. His sickness, though painful, was borne with patience, and joy in believing. And so he departed from time to eternity, under the full sail of desire, and joy in the Holy Spirit. He lived his own sermons. He did at last desire his friends to forbear speaking to him, that so he might retire to himself, which time they perceived he spent in prayer, often lifting up his hands a little; and at length his friends observing that they moved no more, drew near, and perceived that he had silently departed."

Mr. Caryl was a moderate Independent—a very pious and humble man.

He was the author of several sermons, but his great work was "A Commentary on the Book of Job," in two large folio volumes. It has also been printed in twelve volumes quarto. Though this work possesses great merit, its enormous size has been a great obstruction to its usefulness. Pool's Synopsis contains (vol. ii.) a good abridgment of this Commentary. It has been wittily said, that this book is a

good exercise of that patience which the book of Job was intended to inculcate and exemplify.

CASE, THOMAS, was born in the county of Kent, in England, and was the son of a clergyman. His father, the Rev. George Case, was a man eminent for piety and talents, and gave his son a truly religious education. Under this pious nurture he became a sincere convert, it is believed, in very early life. One evidence which he gave of being a renewed person, was his constancy and delight in prayer; a practice which he spontaneously took up, and which he conscientiously observed, evening and morning.

When of a suitable age, he was sent to school at Canterbury; and afterward to Merchant-tailor's school in London. When properly prepared, he went to Oxford, and became a student of Christ's church, in his seventeenth year, and such were his industry and proficiency, that he was elected student of that house by a unanimous vote, by the dean and canons.

In the year 1623, Mr. Case took his degree of A. B. and also of A. M. He now entered into the ministry, and preached for a while in his native county; but it was not long before he was called to Espingham, in Norfolk, where he remained eight or ten years. He was not only a diligent, but an eminently successful minister; many souls were converted under his ministry.

By the persuasion of some friends, Mr. Case was induced to visit London, when he was first engaged in a lecture; but afterward became pastor of Mary Magdalene church in Milk street. Here he laboured indefatigably and successfully. So many people wished to have their friends who were in the Earl of Essex's army, mentioned in the public prayers, that there was neither time to read the notes put up, or to refer to all the cases, in the public prayers; it was therefore agreed, among several ministers in London, to appoint an earlier hour for this purpose, which was called the *morning exercise*, and first com-

menced in Mr. Case's house of worship, at seven o'clock in the morning. This lecture was continued long afterwards among the Dissenters, but its form was changed. Mr. Case, besides the labours of the Sabbath, kept up a lecture for his own people, every Saturday, and on Thursday at Martins-in-the-fields, which he attended for twenty years.

Being eminently zealous in promoting reformation, he was selected as a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and was often called upon to preach before the Parliament. Mr. Case was a zealous Covenanter, as appears by the sermons preached on that occasion.

He was one of those who subscribed the two "Papers" declaring against the Parliament, in 1648, when they were taking measures to bring Charles I. to a trial. The oaths of allegiance were now abolished, and "the Engagement" was substituted for it, which was an oath "to be true and faithful to the government established without king or peers." This Mr. Case refused, and was therefore thrust out of his place as pastor in Milk street. But he was not left without employment, for he was soon invited to be lecturer at Aldermanbury and Giles', Cripplegate; and continued to preach faithfully, until being involved in Mr. Love's case, he was sent to the tower. This imprisonment lasted for six months, during which time, he composed some useful discourses or meditations, entitled "Correction and Instruction." After his release, he was invited to be lecturer at St. Giles, where he remained until the restoration of Charles II. when the former incumbent took the place. In 1661 he was at the Savoy conference, and in 1662, was silenced for non-conformity.

Mr. Case was blessed with a help-meet that suited him; a wife of eminent prudence and piety, with whom he long lived in sweet harmony, having no contention, but who should love the other most tenderly. He had no children of his own; but was very affectionate to those of his wife by a former husband. He took much pains to instruct his domestics; so that

many had reason to bless God, that they ever came under his roof. He died in a good old age, in the year 1682, being eighty-four years of age. His life was holy and his death easy. He endured no pain, suffered no agony, but gently fell asleep in the Lord. Rising from dinner, he lay down to take some repose on his bed, where he "gathered up his feet, and so yielded up the ghost, and was gathered to his people." Such a death he had desired, and often prayed for, and his request was granted. He was buried in Christ church, within Newgate, and a large white stone was placed over his grave, just below the steps leading to the altar, on which was the following inscription: "*Here sweetly sleeps* THOMAS CASE, A MOST FAITHFUL MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST, *an excellent preacher in this city and elsewhere, for many years. Educated in Christ church, Oxford, in this church of Christ at last buried. He died 30th of May, in the year of his age 84, and of Our Lord 1682.*

He lived longer than any member of the Assembly of Divines, who continued among the Dissenters.

He was a man of good abilities, of sound judgment, of quick invention, of a warm temper, and of steady principles. He was, in short, an open, plain-hearted man; an ardent lover of God, and benevolent towards men. He was heavenly minded, charitable, and of a broken and contrite spirit. He was an excellent textuary, and possessed an extraordinary gift in prayer, and was throughout his whole course, a diligent and successful labourer in the Lord's vineyard. In doctrine, Mr. Case was a consistent and strict Calvinist.

Mr. Case's published writings are:

1. Two Sermons before the House of Commons.
2. Several Sermons preached at Milk street.
3. A Sermon from Daniel xi. 32., before House of Commons.
4. A Sermon from 2 Chron. xix. 6, 7.
5. Three Sermons on Covenanting.
6. A Thanksgiving Sermon before the Commons.

7. A Sermon before the House of Lords, from Exod. v. 22, 23.
8. A Thanksgiving Sermon before the Commons.
9. A Fast Sermon before do. Hos. ix. 1.
10. A Funeral Sermon, 1 Cor. i. 29—31.
11. Several other Funeral Discourses.
12. A Treatise on Afflictions.
13. Imitation of the Saints, &c.
14. Mount Pisgah, or a Prospect of Heaven.

CAWDREY, DANIEL, was the son of a non-conformist, who suffered much for conscience sake. He was the youngest of a number of sons, and was educated at Cambridge, in Peter-House. But although he was a distinguished man in his day, yet there are extant few memorials from which can be derived any satisfactory account of his life. Dr. Calamy testifies, that he was a very considerable man, eminently learned, and a distinguished member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines; and sometimes preached before the Parliament.

He was ejected from Great Billing, in Northamptonshire, by the act of uniformity, after having laboriously and faithfully preached to his people for thirty-six or thirty-seven years. He removed afterwards to Wellingborough, where he had a daughter married. There he spent the remainder of his life, suffering under the pressure of disease very frequently, until October, 1664, when he fell asleep in the Lord, when he had nearly completed his seventy-sixth year.

Mr. Cawdrey's published writings:

1. Humility, the Saint's Livery.
2. An Assize Sermon at Northampton.
3. Superstitio Superstes.
4. The Good Man a Public Good.
5. Vindiciæ Clavium.
6. The Inconsistency of Independency with Scripture.
7. Sabbatum Redivivum. "The Christian Sabbath Vindicated."
8. Independency a Great Schism.



9. A Diatribe against Dr. Hammond.
10. A Vindication of the Diatribe.
11. A Sober Answer to a Serious Question. Against Giles Firmin.
12. A Sermon at St. Paul's, July 1, 1655.
13. Self Examination for the Lord's Supper.
14. Family Reformation Promoted.
15. Church Reformation Promoted.
16. Bowing to or toward the Altar Superstitious.
17. An Essay against Usury.
18. The Grand Case. With reference to the New Conformity.

CHAMBERS, HUMPHREY, D. D., was born in Somerset, England, and was educated at University College, Oxford, where he became a commoner in 1614, when only fifteen years of age. After taking his degrees in the arts, he entered into orders, and became the rector of Claverton, in his own native county. He now took the degree of B. D., and was highly esteemed as a sound theologian, by the neighbouring ministers. He was silenced by bishop Pierce for preaching up the morality of the Sabbath; on which occasion he manifested a truly Christian courage. His fidelity in adhering to the truth, exposed him to much trouble and persecution. He suffered two years' imprisonment under the spiritual tyranny of archbishop Laud. Mr. Chambers was a man of a most self-denying and disinterested spirit, and was entirely devoted to the honour of his blessed Master.

When the civil wars broke out, Mr. Chambers took part with the Parliament, and maintained a man and a horse, at his own expense, for the public service. He took the Solemn League and Covenant, and was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster. He was one of the three who preached before Parliament, 1644, and also before the House of Lords October 22, in the same year. He was made rector of Pewsey in 1648; about which time he commenced Doctor of Divinity. His wife was the daughter of the eminently learned Dr. Brett, who was

appointed by king James, one of the translators of the Bible into English.

Dr. Chambers was an assistant to the commissioners who were appointed by Cromwell for the ejection of scandalous and incompetent ministers. In the case of one ejected for drunkenness, profaning the Sabbath, &c., Dr. Chambers was much abused in a pamphlet, but he vindicated himself in an answer.

After the restoration, he continued in his place until the act of uniformity was carried into effect, when he preached his farewell sermon, went home, and almost immediately died, September 8, 1662. He was buried in the church of Pewsey, of which he had been the rector.

Dr. Chambers' writings:

1. Some Sermons, before Parliament, &c.
2. A Funeral Sermon, for Mr. John Grayle.
3. Animadversions on William Dell's book.
4. An Apology for the Ministers of Wilts.
5. An Answer to Mr. Walter Bushnell.

CHEYNELL, FRANCIS, D. D., was born in the city of Oxford, in the year 1608. His father was a very eminent physician, and took care that his son should receive a good education. He entered the University of Oxford, 1623, and after taking his bachelor's degree, he was elected a fellow of Merton College, and took orders. For some time he was a curate in the vicinity of Oxford. After taking the degree of B. D. he was presented with a rich living, near Banbury. While here he had some dispute with Laud.

Mr. Cheynell was a very accomplished scholar, and yet an active minister. He was remarkable for sincerity. Whatever he believed he professed, and whatever he professed, he was ready to defend. He was peculiarly bold in the cause of truth, and in the way of duty. In a sermon before the House of Commons he says, "What upon prayer and study God hath revealed, I will this day deliver unto you, though I were sure to die St. John's death, or to be banished into St. John's island."

In the civil wars he took sides with the Parliament, and was much in the army with the earl of Essex, and afterwards with the earl of Cornwall, and displayed always an undaunted courage. He seems, indeed, to have been born a soldier, for he possessed an intrepidity which could never be shaken by any danger, and a spirit of enterprise not to be discouraged by any difficulties. These noble qualities were also accompanied by extraordinary bodily strength. Dr. Calamy relates that in the army, his commands would be as readily obeyed by the Colonels, as if they had issued from the General. He was a true patriot, and possessed a public spirit, which led him to serve his country with all his might; and although he had it in his power, yet he never accumulated wealth. But the governing principle of his heart was, ardent love to the Redeemer, which induced him to be bold in his cause, and to offer him and his benefits to the sons of men.

In 1643, Dr. Cheynell was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. While in attendance on this venerable synod, he preached frequently before the Parliament; and was presented with the living of Pelworth in Sussex, worth £700 per annum.

He took the covenant, and was zealous in its defence. He was one of the select committee of Parliament, for the examination of applicants for sequestered livings.

Dr. Cheynell has been much censured for his behavior at the funeral of Mr. Chillingworth. This extraordinary man having renounced popery, wrote a book, entitled, "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation." It was commonly believed that he was a Socinian, but by his last letter, at the end of his works, he appears to have been an Arian. Cheynell visited him in his last sickness, and endeavoured to prevail with him to renounce his dangerous opinions; but he remained obstinate. He prayed fervently for him, and engaged others to do the same, being much grieved at his obstinate adherence to the errors pub-

lished in the aforesaid book. At the funeral of Chillingworth, he acted in a manner so extravagant, that many have excused him on the ground of insanity; for it seems that he was occasionally subject to paroxysms of this malady. When the body was interred, he cast the book above mentioned into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which has seduced so many precious souls. Get thee gone, thou corrupt rotten book: earth to earth, dust to dust—get thee gone into the place of rottenness, that thou mayest rot with thy author and see corruption."

Dr. Cheynell was one of those divines sent by the Parliament to the treaty of Uxbridge. He was also sent to Oxford, with seven others, to attempt a reformation in that University; but their labours were ineffectual. In 1647, he was again sent to Oxford, as one of the visitors of that institution; and was appointed master of St. John's College, and Margaret professor of divinity in the University. But it was not long before he was obliged to give up both these places, for refusing to take the "engagement," as it was called. He retired, therefore, to his charge in Petworth, where he faithfully fulfilled the duties of his office, until the restoration, when he was ejected for non-conformity; after which he lived privately in a little village near Preston, in Sussex, where he had an estate, and where he died in the year 1665.

Dr. Cheynell is allowed to have been a man of great abilities, and extensive learning. He was also strictly orthodox, a good preacher, and able disputant.

Dr. Cheynell's published works:

1. *Zion's Memento, and God's Alarum*; a sermon before the House of Commons, from Zech. ii. 7; May 31, 1643.

2. *The Rise, Growth, and Danger, of Socinianism*. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons.

3. *Chillingworthi Novissima*. "The Sickness, Heresy, Death, and Burial, of William Chillingworth."

4. *The Man of Honour Described*. A sermon before the House of Lords, March 26, 1645. Psalm xlix. 20.

5. A Plot for the Good of Posterity. A sermon from Gen. xviii. 19; before the House of Commons, March 25, 1646.

6. Letters to Dr. Mayne concerning false Prophets.

7. Correspondence with Dr. Hammond.

8. Disputation with Mr. Erbury, a Socinian.

9. The Divine Triunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

10. A Discussion of Mr. Fry's Tenets; lately condemned in Parliament; and Socinianism proved to be an Unchristian Doctrine.

**CLARKE, PETER**, a member of the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster; and one of the ejected ministers under the fatal Bartholomew act, was born at Beverly, in Yorkshire.

In early life he was distinguished for his proficiency in learning; and was in due season admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge; of which he afterwards became a fellow. When he left the University he was settled in the ministry at Carnaby, where his labours were both acceptable and successful. When the civil wars commenced, he was obliged to seek shelter in London, and was chosen a member of the Westminster Assembly.

After his ejection in 1662, he resided with his wife and four children in Walkington, near Hull, where he possessed a handsome patrimonial estate. But not being contented to lead an idle life, he engaged in the important business of teaching youth; and boarded in his house a number of young gentlemen, some of whom were afterwards ornaments and blessings to their country. In this situation he continued until the time of his death.

It is not known that Mr. Clarke ever published any of his writings.

**CLEYTON, RICHARD**, a member of the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, and one of the ejected ministers in 1662, was a good scholar, a sound theologian, and a pious man. He was settled for some

time at Showell, near Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. Therefore, in the published catalogues of the members of the Assembly of Divines, he is designated as Richard Cleyton, of Showell. But he afterwards removed to a place in the county of Stafford, from which he was ejected in 1662. After his ejection he removed to Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, where he probably spent the remainder of his life.

It is not known that Mr. Cleyton left any thing behind him in print.

COLEMAN, THOMAS, A. M., was born in Oxfordshire, and received his education in the University of Oxford, where he entered Magdalen Hall in 1615, in the seventeenth year of his age. While there, he took his degrees in the arts, and entered into holy orders. He applied himself in an uncommon degree to the cultivation of oriental literature, so that he received the appellation of Rabbi Coleman. Afterwards he was settled at Blyton; and when the civil wars commenced, being disturbed by the cavaliers, he took refuge in London, where he was preferred to the rectory of St. Peters, in Cornhill. In 1643 he was chosen to be a member of the Westminster Assembly; principally on account of his accurate acquaintance with the Hebrew language.

In matters of church government, Mr. C. was a zealous Erastian; that is, he believed that Jesus Christ had left no particular form of church government, but that this was to be regulated by the civil magistrate, who might appoint any form which he thought most conducive to the public weal. The pastoral office, he held, was not connected with any power of discipline, but was merely instructive and hortatory in its nature: and that the minister had no right to debar any man from the sacraments; though he might dissuade them from coming; nor could he inflict any censure. The learned Doctor Lightfoot was also a great advocate for this opinion; and some of the most distinguished men of the House of Commons were much in favour of this scheme. The debates on church government

continued for thirty days; and no man more warmly opposed Presbyterian government than Mr. Coleman. He said, however, that he did not object to this kind of government, as established by the civil magistrate, but the idea of its being of divine right, he opposed strenuously. His ablest opponent was Mr. Gillespie. Their controversy was not confined to the Assembly, but was carried on in the pulpit, and from the press. But death, that great terminator of controversies, interposed, and while the debate was going on, he was seized with mortal sickness, and expired in a few days. The whole Assembly attended his funeral on the 30th of March, 1647. His character by Fuller is, "that he was a pious and learned man, equally averse to presbytery and prelacy."

Mr. Coleman's published writings:

1. *The Christian's Course and Complaint, &c.* A sermon preached before the House of Commons, Aug. 30, 1643.

2. *The Heart's Engagement.* A sermon preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, at the taking of the Covenant.

3. *God's Unusual Answer to a Solemn Fast.* A sermon before both Houses of Parliament, September 12, 1644.

4. *Hopes Deferred and Dashed.* A sermon preached before the House of Commons, July 30, 1645.

5. *A Brotherly Examination re-examined.* A vindication of a sermon against the exceptions of Mr. Gillespie.

6. *Maledicis Maledicis, or, a brief reply to Mr. Gillespie's "Nihil Respondes."*

7. *The Brief View, briefly Viewed, or Animadversions on a nameless Author, in a book called, "A Brief View of Mr. Coleman's New Model."*

CONANT, JOHN, D. D., was born in Devonshire, in England, October 18, 1608. His family was of French origin, and was respectable, and of competent estate. In 1626 he was entered a student in Exeter College, Oxford. Here he prosecuted his studies with unre-

mitting diligence, and laid the foundation of those distinguished talents which he displayed in his future life. His knowledge of the Latin and Greek tongues was exact and perfect. His Latin style was elegant as well as perspicuous; and he was so perfect in the Greek, that he often disputed publicly in that language. He was considered one of the ablest disputants in the University. Dr. Prideaux, rector of Exeter College, was accustomed to say, "*Conanti nihil difficile*," and predicted that Jack Conant would be his successor; and it is remarkable, that both the eminent stations possessed by Dr. Prideaux, were afterwards conferred on Dr. Conant. When the civil wars commenced, most of his pupils left the University, and he thought it expedient to retire. He now entered into holy orders, and took charge of a parish at Lymington, where his uncle was rector. While here, he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; but he never took his seat among them, and never took the covenant. He became chaplain to the earl of Chandos, in whose family he lived, at Uxbridge, and preached a gratuitous lecture there to numerous audiences. He resigned his fellowship in Exeter College, September 27, 1647, but in June 7, 1649, was chosen rector of the college; which flourished more than any one in the University during his administration. And his reputation grew so high, that on the death of Dr. Hoyle, he was chosen Professor of Divinity for the University of Oxford; and in 1657, he was advanced to the high office of vice-chancellor of the University.

At the restoration he came up to London with a congratulatory address, and made to Charles II. a Latin oration, and a volume of poems composed by the members of the University. He was one who attended the Savoy Conference; and when the act of uniformity was passed, he resigned all his preferments, as he could not conscientiously conform to the ceremonies of the church. For eight years he continued to be an ejected and silenced minister; and then, at length, after having suffered so much for non-con-



formity, he submitted to be re-ordained; which ceremony was performed by Dr. Reynolds, bishop of Norwich, September 28, 1670, and he was then elected minister of Mary Aldermanbury, in London; but being much pleased with Northampton, he complied with the request of his friends in that place, to remain among them. And the thing took a very convenient turn, for Dr. Ford, the minister of All-saints, in Northampton, was now called to Aldermanbury, London, and Dr. Conant immediately succeeded him, and continued in that place until his death.

In 1675, most of his parishioners were burnt out by a great fire, which consumed a large part of Northampton. His own house, however, was mercifully preserved.

Though a man of so much learning, his discourses were composed in a style so plain, that the poorest people could understand him. He preached twice every Lord's day, and catechised the children, among whom his own were always present. He was very assiduous in visiting the sick; and in his attentions of this sort was no respecter of persons. As he had the means of aiding the indigent, so he abounded in charities; relieving those who were in want as soon as he became acquainted with their circumstances. During twenty years that he resided in Northampton, he paid for the schooling of poor children never less than twenty-four at once, and sometimes nearly forty; and these he boarded with poor widows, that they also might derive advantage from his charity to the children.

His amusements were reading the classics, or hearing a passage of ancient history, or instructive conversation with his family. He knew the value of time too well to waste it in idle visits or empty sports: or, in unprofitable studies, or secular affairs; but though very strict in his morals, he had no appearance of moroseness or pride. He possessed great evenness of temper; and though uniformly cheerful, never indulged in levity. He was very little liable to dejection of spirits, even under losses and bodily

pain. His humility was so genuine, that it shone forth on all occasions. Much form and ceremony in behaviour, he despised; yet from natural sweetness of temper, was affable and kind, and condescending to all, even to the meanest person in his parish.

In the year 1681, he was installed a prebendary in the church of Worcester. This preferment, the earl of Radnor, an old college acquaintance, obtained for him, by a request to the king in the following words, "Sir, I come to beg a preferment from you, for a very deserving person, who never sought any thing for himself." And upon naming Dr. Conant, the king very readily granted the request.

In 1686, his eyes began to fail, and in a short time he was entirely blind; but he lived until the year 1693, when he was in the 86th year of his age. He was buried in his own church at Northampton, where a suitable monument was erected to his memory, by his widow. He left one son, who inherited both his father's names, and much of his talents. He was for a while fellow of Merton College, and afterwards an eminent advocate.

Dr. Conant was a man of solid and extensive learning; yet, though well versed in the oriental languages, his modesty was so great, that few people knew his acquirements.

Six volumes of his sermons have been published; but one of these, however, was edited by himself; the other five were posthumous, and were given to the public at different times.

John Conant, the uncle of the Doctor, was also an eminent man, and like him belonged to Exeter College; so that by many they have been confounded.

**CORBET, EDWARD, D. D.**, was born at Pontesbury, in Shropshire, in 1602, and was educated in Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degrees in the arts, and was elected fellow of his College. He was also made proctor of the University, but was deprived by archbishop Laud, for refusing conformity to some of the ceremonies. When the civil wars commenced,

and Oxford was garrisoned by the king's forces, he was expelled from his fellowship and the college, because he refused to espouse the royal cause. In 1643, Mr. Corbet was made rector of Chatham in Kent, by the Parliament, and when archbishop Laud was tried he appeared as a witness against him, and testified, that he and Mr. Cheynell were enjoined to bow towards the altar, which he refused to do, and was prosecuted for disobedience. He also stated that a cross was now erected over the communion table, and pictures in the windows, which things had never been heard of before the time of archbishop Laud.

Mr. Corbet was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines, in 1643, and is marked by Neal, as one who was constant in his attendance. He was one of the seven ministers sent to preach at Oxford, to promote a reformation in the University, and to reconcile the students to the Parliament; but he soon retired from service. He was afterwards appointed one of the visitors of the University, and orator and canon of Christ's church, in the room of Dr. Hammond. But receiving a presentation to the rectory of Great Hasely, in Oxfordshire; he removed thither, where he spent the remainder of his life.

He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in the year 1648.

He died in London, in 1657, aged fifty-five years; his remains were removed to Great Hasely, and interred in the chancel of the church.

Dr. Corbet was a sound theologian, and a good preacher, and was always distinguished for integrity. His wife, the daughter of Sir Nathaniel Brent, and a descendant of Robert Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, was a woman of uncommon excellence.

The published writings of Dr. Corbet:

1. The Worldling's Looking-Glass; or the danger of losing the Soul for Gain.

2. God's Providence; a sermon from 1 Cor. i. 27, before the House of Commons, at their solemn fast, December 28, 1642.

**DELME, PHILIP**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and a constant attendant, according to Neal. But no memorials of him remain.

**DOWNING, CALIBUTE, D. D.**, was born in Gloucestershire, in the year 1604, and was educated in Oriel College, Oxford. When he had finished his academical course, and had entered on the work of the ministry, he was successively settled at Ickford, in Buckinghamshire, at West Ilsley, in Berkshire, and at Hackney, near London.

In 1640, he expressed the opinion, in a sermon, that it was, in certain circumstances, lawful to take up arms against the king; on account of which he was obliged to abscond, until the meeting of the Long Parliament.

In 1643, he took the Covenant, and was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, but he is marked by Neal, as withdrawing, or seldom attending.

Dr. Downing had the character of being a pious man, a warm preacher, and zealous for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom.

Dr. Downing's writings:

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 Discovery of the False Grounds which the Bavarian Party have taken to settle their own faction, and shake the peace of the Empire.

4. A Discourse upon the Interest of England.

5. A Discursive Conjecture upon the reasons which produced the present troubles of Great Britain, different from those of Lower Germany. And several sermons.

**DURY, JOHN**, was born in Scotland, but the time and place of his birth have not been ascertained. In 1624 he was a sojourner at Oxford, for the sake of the public libraries. He then travelled into Germany,

where he resided for several years; so that upon his return to Great Britain he was taken for a German. He had entered the ministry on the continent, but on his return, submitted to re-ordination, by the hands of bishop Hall, of Exeter. He was many years zealously engaged in a plan for uniting the Lutherans and Calvinists into one body. With this view, he obtained a dispensation for non-residence on his living, in England, and for many years he devoted himself to this favourite object. He first published his plan on the continent, in 1634, in a famous assembly of Lutheran divines, at Frankfort, in Germany. He then negotiated with Sweden and Denmark, and received communications from Transylvania. His plan met with a very general approbation. He wrote to the learned Joseph Mede, for his opinion on the subject; Mr. Mede replied, that he approved the object, but doubted of its practicability. He also communicated his plan to the divines of New England, and received their cordial approbation. The celebrated Richard 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 the commencement of the civil wars in England, Mr. Dury espoused the cause of the Parliament; and became a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He is marked in Dr. Neal's list, as one who gave constant attendance. He took the covenant with the rest of his brethren, and was appointed on the "committee of accommodation." He was undoubtedly a man of very amiable character, and was much esteemed and beloved by many persons of distinguished excellence, among whom we ought not to omit Sir Robert Boyle, who was eminently his friend. In the interesting scheme to which he devoted his life, of promoting concord among Christians, his motives were highly praise-worthy; and although successful to his own and his friends' expectations did not

attend his labours; yet no doubt much good was effected.

The writings published by Mr. Dury are,

1. Consultatio Theologica, super negotio pacis Ecclesiasticæ.
2. A Summary Discourse concerning Peace Ecclesiastical.
3. Petition to the House of Commons for the Preservation of true Religion.
4. Considerations showing the importance of Christian Correspondence.
5. Epistolary Discourse to Thomas Goodwin.
6. Israel's Call to march out of Babylon to Jerusalem.
7. Of Presbytery and Independency.
8. Model of Church Government.
9. Peace Maker, the Gospel Way.
10. Seasonable Discourse for Reformation.
11. An Epistle to Thomas Thorowgood.
12. Considerations concerning the "Engagement."
13. The Reformed School.
14. Supplement to the same.
15. The Reformed Library Keeper.
16. Bibliotheca Augusta.
17. The Unchanged, Constant, and Single-hearted Peace Maker.
18. Conscience Eased.
19. Earnest Plea for Gospel Communion.
20. A Summary Platform of Divinity.
21. A Declaration of John Dury.
22. Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus.

FEATLY, DANIEL, D. D., was the son of the cook of the president of Magdalen college, Oxford, and was born at Charlton in that county, March 1582. Being a boy of good capacity, he was sent to the grammar school adjoining Magdalen college. When duly prepared, he was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi, in 1594; and was elected probationer-fellow in 1602, having already taken his first degree in the arts. He now commenced the study of theology with extraor-

dinary assiduity. He perused the remaining works of the fathers with indefatigable diligence; he read also the history and acts of councils, and the works of the schoolmen; so that there was nothing relating to these several departments of ecclesiastical literature with which he was not thoroughly acquainted. Featly was equally distinguished as an accomplished preacher, and an able disputant; and his fame in the University was so great, that Sir Thomas Edmonds, when appointed as ambassador to the court of France, selected him as his chaplain. In this station he remained for three years, and did great honour to the English nation, and the Protestant religion, disputing successfully against the most learned Romanists, who ventured to attack him. His rare abilities as a disputant were so highly appreciated by the doctors of that communion, that they were accustomed to style him *acutissimus* and *acerrimus*.

After his return to England, he resumed his place in his college, and took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, in 1613. Soon after this, he was called to be chaplain to Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was preferred to the rectorship of Lambeth. In 1617, he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity; on which occasion, he so puzzled Prideaux, the king's professor, with his arguments, that a quarrel arose between them, which it required all the influence of the archbishop to reconcile. The archbishop of Spalatto, Antony de Dominis, being present at this disputation, was so pleased with Featly, that he immediately gave him a brother's place, in the Savoy Hospital, of which he was then master. He also had bestowed upon him by Archbishop Abbot, the rectory of All-hallows, in Bread street, London, which he exchanged for Acton, in Middlesex; and finally, he was promoted to be the third—and as it proved, the last—provost of Chelsea college.

In 1625, Dr. Featly married, and retired from the service of the archbishop, and settled himself in Kennington, near Lambeth, where his wife owned a house. The year following, he published his "An-

cilla Pietatis," or "The Handmaid to Private Devotion," of which eight editions were printed in less than half a century. He also published another devotional work, entitled "The Practice of Extraordinary Devotion." In one of these treatises, he represented the story of St. George, the tutelary saint of England, to be a mere fable. But Laud, who had now become archbishop of Canterbury, was so displeased with this liberty, that he would not be satisfied without an humble recantation of the offensive sentiment, which the yielding doctor was obliged to make on his knees.

From this time, until the commencement of the civil wars, Dr. Featly was principally engaged in writing books, and in disputations with those who differed from him in matters of religion.

In 1662, when the army of the Parliament came to Acton, where Featly then resided, having heard that he was a papist, or that way inclined, they sought for him; but he having retired from the storm, they did not spare his property, but destroyed his house, stables, barns, &c. He seems to have been especially, the object of their displeasure; for after this, they endeavoured to apprehend him at Lambeth, and would in all likelihood have put him to death, but he escaped from their hands.

Dr. Featly, however, as soon as the breach between the king and Parliament was complete, took part with the latter; and when the Assembly of Divines was called to meet at Westminster, he was one of those nominated; and though several distinguished Episcopalians were summoned to attend on that Assembly, he was the only one who took his seat, which he retained for some time. And while he remained, he was very active, and entered zealously into the defence of Prelacy against its numerous and learned opposers in that venerable body. He was, however, treated with great respect, and indulged to the full extent, in the free expression of his opinions. At length, however, his correspondence with archbishop Usher was interrupted, in which he communi-



cated to that distinguished prelate, some account of the proceedings of the Assembly, which was in direct violation of the solemn engagement, which all the members took on entering that body. The consequence was, that he was expelled from the Assembly by the Parliament; and Usher, who had also been of the number originally nominated, was declared incapable of taking his seat.

Lord Clarendon, in favour to Dr. Featly, puts another face on this transaction, and says, that the king wrote to him, and commanded him to leave the Assembly; which might also be true.

When Laud was put on his trial, Dr. Featly was one of the witnesses against him; on which occasion he discovered himself to be more of a Calvinist, says his biographer, than he had been suspected to be. Heylin, however, says, that he was always a Calvinist at heart; and his being nominated a member of the Westminster Assembly is a sure proof that he had the reputation of being a Calvinist; for of all the persons selected for that service, it is not known that any one was inclined to Arminianism, which was in exceeding bad odour with all the friends of the Parliament.

Dr. Featly was much opposed to the imposition of the "Solemn League and Covenant," and it was on this subject, that he wrote to archbishop Usher, when the correspondence was interrupted. He was, on this occasion, treated very harshly, as if he had been a traitor; for he was not only expelled from the Assembly, as was before stated, but he was seized and committed to prison, where he continued until March 1644. All his rectories and preferments also were taken from him. But his health suffering greatly from confinement, as he was of a dropsical habit, he was removed to Chelsea college, of which, until this time, he had been the provost. Here he spent his time in devotional exercises, until the termination of his life, which occurred in April 1645.

"He was esteemed," says Wood, "by the generality, to be one of the most resolute and victorious

champions of the reformed Protestant religion of any of his time; a most smart scourge of the church of Rome; a compendium of the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and sciences; and though of small stature, yet he had a great soul, and learning of all kinds compacted in him."

FORD, THOMAS, a member of the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, was born at Brixton, in Devonshire, in the year 1598.

In his youth he was of a serious turn of mind, and much inclined to learning. He received the rudiments of his classical education under Mr. Durant, at Plympton, and entered a student at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in the year 1619 or 1620. Here his proficiency in learning, especially in all connected with theology was great. In 1624, he proceeded A. B. and in 1627, A. M. He was very much celebrated as an able tutor, while in the University.

Having, with some other preachers in the University, publicly preached against the innovations which Laud was making, he was called before the vice-chancellor, and a copy of his sermon demanded, which he offered to give, if the demand was made agreeably to the statutes. He then ordered him to surrender himself a prisoner at the castle. Mr. Ford offered to go, if they would send a beadle with him. This was not done; but his study was sealed up, and a search made into his books and papers, for matter of accusation, but nothing was found. Archbishop Laud, when he heard of this affair, sent peremptory orders, as chancellor of the University, to punish the refractory preachers; and Ford was again arraigned before the vice-chancellor; and upon a demand for a copy of his sermon, surrendered it; but on pretence of former contumacy was again commanded to surrender himself prisoner. He appealed to the convocation, and delivered his appeal in writing to the proctors. These were men of eminent probity and ability, and carried the appeal before the convocation; who referred the matter to sixteen delegates,

ten of whom were clear for acquitting Mr. Ford from all breach of the peace. From this opinion the vice-chancellor appealed to the convocation itself; but the time limited by statute elapsed before they came to a decision. Upon which Laud brought the whole matter before the king and council, at Woodstock. When Mr. Ford appeared, the king himself examined him on three points;

1st. Why he refused a copy of his sermon?

To which he answered that he had not refused it, but offered it according to the statutes.

2d. Whether Dr. Prideaux had dissuaded him from giving it?

To which he answered that he had never consulted the Doctor respecting it.

3d. The third question was, why he did not go to prison when ordered?

He gave the same answer as before to the vice-chancellor. The king said no more, and Laud, though present, did not interpose one word; but the council passed a sentence, that Ford, Thorn, and Hodges, be expelled from the University; that both the proctors should be deprived of their places for receiving the appeals; and that Dr. Prideaux and Dr. Wilkinson should receive a sharp rebuke, for meddling in this affair.

Thorn and Hodges made their peace with Laud, by a recantation, and were both soon promoted; but Ford was compelled to leave the University in four days. He was soon invited to Plymouth, to take charge of a congregation, but Laud sent letters forbidding his induction. Finding himself excluded from all useful stations in his own country, he went abroad as chaplain to the regiment of Col. Fleetwood, in the service of Augustus Adolphus. While in Germany, his eminent abilities recommended him to the learned of all professions. He was also invited by the English merchants of Hamburgh to become their minister. But not being much pleased with a residence in a foreign country, Mr. Ford returned home, and received a presentation to the rectory of Ald-

winkle, in Northamptonshire, where he laboured with great diligence some years. He married the daughter of a member of Gray's Inn, by whom he had several children; and was chosen proctor for the clergy of the diocese of Peterborough, to the famous convocation of 1640.

When the war between the king and Parliament commenced, he retired to London, and was made minister of St. Faith's, London; and was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

After the war was over, Mr. Ford settled at Exeter, the largest city of Devonshire. This part of the country he found overrun with fanatical errors, against all which he set his face, and with extraordinary zeal and diligence endeavoured to disabuse the misled people of their wild notions; and his success was also extraordinary. His labours in Exeter were highly acceptable and useful. Indeed, the whole city appeared to undergo a reformation; and a relish for God's word and ordinances became general among the inhabitants. He was esteemed by all classes of people, the high and the low; and cultivated a friendly intercourse with the other ministers of the town and its vicinity. By his influence a Tuesday's lecture was set up, in which they all took their turns, and was attended with the happiest results. He also prevailed with his brethren to enter into a concerted plan of holding a communion in one of their churches, every fortnight, at which all who desired it, of other churches, might attend; which had a tendency to prevent all jealousies among the ministers, and to unite the people in affection towards each other. For thirteen years the ministers and churches of Exeter enjoyed the most uninterrupted peace and harmony, until the arrival of the fatal St. Bartholomew's day, when Mr. Ford and his brethren were all cast out for non-conformity.

Not being free to take the oath prescribed by the Oxford act, he and a number of others sent in a petition, stating what sort of an oath they were willing to take, but the magistrates refused to grant them any

indulgence; they were, therefore, obliged to leave Exeter for a while. Mr. Ford went and resided in Exmouth, a village about nine miles from Exeter, where he lived in deep retirement, depending for subsistence on his Heavenly Father's care.

When king James' II. indulgence came out, although he did not approve the motive, or design; yet he was of opinion that he ought to improve the opportunity of preaching the gospel. He therefore returned to Exeter; but his health was now so much impaired that he was not able to preach publicly more than twice; he was however useful to many in the way of private advice and counsel.

His complaints continued to increase until he was confined entirely to his bed. When two ministers from the city came to see him, he expressed a deep sense of his own unworthiness, and of the all-sufficiency of Christ, and said he would repose himself upon that rock in the storms of approaching death. When an old friend in the ministry came to see him, and was reciting these words, "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law," Mr. Ford stopped him short, and said, "But thanks be to God who giveth us the victory." These were his last words. He died December, 1674, according to Calamy, but in 1676, according to Wood, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

Mr. Ford's publications:

1. Two Sermons before Parliament; the one before the Commons, the other before the Lords.

2. Singing, the Duty of Christians under the New Testament; or a Vindication of that Ordinance; in five sermons.

3. The Sinner Condemned of Himself; being a plea for God, against all the ungodly, proving them alone guilty of their own destruction.

