

THE  
LIVES

OF

DR. JOHN DONNE, SIR HENRY WOTTON,

MR. RICHARD JOKER,

MR. GEORGE HERBERT.

AND

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON.

---

WRITTEN BY IZAAK WALTON.

---

"These were honoured men in their generations."

Ecclus. xliv. 7.

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A NEW EDITION.

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VOL. II.

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OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

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*Copy of Frederick*



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## THE

### INTRODUCTION.

IN a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares, with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in sacred story; and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour, and that wonder of women, and sinners, and mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes, and dishevelled hair, were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensuality; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passion-

ately kissed the feet of hers, and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider, that because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her; but that, beside that blessed blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaſter box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that ſpikenard, and thoſe ſpices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preſerve his ſacred body from putrefaction, ſhould ſo far preſerve her own memory, that theſe demonſtrations of her ſanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, ſhould be recorded and mentioned whereſoever his goſpel ſhould be read; intending thereby, that as his, ſo her name ſhould live to ſucceeding generations, even till time itſelf ſhall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without ſome content, (at leaſt to myſelf,) that I have endeavoured to deſerve the love, and preſerve the memory, of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton,

ton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives. And though Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him; yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity.

For these reasons I have undertaken it: and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my reader.



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## •THE LIFE.

GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the town of Montgomery, and in that castle that did then bear the name of that town and county: that castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herberts, who had long possessed it; and, with it, a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours: a family, that hath been blest with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that castle saw it laid level with that earth that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

✓ The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, Knt. the son of Richard Herbert, Knt. the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward IV.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport, of High Aekall, in the county of Salop, Knt. and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household: a family, that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and wisdom, and virtue, I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons, and three daughters, which she would often say was *Job's number*, and *Job's distribution*;

*tribution*; and as often bleſs God, that they were neither defective in their ſhapes, or in their reaſon; and very often reprove them that did not praife God for ſo great a bleſſing. I ſhall give the reader a ſhort account of their names, and not ſay much of their fortunes.

✓ Edward, the eldeſt, was firſt made Knight of the Bath, at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years uſeful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James ſent ambaffador reſident to the then French King, Lewis XIII. There he continued about two years; but he could not ſubject himſelf to a compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luines, who was then the great and powerful favourite at Court: ſo that, upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in ſome diſpleaſure; but at his return he gave ſuch an honourable account of his employment, and ſo juſtified his comportment to the Duke, and all the Court, that he was ſuddenly ſent back upon the ſame embaffy, from which he

re-



returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles I. who made him first Baron of Castle-Island, and not long after of Cherbury in the county of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *De Veritate*, and by his History of the Reign of King Henry VIII. and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became a menial servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there shew a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not

not say more, than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes; and lived to be examples of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

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

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain, or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family, (for she was then a widow,) where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven,

and

and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen (he being then a king's scholar) he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence, which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that college, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge; where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother;

ther; and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the reader, that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell, that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education, as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him; and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care: yet she continued there with

with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily : but she managed this power over him without any such rigid founess, as might make her company a torment to her child ; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth, as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother ; which was to her great content : for she would often say, “ That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed ; so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company : ” and would therefore as often say, “ That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue ; and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning.” For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years ; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity,

vity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University; and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne, who was after Dr. Donne, and Dean of St. Paul's, London: and he, at his leaving Oxford, wrote and left there, in verse, a character of the beauties of her body and mind: of the first he says,

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

Of the latter he says,

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

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that Elegy which bears the name of *The Autumnal Beauty*. For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life:

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but

but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias; whom, in his letters, he calls his *Saint*; or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hierom to his Paula; whose affection to her was such, that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph; "wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity." And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age, (which was some years before he entered into sacred orders;) a time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family. And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following letter and sonnet.

"MADAM.

“MADAM,

“Your favours to me are every where;  
 “I use them, and have them. I enjoy  
 “them at London, and leave them there;  
 “and yet find them at Micham. Such  
 “riddles as these become things inexpress-  
 “sible; and such is your goodness. I  
 “was almost sorry to find your servant  
 “here this day, because I was loth to  
 “have any witness of my not coming  
 “home last night, and indeed of my com-  
 “ing this morning. But my not coming  
 “was excusable, because earnest business  
 “detained me; and my coming this day  
 “is by the example of your St. Mary  
 “Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday,  
 “to seek that which she loved most; and  
 “so did I. And, from her and myself, I  
 “return such thanks as are due to one, to  
 “whom we owe all the good opinion, that  
 “they, whom we need most, have of us.  
 “By this messenger, and on this good day,  
 “I commit the inclosed holy hymns and  
 “sonnets (which for the matter, not the  
 “workmanship, have yet escaped the fire),  
 “to your judgment, and to your protec-  
 VOL. II. c tion



“tion too, if you think them worthy of  
 “it; and I have appointed this inclosed  
 “Sonnet to usher them to your happy  
 “hand.

“Your unworthy servant,  
 “Unless your accepting him to be so  
 “have mended him,

MICHAM,  
 July 11, 1607.

“JO. DONNE.”

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*To the Lady MAGDALEN HERBERT, of St. Mary  
 Magdalen.*

HER of your name, whose fair inheritance  
 Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo,  
 An active faith so highly did advance,  
 That she once knew more than the Church did know,  
 The Resurrection; so much good there is  
 Deliver'd of her, that some Fathers be  
 Loth to believe one woman could do this;  
 But think these Magdalens were two or three.  
 Increase their number, Lady, and their fame:  
 To their devotion add your innocence;  
 Take so much of th' example, as of the name;  
 The latter half; and in some recompense  
 That they did harbour Christ himself a guest,  
 Harbour these hymns, to his dear name address.

J. D.

These

These hymns are now lost to us ; but doubtless they were such, as they two now sing in heaven.

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

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such, that we may conclude, he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he

did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were, in the first year of his going to Cambridge, sent his dear mother for a new-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

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

My God, where is that ancient heat towards thee,  
 Wherewith whole shoals of martyrs once did burn,  
 Besides their other flames? Doth Poetry  
 —Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?  
 Why are not sonnets made of thee? and lays  
 Upon thine altar burnt? Cannot thy love

Heighten



Heighten a spirit to sound out thy praise  
 As well as any she? Canst thy Dove  
 Out-strip their Cupid easily in flight?  
 Or, since thy ways are deep, and still the same,  
 Will not a verse run smooth that bears thy name?  
 Why doth that fire, which by thy power and might  
 Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose  
 Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse?  
 Sure, Lord, there is enough in thee to dry  
 Oceans of ink; for, as the deluge did  
 Cover the earth, so doth thy Majesty:  
 Each cloud distils thy praise, and doth forbid  
 Poets to turn to another use.  
 Roses and lilies speak thee, and to make  
 A pair of cheeks of them, is thy abuse.  
 Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?  
 Such poor invention burns in their low mind  
 Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go  
 To praise, and on thee, Lord, some ink bestow.  
 Open the bones, and you shall nothing find  
 In the best face but fire; when, Lord, in thee  
 The beauty lies, in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending  
 this letter to his dear mother; about which  
 time he was in the seventeenth year of his  
 age; and as he grew older, so he grew in  
 learning, and more and more in favour  
 both with God and man: insomuch that  
 in this morning of that short day of his  
 life,

life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the Clergy, of which the reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the college, March 15, 1615: and, that in that year he was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22d year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did  
 "relieve his drooping spirits, compose his  
 "distracted thoughts, and raised his weary  
 "soul so far above earth, that it gave him  
 "an earnest of the joys of heaven, before  
 "he possessed them." And it may be  
 noted,

noted, that, from his first entrance into the college, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleness; and if during this time he expressed any error, it was, that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove, that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time, till he was Master of Arts, which was anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators were Sir Robert Nanton, and Sir Francis Netherfoll. The first was not long after made Secretary of State; and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as be-

coming and grave and a gaiety, as any had ever before or since his time. For, “He had acquired great learning, and was “blested with a high fancy, a civil and “sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, “both in his behaviour, his tongue, and “his pen.” Of all which there might be very many particular evidences; but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of shewing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that University its Book, called *Basilicon Doron*; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter he writ;

“Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis hospes!

“Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.”

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he enquired the Orator’s name, and then asked William Earl of Pembroke, if

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

The next occasion he had and took to  
 shew his great abilities, was, with them, to  
 shew also his great affection to that Church  
 in which he received his baptism, and of  
 which he professed himself a member; and  
 the occasion was this: There was one  
 Andrew Melvin, a minister of the Scotch  
 Church, and rector of St. Andrew's; who,  
 by a long and constant converse with a  
 discontented part of that Clergy which  
 opposed episcopacy, became at last to be  
 a chief leader of that faction; and had  
 proudly appeared to be so to King James,  
 when he was but King of that nation, who,  
 the second year after his coronation in  
 England, convened a part of the Bishops,  
 and other learned Divines of his Church,  
 to



to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this, and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party Andrew Melvin was one, and he being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious, bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit, that they were therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflection on him and his kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.— But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court conference; he there appeared to be a man, of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this conference, lost him both his rectorship of St. Andrew's, and his liberty too: for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against

against the Church and State, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London; where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will under-write, because they may give the reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

*Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Arabella;  
tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.*

I shall not trouble my reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him, Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved, that Dr. Dupont, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be  
 . needful

needful to declare, that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of an Orator; which he always performed so well, that he still grew more into the King's favour, in<sup>o</sup>much that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, "That he found the Orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit." The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was attended by the great Secretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, (Lord Verulam,) and by the ever memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom,

the

the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed; and thought him so worthy of his friendship, that having translated many of the Prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of divine poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable, that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination, and sanctity of life; of both which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter, written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that, after the reading it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To these I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton,

Wotton, and Dr. Donne; but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. Donne; namely, that a little before his death he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ crucified on an anchor, (the emblem of hope,) and of which Dr. Donne would often say, “*CruX mihi anchora.*”—These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert’s death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal, which was by the Doctor given to him:

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

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

At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; Hoping, that as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in  
the

the King's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court Nobility. This, and the love of a court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the King wheresoever the court was, who then gave him a finecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal. I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same, that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his orator's place to his learned friend, Mr. Herbert Thorn-dike, who is now Prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell, that he had often designed to leave the University; and de-  
cline

cline all study, which he thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, “He had too thoughtful a wit; a wit, like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body.” But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel; and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; it is one of those that bear the title of “Affliction;” and it appears to be a pious reflection on God’s providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

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

Yet,

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

Yet left perchance I should too happy be  
 In my unhappiness,  
 Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me  
 Into more sicknesses.  
 Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making  
 Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking.

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me  
 None of my books will show.  
 I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,  
 For then ere I should grow  
 To fruit or shade, at least, some bird would trust  
 Her household with me, and I would be just.

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

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance  
 and expectation of some good occasion to  
 remove from Cambridge to court, God



in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and with them, all Mr. Herbert's court-hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health, more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court-life, or betake himself to a study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) These were such conflicts, as they only can know, that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside: but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint  
a court-

a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, “It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of heaven should be of the noblest families on earth. And though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible; yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him, that hath done so much for me, as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.”

This was then his resolution; and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued him

in it; for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn: but that he was about that time made Deacon, is most certain; for I find by the records of Lincoln, that he was made Prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln, July 15, 1626, and that this prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that see. And now he had a fit occasion to shew that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the county of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish-church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection, to enable the parishioners to rebuild it; but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own  
and

and the contribution of many of his kindred, and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it; and made it so much his whole business, that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands; being, for the workmanship, a costly Mosaic; for the form, an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured, it is the most remarkable parish-church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted, as to be exceeded by none; and, by his order, the reading-pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, “They  
 “should neither have a precedence or  
 “priority of the other; but that prayer  
 “and preaching, being equally useful,  
 “might agree like brethren, and have an  
 “equal honour and estimation.”

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made Prebend, and tell the reader, that not long after, his mother being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and

charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea, (where she then dwelt,) and, at his coming, said, “George, I sent  
“for you, to persuade you to commit Si-  
“mony, by giving your patron as good a  
“gift as he has given to you; namely,  
“that you give him back his prebend;  
“for, George, it is not for your weak  
“body, and empty purse, to undertake to  
“build churches.” Of which he desired  
he might have a day’s time to consider,  
and then make her an answer. And at his  
return to her the next day, when he had first  
desired her blessing, and she given it him,  
his next request was, “That she would at  
“the age of thirty-three years allow him  
“to become an undutiful son; for he had  
“made a vow to God, that, if he were able,  
“he would rebuild that church.” And  
then shewed her such reasons for his reso-  
lution, that she presently subscribed to be  
one of his benefactors; and undertook to  
solicit William Earl of Pembroke to be-  
come another, who subscribed for fifty  
pounds;

pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot, the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in Foster-lane, London, ought not to be forgotten; for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but, before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man, that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them, and considered that there be many discontents, that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself, as to desire of wealth. And having attained so much as to be able to shew some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself,

self, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert; for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said, that this good man was a useful friend to Mr. Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed; I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

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*A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT to his Mother,  
in her sickness.*

“MADAM,

“At my last parting from you, I was  
 “the better content because I was in hope  
 “I should myself carry all sickness out of  
 “your family: but since I know I did not,  
 “and that your share continues, or rather  
 “increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were  
 “again with you; and would quickly make  
 “good my wish, but that my employment  
 “does fix me here, - it being now but a  
 “month to our Commencement: wherein  
 “my absence, by how much it naturally  
 “augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it  
 “make my prayers the more constant and  
 “the more earnest for you to the God of  
 “all consolation. In the mean time, I  
 “beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort  
 “yourself in the God of all comfort, who  
 “is not willing to behold any sorrow but  
 “for sin.—What hath affliction grievous  
 “in it, more than for a moment? or why  
 “should our afflictions here have so much  
 “power or boldness as to oppose the hope  
 “of



“ of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the  
“ earth is but a point in respect of the  
“ heavens, so are earthly troubles compared  
“ to heavenly joys: therefore, if either  
“ age or sickness lead you to those joys,  
“ consider what advantage you have over  
“ youth and health, who are now so near  
“ those true comforts.—Your last letter  
“ gave me earthly preferment, and I hope  
“ kept heavenly for yourself: but would  
“ you divide and choose too? Our college  
“ customs allow not that; and I should ac-  
“ count myself most happy, if I might  
“ change with you; for I have always ob-  
“ served the thread of life to be like other  
“ threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles  
“ and encumbrances. Happy is he, whose  
“ bottom is wound up, and laid ready for  
“ work in the New Jerusalem.—For my-  
“ self, dear mother, I always feared sickness  
“ more than death, because sickness hath  
“ made me unable to perform those offices  
“ for which I came into the world, and  
“ must yet be kept in it; but you are  
“ freed from that fear, who have already  
“ abundantly discharged that part, having  
“ both ordered your family, and so  
“ brought

“brought up your children, that they  
“have attained to the years of discretion,  
“and competent maintenance. So that  
“now, if they do not well, the fault can-  
“not be charged on you, whose example  
“and care of them will justify you both  
“to the world and your own conscience;  
“inasmuch that, whether you turn your  
“thoughts on the life past, or on the joys  
“that are to come, you have strong pre-  
“servatives against all disquiet. And for  
“temporal afflictions, I beseech you con-  
“sider, all that can happen to you are  
“either afflictions of estate, or body, or  
“mind. For those of estate, of what  
“poor regard ought they to be! since, if  
“we had riches, we are commanded to  
“give them away: so that the best use  
“of them is, having, not to have them.  
“But perhaps, being above the common  
“people, our credit and estimation calls  
“on us to live in a more splendid fashion:  
“but, O God! how easily is that answered,  
“when we consider that the blessings in  
“the holy Scripture are never given to  
“the rich, but to the poor. I never find  
“Blessed

“ ‘Blessed be the rich,’ or ‘Blessed be the  
 “ noble ;’ but, *Blessed be the meek, and,  
 “ Blessed be the poor, and, Blessed be the*  
 “ *mourners, for they shall be comforted.—*  
 “ And yet, O God ! most carry them-  
 “ selves so, as if they not only not desired,  
 “ but even feared to be blessed.—And for  
 “ afflictions of the body, dear madam, re-  
 “ member the holy martyrs of God, how  
 “ they have been burnt by thousands, and  
 “ have endured such other tortures, as the  
 “ very mention of them might beget  
 “ amazement : but their fiery trials have  
 “ had an end ; and yours (which, praised  
 “ be God, are less) are not like to conti-  
 “ nue long. I beseech you, let such thoughts  
 “ as these moderate your present fear and  
 “ sorrow ; and know, that if any of yours  
 “ should prove a Goliath-like trouble, yet  
 “ you may say with David, *That God, who*  
 “ *hath delivered me out of the paws of the*  
 “ *lion and bear, will also deliver me out of*  
 “ *the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.*  
 “ —Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul ;  
 “ consider that God intends that to be as  
 “ a sacred temple for himself to dwell in,  
 “ and

“ and will not allow any room there for  
 “ such an inmate as grief; or allow that  
 “ any sadness shall be his competitor.—  
 “ And, above all, if any care of future  
 “ things molest you, remember those admi-  
 “ rable words of the Psalmist: *Cast thy care*  
 “ *on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee*<sup>a</sup>.  
 “ To which join that of St. Peter,  *Casting*  
 “ *all your care on the Lord, for he careth*  
 “ *for you*<sup>b</sup>. What an admirable thing is  
 “ this, that God puts his shoulder to our  
 “ burden, and entertains our care for us,  
 “ that we may the more quietly intend his  
 “ service!—To conclude, let me commend  
 “ only one place more to you: Philip. iv.  
 “ 4. St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord*  
 “ *always: and again I say, rejoice*. He dou-  
 “ bles it to take away the scruple of those  
 “ that might say, What, shall we rejoice  
 “ in afflictions? Yes, I say again, rejoice;  
 “ so that it is not left to us to rejoice, or  
 “ not rejoice; but, whatsoever befalls us, we  
 “ must always, at all times, rejoice in the  
 “ Lord, who taketh care for us. And it  
 “ follows in the next verses: *Let your mo-*

<sup>a</sup> Psal. lv.<sup>b</sup> 1 Pet. v. 7.

“ *deration*

“ *deration appear to all men: The Lord is*  
 “ *at hand: Be careful for nothing.* What  
 “ can be said more comfortably? Trouble  
 “ not yourselves; God is at hand, to deliver  
 “ us from all, or in all.—Dear madam,  
 “ pardon my boldness, and accept the  
 “ good meaning of

“ Your most obedient son,

TRIN. COLL.

May 25, 1622.

“ GEORGE HERBERT.”

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he

he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weakneses, and a supposed consumption. And it is to be noted, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience: but Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

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

mo-

moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness. And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother, and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr. Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

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

He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very strait, and so far from being cumbered with

with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

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



as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen.

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

This haste might in others be thought a love-phrenzy, or worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies; such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence; and the more, because it proved so happy to both parties; for the eternal  
lover

lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective; yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to each other, as still added such new affluences to the former fulness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after his marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then rector of Bemerton in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells, and not long after translated to Winchester, and by that means the presentation of a clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke, (who was the undoubted patron of it,) but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then Earl of Pembroke, (for William was lately dead,) requested the

King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance;" and the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him, without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month: in which time he had some resolutions to decline both the priesthood, and that living. And in this time of considering, "he endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton, (where he then was with his wife's friends and relations,) and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health, and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took a journey to

to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr. Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why: but that night, the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert, that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton, to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did: and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately, (for Mr. Herbert had been made deacon some years before,) and he was also the same day (which was April 26, 1630,) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parson-

age of Bemerton; which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it: a life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety; for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what

what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

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

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, “ I now  
 “ look back upon my aspiring thoughts,  
 “ and think myself more happy than if I  
 “ had attained what then I so ambitiously  
 “ thirsted for. And I can now behold the  
 “ court with an impartial eye, and see  
 “ plainly that it is made up of fraud, and  
 “ titles, and flattery, and many other such  
 “ empty,

“ empty, imaginary painted pleasures ;  
“ pleasures, that are so empty, as not to  
“ satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in  
“ God, and his service, is a fulness of all  
“ joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And  
“ I will now use all my endeavours to  
“ bring my relations and dependents to a  
“ love and reliance on him, who never fails  
“ those that trust him. But above all, I  
“ will be sure to live well, because the vir-  
“ tuous life of a clergyman is the most  
“ powerful eloquence to persuade all that  
“ see it to reverence and love, and at least  
“ to desire to live like him. And this I  
“ will do, because I know we live in an  
“ age that hath more need of good ex-  
“ amples than precepts. And I beseech  
“ that God, who hath honoured me so  
“ much as to call me to serve him at his  
“ altar, that as by his special grace he  
“ hath put into my heart these good de-  
“ sires and resolutions ; so he will, by his  
“ assisting grace, give me ghostly strength  
“ to bring the same to good effect. And  
“ I beseech him, that my humble and cha-  
“ ritable life may so win upon others, as  
“ to

“ to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I  
 “ have this day taken to be my master and  
 “ governor ; and I am so proud of his ser-  
 “ vice, that I will always observe, and  
 “ obey, and do his will ; and always call  
 “ him, Jesus my master ; and I will always  
 “ condemn my birth, or any title or dignity  
 “ that can be conferred upon me, when I  
 “ shall compare them with my title of be-  
 “ ing a priest, and serving at the altar of  
 “ Jesus my master.”