4. The Scriptures' Self-Evidence; proving it to be the only rule of Faith, against the Papists.

FOXCROFT, JOHN, A. M., a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was educated in Mag-

dales Hall, Oxford. He took his degree of A. M. in 1617. And having finished his studies in the University, he entered on his ministerial work at Gotham, in Northamptonshire. Upon the commencement of the civil war, he took part with the Parliament, and experienced much molestation from royalists. In 1643, he removed to London to attend on the Assembly of Divines, to which he was appointed.

Mr. Foxcroft published but one sermon which is known to us. This is entitled, "The Good of a good Government, and well grounded Peace," from Isaiah xxxii. 1, 2, preached before the House of Commons, in Margaret's Church, Westminster, on the day of their monthly fast, December 31, 1645.

GATAKER, THOMAS, was born in London, on the 4th of September, 1574. He was descended from a very ancient family in Shropshire, where the name is said to have been found, from the time of Edward the Confessor. His father, at the time of his birth, was pastor in St. Edmund's Church, Lombard street, London, and was eminently distinguished for his disinterestedness and self-denial, for the sake of Christ.

The subject of this memoir received the first part of his education in his father's house, and gave early indications of an uncommon genius and of surprising application. At a very early period of his life, he devoted himself entirely to the pursuits of literature. His manners were amiable, and his conversation grave. Enjoying the advantages of a good early education, and sound religious instruction, his vigorous mind soon imbibed those principles which afterwards so happily ripened into maturity. In the grammar school to which he was sent, he quickly distinguished himself for his learning and diligence, above all his fellows.

■ In the year 1590, when only sixteen years of age, he was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he pursued his academical studies with indefatigable industry. He was also here distinguished for his amiable manners and propriety of conduct. Besides

his common course of study, he found time to attend the lectures on Greek, by Mr. Bois, which were delivered from his bed to such as preferred learning to their accustomed rest. Of these lectures he took accurate notes, which he preserved with great care; and when visited by his teacher, many years afterwards, he gratified the old man exceedingly by showing him these notes. He also, while in the University, gave his attention to the study of Hebrew, under the tuition of that celebrated scholar, Mr. Edward Lively, who was then the professor of the Hebrew language in Cambridge. Mr. Gataker had not resided long in the University, before he had the heavy misfortune of losing his father, on whom he depended for support, and who was not in circumstances to leave him the means of finishing his education at the University. But, in this exigence, providence raised him up friends; for several benevolent persons in London, who knew the promise of the young man, contributed what supplied his present necessities, and it was not long before he was elected to a scholarship in his own college. At the proper time, he took his degrees in the arts, and his exercises, on these occasions, were highly applauded. While resident at the University, he associated with men of the most pious and edifying conversation. Among these, was one Mr. Richard Stock, with whom he was united in the bonds of the most endearing friendship, which continued until the death of Mr. Stock.

Mr. Gataker's reputation for learning and piety had risen so high in the University, that he was chosen fellow of Sidney College, although the buildings were not yet erected for the institution. In the mean time, he was invited to reside in the house of William Ayloff, Esq., afterwards a baronet in Essex, as tutor to that gentleman's eldest son, and assistant to that gentleman himself, in the study of Hebrew. While resident in this family, it was his custom to expound a portion of Scripture, taking the sense from the original languages, and thence deducing pertinent, practical observations. In this manner, he went over the

apostolic epistles, the prophecy of Isaiah, and a good part of the book of Job; which exercise could not but be very beneficial to himself, as well as the household for whose sake it was performed. On one of these occasions, Dr. Sterne, the suffragan bishop of Colchester, happening to be present, was so well pleased with Mr. Gataker's exposition, that he urged him to enter into holy orders. For some time he hesitated, on account of the views which he entertained of the serious and exalted nature of the holy ministry; but at length he yielded to the urgent exhortations of this prelate, and those of other friends, and was ordained by the suffragan before named.

As soon as the College of Sidney was finished, Mr. Gataker removed, and took his proper station in the building, where he devoted himself very assiduously to study, and acted also as tutor, with great fidelity; exhorting the young students to devote themselves to piety and learning. He also entered into a plan with Mr. William Bedell and Mr. Ashton, to supply the destitute country around Cambridge, with the preaching of the gospel. In conformity with this plan, he preached at Everton every Lord's day, for six months; for, although the vicar of the parish was resident, on account of extreme age he was unable to perform the parochial duties. For reasons not known, Mr. Gataker's continuance in Sidney College was short. He removed to London, and by the persuasion of his friend, Mr. Ashton, consented to act as chaplain in the family of Sir William Cooke. In this situation, he became acquainted with many persons of eminence; among whom were members of Lincoln's-Inn, who had opportunity of appreciating Mr. Gataker's ministerial gifts and eminent pulpit talents, when he preached for different ministers of his acquaintance. They therefore became solicitous that he would take the necessary steps to be chosen preacher to their society. But his native modesty, and diffidence of his own abilities, would not allow him to become a candidate for that honourable office. However, without any solicitation on his part, he



was chosen, and was prevailed upon by his friends to accept the invitation. He entered upon the performance of its duties in 1601, and for ten years officiated as preacher to that honourable society, with great credit to himself and to the benefit of those who heard him; and was much admired and caressed by his learned audience. During this period, he prosecuted his studies with judicious and successful application.

Dr. Montague, Master of Sidney College, had intended to invite Mr. Gataker to return to the college, as lecturer on Hebrew; but when he received the invitation to Lincoln's-Inn, he urged him to accept that appointment. By becoming preacher to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, he did not dissolve his connection with the family of Sir William Cooke; for although he felt it be to his duty to reside at Lincoln's-Inn, in *term-time*, yet in vacation, he went down to Sir William's seat, in Northamptonshire, where he was accustomed to preach, every Sunday, either in the family chapel or in the parish church. He went about doing good, as he had opportunity; and as his first object was to glorify God, the next evidently was to benefit his fellow men. He now took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in Cambridge, and was urged by many to take that of doctor also; but this he declined, for economical reasons. His reputation as a preacher rose so high, while he officiated at Lincoln's-Inn, that he had several offers of lucrative livings, which it was thought he might have enjoyed without dissolving his connection with this honourable society; but such was his opinion of the unlawfulness of pluralities, that he conscientiously refused all offers of this sort, however advantageous they might appear. His love of study was so great, that for the sake of a large income, he was not willing to relinquish the favourable situation which he here enjoyed for pursuing those branches of learning to which he was inclined. The objects to which his attention was more especially directed, were a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, in their original

tongues; an acquaintance with the fathers of the first ages of the Christian church; and also of the best Greek and Roman authors. But after Mr. Gataker thought proper to enter into the married state, he judged it necessary to resign his situation as preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, and accepted the rectory of Rotherhithe, in the county of Surrey, near London-bridge. As has been said, he might have retained both; but this for the reason already given, he would by no means consent to do. The honourable society, for whose benefit and to whose acceptance he had so long laboured, were very reluctant to give him up; but they could not but highly respect the motive which led to his resignation. Being now the regular pastor of a flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, he devoted himself faithfully to fulfil the responsible duties of his office. To the public preaching of the Word, on the Sabbath, he added a catechetical lecture, on Friday, which was chiefly intended for the benefit of children and young persons; and for some time, this institution was well attended, and was productive of much good. His principal bodily indisposition, which interfered with the discharge of his parochial duties, was an almost perpetual headache, produced, as was thought, by his late studies; but was probably owing to some other cause. Mr. Gataker's catechetical instructions were conducted so judiciously and systematically, that after some time, he had gone over the whole system of divinity; and these discourses were attended by Christians considerably advanced in Christian knowledge.

In the year 1616, Mr. Gataker entered upon a literary correspondence with Dr. Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, respecting some ancient MSS. which he had in his possession, of the divines of a former age; and among others, of the famous Robert Groshead, bishop of Lincoln. These letters furnish evidence of the profound erudition of Mr. Gataker, and of the high esteem in which he was held by Dr. Usher.

Whilst Mr. Gataker was preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, among other learned subjects which he discussed, was that "Of the Rise and Abuse of Lots." His object, in these discourses, was to show that Lots, in games for mere amusement, were not in themselves sinful, but that lots of *divination*, or to ascertain the will of God, in matters of importance, were now unlawful. These discourses were much misrepresented, as though he had become the apologist of gamblers, and had given encouragement to the waste of precious time, by the fascination of games of chance. These rumors coming to his ears, he was induced, though reluctantly, to send these discourses to the press, under the title of "The Nature and Use of Lots; a Treatise Historical and Theological," published in 1619. This very elaborate work is allowed to be eminently distinguished for accuracy, acuteness of reasoning, profound learning, perspicuity, and elegance of style, for the time in which it was written. The work was entirely satisfactory to a large part of the community; but there were some who still censured his views, so that this discussion not only rendered it necessary to appear as an author, but to enter into controversy in defence of his opinions. In his epistle to the reader, he protests in the most solemn manner that he had no sinister end in view, and that he had said nothing but what he was verily persuaded was agreeable to the word of God. But that, if any man could better inform him, he would willingly listen to him. He avows that the elucidation of the truth was his only object, and says, "that whosoever shall take no more liberty than by me is here given, shall be sure to keep within the bounds of piety, of sobriety, of equity, and of charity."

In the year 1620, Mr. Gataker set out on a tour through the Spanish Netherlands and United Provinces, in company with two eminent friends and his own nephew, who was then a student. His object in undertaking this journey was a laudable desire to become better acquainted with the state of the churches in those regions, and to cultivate acquaint-

ance with men distinguished for their learning. When he was at Middleburgh, in Zealand, he preached in the English church, to the great satisfaction of his countrymen who resided there. He also distinguished himself in controversy with the English Catholic priests, who encountered him in this place. He was greatly impressed with the importance of maintaining peace between England and Holland, as he was of opinion that the zeal of the Dutch for the Protestant religion was very strong and sincere.

Upon Mr. Gataker's return to his own country, from which he had been absent only one month, he found that his treatise on "Lots" had been attacked by a Mr. John Balmford; but on account of its angry spirit and illiberal reflections on Mr. Gataker, the licenser of the press had refused to permit it to be published. As soon as he learned the true state of the case, he, to his credit, used all his influence to have the prohibition removed; and when he succeeded in this, he then immediately set about preparing an answer, which was published in 1623, and was entitled, "A Just Defence of Certain Passages in a Former Treatise, concerning the Nature and Use of Lots, &c." In this answer, he inserts the whole of Mr. Balmford's arguments, in his own words, and replies distinctly to every thing which he had brought forth. Not long afterwards, he felt himself called upon to defend the principles maintained in this same Treatise on Lots, against two very learned foreign divines, Voetius and Amesius; each of whom had published in Latin, on this subject. Of course it was necessary that his answer should also be in Latin. Mr. Gataker had a warm zeal for the Protestant religion, which led him to publish a work against the Romanists, the title of which was "A Discussion of the Popish Doctrine of Transubstantiation." This work was highly esteemed by the learned, when it was published, and still deserves to be consulted on this controversy. He also published "A Defence of this Discourse against the Answer of an Anonymous Popish Priest."

In the year 1624, Mr. Gataker published "A Short Catechism," and in the year following he published several elaborate works, the titles of which will be given in the list of his writings, at the close of this memoir. But we must not forget to make particular mention of his work "On Justification," founded on Rom. iii. 23: "We conclude, therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law." The substance of this discourse was preached to his people, in a series of sermons, which he commenced in 1640; but at the time he seems to have had no thought of publishing any thing on this subject; but, being much urged by his friends to prepare his notes for the press, he at length set about it, and reviewed the whole subject, reading very extensively on it; but before it was entirely ready for the press, he was called away from his earthly labours; and it was published after his death, by his son.

In the year 1642, he was brought very near, apparently, to the gates of death, by a violent attack of cholic, but through divine mercy was raised up again, to be further useful to his flock and to the church of Christ.

When the Parliament determined on convening an Assembly of learned Divines, to advise them in relation to the settlement of religion in the kingdom, Gataker was nominated as a member of that respectable body, on which he attended with exemplary diligence and patience. The article on Justification was so expressed as not entirely to meet his views; but as a large majority were in favour of the article as it stands in the Confession, he imposed silence on himself, and offered no objection. But on the subject of ruling, as distinct from preaching elders, he set himself strenuously to oppose the recognition of any such office in the church; and in these views he was upheld by some of the ablest members in the house, as Dr. Temple, Dr. Smith, Mr. Vines, Mr. Price, and Mr. Hall. It was carried, however, by a large majority in favour of the office; and so it became a distinguishing feature in the government adopted by

this Assembly. Mr. Gataker, if he could have had his way, would have been in favour of a moderate Episcopacy; and he therefore felt some scruples respecting the COVENANT, until some expressions were explained and modified, so that he could with a good conscience subscribe.

While acting as a member of the Assembly, the Earl of Manchester, who was well acquainted with his pre-eminent abilities and profound erudition, offered to appoint him to be Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, which was the greatest preferment in the whole University. But though urged by his friends to accept, yet he chose to decline this tempting offer, pleading as his apology, his advanced years and his desire to employ the short remainder of his life in writing for the benefit of the learned world.

His health was again interrupted by a dangerous attack of sickness; but again it pleased his heavenly Father to restore him, although he was for some time confined to his chamber. So great, however, was his zeal to be doing something for the advancement of learning, that during his confinement, he composed two learned discourses; the one on the name **ЈЕНО-  
ВАН**, and the other "On the Diphthongs," in which last, he asserted that two vowels cannot be so united as to form one syllable. He also engaged with other eminent divines, in writing "Annotations on the Bible," under the name of the "English Annotations," and not the "Assembly's Annotations," as they have been frequently, but improperly called. Dr. Burgess, who was one of the assessors, and a leading man in the Assembly, has left us this testimony: "It is indeed true, that some members of the Assembly, joining with some others, did compile some Annotations on the Bible, which many take to be the work of the Assembly. But take this for an undoubted truth, those annotations were never made by the Assembly, nor by any order from it; nor after they were made, ever had the approbation of the Assembly, or were so much as offered to the Assembly at all, for that purpose or any other."

The part which fell to the lot of Mr. Gataker, was the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations; and his annotations on those books furnish solid evidence of the talents, learning, diligence, and piety of the author. The authors of the other parts have been mentioned in the History of the Westminster Assembly, and need not be here repeated.

In 1648, Mr. Gataker published a work on the style of the New Testament, which gained him the character of being one of the ablest philologists of the age. He soon added a larger work, also of a critical nature, intended to illustrate difficult passages, both in the Old and New Testaments, and in the Fathers, modern critics, profane authors, both Greek and Latin. This work was entitled, "Adversaria Miscellanea." It was divided into six books, only two of which were published by the author himself: the remaining four were given to the world after his death, under the title of "Adversaria Miscellanea Posthuma," in 1659.

In 1651, he published a learned Latin Discourse on Infant Baptism; and the following year, his splendid edition of the Meditations of the Emperor Antoninus, with a learned preliminary discourse respecting the philosophy of the stoics. This edition of one of the best treatises of heathen philosophy and morality, is in high esteem with the lovers of classical literature.

For some time before his death, Mr. Gataker was entirely laid aside from the duties of the pulpit, in which he delighted, and in which he excelled, in consequence of the rupture of a blood vessel in the lungs; but it seemed as if nothing could prevent his labouring in his study; for during the period of his retirement from public labours, he prepared some of his most important works for the press.

Though disqualified for serving his flock, by public preaching, his solicitude for their welfare continued to be felt, and he did not desert them, but retained his office of pastor until he could see them provided with a faithful and orthodox minister, on whom he might devolve both the charge and the

benefice. At the same time, he was very attentive to the instruction of his own family, in private. On every Friday evening, he delivered an expository lecture on the Catechism, which he had prepared for his people, in which he beautifully unfolded the divine attributes—the primeval and fallen state of man; the means of his recovery; the nature of faith and repentance; and the doctrine of the sacraments. His parlour was an excellent school for profitable instruction. For some time he had a kind of private seminary in his house, for the instruction of young gentlemen; and many foreigners sought a residence with him, that they might enjoy the benefit of his advice in their studies. And under his tuition, these students were built up in piety as well as learning. His skill in polite literature was much admired, at home and abroad. He carried on a correspondence with Salmasius and Hornbeck, two of the most learned theologians living, and also with other learned foreigners.

When certain officers of the army had formed the determination to bring the king to a public trial, Gataker was one of those ministers in the province of London, who subscribed a very bold and judicious remonstrance to the general and army, against that design. To all the measures of the army, in bringing about the death of the king, he openly avowed his opposition. He also protested against the subsequent changes introduced into the civil and ecclesiastical polity. In consequence of his known sentiments on these subjects, he was very unpopular with the ruling powers, and was subjected to no small suspicion.

Though he felt that he was now drawing near to the close of his earthly career, yet he was not permitted to enjoy the undisturbed repose which he desired, for he was most virulently attacked by Mr. William Lilly, the famous astrologer. Gataker, who was thoroughly possessed of all the ancient and modern learning which has relation to this dark science, defended himself with great strength of argument, and clearly detected the plausible sophisms which were



brought forward in support of the fallacious art of astrology. The ground of this attack, was his "Annotations" on Jer. x. 2; in which he had, with strong sense and sound learning, completely destroyed the credit of the delusive art. This aroused the whole tribe of astrologers against him, from the greatest to the smallest. They were greatly offended, and wrote against him with great violence. In his answer to Lilly, he refutes all his slanders, directed personally against himself, and goes into an account of all the preferments which he had received, and the means of his obtaining them. He also repels the accusation that he was an advocate for a high prelatical power in the church, and declares that his real sentiments had always been in favour of a moderate Episcopacy.

When seized with the fever which terminated his life, and which he apprehended would be fatal, he directed that his friend Mr. Ashe should be sent for; and when he came, he addressed him in the following words: "I am now conflicting with my last adversary, though I believe the sting is taken out. Nature will struggle, but I humbly submit to the good pleasure of God. I heartily beg the pardon of my many sins, especially of my want of sedulity and fidelity, in my public and private charge; hoping to be washed with Christ's blood, and desiring to be translated out of this restless condition. I expect daily, yea, hourly, to be translated into that everlasting rest which God hath prepared for them who are interested in his Christ. And I pray God to bless you and his holy ministry, every where." During the whole time of his last sickness, his faith, patience, and resignation to the will of the Lord, were very conspicuous. His mind was deeply impressed with a sense of his sin, and the necessity of the Saviour whose name is called *Jesus*, because he saves his people from their sins. To an aged servant, who attended on him, and said, "that his head did not lie right," he said, "It will lie right in my coffin." Being afflicted with extreme pain, he cried out, "How long, O Lord!—Come speedily." Finding a great change taking place, he

called for his sister, his son, and his daughter, and gave them his last charge, saying, "My heart fails, and my strength fails; but God is my fortress and the strong rock of my salvation. Into thy hands, therefore, I commend my soul, for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth." Then he said to his son, "Son, you have a great charge; look to it. Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your ministry conscientiously." Then he addressed his sister: "Sister, 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." Then turning to his daughter, he said, "Daughter, mind the world less, and God more; for all things, without religion and the fear of God, are worth nothing—all things, without piety and the true fear of God, are worth nothing." He also gave advice that his son Draper, who was a man of worldly substance, should entertain some godly minister in his house, to teach his children and instruct his family. He warmly exhorted them all to concord, and begged them, after some further exhortations, to lay to heart the words of a dying man. He then requested them all to withdraw, and leave him to himself.

He expired on the 27th of July, 1654, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. "Thus he came to his grave in a full age, as a shock of corn cometh in his season." His funeral sermon was preached by his much esteemed friend, Mr. Simeon Ashe, from Prov. xvi. 31: "The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness."

Mr. Gataker was undoubtedly one of the most able, learned, and pious divines of his age. He was gifted with an extraordinary strength of memory. He retained what he read without the aid of a commonplace book; and his reading was very extensive, as appears by the many quotations from authors of all classes, in his numerous writings. His apprehension was quick, his judgment sound, and his taste correct and highly cultivated. Mr. Echard says, "that 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 preferments." Among foreigners, he was held in as high esteem as at home. The learned Morehoff says, "Of all the critics of this age, who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are few, if indeed any, who ought to be preferred to Thomas Gataker, for diligence and accuracy, in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined." He is styled by one, "A writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment;" and his name as a scholar, stands on a level with those of Selden and Usher.

Gataker would never suffer his portrait to be taken, but the following is said to be a just description of his person:—he was of a middle stature, of a thin bodily habit, had a lively countenance and a fresh complexion. He was temperate in diet, and exceedingly studious, but he did not seclude himself from useful company. He was an affectionate husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend, and a kind benefactor. He was, at the same time, a champion for the truth and an eminent lover of peace.

The following lines, supposed to be written by him, will show the habitual temper of his mind:

"I thirst for thirstiness; I weep for tears,  
Well pleased I am, to be displeas'd thus:  
The only thing I fear, is want of fears;  
Suspecting, I am not suspicious.  
I cannot choose but live, because I die;  
And, when I am not dead, how glad am I.  
Yet, when I am thus glad for sense of pain,  
And careful an', lest I should careless be.  
Then do I grieve for being glad again,  
And fear lest carelessness take care from me.  
Amid these restless thoughts, this rest I find,  
For those who rest not here, there's rest behind."

The following are the titles of Mr. Gataker's published writings:

1. *Of the Nature and Use of Lots.* 1619. Second edit. enlarged, 1627.

2. A Just Defence of the same, against M. J. B., 1623.
3. Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis, Partim Gulielmi Amesii, partim Gisberti Vœtiii, De Sorte, Thesibus Reposita. 1683.
4. A Discourse of Transubstantiation, with a Defence. 1624.
5. David's Instructor.
6. The Christian Man's Care.
7. The Spiritual Watch; or Christ's General Watchword. 1622.
8. The Gain of Godliness. 1 Tim. vi. 6.
9. The Just Man's Joy, with Signs of Sincerity.
10. Jacob's Thankfulness
11. David's Remembrancer.
12. Noah's Obedience.
13. Memorial of England's Deliverance from the Spanish Invasion, in 1588.
14. Sorrow for Zion.
15. God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to Him.
16. Eleazer's Prayer; a Marriage Sermon.
17. A Good Wife, God's Gift.
18. A Wife, Indeed.
19. Marriage Duties.
20. Death's Advantage.
21. The Benefit of a Good Name, and a Good End.
22. Abraham's Decease; at the funeral of the Rev. Richard Stock.
23. Jeroboam's Son's Decease.
24. Christian Constancy, Crowned by Christ.
25. The Decease of Lazarus.
26. St. Stephen's Last Will and Testament. 1638.
27. Fran. Gomari Disputationes Elencticæ, De Justificatione. 1640.
28. Animadversiones In J. Piscut, &c.
29. Mr. Anthony Wotton's Defence. 1641.
30. A True Relation of Passages between Mr. Wotton and Mr. Walker.

31. An Answer to Mr. Walker's Vindication. 1642.
32. *Stricturæ in Barth. Wigelini Sang. De Obedientia Christi.* 1653.
33. A Defence of Mr. Bradshaw against Mr. J. Canne.
34. God's Eye on his Israel. Numb. xxiii. 21. 1645.
35. *De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio.*
36. Annotations on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations.
37. *De Diphthongis, Philologica Dissertatio.* 1646.
38. A Mistake, or Misconstruction Removed, against John Saltmarsh.
39. Shadows without Substance, in answer to Saltmarsh's Shadows Flying Away.
40. Mysterious Clouds and Mists, in answer to Mr. John Simpson. 1648.
41. *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis, De Novi Testamenti Stylo Dissertatio.* 1648.
42. *De Baptismatis Infantilis Vi and Efficacia, Disputatio.* 1654.
43. *Stricturæ ad Epistolam J. Daven, De Baptismo Infantum.*
44. *Marci Antonini Meditationes.* Translation and notes.
45. *Opera Critica, and Adversaria Miscellanea.*
46. *Thomæ Gatakeri, Diss. de Tetragrammato suæ Vindicatio Adversus Capellum.* 1652.
47. A Discourse Apologetical.
48. An Antidote against Error, Concerning Justification.

GIBBON, JOHN, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was minister at Waltham, from which place he was ejected by the act of uniformity, in 1662. He is marked by Neal, as giving constant attendance at the Assembly's deliberations.

GILLESPIE, GEORGE, was the son of John Gillespie, minister at Kirkaldy. He is said to have been educated at St. Andrews; but scarcely any memorials of

his early life remain. He was chaplain both to the earl of Cassils, and to the viscount of Kemure, and was ordained minister of Wemys, by the laying on the hands of the presbytery, without the knowledge of the bishop. He was one of those who took the national covenant, in the year 1638. He was, while very young, the author of a work entitled, "English Popish Ceremonies;" which was written with so much learning and ability, that it was thought scarcely possible that so young a person could have been the author of it. In 1641, he had a call from the town of Aberdeen, but by the influence of the Lord Commissioner, added to his own, he was continued at Wemys; but in 1642, he was translated by the Assembly to Edinburgh; for such talents could not be hidden, and in the following year, he was sent as one of the four commissioners, from Scotland to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Although he was yet a young man, yet he acted a very distinguished part in this famous Assembly. For days in succession, he successfully contended with Selden and Lightfoot, giants in Jewish Antiquities. Mr. Baillie, who was present, and an excellent judge, says, in his Letters, written at the time, "None in all the company did reason more, and more pertinently than Mr. Gillespie. That is an excellent youth, my heart blesses God, on his behalf."—Again, "There is no man, whose parts, in public debate, I so much admire." He has studied so accurately, all the points which ever yet came before our Assembly. He has gotten so ready, so assured, so solid a way of public debating, that though there are in the Assembly divers very excellent men, yet in my poor judgment, there is not one who speaks more rationally, and to the point, than that brave youth has ever done; so that his absence would be prejudicial to our whole cause, and unpleasant to those who wish it well." On one occasion, when both the Assembly and the Parliament were convened, a long premeditated discourse was delivered in favour of Erastianism. Mr. Gillespie, being urged to answer it by his

colleagues, repeated the substance of the whole discourse, and refuted it to the admiration of all persons present. And what excited most admiration was, that though the members were accustomed to take notes of what was spoken in the Assembly, to help their memory; and though Mr. Gillespie appeared to be busy with his pencil, a person who sat by him, upon casting his eye over his note book, observed that he had not written down a word of the speech, but only short prayers, such as "Lord send light—Give assistance—Lord defend thine own cause!"

After his return to Scotland, he was much employed in the affairs of the church; and was chosen moderator of the General Assembly in 1648; but soon afterwards, he was taken sick, and died towards the close of the same year; when he was scarcely past the prime of life, and his loss was greatly lamented. The Parliament and Committee of Estates, were so sensible of his worth, that they voted a thousand pounds to his widow and children. Mr. Gillespie was intimately acquainted with the original languages of Scripture, and had studied the subject of church government as accurately as any of his contemporaries; and his zeal appears to have been pure, and his life holy.

His works are:

1. Popish English Ceremonies, obtruded on the Church of Scotland.
2. The Government of the Church of Scotland.
3. A Sermon before the House of Commons, from Ezek. xliii. 11.; a Fast Sermon. March 27, 1644.
4. A Fast Sermon, before the House of Peers, from Mal. iii. 2.
5. Aaron's Rod Blossoming, or the Divine Ordinance of Church Government Vindicated.
6. Miscellaneous Questions.

**GIPPS, GEORGE**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was rector of Ayleston, in Leicestershire. He is marked by Mr. Neal, as constantly attending the sessions of the Assembly. He pub-

lished a sermon preached before the House of Commons, from Psalm xlv. 1. He seems to have been a pious and judicious man.

GIBSON, SAMUEL, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, had the character of being a learned, pious, and judicious divine. When he came to the Assembly, he was for some time preacher at Margaret's Church, in Westminster.

Mr. Gibson published a discourse preached before the House of Commons, entitled "The Ruin of the Authors and Fomenters of Civil Wars," from 2 Sam. xvii. 14.

GOODE, WILLIAM, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was pastor of Denton, in the county of Norfolk, in England. He was one of those who were constant in their attendance on the business of the Assembly. He published two sermons.

GOODWIN, THOMAS, was born at Rolesby, county of Norfolk, October 5, 1600. His parents were pious and respectable, and watched over his early education with sedulous care. Being designed for the ministry, he was brought up in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" and received the rudiments of classical learning; so that when only in his fourteenth year, he was entered a student in Christ's Church College, Cambridge. Here he continued six years, and applied himself with great diligence to his studies; so that he secured the regard of his tutors, and attracted attention in the University. In 1619, he removed to Catherine Hall, of which he was chosen lecturer for the ensuing year; and of which he became afterwards a fellow. For some time, he was an admirer of the preaching of Doctor (afterwards Bishop) Senhouse, whose sermons were adorned with flowers of wit and human learning, collected from the fathers, poets, and historians. This was, at that time, the fashionable mode of preaching in the University. At that time, however, he had small experience of



the deep corruption of his own nature; or of the necessity and worth of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Mr. Goodwin has left a very particular account of his early religious experiences, from which it appears, that at a very early period he had lively impressions of religion. Soon after entering the University, he took the sacrament, having first carefully examined into his character, by the help of "Ursin's Catechism;" and he came to the conclusion, that all the marks of grace there laid down, he found in himself. After communicating, he found himself cheered in a wonderful manner, and made sure that he was on the way to heaven; and was greatly affected with a sense of God's goodness and love, in dying for such a worthless creature. As the next season of communion approached, he made great preparation for the reception of the ordinance. In the mean time, he went to hear Mr. Sibbs, whose lectures were in high estimation among the Puritans in the University, and read Calvin's Institutes with great delight. But when he had taken his place in the chapel, and was ready to commune, being very young, and the smallest person in the University, his tutor sent to him to leave the place. By this rebuff he was greatly tried and mortified, for he had entertained high expectations of the benefit which he was to receive from this communion. "For," says he, "I verily thought that if I received that sacrament, I should be confirmed, and should never fall away." After this disappointment, he left off praying, through discouragement; and desisted from going to hear Mr. Sibbs any more. He no longer gave himself to the reading of sound divinity, but applied himself to such studies as he thought would prepare him for the kind of preaching then in vogue, which Mr. Senhouse brought in, and which was then greatly admired in the University. The ideas of religion which he found most prevalent were, that the Holy Spirit did move on the heart, when, if the soul in the exercise of its own free will, encouraged and concurred in the good work, it would go on from one degree to another; but if the subject of these

good impressions, through the temptations of the world, or the solicitations of the flesh, resisted, or neglected these motives of grace, then the spirit would depart from him, and he would return to his former state; but that these strivings or drawings were commonly repeated after certain intervals, and with some frequently, and for a long time. About this time, however, he became acquainted with some young persons, who made known to him the operations of the Spirit on their minds, which had led to deep humiliation, faith, and a change of heart; and these he observed to be steadfast, and did not fall away as the others. The Arminian doctrine, however, exactly tallied with his own experience, in the natural workings of conscience, under the influence of common grace; but the experience and conduct of the youths before mentioned, led him to believe that he was not right; but he could not conceive wherein the defect lay. Still, however, at the approach of every sacrament, he set himself to prepare, and went through a seeming repentance; but as soon as the solemnity was over, he returned again to his careless and sinful courses. At length he began to give up all hope of ever being better, and determined to engage in the pursuit of the glory, applause, and emoluments of this world; and to use all possible means for attaining these objects.

One day, when going to be merry with his companions, a bell tolled from St. Edmund's, for a funeral. One of the company said there was to be a sermon, and pressed him to hear it. He was loath to go in, for, he says, "I loved not preaching; especially that kind of it that good men used, and which I thought to be dull stuff; but seeing many scholars going in, I thought it was some eminent man; or if it were not so, that I would come out again. I went in before the hearse came, and took a seat, and fain would I have been gone, but shame made me stay. I was never so loath to hear a sermon in my life. But on inquiring who was to preach, they told me, Dr. Bambridge, which made me the more willing to stay, be-

cause he was a witty man. His text was, Luke xix. 41, 42: 'And when he was come near and beheld the city, he wept over it, saying, if thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace, but now they are hidden from thine eyes.' " As the preacher proceeded, and opened the text, Goodwin's attention became rivetted. And when he insisted on the words, *this thy day*, saying, every man had his day, he became affected, as he had formerly been under sermons. But when the preacher came to the application, and vehemently pressed upon his hearers the duty of losing no time in making their peace with God, he became so much impressed, that he said to his companion who had brought him there, "I hope to be the better for this sermon as long as I live." Immediately upon coming out of the church, he went to his room, and did not return to his companions who were waiting for him; and though they sent after him, he would not come. He felt as one struck down by a mighty power. At first his grosser sins came to his remembrance, and thus the work of conviction went on from one thing to another. And without the least effort to recollect his sins, they came up in array before his mind. All the idea of conversion he before had, was, that a man was troubled in conscience for his sins, and then received comfort. But now he seemed to be, as it were, passively led by the Spirit, one set of ideas succeeding another, in regular order, without any direction of his own thoughts. "An abundant discovery was made unto me," says he, "of my inward lusts and concupiscence. And I was amazed to see with what greediness I had sought the gratification of every sin." He had now such a view of the root and fountain of his iniquity, that he ceased from going about to establish his own righteousness, which he never before had done. He had such a sense of the exceeding sinfulness of his sins, that he "abhorred himself, and repented in dust and ashes." He was humbled under God's mighty hand. He was deeply convinced, "that in him, that is, in his flesh, dwelt no good thing."

And after tracing his corruption to its source, he found it to have originated in the first sin of man; that in him all had sinned, agreeably to that of Paul, "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed on all men, because that all have sinned." "This," says he, "caused me necessarily to conceive, that it was the guilt or demerit of that one man's disobedience that corrupted my nature. Under such apprehensions as these, did my spirit lie convicted of this great truth, that being gone to bed some hours before, I rose out of bed, being alone, and solemnly fell down before God, the Father of all the family in heaven, and did, of my own accord, assume and take upon me the guilt of that sin, as truly as any of my actual sins."

How long he remained under the awful conviction of sin, which the Holy Spirit had wrought in him, he was not able to tell; but he lay bound very closely under the pressure of divine wrath, as being subject to the righteous judgment of the Lord. But God, who is rich in mercy, to relieve all who call upon him, soon set his soul free from trouble. When his soul was dead in trespasses and sins, the Father of mercies, the Lord of Life, said unto him, *Live; yea he said unto him live;* and having imparted unto him a new life and spirit, said also for his comfort, "Thy sins which are many are forgiven."—"Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool." Like Saul, he *obtained mercy*, and found, "That the grace of our Lord was exceedingly abundant, with faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus." And that "It is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" of whom he felt himself to be chief. Thus was he received into favour through Christ—no more an alien, but a son and an heir; and thus was he renewed in the spirit of his mind; for henceforth he experienced a permanent change in the state of his mind. New views, new motives, new hopes and fears—old things were done away, and all things had become new.

Having been early devoted to the ministry, by his pious parents, he was now made sensible of the importance of that sacred office. Instead of the vain-glorious desire of excelling in eloquence, which had possessed his mind before, he now felt actuated by an ardent zeal for the glory of God, and for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom; and a most tender concern for the salvation of precious and immortal souls. Before, he had sought his own glory, and now he desired above all things, to be the instrument of promoting the glory of him who had called him out of darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel of Christ.

He was, at this time, a great admirer of Dr. Preston, and of Dr. Hill, who were both thorough Calvinists, whom he frequently heard preach, and whose sentiments he adopted. But though Mr. Goodwin had experienced a real change, and had received comfort in believing; yet it was long before he fully understood the freeness of the grace of the gospel. "I was," says he, "for several years kept at a distance from Christ, and engaged in searching only into the signs of grace in me. It was almost seven years, ere I was taken to live by faith on Christ, and God's free love, which are alike the object of faith." During this period, his thoughts were intensely exercised about the heinousness of his sins; and the conflict which he daily experienced between the flesh and spirit. But at the close of this period of distressing conflict, he fell into an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Price of Lynn, who was the means, under God, of leading him into the innermost temple of divine love, and a gracious experimental acquaintance with his divine Saviour. He now learned to live by faith in Christ, and to derive from him life and strength for sanctification, and all comfort and joy in believing. This servant of God was made the instrument, by his letters, conversation, and prayers, of pouring consolation into his wounded spirit.

In the year 1628, Mr. Goodwin was chosen lecturer of Trinity Church, Cambridge, though not without op-

position from bishop Buckridge, of Ely. The bishop wished to exact from Goodwin a promise, that he would never preach on any of the controverted points of theology. Goodwin replied, that so many of the doctrines of Christianity were controverted, that if he were to follow this rule, there would be very little left to preach about; and that he was persuaded the king did not mean to lay him under an interdict from confuting the errors of popery. And so he was admitted; and was, in 1682, presented, by the king himself, with the vicarage of the same church. In this situation he was much followed by the Puritans, who were now rapidly increasing in numbers, in this University, as well as in the kingdom at large.