And that he did so, may appear in many  
 parts of his book of Sacred Poems ; espe-  
 cially in that which he calls The Odour.  
 In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts  
 of that word Jesus, and say, that the add-  
 ing these words, my master, to it, and the  
 often repetition of them, seemed to per-  
 fume his mind, and leave an oriental fra-  
grancy in his very breath. And for his  
unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he  
 seems in another place of his poems, (The  
Pearl, Matth. xiii.) to rejoice and say—  
 “ He knew the ways of learning ; knew  
 “ what nature does willingly, and what,  
 “ when it is forced by fire ; knew the  
 “ ways



“ ways of honour, and when glory inclines  
 “ the soul to noble expressions ; knew the  
 “ court ; knew the ways of pleasure, of  
 “ love, of wit, of music, and upon what  
 “ terms he declined all these for the service  
 “ of his master Jesus ;” and then concludes,  
 saying,

“ That, through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,  
 “ But thy silk twist, let down from heaven to me,  
 “ Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it  
 “ To climb to thee.”

The third day after he was made rector of Bemerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton ; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her—“ You are now a minister’s  
 “ wife, and must now so far forget your  
 “ father’s house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners ; for  
 “ you are to know, that a priest’s wife can  
 “ challenge no precedence or place, but  
 “ that which she purchases by her obliging humility ; and I am sure, places so  
 “ purchased do best become them. And  
 “ let

“let me tell you, that I am so good a husband, as to assure you that this is truth.” And she was so meek a wife, as to assure him, it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And, indeed, her unforced humility, that humility that was in her so original, as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the church, and repair the chancel; and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed, by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house; namely, at Manal, fixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also  
with

with some troubles of her mind : but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surpris'd with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her ; which he perceiving, did so compaffionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, “ Speak, good mother ; be not  
“ afraid to speak to me ; for I am a man  
“ that will hear you with patience ; and  
“ will relieve your necessities too, if I be  
“ able : and this I will do willingly ; and  
“ therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire.” After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, he told her, “ He would be acquainted with her, and take her into his  
“ care.” And having with patience heard and understood her wants, (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience,) he, like a Christian Clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel ; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and

and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

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

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

good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

TO MY SUCCESSOR.

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

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

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into holy orders. And it is not unlike, but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar,

tar, at his induction into the church of Bemerton: but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the sacraments. At which time, the Rev. Dr. Humphrey Hinchman, now Lord Bishop of London, (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning,) tells me, “He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert’s head, and, “alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave.”

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest, as he intended to be, ought to observe; and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might shew him his variations from this year’s resolutions; he therefore did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book, called, *The Country Parson*; in which some of his rules are:

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The Parson's knowledge.

The Parson on Sundays.

The Parson praying.

The Parson preaching.

The Parson's charity.

The Parson comforting the  
sick.

The Parson arguing.

The Parson condescend-  
ing.

The Parson in his journey.

The Parson in his mirth.

The Parson with his  
Churchwardens.The Parson blessing the  
people.

And his behaviour toward God and man  
✓ may be said to be a practical comment on  
these, and the other holy rules set down  
in that useful book: a book so full of  
plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that  
country parson, that can spare twelve-  
pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excus-  
able; because it will both direct him what  
he ought to do, and convince him for not  
having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book  
fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Wood-  
not; and he commended it into the trusty  
hands of Mr. Barnabas Oly, who published  
it with a most conscientious and excellent  
preface; from which I have had some of  
those truths, that are related in this Life  
of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first  
sermon was taken out of Solomon's Pro-  
verbs,

verbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence*. In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man; and delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence: but, at the close of this sermon, told them, “That should not be his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to heaven by hard questions, he would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons.” And he then made it his humble request, “That they would be constant to the afternoon’s service, and catechising:” and shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which, God knows, were not many) were



constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day ; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read ; and in what manner the collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them ; and, that they might pray with understanding, he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other collects and responses in our Church-service ; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God ; as, namely, that we begin with *confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners* ; and that we begin so, because, till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for : but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed ; and Hoping, that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained  
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that pardon; then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, *to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise*; for till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the collects, and psalms, and lauds, that follow in the service.

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

And for the hymns and lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons are read to the congregation; he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have

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

He made them to understand how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under: namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God, for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered, and shewed that mercy, which, by the mouth of the prophets, he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them.* And he made them

to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it, in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people.*—These were some of the reasons, by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the psalms and the hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the Church-service.

He informed them also, when the priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him; as namely, after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's Prayer, or any of the appointed collects, the priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, *The Lord be with you:* and when they pray for him, saying, *And with thy spirit;* and then they join together in the following

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ing collects: and he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy angels look down from heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and he as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

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

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are required not to bow down, or worship an idol, or false god; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed

them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in that shorter Creed, or Doxology, so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be, that *the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom they and the priest gave glory.* And because there had been heretics that had denied some of those three persons to be God; therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, *It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end.* And all gave their assent to this belief, by standing up and saying, *Amen.*

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of holidays, and the excellent use of them; namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God;

God ; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) to be the land-marks to distinguish times ; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us ; and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember ; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March ; a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that *she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind.* And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation ; namely, at our Christmas ; a day in which we commemorate his Birth with joy and praise ; and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate his Circumcision ; namely, in that which we call New-year's day : and that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles : and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men



Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them, that Jesus was forty days after his birth presented by his blessed mother in the Temple; namely, on that day which we call “The purification of the blessed Virgin, St. Mary.” And he instructed them, that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour’s humiliation in fasting forty days; and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity: and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion; and at Easter commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be *that Christ that was crucified, dead and buried*; and by his appearing and conversing with his disciples for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into heaven in the sight of those disciples; namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that

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we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his ascension; namely, *that though he left them, y<sup>t</sup> he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter*; and that he did so on that day which the Church calls Whitfunday.— Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises, for the particular blessings which we do or might receive by those holy commemorations.

He made them know also why the Church hath appointed Ember-weeks; and to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels, were to be read at the Altar, or Communion Table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling; and why to pray some collects standing: and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made

-it :—but I have done, when I have told the reader, that he was constant in catechising every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient and a full congregation.

And to this I must add, that if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those ministers that huddled up the church-prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer, or a collect, in a breath. But for himself, his custom was, to stop betwixt every collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the  
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more easily obtain the reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice; which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice every day at the church-prayers, in the chapel which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only *his own household thus to serve the Lord*; but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's

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Saints-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him; and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

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

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love  
to

to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury; and at his return would say, "That his  
" time spent in prayer, and cathedral-mu-  
" sic, elevated his soul, and was his heaven  
" upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not  
" banish mirth, but only moderates and  
" sets rules to it."

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

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman, that is still living in that city; and in their walk together, Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this the rather, because though  
" you are not of my parish, yet I receive  
" tithe

“ tithe from you by the hand of your tenant ; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes, that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh.”

After which expression, Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton ; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister ; and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolment for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

“ One cure for these distempers would  
“ be,

“ be, for the Clergy themselves to keep the  
 “ Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their  
 “ parishioners to join with them in fasting  
 “ and prayers for a more religious Clergy.  
 “ And another cure would be, for them-  
 “ selves to restore the great and neglected  
 “ duty of catechising, on which the salva-  
 “ tion of so many of the poor and ignorant  
 “ lay-people does depend; but principally,  
 “ that the Clergy themselves would be  
 “ sure to live unblameably; and that the  
 “ dignified Clergy especially, which preach  
 “ temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and  
 “ take all occasions to express a visible  
 “ humility and charity in their lives; for  
 “ this would force a love and an imitation,  
 “ and an unfeigned reverence from all  
 “ that knew them to be such.” (And for  
 proof of this, we need no other testimony  
 than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late  
 Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) “ This,  
 said Mr. Herbert, “ would be a cure for  
 “ the wickedness and growing atheism of  
 “ our age. And, my dear brother, till  
 “ this be done by us, and done in earnest,  
 “ let no man expect a reformation of the



“manners of the laity ; for it is not learning, but this, this only that must do it ;  
“and till then the fault must lie at our  
“doors.”

In another wall to Salisbury, he saw a poor man with a poorer horse, that was fallen under his load : they were both in distress, and needed present help ; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man ; and was so like the good Samaritan, that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse ; and told him, “ That if he loved himself, he  
“should be merciful to his beast.” Thus he left the poor man : and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that Mr. George Herbert, which used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed : but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him, “ He had  
“disparaged himself by so dirty an employment,” his answer was, “ That the  
“thought

“ thought of what he had done would  
 “ prove music to him at midnight; and  
 “ that the omission of it would have up-  
 “ braided and made discord in his consci-  
 “ ence, whensoever he should pass by that  
 “ place: for if I be bound to pray for all  
 “ that be in distress, I am sure that I am  
 “ bound, so far as it is in my power, to  
 “ practise what I pray for. And though  
 “ I do not wish for the like occasion every  
 “ day, yet let me tell you, I would not  
 “ willingly pass one day of my life without  
 “ comforting a sad soul, or shewing mercy;  
 “ and I praise God for this occasion. And  
 “ now let us tune our instruments.”

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

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment: and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people, as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity.—And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them; especially his poor neighbours; to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it.

And

And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "He would not see the danger of want so far off; but being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith; and that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come: being these and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity, and that, being all my tithes and church-dues are a *decimate* from thee, O my God; make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my master. Sir," said he to his friend, "my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

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

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Herbert's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a chapel of ease. And this Mr. Bos-tock did also constantly supply the church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer, (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the reader, and intend to make him sudden payment,) hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who is now rector of Friar Barnet in the county of Middlesex) from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him, he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition. Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet: but at his seeing Mr. Duncon, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and

with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer; of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him: and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon, "Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me;" which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, "What prayers?" To which Mr. Herbert's answer was, "O, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them. But at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint:" and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me, that, at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, "his discourse was so pious, and his

"mo-

“ motion so genteel and meek, that after  
“ almost forty years, yet they remain still  
“ fresh in his memory.”

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

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called “ Saint Nicholas” at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth ; but certainly was at an early age made Fellow of Clare-hall in Cambridge ; where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he betook himself to travel ; in which he added to his Latin and Greek, a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our Christian world ; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met  
with



with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic: but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year; the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidding, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the hall, which had the parish-church or chapel belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be, as Mr. Herbert says, "a nothing between two dishes," did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be

always

always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus :

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

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

most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers (for he was a Deacon) every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he did also constantly read the matins every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory, which was within his own house. And many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns, or anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory.

tory, and there betake themselves to prayers, and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day: and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or fain, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before and sometimes after midnight; and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms: and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning. And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve God day and night. Thus  
did

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

Mr.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commending the Considerations of John Valdesso (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English,) to be examined and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public; which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it; and with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his

his long and dangerous wars : and when Valdeffo grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, " because there ought  
" to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting  
" and dying." The Emperor had himself, for the same or other like reasons, put on the same resolution : but God and himself did, till then, only know them ; and he did therefore desire Valdeffo to consider well of what he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse ; which Valdeffo promised to do.

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

nefit of a quiet and contemplative life; which the friar did moſt affectionately. After which ſermon, the Emperor took occaſion to declare openly, “ That the  
 “ preacher had begot in him a reſolution  
 “ to lay down his dignities, and to forſake  
 “ the world, and betake himſelf to a mo-  
 “ naſtical life.” And he pretended he had perſuaded John Valdeſſo to do the like: but this is moſt certain, that after the Emperor had called his ſon Philip out of England, and reſigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdeſſo did perform their reſolutions.

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

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdeſſo, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert, and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promiſe, returned from the



Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long: but at M. Duncon's parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose:

"Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me: and let him know, that I have considered, *that God only is what he would be*; and that I am, by his grace, become now so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him: and tell him, that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health: and tell him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and, with a thoughtful and contented look, say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of

"the-

“ the many spiritual conflicts that have  
 “ passed betwixt God and my soul, before  
 “ I could subject mine to the will of Jesus  
 “ my master ; in whose service I have now  
 “ found perfect freedom. Desire him to  
 “ read it ; and then, if he can think it may  
 “ turn to the advantage of any dejected  
 “ poor soul, let it be made public ; if not,  
 “ let him burn it ; for I and it are less than  
 “ the least of God’s mercies.” Thus mean-  
 ly did this humble man think of this ex-  
 cellent book, which now bears the name  
 of *The Temple ; or, Sacred Poems and Pri-  
 vate Ejaculations* ; of which Mr. Farrer  
 would say, “ There was in it the picture  
 “ of a divine soul in every page ; and that  
 “ the whole book was such a harmony of  
 “ holy passions, as would enrich the world  
 “ with pleasure and piety.” And it ap-  
 pears to have done so ; for there have been  
 more than twenty thousand of them sold  
 since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when  
 Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge  
 to be licensed for the press, the Vice-

Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

|| Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,  
|| Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed and want them. But after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert well, and  
" know that he had many heavenly specu-  
" lations, and was a divine poet: but I  
" hope the world will not take him to be  
" an inspired prophet, and therefore I  
" license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert, (which was about three weeks before his death,) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Bemerton, and never left him till he  
had

had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces, (then a part of his family,) and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: “ I now look back upon the  
 “ pleasures of my life past, and see the  
 “ content I have taken in beauty, in wit,  
 “ in music, and pleasant conversation, are  
 “ now all past by me like a dream, or as  
 “ a shadow that returns not, and are now  
 “ all become dead to me, or I to them;  
 “ and I see that as my father and genera-  
 “ tion hath done before me, so I also shall  
 “ now suddenly (with Job) *make my bed*  
 “ *also in the dark*; and I praise God I am  
 “ prepared for it; and I praise him that I  
 “ am not to learn patience now I stand in  
 “ such need of it; and that I have prac-  
 “ tised

“ tised mortification, and endeavoured to  
“ die daily, that I might not die eternally;  
“ and my hope is, that I shall shortly  
“ leave this valley of tears, and be free  
“ from all fevers and pain; and, which will  
“ be a more happy condition, I shall be  
“ free from sin, and all the temptations  
“ and anxieties that attend it: and this  
“ being past, I shall dwell in the New Je-  
“ rusalem; dwell there with men made  
“ perfect; dwell where these eyes shall  
“ see my Master and Saviour Jesus; and  
“ with him see my dear mother, and all  
“ my relations and friends. But I must  
“ die, or not come to that happy place.  
“ And this is my content, that I am going  
“ daily towards it; and that every day  
“ which I have lived hath taken a part  
“ of my appointed time from me; and  
“ that I shall live the less time, for hav-  
“ ing lived this and the day past.” These,  
and the like expressions, which he uttered  
often, may be said to be his enjoyment of  
heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday  
before his death, he rose suddenly from his  
bed

bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

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

And having tuned it, he played and sung :

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

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

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, " My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but " sin and misery ; but the first is pardoned, " and a few hours will now put a period " to the latter ; for I shall suddenly go " hence, and be no more seen." Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took oc-

caſion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton church, and his many acts of mercy. To which he made answer, ſaying, “ They be good works, if they be ſprinkled  
“ with the blood of Chriſt, and not other-  
“ wiſe.” After this diſcourſe he became more reſtleſs, and his ſoul ſeemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneaſineſs became ſo viſible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, ſtood conſtantly about his bed, beholding him with ſorrow, and an unwillingneſs to loſe the ſight of him, whom they could not hope to ſee much longer. As they ſtood thus beholding him, his wife obſerved him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and obſerved him to fall into a ſudden agony; which ſo ſurpriſed her, that ſhe fell into a ſudden paſſion, and required of him to know how he did. To which his answer was, “ That he had paſſed a conflict with his  
“ laſt enemy, and had overcome him by  
“ the merits of his maſter Jeſus.” After which answer, he looked up, and ſaw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, “ if they loved him,  
“ to

“ to withdraw into the next room, and  
 “ there pray every one alone for him ; for  
 “ nothing but their lamentations could  
 “ make his death uncomfortable.” To  
 which request their sighs and tears would  
 not suffer them to make any reply ; but they  
 yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only  
 with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock.  
 Immediately after they had left him, he  
 said to Mr. Bostock, “ Pray, Sir, open that  
 “ door, then look into that cabinet, in  
 “ which you may easily find my last will,  
 “ and give it into my hand :” which being  
 done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the  
 hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, “ My  
 “ old friend, I here deliver you my last  
 “ will, in which you will find that I have  
 “ made you my sole executor for the good  
 “ of my wife and nieces ; and I desire you  
 “ to shew kindness to them, as they shall  
 “ need it : I do not desire you to be just ;  
 “ for I know you will be so for your own  
 “ sake ; but I charge you, by the religion  
 “ of our friendship, to be careful of them.”  
 And having obtained Mr. Woodnot’s pro-  
 mise to be so, he said, “ I am now ready  
 “ to



“to die.” After which words, he said,  
 “Lord, forsake me not now my strength  
 “faileth me; but grant me mercy for the  
 “merits of my Jesus. And now, Lord—  
 “Lord, now receive my soul.” And with  
 those words he breathed forth his divine  
 soul, without any apparent disturbance,  
 Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending  
 his last breath, and closing his eyes.

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

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

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to  
 this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding  
 generations.—I have but this to say more  
 of him; that if Andrew Melvin died before  
 him, then George Herbert died without an  
 enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased)  
 that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. WA.

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

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself, and complaining, that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart! But since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is, I may be also." And she would often say, (as the prophet David for his son Absalom,) "O that I had died for him!" Thus she continued mourning, till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows, that she became the happy wife of

of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the county of Gloucester, Knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and body, and was so like Mr. Herbert, as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband; yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, “that name must live in her memory till she put off mortality.” By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

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

This

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

I. W.



# LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

MR. GEORGE HERBERT,

AT HIS BEING AT CAMBRIDGE:

With others to his Mother,

THE LADY

MAGDALEN HERBERT,

WRITTEN BY

JOHN DONNE,

Afterwards Dean of St. Paul's.



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*Mr. GEORGE HERBERT to N. F. the Translator of  
Valdesso.*

MY dear and deserving brother, your *Valdesso* I now return with many thanks, and some notes, in which perhaps you will discover some care, which I forbear not in the midst of my griefs; first for your sake, because I would do nothing negligently that you commit unto me; secondly for the author's sake, whom I conceive to have ~~been~~ a true servant of God; and to such, and all that is theirs, I owe diligence: thirdly for the Church's sake, to whom, by printing it, I would have you consecrate it. You owe the Church a debt, and God hath put this into your hands (as he sent the fish with money to St. Peter) to discharge it; happily also with this (as his thoughts are fruitful) intending the honour of his servant the author, who being obscured in his own country, he would have to flourish in this land of light, and  
VOL. II. I region.



region of the Gospel, among his chosen. It is true, there are some things which I like not in him, as my fragments will express, when you read them: nevertheless, I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of popery, should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the Gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness, (as he sheweth through all his considerations,) a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling-block. Secondly, the great honour and reverence which he every where bears towards our dear Master and Lord; concluding every consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously; for which I do so love him, that, were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my Lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life about mortification, and observation of God's kingdom within us, and the working thereof; of—  
which

which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive) towards the publishing thereof.

From his parsonage of  
Bemerton, near Salisbury,  
Sept. 29, 1632.

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*To Sir J. D.*

SIR,

THOUGH I had the best wit in the world, yet it would easily tire me to find out variety of thanks for the diversity of your favours, if I sought to do so; but I profess it not; and therefore let it be sufficient for me, that the same heart, which you have won long since, is still true to you, and hath nothing else to answer your infinite kindnesse, but a constancy of obedience: only hereafter I will take heed how I propose my desires unto you, since I find you so willing to yield to my requests; for since your favours come a ~~home~~back, there is reason that my desires should go

afoot: neither do I make any question, but that you have performed your kindness to the full, and that the horse is every way fit for me; and I will strive to imitate the completeness of your love, with being in some proportion; and after my manner,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

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*For my dear sick Sister.*

MOST DEAR SISTER,

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

not.

not by my ink, and then you shall justly  
value

Your most truly, most heartily  
affectionate brother,

Dec. 6, 1620.  
TRIN. COLL.

and servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

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SIR,

I DARE no longer be silent, lest, while I think I am modest, I wrong both myself, and also the confidence my friends have in me: wherefore I will open my case unto you, which I think deserves the reading at the least; and it is this; I want books extremely. You know, Sir, how I am now setting foot into divinity, to lay the platform of my future life: and shall I then be fain always to borrow books, and build on another's foundation? What tradesman is there, who will set up without his tools? Pardon my boldness, Sir; it is a most serious case; nor can I write coldly in that, wherein consisteth the making good of my former education, of obeying that Spirit  
I 3 which

which hath guided me hitherto, and of achieving my (I dare say) holy ends. This also is aggravated, in that I apprehend what my friends would have been forward to say, if I had taken ill courses : “ Follow your book, and you shall want “ nothing.” You know, Sir, it is their ordinary speech ; and now let them make it good ; for since I hope I have not deceived their expectation, let them not deceive mine. But perhaps they will say, “ You are fickly ; you must not study too “ hard.” It is true (God knows) I am weak, yet not so, but that every day I may step one step towards my journey’s end : and I love my friends so well as that, if all things proved not well, I had rather the fault should lie on me, than on them. But they will object again ; “ What becomes of your “ annuity ? ” Sir, if there be any truth in me, I find it little enough to keep me in health. You know I was sick last vacation, neither am I yet recovered ; so that I am fain ever and anon to buy somewhat tending towards my health, for infirmities are both painful and costly. Now this Lent I am  
forbid.

forbid utterly to eat any fish, so that I am fain to diet in my chamber at mine own cost; for in our public halls, you know, is nothing but fish and white meats. Out of Lent also, twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays, I must do so, which yet sometimes I fast. Sometimes also I ride to Newmarket, and there lie a day or two for fresh air: all which tend to avoiding of costlier matters, if I should fall absolutely sick. I protest and vow, I even study thrift, and yet I am scarce able with much ado to make one half year's allowance shake hands with the other. And yet if a book of four or five shillings come in my way, I buy it, though I fast for it; yea, sometimes of ten shillings. But, alas, Sir, what is that to those infinite volumes of divinity, which yet every day swell, and grow bigger? Noble Sir, pardon my boldness, and consider but these three things: First, the bulk of divinity: Secondly, the time when I desire this; (which is now, when I must lay the foundation of my whole life:) Thirdly, what I desire, and to what end, not vain pleasures, nor to a vain end. If

then, Sir, there be any course, either by engaging my future annuity, or any other way, I desire you, Sir, to be my mediator to them in my behalf.

Now I write to you, Sir, because to you I have ever opened my heart; and have reason, by the patents of your perpetual favour, to do so still, for I am sure you love

Your faithfulest servant,

March 18, 1617.  
TRIN. COLL.

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

THIS week hath loaded me with your favours: I wish I could have come in person to thank you; but it is not possible. Presently after Michaelmas I am to make an oration to the whole University of an hour long in Latin; and my Lincoln journey hath set me much behind-hand: neither can I so much as go to Bugden, and deliver your letter; yet have I sent it thither by a faithful messenger this day. I beseech you all, you, and my dear mother and sister, to pardon me, for my Cambridge necessities are stronger to tie me here, than

yours

yours to London. If I could possibly have come, none should have done my message to Sir Fr. Netherfole for me : he and I are ancient acquaintance ; and I have a strong opinion of him, that if he can do me a courtesy, he will of himself ; yet your appearing in it affects me strangely. I have sent you here inclosed a letter from our master in my behalf, which if you can send to Sir Francis before his departure, it will do well, for it expresseth the University's inclination to me : yet if you cannot send it with much convenience, it is no matter, for the gentleman needs no incitation to love me.

The Orator's place (that you may understand what it is) is the finest place in the University, though not the gainfullest ; yet that will be about thirty pounds per ann. But the commodiousness is beyond the revenue ; for the Orator writes all the University-letters, makes all the orations, be it to King, Prince, or whatever comes to the University. To requite these pains, he takes place next the Doctors, is at all their assemblies and meetings, and sits  
above



above the Proctors; is Regent or Non-regent at his pleasure; and such like gaynesses, which will please a young man well.

I long to hear from Sir Francis. I pray, Sir, send the letter you receive from him to me as soon as you can, that I may work the heads to my purpose. I hope I shall get this place without all your London helps, of which I am very proud; not but that I joy in your favours, but that you may see, that if all fail, yet I am able to stand on mine own legs. Noble Sir, I thank you for your infinite favours: I fear only that I have omitted some fitting circumstance; yet you will pardon my haste, which is very great, though never so, but that I have both time and work to be

Your extreme servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

SIR,

I HAVE received the things you sent me safe; and now the only thing I long for is, to hear of my dear sick sister; first, how her health fares; next, whether my  
peace

peace be yet made with her concerning my unkind departure. . Can I be so happy as to hear of both these, that they succeed well? Is it not too much for me? Good Sir, make it plain to her, that I loved her even in my departure, in looking to her son, and my charge. I suppose she is not disposed to spend her eye-sight on a piece of paper, or else I had wrote to her: when I shall understand that a letter will be seasonable, my pen is ready. Concerning the Orator's place all goes well yet; the next Friday it is tried, and accordingly you shall hear. I have forty busineses in my hands: your courtesy will pardon the haste of

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT,

Jan. 19, 1619.  
TRIN. COLL.

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SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by Sir Francis Nether-sole's letter, that he fears I have not fully resolved of the matter, since this place being civil may divert me too much from divinity, at which, not without cause, he  
thinks

thinks I aim. But I have wrote him back, that this dignity hath no such earthiness in it, but it may very well be joined with heaven; or if it had to others, yet to me it should not, for aught I yet knew; and therefore I desire him to send me a direct answer in his next letter. I pray, Sir, therefore, cause this inclosed to be carried to his brother's house of his own name, (as I think,) at the sign of the Pedlar and the Pack on London-bridge; for there he assigns me. I cannot yet find leisure to write to my Lord, or Sir Benjamin Ruddyard; but I hope I shall shortly: though for the reckoning of your favours I shall never find time and paper enough, yet I am

Your readiest servant,

OCT. 6, 1619.  
TRIN. COLL.

GEORGE HERBERT.

*I remember my most humble duty to my mother, who cannot think me lazy, since I rode two hundred miles to see a sister, in a way I knew not, in the midst of much business, and all in a fortnight, not long since.*

To

*To the truly Noble Sir J. D.*

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND by a letter from my brother Henry, that he hath bought a parcel of books for me, and that they are coming over. Now though they have hitherto travelled upon your charge, yet if my sister were acquainted that they are ready, I dare say she would make good her promise of taking five or six pounds upon her; which she hath hitherto deferred to do, not of herself, but upon the want of those books which were not to be got in England. For that which surmounts, though your noble disposition is infinitely free, yet I had rather fly to my old ward, that if any course could be taken of doubling my annuity now, upon condition that I should surcease from all title to it after I entered into a benefice, I should be most glad to entertain it, and both pay for the surpluse of these books, and for ever after cease my clamorous and greedy bookish requests. It is high time now that I  
should

should be no more a burden to you, since I can never answer what I have already received; for your favours are so ancient, that they prevent my memory, and yet still grow upon

Your humblest servant,

GEORGE HERBERT.

*I remember my most humble duty to my mother. I have wrote to my dear sick sister this week already, and therefore now I hope may be excused.*

*I pray, Sir, pardon my boldness of inclosing my brother's letter in yours; for it was because I know your lodging, but not his.*

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*To the wortbiest Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.*

MADAM,

EVERY excuse hath in it somewhat of accusation; and since I am innocent, and yet must excuse, how shall I do for that part of accusing? By my troth, as desperate and perplexed men grow from thence bold;

bold ; so must I take the boldness of accusing you, who would draw so dark a curtain betwixt me and your purposes, as that I had no glimmering, neither of your goings, nor the way which my letters might haunt. Yet I have given this licence to travel, but I know not whither, nor it. It is therefore rather a pinnacle to discover ; and the entire colony of letters, of hundreds and fifties, must follow ; whose employment is more honourable than that which our State meditates to Virginia, because you are worthier than all that country, of which that is a wretched inch ; for you have better treasure, and a harmlessness. If this sound like a flattery, tear it out. I am to my letters as rigid a puritan, as Cæsar was to his wife. I can as ill endure a suspicious and misinterpretable word as a fault. But remember, that nothing is flattery which the speaker believes ; and of the grossest flatteries there is this good use, that they tell us what we should be. But, Madam, you are beyond instruction, and therefore there can belong to you only praise ; of which though you  
be

be no good hearer, yet allow all my letters  
leave to have in them one part of it, which  
is thankfulnes towards you.

Your unworthiest servant,

\* Except your accepting

have mended him,

MICHIN,  
July 11, 1607.

JOHN DONNE.

*To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.*

MADAM,

THIS is my second letter, in which,  
though I cannot tell you what is good,  
yet this is the worst, that I must be a great  
part of it; yet to me, that is recompensed,  
because you must be mingled. After I  
knew you were gone, (for I must, little  
less than accusingly, tell you, I knew not  
you would go,) I sent my first letter, like  
a Bevis of Hampton, to seek adventures.  
This day I came to town, and to the best  
part of it, your house; for your memory  
is a state-cloth and presence; which I  
reverence, though you be away: though  
I need

I need not seek that there, which I have about and within me. There though I found my accusation, yet any thing, to which your hand is, is a pardon: yet I would not burn my first letter, because as in great destiny no small passage can be omitted or frustrated; so, in my resolution of writing almost daily to you, I would have no link of the chain broke by me, both because my letters interpret one another, and because only their number can give them weight. If I had your commission and instructions to do you the service of a lieger ambassador here, I could say something of the Countess of Devon; of the States, and such things. But since to you, who are not only a world alone, but the monarchy of the world yourself, nothing can be added, especially by me; I will sustain myself with the honour of being

Your servant extraordinary,

LONDON,  
July 23, 1607.

and without place,

JOHN DONNE.



*To the worthiest Lady, Mrs. MAGDALEN HERBERT.*

MADAM,

As we must die before we can have full glory and happiness, so before I can have this degree of it, as to see you by a letter, I must almost lie, that is, come to London, to plaguy London; a place full of danger, and vanity, and vice, though the Court be gone. And such it will be, till your return redeem it. Not that the greatest virtue in the world, which is you, can be such a marshal, as to defeat or disperse all the vice of this place; but as higher bodies remove, or contract themselves, when better come, so at your return we shall have one door open to innocence. Yet, Madam, you are not such an Ireland, as produceth neither ill, nor good; no spiders, nor nightingales; which is a rare degree of perfection. But you have found and practised that experiment, that even nature, out of her detesting of emptiness, if we will make that our work, to remove bad, will fill us with good things. To  
abstain.

abstain from it was therefore, but the childhood and minority of your soul, which had been long exercised since, in your manlier active part of doing good. Of which since I have been a witness and subject, not to tell you sometimes, that by your influence and example I have attained to such a step of goodness, as to be thankful, were both to accuse your power and judgment of impotency and infirmity.

Your Ladyship's in all services,

August 2, 1607.

JOHN DONNE.

*On Mr. GEORGE HERBERT'S Book, entitled, The Temple of Sacred Poems, sent to a Gentlewoman.*

KNOW you, Fair, on what you look?  
 Divineſt love lies in this book;  
 Expecting fire from your eyes,  
 To kindle this his ſacrifice.  
 When your hands untie theſe ſtrings,  
 Think you've an angel by the wings:  
 One that gladly will be nigh,  
 To wait upon each morning ſigh;

To flutter in the balmy air  
 Of your well-perfumed prayer.  
 These white plumes of his he'll lend you,  
 Which every day to heaven will send you,  
 To take acquaintance of the sphere,  
 And all the smooth-fac'd kindred there.  
 And though HERBERT'S name do owe  
 These devotions, Fairest; know  
 That while I lay them on the shrine  
 Of your white hand, they are mine.

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*To the Right Honourable the Lady Anne, Countess  
 of PEMBR. and MONTG. at Court.*

MADAM,

WHAT a trouble hath your goodness brought on you, by admitting our poor services! Now they creep in a vessel of metheglin, and still they will be presenting or wishing to see, if at length they may find out something not unworthy of those hands, at which they aim. In the meantime, a priest's blessing, though it be none of the court-style, yet doubtless, Madam, can do you no hurt. Wherefore the Lord make good the blessing of your mother upon

upon you, and cause all her wishes, diligence, prayers, and tears, to bud, blow, and bear fruit in your soul, to his glory, your own good, and the great joy of,

Madam,

Your most faithful servant

Dec. 10, 1631.

in Christ Jesu,

BEMERTON.

GEORGE HERBERT.

*Madam, your poor colony of servants present  
their humble duties.*

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THE LIFE  
OF  
DR. ROBERT SANDERSON,  
LATE  
LORD BISHOP OF LINCOLN.



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TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND AND HONOURABLE  
**GEORGE**  
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER,  
PRELATE OF THE GARTER,  
AND ONE OF  
HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

IF I should undertake to enumerate the many favours and advantages I have had by my very long acquaintance with your Lordship, I should enter upon an employment, that might prove as tedious as the collecting of the materials for this poor monument, which I have erected, and do dedicate to the memory of your beloved friend,



friend, Dr. Sanderfon. But though I will not venture to do that; yet I do remember with pleasure, and remonstrate with gratitude, that your Lordship made me known to him, Mr. Chillingworth, and Dr. Hammond; men whose merits ought never to be forgotten.

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

My Lord,

Your most affectionate old friend,  
and most humble servant,

ISAAC WALTON.

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THE  
PREFACE.

I DARE neither think, nor assure the reader, that I have committed no mistakes in this relation of the Life of Dr. Sanderfon; but am sure there is none that are either wilful, or very material. I confess, it was worthy the employment of some person of more learning and greater abilities than I can pretend to; and I have not a little wondered that none have yet been so grateful to him and posterity, as to undertake it. For it may be noted, that our Saviour hath had such care, that, for Mary Magdalen's kindness to him, her name should never be forgotten. And doubtless Dr. Sanderfon's meek and innocent life, his great and useful learning, might therefore challenge the like endeavours to preserve his memory: and it is to me a wonder, that it has been already fifteen years neglected. But, in saying this, my meaning is not to upbraid others, (I am  
far

far from that,) but excuse myself, or beg pardon for daring to attempt it. This being premised, I desire to tell the reader, that in this relation I have been so bold, as to paraphrase and say what I think he (whom I had the happiness to know well) would have said upon the same occasions: and if I have erred in this kind, and cannot now beg pardon of him that loved me; yet I do of my reader, from whom I desire the same favour.

And though my age might have procured me a writ of ease, and that secured me from all further trouble in this kind; yet I met with such persuasions to begin, and so many willing informers since, and from them, and others, such helps and encouragements to proceed, that when I found myself faint, and weary of the burthen with which I had loaden myself, and ready to lay it down; yet time and new strength hath at last brought it to be what it now is, and presented to the reader, and with it this desire; that he will take notice, that Dr. Sanderfon did in his will or last sickness advertise, that after his death

death nothing of his might be printed; because “that might be said to be his;” which indeed was not;” and also for that “he might have changed his opinion “since he first writ it.” And though these reasons ought to be regarded, yet regarded so, as he resolves in that case of conscience concerning rash vows; that there may appear very good second reasons why we may forbear to perform them. However, for his said reasons, they ought to be read as we do apocryphal Scripture; to explain, but not oblige us to so firm a belief of what is here presented as his.

And I have this to say more; that as, in my queries for writing Dr. Sanderfon’s Life, I met with these little tracts annexed; so in my former queries for my information to write the Life of venerable Mr. Hooker, I met with a sermon, which I also believe was really his, and here presented as his to the reader\*. It is affirmed, (and

\* This Sermon of Mr. Hooker’s, and the Tracts above mentioned, excepting the *Oxford Reasons*, are omitted in this edition.

I have

I have met with reason to believe it,) that there be some artists, that do certainly know an original picture from a copy, and in what age of the world, and by whom drawn. And if so, then I hope it may be as safely affirmed, that what is here presented for theirs is so like their temper of mind, their other writings, the times when, and the occasions upon which, they were writ, that all readers may safely conclude, they could be writ by none but venerable Mr. Hooker, and the humble and learned Dr. Sanderfon.

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

I. W.

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## THE LIFE.

DR. ROBERT SANDERSON, the late learned Bishop of Lincoln, whose Life I intend to write with all truth and equal plainness, was born the 19th day of September in the year of our redemption 1587. The place of his birth was Rotheram in the county of York; a town of good note, and the more for that Thomas Rotheram, sometime Archbishop of that see, was born in it; a man whose great wisdom, and bounty, and sanctity of life, have made it the more memorable; as indeed it ought also to be, for being the birth-place of our Robert Sanderson. And the reader will be of my belief, if this humble relation of his life can hold any proportion with his great piety, his useful learning, and his many other extraordinary endowments.

He was the second and youngest son of Robert Sanderson of Gilthwait-hall, in the said parish and county, Esq. by Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Richard Carr, of Butter-

Butterthwate-hall, in the parish of Ecclefield, in the said county of York, Gentleman.

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

their titles, and blast their memories with reproach and shame.

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

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

And as he was inclined to this by that native goodness, with which the wise Disposer of all hearts had endowed him; so this calm, this quiet and happy temper of mind (his being mild, and averse to oppositions) made the whole course of his life easy and grateful both to himself and others: and this blessed temper was maintained and improved by his prudent



father's good example; and by frequent conversing with him, and scattering short apophthegms and little pleasant stories, and making useful applications of them, his son was in his infancy taught to abhor vanity and vice as monsters, and to discern the loveliness of wisdom and virtue; and by these means, and God's concurring grace, his knowledge was so augmented, and his native goodness so confirmed, that all became so habitual, as it was not easy to determine whether nature or education were his teachers.

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

<sup>a</sup> Phil. i. 6.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. iii. ver. 17.

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

And in this love and amity he continued at that school till about the thirteenth year of his age; at which time his father designed to improve his grammar learning, by removing him from Rotherham to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster; and after a year's stay there, then to remove him thence to Oxford. But, as he went with him, he called on an old friend, a minister of noted learning,

and told him his intentions; and he, after many questions with his son, received such answers from him, that he assured his father, his son was so perfect a grammarian, that he had laid a good foundation to build any or all the arts upon; and therefore advised him to shorten his journey, and leave him at Oxford. And his father did so.

His father left him there to the sole care and manage of Dr. Kilbie, who was then Rector of Lincoln College. And he, after some time, and trial of his manners and learning, thought fit to enter him of that college, and after to matriculate him in the University, which he did the 1st of July, 1603; but he was not chosen Fellow till the 3d of May, 1606; at which time he had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts: at the taking of which degree, his tutor told the Rector, "That his pupil  
 " Sanderfon had a metaphysical brain;  
 " and a matchless memory; and that he  
 " thought he had improved, or made the  
 " last so by an art of his own invention."  
 And all the future employments of his  
 life

life proved that his tutor was not mistaken.

I must here stop my reader, and tell him, that this Dr. Kilbie was a man of so great learning and wisdom, and so excellent a critic in the Hebrew tongue, that he was made Professor of it in this University; and was also so perfect a Grecian, that he was by King James appointed to be one of the translators of the Bible: and that this Doctor and Mr. Sanderfon had frequent discourses, and loved as father and son. The Doctor was to ride a journey into Derbyshire, and took Mr. Sanderfon to bear him company: and they going together on a Sunday with the Doctor's friend to that parish-church where they then were, found the young preacher to have no more discretion, than to waste a great part of the hour allotted for his sermon in exceptions against the late translation of several words, (not expecting such a hearer as Dr. Kilbie,) and shewed three reasons why a particular word should have been otherwise translated. When Evening Prayer was ended, the preacher was invited to

the Doctor's friend's house; where, after some other conference, the Doctor told him, "He might have preached more  
 " useful doctrine, and not filled his audi-  
 " tors' ears with needless exceptions against  
 " the late translation: and for that word,  
 " for which he offered to that poor con-  
 " gregation three reasons why it ought  
 " to have been translated as he said; he  
 " and others had considered all them,  
 " and found thirteen more considerable  
 " reasons why it was translated as now  
 " printed:" and told him, "If his friend,"  
 then attending him, "should prove guilty  
 " of such indiscretion, he should forfeit his  
 " favour." To which Mr. Sanderfon said,  
 "He hoped he should not." And the  
 preacher was so ingenuous as to say, "He  
 " would not justify himself." And so I  
 return to Oxford.

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

extra-

extraordinary exercise, or some other merit, made him so: and the reader is requested to believe that it was the last; and requested to believe also, that, if I be mistaken in the time, the college-records have misinformed me. But I hope they have not.

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

In all which time and employments, his abilities and behaviour were such, as procured him both love and reverence from the whole society; there being no exception against him for any faults, but a sorrow for the infirmities of his being too timorous and bashful; both which were, God knows, so connatural, as they never left him. And I know not whether his lovers ought to wish they had; for they

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proved

proved so like the radical moisture in man's body, that they preserved the life of virtue in his soul, which by God's assisting grace never left him, till this life put on immortality. Of which happy infirmities (if they may be so called) more hereafter.

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

to stand for Proctor. But that election was carried on by so sudden and secret, and by so powerful a faction, that he missed it. Which when he understood, he professed seriously to his friends, "That if he were troubled at the disappointment, it was for theirs, and not for his own sake; for he was far from any desire of such an employment, as must be managed with charge and trouble, and was too usually rewarded with hard censures, or hatred, or both."