In the memoirs of Dr. Goodwin's life, it is said, "that he was the happy instrument of turning many persons to the love and practice of serious religion. He says himself, "after I had been seven years from Cambridge, I had, well nigh every month, hearty acknowledgments from several young men, who had received the light of their conversion by my ministry, while I was in the University of Cambridge. And this was the great encouragement I had to return again to the University, having so frequently enjoyed the testimony of the fruit of my labours, while I was preacher at Cambridge: and what the success has been at Oxford, I leave to Christ till the latter day." His preaching, at first, was chiefly calculated to awaken the conscience and produce terror; but upon his obtaining the sweet experience of the heavenly refreshing comforts which flow from the distinct knowledge of Christ, and free justification by his finished righteousness, he became a zealous preacher of the glorious gospel of the grace of God, for the consolation of such distressed consciences as his had been. No doubt he derived benefit from a hint which Dr. Sibbs one day gave him, in relation to this matter. "Young man," said he, "if you ever would do good, you must preach the *gospel*, and the free grace of God in Christ Jesus." It was after this that he wrote the sermons, entitled, "The Glory of the Gospel,"

which are printed in the fifth volume of his works; and which he was accustomed to call his *evangelical first fruits*. The account of the preservation of these sermons, is so remarkable, that the anecdote deserves to be mentioned here. His portmanteau which contained them was cut off from his horse, in the darkness of the night, by a thief, just opposite to St. Andrew's Church-yard, in Holborn. The clerk, or sexton, coming on the morning of the Lord's day, to ring the bell, found a bundle of papers lying at the root of a large tree. These were Mr. Goodwin's evangelical sermons, which were only known to be his by some other papers which contained his name and that of a bookseller, who was his particular friend. The papers were all carried to this man, and so they were preserved to edify God's people for generations to come.

In the year 1634, Mr. Goodwin being dissatisfied with the terms of conformity, relinquished his preferments, and left the University. No doubt, this was a severe trial to one who had spent so many years in this literary retreat, where he had been the recipient and dispenser of so many spiritual blessings; but it was done deliberately, in obedience to the dictates of his conscience, and in opposition to all his worldly interests.

In the year 1638, he married Elizabeth Prescott, the daughter of Alderman Prescott. She was really a help-meet for him; being a woman of very sweet temper, of lively wit, and of sincere piety. By her, God gave him an only daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Mr. John Mason, a citizen of London.

In 1639, Mr. Goodwin, with others, emigrated to Holland, to enjoy that liberty which was denied to him in his own country. In that country, he became the pastor of an Independent congregation at Arnheim.

About the beginning of the long Parliament, he returned to London, and was chosen the pastor of a church there, and was also appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In that Assembly, he was one of the dissenting brethren, as it related to church government. His son has in-

formed the public, that his father kept *memoranda* of all the transactions of that body, which are still in existence, and in his possession, in fourteen or fifteen volumes, octavo.

In the year 1647, Mr. Goodwin had an invitation to New England, from Mr. John Cotton and other respectable ministers there; and he was much inclined to accept the invitation; and in fact had put his library on board a ship; but through the advice of friends, on whose judgment he placed great confidence, he changed his purpose.

His first wife having been removed at an early period after their marriage, in 1649 he married, as his second wife, Mrs. Mary Hammond, descended of an ancient and honourable family, who also proved a help-meet to him; and by whom God gave him two sons and two daughters.

Goodwin was always a great favourite with Oliver Cromwell; who highly commended him as an eminent instrument in promoting the gospel, and a great luminary in the church. By his influence, he was made president of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1640. Here he formed a church on the Independent plan; and was very diligent in promoting the interests of learning and religion. He was also appointed one of the Triers of ministers, or commissioners for the approbation of candidates for the the holy ministry. He now devoted much of his time to prayers, reading, and meditation. His favourite authors were such as Augustine, Calvin, Musculus, Zanchius, Paræus, Walæus, Gomarus, and Amesius. But his chief study was the Holy Scriptures. The subjects in which he most delighted were, The everlasting love and free grace of God, and the glorious excellencies of the Lord Jesus Christ. These were the life of his soul; and his heart was deeply affected with them; and these he wrote and preached with a spirit which can be better felt than described. Though he read much, he spent much more time in thinking; and it was by intense thought that he made himself master of the subject which he treated.



By the great fire in London, Dr. Goodwin lost about one half his library, to the value of five hundred pounds sterling; but the theological part of his library was, for the most part, preserved.

Dr. Goodwin's death was brought about by a fever, which put an end to his life in a few days. As his life was exemplary, so his death was edifying. In the midst of the violence of the fever, he discovered such strong faith and assurance of Christ's love, with such holy admiration of *free grace*, and with such heavenly expressions of gratitude, praise, and joy, as deeply affected all who heard him. When one prayed, "that those comforts which he had so often been the means of pouring into the distressed souls of others, might now fill his own soul," the prayer was immediately answered, in the abundant consolation which he enjoyed. He rejoiced in the thought that he was dying, and going to enjoy full and uninterrupted communion with God. He said, "I am going to the Three Persons, with whom I have had communion. They have taken me, I did not take them. I shall be changed in the twinkling of an eye. All my lusts and corruptions I shall be rid of, which I could not be here. These croaking toads will fall off in a moment." Speaking of the illustrious examples of faith recorded in the eleventh chapter of Hebrews, he remarked, "All these died in faith. I never could have imagined that I should have such a measure of faith at this hour. No, I never could have imagined it. My bow abides in strength. Is Christ divided? No—I have the whole of his righteousness. I am found in Him; not in my own righteousness which is of the law, but in the righteousness which is of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, who loved me and gave himself for me. Christ cannot love better than he doth. I think I cannot love Christ better than I do. I am swallowed up in God."

Directing his speech to his two sons, he exhorted them to value the privileges of the covenant. He said, "It has taken hold of me. My mother was a holy woman, she spake nothing diminishing of it. It

is a privilege which cannot be valued enough, nor purchased with a great sum of money." Then he exhorted them to do nothing to provoke God to reject them. Then he added, "Now I shall be ever with the Lord." With this triumphant assurance, this good man left the world. His death occurred on the 23d of February, 1680, in the eightieth year of his age. His body was interred in Bunhill Fields, a ground appropriated to the burial of Dissenters, near London.

Dr. Goodwin was a Calvinist, of the supra-lapsarian order. He was deeply persuaded not only of the truth, but of the holy efficacy of the doctrines of grace, and therefore preached them faithfully to his people. Dr. Calamy's character of him is, "That he was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine, and had a very happy faculty in descanting upon Scripture, so as to bring forth surprising remarks, which yet tended to illustration." Bishop Wilkins, in his "Gift of Preaching," places him among the most eminent English divines, for sermons and practical divinity. Cotton Mather, in his "Student and Preacher," says, "If you would see sound doctrine, the works of Owen have it for you. You have a Goodwin, who will place you among the children of light, and will give you the marrow of the doctrine which is according to godliness. He often soars like an eagle; you would have been content, if sometimes, a little more concisely." His style is familiar, but diffuse, inelegant, obscure, and tedious; but his sentiments are so spiritual, evangelical, and judicious, that the sober-minded, humble Christian, does not soon grow weary of his writings. He had a remarkable talent for exposition. He delighted much in searching into difficult texts, and was often successful in eliciting their meaning.

The following is a list of his published works:

1. A Child of Light walking in Darkness.
2. A Return of Prayers.
3. The Trial of a Christian's Growth. On John xv. 1, 2.

4. The Vanity of Thoughts Discovered, with their Danger and Cure.

5. Aggravation of Sin; and Sinning against Knowledge and Mercy.

6. Christ set forth in his Death, Resurrection, Ascension, &c.

7. Christ the Universal Peace Maker.

8. Zerubbabel's Encouragement to finish the Temple.

9. The great Interest of States and Kingdoms. Before the House of Commons.

10. The World to Come.

11. Patience and its Perfect Work, under Sudden and Sore Trials.

12. The Punishment of Sin in Hell. A Posthumous work.

His writings are contained in five volumes, folio, and are a treasure.

GOUGE, WILLIAM, D. D., was born in Middlesex, England, November 1, 1575, of respectable and pious parents, who took much pains with his early religious education. When old enough, he was sent to St. Paul's School, London, and afterwards to Eton. Besides, he spent three years at Felsted, where he sat under the evangelical preaching of his mother's brother, the Rev. Ezekiel Culverwell, and derived from it great benefit to his soul. Having acquired a competent knowledge of the classics, in the grammar schools, to which he had resorted, he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, in the year 1595, where he pursued his studies with diligence and success. He began his studies early in the morning, and continued them till late at night. During his first three years at the University, he did not sleep one night out of his College. At the expiration of this time, he was chosen fellow, and then he paid a visit to his friends; but he soon returned to resume his literary labours. He was reckoned not only a good scholar, but an able disputant. He took his degrees in the arts at the usual time, and performed with applause,

all those exercises which were required by the statutes of the University. He remained nine years in the College, during which time he was never once absent from morning prayers, except when he went to visit his friends. His custom was to read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day: five early in the morning, five after dinner, and five in the evening, before going to bed; and when he could not sleep at night, he meditated on those portions of sacred Scripture which he had read in the day.

While he was resident at Cambridge, a Jewish rabbi came to the University, and was admitted into several Colleges to teach the scholars the Hebrew language. Mr. Gouge availed himself of this opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred original of the Old Testament; and while most others soon grew weary of the study, he persevered, and after some time, was resorted to by such as wished to be instructed in this ancient tongue; by which means he became an accurate Hebrew scholar.

He was chosen lecturer, both in logic and philosophy, in the College, and acquired a high reputation by the way in which he discharged the duties of that important office.

Mr. Gouge, in the first year of his fellowship, began to keep a common-place book, for divinity, in which he made references to what he had read. Besides, he made use of an interleaved Bible, on the blank pages of which he inserted such brief expositions and illustrations of the text, as struck his mind with force.

In 1607, Mr. Gouge entered into the holy ministry and received an invitation to Black Friars, London, where he remained until his dying day. He had many offers of higher preferment, but he declined them all, and was accustomed to say, that his greatest ambition was to go from Black Friars to heaven. Here he discharged the duties of the pastoral office with exemplary diligence and fidelity; not only by preaching, which he performed in a very able and impressive manner, but by catechetical instruction

and by visiting and encouraging the weak of the flock, and instructing the ignorant. He is said to have excelled, in giving a clear and distinct analysis of his text, and in expounding different passages of Scripture. There is reason to believe, that his ministry was highly beneficial to many souls. After he had finished the public labours of the Sabbath, it was his custom familiarly to repeat the substance of his sermons, to a number of persons who came to his house for instruction, which practice was found to be highly useful. He was very careful in his examinations of those who applied to be received to the Lord's Supper, that they possessed the requisite knowledge, and were actuated by correct motives. His own house was like a little church, for twice every day was the word read, and worship offered; and in catechising and family government, he was constant and diligent. The Sabbath also was sanctified in his house with a strict regard to the divine commandment, and so as to promote the edification of all, servants as well as others.

Mr. Gouge was admitted to the degree of bachelor in divinity, in the year 1611, and to that of doctor in the same faculty, in 1628; and about this time he became a member of the Society for buying up *Impropriations*, that they might bestow them on such clergymen as should be distinguished for their piety, and other ministerial qualifications. On account of the part which he took in this business, he was subjected to a prosecution in the star-chamber.

In the year 1643, Dr. Gouge was nominated a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and was held in high estimation by that venerable body. His attendance was regular and constant, and he was a very useful as well as respectable member, and often was called to preside in the absence of the moderator. And, when a committee of clergymen was selected to ordain candidates for the ministry, he was selected as one of that number. And as these ordinations were accompanied by fasting and prayer, he

was observed to be very attentive to these solemn exercises.

He was also one of the authors of "Annotations" on the Bible. His share was from the first book of Kings to Job, which are thought to be very excellent.

On occasion of his being chosen President of Sion College, as was customary, he delivered a valedictory to his brethren, in Latin, which he delivered entirely from memory, without the aid of notes.

When death approached, he was tried with grievous bodily pains, but when relieved for a season, he would still be found labouring, for he had a great desire before his decease, to finish his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews; and which, indeed, he was permitted to complete within half a chapter, under the favour of Divine Providence. When he became so weak that he could not rise from his bed, he said, "Now I have not long to live in this world.—The time of my departure is at hand.—I am going to my desired haven." To his friends who came to see him, he often said, "I am willing to die, having, I bless God, nothing to do but die." He called death his best friend, next Jesus Christ.

When the time of his departure drew near, his spirit became more lively and cheerful than it had been for days before. His speeches were now heavenly, as if he were already in heaven. He spoke much of Jesus Christ, and in admiration of God's free grace. He died very comfortably and piously, falling asleep in Jesus, December 12, 1653, in the seventy-ninth year of his age; having been minister of Black Friars, almost forty-six years.

Neal's testimony to the character of Dr. Gouge is, that "He was a modest, humble, affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, a universal scholar, and a constant preacher, as long as he could get up into the pulpit." Dr. Calamy gives him a similar character. His name is enrolled among the worthies of King's College, in Dr. Fuller's History of the University of Cambridge. Wood styles him "a pious and learned preacher." Granger testifies, "that he was offered

the proctorship of King's College, 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 speak ill of religion itself."

His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. William Jenkin, who had been his assistant for twelve years, and succeeded him in the pastoral charge of Black Friars.

Mr. Gouge, on occasion of whose death, Dr. Watts composed a beautiful elegiac poem, was the son of Dr. Gouge. The Rev. Mr. Roberts married his eldest daughter; these three, his successor, son, and son-in-law, were all ejected by the Act of Uniformity. The character of Dr. Gouge was not only exemplary, for diligence and fidelity, but most amiable and condescending. He excelled as a casuist, and was resorted to in this respect, from the town and country, both by private Christians and ministers. He was also eminent as a peace-maker, and was successful in composing many differences. He was liberal and benevolent; he disdained to hoard up wealth, when there were so many ways in which it could be made available to promote the kingdom of Christ. He was the friend of the widow and the fatherless. He maintained some poor scholars, at the University, entirely at his own expense. He was temperate in all things; a great economist of time, generally rising all the year round at four o'clock in the morning. He was singularly modest and affable, and richly adorned with humility. He was a true friend, and his friendships were founded on religion, and were highly beneficial to many. He delighted much in communion with God, and was accustomed to look up to Him as the Author of every gift, the Dispenser of every blessing, and Orderer of every want.

The following is a catalogue of Dr. Gouge's published writings:

1. The Whole Armour of God.
2. Eight Treatises on Domestic Duties. 1626.
3. A Guide to go to God.

4. **God's Three Arrows: Plague, Famine, and Sword; in Three Treatises.** 1631.

5. **A Treatise on the Sin against the Holy Ghost.** Folio. 1626.

6. **The Extent of God's Providence; from Matt. x. 29—31.**

7. **The Dignity of Chivalry.** A sermon before the Artillery Company of London, 1631.

8. **The Saint's Sacrifice.** Com. on Psalm cxvi. 1632.

9. **Two Treatises: on the Sabbath, and on Apostasy.**

10. **The Saint's Support.** A sermon before the House of Commons, on June 29, 1642. A Fast.

11. **Mercies' Memorial.**

12. **The Progress of Divine Providence; before the House of Peers, September 24, 1645.** A Fast.

13. **A Funeral Sermon for Mrs. Duck.**

14. **The Right Way.** A sermon from Ezra viii.

21. **Before the House of Lords.**

15. **Two Catechisms.**

16. **A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.** 2 vols. folio.

This is accounted a learned and highly useful work.

Dr. Wilkins classes Dr. Gouge's Sermons among the most excellent of the times.

17. **Annotations on the Books of Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.**

Dr. Gouge, at the instigation of bishop Neile, was cast into prison for publishing Finch's Book on "The Calling of the Jews." He remained in prison nine weeks and was then released.

**GOWER, STANLEY.**—A member of the Westminster Assembly, was a Puritan divine, of considerable eminence in the Church of Christ. He was some time settled in the ministry, in the county of Hereford, in England. When he removed to London, he became preacher of Martin's, in Ludgate street; and was also one of the preachers of Parliament. He was a member of the committee to consider applications for se-



questered livings. He was also on the committee appointed to examine and ordain candidates for the ministry. He was living in 1660, and was then minister at Dorchester; and in "Kennet's Chronicle," is denominated a zealous and eminent Presbyterian.

His only published writings are:

1. The Life of Mr. Richard Rothwell.
2. A Sermon entitled, "Things Now-a-doing," or, "The Church's Travail of the Child of Reformation, Now-a-bearing," preached before the House of Commons, from Dan. xii. 10. With an Appendix.

**GREENE, JOHN, A. M.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was eminently learned and pious. He was sometime pastor of Pencombe, in the county of Hereford, and fulfilled the office of a diligent and faithful shepherd; feeding his flock with sound knowledge, and warning them of the dangers which threatened them. He did not enter the Westminster Assembly until 1646; but is marked by Neal as giving constant attendance.

The only Discourse which he is known to have left behind him, was one entitled "Nehemiah's Tears and Prayers for Judah's Affliction, and the Ruins and Repair of Jerusalem." This sermon was preached before the House of Commons on a Fast day, in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster.

**GREENHILL, WILLIAM.**—A member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, was born in Oxfordshire, and was entered a student of Magdalen college, in the year 1604, when only thirteen years of age. In 1612, he took his second degree in the arts, and entered upon the holy ministry.

In 1643 he was called up to the Assembly; at which time he was minister of Stepney. Mr. G. was one of the Dissenting, or Independent brethren. He was a zealous Puritan, and greatly opposed to prelacy, and to the ceremonies of the Church of England; and suffered much for his non-conformity, as long as the Laudean faction ruled.

He is said to have been in favour with Oliver Cromwell, and was one of the thirty-eight commissioners for the examination and approbation of ministers, who were commonly called Triers. Mr. Greenhill was ejected from Stepney by the act of uniformity, in 1662. He probably died about the year 1677, as in that year his library was sold. Dr. Calamy describes him as "a worthy man, and much valued for his great learning and unwearied labours." Mr. Howe, in his funeral sermon for Mr. Mead, speaking of his connexion with Mr. Greenhill, styles him, "That eminent servant of God, Mr. Greenhill, whose praise is still in the churches."

Mr. Greenhill's writings are:

1. *The Axe at the Root.* A sermon before the House of Commons, from Matt. iii. 10.
2. *An Exposition of the Prophet Ezekiel*, in five volumes, 4to.
3. *Sermons of Christ's Last Discovery of Himself.*
4. *A Sermon before the Parliament*, from Ezek. xliii.
5. *A Sermon at the Morning Exercise*, from Ezek. xviii. 32.
6. *The Sound-hearted Christian.*
7. *Several other Sermons and small Pieces.*

**HALL, HENRY.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, who gave constant attendance on the business of that body. He was of the committee to examine applicants for the sequestered livings.

There is one Sermon under his name, preached before the House of Commons, entitled "Heaven Ravished," or "A Glorious Prize Achieved by Heroical Enterprise," from Matt. xi. 12. Nothing else is now known respecting Mr. Hall.

**HENDERSON, ALEXANDER**, was born about the year 1583; but very little is known of his parentage or place of his birth. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, he was sent to St. Andrews, to finish

his education, where he was soon eminently distinguished for his abilities and diligence in study. After he had completed his collegiate course, he was appointed the teacher of a class of philosophy and rhetoric in that University. It is certain, that in 1611, he was one of the professors of that University, for his name is found affixed to a letter of thanks to the king, on occasion of his having founded a library there.

At this time, the Presbyterian church was in a distracted condition, and great efforts were made to get Episcopacy established; and Mr. Henderson being young and of great abilities, was ambitious of preferment, and therefore warmly advocated the measures of the court. Having obtained from archbishop Gladstones, a presentation to the parish of Leuchars, he obtruded himself upon the people, very much against their wish; and when settled, appeared to care very little for the spiritual welfare of his flock.

Not long after his settlement in this parish, the celebrated Presbyterian minister, Robert Bruce, preached at a communion season in his neighbourhood. Mr. Henderson went to hear him, but took his seat in a dark, private corner, where he could not be recognised. When Bruce entered the pulpit, he gave out with much solemnity, the text, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber." John x. 1. These words were as a piercing sword to Mr. Henderson's conscience; and he who was concealing himself from his fellow creatures, stood revealed, as it were, before his righteous Judge. What he heard on this occasion, from this eminent servant of God, was by the effectual operations of the Holy Spirit, the means of his conversion. His change of mind soon became apparent in his whole conversation and deportment. He now became a diligent and faithful labourer in the Lord's vineyard, and was henceforth peculiarly zealous in promoting the spiritual welfare of his people, and endeavoured to make amends for his

unlawful manner of entering among them. He also now became a decided Presbyterian; and his opinion was not formed without due examination; for he took pains to study the controversy, and came to the conclusion that presbytery was most conformable to the Holy Scriptures; and that Episcopacy was unauthorized by the word of God, and inconsistent with the reformed constitution of the Church of Scotland.

In August, 1619, Mr. Henderson and two other ministers were called before the Court of High Commission, at St. Andrews, charged with publishing a book, entitled "Perth Assembly," proving the nullity of that assembly; but they answered for themselves with such wisdom, that the bishops were obliged to dismiss them, with no other punishment than threats.

During this period of his retirement, he was indefatigable, both in his studies and in the performance of pastoral duties. Mr. Livingston speaks of him as a man "whose memory was very precious and refreshing." His attachment to truth and rectitude was inflexible; but still, he met with much annoyance. The archbishop of St. Andrews, with a view to deter others, gave orders to Mr. Henderson and two other ministers, to purchase each of them two copies of the Liturgy, for the use of their parishes, within fifteen days, under pain of rebellion. Mr. Henderson proceeded to Edinburgh, and presented a petition to the Privy Council, stating his objections, and requesting a suspension of the order; and several similar petitions being presented about the same time, a favourable answer was obtained from the Council; and an account of the people's great aversion to conformity was transmitted to London. From this time, he was very conspicuous and active among the opposers of prelatical church government.

In 1638, when the National Covenant was agreed upon, Mr. Henderson was called in providence to act a very conspicuous part; for this memorable document, which, with uplifted hands, was sworn to by the nobility, gentry, burgesses, and ministers, was

composed by this illustrious reformer. This measure divided the people into two great parties, the Covenanters and Non-covenanters. The king's commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, proposed a compromise, and agreed that the Liturgy, &c., should be dispensed with, if the Covenanters would relinquish their National Covenant. But they were exceedingly averse to this; and the pen of Mr. Henderson soon furnished them with "Reasons why the Covenanters should not on any terms give up the Covenant."

Mr. Henderson was present, as a delegate, at the famous Assembly of 1638, which met at Glasgow, and was chosen Moderator of the same. This office was at that time attended with peculiar difficulties, on account of the course pursued by the king's high commissioner, and by the bishops, who sent in their declination of the authority of the assembly: but he did not shrink from the arduous duties of this responsible station; and upon being conducted to the chair, delivered a handsome and appropriate address to the members. His resolution and judgment were soon put to the test; for the king's commissioner dissolved the assembly, for he saw that they were firmly resolved to abolish Episcopacy in Scotland. But that business which led to the abrupt departure of the commissioner, was the declination of the bishops. The question came up, whether the assembly had authority to judge any thing in regard to the bishops; and when this was decided in the affirmative, the commissioner declared that he could not continue any longer with them, and delivered a speech to the assembly, which the moderator answered in a very grave and well composed speech, addressed to the commissioner, in which the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power was clearly exhibited. The king's high commissioner, however, as he had threatened, proceeded to dissolve the assembly in the name of the king. The court, however, continued its sessions; and upon the departure of the commissioner, the moderator addressed the assembly in an excellent speech; for he possessed the happy faculty of adapt-

ing his language to the occasion. By reason of his courage, presence of mind, and address, the assembly was preserved from being thrown into a state of confusion and trepidation, in the trying circumstances in which they were placed. Having delivered his speech to the assembly, he invited any others, ministers or elders, who felt inclined to speak, to address the body; upon which, Messrs. David Dickson, Henry Rollack, Andrew Cant, and Andrew Ramsay, of the clergy, delivered pathetic and encouraging speeches; and were followed by the elders, Landon of the nobility, Keir of the gentry, and Robert Cunningham of the burgesses. These discourses greatly animated and encouraged the assembly, and others who were present. The moderator now put the question, whether they continued to protest against the departure of the commissioner, and whether they were determined to go on with their business until it was finished; upon which, all the members, with the exception of about five, lifted up their hands in the affirmative. Having determined to continue a constituted body, they returned to the question which had occasioned the rupture; and the moderator again proposed the question, whether they had authority to sit in judgment on the archbishops and bishops of the kingdom; and here again all voted in the affirmative, except four. A proclamation was now published against the assembly, in solemn form, at the Market-cross of Glasgow. When the assembly met, next day, Mr. Henderson again addressed them, and recommended gravity, quietness, and order; and added, "Not that he assumed any thing to himself, but he was bold to direct them, in that wherein he had the consent of their own minds." When the assembly were about to decide that sentence should be pronounced against some ministers who had been condemned by their respective presbyteries, he made this just remark, "that these processes should be heard with a feeling sense of compassion toward the guilty persons, but with joy that the Lord was putting forth his hand to purge his house." And when the assembly unani-

mously condemned the six preceding assemblies, as corrupt, the moderator observed, "that he hoped they would be looked upon as beacons, that we strike not against such rocks."

The process against the eight bishops having been brought to a close, by a determination of the assembly that they should all be excommunicated, it devolved on the moderator to pronounce the sentence; but from this he struggled hard to be excused, but ineffectually, for the duty was put upon him. At the time appointed, he preached a sermon from Psalm cx. 1. He then caused to be read an abstract of the evidence against the bishops, and then made some observations, showing that they deserved the sentence. He then showed their warrant for this proceeding, and after a fervent and solemn prayer to God, he pronounced the sentence of excommunication in the following words, viz: "Since the eight persons before mentioned have declared themselves strangers to the communion of saints, to be without hope of life eternal, and to be slaves of sin; therefore, we the people of God, assembled together for this cause, and I, as their mouth, in the name of the Eternal God, and of his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the directions of this assembly, do excommunicate the said eight persons from the participation of the sacraments, from the communion of the visible church, and from the prayers of the church; and so long as they continue obstinate, discharge you all, as you would not be partakers of their vengeance from keeping any religious fellowship with them, and thus give them over into the hands of the devil, assuring you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, that except their repentance be evident, the fearful wrath and vengeance of the God of Heaven shall overtake them, even in this life, and after this world, everlasting vengeance." At the same time, the moderator pronounced the sentence of deposition upon several ministers; and the whole was done in a very solemn and awful manner.

A warm contest now took place between the com-

missioners of Edinburgh and of St. Andrews, before the assembly, each urging that Mr. Henderson should be translated to their city. He was exceedingly averse to leaving his retired parish; but if he must remove, he greatly preferred St. Andrews to a station so conspicuous as that of Edinburgh; but after full argument on all sides, the assembly resolved that he should be translated to Edinburgh. At the close of this very important meeting, the moderator addressed an affectionate and solemn discourse to the members. This speech is a very remarkable one; and with the others addressed to this body, serves to give a just idea of the spirit of the man. When he had finished his speech, he invited Mr. David Dickson and Mr. Andrew Ramsay to supply what he had omitted. These two brethren followed up what he had said, with speeches in the same strain. The Duke of Argyll had come late to this meeting, but had given his hearty countenance to all the proceedings of the assembly. The moderator, therefore, addressed him in a respectful manner, and the duke answered in a short extempore discourse. At this meeting, Episcopacy, the high-commission court, the canons and liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric which James and his son Charles had been so long erecting, fell at once to the ground; on which account, the moderator said with emphasis, "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho, let him who rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

As might be expected, the indignation of Charles I. and his primate Laud, against the doings of this assembly, was very strong; and as Henderson was the moderator, and the most conspicuous person in the body, their displeasure was particularly directed against him. But he did not remain inactive, but published several important papers, in justification of the acts of the assembly; and when war seemed inevitable, he published a pamphlet, entitled "Instructions for Defensive Arms," to show the justice and necessity of the defensive war into which they were



forced. In June, 1639, when the king appeared inclined to listen to overtures of peace, Mr. Henderson was selected as one of the commissioners to go to the English camp; and during the whole negotiation, his eminent abilities were conspicuous; and the king himself is said to have been much pleased with his conversation. The propriety of sending a minister of the gospel to such a treaty, is questioned by bishop Burnet; but when it is considered that the dispute arose out of religion, and that the rights and privileges of the General Assembly were the chief matters to be settled, no man could have been found better qualified to explain every thing connected with the subject; and this is assigned expressly as the reason of his appointment by the committee of Parliament.

Mr. Henderson opened the assembly of 1639, with a sermon from Acts v. 33, and addressed the members of the body in his usual solemn and impressive manner. The king's high commissioner requested, that in consideration of Mr. Henderson's "rare abilities," he should be continued the moderator of this assembly also; but the jealousy of prelatical domination led them to reject this request; and the Rev. David Dickson, minister of Irvine, was chosen moderator by a great majority. As Episcopacy was condemned again, by this assembly, the lord commissioner requested that the reasons of this condemnation should be assigned. Mr. Henderson, Mr. Ramsay, and the moderator undertook to prove that it was a mere human institution, and destructive of discipline, &c.

The council of Edinburgh having resolved that a rector of the University should be annually chosen to visit the institution, the chance fell on Mr. Henderson for the current year.

When the war with Scotland was renewed by the English, Mr. Henderson accompanied the Covenanters, who marched into England; and when another treaty was set on foot, to reconcile the parties, he was again one of the commissioners, and is said to have drawn up the paper which contained the grounds and reasons of their demands, which was

transmitted to the British Parliament, and produced a powerful effect. It is still extant in MS. The conditions insisted on, in this paper, were all agreed to by the English, and a treaty was accordingly ratified on these terms.

While he, and the other Scottish ministers who accompanied the army, remained in London, they were not idle, but wrote and published several pamphlets, relating to the existing disputes between the English and Scotch.

Mr. Henderson, when in London, sought and obtained an audience of the king. His object was to obtain some assistance for the Scottish universities, from funds formerly appropriated to the support of the bishops. He was well received, and had encouragement given him to hope that his request would be granted.

His extraordinary popularity in Scotland will be manifest from a single fact. This year, 1641, the General Assembly met at St. Andrews; the Parliament, who were now in session, sent Lord Carstairs to request them to adjourn to Edinburgh, before they chose a moderator, in order that Mr. Henderson, who was not yet returned from England, might be put into that office; but as Mr. Henderson had not arrived when they opened their sessions at Edinburgh, they proceeded to choose a moderator, to serve until he should arrive. When he came, Mr. Fairful, who was in the chair, offered to resign it to Mr. Henderson; but Mr. Calderwood, who was not a member of the assembly, but had been invited to sit with them, opposed it, as being altogether out of order; in which Mr. Henderson himself coincided with him; but when the vote was taken in the assembly, it was unanimous for Mr. Henderson's commission being received, and he was immediately chosen moderator. He begged to be excused from this onerous office, but the assembly insisted on his taking the chair. In this assembly, Mr. Henderson gave pleasing information of the progress of correct opinions in England, on the subject of church government, and that there was a reasona-

ble prospect that soon an uniformity in religion would take place in the two kingdoms. To promote an object so desirable, he moved for a committee to draw up a "Confession of Faith, a Catechism, and Directory for Worship, and a Platform of Government," in which the two nations might probably agree. This proposal was cordially approved by the assembly, and they imposed the chief burden of this important work upon the mover, which he wished to decline; but they held him to it, but permitted him to call to his aid any of his brethren whom he might choose, and if necessary, to intermit preaching while the work was in hand.

He now petitioned the assembly to be removed from Edinburgh, where he was always unhealthy, and especially, as his voice was not strong enough to fill any church in the city. To this, the city of Edinburgh was exceedingly averse; and offered to render his situation in all respects comfortable; but he insisted on a release, and was accordingly translated to St. Andrews.

When the king this year visited Scotland, Mr. Henderson attended him as his chaplain; and as his majesty consented, while in Scotland, to conform to the Scottish service, he selected preachers on whom he might attend. And he took this opportunity of exerting his influence with the king in favour of the universities; which was done with effect; and particularly, he obtained with some difficulty, that the revenues of the bishopric and priory of Edinburgh, should go to the support of the University of that city.

During the year 1642, Mr. Henderson was much engaged in correspondence, with a view to a uniformity of religion in the two kingdoms. And the English Parliament having resolved to abolish Episcopacy, requested that some ministers should be sent from the church of Scotland, to assist the synod which they were about to convene. Mr. Henderson, very much against his will, was named one of the commissioners. He was exceedingly desirous that the parties should

be reconciled, and that matters should not be pushed on to extremities. And with a view to conciliation, he visited the king, at Oxford, and presented a petition in the name of the Scottish commissioners; but was not very graciously received. An attempt was made to involve him in a public controversy on church government; but he evaded it, as thinking that it would be unbecoming for him, as national commissioner, to engage in controversy with private men.

The Scotch were much dissatisfied with the treatment which their commissioners received from the king; and they now entered into a close alliance with the Parliament.

The General Assembly convened at Edinburgh in August; and Mr. Henderson was a third time chosen moderator. To this assembly, the commissioners from the English Parliament presented themselves, and exhibited their commission from both Houses, and also the views with which they they had come into Scotland. And to unite the two nations into a close alliance, a covenant was proposed, and was at length agreed upon. This also was drawn up by Mr. Henderson. The English commissioners wished only for a civil league, but ultimately agreed to the covenant which had been prepared. When this was read in the assembly, it was received with tears of joy, and unanimously adopted. This is the paper which is known by the name of "The Solemn League and Covenant." On the afternoon of the same day, it passed the "Convention of Estates," and was immediately transmitted to the English Parliament, for their approbation; and Mr. Henderson, already appointed a commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, was now directed to set out immediately for London, to obtain from the Parliament the ratification of the Solemn League and Covenant. Upon his arrival, with the other commissioners, in London, the matter was brought before Parliament, and the Covenant was approved by both Houses, and then transmitted to the Assembly at Westminster, where it

met also with the approbation of the majority; and a day was agreed on, in which the Assembly and House of Commons should meet, and after swearing to the Covenant, should individually subscribe it. As an introduction to the solemnities of this day, Mr. Henderson delivered an appropriate address, in which he warmly commended the duty in which they were about to engage, as pleasing to God, and one which he had often crowned with an extraordinary blessing.

In the Westminster Assembly of Divines, Mr. Henderson acted a very conspicuous part; and perhaps no one in that body had a greater influence on its acts and decisions. When the members grew warm in debate, he endeavoured to reconcile them, and had a happy art of removing difficulties which hindered the agreement of brethren.

In the year 1645, Mr. Henderson was appointed to assist the commissioners of the two Houses in negotiating a treaty with the king at Uxbridge. They were instructed to demand that Episcopacy should be abolished; to which the king's commissioners strongly objected. Mr. Henderson introduced the discussions with an elaborate speech, in which he contented himself with proving, not that Episcopacy was unlawful, but that it was not absolutely necessary; as certainly Christianity could subsist without it. Even Lord Clarendon admits that his speech was not destitute of eloquence. He dwelt much on the fact, that all the reformed churches in the world, except that of England, had rejected Episcopacy; and that, in this country, the hierarchy had ever been a most inconvenient thing; that the bishops had continually a tendency to approximate to popery; many of the ceremonies of which they had retained; and that, in civil matters, they had often involved the nation in difficulties, and sometimes enkindled a flame which blazed through the three kingdoms.

The king's commissioner for religion, Dr. Stewart, opposed Mrs. Henderson's speech with much zeal. He endeavoured to prove the apostolical authority of Episcopacy, and contended, that without bishops, the

sacerdotal office could not be transmitted, and that without this office, the sacraments could not be administered with any effect.

This negotiation having been broken off, Mr. Henderson returned to his duty in the assembly. In the close of the year 1645, it was judged expedient to send him and some others to Scotland; but the severity of the weather, ill health, and important business in London, prevented him from taking this journey.

In the spring of 1646, the king's affairs appeared to be completely ruined; he therefore threw himself into the Scottish army, who conveyed him to Newcastle. To this place, he sent for Mr. Henderson, who was in fact one of his chaplains; and he, with the permission of Parliament, went thither. He was instructed, before he left London, that the only likely method of removing difficulties and reconciling parties, would be for the king to consent to take the Solemn League and Covenant; but Mr. Henderson soon found that the king would never consent to this. The king, however, received him kindly, and conversed with him freely, and Mr. Henderson was not backward in giving his advice candidly to this infatuated monarch.

But, during these conferences, Mr. Henderson's health became much impaired; and it was not long before he perceived that his disease was mortal; and he resolved, as soon as practicable, to return to Scotland; but before he left Newcastle, he had a final audience of the king; and after putting him solemnly in mind of the difficulties by which he was environed, he took his last farewell, and sailed for Edinburgh, where he arrived August 11, 1646, very sick, and much exhausted. But his mind was calm, and his peace undisturbed. He was able to speak but little, in his last moments; but all his brethren who visited him, were well satisfied with the firmness of his faith, even to the last. He rested from his labours August 19, 1646, just eight days after his return to Scotland. Mr. Livingston, who was present, testifies, "that he died in great peace and comfort." And his friend,

Mr. Baillie, "That he died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith." He was buried in the church of Gray-friars; and as he had no family of his own, his nephew, Mr. George Henderson, had a monument erected over him, with a suitable inscription. As no man whom Scotland ever produced was more universally esteemed, so his death was greatly lamented.

His character, as drawn by a minister of the church of England, Mr. Grainger, is the following: "Mr. Henderson, the chief of the Scottish clergy, in this reign, was learned, eloquent, polite, and perfectly versed in the knowledge of mankind. He was at the helm of affairs in the General Assemblies of Scotland; and was sent into England in the double capacity of a divine and a plenipotentiary. He knew how to rouse the people to war, and to negotiate a peace. Whenever he preached, it was to a crowded audience, and as he pleaded, or argued, he was regarded with mute attention." And a late writer, in the "Christian Instructor," says: "Mr. Henderson had talents and acquirements which fitted him for rising to eminence: that eminence he actually attained, and preserved, and nothing but shameful ignorance, or ruthless bigotry, will deny him the praise of having been both a great and good man."

Mr. Henderson was too much occupied, all his life, with great affairs of church and state, to have it in his power to write much. In powerful, persuasive eloquence, he had no superior in his day; and the productions of his pen are characterized by accuracy, simplicity, and appropriate illustrations, giving undoubted evidence of a clear and vigorous mind. He excelled in drafting public documents, as is evident from facts already stated.