In the year following he was earnestly persuaded by Dr. Kilbie and others, to renew the logic lectures, which he had read some years past in his college; and, that done, to methodize and print them, for the ease and public good of posterity. But though he had an averfeness to appear publicly in print; yet, after many serious solicitations, and some second thoughts of his own, he laid aside his modesty, and promised he would; and he did so in that year of 1615. And the book proved as his friends seemed to prophesy, that is, of great and general use, whether we respect  
the



the Art or the Author. For logic may be said to be an “art of right reasoning;” an art that undeceives men who take falsehood for truth; enables men to pass a true judgment, and detect those fallacies which in some men’s understandings usurp the place of right reason. And how great a master our Author was in this art, will quickly appear from that clearness of method, argument, and demonstration, which is so conspicuous in all his other writings. He, who had attained to so great a dexterity in the use of reason himself; was best qualified to prescribe rules and directions for the instruction of others. And I am the more satisfied of the excellency and usefulness of this his first public undertaking, by hearing that most tutors in both Universities teach Dr. Sanderfon’s Logic to their pupils, as a foundation upon which they are to build their future studies in Philosophy. And, for a further confirmation of my belief, the reader may note, that, since his Book of Logic was first printed, there has not been less than ten thousand fold: and that it is like to continue

tinue both to discover truth, and to clear and confirm the reason of the unborn world.

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

of Christ Church being then chosen the Junior.

In this year of his being Proctor there happened many memorable accidents; namely, Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity, (who being elected or consecrated Bishop of Sarum some months before,) was solemnly conducted out of Oxford towards his diocese, by the heads of all houses, and the chief of all the University. And Dr. Prideaux succeeded him in the Professorship, in which he continued till the year 1642, (being then elected Bishop of Worcester,) and then our now Proctor, Mr. Sanderfon, succeeded him in the Regius Professorship.

And in this year Dr. Arthur Lake (then Warden of New College) was advanced to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells: a man of whom I take myself bound in justice to say, that he made the great trust committed to him, the chief care and whole business of his life. And one testimony of this truth may be, that he sat usually with his Chancellor in his consistory, and at least  
advised,

advised, if not assisted, in most sentences for the punishing of such offenders as deserved church-censures. And it may be noted, that, after a sentence for penance was pronounced, he did very warily or never allow of any commutation for the offence, but did usually see the sentence for penance executed; and then as usually preached a sermon of mortification and repentance, and did so apply them to the offenders, that then stood before him, as begot in them then a devout contrition, and at least resolutions to amend their lives: and having done that, he would take them (though never so poor) to dinner with him, and use them friendly, and dismiss them with his blessing and persuasions to a virtuous life, and beg them to believe him. And his humility and charity, and other Christian excellencies, were all like this. Of all which the reader may inform himself in his Life, truly writ, and printed before his Sermons.

And in this year also, the very prudent and very wise Lord Elsmere, who was so very long Lord Chancellor of England,  
and

and then of Oxford, resigning up the last, the Right Honourable, and as magnificent, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was chose to succeed him.

And in this year our late King Charles the First (then Prince of Wales) came honourably attended to Oxford; and having deliberately visited the University, the Schools, Colleges, and Libraries, he and his attendants were entertained with ceremonies and feasting suitable to their dignity and merits.

And this year King James sent letters to the University for the regulating their studies; especially of the young divines: advising they should not rely on modern fims and systems, but study the Fathers and Councils, and the more primitive learning. And this advice was occasioned by the indiscreet inferences made by very many preachers out of Mr. Calvin's doctrine concerning *Predestination, Universal Redemption, the Irresistibility of God's grace*, and of some other knotty points depending upon these; points which many think were not, but by interpreters forced to be,  
Mr.

Mr. Calvin's meaning; of the truth or falsehood of which I pretend not to have an ability to judge; my meaning in this relation being only to acquaint the reader with the occasion of the King's letter.

It may be observed, that the various accidents of this year did afford our Proctor large and laudable matter to relate and discourse upon: and that though his office seemed, according to statute and custom, to require him to do so at his leaving it; yet he chose rather to pass them over with some very short observations, and present the governors, and his other hearers, with rules to keep up discipline and order in the University; which at that time was, either by defective statutes, or want of the due execution of those that were good, grown to be extremely irregular. And in this year also the magisterial part of the Proctor required more diligence, and was more difficult to be managed than formerly, by reason of a multiplicity of new statutes, which begot much confusion; some of which statutes were then, and others suddenly after, put into a useful execution.

And

And though these statutes were not then made so perfectly useful as they were designed, till Archbishop Laud's time; (who assisted in the forming and promoting them;) yet our present Proctor made them as effectual as discretion and diligence could do: of which one example may seem worthy the noting; namely, that if in his night-walk he met with irregular scholars absent from their colleges at university hours, or disordered by drink, or in scandalous company, he did not use his power of punishing to an extremity; but did usually take their names, and a promise to appear before him unsent for next morning: and when they did, convinced them, with such obligingness, and reason added to it, that they parted from him with such resolutions, as the man after God's own heart was possessed with, when he said, *There is mercy with thee, and therefore thou shalt be feared*. And by this, and a like behaviour to all men, he was so happy as to lay down this dangerous employ-

Psal. cxxx. 4.

ment,

ment, as but very few, if any, have done, even without an enemy.

After his speech was ended, and he retired with a friend into a convenient privacy, he looked upon his friend with a more than common cheerfulness, and spake to him to this purpose: “ I look back  
 “ upon my late employment with some  
 “ content to myself, and a great thankful-  
 “ ness to Almighty God, that he hath  
 “ made me of a temper not apt to provoke  
 “ the meanest of mankind, but rather to  
 “ pass by infirmities, if noted; and in this  
 “ employment I have had (God knows)  
 “ many occasions to do both. And when  
 “ I consider how many of a contrary tem-  
 “ per are by sudden and small occasions  
 “ transported and hurried by anger to  
 “ commit such errors, as they in that pas-  
 “ sion could not foresee, and will in their  
 “ more calm and deliberate thoughts up-  
 “ braid, and require repentance: and con-  
 “ sider, that though repentance secures us  
 “ from the punishment of any sin, yet how  
 “ much more comfortable it is to be inno-  
 “ cent, than need pardon: and consider,  
 VOL. II. M “ that



“ that errors against men, though par-  
 “ doned both by God and them, do yet  
 “ leave such anxious and upbraiding im-  
 “ pressions in the memory, as abates of the  
 “ offender’s content:—when I consider all  
 “ this, and that God hath of his goodness  
 “ given me a temper, that hath prevented  
 “ me from running into such enormities,  
 “ I remember my temper with joy, and  
 “ thankfulness. And though I cannot say  
 “ with David, (I wish I could,) that there-  
 “ fore *his praise shall always be in my*  
 “ *mouth*<sup>a</sup>; yet I hope, that by his grace,  
 “ and that grace seconded by my endea-  
 “ vours, it shall never be blotted out of my  
 “ memory; and I now beseech Almighty  
 “ God that it never may.”

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

<sup>a</sup> Psal. xxxiv. 1.

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

And now, having given this account of his behaviour, and the considerable accidents in his proctorship, I proceed to tell my reader, that, this busy employment being ended, he preached his sermon for his degree of Bachelor in Divinity in as elegant Latin, and as remarkable for the matter, as hath been preached in that University since that day. And having well performed his other exercises for that degree, he took it the nine and twentieth of May following, having been ordained Deacon and Priest in the year 1611, by John King, then Bishop of London, who had not long before been Dean of Christ-Church, and then knew him so well, that he became his most affectionate friend. And in this year, being then about the 29th of his age, he took from the University a licence to preach.

In the year 1618 he was by Sir Nicholas Sanderfon, Lord Viscount Castleton, presented to the rectory of Wibberton, not far from Boston, in the county of Lincoln, a living of very good value; but it lay in so low and wet a part of that country,

try, as was inconsistent with his health. And health being (next to a good conscience) the greatest of God's blessings in this life, and requiring therefore of every man a care and diligence to preserve it, he, apprehending a danger of losing it, if he continued at Wibberton a second winter, did therefore resign it back into the hands of his worthy kinsman and patron, about one year after his donation of it to him.

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

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

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during

during his whole life. And in this Boothby Pannel the meek and charitable Dr. Sanderfon and his patron lived with an endearing, mutual, and comfortable friendship, till the death of the last put a period to it.

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

*Ego Robertus Sanderfon per, &c.*

“ I Robert Sanderfon, Fellow of the  
 “ College of St. Mary’s and All-Saints,  
 “ commonly called Lincoln College, in  
 “ the Univerfity of Oxford, do freely and  
 “ willingly refign into the hands of the  
 “ Rector and Fellows, all the right and  
 “ title that I have in the faid College,  
 “ wifhing to them and their fucceffors all  
 “ peace, and piety, and happinefs, in the  
 “ name of the Father, and of the Son, and  
 “ of the Holy Ghoft. Amen.

“ May 6, 1619. ROBERT SANDERSON.”

And

And not long after this resignation, he was by the then Bishop of York, or the King, *sede vacante*, made Prebend of the collegiate church of Southwell in that diocese; and shortly after of Lincoln by the Bishop of that see.

And being now resolved to set down his rest in a quiet privacy at Boothby Pannel, and looking back with some sadness upon his removal from his general acquaintance left in Oxford, and the peculiar pleasures of a university life; he could not but think the want of society would render this of a country parson the more uncomfortable, by reason of that want of conversation; and therefore he did put on some faint purposes to marry. For he had considered, that though marriage be cumbered with more worldly care than a single life; yet a complying and prudent wife changes those very cares into so mutual a content, as makes them become like the sufferings of St. Paul<sup>a</sup>, which he would not have wanted, *because they occasioned his rejoicing in them.* And he hav-

<sup>a</sup> Colos. i. 24.

ing well considered this, and observed the secret unutterable joys that children beget in parents, and the mutual pleasures and contented trouble of their daily care and constant endeavours to bring up those little images of themselves, so as to make them as happy as all those cares and endeavours can make them: he having considered all this, the hopes of such happiness turned his faint purpose into a positive resolution to marry. And he was so happy as to obtain Anne, the daughter of Henry Nelson, Bachelor in Divinity, then Rector of Haugham in the county of Lincoln, a man of noted worth and learning. And the Giver of all good things was so good to him, as to give him such a wife as was suitable to his own desires; a wife, that made his life happy by being always content when he was cheerful; that divided her joys with him, and abated of his sorrow, by bearing a part of that burden; a wife, that demonstrated her affection by a cheerful obedience to all his desires, during the whole course of his life; and at his death too, for she outlived him.

And

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

And this excellent man did not think his duty discharged by only reading the church-prayers, catechising, ~~preaching~~, and administering the sacraments seasonably; but thought (if the Law or the Canons may seem to enjoin no more, yet) that



that God would require more than the defective laws of man's making can or do enjoin; the performance of that inward law, which Almighty God hath imprinted in the conscience of all good Christians, and inclines those whom he loves to perform. He, considering this, did therefore become a law to himself, practising what his conscience told him was his duty, in reconciling differences, and preventing law-suits, both in his parish and in the neighbourhood. To which may be added his often visiting sick and disconsolate families, persuading them to patience, and raising them from dejection by his advice and cheerful discourse; and by adding his own alms, if there were any so poor as to need it; considering how acceptable it is to Almighty God, when we do as we are advised by St. Paul, *help to bear one another's burden*<sup>a</sup>, either of sorrow or want: and what a comfort it will be, when the Searcher of all hearts shall call us to a strict account for that evil we have done, and the good we have omitted, to remem-

<sup>a</sup> Gal. vi. 2.

ber we have comforted and been helpful to a dejected or distressed family.

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

and pray, and not load himself with sorrow; for he would go to his landlord next morning; and if his landlord would not abate what he desired, he and a friend would pay it for him.

To the landlord he went the next day; and in a conference the Doctor presented to him the sad condition of his poor dejected tenant; telling him how much God is pleased when men compassionate the poor: and told him, that though God loves sacrifice, yet he loves mercy so much better, that he is pleased when called “the God of mercy.” And told him, the riches he was possessed of were given him by that God of mercy, who would not be pleased, if he, that had so much given, yea, and forgiven him too, should prove like the rich steward in the Gospel, *that took his fellow servant by the throat to make him pay the utmost farthing.* This he told him: and told him, that the law of this nation (~~by~~ which law he claims his rent) does not undertake to make men honest or merciful; but does what it can to restrain men from being dishonest or unmerciful,

ciful, and yet was defective in both: and that taking any rent from his poor tenant, for what God suffered him not to enjoy, though the law allowed him to do so, yet if he did so, he was too like that rich steward which he had mentioned to him; and told him that riches so gotten, and added to his great estate, would, as Job says, *prove like gravel in his teeth*, would in time so corrode his conscience, or become so nauseous when he lay upon his death-bed, that he would then labour to vomit it up, and not be able: and therefore advised him, being very rich, to make friends of his *unrighteous Mammon*, before that evil day come upon him: but however, neither for his own sake, nor for God's sake, to take any rent of his poor, dejected, sad tenant; for that were to gain a temporal, and lose his eternal happiness. These and other such reasons were urged with so grave and so compassionate an earnestness, that the landlord forgave his tenant the whole rent.

The reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderfon, who was himself so meek and

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merciful, did suddenly and gladly carry this comfortable news to the dejected tenant; and we believe, that at the telling of it there was a mutual rejoicing. It was one of Job's boasts, *that he had seen none perish for want of clothing: and that he had often made the heart of the widow to rejoice*<sup>a</sup>. And doubtless Dr. Sanderson might have made the same religious boast of this, and very many like occasions. But, since he did not, I rejoice that I have this just occasion to do it for him; and that I can tell the reader, I might tire myself and him in telling how like the whole course of Dr. Sanderson's life was to this which I have now related.

Thus he went on in an obscure and quiet privacy, doing good daily both by word and by deed, as often as any occasion offered itself; yet not so obscurely, but that his very great learning, prudence, and piety were much noted and valued by the ~~Bishop~~ of his diocese, and by most of the nobility and gentry of that county. By the first of which he was often sum-

Job xxxi.

moned

moned to preach many visitation sermons, and by the latter at many assizes. Which sermons, though they were much esteemed by them that procured and were fit to judge them; yet they were the less valued, because he read them, which he was forced to do; for though he had an extraordinary memory, (even the art of it,) yet he had such an innate invincible fear and bashfulness, that his memory was wholly useless, as to the repetition of his sermons as he had writ them; which gave occasion to say, when they were first printed and exposed to censure, (which was in the year 1632,) “that the best sermons that were ever read, were never preached.”

In this contented obscurity he continued till the learned and good Archbishop Laud, who knew him well in Oxford, (for he was his contemporary there,) told the King, (it was the knowing and conscientious King Charles the First,) that there was one Mr. Sanderson, an obscure country minister, that was of such sincerity, and so excellent in all casuistical learning, that he desired his Majesty would  
make

make him his Chaplain. The King granted it most willingly, and gave the Bishop charge to hasten it; for he longed to discourse with a man that had dedicated his studies to that useful part of learning. The Bishop forgot not the King's desire, and Mr. Sanderfon was made his Chaplain in Ordinary in November following, 1631. And when they became known to each other, the King did put many cases of conscience to him, and received from him such deliberate, safe, and clear solutions, as gave him great content in conversing with him: so that, at the end of his month's attendance, the King told him, "he should long for the next November; for he resolved to have a more inward acquaintance with him, when that month and he returned." And when the month and he did return, the good King was never absent from his sermons, and would usually say, "I carry my ears to hear other preachers; but I carry my conscience to hear Mr. Sanderfon, and to act accordingly." And this ought not to be concealed from posterity, that the  
King

King thought what he spake: for he took him to be his adviser in that quiet part of his life, and he proved to be his comforter in those days of his affliction, when he apprehended himself to be in danger of death or deposing. Of which more hereafter.

In the first Parliament of this good King, (which was 1625,) he was chosen to be a clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln; which I here mention, because about that time did arise many disputes about predestination, and the many critical points that depend upon or are interwoven in it; occasioned, as was said, by a disquisition of new principles of Mr. Calvin's, though others say they were before his time. But of these Dr. Sanderfon then drew up, for his own satisfaction, such a scheme (he called it *Pax Ecclesiæ*) as then gave himself, and hath since given others, such satisfaction, that it still remains to be of great estimation among the most learned. He was also chosen clerk of all the convocations during that good King's reign. Which I here tell my reader, because I

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shall hereafter have occasion to mention that convocation in 1640, the unhappy Long Parliament, and some debates of the predestination points, as they have been since charitably handled betwixt him; the learned Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, the now reverend Dean of Salisbury.

In the year 1636, his Majesty, then in his progress, took a fair occasion to visit Oxford, and to take an entertainment for two days for himself and honourable attendants; which the reader ought to believe was suitable to their dignities. But this is mentioned, because at the King's coming thither Dr. Sanderfon did attend him, and was then (the 31st of August) created Doctor of Divinity; which honour had an addition to it, by having many of the nobility of this nation then made Doctors and Masters of Arts with him: some of whose names shall be recorded and live with his, and none shall outlive it. First, Dr. Curle and Dr. Wren, who were then Bishops of Winton and of Norwich, (and had formerly taken their degrees in Cambridge,) were with him created.

created Doctors of Divinity in his University. So was Meric, the son of the learned Isaac Casaubon; and Prince Rupert, who still lives, the then Duke of Lenox, Earl of Hereford, Earl of Essex, of Berkshire, and very many others of noble birth (too many to be named) were then created Masters of Arts.

Some years before the unhappy Long Parliament, this nation being then happy and in peace, (though inwardly sick of being well,) namely in the year 1639, a discontented party of the Scots Church were zealously restless for another reformation of their kirk-government; and to that end created a new Covenant, for the general taking of which they pretended to petition the King for his assent, and that he would enjoin the taking of it by all of that nation. But this petition was not to be presented to him by a committee of eight or ten men of their fraternity; but by so many thousands, and they so armed, as seemed to force an assent to what they seemed to request: so that though forbidden by the King, yet they entered Eng-  
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land,

land, and in their heat of zeal took and plundered Newcastle, where the King was forced to meet them with an army: but upon a treaty, and some concessions, he sent them back, (though not so rich as they intended, yet,) for that time without bloodshed. But, oh! this peace, and this Covenant, were but the forerunners of war, and the many ~~miser~~ies that followed: for in the year following there were so many chosen into the Long Parliament, that were of a conjunct council with these very zealous and as factious reformers, as begot such a confusion by the several desires and designs in many of the members of that Parliament, and at last in the very common people of this nation, that they were so lost by contrary designs, fears, and confusions, as to believe the Scots and their Covenant would restore them to their former tranquillity. And to that end the Presbyterian party of this nation did again, in the year 1643, invite the Scotch Covenanters back into England: and hither they came marching with it gloriously upon their pikes and in their hats, with this motto; *For the crown.*

*crown and covenant of both kingdoms.* This I saw, and suffered by it. But when I look back upon the ruin of families, the bloodshed, the decay of common honesty, and how the former piety and plain-dealing of this now sinful nation is turned into cruelty and cunning, I praise God that he prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in this Covenant, and those sad confusions that have followed it. And I have been the bolder to say this of myself, because, in a sad discourse with Dr. Sanderson, I heard him make the like grateful acknowledgment.

This digression is intended for the better information of the reader in what will follow concerning Dr. Sanderson. And first, that the Covenanters of this nation, and their party in Parliament, made many exceptions against the Common Prayer and ceremonies of the Church, and seemed restless for a reformation: and though their desires seemed not reasonable to the King and the learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury; yet, to quiet their consciences, and prevent future confusion, they

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did, in the year 1641, desire Dr. Sanderfon to call two more of the convocation to advise with him, and that he would then draw up some such safe alterations as he thought fit in the service-book, and abate some of the ceremonies that were least material, for satisfying their consciences: and to this end they did meet together privately twice a week at the Dean of Westminster's house, for the space of three months or more. But not long after that time, when Dr. Sanderfon had made the reformation ready for a view, the Church and State were both fallen into such a confusion, that Dr. Sanderfon's model for reformation became then useless. Nevertheless, his reputation was such, that he was, in the year 1642, proposed by both Houses of Parliament to the King, then in Oxford, to be one of their trustees for the settling of church-affairs, and was allowed of by the King to be so: but that treaty came to nothing.

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

vines, to debate and settle some church-controversies, of which many were very unfit to judge: in which Dr. Sanderson was also named; but did not appear; I suppose for the same reason that many other worthy and learned men did forbear the summons wanting the King's authority. And here I must look back, and tell the reader, that in the year 1642, he was (July 21) named by a more undoubted authority to a more noble employment, which was to be Professor Regius of Divinity in Oxford: but though knowledge be said to puff up, yet his modesty and too mean an opinion of his great abilities, and some other real or pretended reasons, (expressed in his speech, when he first appeared in the chair, and since printed,) kept him from entering into it till October, 1646.

He did for about a year's time continue to read his matchless lectures, which were first *de Juramento*, a point very difficult, and at that time very dangerous to be handled as it ought to be. But this learned man, as he was eminently furnished with abili-

ties to satisfy the consciences of men upon that important subject; so he wanted not courage to assert the true obligation of oaths in a degenerate age, when men had made perjury a main part of their religion. How much the learned world stands obliged to him for these and his following lectures *de Conscientia*, I shall not attempt to declare, as being very sensible that the best pens must needs fall short in the commendation of them: so that I shall only add, that they continue to this day, and will do for ever, as a complete standard for the resolution of the most material doubts in casuistical divinity. And therefore I proceed to tell the reader, that about the time of his reading those lectures, (the King being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight,) the Parliament had sent the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and I know not what more, to be taken by the Doctor of the Chair, and all heads of houses: and all other inferior scholars, of what degree soever, were all to take these oaths by a fixed day; and those that did not, to abandon their College, and the  
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University too, within twenty-four hours after the beating of a drum; for if they remained longer, they were to be proceeded against as spies.

Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Strafford, and many others, had been formerly murdered by this wicked Parliament; but the King yet was not: and the University had yet some faint hopes that in a treaty then in being, or pretended to be suddenly, there might be such an agreement made between King and Parliament, that the Dissenters in the University might both preserve their consciences and subsistence which they then enjoyed by their Colleges.

And being possessed of this mistaken hope, that the Parliament were not yet grown so merciless as not to allow manifest reason for their not submitting to the enjoined oaths, the University appointed twenty delegates to meet, consider, and draw up a manifesto to the Parliament, why they could not take those oaths but by violation of their consciences: and of these delegates Dr. Sheldon, (late Arch-



Archbishop of Canterbury,) Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, Dr. Morley, (now Bishop of Winchester,) and that most honest and as judicious civil lawyer, Dr. Zouch, were a part; the rest I cannot now name: but the whole number of the delegates requested Dr. Zouch to draw up the law part, and give it to Dr. Sanderfon; and he was requested to methodize and add what referred to reason and conscience, and put it into form. He yielded to their desires, and did so. And then after they had been read in a full convocation, and allowed of, they were printed in Latin, that the Parliament's proceedings and the University's sufferings might be manifested to all nations; and the imposers of these oaths might repent, or answer them: but they were past the first; and for the latter, I might swear they neither can, nor ever will. And these Reasons were also suddenly turned into English by Dr. Sanderfon, that those of these three kingdoms might the better judge of the loyal party's sufferings<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> A copy of these *Reasons* is subjoined to this Life.

About this time the Independents (who were then grown to be the most powerful part of the army) had taken the King from a close to a more large imprisonment; and, by their own pretences to liberty of conscience, were obliged to allow somewhat of that to the King, who had in the year 1646 sent for Dr. Sanderfon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, (the late Archbishop of Canterbury,) and Dr. Morley, (the now Bishop of Winchester,) to attend him, in order to advise with them, how far he might with a good conscience comply with the proposals of the Parliament for a peace in Church and State: but these, having been then denied him by the Presbyterian Parliament, were now allowed him by those in present power. And as those other Divines, so Dr. Sanderfon gave his attendance on his Majesty also in the Isle of Wight, preached there before him, and had in that attendance many, both public and private, conferences with him, to his Majesty's great satisfaction. At which time he desired Dr. Sanderfon, that being the Parliament had proposed

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to him the abolishing of Episcopal Government in the Church, as inconsistent with monarchy, that he would consider of it, and declare his judgment. He undertook to do so, and did it; but it might not be printed till our King's happy restoration, and then it was. And at Dr. Sanderfon's taking his leave of his Majesty in his last attendance on him, the King requested him "to betake himself to the writing cases of conscience for the good of posterity." To which his answer was, "That he was now grown old, and unfit to write cases of conscience." But the King was so bold with him as to say, "It was the simplest answer he ever heard from Dr. Sanderfon; for no young man was fit to be a judge, or write cases of conscience." And let me here take occasion to tell the reader this truth, not commonly known; that in one of these conferences this conscientious King told Dr. Sanderfon, or one of them that then waited with him, "that the remembrance of two errors did much afflict him, which were, his assent to the Earl of Strafford's death, and .

“ and the abolishing Episcopacy in Scot-  
 “ land ; and that if God ever restored him  
 “ to be in a peaceable possession of his  
 “ crown, he would demonstrate his repent-  
 “ ance by a public confession and a volun-  
 “ tary penance, (I think barefoot) from the  
 “ Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St.  
 “ Paul’s Church, and desire the people to  
 “ intercede with God for his pardon.” I  
 am sure one of them told it me, lives still,  
 and will witness it. And it ought to be  
 observed, that Dr. Sanderfon’s lectures *de*  
*Juramento* were so approved and valued by  
 the King, that in this time of his imprison-  
 ment and solitude he translated them into  
 exact English, desiring Dr. Juxon, (then  
 Bishop of London,) Dr. Hammond, and  
 Sir Thomas Herbert, (who then attended  
 him,) to compare them with the original.  
 The last still lives, and has declared it, with  
 some other of that King’s excellencies, in  
 a letter under his own hand, which was  
 lately shewed me by Sir William Dugdale,  
 King at Arms. The book was designed  
 to be put into the King’s library at St.  
 James’s; but, I doubt, not now to be found  
 there.

there. I thought the honour of the author and the translator to be both so much concerned in this relation, that it ought not to be concealed from the reader, and it is therefore here inserted.

I now return to Dr. Sanderfon in the chair in Oxford; where they that complied not in taking the Covenant, Negative Oath, and Parliament Ordinance for church-discipline and worship, were under a sad and daily apprehension of expulsion: for the visitors were daily expected, and both city and university full of soldiers, and a party of Presbyterian divines, that were as greedy and ready to possess, as the ignorant and ill-natured visitors were to eject the Dissenters out of their colleges and livelihoods: but, notwithstanding, Dr. Sanderfon did still continue to read his lecture, and did, to the very faces of those Presbyterian divines and soldiers, read with so much reason, and with a calm fortitude make such applications, as, if they were not, they ought to have been ashamed, and begged pardon of God and him, and forborne to do what followed.

But

But these thriving finners were hardened; and as the visitors expelled the orthodox, they, without scruple or shame, possessed themselves of their colleges; so that, with the rest, Dr. Sanderson was (in June, 1648) forced to pack up and be gone, and thank God he was not imprisoned, as Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, and others then were.

I must now again look back to Oxford, and tell my reader, that the year before this expulsion, when the University had denied this subscription, and apprehended the danger of that visitation which followed, they sent Dr. Morley, then Canon of Christ-Church, (now Lord Bishop of Winchester), and others, to petition the Parliament for recalling the injunction, or a mitigation of it, or accept of their reasons why they could not take the oaths enjoined them; and the petition was by Parliament referred to a committee to hear and report the reasons to the House, and a day set for hearing them. This done, Dr. Morley and the rest went to inform and see counsel, to plead their cause on  
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the day appointed: but there had been so many committed for pleading, that none durst undertake it; for at this time the privileges of that Parliament were become a *Noli me tangere*, as sacred and useful to them, as traditions ever were, or are now, to the Church of Rome; their number must never be known, and therefore not without danger to be meddled with. For which reason Dr. Morley was forced, for want of counsel, to plead the University's reasons for not-compliance with the Parliament's injunctions: and though this was done with great reason, and a boldness equal to the justice of his cause; yet the effect of it was, but that he and the rest appearing with him were so fortunate, as to return to Oxford without commitment. This was some few days before the visitors and more soldiers were sent down to drive the Dissenters out of the University. And one that was, at this time of Dr. Morley's pleading, a powerful man in the Parliament, and of that committee, observing Dr. Morley's behaviour and reason, and inquiring of him,

him,

him, and hearing a good report of his morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar favour; and, that he might express it, sent for me that relate this story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, " he had such a love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the oaths, and must therefore be ejected his college, and leave Oxford; he desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford, when the Visitors came into it, and not return till they left it, and he should be sure then to return in safety; and that he should, without taking any oath or other molestation, enjoy his Canon's place in his college." I did receive this intended kindness with a sudden gladness, because I was sure the party had a power, and as sure he meant to perform it, and did therefore write the Doctor word: and his answer was, " that I must not fail to return my friend (who still lives) his humble and undissembled thanks, though he could not accept of his intended kindness; for when the Dean, Dr. Gardner,

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“ Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sander-  
 “ son, and all the rest of the college, were  
 “ turned out, except Dr. Wall, he should  
 “ take it to be, if not a sin, yet a shame,  
 “ to be left behind with him only.” Dr.  
 Wall I knew, and will speak nothing of  
 him, for he is dead.

It may be easily imagined, with what  
 a joyful willingness these self-loving re-  
 formers took possession of all vacant pre-  
 ferments, and with what reluctance others  
 parted with their beloved colleges and sub-  
 sistence : but their consciences were dearer  
 than their subsistence, and out they went ;  
 the reformers possessing them without shame  
 or scruple : where I will leave these scru-  
 ple-mongers, and make an account of the  
 then present affairs of London, to be the  
 next employment of my reader's patience.

And in London all the Bishops' houses  
 were turned to be prisons, and they filled  
 with Divines, that would not take the  
 Covenant, or forbear reading Common  
 Prayer, or that were accused for some  
 faults like these. For it may be noted,  
 that about this time the Parliament set out

a pro-

a proclamation to encourage all laymen that had occasion to complain of their ministers for being troublesome or scandalous, or that conformed not to orders of Parliament, to make their complaint to a committee for that purpose; and the minister, though a hundred miles from London, should appear there, and give satisfaction, or be sequestered; (and you may be sure no parish could want a covetous, or malicious, or cross-grained complainant;) by which means all prisons in London, and in some other places, became the sad habitations of Conforming Divines.

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

The Bishops had been voted out of the House of Parliament, and some upon that

occasion sent to the Tower; which made many Covenanters rejoice, and believe Mr. Brightman (who probably was a good and well-meaning man) to be inspired in his comment on the Apocalypse, an abridgment of which was now printed, and called Mr. Brightman's *Revelation of the Revelation*. And though he was grossly mistaken in other things, yet, because he had made the Churches of Geneva and Scotland, which had no Bishops, to be Philadelphia in the Apocalypse, *the angel that God loved*; and the power of Prelacy to be Antichrist, the evil angel, which the House of Commons had now so spewed up, as never to recover their dignity; therefore did those Covenanters approve and applaud Mr. Brightman for discovering and foretelling the Bishops' downfall; so that they both railed at them, and rejoiced to buy good pennyworths of their land, which their friends of the House of Commons did afford them as a reward of their diligent assistance to pull them down.

And the Bishops' power being now vacated,

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

I have heard of two men, that in their discourse undertook to give a character of a third person; and one concluded he was a very honest man, "for he was beholden to him;" and the other, that he was not, "for he was not beholden to him." And something like this was in the designs both of the Covenanters and Independents, the last of which were now grown both as numerous and as powerful as the former: for though they differed much in many principles, and preached against each other, one making it a sign of being in the state of grace, if we were but zealous for the Covenant;

and the other, that we ought to buy and sell by a measure, and to allow the same liberty of conscience to others, which we by Scripture claim to ourselves; and therefore not to force any to swear the Covenant contrary to their consciences, and lose both their livings and liberties too. Though these differed thus in their conclusions, yet they both agreed in their practice to preach down Common Prayer, and get into the best sequestered livings; and, whatever became of the true owners, their wives and children, yet to continue in them without the least scruple of conscience.

They also made other strange observations of Election, Reprobation, and Free Will, and the other points dependent upon these; such as the wisest of the common people were not fit to judge of: I am sure I am not; though I must mention some of them historically in a more proper place, when I have brought my reader with me to Dr. Sanderfon at Boothby Pannel.

And in the way thither I must tell him, that a very Covenanter, and a Scot too,  
that

that came into England with this unhappy Covenant, was got into a good sequestered living by the help of a Presbyterian parish, which had got the true owner out. And this Scotch Presbyterian, being well settled in this good living, began to reform the church-yard, by cutting down a large yew-tree, and some other trees that were an ornament to the place, and very often a shelter to the parishioners; who excepting against him for so doing, were answered, "That the trees were his, and it was lawful for every man to use his own as he, and not as they, thought fit." I have heard, (but do not affirm it,) that no action lies against him that is so wicked as to steal the winding-sheet of a dead body after it is buried; and have heard the reason to be, because none were supposed to be so void of humanity; and that such a law would vilify that nation that would but suppose so vile a man to be born in it: nor would one suppose any man to do what this Covenanter did. And whether there were any law against him, I

know not; but pity the parish the less for turning out their legal minister.

We have now overtaken Dr. Sanderfon at Boothby parish, where he hoped to have enjoyed himself, though in a poor, yet in a quiet and desired privacy; but it proved otherwise; for all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, committee-men, and soldiers, serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit; and these committee-men and soldiers were most of them so possessed with this Covenant, that they became like those that were infected with that dreadful plague of Athens; the plague of which plague was, that they by it became maliciously restless to get into company, and to joy, (so the Historian<sup>a</sup> saith,) when they had infected others, even those of their most beloved or nearest friends or relations: and though there might be some of these Covenanters that were beguiled, and meant well; yet such were the generality of them, and temper of the

Thucydides.

times,

times, that you may be sure Dr. Sanderson, who though quiet and harmless, yet an eminent dissenter from them, could not live peaceably; nor did he; for the soldiers would appear, and visibly disturb him in the church when he read prayers, pretending to advise him how God was to be served most acceptably; which he not approving, but continuing to observe order and decent behaviour in reading the church-service, they forced his book from him, and tore it, expecting extemporary prayers.

At this time he was advised by a Parliament man of power and note, that loved and valued him much, not to be strict in reading all the Common Prayer, but make some little variation, especially if the soldiers came to watch him; for then it might not be in the power of him and his other friends to secure him from taking the Covenant, or sequestration: for which reasons he did vary somewhat from the strict rules of the Rubric. I will set down the very words of confession which he used, as I have it under his own hand; and



and tell the reader, that all his other variations were as little, and much like to this.

#### HIS CONFESSION.

“O Almighty God and merciful Father, we thy unworthy servants do with  
 “shame and sorrow confess, that we have  
 “all our life long gone astray out of thy  
 “ways like lost sheep; and that, by following too much the vain devices and  
 “desires of our own hearts, we have  
 “grievously offended against thy holy  
 “laws, both in thought, word, and deed;  
 “we have many times left undone those  
 “good duties, which we might and ought  
 “to have done; and we have many times  
 “done those evils, when we might have  
 “avoided them, which we ought not to  
 “have done. We confess, O Lord, that  
 “there is no health at all, nor help in any  
 “creature to relieve us; but all our hope  
 “is in thy mercy, whose justice we have  
 “by our sins so far provoked. Have mercy  
 “therefore upon us, O Lord, have mercy  
 “upon us miserable offenders: spare us,  
 “good God, who confess our faults, that  
 “we

“ we perish not; but, according to thy  
 “ gracious promises declared unto man-  
 “ kind in Christ Jesus our Lord, restore  
 “ us upon our true repentance into thy  
 “ grace and favour. And grant, O most  
 “ merciful father, for his sake, that we  
 “ henceforth study to serve and please  
 “ thee by leading a godly, righteous, and  
 “ a sober life, to the glory of thy holy  
 “ name, and the eternal comfort of our  
 “ own souls, through Jesus Christ our  
 “ Lord. Amen.”

In these disturbances of tearing his ser-  
 vice-book, a neighbour came on a Sunday,  
 after the evening-service was ended, to  
 visit and condole with him for the affront  
 offered by the soldiers. To whom he  
 spake with a composed patience, and said;  
 “ God hath restored me to my desired  
 “ privacy, with my wife and children;  
 “ where I hoped to have met with quiet-  
 “ ness, and it proves not so: but I will  
 “ labour to be pleased, because God, on  
 “ whom I depend, sees it is not fit for me  
 “ to be quiet. I praise him, that he hath  
 “ by

“ by his grace prevented me from making  
“ shipwreck of a good conscience to main-  
“ tain me in a place of great reputation  
“ and profit: and though my condition  
“ be such, that I need the last, yet I sub-  
“ mit; for God did not send me into this  
“ world to do my own, but suffer his will,  
“ and I will obey it.” Thus by a sublime  
depending on his wife, and powerful, and  
pitiful Creator, he did cheerfully submit  
to what God had appointed, justifying  
the truth of that doctrine which he had  
preached.

About this time that excellent book of  
*The King's Meditations in his Solitude* was  
printed, and made public: and Dr. San-  
derson was such a lover of the Author,  
and so desirous that the whole world  
should see the character of him in that  
book, and something of the cause for  
which they suffered, that he designed to  
turn it into Latin: but when he had done  
half of it most excellently, his friend Dr.  
Earle prevented him, by appearing to have  
done the whole very well before him.

About this time his dear and most inti-  
mate

mate friend, the learned Dr. Hammond, came to enjoy a conversation and rest with him for some days; and did so. And having formerly persuaded him to trust his excellent memory, and not read, but try to speak a sermon as he had writ it; Dr. Sanderfon became so compliant, as to promise he would. And to that end they two went early the Sunday following to a neighbour minister, and requested to exchange a sermon; and they did so. And at Dr. Sanderfon's going into the pulpit, he gave his sermon (which was a very short one) into the hand of Dr. Hammond, intending to preach it as it was writ: but before he had preached a third part, Dr. Hammond (looking on his sermon as written) observed him to be out, and so lost as to the matter, that he also became afraid for him; for it was discernible to many of the plain auditory. But when he had ended this short sermon, as they two walked homeward, Dr. Sanderfon said with much earnestness, "Good  
 " Doctor, give me my sermon; and know,  
 " that neither you, nor any man living,  
 " shall

“ shall ever persuade me to preach again  
 “ without my books.” To which the  
 reply was, “ Good Doctor, be not angry ;  
 “ for if I ever persuade you to preach  
 “ again without book, I will give you  
 “ leave to burn all those that I am master  
 “ of.”

Part of the occasion of Dr. Hammond’s  
 visit was at this time to discourse Dr.  
 Sanderfon about some opinions, in which,  
 if they did not then, they had doubtless  
 differed formerly ; it was about those  
 knotty points, which are by the learned  
 called the *Quinquarticular Controversy* ; of  
 which I shall proceed, not to give any judg-  
 ment, (I pretend not to that,) but some  
 short historical account which shall follow.

There had been, since the unhappy  
 Covenant was brought and so generally  
 taken in England, a liberty given or taken  
 by many preachers (those of London espe-  
 cially) to preach and be too positive in the  
 points of Universal Redemption, Predesti-  
 nation, and those other depending upon  
 these. Some of which preached, “ That  
 “ all men were, before they came into  
 “ this—

“this world, so predestinated to salvation  
 “or damnation, that it was not in their  
 “power to sin so, as to lose the first, nor  
 “by their most diligent endeavour to  
 “avoid the latter.” Others, “That it  
 “was not so; because then God could  
 “not be said to grieve for the death of a  
 “sinner, when he himself had made him  
 “so by an inevitable decree, before he  
 “had so much as a being in this world;”  
 affirming therefore, “that man had some  
 “power left him to do the will of God,  
 “because he was advised to work out his  
 “salvation with fear and trembling;”  
 maintaining, “that it is most certain,  
 “every man can do what he can to be  
 “saved; and that he that does what he  
 “can to be saved, shall never be damned.”  
 And yet many that affirmed this would  
 confess, “That that grace, which is but  
 “a persuasive offer, and left to us to re-  
 “ceive or refuse, is not that grace which  
 “shall bring men to heaven.” Which  
 truths, or untruths, or both, be they  
 which they will, did upon these or the  
 like occasions come to be searched into,  
 and

and charitably debated betwixt Dr. Sanderfon, Dr. Hammond, and Dr. Pierce, (the now Reverend Dean of Salisbury,) of which I shall proceed to give some account, but briefly.

In the year 1648, the fifty-two London ministers (then a fraternity of Sion College in that city) had in a printed declaration aspersed Dr. Hammond most heinously, for that he had in his *Practical Catechism* affirmed, “that our Saviour died for the sins of all mankind.” To justify which truth, he presently makes a charitable reply (as it is now printed in his works.) After which there were many letters passed betwixt the said Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderfon, and Dr. Pierce, concerning God’s grace and decrees. Dr. Sanderfon was with much unwillingness drawn into this debate; for he declared it would prove uneasy to him, who in his judgment of God’s decrees differed with Dr. Hammond, (whom he revered and loved dearly,) and would not therefore engage him into a controversy, of which he could never hope to see an end:  
but

but they did all enter into a charitable disquisition of these said points in several letters, to the full satisfaction of the learned; those betwixt Dr. Sanderfon and Dr. Hammond being printed in his works; and for what passed betwixt him and the learned Dr. Pierce, I refer my reader to a letter annexed to the end of this relation.