This eminent man furnishes a remarkable example of the fact, that men of a retiring disposition and unambitious of conspicuous and high stations, are frequently brought forward into public life by the dispensations of Providence, and by the reputation which they acquire by their modesty of disposition.

The reflections of Henderson himself on this subject, as it relates to himself, are worthy of being here inserted. "When," says he, "from my sense of myself, and my own thoughts and ways, I begin to remember how men who love to live obscurely and in the shadow, are brought forth to light, to the view and talking of the world; how men that love quietness, are to stir, and have a hand in public business; how men that love soliloquies and contemplations, are brought upon debates and controversies; and generally, how men are brought to act the things which they never determined, nor so much as dreamed of before: the words of the prophet Jeremiah came to my remembrance: 'O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh, to direct his steps.' Let no man think himself master of his own actions or ways. 'When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walked whither thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee and carry thee whither thou wouldst not.'"

His other printed productions are,

1. A Sermon before the House of Commons, from Ezek. vii. 2; preached on a solemn fast, December 27, 1645.
2. A Sermon before Lords and Commons, in St. Margaret's Church, a thanksgiving, July 10, 1644.
3. A Fast Sermon, before the House of Lords, May 28, 1645.
4. His Speech at the taking of the Covenant.

**HARDWICK, HUMPHREY.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines, who is marked in Neal's account, as constant in his attendance. He suffered much for non-conformity, having been for a while silenced; and having been plundered of his library, as he informs us, in the dedication of a sermon preached before the House of Commons, from Psalm cxxvi. 5, 6. This sermon is entitled "Zion's Deliverance and Reformation, together with the activity her friends should manifest, during the time that his cause is in agitation."



**HARRIS, ROBERT, D. D.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born in Gloucestershire, in England, in the year 1578, and was entered a student in Magdalen college, in 1595. Here he became an excellent scholar, and a famous disputant. His tutor, Mr. Gough, proposed to him with others, the spending some time daily, in reading the Bible, in prayer, and the repetition of sermons. To this he was at first much averse; but he sought direction of the Father of lights, and was soon deeply impressed with a sense of divine things; so that he humbled himself before God, and procured a Bible, and began to study it with unceasing diligence; and in the progress of these pious exercises, he gave good evidence that he had experienced a saving change. After taking his first degree in the University, he entered the holy ministry, and was much attached to the principles of those called Puritans. He went to preach in a church, in his native county, but when he came to the place, he found no Bible from which he could take his text, and none could be found in the neighbourhood.

But not wishing, as yet, to take the charge of a parish, he went back to the University, there to pursue his studies; but a dreadful plague having broken out in that seat of learning, he found a refuge in the house of a certain Mr. Doyly, of a respectable and ancient family. Mrs. Doyly was eminently pious; and he found here a worthy minister, Mr. Prier, whose health was much impaired, and for whom he sometimes officiated with great acceptance, among the people of the vicinity; so that they intreated him to remain for some time, that they might enjoy the benefit of his ministry.

About this time, the venerable Mr. Dod, being silenced for non-conformity, was ejected from the parish of Hanwell, in Oxfordshire, by Dr. Bridges, bishop of Oxford; upon which, Sir Anthony Cope invited Mr. Harris to become his successor; but the people were so attached to Mr. Dod, that they would only consent to receive Mr. Harris until it could be

seen, whether there was any hope of their recovering their beloved pastor. The parish, on this account, remaining vacant for some months, Archbishop Bancroft presented the place to one of his chaplains; but Sir Anthony Cope, then in Parliament, immediately went to him, and presented Mr. Harris; and with much difficulty, obtained from the Archbishop an acknowledgment of his right, and the admittance of Mr. Harris; but having taken offence at something which Sir Anthony Cope said, in Parliament, about insufficient ministers, he determined to take this occasion to retaliate, and gave orders that Mr. Harris should be strictly examined. The chaplain who undertook to examine him, returned a report that he was, "moderately learned," which did not satisfy the Archbishop; wherefore, he turned him over to bishop Barlow, who was a scholar and a wit, and delighted in such exercises. This prelate, after a thorough examination, especially in Greek, in which he excelled, delivered to his grace, a most favourable testimony of Mr. Harris. He greatly dreaded, however, to become the successor of a man so eminent as Mr. Dod. But he found his situation uncommonly pleasant, especially as it related to friends in the ministry, for about the same time, Mr. Seudder had settled at Drayton, and Mr. Whately at Banbury. Between these three young clergymen there was formed a great intimacy and friendship, which they increased by the bonds of affinity, for Mr. Harris married Mr. Whately's sister, and Mr. Seudder his wife's sister. They were accustomed to meet together, once a week, to analyze a chapter of the Bible. This custom was found very useful in promoting an accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and also cementing the bonds of brotherly love. This practice they continued with mutual edification, as long as circumstances permitted. But although his circumstances were so pleasant, in many respects, he was not left without his share of affliction. His wife was long confined with a distressing illness; but all worked for his good. His ministry became more and more

acceptable, and useful; so that he had many seals to his ministry; and so remarkably was he blessed in his labours, that, for some time, there was not one prayerless family in Hanwell. He was also blessed in his basket and store; for though he had a large family, and a moderate salary, and loved hospitality; yet his circumstances continued to improve; so that he thought that there was a secret blessing on house-keeping. In this useful and delightful station, he continued for the space of forty years; until the commencement of the civil wars, which disturbed the peace of the whole kingdom. The bloody battle of Edge-hill was fought October 28, 1642, in the very vicinity of Hanwell. But although it was so near, and occurred during the time of public worship, they heard nothing of it at Hanwell, the wind being in an opposite direction, until after the public service was over, when the sad reality was made known by wounded soldiers coming into the place. Mr. Harris was vexed and oppressed by the king's soldiers, who were quartered on him, and reproached him as a *round-head* and *malignant*; but he went on as usual, in the laborious exercise of his ministry. As some of the officers, who had taken up their quarters at his house, were exceedingly addicted to profane swearing, he felt it to be his duty to preach a sermon against this odious custom, which, however, gave great offence; so that one of them declared, that if he dared to preach another such sermon, he would shoot him in the pulpit. Mr. Harris, nothing intimidated, preached another sermon, the next Lord's day, against the same vice, and while delivering it, he observed a man preparing his firelock, but he went on and finished his discourse, without further interruption.

At length, however, his tenements and all his property were destroyed; and some of the people of his charge also joining with his enemies, he thought it to be necessary to retreat from Hanwell; and he removed to London, where he was chosen one of the **Assembly of Divines at Westminster**; and during

his attendance, was employed to preach regularly at St. Botolph's church, Bishopsgate. It was remarked of him, as a member of this Assembly, that he heard all, and said little. In 1646, he was one of the seven preachers sent to Oxford, to reform the University; and the year following, he was appointed one of the visitors of that University.

Mr. Harris now took the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was made master of Trinity college, which office he retained ten years; governing the college with admirable prudence, so that he conciliated the affections of both fellows and students, who revered him as a father. While here, he preached at his parsonage once a week, in the city of Oxford, and regularly in his turn, in the University, both in Latin and English.

The only charge which was ever brought against Dr. Harris, was, that he held pluralities, and received the income of parishes which he could not in person serve. There seems, from his own confession, to have been some appearance of ground for this charge, which is to be lamented. Wood, it is true, accuses him of having seized two bags of gold, which belonged to his college, and of having appropriated them to his own use; which, as it is founded on no credible testimony, ought to be rejected as contradicted by the whole tenor of his life.

Dr. Harris was distinguished for self-government, as well as for his skill in governing his family and his church. He had an entire command over his own temper, and was moderate and regular in all his indulgences and enjoyments. In the use of sleep, food, and recreations, he observed a moderation and regularity which greatly strengthened his constitution, even to an advanced age. He was of a kind, and charitable disposition, so that he was ever sparing of his censures of others, and only severe to himself. He was in the habit of forgetting the injuries which he suffered, while he was careful to do nothing that could be injurious to others. His method of governing his children was admirable. He carefully main-

tained his authority, but it was uniformly tempered with kindness, and exercised with gravity. While they were very young, he instructed them by causing them to repeat historical passages from the Bible. He next accustomed them to repeat what they had read or heard; and when they were old enough, he instructed them in the doctrines of religion; and not satisfied with theoretical instruction, he earnestly and affectionately inculcated on them the practice of religion. He was vigilant in guarding their morals; and when he observed in any of them a constitutional tendency to any vice, he was careful to put them on the watch, and to use means to counteract every such tendency. The fruit of these paternal labours answered his most sanguine expectations. His family was an example of good order, mutual affection, and piety. And his solicitude was not confined to his children, but was extended to his servants, whom he diligently instructed and exhorted; and to whom he showed uniform kindness and gentleness; so that several had the greatest reason to bless God, that they ever came under his roof.

Dr. Harris found his chief pleasure in communion with God. He accounted those his best days, in which he enjoyed most intercourse with heaven. On one occasion, when sick, a person asked him how he did, he said "O this has been a sweet day, I have had sweet communion with God in Jesus Christ."

Though he became pious early in life, he was unable to tell the precise time or means of his conversion. He was very attentive to the duty of self-examination, and was in the habit of writing down in a book, the evidences which he found in himself, on account of which he hoped to reach heaven. These were commonly in the form of propositions drawn from the Holy Scriptures. But his best evidence was the uniform tenor of a holy life. He walked with God, in piety, charity, patience, humility, and an entire dependence upon him for every thing.

After he had settled all his worldly affairs, and his children were all disposed of, and he seemed to have

nothing to do but quietly wait for his change, it pleased Providence to afflict him with a heavy calamity. His wife, who had been his affectionate companion for fifty years, and was eminently pious, now in her old age, fell under such horrible temptations, as terrified all who came near her. He bore this trying affliction with much meekness and patience, observing that "Grace and comfort are from God alone," so that this distressing event only served to shed a brighter lustre on his graces, and to stir him up to more diligence and fervour in his religious exercises.

In his last sickness, he spent his whole time in prayer, meditation, and reading the Holy Scriptures, especially the Psalms, Isaiah, and the Gospel of John. He delighted exceedingly in the 10th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th chapters of this Evangelist; and when he was no longer able to read himself, he requested others to read to him, and he would expound the passage as they proceeded. He warmly exhorted those persons who visited and attended him, to seek above all things, to obtain the precious grace of faith. On the Lord's day he would have none to remain at home on his account; but exhorted all to go to the house of God; and when they had returned, he would say, "And what have you for me?" meaning that they should repeat to him the truths which they had heard. And he would often exclaim, "O what excellent truths are these; lay them up carefully, you will have need of them."

When his friends came to visit him, he would admit them to his chamber, but would say "I cannot speak much, but I can hear;" yet when asked where his comfort lay, he answered, "in Christ, and in the free grace of God." He said "he derived his comfort from the Lord Jesus Christ and the unsearchable riches of divine grace, reigning through righteousness unto eternal life." When it was remarked, that he might take much comfort from his labours and his usefulness, he replied, "All is nothing without a Saviour; without him, my best works would condemn

me. O, I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin. O, I am an unprofitable servant! I have not done any thing for God, as I ought. Loss of time sits heavy on my spirits. 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 further said, "I never in all my life saw the worth of Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love, as I now do." When his friends asked him, what they should do for him, he said, "You must not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me; and particularly, that he has kept Satan from me, in my weakness. O, how good is God! Entertain good, good thoughts of him. However it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, nor too ill of ourselves."

In his last will and testament, he bequeathed to each of his children a Bible, with this inscription on each copy; "None but Christ." To his particular friends who surrounded his death bed, he said, "I am now going home, even quite spent. I am now at the shore, but leave you still tossing on the sea. O, it is a good time to die." And when still nearer his end, being asked how he did, he said, "In no great pain, I praise God; only weary of my useless life. If God has no more service for me to do here, I would be gladly in heaven, where I could serve him better, delivered from sin and distractions. I pass from one death to another, yet I fear none. I praise God that I can live, and dare die. If God has more work for me to do here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary." Afterwards he said, "I do no good now; I hinder other persons, who might be better employed, if I were removed. Why should we desire to live, but to do God service?" When, from the extremity of his disease, his physicians prohibited his attempting to speak, he had his children to read to him, and often signified to his son, his desire that he should go to prayer.

He died on the 11th of December, 1658, aged eighty years.

His character has been thus drawn: "He was a man of great abilities, a hard student, and richly furnished with all learning which is necessary to a divine. He was a pure and elegant Latin scholar, had considerable knowledge of Greek, and was a master of the Hebrew. He was greatly admired, as a subtle, clear, and very ready disputant. He excelled in chronology, church history, the fathers, councils, and casuistical theology. But it was in the pulpit that his abilities appeared to the best advantage. His gifts and graces were eminent, in public prayer; his affections were warm and elevated, his petitions appropriate and weighty, and his language pertinent, unaffected, and without tautology. He was accounted not only a good preacher, but a judicious divine. His sermons, though ably composed, were so plain and so clearly unfolded the grand mysteries of the gospel, that persons of the meanest capacity could understand them."

For twenty years, in the former part of his ministry, he wrote his sermons accurately, and carefully committed them to memory, which he could do with much ease. He was very copious, and particularly in the application of his sermons. He had an admirable faculty of engaging the attention and warming the feelings of his audience. In his private character, as the foregoing history of his life testifies, he was truly exemplary in all the relations which he sustained. His charity to the poor, his humility, self-denial, gravity, and diligence, were conspicuous. In short, he was a most accomplished preacher, and a consistent and lively Christian; and many rejoiced in his light, and profited by his labours.

He used to say, "that a preacher has three books to study, the Bible, himself, and the people." He advised young preachers to write largely, and to keep their notes for all emergencies. He observed, that the humblest preachers converted the most souls, not



the most choice scholars, unless their learning was truly sanctified. He said, "that 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, until he was broken and humbled by afflictions and temptations." It was a maxim with him, "that so much humility as any man had, so much grace, and no more."—"And that it was just in God to deny us the comfort of our graces, when we deny him the glory of them."

He used to say, "that some common duties were very difficult to him, such as to deny himself to the extent he ought—to live only by faith on the promise, without a pawn—to ascribe all to free grace and to Christ alone—to love, where we meet with the want of love—to continue long in holy thoughts—and to confine our attention to the prayers of another person."

He was wont to say, "that it was a hard thing for a saint to forgive himself some faults, even when God has forgiven them; and that we know but little of Christ's love, until it is all spread before us in heaven."

His last will and testament contains much excellent advice to his wife and his numerous children.

His published writings are,

1. *The Way to True Happiness*, in twenty-four sermons.

2. *A Treatise on the New Covenant*. Ezek. xi. 19, 20.

3. *Sermons to the Clergy*, in Latin.

All his works were published in one vol. fol. London, 1654.

**HERLE, CHARLES**, was born in the county of Cornwall, in the year 1598, and was the third son of Edward Herle, Esq. He received his education in Exeter College, Oxford, where he entered, as a student, in 1612. He took degrees in the arts, and entered the holy ministry, and was first in Devonshire. Afterwards, he was made rector of Wenwick, in Lanca-

shire. In the civil war he sided with the Parliament; and was selected to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and upon the death of Dr. Twisse, was appointed the prolocutor of that body. He took the Covenant, and preached frequently before the Parliament, and was one of the select committee for the examination and approbation of ministers, who were candidates for the sequestered livings. He was also one of the committee of accommodation, in 1645; and was also one of those appointed to prepare materials for the Confession of Faith. In church government, he was no Erastian, but a moderate Presbyterian. Although he wrote against the Independents, he commends their peaceable spirit, and says: "The difference between us and our brethren, who are for independency, is nothing so great as has been conceived. At most, it does but ruffle a little the fringe, not any way rend the garment of Christ: it is so far from being a fundamental, it is scarcely a material difference." In 1647, Mr. Herle, and Mr. Stephen Marshall were appointed to attend the commissioners of Parliament to Scotland, to give the Scots a just view of the state of affairs in England.

After the death of the king, he retired to his charge at Winwick, where he spent the remainder of his days, and where he was held in high esteem by his flock, and by his brethren in the ministry.

In 1651, the earl of Derby raised a regiment of soldiers for Charles II. then on his march from Scotland, when he came near to Winwick, he sent a party of horse to Herle's house, to bring him to his camp. The family were thrown into great consternation, expecting that they would be plundered and ruined; but Lieutenant Arundal, who commanded the detachment, treated them civilly; and when Mr. Herle arrived at the earl's camp, he was very kindly received, and sent back under a safe guard; and when his forces were defeated, Arundal was dangerously wounded, and was received into the house of Mr. Herle, where he was attended and nursed by the family in the tenderest manner. He was appointed with Mr. Isaac

Ambrose, and Mr. Edward Gee, a commissioner, for ejecting scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, in the county of Lancaster, in which business he is said to have proceeded impartially, and in the opinion of some, rigidly.

The Rev. John Hume was ordained at Winwick, by Mr. Herle, with the assistance of a few other ministers. Dr. Fuller says, "that he was a good scholar, and esteemed by his party, a deep divine; and was so much the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, that he could live in friendship with those who differed from him."

His death occurred in the year 1659.

His published writings are,

1. Microcosmography; Essays and Characters.
2. Contemplations, &c., on our Saviour's Passion.
3. An Answer to Dr. Henry Fearn.
4. Several sermons, on particular occasions.
5. The Independency on Scriptures of the Independency of Churches.
6. Worldly Policy and Moral Prudence.

This valuable little book was re-printed under the title of "Wisdom's Tripos, in three Treatises. 1. Worldly Policy. 2. Moral Prudence. 3. Christian Wisdom."

HEYRICK, RICHARD, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born in London, and educated in Merchant Taylor's school. He became a commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, in the year 1617, when he was seventeen years of age. After taking his degrees in the arts, he was elected a fellow of All-souls' College, in 1624, about which time he entered into holy orders. He was for a while settled as pastor of a church in Norfolk; and was made Warden of Christ's College, Manchester, in Lancashire.

Mr. Heyrick took the covenant, and was very zealous in promoting a reformation in the church. In 1644, he, and other ministers, to the number of twenty-

one, were vested with authority to ordain ministers for the county of Lancaster.

Mr. Heyrick was involved in what was called Love's plot, from Christopher Love; the object of which was, to bring in Charles II. after his father's death. Love and Gibbons suffered capitally, and others were committed to prison; but how Mr. Heyrick escaped, we know not; but we find him afterwards on the committee for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers, and school-masters, in Lancashire.

He was zealous for the restoration; and gave so much satisfaction to the ruling party, that he was not deprived of his wardenship until his dying day.

He died, August 6, 1667, aged sixty-seven years, and was interred in the collegiate church of Manchester, where a handsome monument was erected over his grave by Anna Maria, his widow, with an inscription composed by his old friend, the Rev. Thomas Case. This epitaph gives him a very high character, as a man of genteel extraction, a most diligent student, a faithful pastor, and a vigilant guardian of his college. A man of solid judgment, acute penetration, of singular zeal mingled with remarkable prudence; of great gravity, accompanied with much sweetness of disposition, and true humility;" and he was allowed by all to be a man of great learning.

Publications of Mr. Heyrick:

1. Three Sermons preached in the Collegiate Church at Manchester. Psalm cxxii. 6. 2 Thess. ii. 15. Gen. xlix. 5, 6, 7.

2. Queen Esther's Resolves; or, a Princely Pattern of Heaven-born Resolution, *for all the Lovers of God and their Country*. A fast sermon before the House of Commons. Esther iv. 16.

3. Two Sermons: the one from Galatians iv. 16, the other from 2 Kings xi. 12.

HICKES, GASPAR, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born in Berkshire, in England; and educated in Trinity College, Oxford,

where he entered in 1621, when sixteen years of age. He took his degrees in the arts, and then entered into holy orders. His first settlement was in a parish in the county of Cornwall; where he continued a diligent and faithful preacher, under the name of a Puritan. When the civil war commenced, he espoused the cause of the Parliament openly; and when the royalists came into that county, he found it expedient to retire to London. He was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and sometimes was called upon to preach before Parliament; and often in the city of London. But when the king's interest declined, Mr. Hickes returned to his charge in Cornwall.

In the year 1654, he was appointed assistant to the commissioners appointed to eject ignorant and scandalous ministers, in Cornwall. He continued at Laidrake, where his parish was situated, until 1662, when he shared the lot of hundreds of his brethren, and was ejected by the act of uniformity. He remained, however, in the place, and preached as he got opportunity. But in this he experienced much disturbance. One day, when preaching in his own house, to his family and others under sixteen, that he might be within the provisions of the Conventicle act, the young parson who had succeeded him was enraged when he heard of this meeting, and sent civil officers to seize upon him and others; but they could find only four persons above sixteen, therefore the magistrates refused to commit him, notwithstanding the officious zeal of Mr. Winnel, the young minister; for the law had not been violated. But his persecutor was resolved on his punishment, and went to some magistrates in Devonshire, who fined him in the sum of £40; and when he appealed to the sessions, he was denied the privilege of a jury, and the court, contrary to law, not only confirmed the former judgment of £40, but added costs to treble the amount; and at the same time loaded him with obloquy.

Mr. Hickes died in the year 1677, about the seventy-third year of his age.

His published writings are,

1. The Glory and Beauty of God's Portion, a sermon before the Commons.
2. The Life and Death of David, a funeral sermon.
3. The Advantage of Afflictions," preached before the House of Peers, from Hosea v. 15.

Dr. Calamy says, that Mr. Hicckes was "a good scholar, and a celebrated preacher."

HILL, THOMAS, D. D., was descended of pious parents, who dedicated him from his childhood to the service of God; and accordingly, they determined to educate him for the holy ministry. After due preparation, he was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was eminently distinguished for diligence and sobriety. In conformity with the act of his parents, Mr. Hill cultivated piety from his youth, and exhibited while in college, a shining example of true religion. His character was so estimable, that the governors of his college elected him a scholar of the house. Afterward, he went to spend some time with the celebrated Mr. Cotton at Boston; where the example and instructions of this learned and pious man were of great service in promoting his improvement.

Upon his return to the University, he was chosen a fellow of his college, after an uncommonly strict examination.

He now entered the ministry, and became celebrated as a preacher; so that he was invited to the pastoral charge of Tichmarsh, in Northamptonshire, England; where he fulfilled the duties of his office, with fidelity and steadiness, for eight or nine years; when he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, for the county of Northampton. Here he was a useful member; and was frequently employed to preach before the Parliament, and was chosen one of the lecturers at Westminster Abbey. Afterwards, he was first appointed master of Emmanuel College, and then of Trinity College, Cambridge. In these high stations, Mr. Hill conducted himself with great prudence and circumspection. His object was uni-

formly to promote piety and good order among the students. In government, he united dignity with meekness and condescension. He was two years in the office of Vice Chancellor of the University. In his preaching, he was strictly Calvinistic, and strenuously defended the doctrines of God's sovereignty in his decrees; and his free love and grace in election; of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ; and of the final perseverance of the saints in a state of grace. His style of preaching was plain, powerful, and spiritual. He was also, through his life, a diligent and laborious preacher of the gospel; for while in the University, beside his regular services in the pulpit, he set up a lecture on Sunday morning, which he kept up without assistance from other ministers.

Though naturally modest, yet when the cause of truth required it, he was bold and determined. He always manifested the deepest interest in the Redeemer's kingdom; and to his other qualities he added deep and unfeigned humility, and kind and affable manners in social intercourse.

When asked by Dr. Tuckney, in his last illness, respecting his state of mind, he said, "that through the mercy of God his peace was made." Immediately after which he departed with tranquillity, December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, and much lamented.

Neal, in his history of the Puritans, says, "that Dr. Hill was a good scholar, a strict Calvinist, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher; and of a holy and unblameable conversation." Mr. Palmer mentions, "that Dr. Hill was a great favourite with the earl of Warwick, at whose home he became acquainted with Mrs. Willford, whom he afterwards married.

Dr. Hill's published writings:

1. The Trade of Truth Advanced. A sermon before the House of Commons, from Proverbs xxiii. 23.
2. The Militant Church Triumphant over the Dragon and his Angels. A sermon before both Houses of Parliament, from Rev. xii. 11.
3. The Good Old Way to Soul-refreshing Rest. A

derly, in the county of Southampton, in England. He preached before the House of Commons; and has left one sermon behind him, entitled, "The Mournful Note of the Dove."

LEY, JOHN, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born in the borough of Warwick, England, February 4, 1583. He became a scholar of Christ-Church College in 1601, where he remained until he proceeded A. M. Having finished his studies in the University, he was presented to the vicarage of Great Budworth, in Cheshire, where he was a constant preacher for many years. He was made a prebendary of the church in Chester, and was once or twice elected a member of the convocation. When the civil war commenced, he espoused the Parliament's cause, took the covenant, and was appointed examiner, in Latin, to the Assembly. He was made rector of Ashfield, in Chester; chairman of the committee for the approbation of ministers; one of the printing committee; and one of the committee for the ordination of ministers, according to the Presbyterian form.

In 1645, he was chosen president of Sion College, and was inducted into the living of Brightwell, Berkshire.

In 1653, he was appointed one of the *triers* of ministers, and in the following year, an assistant to the commissioners appointed to eject ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters in Berkshire. After some time, Mr. Ley removed from Brightwell, and was presented to Solihull, in Warwickshire. But here, by too much exertion, he ruptured a blood vessel, which led him to resign his charge, as he was henceforth unable to discharge the duties of his office. The remainder of his days, he lived privately, until the 16th of May, 1662, when he rested from his labours, aged seventy-nine years. His remains were deposited in the church at Sutton-Colfield.

Mr. Ley was esteemed an excellent preacher, and an eminently learned theologian; and his piety was



as remarkable as his learning. He was thoroughly versed in ecclesiastical antiquities; with the fathers and councils he was familiar; and he was reckoned one of the chief pillars of Presbyterianism.

Mr. Ley's writings are,

1. An Apology in Defence of the Geneva Notes on the Bible.

2. A Pattern of Piety; or, the Religious Life and Death of Mrs. Jane Ratcliff, of Chester.

3. Several occasional sermons.

4. A Monitor of Mortality; two funeral sermons.

5. The Fury of War, and Folly of Sin; a sermon before the House of Commons. Jer. iv. 21, 22.

6. Sunday a Sabbath.

7. Defensive Doubts, &c., for Refusal of the Oath imposed by the Sixth Canon of the Synod.

8. A Letter against the erection of an Altar.

9. Case of Conscience, concerning the Lord's Supper.

10. Parliamentary Protestation, compared with the late Canonical Oath; also, Opposition between the Churches of England and Rome.

11. Further Divisions respecting the Lord's Supper.

12. A Discourse concerning Puritans.

13. Examination of Saltmarsh's New Query.

14. Light for Smoke; an answer to John Saltmarsh's "Smoke in the Temple." To which is added *Novello-mastix*, "A Scourge for a scurrilous News-monger."

15. An After-reckoning with Mr. Saltmarsh.

16. Annotations on the Pentateuch, and on the Four Evangelists, in English Annotations.

17. A Learned Defence of Tithes.

18. General Reasons against a Fifth to Sequestered Ministers.

19. An Acquittance from Dr. E. H. (Edward Hyde.)

20. A Letter to Dr. Edward Hyde.

21. A Debate concerning the English Liturgy.

22. Discourse concerning Matters of Religion.

23. Animadversions; in two printed books of J. Onely.
24. A Consolatory Letter to Dr. Bryan.
25. Equitable Considerations, &c.
26. A Petition to the Protector.
27. The Oath of the Sixth Canon of the Last Synod of Bishops.
28. Attestation against Errors.
29. Exceptions, Many and Just.

**LIGHTFOOT, JOHN, D. D.**—The subject of this memoir was born in Stoke-upon-Trent, Stafford county, England, on the 29th of March, 1602, on the same day of the month and year, and nearly at the same hour with Dr. Arrowsmith. His mother was Elizabeth Bagnall, of a very respectable family: three of which were knighted, by queen Elizabeth, for their bravery. Dr. Lightfoot was the second of five sons. As soon as he was capable of receiving the rudiments of grammar, he was sent to Mr. Whitehead, in the county of Chester. From this school, in 1617, he was transferred to Christ's College, Cambridge. There he was under the particular tuition of Mr. William Chappel, who was afterwards a professor in Trinity College, Dublin; a Doctor of Divinity, and finally, bishop of Cork. It was a peculiar privilege, that his first teachers were men of eminence, by which means, the foundation was well laid, and his profiting great. In the University, his progress in learning was great, especially in the Latin and Greek. He continued in Christ's College until he took his first degree, after which he went and joined himself as an assistant to Mr. Whitehead, his old teacher, who was now master of the famous school at Repton, in Derbyshire. Here he remained about two years, and made great proficiency in the Greek language. As a teacher, he was very acceptable, both to the principal, and to the scholars. Soon afterwards he entered the ministry, and his first settlement was at Norton, under Hales, in Shropshire. While here he resided in the family of Sir Rowland Cotton, who was much pleased with

his hopeful talents. Here he laid the foundation of that rabbinical learning for which he was afterwards so famous. The occasion of which was this. His patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, being an eminent scholar, often questioned young Lightfoot upon points of Hebrew learning, in which he found himself so deficient, that he resolved to apply himself to this sacred language; and soon his talents for Oriental learning became manifest; and in consequence of this new direction given to his studies, by a country gentleman, he became one of the most eminent rabbinical scholars in the world, as his numerous works attest.

Wagenseil, the learned author of "Tela Ignea," says, "John Lightfoot, an Englishman, well versed in Hebrew literature, performed a laudable work, in explaining the Four Evangelists; when, out of the Talmud chiefly, he studied to cast light on the sacred writers, and to illustrate some of the more obscure passages in them. That laborious work I highly value, for the whole is filled with deep learning, and furnishes many things of which no interpreter ever thought, or could think, without skill in the Talmud. Would to God he had lived to handle all the sacred books in the same manner."

Dr. Gill, whose rabbinical learning is well known, in the preface to his Commentary on the New Testament, thus speaks: "I have used all diligence, both from my own reading, and the observations of others, to make it as perfect as I could; and from none have I had so much assistance, as from the great Dr. Lightfoot, who has broken the ice for me, and pointed out the way in which I should proceed."

When his friend and patron, Sir Rowland Cotton, went to London to reside, Lightfoot soon followed him, where he still resided in his family; but after continuing some time in London, he returned to the country, and took the opportunity of visiting his parents at Stoke. About this time, he had formed the purpose of visiting foreign countries, for his improvement; but to the great joy of his parents, he was persuaded to relinquish his purpose, and was induced to

accept an invitation to settle in Stone, in Staffordshire, as their minister. At this place he remained two years. But having fully engaged himself in rabbinical studies, he could not find, at this place, such access to libraries as he wished; he therefore quitted Stone, and fixed his residence at Hornsey, where he could have the opportunity of consulting the literary treasures in the library of Sion College. At this place, however, he did not continue long; for, in 1630, he removed to Uttoxeter, where his father was vicar; and the same year was presented, by his friend and patron Sir Rowland Cotton, to the rectory of Ashley, in Staffordshire. This new residence seemed to have completed his wishes; for now he resumed his studies, which had been interrupted by his frequent removals, with untiring diligence. That he might be secure from interruption, he purchased an adjoining field, where, in the midst of a garden, he erected a small building containing three rooms, his study, parlour, and bed-chamber. In this retirement he devoted to his studies, all the time which could be spared from his parochial duties; and not content in passing the day in study here, he often remained there through the night, although his parsonage was near at hand. In this delightful retirement, Dr. Lightfoot spent twelve years, and it is not easy to account for his ever consenting to leave it, as it was exactly suited to his studious habits, and to his taste. But in 1642, he was invited to St. Bartholomew's church, near the Exchange. Stype is of opinion, that this removal was not voluntary, but owing to some circumstances which are now unknown; for in his first address to his new congregation, he says, "I must ever mention, both in private to God, and in public to the world, the love and favour which I have received from you; how, when I was unknown ye owned me—when a stranger, ye took me in—when *exiled from mine own*, ye made me yours." It may be, however, that by being *exiled*, he only means to express strongly, his reluctance to part with a people among whom he had lived so long in friendly intercourse. It

is certain, that the friendship of his patron was not withdrawn, and that the affections of the people were not alienated; for he was able to leave his own brother, as his successor at Ashley. Two reasons can be conceived, either of which was sufficient to induce him to relinquish his beloved retirement, and remove to London: the first, that as he was about to commence publishing his learned works, it was necessary, or at least very expedient, for him to be near the press: the other is, that he probably had, before leaving Ashley, received a summons to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, of which we find him an active member the next year. As a member of this important convention, he was assiduous in his attendance, but still performed his ministerial duties to his flock. His conduct in this body seems to have been upright and conscientious. The part which he took in the various discussions which came up, we have from himself, for he kept a brief journal of the proceedings of each day, which has been published in the thirteenth volume of the late octavo edition of his works. He was appointed one of the select committee, for the examination and approbation of ministers, who petitioned for livings which had been sequestered. In this famous Assembly, he had abundant opportunity of displaying his eminent abilities, and extensive erudition; and though not more than forty years of age, he discovered a very thorough knowledge of divinity, great skill in rabbinical and oriental learning, and much acquaintance with church government. He was among the frequent speakers in the Assembly, especially when Jewish or Christian antiquities could be available in the discussion; and also, when the texts in proof of the doctrines were considered. His interpretations of particular texts, was sometimes very singular, which, however, he supported with much ingenuity. And though he was never arrogant in expressing his opinions, he was immovably firm; and in some instances, his vote, according to his own account, stood alone, against the whole Assembly.

The learning and integrity of Lightfoot, gave him great weight in the Assembly; and in the year 1643, he was promoted to the church of Much Munden, Hertfordshire. In the long debates which were held in the Assembly, about church government and discipline, Lightfoot went zealously with the Erastians, who maintained that no particular form of church government was set down in the Scriptures, but that the civil magistrate might regulate the external affairs of the church, according to his own pleasure; and that no authority was given by Christ, to the ordinary ministers of the church, to hinder any person who wished it, from partaking of the sacraments, although the minister might warn them of the danger of an improper approach, and dissuade the profane and dissolute from attendance.

He preached several times before the Parliament, and in one of his sermons, considers the subject of *toleration*, which then begun to be much agitated. His opinions coincided with those of the majority of his brethren, at that time, and agree very little with the sentiments now entertained, especially in this country, on the subject of religious liberty.

Lightfoot took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in the year 1652, on which occasion, his "Concio ad Clerum" was founded on 1 Cor. xvi. 22. The word *maranatha* he explains to mean, "the coming of the Lord Jesus," and considered it as a threat against the unbelieving Jews. The questions on which he disputed were,

"1. Whether the death of Christ procured universal redemption.

"2. Whether the personal Election of men from eternity is founded in Scripture.

"3. Whether, after the canon of Scripture was closed, new revelations may be expected."

In the year 1655, Dr. Lightfoot was chosen vice-chancellor of the University of Cambridge; an office which he discharged with great diligence, notwithstanding the many literary occupations in which he was engaged.

In the discharge of the duties of this high office, he

was so conscientious, and so solicitous to do impartial justice, that, on one occasion, when, as he afterwards thought, having made an erroneous decision against a friend, it so grieved him, that although there was no ill intention, he said, it would accompany him with sorrow to the grave.

While vice-chancellor, he presided in the Divinity School, in the place of his friend, Dr. Arrowsmith, who was by sickness prevented from fulfilling the duties of his office. The questions which were discussed while he was in the chair was, "1. Whether the state of primeval innocence was a state of immortality? 2. Whether eternal life was promised, under the Old Testament?"<sup>1</sup>

Munden was the favourite residence of Dr. Lightfoot; and whenever he could find any leisure from his academic engagements, he always busied himself in this pleasant retreat.

After the restoration, having neglected to procure a new title, an attempt was made by a fellow of St. John's College, to expel him from his living, as held from authorities no longer valid. The royal signature had actually been affixed to the deed of ejection; but he had, by his learning and integrity, conciliated so many powerful friends, that upon the representation of his great merits, he was confirmed in the possession of his rectory. Even archbishop Sheldon was among those who warmly espoused his cause, although personally ignorant of him. By the exertion of the same friends, he was confirmed in the mastership of Catherine Hall. Knowing that the tenure by which he held this situation was not now valid, he voluntarily offered to resign in favour of Dr. Spurstow, whom he succeeded, and who had been superseded in republican times. But Dr. Spurstow, aware that the members of Catherine Hall must be very reluctant to part with so bright an ornament and illustrious a scholar as Dr. Lightfoot, declined the

<sup>1</sup> 1. Status Integritatis fuit status Immortalitatis? 2. Vita Æterna promissa fuit sub Veteri Testamento?

offer. The transaction is equally honourable to the disinterested spirit of both those distinguished men.

Upon the refusal of Dr. Spurstow to resume his former station, as master of the Hall, Dr. Lightfoot laid his petition at the foot of the throne, and immediately received the royal grant; and on his return to Cambridge, the fellows of Catherine Hall rode out some miles to meet him, with their respectful congratulations, and received him with the same ceremonies as if he had been installed a new master of their College. Indeed, he was ever ready to promote the prosperity of his College, not only by his learning, but by his pecuniary contributions, when any improvements were proposed. His name is still enrolled as a benefactor of Catherine Hall.

In the exercise of discipline, he so sympathized with the person on whom punishment fell, that it is said, that in inflicting censures, he appeared to suffer as much as the culprit.

Another promotion which Dr. Lightfoot received, was, to a prebend at Stall, in the church of Ely, through the favour of Sir Orlando Bridgman, before whom he had several times preached, at the assizes, at Hereford.

In April, 1660, Dr. Lightfoot attended the Conference at Savoy, at the bishop of London's lodgings, between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, relative to changes in the book of Common Prayer. He attended among the assistants of the Presbyterian Divines, but he was very little satisfied with the intemperate manner in which the debates were conducted, and attended only once or twice.