I think the judgment of Dr. Sanderfon was by these debates altered from what it was at his entrance into them; for in the year 1632, when his excellent sermons were first printed in quarto, the reader may on the margin find some accusation of Arminius for false doctrine; and find that, upon a review and reprinting those sermons in folio in the year 1657, that accusation of Arminius is omitted. And the change of his judgment seems more fully to appear in his said letter to Dr. Pierce. And let me now tell the reader, which may seem to be perplexed with these several affirmations of God's decrees before mentioned, that Dr. Hammond, in a postscript to the last letter of



Dr. Sanderfon's, says, "God can reconcile  
 " his own contradictions, and therefore  
 " advises all men, as the Apostle does, to  
 " study mortification, and be wise to so-  
 " briety." And let me add further; that  
 if these fifty-two Ministers of Sion Col-  
 lege were the occasion of the debates in  
 these letters, they have, I think, been  
 the occasion of giving an end to the *Quin-*  
*quarticular Controversy*; for none have since  
 undertaken to say more; but seem to be  
 so wise, as to be content to be ignorant of  
 the rest, till they come to that place,  
 where the secrets of all hearts shall be laid  
 open. And let me here tell the reader also,  
 that if the rest of mankind would, as Dr.  
 Sanderfon, not conceal their alteration of  
 judgment, but confess it to the honour of  
 God and themselves, then our nation  
 would become freer from pertinacious dis-  
 putes, and fuller of recantations.

I cannot lead my reader to Dr. Ham-  
 mond and Dr. Sanderfon where we left  
 them at Boothby Pannel, till I have  
 looked back to the Long Parliament, the  
 Society of Covenanters in Sion College,  
 and

and those others scattered up and down in London, and given some account of their proceedings and usage of the late learned Dr. Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury. And though I will forbear to mention the injustice of his death, and the barbarous usage of him, both then and before it; yet my desire is, that what follows may be noted, because it does now, or may hereafter, concern us; namely, that in his last sad sermon on the scaffold at his death, he having freely pardoned all his enemies, and humbly begged of God to pardon them, and besought those present to pardon and pray for him; yet he seemed to accuse the magistrates of the city, for suffering a sort of wretched people, that could not know why he was condemned, to go visibly up and down to gather hands to a petition, “that the Parliament would hasten his execution.” And having declared how unjustly he thought himself to be condemned, and accused for endeavouring to bring in Popery, (for that was one of the accusations for which he died,) he declared

with sadness, “ That the several sects and  
“ divisions then in England” (which he  
had laboured to prevent) “ were like to  
“ bring the Pope a far greater harvest,  
“ than he could ever have expected with-  
“ out them.” And said, “ These sects  
“ and divisions introduce profaneness un-  
“ der the cloak of an imaginary reli-  
“ gion ;” and “ that we have lost the sub-  
“ stance of religion by changing it into  
“ opinion ; and that by these means this  
“ Church, which all the Jesuits’ machina-  
“ tions could not ruin, was fallen into ap-  
“ parent danger by those which were his  
“ accusers.” To this purpose he spoke  
at his death : for this, and more of which,  
the reader may view his last sad sermon  
on the scaffold. And it is here mention-  
ed, because his dear friend Dr. Sanderfon  
seems to demonstrate the same in his two  
large and remarkable prefaces before his  
two volumes of sermons ; and seems also  
with much sorrow to say the same again in  
his last will, made when he apprehended  
himself to be very near his death. And  
these Covenanters ought to take notice of  
it.

it, and to remember, that, by the late wicked war begun by them, Dr. Sanderson was ejected out of the Professor's chair in Oxford; and that if he had continued in it, (for he lived fourteen years after,) both the learned of this and other nations had been made happy by many remarkable cases of conscience, so rationally stated, and so briefly, so clearly, and so convincingly determined, that posterity might have joyed and boasted, that Dr. Sanderson was born in this nation, for the ease and benefit of all the learned that shall be born after him: but this benefit is so like time past, that they are both irrecoverably lost.

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

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

a prisoner. And in time done, it was, upon the following conditions.

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

cles of war, in this exchange for Mr. Clarke, procured his sequestration to be recalled, and by that means enjoyed a poor but contented subsistence for himself, wife, and children, till the happy restoration of our King and Church.

In this time of his poor but contented privacy of life, his casuistical learning, peaceful moderation, and sincerity, became so remarkable, that there were many that applied themselves to him for resolution in cases of conscience; some known to him, many not; some requiring satisfaction by conference, others by letters; so many, that his life became almost as restless as their minds; yet he denied no man: and if it be a truth which holy Mr. Herbert says, “That all worldly joys seem less, when compared with shewing mercy or doing kindneses;” then doubtless Dr. Sanderfon might have boasted for relieving so many restless and wounded consciences; which, as Solomon says, “are a burden that none can bear,” though their fortitude may sustain their other infirmities: and if words cannot express the  
joy

joy of a conscience relieved from such restless agonies; then Dr. Sanderfon might rejoice that so many were by him so clearly and conscientiously satisfied; for he denied none, and would often praise God for that ability, and as often for the occasion, and that God had inclined his heart to do it to the meanest of any of those poor but precious souls, for which his Saviour vouchsafed to be crucified

Some of those very many cases that were resolved by letters have been preserved and printed for the benefit of posterity; as namely,

1. Of the Sabbath.
2. Marrying with a Recusant.
3. Of unlawful love.
4. Of a military life.
5. Of scandal.
6. Of a bond taken in the King's name.
7. Of the engagement.
8. Of a rash vow.

But many more remain in private hands, of which one is of Simony; and I wish the world might see it, that it might undeceive



deceive some patrons, who think they have discharged that great and dangerous trust, both to God, and man, if they take no money for a living, though it may be parted with for other ends less justifiable.

And in this time of his retirement, when the common people were amazed and grown giddy by the many falsehoods and misapplications of truths frequently vented in sermons; when they wrested the Scripture by challenging God to be of their party, and called upon him in their prayers to patronize their sacrilege and zealous frenzies; in this time he did so compassionate the generality of this misled nation, that though the times threatened danger, yet he then hazarded his safety by writing the large and bold preface now extant before his last twenty sermons; (first printed in the year 1655;) in which there was such strength of reason; with so powerful and clear convincing applications made to the Nonconformists, as being read by one of those dissenting brethren, who was possessed with such a spirit of contradiction, as being neither able to defend

fend his error, nor yield to truth manifest,  
 (his conscience having slept long and quietly  
 in a good sequestered living,) was yet  
 at the reading of it so awakened, that  
 after a conflict with the reason he had met,  
 and the damage he was to sustain if he  
 consented to it, (and being still unwilling  
 to be so convinced, as to lose by being  
 over-reasoned,) he went in haste to the  
 bookfeller of whom it was bought, threat-  
 ened him, and told him in anger, “ he  
 “ had sold a book in which there was false  
 “ divinity; and that the preface had up-  
 “ braided the Parliament, and many godly  
 “ ministers of that party, for unjust deal-  
 “ ing.” To which his reply was, (it was  
 Tim. Garthwaite,) “ That it was not his  
 “ trade to judge of true or false divinity,  
 “ but to print and sell books: and yet if  
 “ he, or any friend of his, would write an  
 “ answer to it, and own it by setting his  
 “ name to it, he would print the answer,  
 “ and promote the selling of it.”  
 About the time of his printing this  
 excellent preface, I met him accidentally  
 in London, in sad coloured clothes, and,

God

God knows, far from being costly. The place of our meeting was near to Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book, which he then had in his hand. We had no inclination to part presently, and therefore turned to stand in a corner under a penthouse, (for it began to rain,) and immediately the wind rose, and the rain increased so much, that both became so inconvenient, as to force us into a cleanly house, where we had bread, cheese, ale, and a fire, for our money. This rain and wind were so obliging to me, as to force our stay there for at least an hour, to my great content and advantage; for in that time he made to me many useful observations with much clearness and conscientious freedom. I shall relate a part of them, in hope they may also turn to the advantage of my reader. He seemed to lament, that the Parliament had taken upon them to abolish our Liturgy, to the scandal of so many devout and learned men, and the disgrace of those many martyrs, who had sealed the truth and use of it with their blood: and that no minister

was

was now thought godly that did not de-  
 cry it, and at least pretend to make bet-  
 ter prayers *ex tempore* : and that they, and  
 only they, that could do so, prayed by  
 the Spirit, and were godly ; though in  
 their sermons they disputed, and evident-  
 ly contradicted each other in their pray-  
 ers. And as he did dislike this, so he did  
 most highly commend the Common Pray-  
 er of the Church, saying, “ the Collects  
 “ were the most passionate, proper, and  
 “ most elegant expressions that any lan-  
 “ guage ever afforded ; and that there  
 “ was in them such piety, and that so in-  
 “ terwoven with instructions, that they  
 “ taught us to know the power, the wis-  
 “ dom, the majesty, and mercy of God,  
 “ and much of our duty both to him and  
 “ our neighbour ; and that a congrega-  
 “ tion, behaving themselves reverently,  
 “ and putting up to God these joint and  
 “ known desires for pardon of sins, and  
 “ praises for mercies received, could not  
 “ but be more pleasing to God, than those  
 “ raw, unpremeditated expressions, to  
 “ which

“ which many of the hearers could not  
 “ say, Amen.”

And he then commended to me the frequent use of the Psalter, or Psalms of David; speaking to this purpose: “ That  
 “ they were the treasury of Christian comfort,  
 “ fort, fitted for all persons and all necessities;  
 “ able to raise the soul from dejection by the frequent mention of  
 “ God’s mercies to repentant sinners; to  
 “ stir up holy desires; to increase joy; to  
 “ moderate sorrow; to nourish hope, and  
 “ teach us patience, by waiting God’s leisure;  
 “ to beget a trust in the mercy,  
 “ power, and providence of our Creator;  
 “ and to cause a resignation of ourselves to  
 “ his will; and then, and not till then, to  
 “ believe ourselves happy.” This he said, the Liturgy and Psalms taught us; and that by the frequent use of the last they would not only prove to be our souls’ comfort, but would become so habitual, as to transform them into the image of his soul that composed them. After this manner he expressed himself concerning the Liturgy

turgy and Psalms ; and seemed to lament that this, which was the devotion of the more primitive times, should in common pulpits be turned into needless debates about Free-will, Election, and Reprobation, of which, and many like questions, we may be safely ignorant, because Almighty God intends not to lead us to heaven by hard questions, but by meekness and charity, and a frequent practice of devotion.

And he seemed to lament very much, that, by the means of irregular and indiscreet preaching, the generality of the nation were possessed with such dangerous mistakes, as to think, “ they might be religious first, and then just and merciful ; “ that they might sell their consciences, “ and yet have something left that was “ worth keeping ; that they might be “ sure they were elected, though their “ lives were visibly scandalous ; that to be “ cunning was to be wise ; that to be rich “ was to be happy, though their wealth “ was got without justice or mercy ; that “ to be busy in things they understood “ not,

“not, was no sin.” These and the like  
 mistakes he lamented much, and besought  
 God to remove them, and restore us to  
 that humility, sincerity, and single-heart-  
 edness, with which this nation was blessed  
 before the unhappy Covenant was brought  
 into the nation, and every man preached  
 and prayed what seemed best in his own  
 eyes. And he then said to me; “That  
 “the way to restore this nation to a more  
 “meek and christian temper, was to have  
 “the body of divinity (or so much of it  
 “as was needful to be known) to be put  
 “into fifty-two homilies or sermons; of  
 “such a length as not to exceed a third  
 “or fourth part of an hour’s reading; and  
 “these needful points to be made so clear  
 “and plain, that those of a mean capaci-  
 “ty might know what was necessary to  
 “be believed, and what God requires to  
 “be done; and then some applications of  
 “trial and conviction; and these to be  
 “read every Sunday of the year, as infal-  
 “libly as the blood circulates the body;  
 “and then as certainly begun again; and  
 “continued the year following; and that  
 “this

“ this being done, it might probably abate  
 “ the inordinate desire of knowing what  
 “ we need not, and practising what we  
 “ know, and ought to do.” This was the  
 earnest desire of this prudent man. And  
 O that Dr. Sanderson had undertaken it:  
 for then in all probability it would have  
 proved effectual.

At this happy time of enjoying his  
 company and this discourse, he expressed  
 a sorrow by saying to me, “ O that I had  
 “ gone chaplain to that excellently ac-  
 “ complished gentleman, your friend, Sir  
 “ Henry Wotton! which was once in-  
 “ tended, when he first went Ambassador  
 “ to the state of Venice: for by that  
 “ employment I had been forced into a  
 “ necessity of conversing, not with him  
 “ only, but with several men of several  
 “ nations; and might thereby have kept  
 “ myself from my unmanly bashfulness,  
 “ which has proved very troublesome, and  
 “ not less inconvenient to me; and which  
 “ I now fear is become so habitual as  
 “ never to leave me: and by that means  
 “ I might also have known, or at least  
 “ have



“ have had the satisfaction of seeing, one  
 “ of the late miracles of general learning,  
 “ prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wot-  
 “ ton’s dear friend, Padria Paulo, who,  
 “ the author of his life says; was born  
 “ with a bashfulness as invincible as I  
 “ have found my own to be; a man whose  
 “ fame must never die, till virtue and  
 “ learning shall become so useless as not to  
 “ be regarded.”

This was a part of the benefit I then  
 had by that hour’s conversation: and I  
 gladly remember and mention it, as an  
 argument of my happiness, and his great  
 humility and condescension. I had also a  
 like advantage by another happy confe-  
 rence with him, which I am desirous to  
 impart in this place to the reader. He la-  
 mented much, that in many parishes,  
 where the maintenance was not great,  
 there was no minister to officiate; and that  
 many of the best sequestered livings were  
 possessed with such rigid Covenanters as  
 denied the Sacrament to their parishioners,  
 unless upon such conditions, and in such a  
 manner, as they could not take it. This  
 he

he mentioned with much sorrow, saying,  
 “The blessed Sacrament did, by way of  
 “preparation for it, give occasion to all  
 “conscientious receivers to examine the  
 “performance of their vows, since they  
 “received their last seal for the pardon of  
 “their sins past; and to examine and re-  
 “search their hearts, and make penitent  
 “reflections on their failings; and, that  
 “done, to bewail them, and then make  
 “new vows or resolutions to obey all  
 “God’s commands, and beg his grace to  
 “perform them. And this done, the Sa-  
 “crament repairs the decays of grace,  
 “helps us to conquer infirmities, gives us  
 “grace to beg God’s grace, and then  
 “gives us what we beg; makes us still  
 “hunger and thirst after his righteousness,  
 “which we then receive, and being af-  
 “fisted with our endeavours, will still so  
 “dwell in us, as to become our satisfac-  
 “tion in this life, and our comfort on  
 “our last sick beds.” The want of this  
 blessed benefit he lamented much, and pi-  
 tied their condition that desired, but could  
 not obtain it.



I hope I shall not disoblige my reader, if I here enlarge into a further character of his person and temper. As first, that he was moderately tall; his behaviour had in it much of a plain comeliness, and very little, yet enough, of ceremony or courtship; his looks and motion manifested affability and mildness, and yet he had with these a calm, but so matchless a fortitude, as secured him from complying with any of those many Parliament injunctions, that interfered with a doubtful conscience. His learning was methodical and exact, his wisdom useful, his integrity visible, and his whole life so unspotted, that all ought to be preserved as copies for posterity to write after; the Clergy especially, who with impure hands ought not to offer sacrifice to that God, whose pure eyes abhor iniquity.

There was in his sermons no improper rhetoric, nor such perplexed divisions, as may be said to be like too much light, that so dazzles the eyes, that the sight becomes less perfect: but there was therein no want of useful matter; nor

nor waste of words; and yet such clear distinctions as dispelled all confused notions; and made his hearers depart both wiser, and more confirmed in virtuous resolutions.

His memory was so matchless and firm, as it was only overcome by his bashfulness; for he alone, or to a friend, could repeat all the Odes of Horace, all Tully's Offices, and much of Juvenal and Persius, without book; and would say, "the repetition of one of the Odes of Horace to himself was to him such music, as a lesson on the viol was to others, when they played it to themselves or friends."

And though he was blest with a clearer judgment than other men; yet he was so distrustful of it, that he did over-consider of consequences, and would so delay and re-consider what to determine, that though none ever determined better, yet, when the bell tolled for him to appear and read his divinity lectures in Oxford, and all the scholars attended to hear him, he had not then, or not till then, resolved



and writ what he meant to determine; so that that appeared to be a truth, which his old dear friend Dr. Sheldon would often say, namely, "That his judgment was so much superior to his fancy, that whatsoeuer this suggested, that disliked and controlled; still considering and reconsidering, till his time was so wasted, that he was forced to write, not, probably, what was best, but what he thought last." And yet what he did then read, appeared to all hearers to be so useful, clear, and satisfactory, as none ever determined with greater applause. These tiring and perplexing thoughts begot in him an averseness to enter into the toil of considering and determining all casuistical points; because during that time they neither gave rest to his body or mind. But though he would not be always loaden with these knotty points and distinctions; yet the study of old records, genealogies, and heraldry, were a recreation, and so pleasing, that he would say they gave rest to his mind. Of the last of which I have seen.

seen two remarkable volumes; and the reader needs neither to doubt their truth or exactness.

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

I have taken a content in giving my reader this character of his person, his temper, and some of the accidents of his life past; and more might be added of all: but I will with sorrow look forward to the sad days, in which so many good men suffered, about the year 1658, at which time Dr. Sanderson was in a very low condition as to his estate: and in that time



Mr. Robert Boyle (a gentleman of a very noble birth, and more eminent for his liberality, learning, and virtue, and of whom I would say much more; but that he still lives) having casually met with and read his Lectures *de Juramento*, to his great satisfaction, and being informed of Dr. Sanderfon's great innocence and sincerity, and that he and his family were brought into a low condition by his not complying with the Parliament's injunctions, sent him by his dear friend Dr. Barlow (the now learned Bishop of Lincoln) 50l. and with it a request and promise. The request was, That he would review the Lectures *de Conscientia*, which he had read when he was Doctor of the chair in Oxford, and print them for the good of posterity; (and this Dr. Sanderfon did in the year 1659.) And the promise was, That he would pay him that, or a greater sum if desired, during his life, to enable him to pay an amanuensis, to ease him from the trouble of writing what he should conceive or dictate. For the more particular account of which, I refer my reader to a letter writ by the said Dr. Barlow,

low, which I have annexed to the end of this relation.

Towards the end of this year 1659, when the many mixt sects, and their creators and merciless protectors, had led or driven each other into a whirlpool of confusion; when amazement and fear had seized them, and their accusing consciences gave them an inward and fearful intelligence, that the god which they had long served was now ready to pay them such wages, as he does always reward witches with for their obeying him; when these wretches were come to foresee an end of their cruel reign, by our King's return, and such sufferers as Dr. Sanderfon (and with him many of the oppressed Clergy and others) could foresee the cloud of their afflictions would be dispersed by it; then, in the beginning of the year following, the King was by God restored to us, and we to our known laws and liberties, and a general joy and peace seemed to breathe through the three nations. Then were the suffering Clergy freed from their sequestration, restored to their revenues, and to a liberty to adore, praise,



praise, and pray to God in such order as their consciences and oaths had formerly obliged them. And the reader will easily believe that Dr. Sanderfon and his dejected family rejoiced to see this day, and be of this number.

It ought to be considered (which I have often heard or read) that in the primitive times men of learning and virtue were usually sought for, and solicited to accept of episcopal government, and often refused it. For they conscientiously considered, that the office of a Bishop was made up of labour and care; that they were trusted to be God's almoners of the Church's revenue, and double their care for the poor; to live strictly themselves, and use all diligence to see that their family, officers, and clergy did so; and that the account of that stewardship must at the last dreadful day be made to the Searcher of all hearts; and that in the primitive times they were therefore timorous to undertake it. It may not be said, that Dr. Sanderfon was accomplished with these, and all the other requisites required

quired in a Bishop, so as to be able to answer them exactly: but it may be affirmed, as a good preparation, that he had at the age of seventy-three years (for he was so old at the King's return) fewer faults to be pardoned by God or man, than are apparent in others in these days, in which, God knows, we fall so short of that visible sanctity and zeal for God's glory, which was apparent in the days of primitive Christianity. This is mentioned by way of preparation to what I shall say more of Dr. Sanderson; and namely, that, at the King's return, Dr. Sheldon, the late prudent Bishop of Canterbury, (than whom none knew, valued, or loved Dr. Sanderson more or better,) was by his Majesty made a chief trustee to commend to him fit men to supply the then vacant bishoprics. And Dr. Sheldon knew none fitter than Dr. Sanderson, and therefore humbly desired the King that he would nominate him; and, that done, he did as humbly desire Dr. Sanderson that he would, for God's and the Church's sake, take that charge and care upon him. Dr. Sanderson had, if

BISHOP

not

not an unwillingness, certainly no forwardness to undertake it; and would often say, “he had not led himself, but his friend would now lead him into a temptation, which he had daily prayed against; and besought God, if he did undertake it, so to assist him with his grace, that the example of his life, his cares and endeavours, might promote his glory, and help forward the salvation of others.”

This I have mentioned as a happy preparation to his bishopric; and am next to tell, that he was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln at Westminster the 28th of October, 1660.