In the latter part of the year 1675, Dr. Lightfoot, while journeying from Cambridge to Ely, caught a violent cold, accompanied with fever. The malady affected principally his head, and was aggravated by a few glasses of claret, which he was persuaded to drink—a beverage to which he was entirely unaccustomed; for his common drink was water, or occasionally a draught of small beer. His reason, during his sickness, remained unimpaired; and his piety was



conspicuous throughout the whole of his latter hours. When questioned as to his views and his state, he answered, "that he was in the hands of a good God." As the fever subsided, a lethargy came on, which continued for a fortnight; when, on the sixth of December, 1675, he expired, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. His remains were removed to Munden, of which he had been the rector for thirty-two years. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Fullwood, formerly of Catherine Hall. An inscription for his tomb, was composed by Dr. Gardner, but on some account, it was never adopted.

Dr. Lightfoot was twice married. His first wife was Joyce, widow of Mr. Crompton, of Staffordshire. The Doctor became acquainted with this lady, while he resided in Sir Rowland Cotton's family. By this marriage he had four sons and two daughters. His oldest son, John, took orders, and became chaplain to bishop Walton. His second son, "Anastasius Cottonus Jacksonus," was named thus as a memorial of his two noble friends, Sir Rowland Cotton, and Sir J. Jackson; and his third son, also named Anastasius, was brought up a tradesman; and Thomas, the youngest, died at an early age. His daughter Joyce, was married to Mr. Duckfield, rector of Aspeden, in Hertfordshire; and Sarah, the second daughter, to a gentleman by the name of Colclough, of Staffordshire. With his first wife, Dr. Lightfoot lived nearly thirty years. His second wife was Mrs. Ann Brograve, a widow, related to Sir T. Brograve, Bart.; a gentleman very dear to Lightfoot, on account of his delight in rabbinical learning. By his second wife he had no issue, whom he survived.

Dr. Lightfoot was of a ruddy, but mild countenance; of a good stature, and well proportioned. He was in manners grave, but easy of access; affable and courteous, and very communicative to all inquirers; plain, unaffected, and gentlemanly. In the company of ingenious and learned men, he was free and unrestrained in conversation; but if he happened to fall into the company of rude and profligate men, he

showed his disapprobation of their conversation, by keeping entire silence. On returning from a journey, he did not visit his family, until he had retired to his study, to offer his thanksgivings to God. Temperate and abstemious in diet, he abstained altogether from wine, and drank only water or small beer, which he chose to use, when new. As to food, he cheerfully partook of whatever was set before him, never expressing any fastidious dislikes, but praising God for the supply of his temporal wants. This systematic temperance had given him a sound and healthy constitution, so that even in an advanced age, he was able to pursue his studies without intermission. In a letter to Buxtorf, not above a year before his death, he congratulates himself, with pious acknowledgments to God, on account of his "vivacitatem corporis, animi, atque oculorum,"—"the liveliness of his body, mind, and eyes."

Among the many excellent traits of character in Dr. Lightfoot, his remarkable industry is worthy of special admiration. He seems to have had the happy art of husbanding his time, and turning every hour to some good purpose. His practice was to rise early, and sit up late at his studies; which was indicated by the Hebrew motto of which he was very fond, and which Bright and Strype have quoted in the title-page to their edition of his works, *השכם והערב*.

Dr. Lightfoot was possessed of a grateful heart; he seems never to have forgotten a kindness received. Almost all his works contain dedications to such as he considered his benefactors; and some of these express a warmth of feeling, which is truly remarkable. He took a pleasure in showing kindness to any member of the family of one who had, especially in his youth, manifested favour to him.

Modesty was another prominent trait in the character of Dr. Lightfoot. Few persons were more frequently consulted by the learned, and few scholars have received higher commendation from those whose commendation was worth having; and yet no man could be less inflated by vanity, or less disposed to

entertain a high opinion of himself. Indeed, his expressions of humility, when giving his most elaborate and learned works to the world, are almost unparalleled. In his "Address to the Reader," prefixed to his "Harmony of the Old Testament," he observes, "What I have done, I leave with all humility, at the reader's mercy. If he accept it, it is more than I deserve; if he censure it, it is no more than I shall willingly undergo; being most ready ever to submit to others, and to acknowledge my own infirmity;—bearing nothing in myself but sin, weakness, and strong desires to serve the public." A similar strain pervades several other of his addresses.

Although so learned, and so much absorbed in literary pursuits, he never neglected his parochial duties. No excuse, except sickness, detained him from attending his church, on the Sabbath; and his discourses to his country hearers were full of practical instructions. On the Lord's day, he preached morning and evening, and often remained in the church the whole day; but whether at home or abroad, he scrupulously abstained from all food, until the evening service had been completed, that he might be the more intent on his sacred duties, and preserve himself from becoming dull or drowsy. The Dissenters who lived in the bounds of his parish, were in the habit of attending his ministry, as thinking that he was not much of an Episcopalian; and indeed he was far from being rigid in his adherence to the rubric of the church; seldom wearing a surplice, or reading all the prayers. Though his parish was scattered, he never failed to visit the sick; and often, Mr. Strype says, his own house was like an hospital; for he would bring the friendless poor there to be taken care of in their sickness. His private charities must have been great, for his income was considerable, and he expended little on his family, and laid nothing up.

Towards other literary men, he felt no envy nor jealousy, but was ever ready to give them any assistance which they requested. His aid to bishop Walton, in preparing the London Polyglot, was most impor-

tant. He revised the whole of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and drew up for the work, "a sketch of sacred geography," in which he corrected many *errata*, in the Hebrew text. These services the bishop gratefully acknowledges in his letters. Dr. Lightfoot was deeply interested in the progress of this great and stupendous work. In a speech which, as vice-chancellor, he delivered, he congratulates the University upon the completion of an undertaking, reflecting so much honour on the English nation, and so materially contributing to the advancement of sacred literature.

It appears also, that Dr. Lightfoot contributed his learned aid, to the "Synopsis Criticorum." Pool acknowledges this, in his letters addressed to him, and warmly thanks him for his kind assistance, especially in preparing the historical books of the Old Testament.

In like manner, valuable assistance was afforded to Dr. Custell, in the preparation of his Heptaglot Lexicon; and he, also, by his sympathy and friendship, comforted the heart of that learned man, broken with sorrow, on account of the utter ruin of his affairs, in consequence of this expensive undertaking.

These are but a specimen of the aid rendered to learned men, of his day, in preparing their works for the press.

That the learning of Dr. Lightfoot was profound and extensive, is a thing so fully established by his writings, and so well known through the Christian world, that it would be superfluous to say any thing on the subject. In all departments of Biblical learning, he was richly furnished; but in Hebrew and rabbinical learning, it is doubtful whether he had a superior in the world.

His sermons are not elegant and polished in style, but they are rich in matter, and always suited to his audience, and calculated to be useful. In the University, his discourses, replete with erudition, commanded great attention, and produced much good. In the country, his sermons were instructive and practical,

sued to the capacities of plain Christians. Although he was careless about a polished style, yet in his discourses, there are many Scriptural allusions of much ingenuity and beauty.

Animation is not the usual characteristic of his sermons; but in the funeral sermon of Sir Rowland Cotton, his patron and beloved friend, he gives indulgence to his feelings in the following pathetic strain: "My Sir Rowland Cotton, *yours, the country's, nay CHRIST's*, hath forsaken us, to go to Him, whose he wholly was. O that my head were waters, or rather words, for only that manner of mourning—and my tongue a fountain of tears—for only that instrument of weeping is allowed me now—that I might weep day and night, not for him that is gone, for he is gone where he always was, and where he would be, but for myself, for you, for the country. It is not for my ambition, but for my sorrow, that I claim the first place, and to be first served, in this heavy dole of lamentation—for I have lost, I cannot tell you what—my noble patron—my best friend—my father—myself I should lose, if I should but begin to tell what he was to me.—Why should I speak more? For should I speak myself away, I could never speak enough! O my father! my father! the chariot of my Israel, and the horsemen thereof—thy love to me was wonderful—passing the love of woman. O ye, that sit by, behold and see is it nothing to you. Behold and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me in the day of His fierce anger! He it was, that first laid the foundation of my poor studies, and always watered them with his discourse and encouragement; and now the Lord hath taken my master from my head. He it was, under whose branches I sheltered, when my storm was up; and now my tree of defence is cut down. He it was that was my oracle, both for things of this life, and of a better; and now my prophet is no more. He it was that was all things to me, that man could be; but now can be nothing to me, but sorrow, &c."

The following is a list of the writings of Dr. Lightfoot, which have been published:

1. Erubhim; or Miscellanies Judaical and Christian, &c.
2. Observations on the Book of Genesis.
3. Elias Redivivus. A Fast sermon before the House of Commons.
4. A Handful of Gleanings, out of the Book of Exodus.
5. The Harmony of the Four Evangelists.
6. A Fast Sermon, on Rev. xx. 1, 2; before the House of Commons.
7. A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles.
8. A Fast Sermon, before the House of Commons, on Psal. iv. 4.
9. A Chronicle of the Times, and the Order of the Texts in the Old Testament.
10. The Temple Service, in the Time of our Saviour.
11. The Temple, as it stood in the Time of our Saviour.
12. The Harmony, Order, and Chronicle, of the New Testament.
13. Animadversiones in Tabulas Chronographicas Terræ Sanctæ.
14. Collatio Hæbraici Pentateuchi cum Samaratico.
15. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ. 1. In Chorographiam aliquam Terræ Israeliticæ.
16. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ, Impensæ. in Evangelium St. Marci, &c.
17. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ, in Epistolam Primam St. Pauli ad Corinthios, &c.
18. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ, Impensæ, in Evangelium St. Johannis.
19. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ Impensæ, in Evangelium St. Lucae.
20. Horæ Hæbraicæ et Talmudicæ Impensæ in Acta Apostolorum.

The whole works of Dr. Lightfoot were published in two folio volumes, by the Rev. George Bright, and the Rev. John Strype, London, 1684.

Another edition was published at Rotterdam by Texelius, 1686.

A third edition was published, in three volumes folio, at Franeker, 1699.

The demand for Lightfoot's learned lucubrations, was even greater on the Continent of Europe, than at home.

The latest edition of his works, in thirteen octavo volumes, was published by the Rev. John Rogers Pitman, A. M., London, 1822—5.

[The preceding account of Dr. Lightfoot and his works, has been extracted from the Preface to the octavo edition just mentioned.]

LOVE, CHRISTOPHER, was born at Cardiff, in Glamorganshire, in the year 1618, and was educated at New Inn Hall, Oxford. From a child he was remarkably fond of books, and although much indulged by his parents, he never neglected his beloved studies. He was fifteen years of age before he ever heard a sermon; but about this time, going to hear a preacher by the name of Erberly, God was pleased to meet with him, and by that first sermon, gave him such a sight of his sins and his undone condition, that he returned home, as he expressed it, with a *hell* in his conscience. His father, observing the sudden and remarkable change in his son, was apprehensive that he was sinking into a state of melancholy, and endeavoured to persuade him to seek relief from low spirits in company and amusements; but the very thought of these things was now painful to him. The young man wished for nothing so much as liberty to go to church, but this his father positively prohibited, as thinking that it would increase his melancholy. To prevent his attendance he locked him in an upper chamber, but such was the ardour of his desire to hear the word, that he found means to escape from the room where he was confined, by tying a cord to the window, and by it sliding down the side of the house. He immediately proceeded to the church, where he heard a discourse which had the effect of

deepening his convictions, which, as is believed, soon terminated in a sound conversion to God. His father was much displeased with him, and he had not a friend upon earth, who afforded him the least help or encouragement. He found opportunity, however, of making known his case to Mr. Erberly, the minister who had been the means of his awakening, from whom he received such advice as was suited to his case. But he enjoyed no comfort in religion for a considerable time. Mr. Erberly, finding that the father's affection was alienated from his son, went to him, and requested that the young man might be permitted to come and reside at his house; promising to pay attention to his learning. To this proposal the father consented, and young Christopher found a residence at once agreeable and profitable. But his father wishing to put him an apprentice in London, had proceeded so far as to make an arrangement with a person to take him. The mind of the young man, however, was found to be exceedingly averse to this kind of life, and he earnestly besought his father to send him to Oxford; and in this request he was aided and supported by his mother, and Mr. Erberly. The father finally gave his consent, but rather in displeasure than kindness, for he refused to supply him with the money necessary for his support. He went, however, and struggled with many difficulties; yet by means of aid received from his mother and Mr. Erberly, he was enabled to pursue his studies. Being totally ignorant of every body in the University, he was led to apply to Mr. Rogers to be his tutor, from the circumstance of hearing him abused for a puritan, by some of the students with whom he met.

While at the University, Mr. Love was obliged to be frugal in his expenses; but he was assiduous in his studies. He associated with such religious persons as he could find, but it was long before he enjoyed any settled peace of mind; in fact, he lived in continual fear of death and eternal misery. His conflicts and heart troubles were great and almost overwhelming; but God secretly sustained him, by



affording him now and then glimpses of his favour. By his fellow students he was considered a melancholy person, and he found few friends to whom he could unbosom himself. After leaving the University, he was licensed to preach, but was soon exposed to persecution for his non-conformity. As a preacher he was both popular and useful. He had been desirous of receiving ordination in Scotland, and went there for that purpose, but met with a disappointment; for the Scottish church had come to a resolution to ordain none but such as intended to settle in their own borders. His dislike to the liturgy was so great, that he could not refrain from publicly preaching against it; upon which he was arrested and thrown into prison—a most filthy place—where he was associated with thieves and murderers. During his confinement, he preached through the grates of his prison to the people without, and not without good effect. The place of his confinement was Newcastle. After some time he was removed to London, to undergo his trial in the court of King's Bench, where he was acquitted.

During the civil wars, Mr. Love was chosen chaplain to the garrison at Windsor, then under the command of Col. John Venn; and his ministry was not here without seals. When London was ravaged by the plague, Mr. Love did not leave the city, but remained and administered to the comfort of the sick, never refusing to expose himself to danger where there was any hope of doing good.

Upon the establishment of the Presbyterian church government, by Parliament, Mr. Love received ordination, in conformity with the Directory, composed by the General Assembly of Divines at Westminster, January 3, 1644. The Presbyters who laid hands on him, in this solemn service, were Messrs. Horton, Bellers, and Roberts; and thus with prayer and fasting he was consecrated to the service of God, in the ministry of the gospel.

In 1645, he was called to preach before the commissioners at Uxbridge. In his sermon he inveighed

with great severity against the king's commissioners, who complained of him to Parliament, upon which he was sent to London, and underwent an examination, but was acquitted by the House of Commons.

When the Parliament convened the Assembly of Divines, he was not yet ordained; but soon after this event, he was added to those originally appointed, as were many others. When he took up his residence in London, he was called to become the minister of St. Lawrence, Jewry, London. When the London ministers drew up a remonstrance against putting the king to death, Mr. Love united with them. But he was afterwards involved in a conspiracy which cost him his life. The principal persons concerned in this affair, were some disbanded officers who had served in the Parliament's armies. They held a secret correspondence with the king, who requested them to send commissioners to Breda, with whom he might treat. Of those engaged in this conspiracy, some were pardoned, but Mr. Love and some others, were capitally punished, as a public example. His trial lasted six days, when he defended himself with great boldness and freedom, but was found guilty of holding a criminal correspondence with the enemies of the commonwealth—that is, with the king. When he was condemned, he petitioned with great earnestness, that his life might be spared. He confessed his crime, but said that he had fallen into it through ignorance, and inadvertence. Much intercession was made in his behalf, but it all proved ineffectual. The day before his execution, he received an excellent and consolatory letter from his wife, to which he returned a pious and affectionate answer, replete with good advice. This letter was dated from the Tower, where he was confined, August 21, 1651—"The day of my glorification." On that very day, at two o'clock P. M., he ascended the scaffold with great intrepidity. He was accompanied by the Rev. Messrs. Simeon Ashe, Edmund Calamy, and Dr. Manton. As soon as Mr. Love had taken his place on the scaffold, he addressed the assembled multitude in a long speech;

after which he offered up a fervent prayer. He then called for the executioner, and when he made his appearance, Mr. Love lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "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 leave of the ministers and of his other friends, he said, "The Lord be with you all." He then kneeled down and made a short prayer, when rising up he said, "I am full of peace and joy 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 asked him, "Dear brother, how dost thou find thy heart?" To which Mr. Love replied, "I bless God, I am as full of love and joy, as ever my heart can hold—blessed be God for Jesus Christ." He then laid his head upon the block, which the executioner severed from his body at a single blow. His remains were carried to their place of rest by his friends and parishioners of St. Lawrence, Jewry, with great lamentation. Mr. Love was a zealous Presbyterian, a most popular preacher, and a man greatly beloved by his brethren. His memory, however, has been loaded with reproaches by the historians of the high church party, and by none more than Lord Clarendon. This seems the more strange, since he died for conspiring to place the king on his throne. The testimony of Calamy is, "that he died neither timorously nor proudly, but with great alacrity and cheerfulness, as if he had been going to bed." Dr. Manton, who was also with him on the scaffold, and knew him much better than his calumniators, says, "that 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 knew him well, says, "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 on his way to heaven; he lived too much for heaven to live long out of

heaven; and sure I am that he lived the life of heaven upon earth. His fellowship was with the Father and with his Son, Jesus Christ."

In the defence which Mr. Love made before the court which condemned him, he says, "I have been called an apostate and a malignant, 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 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 could 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 by the late king, not from 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. Nor have my sufferings in this cause been inconsiderable. When I was a scholar in Oxford, I was the first to refuse to subscribe the canons imposed by the late archbishop, for which I was expelled the convocation-house. When I came first to London, twelve years ago, I was opposed by the bishop of London, and it was three years before I could obtain so much as a lecture. I was imprisoned in Newcastle, for preaching against the service-book; when I was removed to this place by a writ of *habeas corpus* and acquitted. In the beginning of the war between the king and Parliament, I was accused of preaching treason and rebellion, merely because I maintained the lawfulness of defensive war. I was again complained of for a sermon preached at Uxbridge, which I hear is lately re-printed; and if it be printed according to the first copy, I will own every line of it. After all this, I have been nine times in trouble, since the last change of government—and

now, last of all, this great trial is come upon me. I have been kept several weeks in a close prison, and am now arraigned for my life, and like to suffer from the hands of those for whom I have done and suffered so much, and who have lifted up their hands with me in the same covenant; and yet I am not conscious of any personal act proved against me, that brings me within any of your laws which relates to treason.

“Upon the whole, though I never sent letters into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of the nation; and though I disown the commission and conspiracy, mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the king and the Scots agreeably to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their king, I have desired and prayed, as a private man, that they might accomplish their ends, upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”

He concluded his defence, by beseeching the court not to put him to death for reasons of state. He owned that he had been guilty of a concealment, for which he begged the mercy of the court, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He put them in mind that when Abiathar the priest, had done an unjustifiable action, king Solomon said, that he would not put him to death at that time, because he bore the ark of the Lord before David his father, and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted. “Thus,” said he, “I commit myself and my all to God, and to your judgments and consciences, with the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel—‘As for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth meet and good 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.”

Great intercessions were made for the life of this reverend person by the chief of the Presbyterian party, in the city of London. His wife presented

several moving petitions, and begged that if he could not be pardoned, the sentence might be changed into banishment. He finally disclosed every thing which he knew respecting the plot, which amounted nearly to all with which he was charged. But all would not do. The affairs of the commonwealth were at a crisis. The king had entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, and it was thought necessary to strike terror into the Presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. Whitlock says, "that Colonel Fortescue was sent to General Cromwell with a petition on behalf of Mr. Love; but that the General, and other officers, declined meddling in the affair." Bishop Kennert and Mr. Eackard say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved upon his giving security for his future good behaviour; but the post-boy being stopped on the road, by some *cavaliers* belonging to the king's army, they searched his pocket, and finding a reprieve for Mr. Love, tore it with indignation, as thinking that he who was such a fire-brand at Uxbridge, ought not to live. If this be true, Mr. Love fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers.

In his speech on the scaffold he said, "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 monarchy up into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the king to death, whose person I did promise in the covenant to preserve, and I judge it an ill way of serving the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my judgment against the *engagement*. I pray God to forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government—I die with my judgment against it. Lastly, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations that

were imposed by the two Houses of Parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my happiness, and their ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, my blood is the blood of a Christian—a minister, and of an innocent man—a martyr.”

**DE LA MARCHE, JOHN**, was a minister of the French church in London, and was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

He published a treatise on Rev. xviii. 17, entitled, “A Complaint of the False Prophet’s Mariners, upon the drying up of their Hierarchical Euphrates.”

**MARSHALL, STEPHEN, B. D.**, was born in Huntingdonshire, in England; and was educated in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He was early settled in the ministry at Weathersfield, in Essex; and afterwards at Finchingfield, in the same county. Mr. Marshall seems to have been in great esteem with the long Parliament, who consulted him in all cases where religion was concerned. According to Fuller, “He was their trumpet for proclaiming their fasts, and preached more sermons before them, than any four of his function. In their sickness, he was their confessor; in their assembly, their counsellor; in their treaties, their chaplain; and in their disputations, their champion.” And Clarendon says, “Doubtless, the archbishop of Canterbury never had as much influence at court, as Mr. Marshall and Dr. Burgess with this Parliament.” These two ministers officiated in St Margaret’s Church, on November 17, 1640, which day was observed as a solemn fast by the House of Commons; on which occasion, it is said, they prayed and preached at least seven hours. At the close of the service, both of them received a vote of thanks for his services; and afterwards a gratuity of a piece of plate.

Mr. Marshall has been much calumniated in Cla-

rendon's history of the rebellion; and some very dishonourable things are laid to his charge; but they have been shown to be false, by Dr. Calamy and others.

He did exert himself to convince the people that it was their duty to take up arms in defence of their constitution and liberties.

Mr. Marshall took an active part in the controversy respecting church government; and was one of the writers of *Smectymnus*. In the civil war, he was appointed chaplain to the earl of Essex's regiment, in the Parliament's army.

In 1643, he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and few, if any, exceeded him in activity and influence. He was one of the commissioners sent to Scotland to solicit the aid of that country for the Parliament; and to request that commissioners might be sent to the Westminster Assembly. They were cordially received by the General Assembly of the church of Scotland; and after consultation with them, that assembly prepared a league and covenant, intended to bind the two nations in perpetual alliance. This received the unanimous approbation of the Assembly, and was transmitted to Parliament for their approbation. They also appointed commissioners to attend the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

In the year 1644, Mr. Marshall attended the commissioners of Parliament, at the treaty of Uxbridge. In 1645, he was appointed one of the committee of accommodation, to secure the peace of the church, and to consult for the harmony of all parties. In 1646, he accompanied the commissioners, who went to treat with the king at Newcastle; and in 1647, on the same business, at the Isle of Wight; where he manifested great abilities in the conferences in which he was engaged. He was also one of the committee appointed to draw up and present to Parliament, a list of fundamental articles of religion. Mr. Marshall was a very useful as well as popular preacher. In his view of church government, he lived and died a



Presbyterian; though he has by some writers been styled, "a notorious Independent." When he retired from London, he spent the last two years of his life at Ipswich; and Giles Firmin, who knew him well, says, "He left behind him few labourers 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 on his dead-bed, he said, "I cannot say, as some have done, that I have so lived as not to be afraid to die; but I can say, I have so 'learned Christ,' that I am not afraid to die." He died in September, 1655, and his remains were interred with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey; but were dug up at the restoration.

Mr. Marshall, though an active, zealous, and decided man, was nevertheless moderate in his principles; so that Richard Baxter gave him the character of being "a worthy and sober man," and said; "If all the bishops had been of the same spirit as archbishop Usher, all the Independents like Jeremiah Burroughs, and all the Presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, the divisions of the church would soon have been healed."

His published writings are the following:

1. A Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, November 17, 1640.
2. A Peace-offering to God, a Thanksgiving Sermon before the House of Commons.
3. Meroz Cursed, a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons.
4. Reformation and Desolation, a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons.
5. The Song of Moses and the Song of the Lamb, a Thanksgiving Sermon before the House of Commons.
6. A Letter to a Friend, in vindication of himself.
7. The Church's Lamentation for the Good Man's Loss.
8. A Sacred Panegyric, a Thanksgiving Sermon before the two Houses.

9. A Divine Project, to Save a Kingdom.
10. A Sermon on Infant Baptism.
11. God's Master-piece—before the House of Parliament.
12. The Strong Helper, a Fast Sermon before the House of Commons.
13. A Sacred Record of God's Mercies to Zion, a Thanksgiving Sermon.
14. A Defence of Infant Baptism, in answer to Tombes.
15. A Two-edged Sword, out of the Mouth of Babes.
16. The Right Understanding of the Times.
17. A Thanksgiving Sermon from Joshua xxii. 23, to both Houses.
18. A Sermon before the Lord Mayor and City Council, April, 1652.
19. The Power of the Civil Magistrate in Religion, Vindicated.
20. Sermons on Isaiah viii. 9—Zechariah vii. 12—Matthew xi. 12.

**MAYNARD, JOHN**, was born in Sussex, England, and became a commoner in Queen's College, Oxford, in 1616. After taking his first degree, he translated himself to Magdalen-Hall, in the same University. He entered the ministry, after taking his Master's degree, and was settled at Mayfield, in the county of his nativity.

When the civil war broke out, Mr. Maynard openly espoused the cause of the Parliament, and was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines. He sometimes preached before the Parliament, and was an assistant to the commissioners for the ejection of ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters in Sussex.

He took the covenant, and was a thorough Puritan. In his pastoral labours, he had for an assistant, Mr. Elias Paul D'Aranda, who was so generous as to relinquish to him all the tithes of the parish, retaining for himself only the parsonage.

Mr. Maynard was ejected from Mayfield by the Act of Uniformity; but continued to reside in the town, where he was generally respected.

He was a considerable benefactor to Magdalen-Hall, where he received a part of his education.

He died June 7, 1665, and was buried in the church-yard of Mayfield, where a tomb-stone was erected, with an inscription highly honourable to his memory. There it is said, "that he was endowed with a penetrating genius, and well skilled in history; a divine of irreproachable manners, and of the most venerable gravity; very pious and learned, and a good public speaker. He shone, during the space of forty years, the light and glory of his flock, at Mayfield. At length, weary of this world, and ripe for heaven, he departed, that he might enjoy Christ for ever and ever."

Mr. Maynard's writings are,

1. A Sermon before the House of Commons, Prov. xxiii. 23.

2. A Shadow of the Victory of Christ. A sermon before the House of Commons, from Phil. iii. 21.

3. The Young Man's Remembrancer and Old Man's Monitor.

4. The Law of God Ratified by the Gospel.

5. The Beauty and Order of the Creation, in Six Days.

**Mewe, William, B. D.**, was rector of Essington, in the county of Gloucester, England. He was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is marked as one who gave constant attendance.

He preached a sermon before the House of Commons, from Isaiah xlii. 24, 25. It is entitled, "The Robbing and Spoiling of Jacob and Israel." To this sermon there is prefixed an "Epistle to the House of Commons."

**Micklethwait, Thomas**, was a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is marked,

in Neal's list, as one of those who were constant in their attendance. He was minister of Cherryburton, in Yorkshire, from which he was cast out by the Act of Uniformity, in 1662.

Dr. Calamy speaks of him as a man distinguished for "piety, gravity, prudence, and learning." He has left nothing behind him, in print.

**NEWCOMEN, MATTHEW, A. M.**, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was eminently distinguished for his wit and originality; and his genius being consecrated to the service of God, he was eminently useful in the church. As an orator he was unrivalled in his day; for he delivered his discourses with such emphasis and gesture, that few persons heard him without trembling at the word of God. He was therefore one of the most awakening preachers of his day; and his power over his hearers was not merely the effect of delivery, but his discourses were characterized by extraordinary ingenuity. Dr. Collins says, "that he had been thirty years acquainted with him, and that he never knew any man who excelled him as a minister in the pulpit, as a disputant in the schools, and as a desirable companion. His gift in prayer was incomparable; and his preaching was solid, pathetic, and persuasive."

Mr. Newcomen was a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and a constant attendant. The preparation of the catechism was committed to him, with Dr. Tuckney and Dr. Arrowsmith; and how well they executed their task need not now be said. He was also one of the commissioners at the Savoy. He had many advantageous offers of preferment; but refused them all, and continued at Dedham, until he was ejected by the act of uniformity, in 1662. Soon after this, he was chosen pastor of the English church, at Leyden, in Holland; which he readily accepted, because he knew that there he should enjoy liberty in the exercise of his ministry, which he preferred to any thing in the world. While resident near the University of this place, so famous for its learned

professors, he was very acceptable to Hornbeck and the other learned theologians of that seminary. But he did not live many years after his settlement in Holland; for in 1668 or 1669, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in a short time.

Mr. Newcomen was a most accomplished scholar, and exemplary Christian; he was eminently distinguished by his universal learning and piety, and by his extraordinary humility and pleasant conversation. Mr. Baxter, in his own life, frequently mentions him with great respect, as one of the principal ministers of his time.

Mr. Newcomen's writings are,

1. A Sermon before the House of Commons, November 5, 1642.
2. A Sermon before both Houses and the Assembly, July 7, 1643.
3. A Sermon before both Houses of Parliament, September 12, 1644.
4. The All-seeing, Unseen Eye of God, before the Commons.
5. The Duty of such as would Walk Worthy of the Gospel.
6. A Sermon at the Funeral of the Rev. Samuel Collins.
7. A Farewell Sermon in the London Collection.
8. Another Sermon in the Country Collection.
9. The Best Acquaintance and Highest Honour of Christians.

NYE, PHILIP, was born in Sussex, England, in the year 1596, and was entered a commoner in Brazenose College, July 21, 1615. But it was not long before he removed to Magdalen-Hall, where he fell into the hands of a puritanical tutor, from whom he imbibed his religious sentiments. After taking orders, he officiated for a while at St. Michael's Church, Cornhill, London, where he was resident in 1630. Upon the accession of Laud to the see of Canterbury, when many godly ministers were silenced or oppressed, Mr. Nye forsook his country and went to Holland. About

the beginning of the Long Parliament, he returned to England, and by the favour of the Earl of Manchester, he was made minister of Kimbolton, in Huntingdonshire. In 1643, he was called up to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and had the rectory of Acton, near London, assigned him.

Mr. Nye boldly opposed the establishment of Presbytery, as the form of government for the church. His principal argument, according to Baillie, was drawn from the danger of such an ecclesiastical government to the state. He was for making many changes in the order and form of worship; as, that the minister in preaching, should have his head covered, and the people uncovered, because he then acts as their teacher; but in administering the Lord's Supper, he should be uncovered, and the people covered, as he there acts as their servant. The Independents at this time received the Lord's Supper every Sabbath. He was opposed to the communicants coming to the communion table in successive companies; but thought, that while some sat at the table, others might be around it.

In 1649, Mr. Nye, with Mr. Stephen Marshall, was sent with the commissioners to Scotland. He was exceedingly zealous for the Solemn League and Covenant, and delivered an able speech before the House of Commons, prior to their subscribing this instrument.

Mr. Nye was one of the chaplains sent to attend on king Charles I., in the Isle of Wight, in the year 1647.

In the year 1653, he was appointed one of the "*Triers*" of ministers; and in 1654, when the Parliament voted a toleration to all who professed to hold the fundamentals of Christianity, Mr. Nye was one of the committee of learned divines, to draw up a list of fundamental articles of faith, to be presented to the House of Commons. He was also an assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters, in the city of London. He was a principal manager of the meeting of the Congregational churches, at the Savoy, by order of the Protector; where the practice of the

Congregational churches in England was agreed upon by the elders and commissioners, October 12, 1658.

After the restoration, his papers were ordered to be seized, and for a while were kept at Lambeth; and it was debated whether he should be included in the general amnesty, as it was known that he had been a great politician, and had had much hand in all the changes which had taken place. The result was, that the council adopted the following order: "That if Philip Nye should, after the first of September, accept or exercise any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, he should, to all intents and purposes in law, stand as if he had been totally excepted for life." He of course was ejected from his living; but continued to preach privately, as he had opportunity. Mr. Nye departed this life September, 1672.

Mr. Nye's published writings:

1. A Letter from Scotland to his Brethren in England; containing an account of the success of their mission; to which Mr. Marshall's name is also subscribed.

2. An Exhortation to taking the Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and Defence of Religion.

3. The Excellency and Lawfulness of the Solemn League and Covenant; a speech before the House of Commons and the reverend Assembly of Ministers.

4. An Apologetical Narration, to the House of Commons.

5. An Epistolary Discourse about Toleration. In the two last, he was aided by Thomas Goodwin.

6. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and Power thereof, according to the Word of God.

7. Mr. Anthony Sadler Examined.

8. The Principles of Faith, presented by Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, &c.

9. Beams of former Light; discovering how evil it is to impose disputed and doubtful forms and practices on ministers.

10. The Lawfulness of the Oath of Supremacy.

11. Case of Great and Present Use.
12. A Vindication of Dissenters.
13. The Nature, Constitution, and Power of Ecclesiastical Courts.
14. The Lawfulness of Hearing the Ministers of the Church of England.
15. A Sermon to the Citizens of London. Neh. vi. 11.

**PAINTER, HENRY, B. D.**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. No memorial of him beside has been found.

**PALMER, HERBERT, B. D.**, was born in Kent, in England, in the year 1601, and was carefully and religiously educated by his parents; and he so early manifested a pious temper, that it was believed, that like Jeremiah, he was sanctified from the womb. He, at an early age, deliberately chose the holy ministry, and no representations of the difficulties and dangers of the sacred office, had any influence in diverting his mind from this object. His progress in learning was rapid, as he made it a matter of conscience to lose no time, so that when he had reached his 14th year, he was prepared for the University; and entered St. John's College, Cambridge; where he took his degrees; and was chosen a fellow of Queen's College, in 1623. In this situation, although possessed of an estate of his own, beside his fellowship, yet to render himself useful, he engaged arduously in the business of a tutor, and had under him many pupils, to whose literary and spiritual improvement he paid the most assiduous attention. But having, on some occasion, preached in Canterbury, he received a pressing invitation to settle in that place, where he laboured successfully, but not without opposition, for several years.

In 1632, Mr. Palmer was presented by Laud, with the living of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, whither he removed; and where he exercised his ministry with great diligence and fidelity; performing all pastoral



duties with punctuality and constancy; and setting before the people in his own life, and in his family, an eminent example of consistent piety.

In 1643, Mr. Palmer was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; on the business of which body he attended with much assiduity. Having resigned his charge of Ashwell, when called up to the Assembly at Westminster, he was invited to preach at Duke's-place, London, and afterwards at New-church, Westminster, where his labours were exceedingly abundant; frequently speaking six or seven hours on the Lord's day.

In 1644, Mr. Palmer was appointed president of Queen's College, Cambridge; where his influence in promoting both learning and religion was great. He attended vigilantly to all the interests of the college over which he presided; and did much to introduce proper power into all the scholarships; and funds which had been squandered in feasting, he had appropriated to the purchase of valuable books for the library.

Mr. Palmer was remarkable for his strict habits of temperance; abstaining altogether from strong drink; and only using a little wine for his stomach's sake; and eating uniformly, only of one dish of flesh, and of that very sparingly. As he lived piously, so he died in peace, and in cheerful resignation to his heavenly Father's will. This event occurred in the year 1647, when he was only forty-six years of age.

His stature was uncommonly low; so that in the Assembly, where he was much esteemed, he was called, "the little Mr. Palmer." But though his body was small and delicate, his soul was enlarged with extensive knowledge, and enriched with every grace and virtue. His industry and labour were beyond his strength; and although his friends entreated him to spare himself, yet he could not be persuaded to diminish any of his labours. Mr. Palmer was a gentleman of independent estate; and chose to live a single life. But he made a good use of his income; for he constantly supported several poor scholars:

Granger's character of him is, that he was "a man of uncommon learning, generosity, and politeness, and possessed a most excellent character. That in the civil wars he wished for peace: and that he spoke the French language with as much ease as the English."

Mr. Palmer's published writings:

1. The Principles of the Christian Religion made Plain and Easy.
2. Of making Religion one's Business.
3. Sermons preached before the Parliament.
4. The Christian Sabbath Vindicated.
5. Scripture and Reason Pleaded for Defensive Arms.

**PEALE, EDWARD**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and one who was constant in his attendance. Other particulars, not ascertained.

**PERNE, ANDREW**, was born in the year 1596, and received his education in the University of Cambridge, where he became fellow of Katharine-Hall. He afterwards was chosen the minister of Wilby, in Northamptonshire. He was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and was assiduous in his attention to the business. When called up to the Assembly, his reputation was very high, and he had several offers of preferment, about London, but he declined them all, being fully resolved to return to his beloved flock at Wilby, among whom he had laboured for about twenty-seven years. Wood says, "that he frequently preached before the Long Parliament, and several of his sermons were printed, but they have been mostly buried in oblivion. He is said to have been a lively, powerful preacher; and he enforced his precepts by a holy example. His ministry was not in vain, for a considerable reformation was wrought by his preaching. Mr. Ainsworth describes him as being full of spiritual warmth; and he was never more at home than in the pulpit. As his life was holy, so his end was happy. He blessed God,

that he was not afraid to die; nay, he earnestly desired to be gone. And in his last illness, often exclaimed, "O, when will that hour come?"—"One assault more, and this earthen vessel shall be broken, and I shall be with God."

He died December 13, 1654, aged sixty years.

Mr. Samuel Ainsworth, one of the silenced non-conformists, preached and published his funeral sermon. His remains were interred in the chancel of Wilby Church, where the following words were inscribed on his tomb:

"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."

There is extant one sermon of Mr. Perne, which is entitled, "Gospel Courage, or a Christian Resolution for God, and his Truth;" preached before the House of Commons, on a public fast, in Margaret Church, from Micah iv. 5.

**PHILIPS, JOHN**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and according to Neal's list, a constant attendant on the business of that body.