There was about this time a Christian care taken, that those whose consciences were, as they said, tender, and could not comply with the service and ceremonies of the Church, might have satisfaction given by a friendly debate betwixt a select number of them, and some like number of those that had been sufferers for the Church service and ceremonies, and now restored to liberty; of which last some were then preferred to power and dignity

in



in the Church. And of these Bishop Sanderson was one, and then chose to be a moderator in that debate: and he performed his trust with much mildness, patience, and reason; but all proved ineffectual: for there be some prepossessions like jealousies, which, though causeless, yet cannot be removed by reasons as apparent as demonstration can make any truth. The place appointed for this debate was the Savoy in the Strand: and the points debated were, I think, many; some affirmed to be truth and reason, some denied to be either; and these debates being then in words, proved to be so loose and perplexed, as satisfied neither party. For sometime that which had been affirmed was immediately forgot or denied, and so no satisfaction given to either party. But that the debate might become more useful, it was therefore resolved, that the day following the desires and reasons of the Nonconformists should be given in writing, and they in writing receive answers from the conforming party. And though I neither now can, nor need to mention all the points

points debated, nor the names of the dissenting brethren; yet I am sure Mr. Baxter was one, and am sure what shall now follow was one of the points debated.

Concerning a command of lawful superiors, what was sufficient to its being a lawful command; this proposition was brought by the conforming party.

“That command which commands an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.”

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons, which he gave in with his own hand in writing, thus :

One was, “Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in itself, and may be unlawfully commanded, though that accident be not in the command.” Another was, “That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.”

Again, this proposition being brought by the Conformists, “That command which commandeth an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance



“stance whence *per accidens* any sin is  
 “consequent which the commander ought  
 “to provide against, is not sinful.”

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason,  
 then given in with his own hand in writ-  
 ing, thus: “Because the first act com-  
 “manded may be *per accidens* unlawful,  
 “and be commanded by an unjust penalty,  
 “though no other act or circumstance  
 “commanded be such.”

Again, this proposition being brought  
 by the Conformists, “That command  
 “which commandeth an act in itself law-  
 “ful, and no other act whereby any un-  
 “just penalty is enjoined, nor any circum-  
 “stance whence directly, or *per accidens*,  
 “any sin is consequent, which the com-  
 “mander ought to provide against, hath  
 “in it all things requisite to the lawfulness  
 “of a command, and particularly cannot  
 “be guilty of commanding an act  
 “*per accidens* unlawful, nor of command-  
 “ing an act under an unjust penalty.”

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same  
 reasons.

PETER GUNNING.

JOHN PEARSON.

These were then two of the disputants, still alive, and will attest this; one being now Lord Bishop of Ely, and the other of Chester. And the last of them told me very lately, that one of the Dissenters (which I could, but forbear to name) appeared to Dr. Sanderfon to be so bold, so troublesome, and so illogical in the dispute, as forced patient Dr. Sanderfon (who was then Bishop of Lincoln, and a moderator with other bishops) to say, with an unusual earnestness, "That he had  
 " never met with a man of more pertinacious confidence, and less abilities, in all  
 " his conversation."

- But though this debate at the Savoy was ended without any great satisfaction to either party, yet both parties knew the desires, and understood the abilities, of the other, much better than before it: and the late distressed Clergy, that were now restored to their former rights and power, did at their next meeting in convocation contrive to give the dissenting party satisfaction by alteration, explanation, and addition to some part both of the Rubric and Common-Prayer, as also by  
 adding



adding some new necessary collects, and a particular collect of thanksgiving. How many of those new collects were worded by Dr. Sanderson, I cannot say; but am sure the whole Convocation valued him so much, that he never undertook to speak to any point in question, but he was heard with great willingness and attention; and when any point in question was determined, the Convocation did usually desire him to word their intentions, and as usually approve and thank him.

At this Convocation the Common Prayer was made more complete, by adding three new necessary offices; which were, “A  
“Form of Humiliation for the Murder  
“of King Charles the Martyr;” “A  
“Thanksgiving for the Restoration of his  
“Son our King;” and “For the Baptizing  
“of Persons of riper Age.” I cannot say Dr. Sanderson did form or word them all, but doubtless more than any single man of the Convocation; and he did also, by desire of the Convocation, alter and add to the forms of prayers to be used at sea (now taken into the Service-Book.) And



it may be noted, that William, the now Right Reverend Bishop of Canterbury, was in these employments diligently useful, especially in helping to rectify the Calendar and Rubric. And lastly, it may be noted, that for the satisfying all the dissenting brethren and others, the Convocation's reasons for the alterations and additions to the Liturgy were by them desired to be drawn up by Dr. Sanderfon; which being done by him, and approved by them, was appointed to be printed before the Liturgy, and may be known by this title,—“The Preface;” and begins thus—“It hath been the wisdom of the Church—

I shall now follow him to his bishopric, and declare a part of his behaviour in that busy and weighty employment. And first, that it was with such condescension and obligingness to the meanest of his Clergy, as to know and be known to them. And indeed he practised the like to all men of what degree soever, especially to his old neighbours or parishioners of Boothby Pannel; for there was all joy at his table, when

when they came to visit him: then they prayed for him, and he for them, with an unfeigned affection.

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

The Bishop's chief house at Bugden, in the county of Huntington, the usual residence of his predecessors, (for it stands about the midst of his diocese,) having been at his consecration a great part of it demolished, and what was left standing under a visible decay, was by him undertaken to be erected and repaired; and it was performed with great speed, care, and charge. And to this may be added, that the King having by an injunction commended to the care of the Bishops, Deans, and Prebends of all cathedral churches, "the repair of them, their houses, and augmentation of small vicarages;" he,

when he was repairing Bugden, did also augment the last, as fast as fines were paid for renewing leases: so fast, that a friend, taking notice of his bounty, was so bold as to advise him to remember, "he was  
 "under his first-fruits, and that he was  
 "old, and had a wife and children yet  
 "but meanly provided for, especially if  
 "his dignity were considered." To whom he made a mild and thankful answer, saying, "It would not become a Christian  
 "Bishop to suffer those houses built by  
 "his predecessors to be ruined for want  
 "of repair; and less justifiable to suffer  
 "any of those, that were called to so high  
 "a calling as to sacrifice at God's altar,  
 "to eat the bread of sorrow constantly,  
 "when he had a power by a small augmentation to turn it into the bread of  
 "cheerfulness: and wished, that as this  
 "was, so it were also in his power to  
 "make all mankind happy, for he desired  
 "nothing more. And for his wife and  
 "children, he hoped to leave them a  
 "competence, and in the hands of a God  
 "that would provide for all that kept in  
 "nocence,

innocence, and trusted his providence and protection, which he had always found enough to make and keep him happy.” There was in his diocese a minister of almost his age, that had been of Lincoln College when he left it, who visited him often, and always welcome, because he was a man of innocence and open-heartedness. This minister asked the Bishop what books he studied most, when he laid the foundation of his great and clear learning. To which his answer was, that he declined reading many; but what he did read were well chosen, and read so often, that he became very familiar with them; and said, they were chiefly three, Aristotle’s Rhetoric, Aquinas’s *Secunda Secundæ*, and Tully; but chiefly his Offices, which he had not read over less than twenty times; and could at this age say without book. And told him also, the learned Civilian Doctor Zouch (who died lately) had writ *Elementa Jurisprudentiæ*, which was a book that he could also say without book; and that no wise man could read it too often, or love or com-

mend too much; and told him these had been his toil: but for himself, he always had a natural love to genealogies and heraldry; and that when his thoughts were harassed with any perplexed studies, he left off, and turned to them as a recreation; and that his very recreation had made him so perfect in them, that he could in a very short time give an account of the descent, arms, and antiquity of any family of the nobility or gentry of this nation.

Before I give an account of Dr. Sanderson's last sickness, I desire to tell the reader, that he was of a healthful constitution, cheerful and mild, of an even temper, very moderate in his diet, and had had little sickness, till some few years before his death; but was then every winter punished with a diarrhœa, which left him not till warm weather returned and removed it: and this distemper did, as he grew older, seize him oftener, and continue longer with him. But though it weakened him, yet it made him rather indisposed than sick, and did no way  
difiable

disable him from studying (indeed too much). In this decay of his strength, but not of his memory or reason, (for this distemper works not upon the understanding,) he made his last will, of which I shall give some account for confirmation of what hath been said, and what I think convenient to be known, before I declare his death and burial.

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

“I Robert Sanderfon, Doctor of Divinity, an unworthy Minister of Jesus Christ, and, by the providence of God, Bishop of Lincoln, being by the long continuance of an habitual distemper brought to a great bodily weakness and faintness of spirits, but (by the great mercy of God) without any bodily pain otherwise, nor decay of understanding, do make this my will and testament, (written all with my own hand,) revoking all former wills by me heretofore made,

“ if any such shall be found. First, I  
 “ commend my soul into the hands of  
 “ Almighty God, as of a faithful Creator,  
 “ which I humbly beseech him mercifully  
 “ to accept, looking upon it, not as it is  
 “ in itself, (infinitely polluted with sin,)  
 “ but as it is redeemed and purged with  
 “ the precious blood of his only beloved  
 “ Son, and my most sweet Saviour, Jesus  
 “ Christ; in confidence of whose merits  
 “ and mediation alone it is, that I cast  
 “ myself upon the mercy of God; for the  
 “ pardon of my sins, and the hopes of eter-  
 “ nal life. And here I do profess, that as I  
 “ have lived, so I desire, and (by the grace  
 “ of God) resolve to die in the commu-  
 “ nion of the Catholic Church of Christ,  
 “ and a true son of the Church of Eng-  
 “ land; which, as it stands by law esta-  
 “ blished, to be both in doctrine and wor-  
 “ ship agreeable to the word of God, and  
 “ in the most, and most material points  
 “ of both, conformable to the faith and  
 “ practice of the godly Churches of Christ  
 “ in the primitive and purer times, I do  
 “ firmly believe; led so to do, not so  
 “ much

“ much from the force of custom and  
 “ education, (to which the greatest part  
 “ of mankind owe their particular differ-  
 “ ent persuasions in point of religion,) as  
 “ upon the clear evidence of truth and  
 “ reason, after a serious and impartial ex-  
 “ amination of the grounds, as well of  
 “ Popery as Puritanism, according to that  
 “ measure of understanding, and those  
 “ opportunities which God hath afforded  
 “ me: and herein I am abundantly satis-  
 “ fied, that the schism which the Papists  
 “ on the one hand, and the superstition  
 “ which the Puritan on the other hand, lay  
 “ to our charge, are very justly chargeable  
 “ upon themselves respectively. Where-  
 “ fore I humbly beseech Almighty God,  
 “ the Father of mercies, to preserve the  
 “ Church by his power and providence,  
 “ in peace, truth, and godliness, ever-  
 “ more to the world’s end: which doubt-  
 “ less he will do, if the wickedness and  
 “ security of a sinful people (and par-  
 “ ticularly those sins that are so rife, and  
 “ seem daily to increase among us, of  
 “ unthankfulness, riot, and sacrilege) do  
 “ not



“ not tempt his patience to the contrary.  
 “ And I also farther humbly beseech him;  
 “ that it would please him to give unto  
 “ our gracious Sovereign, the reverend  
 “ Bishops, and the Parliament, timely to  
 “ consider the great danger that visibly  
 “ threatens this Church in point of reli-  
 “ gion by the late great increase of Po-  
 “ pery, and in point of revenue by sacrile-  
 “ gious inclosures; and to provide such  
 “ wholesome and effectual remedies, as  
 “ may prevent the same before it be too  
 “ late.”

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

“ As for my corruptible body, I be-  
 “ queath it to the earth whence it was  
 “ taken, to be decently buried in the  
 “ parish-church of Bugden, towards the  
 “ upper end of the chancel, upon the se-  
 “ cond, or (at the farthest) the third day  
 “ after my decease; and that with as little  
 “ noise, pomp, and charge as may be,  
 “ without the invitation of any person  
 “ how

“how near soever related unto me, other  
 “than the inhabitants of Bugden; with-  
 “out the unnecessary expence of escut-  
 “cheons, gloves, ribbons, &c. and with-  
 “out any blacks to be hung anywhere in  
 “or about the house or church, other  
 “than a pulpit-cloth, a hearse-cloth, and  
 “a mourning-gown for the preacher;  
 “whereof the former (after my body  
 “shall be interred) to be given to the  
 “preacher of the funeral sermon, and the  
 “latter to the curate of the parish for the  
 “time being. And my will further is,  
 “that the funeral sermon be preached by  
 “my own household chaplain, containing  
 “some wholesome discourse concerning  
 “mortality, the resurrection of the dead,  
 “and the last judgment; and that he  
 “shall have for his pains 5*l.* upon con-  
 “dition, that he speak nothing at all  
 “concerning my person, either good or  
 “ill, other than I myself shall direct;  
 “only signifying to the auditory that it  
 “was my express will to have it so. And  
 “it is my will, that no costly monument  
 “be erected for my memory, but only a  
 “fair

“ fair flat marble stone to be laid over  
 “ me, with this inscription in legible Ro-  
 “ man characters, DEPOSITUM ROBERTI  
 “ SANDERSON NUPER LINCOLNIENSIS  
 “ EPISCOPI, QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI  
 “ MDCLXII. ET ÆTATIS SUÆ SEPTUA-  
 “ GESIMO SEXTO, HIC REQUIESCIT IN  
 “ SPE BEATÆ RESURRECTIONIS. This  
 “ manner of burial, although I cannot but  
 “ foresee it will prove unsatisfactory to  
 “ fundry my nearest friends and relations,  
 “ and be apt to be censured by others, as  
 “ an evidence of my too much parsimony,  
 “ and narrowness of mind, as being alto-  
 “ gether unusual, and not according to the  
 “ mode of these times; yet it is agreeable  
 “ to the sense of my heart, and I do very  
 “ much desire my will may be carefully  
 “ observed herein, hoping it may become  
 “ exemplary to some or other: at least  
 “ howsoever testifying at my death (what  
 “ I have so often and earnestly professed  
 “ in my life time) my utter dislikes of the  
 “ flatteries commonly used in funeral ser-  
 “ mons, and of the vast expences otherwise  
 “ laid out in funeral solemnities and en-  
 “ tertainments,

“tertainments, with very little benefit to  
 “any, which, if bestowed in pious and  
 “charitable works, might redound to the  
 “public or private benefit of many per-  
 “sons.”

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

His last will (of which I have mentioned a part) was made about three weeks before his death; about which time, finding his strength to decay by reason of his constant infirmity, and a consumptive cough added to it, he retired to his chamber, expressing a desire to enjoy his last thoughts to himself in private, without disturbance or care, especially of what  
 • might

might concern this world. And that none of his Clergy (which are more numerous than any other Bishop's) might suffer by his retirement, he did by commission empower his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, with episcopal power to give institutions to all livings or church-preferments, during this his disability to do it himself. In this time of his retirement he longed for his dissolution; and when some that loved him prayed for his recovery, if he at any time found any amendment, he seemed to be displeased, by saying, "His friends  
 "said their prayers backward for him.  
 "and that it was not his desire to live a  
 "useless life, and by filling up a place  
 "keep another out of it, that might do  
 "God and his Church service." He would often with much joy and thankfulness mention, "That during his being  
 "a housekeeper (which was more than  
 "forty years) there had not been one buried out of his family, and that he was  
 "now like to be the first." He would also often mention with thankfulness,  
 "That till he was threescore years of age,  
 "he

“ he had never spent five shillings in law,  
 “ nor (upon himself) so much in wine:  
 “ and rejoiced much that he had so lived,  
 “ as never to cause an hour’s sorrow to  
 “ his good father; and hoped he should  
 “ die without an enemy.”

He in this retirement had the church prayers read in his chamber twice every day; and at nine at night some prayers read to him and a part of his family out of *The Whole Duty of Man*. As he was remarkably punctual and regular in all his studies and actions, so he used himself to be for his meals. And his dinner being appointed to be constantly ready at the ending of prayers, and he expecting and calling for it, was answered, “ It would be ready in a quarter of an hour.” To which his reply was, “ A quarter of an hour! Is a quarter of an hour nothing to a man that probably has not many hours to live?” And though he did live many hours after this, yet he lived not many days; for the day after (which was three days before his death) he was become so weak and weary of either motion  
 or

or sitting, that he was content, or forced, to keep his bed: in which I desire he may rest, till I have given some account of his behaviour there, and immediately before it.

The day before he took his bed, (which was three days before his death,) he, that he might receive a new assurance for the pardon of his sins past, and be strengthened in his way to the New Jerusalem, took the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of his and our blessed Jesus, from the hands of his chaplain, Mr. Pullin, accompanied with his wife, children, and a friend, in as awful, humble, and ardent a manner, as outward reverence could express. After the praise and thanksgiving for it was ended, he spake to this purpose; “Thou, O God, tookest  
 “me out of my mother’s womb, and hast  
 “been the powerful protector of me to  
 “this present moment of my life: Thou  
 “hast neither forsaken me now I am be-  
 “come grey-headed, nor suffered me to  
 “forsake thee in the late days of tempta-  
 “tion, and sacrifice my conscience for the  
 “pre-

“ preservation of my liberty or estate. It  
 “ was by grace that I have stood, when  
 “ others have fallen under my trials : and  
 “ these mercies I now remember with  
 “ joy and thankfulness ; and my hope  
 “ and desire is, that I may die praising  
 “ thee.”

“ The frequent repetition of the Psalms of  
 David hath been noted to be a great part  
 of the devotion of the primitive Christians ;  
 the Psalms having in them not only prayers  
 and holy instructions, but such commem-  
 orations of God’s mercies, as may pre-  
 serve comfort, and confirm our dependence  
 on the power, and providence, and mercy  
 of our Creator. And this is mentioned in  
 order to telling, that as the holy Psalmist  
 said, that *his eyes should prevent both the  
 dawning of the day and the night watches,  
 by meditating on God’s word* : so it was  
 Dr. Sander’s constant practice every  
 morning to entertain his first waking  
 thoughts with a repetition of those very  
 Psalms that the Church hath appointed to

Psalm cxix. 147.



be constantly read in the daily morning service; and having at night laid him in his bed, he as constantly closed his eyes with a repetition of those appointed for the service of the evening, remembering and repeating the very Psalms appointed for every day; and as the month had formerly ended and began again, so did this exercise of his devotion. And if his first waking thoughts were of the world, on what concerned it, he would arraign and condemn himself for it. Thus he began that work on earth, which is now his employment in heaven.

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

and day very patient, and thankful for any of the little offices that were performed for his ease and refreshment; and during that time did often say the 103d Psalm to himself, and very often these words, *My heart is fixed, O God, my heart is fixed where true joy is to be found.* His thoughts seemed now to be wholly of death, for which he was so prepared, that that King of Terrors could not surprise him *as a thief in the night*; for he had often said, “he was prepared, and longed for it.” And as this desire seemed to come from heaven, so it left him not till his soul ascended to that region of blessed spirits, whose employments are to join in concert with him, and sing praise and glory to that God, who hath brought them to that place, *into which sin and sorrow cannot enter.*

Thus this pattern of meekness and primitive innocence changed this for a better life. It is now too late to wish that my life may be like his; for I am in the eighty-fifth year of my age: but I humbly beseech Almighty God, that my death

may; and do as earnestly beg of every reader to say Amen.

*Blessed is the man in whose spirit there is no guile.*

Good Mr. Walton,

AT my return to this place, I made a  
yet further search after the letters long  
ago sent me from our most excellent  
Sabbaton, before the happy restoration of  
the King and Church of England to their  
several rights: in one of which letters  
more expectantly, he was pleased to give  
me a narrative both of the rise and the  
progress, and reasons also as well of his  
younger, as of his last and ripest judgment  
touching the famous points controverted  
between the Calvinists and the Arminians;  
and as they are commonly thought un-  
justly and unskillfully misstated on either  
side.

The whole letter I allude to does consist  
of several sheets, whereof a good part  
has been made public long ago by the  
most learned, most judicious, most pious  
Dr. Hammond, (to whom I lent it both  
for

DR.

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## DR. PIERCE'S LETTER.

*Good Mr. Walton,*

AT my return to this place, I made a yet stricter search after the letters long ago sent me from our most excellent Dr. Sanderfon, before the happy restoration of the King and Church of England to their several rights: in one of which letters more especially, he was pleased to give me a narrative both of the rise and the progress, and reasons also, as well of his younger, as of his last and riper judgment, touching the famous points controverted between the Calvinians and the Arminians, as they are commonly (though unjustly and unskilfully) miscalled on either side.