**PICKERING, BENJAMIN**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and one who was constant in his attendance.

He preached a sermon before the House of Commons, entitled, "A Brand Plucked out of the Burning," from Zech. iii. 2.

To this sermon, he prefixed a letter to the House of Commons, in which he exhorts them to set up a faithful ministry; to establish judgment and justice in the gates; to let their zeal for the Lord burn, setting up his worship and ordinances in purity." He goes on to say, "Be zealous for Christ's cause; delay not to establish his government and discipline with vig-

our. Proceed so in your reforming, that glory may dwell in our land—that mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, may meet together and kiss each other. Continue in your integrity, and the Lord will continue to be a sun and shield to you. Although Satan be at your right hand, fear not, so long as our Mediator sits at the right hand of God.”

**DE LA PLACE, SAMUEL**, was the minister of the French Church, and a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

**PRICE, WILLIAM, B. D.**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In the debates of that body, he opposed the institution of ruling elders, as of Scriptural authority; and was considered by Mr. Baillie, as one of the ablest divines in the Assembly.

He published a sermon, entitled, “Man’s Delinquency attended by Divine Justice, intermixed with Mercy; preached in the Abbey Church, before the House of Lords, from Ezra ix. 6, 7, 8.

Some of his striking sayings in this discourse are, “We are ashamed of our glory, and glory in our shame.”—“When the soul-wounded publican durst not look up to heaven, heaven looked down to him.”—“Great knowledge *greatens* sins; for knowledge is like the unicorn’s horn, that doth well in a wise and good man’s hand, but ill on a beast’s head.”

**PROFFET, NICHOLAS**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and marked by Neal as one who was assiduous in his attendance. When called up to the Assembly, he was rector of St. Peters, Marlborough, in the county of Wilts. While attending on the business of the Assembly, he seems to have been minister of Edmonton, near London.

He published a good sermon, entitled, “England’s Impenitence, under smiting, causing anger to be continued, and the hand of God to be stretched out still.” A sermon before the House of Commons, at a public fast, from Isaiah ix. 13.

To this sermon, there was prefixed a very judicious epistle, addressed to the House of Commons.

**RATHBAND, WILLIAM**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and one who was constant in his attendance. He preached on a public fast, before the House of Commons; but the sermon was not then printed. There were two eminent divines in England about this time, of this name, the father and son. The former preached nineteen years, at a chapel in Lancashire; and when he was persecuted for non-conformity, he removed into Northumberland. He published a book against the Brownists, which bishop Stillfleet quotes, to prove that the old non-conformists did not think it right to exercise their ministry, when prohibited by law. His son utterly denied that his father ever held such a sentiment, and showed that his own conduct was repugnant to it; for he preached many years in Lancashire, contrary to law; and when he was silenced, he still went on to preach, as he had opportunity. He had two sons in the ministry; the first was a Puritan of eminence, and one of the four preachers stationed and maintained at York: the other, William Rathband, already mentioned, was one of the ejected ministers of 1662, and is by some said to have been a member of the Assembly of Divines also; but Dr. Calamy does not mention the fact. From all that is on record, it seems doubtful whether the father or son was the member of the Assembly of Divines, as they both had the same name, and were both eminent Puritans; but the probability seems to be strongest in favour of the son. With the latter, Mr. Slater was acquainted for fifty years; they were of the same college, and when he died at Highgate, which was his last residence, preached his funeral sermon. He died October, 1695.

**REYNER, WILLIAM, B. D.**, was educated in the University of Cambridge, and was blessed with much success in the earlier part of his ministry, among the

gentry. He seems to have been a very conscientious man, and of an uncommonly disinterested spirit; for, though his living was not worth more than £60 per annum; yet he refused the presidency of Magdalen College, in Oxford, and also a fellowship at Eton, because he believed that pluralities were wrong. He was chosen to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and was assiduous in his attention to the transactions of that venerable body. He was minister of Eggham, in the county of Surrey, near forty-six years; from which place he was cast out by the act of uniformity, in 1662.

At the time of his ejection, he possessed no visible property, yet he lived in comfort, by the care of a kind Providence; and still exercised his ministry as he had opportunity, in private places.

He died in 1666, leaving behind him an unsullied reputation. His disease was the stone, with which he had been long afflicted; and after his death, an examination was made, and a stone found in the bladder weighing ten ounces, and measuring nine inches and a half in the form of a heart. He was an intimate friend of archbishop Usher, by whom he was highly esteemed.

His only publication, according to Dr. Calamy, was a sermon before the House of Commons, entitled "Babylon's' Ruining Earthquake, and the Restoration of Zion," from Haggai ii. 6, 7.

**REYNOLDS, EDWARD, D. D.**, was born at Southampton, in Hampshire, England, in 1593. In 1615, he became post-master of Merton College, and in 1620, probationer-fellow; which place was bestowed upon him in consideration of his eminent skill in the Greek language. In his college, he was much distinguished as an able disputant, and a good orator. After taking the degree of A. M. he entered into holy orders, and became a very eminent preacher. For some time he was preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn, and rector of Braynton, in Northamptonshire. When the civil war commenced, he espoused the

cause of the Parliament; having been long inclined to the opinions of the Puritans. He was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in 1643, and was constant in his attendance. In 1645, he was put on the committee to examine applicants for sequestered livings; and also one of the "committee of *accommodation*." In 1646, he was one of the seven ministers sent to Oxford, to preach to the students obedience to the Parliament. Afterwards he was appointed a visiter to that University; and received the office of dean of Christ church; and in 1648, he was advanced to be vice-chancellor of the University, when he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity. But in 1650, he was ejected for refusing the "*engagement*," on which he retired to his old charge; but soon made London his principal residence, and became minister of Lawrence, Jewry. Wood says, "that Dr. Reynolds was the pride and glory of the Presbyterians, in the city of London."

In 1660, he was made, with Dr. Calamy, chaplain to the king, and his deanery was restored. He had taken an active part with Monk and others, in bringing back the king. He preached several times before his majesty, and both Houses of Parliament. He was now made warden of Merton College, Oxford; and having made up his mind to conform to the liturgy, he was consecrated bishop of Norwich. His old friends were not a little surprised at his change of views, as he had been a strenuous opposer of Episcopacy, and the ceremonies of the church; and by some of his contemporaries, it was attributed to the undue influence of a covetous and ambitious consort. His character, as given by Wood, is, "that he was a person of excellent parts and endowments; of a very good wit, fancy, and judgment; a great divine, and much esteemed by all parties for his preaching, and florid style."

Another testifies, "that he was a man of singular affability, meekness, and humility; of great learning; a frequent preacher, and a constant resident." Neal says, "that he was reckoned one of the most eloquent

pulpit men of his age, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himself with the politics of the court."

Dr. Reynolds died July 28, 1676, about the seventy-sixth year of his age.

His published writings are,

1. The Vanity of the Creature.
2. The Sinfulness of Sin, with the Use of the Law.
3. The Fellowship of the Saints with Him, in his Life, Sufferings, and Resurrection.
4. An Explication of the cx. Psalm.
5. Meditations on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
6. Israel's Prayer in the time of Trouble, with God's Gracious Armour.
7. A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man.
8. Thirty Sermons, preached on different occasions.
9. English Annotations on Ecclesiastes.

**RUTHERFORD, SAMUEL**, was born in the parish of Tongueland, near Kirkcudbright, in the south of Scotland. Often, remarkable dispensations of Providence designate or direct certain persons to be ministers of the gospel, and that even from their earliest days. It is a tradition respecting this eminent man, that when a child, he was remarkably saved from drowning in a well, into which he had fallen; which was the occasion of his father's devoting him to the holy ministry, hoping that he might become an eminently useful man. His natural abilities were excellent, and he received a good classical education at Edinburgh; and his reputation soon rose so high, that he was chosen a professor in the University of that city. Afterwards he was settled in the ministry at Anworth, where he laboured successfully for several years.

In 1630, Mr. Rutherford was summoned before the high-commission court, on account of his preaching and writings; and though much interest was made for him, yet he was condemned and deprived of his living, and ordered to confine himself to Aberdeen



During his confinement, he wrote most of those admirable letters, which have been so long read with delight and edification by the pious. As he delighted exceedingly in preaching the gospel, this privation affected him more than any thing else. In one of his letters to Lady Kinmure, written at this time, he says, "My silence on the Lord's day keeps me from being exalted above measure. I have wrestled long with this sad silence. I said, what aileth Christ at my service? My soul has been pleading with Christ; and at yea, and nay—but I will yield to him, provided that my sufferings preach more than my tongue did; for I gave not Christ an inch, but for two as good again. In a word, I am a fool, and he is God—I will hold my peace hereafter."—"O how sweet are the sufferings of Christ, for Christ. It were a sweet and honourable death to die for the honour of that royal and princely King Jesus. His love is a mystery to the world. I would not have believed that there was so much in Christ as there is. 'Come, and see;'—this maketh Christ to be known in his excellent glory."

This confinement continued nearly two years, during which time he experienced the abundant consolations of the grace of Christ. In 1638, he was released, and restored to his people, and again laboured among them with great fidelity and success. His ministry was attended by multitudes from all the adjacent country; for in those days the word of God, in its purity, was precious. Mr. Rutherford was a commissioner to the General Assembly which met in 1638, and took a very active part in the proceedings of that body; and was by them appointed to be Professor of Divinity in the new College of St. Andrews. He made an ineffectual opposition to his translation from his flock at Anworth; but as he could not live without preaching, he obtained a provision in his settlement, that he should be a colleague to the celebrated Robert Blair, who had recently been settled at St. Andrews. He believed, with Paul, that there was a woe upon him if he preached not the gospel.

In the year 1640, Mr. Rutherford distinguished

himself greatly in defence of private religious meetings for social worship, against Mr. Henry Guthrie and the Earl of Seaforth, in the General Assembly. He wrote also a work in defence of such meetings.

He was appointed by the Assembly in 1643, to meet the English commissioners, when the "Solemn League and Covenant," was formed; and, in the same year, was chosen one of the commissioners from the Church of Scotland, to attend the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster. And he was a useful and influential member of that body, for in their debates he spoke to good purpose, and with effect. The Scottish commissioners were especially useful in the Assembly in all matters that related to Church government and discipline. Mr. Baillie, in his "Letters," says, "Had not God sent Messrs. Henderson, Rutherford, and Gillespie, I see not that they could ever agree on any settled government." None of them displayed more ability and learning, in this debate, than Rutherford. He encountered sometimes Lightfoot himself with success, on his own ground of Rabbinical learning.

While he resided in London he wrote his work, entitled, "Lex Rex," and some other works against Erastians, Independents, and Anabaptists. He also wrote against the Familists in England. It appears also, from Mr. Baillie's Letters, that in 1646, he published a work against the Antinomians.

When the business of the Assembly was nearly terminated, Mr. Rutherford moved that it should be entered on record, that the Scottish commissioners had attended during all the discussions on a "Directory for Public Worship;" "A uniform Confession of Faith;" "A form of Church Government and Discipline;" and "A public Catechism." After which Mr. Rutherford, and the other commissioners, took their leave; when Mr. Herle, the prolocutor, arose, and in the name of the Assembly, thanked them for their assistance.

Mr. Rutherford's reputation, as a theologian, was raised so high by his Latin treatises against the Ar-

minians and Jesuits, that he received an invitation from Holland, to become a Professor in the newly erected University of Harderwyck. And in the same year, 1649, a motion was made, but not carried, to have him translated to the University of Edinburgh. In the Assembly of this year there was a warm debate on the question, In whom is the right of electing ministers? Mr. Calderwood was peremptorily in favour of its being in Presbyteries; but Mr. Rutherford boldly stood up for the rights of the people.

Mr. Rutherford had also an invitation to fill the Divinity chair in the University of Utrecht, in Holland, which he declined entirely on patriotic grounds, believing that he ought not to forsake his country, when she so much needed his services.

When the unhappy dispute arose in Scotland, between the Resolutioners and the Protestors, Mr. Rutherford adhered to the latter; for an account of which Wodrow's History may be consulted.

In 1660, a proclamation was published against his famous work, "Lex Rex," which had been printed in London, in 1644; also against a book supposed to be written by Mr. James Guthrie, entitled, "The Causes of God's Wrath." These books were supposed to contain many things injurious to the king, and other treasonable matter. They were, therefore, called in; and it was declared, that every person who should be found, after the ensuing October, to have any of these books in possession, should be punished in their persons and estates; and the copies which were brought in were burned at Edinburgh, by the hand of the hangman, October 17, 1660. One says shrewdly, "It was much easier to burn the books than to answer them." Still, however, many copies escaped the flames, and are still extant. An indictment would have been prepared against Mr. Rutherford by the parliament, had he not been called to appear before an higher tribunal. While he was evidently dying, they cited him to appear at Edinburgh, to answer to a charge of high treason.

He lamented on his death-bed, that he was hinder-

ed from bearing testimony to the glorious work of reformation since 1638, and against the defections of the present times. But about twelve days before his death, he subscribed an ample testimony against the corruptions and sinful compliances of the Church and nation.

During his last illness he was full of joy and peace, and uttered many savoury speeches, speaking much in commendation of the Lord Jesus, and his honourable service, such as the following: "I shall shine, I shall see him as he is, and all the fair company with him, and shall have my large share. It is not easy to be a Christian; but I have obtained the victory through him who loved me; and Christ is holding forth his arms to embrace me. I have had my fears and faintings, like other sinful men, but as sure as he spake to me in his word, his Spirit witnessed to my heart, saying, 'Fear not, he hath accepted thy suffering; and thy outgoing should not be matter of prayer, but praise.'" And a short time before his departure, he said, "Now I feel—I enjoy—I rejoice;" and, turning to Mr. Blair, who was present, he said, "I feed upon manna—I have angels' food—my eyes shall see my Redeemer—I know that he shall stand at the latter day on the earth—and I shall be caught up in the clouds, to meet him in the air." Afterwards he said, "I sleep in Christ, and when I awake I shall be satisfied with his likeness—O for arms to embrace him." When one mentioned his labours in the ministry, he cried out, "I disclaim all—the port I would lie in at, is redemption, and forgiveness of sins, through Christ's blood." He died in the month of March, 1661.

The published writings of Mr. Rutherford are,

1. *Exercitationes Apologeticæ, Pro Divina Gratia, contra Jesuitas and Arminianos.*
2. *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbytery, in Scotland.*
3. *The True Right of Presbyteries; 4to. 1642.*
4. *Lex Rex.*
5. *A Sermon to the House of Lords.*

6. A Sermon to the House of Commons.
7. The Trial and Triumph of Faith.
8. Divine Right of Church Government, and Excommunication.
9. Christ Dying and Drawing Sinners to Himself.
10. A Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist.
11. A Free Disputation against Liberty of Conscience.
12. *Disputatio Scholastica, De Divina Providentia.*
13. The Covenant of Grace opened.
14. A Survey of the Survey of the Sum of Christian Discipline.
15. Influences of the Life of Grace.
16. Religious Letters; of which there have been many editions.
17. *Examen Arminianismi.*
18. A Practical Discourse on Matthew ix. 27—31.
19. Sermons on various subjects.

**SALWAY, ARTHUR**, was pastor of a church at Severnstoke, county of Worcester, England. In the time of the civil wars, he espoused the part of the Parliament, and was a zealous reformer. He was esteemed a zealous friend of the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the year 1643, he was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and gave constant attendance during the sessions. He preached a sermon from 1 Kings xviii. 21, before the House of Commons, October 25, 1643, at their monthly fast. The sermon is entitled, "Halting Stigmatized." In the application of the sermon, the preacher says, "Honourable Senators, hath there not been halting within your walls? Have not many of your members unworthily forsaken you, and miserably deserted the glorious cause of God? 'The Lord open their eyes, and heal their backslidings.'" He adds, "Act in the strength of Jesus Christ. Get your hearts warmed with the love of Jesus Christ, which the apostle calls a constraining love. Reward draws, punishment drives, but love is most efficacious in persuading us to the discharge of our duty."—"Fix your

faith on the promises. Study Moses's Optics. Eye him who is invisible; and eye the threats also. Look upon that good which God promises, as the greatest good; and upon the evil which he threatens, as the greatest evil."

His zeal against popery may be understood from the following exhortations, in the same sermon. "Down with Baal's altars, down with Baal's priests. Do not, I beseech you, consent to a toleration of Baal's worship in this kingdom, on any political consideration whatever."

In the close, he says, "Shortly, I hope, a platform of worship will be presented unto you, by those whom you have employed for that purpose. I beseech you, bring all to the touch-stone of the word. Believe it, worthies, that form of government will be best for the state, which is most agreeable to the word."

Whether other specimens of this author's writings are extant, is not known. He seems to have been a bold and spirited preacher.

**SCUDDER, HENRY, B. D.**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, received his education in Christ's Church, Cambridge. He was afterwards minister of Drayton, Oxfordshire; where he was held in high esteem for his singular prudence and piety, and his excellent ministerial labours. In his vicinity, Mr. Robert Harris, and Mr. William Whately were settled; and between these three clergymen, of like spirit, a close intimacy, and much ministerial intercourse took place. They met every week to exhibit a translation and analysis of a chapter in the Bible, which each had made. They were also united in affinity, as Mr. Harris married Mr. Whately's sister, and Mr. Scudder his wife's sister. His attendance on the business of the Assembly was assiduous from the commencement of its labours.

Mr. Scudder was the author of a work, entitled, "The Christian's Daily Walk, in Holy Security and Peace," which has received the highest commenda-

tions from men of the greatest name. Dr. Owen has, in the strongest terms, expressed his approbation of the work, in a preface to a new edition. And Mr. Baxter says, "I remember not any book which is written to be the daily companion of Christians, which I prefer before this: I am sure none of my own. For so sound is the doctrine of this book, so prudent and spiritual, apt and savoury, and so suited to our ordinary cases and conditions, that I heartily wish no family may be without it." This work was translated into the German, by the learned Theodore Haak.

Mr. Scudder also wrote the life of the Rev. Mr. Whately. He was also called upon to preach before the Parliament; and his sermon, founded on Micah vi. 9, and entitled, "God's Warning to England, by the voice of his rod," was delivered at St. Margaret's, Westminster, and published, with a long epistle dedicatory to the House of Commons.

His "Daily Walk" went through many editions in a short time, but, unhappily, is now fallen into oblivion.

SEAMAN, LAZARUS, D. D., was born in Leicester, England, and was educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge. But being in straitened circumstances, he was unable to support himself at College, and went to teach a school, so that he was in a good measure self taught. He was presented by bishop Laud, to All-Hallows, Bread street, London, in 1642. In 1643, he was chosen to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is said to have given constant attendance, and was very active in the transaction of business.

Dr. Calamy says, "He was a great Divine, thoroughly studied in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures. He was also well studied in Church government, and was therefore sent to the Isle of Wight, to confer with Charles I. on ecclesiastical matters, where his knowledge and sagacity were particularly marked by the king."

Mr. Jenkyn, who preached his funeral sermon, describes him, "as a person of deep, piercing, eagle-eyed judgment, in all matters of controversial divinity. He could state a theological question with admirable clearness and acuteness; nor was he less able to defend, than to find out the truth. He was, I had almost said, an invincible disputant." On a certain occasion, he was invited by a noble lady, who was in doubt about the claims of the Romanists, to meet two priests of that persuasion; and he did not hesitate to appear alone, in defence of the truth. The controversy was respecting transubstantiation, and was conducted by him with such consummate ability, that the priests were silenced, and this noble family were preserved from going over to the popish religion.

In 1654, Mr. Seaman was made master of Peter House, in the University of Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester, after undergoing an examination by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. The earl came in person, and publicly declared him master of Peter House, in the room of Dr. Cosins, was who ejected. In this high station, he acquitted himself in a very honourable manner; and when he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, he acquired high reputation; for he did not obtain this honour by the favour of a patron, but by performing the exercises appointed by the statutes of the University, in which he displayed his abilities in polemic theology, in a very peculiar manner. He was generally acknowledged to be a man of superior abilities, a skilful casuist, a sound expositor of Scripture, and a judicious and impressive preacher. In his latter days he devoted much attention to the prophecies, and wrote some notes on the book of Revelation.

Dr. Seaman lost all his places at the restoration, and was among the ejected ministers, under the operation of the act of uniformity, in 1662. He resided afterwards in London, and was greatly afflicted with a very painful disease, the tortures of which he bore with admirable patience. His friend, Mr. Jenkyn,



observes: "I never admired his scholarship so much as I did his patience; the lesson in which he grew so perfect in the school of affliction."

He died in peace, September 9, 1675. Mr. Jenkyn, in his funeral sermon, calls him "a burning and shining light; an interpreter, one of a thousand; a scribe instructed to the kingdom of heaven." I may justly say of him, he was an ocean of theology; a living body of Divinity; and his "tongue as the pen of a ready writer." He was a person of great steadiness in the truth—deeply and sensibly interested for the state of the church, and inquisitive about its condition in foreign parts. He was ready for every good work; industrious and indefatigable in his calling; and an example of patience in suffering affliction. His library, which was very valuable, is said to have been the first sold at auction, in England. It brought seven hundred pounds sterling.

Dr. Seaman's writings:

1. Solomon's Choice; a Precedent for Kings, Princes, &c.; before the House of Commons. 1 Kings iii. 9.

2. The Head of the Church; the Judge of the World; or the Doctrine of the Day of Judgment; before the Peers. Acts xvii. 30.

3. A Vindication of the Reformed Churches and Protestant Divines, concerning Ordination, &c.

4. A Farewell sermon, at his ejection; from Heb. xiii. 20, in which he expresses a strong confidence in God's covenant, and on Christ the Head.

SEDGWICK, OBADIAH, B. D., a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born at Marlborough, Wiltshire, England, in the year 1600, and received his elementary instruction in the place of his nativity. In the year 1616, he was sent to Queen's College, Oxford; but soon transferred his connexion to Magdalen Hall, where he took his degrees in the arts. After finishing his academical course, he entered the holy ministry, and became chaplain to Lord.

Vere, whom he accompanied to the Low Countries. Upon his return, he resided again in Oxford, where he was tutor to Matthew Hale, the celebrated chief-justice of England. He next became a preacher at Mildred's, Bread-street, London; but in 1639, he became minister of Coggeshall, in Essex. In 1643, he was called up to the Assembly of Divines, and resumed his labours at Mildred's. He was appointed one of the licensers of books; and in 1654, he was appointed by Parliament one of the *Triers*, to license ministers; and also an assistant to the commissioners, for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and school-masters, in London.

In 1646, he became the regular preacher at St. Paul's, Covent-garden, where he was much followed, and is said to have been instrumental in the conversion of many souls; and was ever active and zealous in promoting the cause of reformation.

When his health began to fail, he resigned his charge, and retired to Marlborough, his native place, where he departed this life, January, 1658, aged fifty-seven years.

He was esteemed a learned divine, and an orthodox and admired preacher.

The writings of Mr. Sedgwick are,

1. Military Discipline, for a Christian Soldier.
2. Christ's Counsel to his languishing Church of Sardis.
3. England's Preservation;—before the House of Commons.
4. Haman's Vanity; a thanksgiving sermon, before the House of Commons. Esther ix. 1.
5. A thanksgiving sermon, from Psal. iii. 8.
6. An Ark against a Deluge; or Safety in Dangerous Times;—before the House of Commons.
7. The Nature and Danger of Heresies; before the House of Commons.
8. Speech in Guildhall 1643.
9. The Best and Worst Malignant.
10. Christ the Life, and Death the Gain; a funeral sermon.

11. The Doubting Christian Resolved.
12. Elisha's Lamentation, upon the Translation of Elijah.
13. The Humbled Sinner resolved what he shall do to be saved.
14. The Fountain Opened, and the Water of Life flowing freely.
15. The riches of Grace displayed in the offer of salvation to poor sinners.
16. The Shepherd of Israel; or God's Pastoral care over his people.
17. The Anatomy of Secret Sins.
18. The Parable of the Prodigal.
19. The Bowels of Tender Mercy Sealed, in the Everlasting Covenant.
20. Synopsis of Christianity.
21. A Catechism.

SIMPSON, SIDRACH, B. D., minister in London, and member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was educated in the University of Cambridge. He was for a time curate of Margaret's Church, but by the intemperate zeal of Laud, he, with several other eminent ministers, was obliged to fly his country in 1635. Among these were the five brethren, Goodwin, Burroughs, Bridge, Nye, and Simpson, who were called the five pillars of independency in the Assembly, and were denominated *the dissenting brethren*. In Holland, he went to Rotterdam, where upon seeing the order of the English Church under Mr. Bridge, he applied to be received as a member; but after a while he began to discover what he thought faulty, and proposed, that after sermon liberty should be granted to the brethren to speak, and propose their doubts, &c. This proposal was not relished by Mr. Bridge, and was the occasion of a difference between him and Mr. Simpson; the latter ultimately separated himself from the society and set up another church, of which he became the pastor, which was small in the commencement, but increased beyond expectation.

About the breaking out of the civil war, Mr. Simpson returned to England, and was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster in 1643, and was in constant attendance through the whole sessions. In all their debates he conducted himself with great temper and moderation.

In the year 1645 he was appointed on the "committee of accommodation." In 1650, he was appointed master of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge, in the place of Mr. Richard Vines, who was ejected for refusing the "engagement." In 1654 he was a member of the committee to draw up a list of fundamental articles of religion, to be presented to parliament. He was also one of the Triers, to whom it belonged to examine and approve public preachers. In 1655, Mr. Simpson was appointed by Cromwell one of the new visitors of the University of Cambridge. While attending the Assembly, he gathered a congregation in London, organized upon his own independent plan.

Mr. Simpson had the character of being a divine of considerable learning and of a very peaceable temper, and was a celebrated preacher.

In his last illness he was, for a season, left in spiritual darkness and great discouragement; some of his brethren having met at his house to unite in prayer in his behalf, their efforts were not in vain, for just as they were about to separate, he cried out, "He is come, he is come," and died that night, 1658.

He has left but one sermon in print, preached before the House of Commons, and entitled, "Reformation's, Preservation," from Isaiah iv. 6.

SMITH, PETER, D. D., was minister of the gospel at Backway, Hertfordshire, England, whence he was called to attend on the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He seems to have been a person of considerable abilities and literary attainments, if we may judge from his sermon before the House of Commons from Psalm cvii. 6, May 29, 1644, at their monthly fast. The author has added learned marginal notes to this dis-

course, and seems to have been well skilled in Greek and Hebrew literature. He preached also before the House of Lords, but the sermon delivered on that occasion was never printed. He was one of the committee to examine and approve of ministers, who were applicants for sequestered livings, and in the year 1645, was chosen one of the "committee of accommodation."

He was of the number of those divines of the Assembly who subscribed the declaration, "that Jesus Christ, as King of the Church, has himself appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate."

The history of his birth and education, and other particulars of his life, are not recorded.

**SPURSTOWE, WILLIAM, D. D.**, was the son of a merchant in London, and received his education in Katharine-hall, Cambridge, of which he was for some time fellow. He became afterwards minister of Hampden, in Buckinghamshire. In the civil war he took part with the parliament, and was chaplain to the celebrated John Hampden, under the Earl of Essex. In 1643 he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and is represented as constantly attending. About this time he became pastor of Hackney, and was appointed on the committee for the examination and approbation of candidates for the sequestered livings. He sometimes preached before the parliament, and was appointed master of Katharine-hall in Cambridge; here he took the degree of D. D., but upon his refusing "the engagement," he was ejected. He was one of the commissioners to confer with the King at the Isle of Wight; and was ejected from his charge of Hackney in 1662. He remained, however, about Hackney until his death, which occurred when he was far advanced in years, in 1666; he lived through the plague but died soon afterwards.

Doctor Spurstowe was eminently distinguished for

learning, humility, charity, and a cheerful conversation.

Mr. Baxter had a great esteem for him, and was in the habit of seeking retirement at his house when he had some great literary labour to perform.

Doctor Spurstowe's writings:

1. *England's Pattern and Duty in its Monthly Fasts*; a sermon before both houses of Parliament at an extraordinary fast, from 1 Sam. vii. 6, July 21, 1643.

2. *England's Eminent Judgments*, caused by the abuse of God's eminent mercies, before the House of Peers, from Ezra ix. 13, 14.

3. *The Magistrate's Dignity and Duty*, a sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, from Psal. lxxxii. 2.

4. *Death and the Grave no bar to a believer's happiness*; a funeral Sermon from Psal. xvii. 15.

5. *The Wells of Salvation opened*, or a treatise of the nature, preciousness, and usefulness of the gospel promises, and rules for the right application of them.

6. *The Spiritual Chymist, or Six Decades of Divine Meditations*.

7. *The Wiles of Satan*; on 2 Cor. xvii. 11.

STAUNTON, EDMUND, D. D., was born at Woburne, in the year 1600, and was the son of Sir Francis Staunton, who took care of his education. He was admitted while very young into Corpus Christi College, Oxford. His proficiency in learning was great, for while an under graduate he was chosen a probationer fellow in preference to eighteen competitors.

When about eighteen years of age he fell dangerously sick, and was very near, in all appearance, to death, when another physician being called, saw that he was afflicted with the pleurisy and opened a vein, on which he was relieved. His life was providentially preserved on another occasion, when he was near being drowned, for having gone into a stream to bathe, he suddenly stepped into a deep hole, and not

being able to swim he went to the bottom; but finding a tuft of grass on the side of the bank near to which he was, he raised himself up, and his life was preserved. Soon after these deliverances he became deeply exercised in religion, and was hopefully renewed in the spirit of his mind. When he had taken his degree of Master of Arts, his father gave him his choice of the three learned professions, upon which he chose the ministry, saying, "that he esteemed turning souls to righteousness the most desirable work in the world, and that it would have the greatest reward hereafter, though the other professions bring in more wealth and honour in this world."

He first exercised his ministry at Witney, Oxfordshire, where he had souls given to him for his hire; and his preaching was so popular that people flocked from all parts to hear him. The incumbent, who read prayers in the morning, was no how pleased to see so many people coming to hear Mr. Staunton, and would not honour the sermon with his presence, for when prayers were ended he would hasten away. Mr. Staunton, for a while, preached a succession of sermons on "buy the truth and sell it not." When the old parson met any one coming in he would say, "ah, are you going to buy the truth?"

From Witney he removed to Bushey, where he was cordially welcomed by all who had any sense of religion, and here also his labours were blessed. Dr. Seaton wishing for the parish of Bushey for himself, his attorney found some flaw in Mr. Staunton's settlement, and ousted him, but afterwards resigned to him his right to the parish of Kingston on the Thames, in Surrey. Here he remained for twenty years, labouring with untiring assiduity and fidelity, and was the means of producing a general reformation in the town, both among the high and low; many persons acknowledged him as their spiritual father.

One day while preaching in London, a man whose house was near, ran home and brought his wife, saying, that there was a man in the pulpit who prayed like an angel. The sermon which followed this prayer

was the means of the conversion of this woman, of which she gave evidence in all her after life.

His preaching was remarkably plain, affectionate, and practical. His manner was so affectionate that he seemed ready to impart, not the gospel only, but even his own soul to his hearers; his applications were full of life and animation. He was called "the searching preacher;" for seldom did he deliver a sermon in which he would not have some marks of trial or examination. He was desirous to be ever at work, fearing above all things lest he should at last hear Christ say, "thou wicked and slothful servant." And when he visited his brethren he would say, "is there no work here for a preacher?" By his second wife he had ten children, who were all buried before him in one grave, and when he died he left but one son.

In 1635 he was cast out of his living for refusing to read the book of sports. During the vacation which he now enjoyed, he went and took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in honour, he said, of his afflictions.

Doctor Staunton was an active and useful member of the Westminster Assembly, and was frequently called upon to preach before the Parliament, and was one of the six lecturers appointed to preach in Westminster Abbey in the morning.

In 1648, when the visiters of the University of Oxford dismissed Dr. Newlin from the headship of Corpus Christi College, Dr. Staunton was put in his place, where he continued for twelve years, and until he was ejected by the king's commissioners, after the restoration in the year 1660. While president of this College he greatly promoted piety and good order, and wherever he resided, preaching was his delight; and he would often go out into the country and preach to the destitute parishes. He held a weekly meeting at his own house for prayer and spiritual conference, to which serious persons of other Colleges resorted. He was constant in his attendance at the worship of the College chapel morning and evening, and by his efforts and example greatly promoted the sanctification of the Lord's day. While in the University he



was of great service to serious young men who were seeking the ministry, and many who were afterwards eminently useful were trained under his ministry and instructions, one of whom may be mentioned, Mr. Joseph Alleine, so well known by his excellent practical discourses. When dismissed from the University, he sought places where he could be useful in the exercise of his ministry; and even after the passing of the act of uniformity he laboured in private, and almost every week attended a fast in his own house or that of some other person. After this he did not remain long stationary, but went from-place to place, as he found opportunities of doing good. His motto was, "woe is me if I preach not the gospel;" and as if he could not preach to multitudes in the church he would preach to a few in the chamber, and did much good by the distribution of religious books.

Doctor Staunton's natural disposition was uncommonly sweet and amiable, and when embellished by the grace of God he was exceedingly pleasant and useful in his conversation. He was much given to self-examination, and was very careful to ascertain the true state of his own heart, and had the happiness of finding, upon the closest and most impartial scrutiny, that he had the witness in himself.

Like many other pious men, Dr. Staunton kept a journal or diary of God's dealings with him, and of the state of his heart from day to day. From this his biographer, Mr. Mayo, has been able to derive many particulars of his interior life; but he was intimately acquainted with him, and gives this testimony, "that he was the most given to prayer of any Christian that he was ever acquainted with, and when he prayed, whether in private or socially, he very commonly wept. It was his custom always to pray kneeling, however inconvenient it might be, for he was wont to say "the humblest posture was the most suitable for prayer." His observance of the Lord's day was so strict that many censured him; but he would say, "we must always be good husbands of time, especially of holy time; we must not spend that which is

not our own about our own business." "Spiritual pride," he said, "was the besetting sin of young ministers;" and he relates an instance in which he was himself greatly endangered by it, but by betaking himself to fasting and prayer he obtained the victory. The study of the Scriptures was his constant employment, so that he was perfectly familiar with the sacred volume, and could immediately turn to any passage which was referred to. In nothing, however, did this eminent servant of Jesus Christ more excel, than in religious conference; for this he had a peculiar talent, as was experienced by those who had the pleasure of his conversation. He seldom met any one casually on the way without saying something which might be spiritually profitable. His patience under afflictions was truly admirable; he suffered considerably but was never discomposed, nor uttered a single complaint. When in health his conversation was often facetious, that he might attract people to him and have the opportunity of instructing them. His last sickness was the palsy, which affected one side and prevented him from talking much; but he said to a friend, "I neither fear death nor desire life, but am willing to be at God's disposal." He died on the 14th of July, 1671, in the 71st year of his age. His modesty was such that he was always unwilling that any production of his pen should be published; He did, however, consent that his "Christian Conference" should be put to press, and the Parliament ordered several of his sermons preached before them to be published. As far as can now be ascertained, Dr. Staunton's published writings are the following:

1. *Rupes Israelis*—The Rock of Israel; before the House of Commons at their monthly fast; Deut. xxxii. 31; April 24, 1644.

2. *Phineas' Zeal*, or a Divine Remedy for England's Misery; preached before the House of Lords, October 30, 1644.

3. A sermon at the funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Wilkinson.

4. A Treatise of Christian Conference.

5. A Dialogue between a minister and a stranger about soul-affairs. :

STERRY, PETER, B. D., one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was born in Surrey, England, and educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge, where, in 1636, he was chosen fellow. Having finished his studies in the University he entered the ministry; during the civil war he was a strenuous advocate of the cause of the Parliament. In the year 1643, he was called up to the Assembly of Divines, and is said to have given constant attendance; on some occasions he preached before the Parliament.

He was intimate with Sir Henry Vane, and is said to have been deeply tinctured with mysticism. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the Triers of ministers. The protector not liking that the Presbyteries should have the sole power of examining and judging of candidates for the ministry, appointed triers of his own selection. These commissioners were thirty-eight in number, among whom were eight or nine laymen; any five were sufficient to approve, but it required nine to reject a candidate.

Mr. Sterry's only writings are,

1. The Spirit's Conviction of Sin Opened.
2. The Clouds in which Christ comes.

STRICKLAND, JOHN, B. D., was born in the county of Westmoreland of an ancient and honourable family, and was educated at Queen's College, Oxford. After taking his degrees in the arts he entered the holy ministry, and became chaplain to the Earl of Hertford. In 1632, he took his degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and was presented to the rectory of Middleton in Somersetshire. He was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and seems to have been constant in his attendance. Wood reviles him exceedingly, but Dr. Calamy defends him. He became, after the Assembly was over, pastor of St. Edmund's Church in Salisbury. He is said to have been eminently distinguished as an expositor of Scripture,

and a skilful casuist. In 1654, Mr. Strickland was made assistant to the commissioners for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters in the county of Wilts.

He was among the ejected ministers on the fatal Bartholomew day, but he continued to preach after his ejection, as he had opportunity.

He died in October, 1670, very suddenly, on the very day that he had preached and administered the Lord's Supper.

His memory was long held in honour at Sarum, and Dr. Calamy always speaks of him as "a great divine, and generally esteemed," and also a very faithful preacher.

Mr. Strickland's publications are,

1. God's Works of Mercy in Zion's Misery; a sermon before the House of Commons.

2. A Discovery of Peace, or the thoughts of the Almighty for the ending of the people's calamities.

3. Immanuel, or the Church triumphing in God with us; a sermon before the House of Lords from Psalm xlv. 7.

4. Mercy rejoicing against Judgment, or God waiting to be gracious to a sinful nation; a sermon before the House of Commons.

In his dedicatory epistle to the House of Commons, he gives them excellent advice about public schools, the reformation of the universities, and about settling ministers in the northern counties of the kingdom.

TAYLOR, FRANCIS, B. D., a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and sometime rector of Chapham, in Surrey, and afterward of Yalding, in Kent. He was called to the Assembly at its first opening, was constant in his attendance, and eminently distinguished for his learning and moderation. He was afterward settled in Canterbury as preacher of Christ's Church. He left behind him the reputation of an able critic and a profound theologian. Mr. Neal says, "he was one of the most considerable divines of the Assembly." And Mr. Edward Leigh

testifies, "that he was a learned linguist and a worthy divine." His death occurred about the time of the restoration. He had a son in the ministry, who, though totally blind, became a considerable preacher. Dr. Calamy says, "he had an enlightened mind, though a dark body." His son was ejected in 1662 from a church in Canterbury for non-conformity. He was cheerful under his afflictions, and he published a little book entitled, "Grapes from Canaan, or the believer's present taste of future glory."

Mr. Taylor's publications:

1. Faith of the Church of England.
2. God's Covenant, the Church's Plea; a sermon from Psalm lxxiv. 20, before the House of Commons on a solemn fast-day.
3. The Danger of Vows Neglected, and the necessity of reformation; a sermon before the House of Peers from Gen. xxxv. 1.
4. God's Glory in Man's Happiness.
5. God's Choice and Man's Diligence.
6. On Justification.
7. Opuscula Rabbinica.
8. Targum Prius et Posterius in Estheram.
9. Tractatus De Patribus, Rab. Nathane Autore.
10. Capitula Patrum.
11. Examen Præfationis Morini.
12. An Exposition of the first nine chapters of the Proverbs.

TEMPLE, THOMAS, D. D., brother of Sir John, was some time a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; afterwards he resided in Lincoln College, Oxford; and then was minister, first at Winwick in Northamptonshire, and then at Battersea in Surrey. When the civil war commenced he sided with the Parliament, and was appointed one of the licensers of books, and a member of the Assembly of Divines, and is said to have been a constant attendant. He was one of the committee for the examination and approbation of ministers, who were candidates for the sequestered livings; he was also on the "committee of accommodation." In

all these offices he was eminently distinguished for his learning and moderation.

He preached frequently before the Long Parliament, and a few of his sermons on those occasions are extant in print; one of them is entitled, "Christ's Government in and over his People," from Psalm ii. 6., delivered before the Commons at a public fast; an excellent sermon. Further particulars of the life and death of this distinguished man are wanting.

**TESDALE, CHRISTOPHER.**—A member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, received his education at New College, Oxford, where he proceeded Master of Arts in 1648, and having entered into holy orders he became pastor of a church in Southampton, and in 1643 he was chosen to sit in the Assembly of Divines, and is marked in Neal's list as constant in his attendance. He has published a sermon entitled, "Hierusalem, a Vision of Peace;" preached before the House of Commons, Psal. cxxii. 6.

**THOROWGOOD, THOMAS, B. D.**, received his education in the University of Cambridge, where he proceeded Master of Arts, and afterwards Bachelor of Divinity. He espoused the cause of the Parliament, and was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster.

His publications are :

1. Moderation justified; before the honourable House of Commons.

2. Jews in America, or Probabilities that Americans are of that race.

He urges reasons for endeavouring to convert the aborigines of America, and answers objections.

The above opinion has since been strongly maintained by several, and especially Dr. Boudinot, of Burlington, New Jersey.

**TUCKNEY, ANTHONY, D. D.**, was born about three miles from Boston in Lincolnshire, September, 1599, and was educated in Emanuel College, Cambridge.

After taking the degree of Master of Arts, he became chaplain to the Earl of Lincoln; but upon being chosen fellow of his College, he returned to the University until he commenced Bachelor of Divinity; during this time he was an able and conscientious tutor. He trained up many pupils, who afterwards became eminent both in church and state, and remembered their tutor with much esteem.

Upon the invitation of the people of Boston, he left the University and became assistant to the celebrated John Cotton, and upon Mr. Cotton's removal to America, he succeeded him in 1633. While he resided here a pestilence occurred in the place, and he met with some disturbance from the spiritual courts.

In 1643 Dr. Tuckney was called up to London to sit in the Assembly of Divines, and as the times were troublesome he removed his family to London, and never returned to reside any more at Boston. At the request of the people, however, he retained his title until the restoration, when he resigned and was succeeded by the celebrated John Howe; but though he retained the title, he received none of the profits after he left his people. He was very highly esteemed in the Assembly, and was constant in his attendance. He belonged both to the committee of examination of ministers, and to the "committee of accommodation." But his most memorable service in that Assembly was, the part which he took in drawing up the Confession of Faith and Catechisms. Many of the answers in the "Larger Catechism" are said to have been composed by him, especially the exquisite exposition of the commandments, were for the most part, in his very words.

After residing in London some time, he was settled minister of Michael-Quern, Cheapside, where he continued till 1648; except that after he was appointed master of Emanuel College, he spent some months of every year at Cambridge, until in 1648 he removed his family thither, and was that year made vice-chancellor of the University. When Dr. Arrowsmith was

chosen master of Trinity College, Dr. Tuckney was made master of St John's, and succeeded the former as royal professor of Divinity.

Doctor Tuckney was distinguished for firmness and unshaken courage, and was eminent at the same time for his humility. He is said to have possessed the art of governing youth in a high degree, so that many gentlemen sent their sons to his College on that account.

After the restoration, Dr. Tuckney was one of the commissioners of the Savoy; but when he saw how things were conducted, he abandoned all hope of an accommodation. Indeed before the conferences were expired he received a request from the king to resign all his preferments in the University, which he immediately did, and the king promised him a hundred pounds from his successor during his natural life. Upon leaving the University, he retired with his family to London, where he remained until 1665, when, on account of the plague, he lived at Colwick-hall, near Nottingham. After the passing of the five-mile act, he shifted about from place to place.

In the dreadful fire of London, Dr. Tuckney lost his library. His latter years he spent in or near to London, and died February, 1670. He has left behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, a candid disputant, and an eminent promoter of the cause of truth and Godliness:

Dr. Tuckney's published writings:

1. The Balm of Gilead for the wounds of England; a fast sermon before the Commons; Jer. viii. 22.
2. Death Disarmed, and the grave swallowed up in victory; a funeral discourse for Dr. Thomas Hill; 1 Cor. xv. 55.
3. None but Christ; a sermon preached at Cambridge on commencement Sabbath; to which is annexed an "Inquiry respecting the ground of hope for Heathen, Jews, infants, idiots, &c."
4. A good day well improved.
5. Forty sermons on various occasions.



6. Prælectiones Theologicæ; to which is annexed a dissertation against propagating religion by the sword.

TWISSE, WILLIAM, D. D., was born near Newbury, in Berkshire, England. His grandfather was a German, who had, on some occasion, come over to England. His father was a substantial clothier, who sent his son to Westminster School, whence, at the age of eighteen, he was translated to New College, Oxford, of which he became fellow. Here, for sixteen successive years, he applied himself to study most assiduously. In 1604, he proceeded Master of Arts, and about the same time entered into holy orders, and became a diligent preacher of the gospel of Christ. He was esteemed a popular preacher in the University; and, although some thought his discourses too scholastic, they were attended with power and success. His character in the university stood high, not only as a man of extensive learning and great acuteness, but also on account of his holy, exemplary conversation. In the year 1614, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, after having given ample proof of his abilities, in his Catechetical Lectures in the College Chapel, in his public disputations, and in revising the writings of the famous Dr. Thomas Bradwardine, about to be published by Sir Henry Saville.

Dr. Twisse's reputation continued to increase until it reached the court, so that King James selected him as a suitable chaplain for his daughter Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, who was soon to remove to Germany, whither he accompanied her. On the journey he made it a daily practice to expound the Scriptures, with which pious exercises the Princess was well pleased, especially as they served to soothe her sorrow in leaving her native country, and her friends. And as he inculcated upon her the belief in a particular Providence, and directed her to the true sources of pleasure, and taught her that all things work together for the good of those who love God, his instructions were well suited to prepare her for

those heavy afflictions which soon she was called to endure.

Upon his return to England he devoted himself to such studies as seemed to him best adapted to qualify him to glorify God, by expounding his word, and defending his truth. Truly he sought no great things for himself in this world, for he settled down in a country village, and poor house, where he laid the foundation of those great works which have rendered his name so famous in the Reformed Churches. After some time, he was made Vicar of Newbury, where he acquired a high reputation for his useful preaching, and holy life; and so he became a burning and a shining light, in the very region where the light of this world first dawned upon him. He never aspired after riches, nor ecclesiastical dignities, but rather gloried in his retired and obscure situation, as being less exposed to temptations, which always beset those who are advanced to high honours in the world. He not only did not seek preferment, but when offered to him he declined it. So he declined being Warden of the College at Winchester, although the office was very lucrative, and afterwards refused a Prebend of Winchester; thus evincing, by his conduct, that he preferred the opportunities of retired study, above the most lucrative and honourable stations. He had also an invitation to become Professor of Theology at Francker, in Friesland, which offer also he declined, and continued at Newbury, until his dying day.

When the Book of Sports was sent down he refused to read it, and had the courage to speak against it, and thus subjected himself to a heavy penalty; but when the King heard of it, he commanded the Bishops not to give any disturbance to Dr. Twisse, for he knew that, though he lived on a small salary, and in a poor house, yet his reputation, by means of his writings, was so high in all the Reformed Churches abroad, that it would redound to the discredit of any one who should treat him with severity.

In his preaching, and in his writing, Dr. Twisse

faithfully defended the sacredness of the Lord's Day, so that when Charles I. came to the throne, and imitated his father, in his attempts to desecrate, by sports, the day which God had sanctified for himself, Dr. Twisse still refused obedience to these unlawful injunctions, and went on in the discharge of his duty, in testifying against the sin of Sabbath-breaking; and continued to preach against the Book of Sports until its authority was abolished. The height of his reputation among the good people of England, may be judged of from the fact, that in 1643, when the Assembly of Divines met at Westminster, he was appointed by both houses of Parliament to be the Prolocutor of that venerable body, in which office he continued until his death. He was very far from desiring such a distinction, and would have avoided it if he could, but it was, in a manner, forced upon him. Wherefore, on the first day of their meeting, which was July 1, 1643, he preached before them; the two houses of Parliament being present. The number of Divines appointed to meet in this Assembly, was about one hundred and twenty. Upon calling the roll on the first day, it appeared that sixty-seven were present. They did not appear in canonical habits, but dressed in black coats, and distinguished by bands. The object stated, in the writ of convocation, was, "the settlement of Religion, and Church Government." It was not an Assembly called, either by the Episcopal or Presbyterian ministers, but the Parliament selected from different counties, such persons as they thought would be suitable. Accordingly, ministers of different persuasions were appointed. Among these were a number of Episcopalians and Independents, as well as Presbyterians, but the former refused to attend, because the King had issued a proclamation forbidding the Assembly to meet. This Assembly met every day in the week, except the first and the last, and no one was permitted to come in, to hear the debates, unless by a written order from both houses of Parliament. Their daily session was commonly from nine, A. M. to three, P. M., and every

session was opened and closed with prayer, by the Prolocutor. As there were, on an average, about sixty English Divines in attendance, it was agreed that they should divide themselves into three large committees, and no member was excluded from entering either of the three. These committees prepared business for the Assembly, by writing down certain propositions, with the Scripture proofs, which being handed in, to the scribe, were read before the body. On these propositions they debated, in a grave, learned, and accurate manner. Principal Baillie, one of the Scotch commissioners, says, in his letters, written while in attendance, "Their harangues are long and learned. They study the question well before hand, and prepare their speeches, but withal the men are exceeding prompt, and well-spoken." "The speakers come forward voluntarily, without being called upon; and after discussion, the vote is taken by *ayes* and *noes*, and the decision announced by the Prolocutor."

The Assembly met at first in King Henry VII.'s Chapel; but, when the weather began to grow cold, they transferred their sittings to the Jerusalem Chamber, in Westminster Abbey. At the upper end of this room was set a chair, or a frame, about a foot above the level of the floor, on which the Prolocutor sat; and before his chair, on the floor, were placed chairs for Dr. Burgess and Mr. White, assistants of the Prolocutor. Before these again, stood a table, where two scribes had their places. These were Mr. Byfield and Mr. Roborough. The Scotch commissioners sat on the right hand of the Prolocutor. Warrants for persons to sit in the Assembly, from the Parliament, were addressed to the Prolocutor. When the Scotch commissioners arrived, which was some time after the commencement of the sessions, Dr. Twisse, in the name of the Assembly, welcomed them, in a speech of considerable length. Dr. Twisse, however, did not speak much in the Assembly; which some, perhaps, attributed to his want of abilities, and others, to the decay of his intellectual powers by age,

but the true reason was his modesty and humility; and, probably, because he thought that frequent speaking would be unsuitable in the Prolocutor of the Assembly. His powers, as a disputant, could scarcely be exceeded; and yet he preferred written discussion to that which was merely verbal. Dr. Calamy says, "he was very famous on account of his learning, wit, and writings." Mr. Baillie informs us, that four-fifths of the members did not speak at all, and among these were some Divines who were famous in the world for their writings and their sermons. Some men who can write well cannot speak, and some who can speak well are not fond of public speaking.

Dr. Twisse was much disturbed on account of the warm debates in the Assembly of Divines, and his anxiety is supposed to have impaired his bodily health, for it was easily observed that his strength gradually failed, until, one day when offering up the prayers of the Assembly, he fell down in the pulpit, and was carried home and laid upon his bed, and continued to linger about a year, when he died. During the time of his illness he was visited by many learned and godly persons, and he exhibited satisfactory evidence of his faith, his resignation, and patience. The love of study seems to have been with Dr. Twisse a ruling passion throughout life, and it was strong in death, for when he saw his end to be near, he said, with animation, and they were nearly his last words, "Now, at length, I shall have leisure to follow my studies to all eternity." His death occurred about the 20th of July, 1646, in the seventy-first year of his age. At the request of the Assembly, he was buried in the Collegiate Church of St. Peters, Westminster, and his funeral was attended by the whole Assembly. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Harris, from Josh. i. 2. "Moses, my servant, is dead." His remains, however, were not permitted to rest in quiet in the grave, for in the time of Charles II. they were dug up, by order of Council, and thrown, with several others, into a hole

in the Church-yard of St. Margaret's. As Dr. Twisse died in extreme poverty, the day after his burial the Parliament voted a thousand pounds to his children out of the public treasury, but they never received this bounty, through the unfaithfulness of those who should have paid it, nevertheless, God, by his Providence, made a competent provision for them.

The character of Dr. Twisse will be sufficiently understood from the circumstances of his life related above. He was a man of undissembled humility, entertaining the deepest sense of the depravity of his nature, and ever ready to confess his sins and imperfections, and instead of panting after the riches and honours of this world, he gave God unfeigned thanks that he had preserved him from the temptations and snares to which these would have exposed him. He was more exempt from envy than most men who ever lived, for he entertained a great regard for all good men, and was ever disposed to prefer them to himself, though in the opinion of all others, greatly his inferiors. He was strictly religious and conscientious, though not morose, but frequently facetious, as will be evident to those who are conversant with his writings. It was his custom to observe a monthly fast in his family, which he continued through life, and in his prayers on this and other occasions, he pleaded with God most earnestly for his divided and bleeding Church. Daily, morning and evening, the Scriptures were read in his family, and prayer offered at the throne of grace. He would also frequently expound, for the instruction of his family, the more difficult passages of Scripture.

It was a weakness in Dr. Twisse that he was of an easy disposition, which rendered him liable to be deceived by the designing, and especially by such as he esteemed to be pious.

As a theologian he was pre-eminent among his contemporaries, though in several points he differed from the more commonly received opinions. In regard to the order of the Divine decrees, a subject much disputed in his time, he adopted the views of

the Supralapsarians; but, at the same time assented, that the point of difference was "a mere logical nicety." He held also, contrary to the common opinion, "that God, by his absolute sovereignty could have forgiven sin without any satisfaction, had he not determined otherwise in his eternal purpose;" and in this, Calvin, Norton, and Rutherford, go with him; but Piscator, Lubbertus, and Dr. Owen, have strenuously, and we think conclusively, maintained the contrary. Dr. Twisse's zeal was ardent in defence of the doctrines of grace, against Arminians and Jesuits. He wrote most of his works in Latin, that they might be read in foreign countries, in consequence of which he is better known, and more highly appreciated, in other countries than in his own. He appears to be perfectly at home in the most abstruse controversies, and disposes of objections with an ease and playfulness which we have seldom seen equalled.

The following is a list of his works:

1. A Discovery of Dr. Jackson's Vanity, &c. 1631.
2. *Vindiciæ Gratix, Potestatis ac Providentiæ Dei.*
3. *Dissertatio de Media Scientia.*
4. *The Morality of the Fourth Commandment.*
5. *An Examination of Mr. Cotton's Discourse on Predestination.*
6. *The Scriptures' Sufficiency to determine all matters of Faith.*
7. *The Riches of God's Love to the Vessels of Mercy, with his Reprobation of the Vessels of Wrath.*
8. *Fifteen Letters to Mr. Joseph Mede.*
9. Prefaces to the learned works of others.

VALENTINE, THOMAS, B. D., a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, is said to have suffered much in the cause of non-conformity. He was suspended for refusing to read the "Book of Sports," and prosecuted in the High Commission court. Dr. Calamy says, "that he was a very popular and taking preacher." He was ejected from his parish in St. Giles Bucks, by the act of uniformity.

His writings are,

1. A Sermon before the House of Commons, from Zeph. iii. 8, at their fast, December 28, 1642.

2. A Charge against the Jews and the Christian World for not coming to Christ. John v. 40.

3. Christ's Counsel to Poor and Naked Souls, a Sermon before the Commons. Revelation iii. 18.

He appears to have been an able and a sweet evangelical preacher.

VINES, RICHARD, was born in Liecester, in the year 1600, and was educated in Magdalen College, Cambridge. When he had finished his course in the University, he taught a school in Hinckley, in Liecester county, whence he was called to be minister of the gospel, at Weddington, in Warwickshire. Here he laboured faithfully, and many from the surrounding villages attended his ministry. He also set up a weekly lecture at Nuneaton, a large market town in the county of Warwick, which was greatly frequented, and his reputation as a preacher rose very high. Both ministers and private Christians travelled many miles to hear him. When the civil war commenced, he was obliged to take refuge in Coventry, where he was not idle; but with other ministers set up a morning lecture; and the inhabitants were so affected with his preaching, that they earnestly entreated him to remain with them. But when the Assembly of divines was chosen, he was one of them, and went up to London to attend on this venerable synod; where he was much esteemed for his sound judgment, and masculine and nervous oratory. He had several calls, but finally accepted an invitation to Lawrence Jewry, where he laboured with uncommon success. He was also chosen one of the lecturers at Michael, Cornhill. When the earl of Essex died, the Parliament appointed a public funeral for him, and Mr. Vines was chosen to preach on the occasion.

In 1644, he was made master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, by the earl of Manchester; for which



exalted station he was eminently qualified. He was one of the assistant divines at the treaty of Uxbridge, and he and Mr. Henderson defended the cause of Presbytery, against Dr. Steward and Dr. Sheldon, who plead for the divine right of Episcopacy.

In 1645, he was on the committee to prepare a Confession of Faith; and in 1648, was sent as an assistant to the commissioners to confer with the king, at the Isle of Wight. He had much conversation with the king, who appears to have respected him much.

When the king was under sentence of death, Mr. Vines and Dr. Calamy, and other ministers, tendered their services, to aid him in preparing for his end; but he politely declined their service, and chose Dr. Juxon for his spiritual adviser.

Mr. Vines was a thorough Presbyterian, and a very solid, judicious, and orthodox divine. He was mighty in the Scriptures, and an "interpreter, one of a thousand." He was a great disputant, and directed his great force against prevailing errors. Justification by faith was a favourite subject, and he had studied this doctrine with uncommon attention. The tendency of his preaching was to debase man, and exalt the Lord Jesus Christ, and his finished righteousness; and also to promote holiness of heart and life.

In his latter years he was visited with great bodily affliction; pains in his head and eyes. After a while his eyes became so weak that he could not see the largest print. But as long as he could move he would still preach, desiring to die in the service, until at last his voice became so weak that he could not be heard. A few days before his death, when attempting to preach, a rude fellow said, "lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you." To which Mr. Vines instantly replied, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder." The day before he died, he preached and administered the Lord's supper.

He was very averse, Dr. Jacombe informs us, to print any thing of his own. And Dr. Fuller observes,

“that many most able scholars have never appeared in print.”

Mr. Vines' writings are,

1. Caleb's Integrity in following the Lord fully. A sermon before the House of Commons, at their solemn fast, November 30, 1642—Numbers xiv. 24.

2. The Impostures of Seducing Teachers Discovered. A sermon before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at their anniversary meeting, from Ephesians iv. 14, 15.

3. A Sermon before both Houses of Parliament, on a Public Thanksgiving for the great victory obtained near York.

4. The Posture of David's Spirit when in a Doubtful Condition. A sermon before the House of Commons—2 Samuel xv. 25, 26.

5. The Happiness of Israel. A sermon before both Houses of Parliament and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, on a day of solemn thanksgiving.

6. The Purifying of Unclean Hearts and Hands. A sermon before the House of Commons—James iv. 8.

7. Funeral Sermon for the Earl of Essex—2 Sam. iii. 38.

8. The Authors, Nature, and Danger of Heresy. Before the House of Commons—2 Peter ii. 1.

9. Obedience to Magistrates Supreme and Subordinate. Three sermons, preached at the election for Lord Mayor, &c., in three successive years.

10. The Corruption of Mind—2 Corinthians xi. 3.

11. A Treatise of the Right Institution, Administration, and Receiving of the Lord's Supper; delivered in twenty sermons, at Lawrence Jewry.

12. Christ, the Christian's only Gain.

13. God's Drawing, and Men's Coming to Christ.

14. The Saint's Nearness to God.

He died, February, 1655, of a bleeding at the nose. Dr. Jacombe says, “He was ‘a burning and shining light,’ possessing very excellent parts; taller by the head than his brethren. He was an accomplished scholar; a perfect master of the Greek language, an

excellent philologist, and an admirable orator. He was a ready and close disputant, and appeared to the admiration of many in the treaties of Uxbridge and Isle of Wight. His desire was to die preaching and praying. He had an undaunted spirit; and like Luther, nothing could deter him from the faithful discharge of duty." Mr. Newcomen calls him "a most acute disputant, a very happy public speaker, and an eminent divine." He was accounted, "the very prince of preachers, a thorough Calvinist, and a bold, honest man, without pride and flattery." Dr. Fuller describes him as "an excellent preacher, and the very champion of the Assembly;" and adds, "He was constant to his principles, yet moderate and charitable towards those who differed from him."

**WALKER, GEORGE, B. D.**, was born in Lancashire, 1581. When very young he was seized with the small-pox, and appeared to be at the point of death, but while they were waiting for his end, he started out of a swoon, and exclaimed, "Lord, take me not away till I have showed forth thy praise." From this time he began to recover, and his parents were induced to dedicate his preserved life to God, in the ministry of the gospel. He was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he obtained a high reputation for his diligence and literary attainments. Having finished his studies in the University, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, he went to London, and became Rector of John the Evangelist, in Watlingstreet, in 1614. In this station he continued to labour forty years; refusing all higher preferments, which were frequently offered to him. While here, he became chaplain to Dr. Felton, bishop of Ely: and the height of his reputation may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Featly, in his public disputations with Fisher, the Romanist, chose Mr. Walker as his second. He was eminently distinguished for his bold and successful opposition to popery; and on several occasions engaged in public controversy with the most subtle Jesuits. One of these disputations took place on the

last of May, 1623, with a popish priest by the name of Smith, in the presence of a very large assembly. By the consent of both parties, an account of this controversy was printed. It seems, however, that the real name of his antagonist was Norris, who, Wood says, was a Doctor of Divinity; and the author of several tracts on this controversy.

In the year following, Mr. Walker was engaged in controversy with Fisher, the Jesuit, with whom, as well as others, he had many encounters; and published an account of the dispute, in a pamphlet entitled, "Fisher's Folly Unfolded; or, the Vaunting Jesuit's Challenge Answered."

Mr. Walker seems to have been a man of genuine piety, and very strict in his life; and especially observant of the Christian Sabbath. The religious duty of observing the Lord's day, he often inculcated from the pulpit, and in his writings. Some sermons which he published on this subject, occasioned him no small trouble; for he was first admonished by his bishop, and then arraigned in the star chamber, and fined and imprisoned. His case was brought before the House of Commons in 1641, when it was resolved, "that his commitment and confinement were against the law and liberty of the subject." From this time, he remained with his flock, without molestation, until the day of his death.

In 1643, Mr. Walker was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, where he is marked by Neal as giving constant attendance. By his generous conduct in the Assembly, he obtained a very high reputation, and was appointed on the committee to whom it belonged, to ordain ministers, by the imposition of hands. On the trial of archbishop Laud, he was a witness against him, and testified that he had endeavoured to introduce into the church, Arminianism and popish superstitions. He sometimes preached before the Parliament. He united with the ministers of London, in protesting against the death of the king, whom he declared ought to be set at liberty.

Mr. Walker died in the year 1651, when he was about seventy years of age.

The character given of him by Dr. Fuller is, "that he was well skilled in the oriental languages, and an excellent logician and divine; a man of a holy life, an humble spirit, and a liberal hand. By means of his own liberality, and his persuasions, about a thousand pounds were raised for the support of ministers in his native country.

He wrote all his sermons, but made no use of his notes in the pulpit; although he always had them in his pocket.

The published writings of Mr. Walker are,

1. Socinianism, in the Fundamental Point of Justification, Discovered and Confuted.
2. The Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath.
3. The Manifold Wisdom of God.
4. God made Visible in all His Works—before the House of Commons.
5. Controversial Tracts, on Popery.

WALLIS, JOHN, D. D., was born in Kent county, November 23, 1616. His father was an eminently pious, learned, and orthodox divine, in the same county; but died while his son was very young. Under the assiduous care of a pious mother, however, he was "brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord."

In the year 1625, there was a great plague in London and other places; and among the rest, Ashford was visited. On this occasion he was sent to school to a Scotchman, by the name of Moffat, where he continued for several years; and when this school was broken up, he was sent to a school in Essex, which had a good reputation. Here he became a very expert Latin and Greek scholar; and as the custom of both schools was to speak in Latin, he acquired a great facility in the use of this language, which was of eminent service to him afterwards. In the University, he paid much attention to Hebrew, which he had commenced before. He also learned

logic, music, and French; and while spending his vacation at his mother's, he was instructed in arithmetic by a younger brother: this was his first entrance into a science in which, afterwards, he became so eminent. It was in 1632, that he was sent to Cambridge, where he became a student of Emanuel College, under the tuition of Mr. Anthony Burgess, whom he describes as "a learned tutor, an able disputant, an eminent preacher, and an orthodox divine."

Mr. Wallis was always considered one of the best scholars in the college to which he belonged. He took his first degree in the arts in 1637, and his second in 1640, in which year he entered the sacred ministry. For several years he acted as chaplain; first, in the family of Sir Richard Darby, and afterwards, of Lady Vere. He was one year fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, but upon his marriage, he vacated his fellowship. About 1644, he was chosen one of the secretaries to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. During his attendance, he was employed to preach in London, until his removal to Oxford. In that University he pursued his studies with so much proficiency, that he acquired the reputation of being one of the ablest mathematicians of the age in which he lived. He acquired also an extraordinary skill in decyphering letters written in cypher, and was often employed in that arduous work; but he complains that his services of this kind were poorly remunerated. When, in consequence of the civil wars, many learned men from the Universities took refuge in London, he and a number of others, agreed to meet weekly for mutual improvement in the sciences. This was the commencement of the Royal Society. In 1649, he became Savilian professor of Geometry, at Oxford, where he spent the remainder of his days. He opened his lectures with an elegant speech in Latin, which was printed. In 1654, he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and in 1658, was chosen keeper of the archives of the University of Oxford. At the restoration, he was treated with great respect. The king himself entertained a favourable opinion of him, and

not only confirmed him in his several offices in the University, but made him one of his own chaplains. In 1661, he was one of the divines appointed to review the book of common prayer; after which he complied with the act of uniformity, and continued steadily to conform until the day of his death. As Dr. Wallis was one of the first, so he was one of the most active and useful members of the Royal Society, with which he continually corresponded; and many of his letters and papers have been published in the early transactions of this learned body. The first president of the Royal Society was Lord Brounker, viscount of Castle Lyons, in Ireland, and was much in correspondence with Dr. Wallis on mathematical subjects. He also addressed to the celebrated Robert Boyle, his hypothesis on the flux and reflux of the sea, which was printed in the Philosophical Transactions.

His memory was so extraordinary, that he was able by a mere mental process, to extract the cube root to an hundred places of figures. But when engaged in these operations, it was necessary that light, sound, and muscular action should be excluded.

Edward Bernard, afterwards famous both as an astronomer and linguist, studied mathematics under the tuition of Dr. Wallis. He was among the first who pronounced that it was practicable to teach mutes to speak, and undertook the tuition of a Mr. Whally, deaf and dumb from his birth; and having fully succeeded in this his first effort, he undertook the instruction of a second pupil, the son of Admiral Popham. Afterwards, Dr. Wallis instructed several mutes, but without attempting to teach them to speak.

He was not only a great mathematician, but an able and orthodox theologian. He was a strenuous defender of the doctrine of the Trinity; and also a zealous vindicator of the obligation to observe religiously the Christian Sabbath. He was undoubtedly possessed of great perspicuity and discrimination. Though he led so studious a life, yet he arrived at a very advanced age. His death occurred October 28, 1703, when he was in his eighty-eighth year. He left

behind him one son and two daughters, to lament the loss of a good father. His remains were interred in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, where a handsome monument has been erected to his memory.

Dr. Wallis did not apply to the science of mathematics until he had passed his fortieth year; and yet it is agreed, that he was second to no man in this department but Sir Isaac Newton. One accidental testimony of his great skill remains in his "*Commercium Epistolicum*," occasioned by a challenge given by Mr. Fermate, a Frenchman, to English, Dutch, and French mathematicians—Paris excepted—to answer a numerical question. Dr. Wallis accomplished it with great ease, and obtained high applause. In a letter addressed to Sir Kenelm Digby, it is said, "Now must Holland yield to England, and Paris to Oxford."

He possessed a vigorous constitution, a strong mind, calm, serene, and not easily thrown off its balance. He was reckoned the ornament of his country, and the glory of the University in which he was professor.

Memoirs of Dr. Wallis, with a fine portrait, were published in the "*Universal Magazine*," for March, 1802.

Dr. Wallis's published writings are,

1. Truth Tried, or, Animadversions on Lord Brooks' Treatise, called, The Nature of Truth.
2. Animadversions of R. Baxter's Aphorisms of Justification, and of the Covenant.
3. Tractus de loquela Grammatica, Physicus; or, Grammatica Linguæ Anglicanæ Cum Tractatu de loquela, seu sonorum formatione.

This is a very curious disquisition, in which the author attempts to explain all sounds used in articulate speech, and the organ by which they are uttered, with nine distinctions of the various sounds of the same letter. Upon this theory, he was led to the opinion, that mutes might be taught to speak.

4. Grammar of the English Tongue for the Use of Foreigners, written in Latin.

5. Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ, a computation of Hobbe's Work, "*De Corpore Philosophico*."



6. Due Correction for Mr. Hobbes. An answer to his Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics, at Oxford.

7. Hobbiani Puncti Dispunctio, in answer to Hobbe's "Stigmai."

8. Hobbius Heautontimoruminos, in answer to Hobbe's "Examinatio, &c."

9. Mathesis Universalis, in two volumes.

10. Commercium Epistolicum.

11. Archimedes' Avenarius, et dimensio Circuli.

12. Claudii Ptolomæi, Opus Harmonicum.

13. Theological Discourses, containing eight Letters and eight Sermons on the Trinity.

14. Two Sermons. 1. On Regeneration. 2. On the Resurrection.

15. A Defence of the Sabbath.

16. A Defence of Infant Baptism.

17. An Explanation of the Shorter Catechism.

18. His Letters, Pamphlets, &c.

In 1697, the curators of the press at Oxford, gave orders to have all Dr. Wallis's works collected and published together. They were, accordingly, published in 1699, in three volumes, folio, and dedicated to king William. A posthumous volume, containing thirteen sermons, was published in 1791, from the author's original MSS., by his great grandson, Mr. William Wallis. The doctrine of these sermons is strictly Calvinistic, the style plain, and the composition good. To these sermons, memoirs of the learned author are prefixed.

WARD, JOHN, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was for some time minister of Ipswich, in Suffolk, England. He preached before the House of Commons, a sermon entitled, "God Judging among the Gods," from Psalm lxxxii. 1, on a fast, March 26, 1645. And another before the Lords, in the Abbey Church, from Deuteronomy xxxiii. 16, on a thanksgiving, July 22, 1645, entitled, "The Good Will of Him who Dwelt in the Bush; or the Extra-

ordinary Happiness of living under an Extraordinary Providence.”

**WHINCOP, JOHN, D. D.**, a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, is described in the ordinance of Parliament, calling the Assembly, as of St. Martins, in the Fields; and by Neal, as constant in his attendance. There are extant two sermons by a Doctor Whincop, preached before Parliament, which probably belong to the person here named.

**WHITAKER, JEREMIAH, A. M.**, was born at Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in 1599. He received the elements of his education in the place of his birth. He seems to have become pious at an early age, for when a mere youth he often travelled eight or ten miles to hear an awakening and soul-refreshing sermon. He also frequently joined serious persons in prayer, and other religious exercises.

At sixteen years of age, Mr. Whitaker was admitted into Sidney College, Cambridge, where he received a liberal education, and took his degrees in the arts. He commenced Bachelor of Arts when only twenty years of age. After leaving the University, he taught the free school, in Okeham, about seven years, and while resident here he married the daughter of the Rev. William Peachy, minister of the place; a man eminent in his day. Having entered the sacred office, he settled as a pastor at Stretton, in the county of Rutland, where he continued for about thirteen years, diligently performing the duties of his office. And he was not only constant and faithful in the public duties which devolved upon him, but also in the duties of the family and closet. To his own family he expounded a portion of Scripture twice every day; and he was so diligent in reading the sacred Scriptures, that it was a rule with him to read over all the epistles in the Greek Testament, every fortnight. By this means he became mighty in the Scriptures. The same course he recommended to his eldest son as an excellent method to make him

both a ready and a profitable preacher. He refused to read the Book of Sports, by which, and some other things, he was in danger of losing his living.

In the year 1643, Mr. Whitaker was nominated one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, on account of his eminent piety and learning; and he was esteemed a very useful member of that venerable Synod. Upon coming up to London, he was called to the pastoral charge of Mary Magdalen Bermondsey, a rectory in Southwark. It was his custom to preach three or four sermons every week; two in his own charge, one in Westminster, and one at Christ Church, London. Beside, he was engaged in two lectures quarterly, and preached monthly at the "Morning Exercises;" add to this, that he was often called upon for occasional discourses, with which calls he was always ready to comply. And though he preached so often, his sermons were not mean nor empty, but solid and edifying.

Mr. Whitaker was in principle a Presbyterian. Dr. Fuller reckons him among the pillars of the Presbyterians in the Assembly; and Neal says, that no man was more beloved by the Presbyterians of London.

Mr. Calamy, in speaking of him, testifies, "that he was a burning and a shining light, in this our Israel; a messenger, and an interpreter; one among a thousand; a Bezaleel in God's Tabernacle; a true Nathaniel, who, by his integrity, humility, constancy, charity, publicness, and peaceableness of spirit, and by his diligence and faithfulness in preaching the gospel, made his life both amiable and desirable. I will say of him as it was said of Athanasius, that he was an adamant and a loadstone. To all who conversed with him he was a loadstone, to draw their hearts to love him; but in the cause of God, and in reference to the truths of Christianity, he was an unconquerable adamant." Dr. Fuller says, "He was a solid divine; a man made up of piety to God, pity to poor men, and patience in himself. His liberality knew no bottom but an empty purse; so bountiful was he to all.

men." And Leigh, in his treatise of religious and learned men, says, "Jeremiah Whitaker, my worthy friend, a learned and pious Divine of the Assembly, who was a man mighty in the Scriptures, of an humble, melting spirit, laborious in his ministerial function, zealous for God's glory, and wonderfully patient in all the time of his heavy affliction." During the greater part of his life he was subject to painful diseases, by which he suffered much. He was attacked by both gout and stone at the same time. But while he was able to get to his pulpit, even on crutches, he was found there; and while engaged in preaching the gospel, he seemed to forget all his weaknesses and diseases. But at length he was confined to his bed, and endured extreme pain, which he bore with exemplary patience. While suffering under disease, a deep interest was taken in his case among the pious in and about London, and several days of prayer and fasting were observed on his account. Mr. Ashe says, "I never heard of any man so much prayed for, both in public and private. There was no particular case so frequently and so affectionately spread before God in most of the congregations about London, as his." During his affliction, he had the experience of very sweet manifestations of Divine love, and enjoyed much assurance of God's fatherly love in Christ.

When the time of his dissolution drew near, his pains became more violent; but the grace of God, which hitherto had supported him, did not forsake him. His faith and patience held out to the end of this painful conflict. His soul was buoyed up with the assured hope of soon being released from all his troubles, and being admitted into the society of the blessed. His pains were so excruciating, and the paroxysms so frequent, that his strength was exhausted, and his end evidently drew near; and no stranger ever more desired to be at home, than did this good man to be released from the body. The desired event, after long endurance of great pain, at length arrived. On the first day of June, 1654, he breathed

out his soul, or rather committed it into the hands of his faithful and merciful Redeemer, aged about fifty-five years. His body was buried in the Church of Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, and his funeral sermon was preached by his dear and intimate friend, the Rev. James Ashe.

The following discourses are the only published writings of Mr. Whitaker:

1. Christ the Settlement of unsettled times. A sermon from Haggai ii. 7, preached before the House of Commons at their solemn fast, January 25, 1642.

2. The Christian's great design on Earth to attain assurance for Heaven; or how, in this Life, he may lay hold of Eternal Life; from 1 Tim. vi. 17—19, before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of London, April 8, 1645.

3. The Christian's Hope Triumphant; preached before the House of Lords, May 28, 1645.

4. The Danger of Greatness; or Uziah's Exaltation and Destruction; preached before the Lords, Commons, and Assembly of Divines, on a day of special prayer and humiliation, January 14, 1645.

WILKINSON, HENRY, B. D., was born in Yorkshire, England, October 9, 1566; and received his education in Merton College, Oxford, into which he entered in 1581. He took his degrees in the arts, and also proceeded B. D.; after which he was settled in the ministry at Waddesdon, in Buckinghamshire, where he laboured in the faithful exercise of his ministry forty-six years.

He married Sarah, the daughter of Arthur Wake, a zealous Puritan divine, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. He seems to have enjoyed his full share of domestic comfort; for his wife, with whom he lived in harmony fifty years, was a very amiable woman.

Though elected a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, in 1643, he seems not to have been constant in his attendance; but spent most of the time among his parishioners.

He died at Waddesdon, March 19, 1647, aged eighty-one years. His mortal remains were laid in the chancel of his own church, where an inscription was placed, which contains most of the particulars enumerated in the above account.

He published a catechism for the use of his own congregation, which has been often reprinted.

He also published a work entitled, "The Debt-book," or a treatise on Romans xii. 8.

**WILKINSON, HENRY, D. D.**, son of the Henry Wilkinson, B. D., of whom some account has been given, was born at Waddesdon, in Buckinghamshire, England; and became a commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, when only thirteen years of age. There he pursued his studies with great diligence and proficiency, became a noted tutor, master of the schools, and reader of divinity in his house. In 1638, he was admitted bachelor of divinity, and preached frequently in Oxford and its vicinity; and became as a preacher very celebrated. But his zeal against unmeaning and superstitious ceremonies, exposed him to persecution. On the 6th of September, 1640, he preached a sermon at St. Mary's, in his turn, on lukewarmness in religion, by which he gave great offence to the high church party. He was summoned on the same day on which it was delivered, to make a recantation, agreeably to a prescribed form, which he positively refused to do; upon which he was suspended from all his ministerial functions, within the University, until he should make his recantation. He complained to the long Parliament, and upon a perusal of the sermon which he sent into them, they resolved that it contained nothing worthy of censure, and he was released from his suspension. He now went on to preach the kingdom of God, and to teach those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him. Indeed, he was endowed with that courage which would have led him to stand out against the world, when the path of duty was plainly marked before him.

He was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines, and is marked as one who gave constant attendance. He preached several times before Parliament, and became pastor of Dunstan in the east. He was appointed one of the visiters to the University of Oxford; where he was made senior fellow of Magdalen College, and canon of Christ's Church. He now commenced doctor of divinity, and at Cheynell's departure, was made Margaret professor of the University.

After the restoration, Dr. Wilkinson was ejected from all his offices in the University; on which he retired to London, where he lived a non-conformist. In the latter period of his life, he lived at Clapham, in Surrey, where he kept an open meeting, after the indulgence in 1671; and where he died, in June, 1675. Wood says, "he was a good scholar, always a close student, and an excellent preacher."

Published writings of Dr. Wilkinson:

1. A Sermon against Lukewarmness in Religion.
2. Babylon's Ruin, Jerusalem's Rising. A fast sermon before the House of Commons. Zech. i. 18—21. October 25, 1643.
3. The Gainful Cost. Fast sermon before the House of Lords. 1 Chronicles xxi. 24. November 27, 1644.
4. The Wonderful and Astonishing Mercies which the Lord hath wrought for England. A thanksgiving sermon. Numbers xxiii. 23.
5. A Sermon in the "Morning Exercises," at Cripple-gate, concerning "Our Danger in Things Lawful."
6. Another in the supplement, "Of Doing all things in the Name of Christ."
7. Against Popery—proving the Pope to be Antichrist; or, the Man of Sin.

WHITE, JOHN, A. M., was born at Stanton, in Oxfordshire, in January, 1575, and was educated in the elementary parts of classical learning in the famous school of William of Warwick, near the city of Winchester, and was in due season transferred to New College, Oxford, which owed its foundation to the

same benefactor as the school aforesaid. Of this College he became a fellow, and entered into holy orders, and was diligent as a preacher. But in 1606, he left the College and was made rector of Trinity Church, in Dorchester, where he faithfully fulfilled the arduous and responsible duties of a pastor. He spent much of his labour in expounding the sacred text, in which Dr. Manton says, he excelled most. He went over the whole Bible, and had proceeded over the one half a second time, in the way of exposition, before he was called away from his flock. His labours in Dorchester were eminently successful, and he sought opportunities of being useful to all whom his influence could reach, by every means in his power. His exertions to ameliorate the condition of the poor were attended with such success, that a common beggar was not to be seen in the town; for things were so managed that all were furnished with employment. Under his influence religion and virtue greatly flourished, and all his instructions and exertions were enforced by a shining example of piety in his own life and conversation. While Prince Rupert's army were in those parts, a troop of horse entered Dorchester, plundered Mr. White's house and carried off his library; afterwards, as a compensation for this loss, the Parliament gave him the use of Dr. Featley's library until he should recover his own.

He was appointed a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and when that body met, was chosen one of the assessors. In the deliberations of this venerable synod, Mr. White was greatly esteemed for his wisdom and moderation. When the Assembly met to swear to the Solemn League and Covenant, he introduced the solemnity by a prayer.

Mr. White married the sister of Dr. Burgess, by whom he left four sons. After the nation settled down into tranquillity, Mr. White returned to Dorchester where he remained until his death, which occurred July 21, 1648.

Though he was truly eminent in his day and conspicuous among his brethren, very few particulars of



his life have been recorded. It is an undoubted evidence of the excellence of his character, that he is well spoken of, not only by those of his own party but both Fuller and Wood give him high commendation. He was entirely free from covetousness, was full of schemes of benevolent enterprise, of an amiable temper, grave but not morose; and as a pastor, exhibited the character of a good shepherd, by continually contriving and labouring for the benefit of his flock. His usefulness and reputation were so great, that he received the appellation of the "Patriarch of Dorchester."

The published writings of Mr. White are the following:

1. The Troubles of Jerusalem's Restoration, &c.
2. The Way to the Tree of Life.
3. An Assize Sermon, March 7, 1632.
4. A Commentary on the three first chapters of Genesis; fol.

**WILSON, THOMAS, A. M.**, was born in the county of Cumberland, England, 1601. He discovered an early love of books, and though sent early to school, he soon outstripped all his competitors in learning. Before he was seventeen years of age, he was admitted into Christ's College, Cambridge; and was greatly admired for his indefatigable industry, and rapid progress in useful learning. He took his degrees, and entered the sacred ministry. His diligence was so unremitting, that the motto over his door might have been, "No day without doing something." And while engaged in academical studies, he was not neglectful of theology. "From a child he knew the Holy Scriptures," and the Bible was exceedingly precious unto him. It is said, that before he was Bachelor of Arts, he had read over the whole of "Junius and Tremellius," three times. His bodily constitution being strong, he was enabled to apply himself indefatigably to his studies. Upon leaving the University, he spent four years in teaching a school at Chartwood, in the county of Surrey, employing,

however, all his vacant hours in the study of theology. He had also the assistance of the Rev. Mr. Bristow, minister of Chartwood, to aid him in directing his studies. Mr. Bristow, if he had consulted only his own advantage, and the benefit of his own flock, would have wished to retain Mr. Wilson in the school; but perceiving that he was endued with eminent gifts for the work of the ministry, he encouraged him to go forward to that arduous work. After several years' experience, Mr. Wilson gave it as his opinion, that except the ministry of the gospel, he knew no occupation in which a pious man could be more useful, than in teaching youth.

He began his ministerial labours at Capel, where he was not the less diligent and faithful, because he received very little for his services. His next field of labour was at Farlington, near Portsmouth. But he did not remain long here, but went to Teddington, near Kingston on Thames, in the county of Surrey. Here his labours were crowned with remarkable success, and he continued for several years. Many souls in this place considered him as their father in the gospel. While residing here, he felt a strong desire to visit his native country and his friends. This he accomplished, when about twenty-six years of age; and the visit was made highly beneficial to many persons.

While he was in Cumberland, he preached at a large market-town, called Penrith, where a market was held every Lord's day, until nine o'clock in the morning. Mr. Wilson set himself to break up this custom, by which the Sabbath was profaned. He got the neighbouring ministers to unite with him, and a proclamation was made, that no more victuals should be brought to market on the Lord's day. And for many years afterwards, there was no market held here on the Sabbath day.

His next remove was to Otham, near Maidstone, in the county of Kent, where he was made the instrument of awakening and converting many souls. Multitudes flocked to hear him, so that the church at

Maidstone was too small to contain them. The regular pastor of this place was an unprofitable steward; for when the children asked for bread, he gave them a stone. But Mr. Wilson acted as "a faithful and wise steward, who gave to every one his portion in due season." To the impenitent he thundered the terrors of the law; and to the awakened and humbled sinner, who was inquiring, "What must I do to be saved?" he was a Barnabas, a son of sweet consolation. He had the happy art of displaying the unsearchable riches of Christ, unto sinners ready to perish. His doctrine was according to godliness, and his chief aim to glorify God, and to win souls unto Christ. He neither sought to please the fancy, nor to gain the applause of his auditory, by "the enticing words of man's wisdom." And in obedience to the divine command, he preached the word "in season, and out of season:" not only sounding the gospel-trumpet twice every Lord's day, but often through the week; and on many occasions, when worldly men were of opinion that his labours were unseasonable. Mr. Wilson's great popularity and usefulness soon awakened the envy of profane sinners, and also of several neighbouring ministers; but he went on undismayed, trusting in the Lord, and his labours were crowned with a manifest and abundant blessing. He still continued to promote the religious observance of the Lord's day, and exerted himself in various ways to promote a reformation of manners. But while Mr. Wilson was proceeding in his career of usefulness, he was suspended from his ministry by the vicar-general of Laud, for refusing to read the profane Book of Sports. In April, 1635, no less than fourteen charges were exhibited against him, and in the next month he gave in his answers.

**CHARGE**—"You refused to read the King's Declaration for sports, on Sundays, and spoke disdainfully to the apparitor and officer of the court."

**ANSWER**—"I said unto the apparitor, 'Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy,' and I said no more. I refused to read the Book, not out of con-

tempt, but as commanded by no law. The King's majesty doth not, in the Book, command the minister to read it, nor it to be read, but published. Neither was it accompanied by any seal to confirm it. And seeing there is no penalty threatened, nor authority given to question those who refuse to read it, my refusal was upon sufficient grounds of law and conscience."

He then went on to prove that the proclamation was repugnant to the canons, and to the law of the land, citing his authorities with the exactness of a practised lawyer. He showed also, that the Book of Sports was contrary to the councils, and contrary to the opinions of all divines, ancient and modern; and proceeded again, to cite authorities from the canons of councils and the fathers; referring by name, to Ignatius, Irenæus, to Chrysostom and Augustine. And contrary also to all the more eminent modern divines, such as Babington, Zanchius, Junius, Alsted, &c.; and finally, Mr. Wilson proved that the Book of Sports is contrary to reason.

Archbishop Laud had laid the snare to catch Mr. Wilson for refusing to read the Book of Sports, that he might stop him from preaching. Accordingly, as soon as he gave in his answer, Laud haughtily replied, "I suspend you for ever from your office and benefice until you read it." And thus this laborious, faithful, and successful preacher, through the envy of Satan, was silenced from preaching for the space of four years. About the same time he was committed to Maidstone jail for non-conformity, but how long he remained in prison is not known. But afterwards he was brought by Laud into the High Commission Court, and was again prosecuted for the same crime, to his great cost and trouble.

Mr. Wilson, during his suspension, not being satisfied with the ministrations of the vicar of Otham, removed to Maidstone, and endeavoured to support his family by giving private instructions to a few families; but his enemies continued to calumniate him as the sower of the seeds of division. With the

view of wiping off that reproach, he wrote a respectful letter to the parishioners of Otham, in which he exhorted them "to fear God and honour the king, and to walk in love toward one another; and not to cherish any dislike to the government, or to those whom the Lord had set over them." This letter was publicly read to the congregation by Dr. Tuck, but not by the request of Mr. Wilson. Both he and Tuck were now arraigned before the High Commission Court, and charged with having published a scandalous letter to nourish schism, and to confirm the people in dislike to the government. To which he answered by confessing that he had written a letter to the people of Otham, but denied that it was of the character described. He said, "I know its tendency was to induce the people to fear God and honour the king, and not to meddle with those who are given to change; to walk in faith and love, and to call upon God. But I utterly deny having said any thing derogatory to the Church of England; or to confirm the people in their dislike of the existing civil government; and I protest against all aspersions and imputation of schism or scandal; nor did I direct any person to read it in the church; nor did I desire, or wish it to be thus read." But, notwithstanding the clear and satisfactory defence alleged by Mr. Wilson, he and Dr. Tuck were kept attending on this court for the space of three years, to their great cost and trouble.

While in this state of suspension, a neighbouring minister, eagerly desiring to get possession of the living of Otham, endeavoured to have him ejected, but the patron would not consent, but confirmed Mr. Wilson in the living.

In the year 1639, the Scots having entered England with an army, and the Parliament being called, Laud took off Wilson's suspension. But his troubles were not ended; for he was now called, with others, before the archbishop's visiters, to answer for not reading the prayer against the Scots. Edward Bright being first called up, was asked whether he had read

the prayer; and when he said that he had not, they proceeded instantly, without consideration, or giving him time either to retreat or to defend his conduct, and suspended him from his office and benefice. Mr. Wilson was next called, and being asked whether he had read the prayer, he answered that he had not, "because 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 a prayer against the Scots is not there." This unexpected answer puzzled and confounded the arch-deacon, at whose tribunal they stood, and he knew not what to say. It cooled his fury, and caused him to proceed more deliberately with Mr. Wilson, than he had with Mr. Bright. He allowed him fourteen days for consideration, and then he was to deliver his answer at Canterbury; but whether he was ever called upon, or whether he appeared before the archbishop we are not informed. Probably they were satisfied to relinquish the prosecution of a man so able and ready to defend himself.

Soon after this prosecution, a warrant was issued from the lords of the Privy Council, among whom were archbishop Laud, and the bishop of London, to apprehend Mr. Thomas Wilson, and bring him before them. We are not informed for what crime this warrant was issued, but probably for non-conformity. The pursuivant went to Otham; and although he heard Mr. Wilson preach, and was sometime in the same room with him, he suffered him to escape out of his hands. Mr. Wilson suspecting his business, retired and concealed himself, and so escaped from the snare; and being thus providentially delivered, he lay concealed until the meeting of the Long Parliament, when he went to London, and presented to the House of Commons a representation of his case, and a petition for redress. The subject was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Rouse was the chairman, who brought in a report, November 30, 1640, "That Mr. Wilson had been suspended for 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 been kept in attendance on the High Commission Court." 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. When his petition was presented, Sir Edward Deering, a member from Kent, arose and said, "that Mr. Wilson, your petitioner, is as orthodox in doctrine, as laborious in preaching, and as unblemished in life, as any minister we have. He is now separated from his flock, to the grief of them and himself; for it is not with him as with some, who are glad when they see a pursuivant coming, that they may have an excuse to retire out of the pulpit; for it is his delight to preach." He went on further to say, respecting Mr. Wilson, "He is now a sufferer, as all good men are, under the general obloquy of being a Puritan. The officer watches his door, and separates him from his cure, to the great grief of both of them. About a week since, I went to Lambeth to move that great bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger from off this minister, and to recall the pursuivant. And I did undertake for Mr. Wilson, that he would answer his accusers in any of the king's courts at Westminster. The bishop answered "I am sure that he will not be absent from his cure a twelve month together."

Upon passing the aforesaid resolution, Mr. Wilson was restored to his parish and to his benefice at Otham.

In 1643 he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; and though at a considerable distance, he constantly attended, but supplied his flock on Sunday. In the Assembly he was much esteemed for his meek and humble deportment, and his grave and judicious counsels and discourses. When the Assembly was over, he removed from Otham to Maidstone, where he had before resided, and here he continued to labour until his death. His great object was to promote a thorough reformation,

which he accomplished in some good degree, although he met with no small opposition.

He was not only laborious in the pulpit, but in the study. Usually he continued his studies to a late hour on Saturday night, that he might be the better prepared for his Sabbath-work. On the Lord's day, he rose by two or three o'clock in the morning, and was displeased with himself if he was much later. At seven he came out of his study, called his family together, read and expounded a chapter, and required from those present, some account of the exposition; he then sung a part of a psalm, and concluded with prayer. About nine o'clock he went to church, and commenced public worship by singing a psalm, then prayed for the divine blessing, and then expounded six or seven verses from the Old Testament, continuing about an hour in this exercise, then preached another hour, and concluded. He then went home and prayed again with his family, before dinner, and spent some time with them in singing and other religious exercises. In the afternoon he observed the same order of exercises as in the morning, only his expository discourse was on a portion of the New Testament: and it is said that he was an excellent expositor.

In the evening many of the neighbours attended with his family, and they spent the time in repeating the sermons of the day, and singing a psalm. He then went to a friend's house in the town, where he went over the same exercises with another company. Once a month he administered the Lord's Supper, with much holy fervour. Nine or ten hours of the Sabbath did this laborious man spend in social worship, beside the exercises of the closet.

Mr. Wilson was also very careful to set a good example before his flock. What he preached on Sunday he practised through the week. "In all things showing himself a pattern of good works."

But his piety shone with peculiar brightness in his sickness and death. In his sufferings under acute pains he sometimes mourned, but never murmured.



He cheerfully submitted to the rod in the hands of his Heavenly Father. When lying on his death bed he called his family around him. He desired his wife not to be discouraged, nor "to sorrow as those who have no hope, but to trust in the Lord her God, in whom there is everlasting strength," and to continue in his service. He warmly exhorted his children to fear God, and directing his discourse to his eldest daughter, he said, "Look to it, that you meet me not at the day of judgment in an unregenerated state." He commended all his children to the Lord, and left them in his hand. When Christian friends came to visit him, his mind seemed to collect new vigour, and he earnestly exhorted them to read the Holy Scriptures, to esteem them highly, and meditate much on the promises, to be holy in their conversation, and to attend on divine ordinances with all diligence. He highly praised God, and spoke much of the preciousness of Christ, and said, "That one promise was of more value than a world. The prospect of his approaching death was very comfortable to him. To a pious lady of his acquaintance, who was leaving Maidstone, he pleasantly said, "What will you say good Miss 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 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 has permitted me to live so long to do him some service; and now that I have finished the work appointed for me, that he is pleased to call me away so soon." He died in the exercise of faith and hope, commending his spirit into the hands of his dear Redeemer, on the Lord's day, in the year 1653, aged about fifty-two years. He had a strong constitution, a clear understanding, a quick invention, a sound judgment, and a tenacious memory. He was a good scholar, a hard student, well read, both in ancient and modern authors; an excellent preacher, an emi-

ment Christian; and his highest distinction was, that he was manifestly "clothed with humility."

Mr. Wilson was twice married; and by his second wife had eleven children; ten of whom were living at the time of his death. Mr. J. Wilson ejected in 1662, is supposed to have been his son.

Mr. Wilson was too constantly occupied in the active and successful duties of the ministry, to have much time for writing for the public. As far as is known, he left but one printed discourse behind him, and that was, a sermon preached before the House of Commons, entitled, "Jericho's Downfall," from Heb. xi. 30, at the solemn fast, September 28, 1642.

A better model for a Christian pastor, cannot easily be found, than is exhibited in the life of the Rev. Thomas Wilson.

WOODCOCK, FRANCIS, A. B., was born in the city of Chester, England, and received his education in Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he took the first degree in the arts. While resident at the University he entered the holy ministry, and was episcopally ordained, soon after which he removed from the University and took charge of a parish. Upon the commencement of the differences between the King and Parliament, he espoused the cause of the latter. When the Assembly of Divines was summoned to meet at Westminster, he was appointed one of the number, and was among those who were constant in their attendance. For a time after his coming to London, he was chosen lecturer of Lawrence-Jewry, but afterwards he was appointed minister at Olaves, in Southwark, by an ordinance of Parliament, dated July 10, 1646.

Mr. Woodcock took the covenant with the rest of his brethren. He preached several times before the House of Commons, and some of the sermons which he delivered on those occasions were published, and are still extant.

He was chosen proctor of the University of Cambridge, but he did not live long to enjoy his honours,

or to exert his respectable talents in doing good. He was taken away in the midst of his usefulness and in the prime of life, but in what year his death occurred authors are not agreed. Wood says in the year 1651, but Brook places it in 1649, when he was only thirty-five years of age. He was esteemed a good scholar and an excellent preacher.

The writings which he published are the following:

1. *The Two Witnesses*, in several lectures at Lawrence-Jewry, on Rev. xi. 3; 1643. The publication of this work was ordered by the House of Commons.

2. *Christ's Warning-Piece*; giving notice to every one to watch and keep their garments. A sermon preached before the House of Commons at their solemn fast, October 15, 1644, from Rev. xvi. 15.

3. *Lex Talionis*, or God paying every man in his own coin. A fast sermon before the House of Commons, from 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, from Gen. xlix. 23, 24, on a solemn day of thanksgiving, February 19, 1646.

YOUNG, THOMAS, D. D., was an eminently learned and pious Divine, but very little is known of his origin and early life. It is probable that he finished his education in the University of Cambridge. After he entered the ministry he was employed as preacher to the English merchants in the city of Hamburg. Upon his return to his native country he became the vicar of Stow-market, in Suffolk, in which situation he continued about thirty years, diligently and faithfully performing the duties of the pastoral office.

In the year 1643, Mr. Young was appointed a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, on which he was a constant attendant, and in the discussions and transactions of which he was eminently distinguished. He was an able advocate for the office of ruling elder in the church, and had an active part in preparing the Directory for public worship.

After being called to London to attend on the Assembly, he was chosen pastor of Duke's-place, in the city. In the year 1645, he was appointed one of the "committee of accommodation," and soon afterwards was selected by the Earl of Manchester, master of Jesus College, Cambridge. In that eminent and public station he had the opportunity of displaying his great learning and abilities, and of rendering himself very useful to the public. In the year 1650, he was ejected from his office for refusing what was called "*the engagement.*" He now seems to have retired to Stow-market, where he ended his days in the year 1655. His remains were interred in the church-yard, and over them was placed a marble stone with an inscription.

Mr. Baker says, "that he left behind him the character of a learned, wise, and pious man." Mr. Leigh, in his "account of religious and learned men," styles him "a learned divine, very well versed in the fathers, and the author of that excellent treatise entitled, '*Dies Dominica.*'" He was also one of the authors of "*Smectymnuus.*" Also, he published a sermon preached before the House of Commons, February 28, 1643, a day of solemn fasting, from Psal. xxxi. 24.

#### LAYMEN.

JOHN SELDEN was an English gentleman of most extensive knowledge, and prodigious learning. He was descended of a respectable family, and was born at Salvinton, in Sussex, 1584. He received his elementary education in the free school, in Chichester, and at the age of sixteen, was sent to Oxford, where he was entered a student at Hart Hall, in which situation he continued about three years. After leaving the university, young Selden entered himself at Clifford's Inn, London, to pursue the study of the law, and after about two years removed to the Inner Temple, where he soon acquired a great reputation by his extraordinary erudition. His first literary friends

were, Spelman, Camden, and Usher, all devoted to the study of antiquities, which was also his favourite pursuit.

In the year 1610, Selden made his first appearance as an author, in a work entitled, "Jani Anglorum facies altera;" and soon afterwards, a treatise on "Single Combat," entitled, "Duello." In 1612, he published Notes and Illustrations on the first eighteen Songs in Drayton's "Holy Albion;" and the next year, wrote verses, in Greek, Latin, and English, upon Brown's "Brittania's Pastorals;" on which account Sir John Suckling gave him a place in his "Session of the Poets." In 1614, came out his "Titles of Honour," a work held in high estimation both at home and abroad; and which, "as to what concerns our nobility and gentry," as says a certain writer, "ought to be perused for the gaining a general notion of the distinction, from an emperor down to a country gentleman." In 1618, he published Notes on Fortescue, "De Legibus Angliæ;" and in 1617, "De Diis Syriis Syntagmata Duo;" which was reprinted at Leyden, 1629, by Ludovicus de Dieu, after it had been revised and enlarged by the author himself.

Although Selden was only three and thirty years of age, yet he was so distinguished as a philologist, an antiquary, herald, and linguist, that his fame was exalted very high, not only in England, but in foreign countries, and already he began to be considered what he afterwards became without dispute, the dictator of England in matters of literature. In 1618, Selden published his "History of Tithes," in the preface to which he reproaches the clergy with ignorance and indolence, and as having nothing to support their credit but beard, title, and habit. In the work itself, he undertakes to show that the clergy *now*, have no Divine right to tithes, although they have a right, by the laws of the land. This book gave, as might be supposed, great offence to the clergy, and was animadverted on by several, but by Montague, afterwards bishop of Norwich, in particular. The author was also called before the High Commission Court,

and obliged to make a submission, although he never retracted any thing which he had published.

In the year 1621, he was again called to account by King James I., for giving his advice in favour of the privileges of Parliament, when consulted by some of the members; on which occasion he was committed to the custody of the sheriff of London; but, at the intercession of Bishop Andrews, he was set at liberty in about five weeks. He continued to pursue his favourite studies, and published learned works, as usual; but in 1623, he was chosen burgess for the county of Lancaster, yet in all the party divisions of that period, he observed a strict neutrality. In 1625, he was again chosen a member of the House of Commons, for Great Bedwin, in Wiltshire. In this first Parliament of Charles I., he declared himself warmly against the Duke of Buckingham; and when that nobleman was impeached, in 1626, he was appointed one of the managers of the articles against him. In the three following years, Selden vigorously opposed the court party in many pointed speeches. The King having dissolved this Parliament, ordered several of the leading members of the opposition to be brought before the King's Bench, among whom was Selden. He claimed the privilege of the laws of the country, and refused to make any submission to the Court. He was sent to the prison of the King's Bench, but was released at the close of the year, though it does not appear by what means he obtained his liberty. As a remuneration for the losses now sustained, the Parliament, in 1646, voted him the sum of five thousand pounds. In 1630, he was again imprisoned for a libel, which it was proved was written by another person, on which he was released. But notwithstanding all these interruptions, he went on with his studies, just as if nothing had happened.

In the year 1636, he published his "Mare Clausum," in answer to a work of Grotius, entitled, "Mare Liberum." This book recommended him highly to the court; indeed, he undertook it by the special request of the King. In 1640, he published

his treatise, "De Jure Naturali et Gentium, Juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum." Puffendorff speaks highly of this work; but Barbeyrae censures the work for great obscurity and disorder, and says, "that Selden does not derive his principles from the pure light of reason, but from the seven precepts of Noah; and often refers to the authority of the Rabbins, when he ought to have had recourse to the law of nature. Le Clerc passes a similar censure on this work, saying, "that he has merely copied the Rabbins, and scarcely ever reasons at all. His Rabbinical principles are founded on an uncertain Jewish tradition, that God gave to Noah seven precepts, to be observed by all mankind; which, if desired, the Jews would find it very difficult to prove; besides, his ideas are confused and embarrassed." There is, undoubtedly, some foundation for these censures, not only in regard to this particular work, but something of the same fault runs through all Selden's learned publications. His extraordinary erudition, and vast memory, seem to have burthened and impeded his intellectual powers, and led him to crowd his writings with citations of authorities, to supply the place of solid argument.

In the year 1640, Selden was chosen member of Parliament for Oxford, and although his politics differed from those of the court, the King had thoughts of taking the seal from the Lord-keeper, Littleton, and giving it to him. The thing was referred to Clarendon and Falkland, who were of opinion that he would not accept the place if it should be offered to him, for he was now advanced in years, and of a feeble constitution, loved his ease, and was rich, and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed for any preferment which could be offered to him.

In 1643, Selden was appointed one of the lay members to sit in the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, in which he frequently perplexed the Divines by his vast learning; and, according to Whit-

locke "When they had cited a text to prove their doctrines, he would say, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles, with gilt leaves, the translation may be thus, but the Greek and Hebrew signify thus and thus;' and so would silence them."

He took the covenant with the other members of the Parliament, and Assembly; and about this time was appointed keeper of the records in the tower. In 1644, he was elected one of the twelve commissioners of the admiralty; and the same year was nominated to the mastership of Trinity College, in Cambridge, which he did not think proper to accept. He was never in favour of any violent measures, but seemed to aim at nothing so much, in these troubled times, as to keep quiet and out of danger. When the *Εικων βασιλικη* came out, Cromwell solicited Selden to take up his pen in answer to it, but he declined the task with firmness. In 1654, Selden's health began sensibly to decline; and on the 30th of November in this year, he breathed his last. He died at White Friars, at the residence of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent, with whom he had lived for many years, in the habits of great intimacy. He was buried in the Temple Church, where a monument was erected to his memory. Archbishop Usher preached his funeral sermon. He left his library, which was very rare and valuable, to his executors, Matthew Hale, John Vaughan, and Rowland Jenes, Esquires, and they would have bestowed it on the Society of the Inner Temple if they had had a suitable place to deposit it, but in want of this it was granted to the University of Oxford.

Concerning the learning of Selden, there never has been any dispute. In Hebrew, and oriental literature, he excelled all men of his day. Grotius styles him, "the glory of the English nation." He was eminently skilled in all laws, human and Divine, but entered very little into practice; he very seldom appeared at the bar, but sometimes gave counsel at his chamber. Whitlock says of Selden, "that his



mind was as great as his learning; he was as hospitable and generous as any man, and as good company to those he liked." Wilkins testifies, "that he was of uncommon gravity and greatness of soul, averse to flattery, liberal to scholars, and charitable to the poor; and that, though he had a great latitude in his principles, in regard to ecclesiastical power, he had a sincere regard for the Church of England." Richard Baxter observes, "that he was a resolved, serious Christian, and a great adversary, particularly to Hobbes' errors." But the noblest testimony to his worth left on record, is by his friend Clarendon. "Mr. Selden," says he, "was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit. He was of such stupendous learning in all kinds, and in all languages, as may appear from his excellent and transcendent writings, that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant with books, and had never spent an hour in reading or writing; but yet his courtesy and affability was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style, in all his writings, seems harsh, and sometimes obscure, which is not wholly to be attributed to the abstruse subjects of which he treated; but, in part, to an under valuing the beauties of style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but in his conversation, he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty in making hard things easy, and present to the understanding, of any man that hath been known." Mr. Hyde used to say, that he valued himself upon nothing more, than having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young, and held it with great delight as long as they were allowed to continue together in London. His works were collected by Dr. Wilkins, and were published, at first, in three folio volumes, but have more commonly been bound up in six, and sometimes in nine volumes.

**SIR MATTHEW HALE**, was born at Aldersly, in Gloucestershire, November 1, 1600. His father was a barrister at Lincoln's Inn, and being inclined to Puritanism, placed his son under the tuition of Mr. Staunton, an eminent Puritan minister. In 1626, he was admitted into Magdalen College, Oxford, where he laid the foundation of that learning and knowledge on which he afterwards raised so great a superstructure. But while in College he fell into many levities and extravagances, and had formed the resolution of abandoning his studies and going into the low countries, to join the army of the Prince of Orange, from which mad scheme he was preserved by a lawsuit with Sir William Whitmore, who had laid claim to a part of his estate. Afterwards by the persuasion of Sergeant Glanville, he commenced the study of the law, and was admitted of Lincoln's Inn, in November, 1629. Mr. Hale now became as grave as he had before been gay, studied at the rate of sixteen hours a day, and laid aside all appearance of vanity in his dress. Indeed he seems, in this respect, to have gone to the other extreme, for being a stout, well built man, he was on a certain occasion seized by a press-gang as a person fit for sea service. This incident led him afterwards to be more observant of the decencies of dress, although he never went to any superfluity or appearance of vanity.

Another incident of a more solemn kind, is thought to have produced no inconsiderable effect on Mr. Hale's mind to confirm him in his serious habits. He and several of his young companions, being invited one day out of town, one of them drank so much wine, notwithstanding every effort of his companions to prevent it, that he dropped down apparently dead before them. Upon this, Hale withdrawing into another room, fell down upon his knees, prayed earnestly to God for the recovery of his friend, and also for forgiveness for himself, for being present and countenancing so much excess. And he now made a solemn vow to God that he would never again keep such company, nor drink a health as long as he lived.

His prayer in behalf of his friend was answered, for he recovered, and henceforth Hale devoted all his time to his studies and to the exercises of religion. Not content with reading the law books in common use, he searched into the ancient records and made valuable collections, from which, and other materials which he had in his reading accumulated, he made a very valuable common-place book. He was early noticed and esteemed by the Attorney-general Noy, who admitted him to great intimacy with himself, and was beneficial to him in directing his studies. He also had the happiness to be received into the friendship of Mr. Selden, who put him upon a more enlarged pursuit of learning, for he had confined his studies very much to his own profession. And this great man manifested his confidence in Hale by appointing him one of his executors at his death. Although he now embraced many branches of knowledge in the circle of his studies, theology was next to those of his own profession, his favourite pursuit.

He was called to the bar shortly before the civil wars broke out; and observing how difficult it would be to preserve integrity in such times, he resolved to act upon those two maxims of Atticus, "to engage in no faction, and not to meddle in public business; and constantly to favour and relieve the oppressed." In many instances he rendered important services to the royalists, so that in all important causes in which they were concerned, he was employed. He was one of the counsel to the earl of Stafford, archbishop Laud, and to King Charles himself. So he was also, to the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven. Being esteemed a sincere and honest man, he was held in esteem and employed by both parties; for of his profound knowledge of the law, none entertained any doubt.

In 1643, Mr. Hale was appointed by Parliament to sit in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and sometimes appeared in that venerable body. About this time he took the covenant; and was in great favour with the long Parliament, and employed by

them in some of their negotiations with the king. Though greatly grieved on account of the death of the monarch, yet he took the oath called the "engagement," and was appointed, in January, 1651, one of those to whom was committed the reformation of the laws. Cromwell, who was well acquainted with his integrity, and profound legal knowledge, would not let him rest until he consented to act as one of the justices of the common bench, as it was called; in which station he acted with great integrity and courage. He seems, however, never to have been well satisfied of the authority under which he acted; and in several instances, gave such opinions on the bench, as made the ruling powers very willing for him to withdraw from criminal trials. In one instance, when a soldier was on trial for killing a citizen, Colonel Whaley, who commanded the garrison, came into court, and insisted that the soldier had only done his duty, and that the man was killed for disobeying the Protector's orders, the judge paid no regard to his reasonings or his threats; and not only gave sentence against the soldier, but ordered the execution so quickly to be done, that there might be no possibility of obtaining a reprieve.

When Cromwell died, Judge Hale not only declined to receive the mourning which was sent to him, but refused the new commission offered him by Richard, alleging, "that he could act no longer under such authority." He did not sit in Cromwell's Parliament of 1655, but was a member from Oxford in the Parliament called by Richard, which met in January, 1659. He was also a member of the Parliament of 1660, which recalled Charles II., and moved for a committee to consider the propositions which had been made, and the concessions which had been granted by Charles I. during the late war, that thence such proposals might be drawn and digested, as would be proper to be offered to king Charles II. at Breda.

Upon the restoration, Hale was appointed by the king, chief baron of the exchequer; and when Clarendon delivered him his commission, he said, "If the

king could have found an honester or fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew no one that deserved it so well." In this situation, he continued for eleven years; and very much raised the reputation of this court, by his impartial administration of justice; as also by his generosity, vast diligence, and exactness in business. He, in conformity with his rule, to favour the oppressed, was indulgent to the non-conformists, and shielded them from the severity of the laws, as much as he consistently could; for he believed, that many of them had acted a meritorious part in restoring the king; and that the rules of uniformity should not be made more rigid than they were before the war.

In 1671, he was promoted to be Lord Chief Justice of all England, and in this high station, behaved with his usual strictness, regularity, and diligence. In the office of Chief Justice, he continued about four years and a half, when he was suddenly seized with a disease which brought him very low; so that he was no longer able to discharge the duties of his office, which he resigned, in 1675; and on the 25th of December, in the same year, he died; and was buried in the church yard of Aldersly, among his ancestors; for he disapproved of burying in churches, and was wont to say, "Churches are for the living, and church-yards for the dead." He was knighted soon after the restoration, and was twice married; having by his first wife ten children.

Sir Matthew Hale published several treatises in his lifetime, but left more voluminous writings, which were published after his death. Among the former, were several short treatises on natural philosophy; also, "Contemplations, Moral and Divine." "The Primitive Organization of Mankind Considered, according to the Right of Nature." Among his posthumous works, were some valuable law treatises, which are held in high estimation, by lawyers, to this day, such as "Pleas for the Crown." "The Original Institution, Jurisdiction, and Power of Parliament."

“A Treatise on the Common Law, &c.” He left also several pieces on religious subjects, as, “The Nature of True Religion and the Causes of its Corruption, &c.” “A Discourse of Religion under Three Heads.” “Discourse of the Knowledge of God and of Ourselves; first, by the Light of Nature; secondly, by the Sacred Scriptures.”

By his will he bequeathed to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, his manuscripts, which he had been collecting for forty years, with great industry and expense; and which were inestimably valuable to the legal profession. He desired that they should be kept safe and together, bound in leather, and chained; not lent out or disposed of; only, if any of his posterity of that society, should desire to transcribe any book, and give good security to restore it again in a prescribed time. “They are,” says he, “a treasure not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of using them.”

THE END.