The whole letter I allude to does consist of several sheets, whereof a good part has been made public long ago, by the most learned, most judicious, most pious Dr. Hammond, (to whom I sent it both

for his private; and for the public satisfaction, if he thought fit,) in his excellent book, entitled, "A Pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, in full accordance with Dr. Sanderfon:" to which discourse I refer you for an account of Dr. Sanderfon, and the history of his thoughts in his own hand-writing, wherein I sent it to Westwood, as I received it from Boothby Pannel. And although the whole book (printed in the year 1660, and reprinted since with his other tracts in folio) is very worthy of your perusal; yet, for the work you are about, you shall not have need to read more at present than from the 8th to the 23d page, and as far as the end of section 33. There you will find in what year the excellent man, whose life you write, became a Master of Arts: how his first reading of learned Hooker had been occasioned by certain puritanical pamphlets; and how good a preparative he found it for his reading of Calvin's Institutions, the honour of whose name (at that time especially) gave such credit to his errors; how he erred with Mr. Calvin,

Calvin; whilst he took things upon trust in the *sublapsarian* way: how, being chosen to be a Clerk of the Convocation for the diocese of Lincoln, 1625, he reduced the *Quinquarticular Controversy* into five schemes or tables; and thereupon discerned a necessity of quitting the *sublapsarian* way, of which he had before a better liking, as well as the *supralapsarian*, which he could never fancy. There you will meet with his two weighty reasons against them both, and find his happy change of judgment to have been ever since the year 1625, even thirty-four years before the world either knew, or, at least, took notice of it; and more particularly his reasons for rejecting Dr. Twiss, (or the way he walks in,) although his acute and very learned and ancient friend.

I now proceed to let you know from Dr. Sanderfon's own hand, which was never printed, (and which you can hardly

Sir, I pray note, that all that follows between inverted commas are Dr. Sanderfon's own words, excellently worthy, but no where else extant; and commend him as much as any thing you can say of him. T. P.



know from any, unless from his son, or from myself,) that, when that Parliament was broken up, and the convocation therewith dissolved, a gentleman of his acquaintance, by occasion of some discourse about these points, told him of a book not long before published at Paris; (A. D. 1623,) by a Spanish Bishop\*, who had undertaken to clear the differences in the great controversy *De Concordia Gratia et Liberi Arbitrii*. And because his friend perceived he was greedily desirous to see the book, he sent him one of them, containing the four first books of twelve; which he intended then to publish.

“When I had read,” says Dr. Sanderson; in the following words of the same letter, “his Epistle Dedicatory” to the Pope, “(Gregory XV.) he spake so highly of his own invention, that I then began rather to suspect him for a mountebank, than to hope I should find satisfaction from his performances. I found much confidence and great pomp of words, but

3 23

\* Arriba. 21

“ little

“ little matter as to the main knot of the  
“ business, other than had been said an  
“ hundred times before, to wit, of the  
“ coexistence of all things past, present,  
“ and future, *in mente divina realiter ab*  
“ *eterno*, which is the subject of his whole  
“ third book; only he interpreteth the  
“ word *realiter* so as to import not only  
“ *præsentialitatem objectivam*, (as others  
“ held before him,) but *propriam et acti-*  
“ *alem existentiam*; yet confesseth it is hard  
“ to make this intelligible. In his fourth  
“ book he endeavours to declare a two-  
“ fold manner of God’s working *ad extra*;  
“ the one *sub ordine prædestinationis*, of  
“ which eternity is the proper measure;  
“ the other *sub ordine gratiæ*, whereof  
“ time is the measure: and that God  
“ worketh *fortiter* in the one, (though not  
“ *irresistibiliter*,) as well as *suaviter* in the  
“ other, wherein the free will hath his  
“ proper working also. From the result  
“ of his whole performance I was con-  
“ firmed in this opinion; that we must  
“ acknowledge the work of both grace  
“ and free will in the conversion of a sin-  
“ ner;



“mer; and so likewise in all other events,  
 “the consistency of the infallibility of  
 “God’s foreknowledge at least (though  
 “not with any absolute, but conditional  
 “predestination) with the liberty of man’s  
 “will, and the contingency of inferior  
 “causes and effects. These, I say, we  
 “must acknowledge for the *ὀρί*; but for  
 “the *τὸ πᾶν*, I thought it bootless for me  
 “to think of comprehending it. And so  
 “came the two *Acta Synodalia Dor-*  
 “*drechtana* to stand in my study, only to  
 “fill up a room to this day.

“And yet see the restless curiosity of  
 “man. Not many years after, to wit,  
 “A. D. 1632, out cometh Dr. Twiss’s  
 “*Vindiciæ Gratiæ*, a large volume, pur-  
 “posely writ against Arminius: and then,  
 “notwithstanding my former resolution,  
 “I must needs be meddling again. The  
 “respect I bore to his person and great  
 “learning, and the long acquaintance I  
 “had had with him in Oxford, drew me to  
 “the reading of that whole book. But  
 “from the reading of it (for I read it  
 “through to a syllable) I went away with  
 “many

“many and great dissatisfactions. & Sun-  
 “dry things in that book I took notice  
 “of, which brought me into a greater dis-  
 “like of his opinion than I had before :  
 “but especially these three : First, that he  
 “bottometh very much of his discourse  
 “upon a very erroneous principle; which  
 “yet he seemeth to be so deeply in love  
 “with, that he hath repeated it, I verily  
 “believe, some hundreds of times in that  
 “work : to wit this ; That whatsoever is  
 “first in the intention is last in execution,  
 “and *e converso*. Which is an error of that  
 “magnitude, that I cannot but wonder  
 “how a person of such acuteness and  
 “subtlety of wit could possibly be deceived  
 “with it. All logicians know there is no  
 “such universal maxim as he buildeth  
 “upon. The true maxim is but this : *Finis*  
 “*qui primus est in intentione, est ultimus in*  
 “*executione*. In the order of final causes,  
 “and the means used for that end, the  
 “rule holdeth perpetually : but in other  
 “things, it holdeth not at all, or but by  
 “chance ; or not as a rule, and necessarily.  
 “Secondly, that, foreseeing such conse-  
 “quences

“quences would naturally and necessarily  
“follow from his opinion, as would offend  
“the ear of a sober Christian at the very  
“first sound, he would yet rather choose  
“not only to admit the said harsh conse-  
“quences, but professedly endeavour also  
“to maintain them, and plead hard for  
“them in large digressions, than to recede  
“in the least from that opinion which he  
“had undertaken to defend. Thirdly,  
“that seeing (out of the sharpness of his  
“wit) a necessity of forsaking the ordi-  
“nary sublapsarian way, and the supra-  
“lapsarian too, as it had diversely been  
“declared by all that had gone be-  
“fore him, (for the shunning of those  
“rocks, which either of those ways must  
“unavoidably cast him upon,) he was  
“forced to seek out an untrodden path,  
“and to frame out of his own brain a new  
“way, (like a spider’s web wrought out  
“of her own bowels;) hoping by that de-  
“vice to salve all absurdities could be  
“objected; to wit, by making the glory  
“of God (as it is indeed the chiefest, so)  
“the only end of all other his decrees,  
“and

“and then making all those other decrees  
 “to be but one entire coordinate medium  
 “conducting to that one end, and so the  
 “whole subordinate to it, but not any  
 “one part thereof subordinate to any  
 “other of the same. Dr. Twiss should  
 “have done well to have been more spar-  
 “ing in imputing the *studium partium* to  
 “others, wherewith his own eyes, though  
 “of eminent perspicacity, were so strange-  
 “ly blindfolded, that he could not discern  
 “how this his new device, and his old  
 “dearly beloved principle, (like the *Cad-*  
 “*mean Sparti*,) do mutually destroy the  
 “one the other.

“This relation of my past thoughts  
 “having spun out to a far greater length  
 “than I intended, I shall give a shorter  
 “account of what they now are concern-  
 “ing these points.”

For which account I refer you to the  
 following parts of Dr. Hammond's book  
 aforesaid, where you may find them al-  
 ready printed: and for another account  
 at large of Bishop Sanderson's last judg-  
 ment concerning *God's concurrence* or *non-*  
*concurrence*

concurrence with the *actions of men*, and the *positive entity of sins of commission*, I refer you to his letters already printed by his consent, in my large Appendix to my *Impartial Enquiry into the Nature of Sin*, §. 68. p. 193. as far as p. 200.

Sir, I have rather made it my choice to transcribe all above out of the letters of Dr. Sanderfon, which lie before me, than venture the loss of my originals by post or carrier, which, though not often, yet sometimes fail. Make use of as much or as little as you please, of what I send you from himself (because from his own letters to me) in the penning of his life, as your own prudence shall direct you; using my name for your warranty in the account given of him, as much or as little as you please too. You have a performance of my promise, and an obedience to your desires from

Your affectionate

Humble Servant,

THO. PIERCE.

NORTH TIDWORTH,

March 5, 1677-8.

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THE  
BISHOP OF LINCOLN'S LETTER.

*My worthy Friend Mr. Walton,*

I AM heartily glad that you have undertaken to write the life of that excellent person, and (both for learning and piety) eminent Prelate, Dr. Sanderfon, late Bishop of Lincoln; because I know your ability to know, and integrity to write truth: and sure I am, that the life and actions of that pious and learned Prelate will afford you matter enough for his commendation, and the imitation of posterity. In order to the carrying on your intended good work, you desire my assistance, that I would communicate to you such particular passages of his life, as were certainly known to me. I confess I had the happiness to be particularly known to him for about the space of twenty years, and, in Oxon, to enjoy his conversation, and his learned  
and

and pious instructions while he was Regius Professor of Divinity there. Afterwards, when, in the time of our late unhappy confusions, he left Oxon, and was retired into the country, I had the benefit of his letters; wherein, with great candour and kindness, he answered those doubts I proposed, and gave me that satisfaction, which I neither had, nor expected from some others of greater confidence, but less judgment and humility. Having, in a letter, named two or three books, writ, *expresso*, against the being of any original sin; and that Adam, by his fall, transmitted some calamity only, but no crime, to his posterity; the good old man was exceedingly troubled, and bewailed the misery of those licentious times, and seemed to wonder (save that the times were such) that any should write, or be permitted to publish, any error so contradictory to truth, and the doctrine of the Church of England, established (as he truly said) by clear evidence of Scripture, and the just and supreme power of this nation, both sacred and civil. I name not the books, nor

nor their authors, which are not unknown to learned men, (and I wish they had never been known,) because both *the doctrines and the unadvised abettors of it, are (and shall be) to me apocryphal.*

Another little story I must not pass in silence, being an argument of Dr. Sander-son's piety, great ability, and judgment as a casuist. Discouraging with an honourable person<sup>a</sup>, (whose piety I value more than his nobility and learning, though both be great,) about a case of conscience concerning oaths and vows, their nature and obligation; in which, for some particular reasons, he then desired more fully to be informed; I commended to him Dr. Sander-son's book *De Juramento*: which having read, with great satisfaction, he asked me, if I thought the Doctor could be induced to write cases of conscience, if he might have an honorary pension allowed him to furnish him with books for that purpose? I told him I believed he would; and, in a letter to the Doctor, told him

<sup>a</sup> Robert Boyle, Esq.



what great satisfaction that honourable person, and many more, had reaped by reading his book *De Juramento*; and asked him, whether he would be pleased, for the benefit of the Church, to write some tract of cases of conscience? He replied, that he was glad that any had received any benefit by his books; and added further, that if any future tract of his could bring such benefit to any, as we seemed to say his former had done, he would willingly, though without any pension, set about that work. Having received this answer, that honourable person before mentioned did, by my hands, return 50l. to the good Doctor; whose condition then, as most good men's at that time were, was but low: and he presently revised, finished, and published that excellent book *De Conscientia*; a book little in bulk, but not so if we consider the benefit an intelligent reader may receive by it: for there are so many general propositions concerning conscience, the nature and obligation of it, explained and proved with such firm consequence and evidence of reason, that he

He who reads, remembers, and can, with prudence, pertinently apply them *hic et tunc* to particular cases, may, by their light and help, rationally resolve a thousand particular doubts and scruples of conscience. Here you may see the charity of that honourable person in promoting, and the piety and industry of the good Doctor in performing, that excellent work. And here I shall add the judgment of that learned and pious Prelate concerning a passage very pertinent to our present purpose. When he was in Oxon, and read his public lectures in the Schools as Regius Professor of Divinity, and by the truth of his positions, and evidences of his proofs, gave great content and satisfaction to all his hearers; especially in his clear resolutions of all difficult cases which occurred in the explication of the subject-matter of his lectures; a person of quality, yet alive, privately asked him, what course a young Divine should take in his studies, to enable him to be a good casuist? His answer was, that a convenient understanding of the learned languages, (at least

of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,) and a sufficient knowledge of arts and sciences presupposed; there were two things in human literature, a comprehension of which would be of very great use to enable a man to be a rational and able casuist, which otherwise was very difficult, if not impossible. 1. A convenient knowledge of moral philosophy; especially that part of it which treats of the nature of human actions: to know, *quid sit actus humanus* (*spontaneus, invitus, mixtus*), *unde habent bonitatem et mælitiam moralem?* *an ex genere et objecto, vel ex circumstantiis?* how the variety of circumstances varies the goodness or evil of human actions, how far knowledge and ignorance may aggravate or excuse, increase or diminish the goodness or evil of our actions? For every case of conscience being only this, *Is this action good or bad? May I do it, or may I not?* he who, in these, knows not how and whence human actions become morally good and evil, never can, *in hypothesis*, rationally and certainly determine whether this or that particular action be so.

so. 2. The second thing, which, he said, would be a great help and advantage to a casuist, was a convenient knowledge of the nature and obligation of laws in general : to know what a law is ; what a natural and a positive law ; what's required to the *latio, dispensatio, derogatio, vel abrogatio legis* ; what promulgation is antecedently required to the obligation of any positive law ; what ignorance takes off the obligation of a law, or does excuse, diminish, or aggravate the transgression : for every case of conscience being only this, *Is this lawful for me, or is it not ?* and the law the only rule and measure, by which I must judge of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of any action ; it evidently follows, that he who, in these, knows not the nature and obligation of laws, never can be a good casuist, or rationally assure himself, or others, of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of actions in particular. This was the judgment and good counsel of that learned and pious Prelate ; and having, by long experience, found the truth and benefit of it, I conceive I

could not, without ingratitude to him, and want of charity to others, conceal it. Pray pardon this rude, and, I fear, impertinent scribble, which (if nothing else) may signify thus much, that I am willing to obey your desires, and am indeed

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS LINCOLN.

LONDON,

May 10, 1678.

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# REASONS

FOR THE PRESENT

## JUDGMENT

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

CONCERNING THE

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT,

NEGATIVE OATH,

ORDINANCES CONCERNING DISCI-

PLINE AND WORSHIP.

Approved by general Consent in a full Convocation,  
June 1, 1647; and presented to Consideration.

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, England, Scot-  
land, and Ireland.

W. E. Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentles-  
men, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the  
 Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the  
kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ire-  
land, by the providence of God living under  
our King, and being of our reformed reli-  
gion, bearing 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 kingdom, wherein  
every one's private devotion is included;  
and calling to mind the treacherous and  
bloody



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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, England, Scot-  
land, and Ireland.

*WE* Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentle-  
men, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the  
Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the  
kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ire-  
land, by the providence of God living under  
our King, and being of one reformed reli-  
gion, 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 devotion is included;  
and calling to mind the treacherous and  
bloody



bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God against the true religion, and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late and at this time increased and exercised; whereby 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 ourselves 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,

I

That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly,

stantly, 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, worship, 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 shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechizing; 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,

shops, their Chancellors, and Commis-  
saries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-  
deacons, and all other ecclesiastical offi-  
cers depending on that hierarchy,) super-  
stition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and  
whatsoever shall be found to be contrary  
to sound doctrine, and the power of god-  
liness, 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 sincerity, reali-  
ty, and constancy, in our several voca-  
tions, endeavour, with our estates and  
lives, mutually to preserve the rights and  
privileges of the Parliaments, and the li-  
berties 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  
inten-

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 faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this 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

unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon 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 to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms,

doms,

doms, and the 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: all which we shall do as in the sight of God.

*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*  
*causes*

causes of our sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in public and in 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 deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of Antichristian tyranny, to join in the same, or like association and covenant, to the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jesus



*Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.*



## THE NEGATIVE OATH.

*I A. B. do swear from my heart, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly assist, the King in this war, or in this cause, against the Parliament, nor any forces raised without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament, in this cause or war. And I do likewise swear, that my coming and submitting myself under the power and protection of the Parliament, is without any manner of design whatsoever, to the prejudice of the proceedings of this present Parliament, and without the direction, privity, or advice of the King, or any of his council or officers, other than what I have now made known. So help me God, and the contents of this Book.*



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*Reasons why the University of Oxford cannot submit to the Covenant, the Negative Oath, the Ordinance concerning Discipline and Directory, mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament for the Visitation of that place.*

WHEREAS by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the visitation and reformation of the University of Oxford, lately published, power is given to certain persons therein named as Visitors, to enquire concerning those of the said University that neglect to take the Solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being tendered unto them, and likewise concerning those that oppose the execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Discipline and Directory, or shall not promote or cause the same to be put in execution, according to their several places and callings; we the Masters, Scholars, and other officers and members



of the said University, not to judge the consciences of others, but to clear ourselves before God and the world from all suspicion of obstinacy, whilst we discharge our own, present to consideration the true reasons of our present judgment concerning the said Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances; expecting so much justice, and hoping for so much charity, as either not to be pressed to conform to what is required in any the premises, further than our present judgments will warrant us; or not condemned for the refusing so to do, without clear and real satisfaction given to our just scruples.

## §. I.

## OF THE PREFACE TO THE COVENANT.

THE exceptions against the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we insist not much upon, because it may be said to be no part of the Covenant; yet among the things therein contained, the acknowledgment whereof is implicitly required of every Covenanter,

1. We are not able to say, *That the rage, power, and presumption of the enemies of God (in the sense there intended) is at this time increased.*

2. Nor can truly affirm, that we had used,

or



or given consent to, any *supplication* or *remonstrance* to the purposes therein expressed.

3. Nor do conceive the entering into such a mutual League and Covenant to be a lawful, proper, and probable means to *preserve ourselves and our religion from ruin and destruction.*

4. Nor can believe the same to be *according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms, or the example of God's people in other nations*; when we find not the least footstep in our histories of a sworn covenant ever entered into by the people of this kingdom upon any occasion whatsoever; nor can readily remember any commendable example of the like done in any other nation; but are rather told by the defenders of this Covenant, that *the world never saw the like before.*

"Such an oath, as for matter, persons, and other circumstances, the like hath not been in any age or oath we read of in sacred or human stories." M. Nye, *Covenant with Narrative*, p. 12.

## §. 2.

## • OF THE COVENANT IN GROSS.

FIRST, we are not satisfied how we can submit to the taking thereof, as it is now imposed under a penalty.

1. Such imposition (to our seeming) being repugnant to the nature of a covenant, which being a contract, implieth a <sup>a</sup> voluntary mutual consent of the contractors; whereunto men are to be induced by persuasion, not compelled by power. Inasmuch that the very words of this Covenant in the preface, conclusion, and whole frame thereof, run in such a form throughout, as import a consent rather grounded upon prudential motives, than extorted by rigour.
2. Without betraying the liberty, which by our protestation we are bound, and in the third article of this Covenant must swear, *with our lives and fortunes to preserve.* To which liberty the imposition of a new oath, other than is established by act of

<sup>a</sup> "Pactum est duorum pluriumve in idem placitum consensus." L. i. ff. de Pactis.

Parliament, is expressed in the *Petition of Right*<sup>a</sup>, and by the Lords and Commons in their *Declarations*<sup>b</sup> acknowledged to be contrary.

3. Without acknowledging in the imposers a greater power than, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former time challenged; or can consist with our former protestation, (if we rightly understand it,) in sundry the most material branches thereof.

Neither, secondly, are we satisfied, although the Covenant should not be imposed upon us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our choice;

1. How we should in wisdom and duty, (being subjects,) of our own accord and free will, enter into a Covenant, wherein

<sup>a</sup> “Whereas many of them have had an oath administered unto them, not warrantable by the laws and statutes of this realm; they do humbly pray, that no man hereafter be compelled to take such an oath.—All which they most humbly pray—as their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm.” *Petit. of Right*, 3 Carol.

<sup>b</sup> It is declared, 16 Jan. 1642, “That the King cannot compel men to be sworn without an act of Parliament.” *Exact. Collect.* p. 859, 860.

he, whose subjects we are, is in any wise concerned, without his consent, either expressed or reasonably presumed; it being in his power (as we conceive) by the equity of the law, Numb. xxx. to annul and make void the same at his pleasure.

2. How we can (now that his Majesty hath by his public *Interdict*<sup>a</sup> sufficiently made known his pleasure in that behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expressly forbidden, without forfeiting that obedience, which, (as we are persuaded,) by our natural allegiance and former oaths, we owe unto all such his Majesty's commands, as are not in our apprehensions repugnant to the will of God, or the positive laws of this kingdom.

### §. 3.

#### OF THE FIRST ARTICLE OF THE COVENANT.

WHEREIN, first, we are not satisfied, how we can with judgment swear to endeavour to preserve the religion of another kingdom;

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to

<sup>a</sup> Proclam. of 9 Octob. 19 Car.

have very much, so we profess to have very little understanding.

2. Which (so far as the occurrents of these unhappy times have brought it to our knowledge, and we are able to judge) is in three of the four specified particulars, viz. *worship*, *discipline*, and *government*, much worse; and in the fourth (that of *doctrine*) not at all better, than our own; which we are in the next passage of the article required to reform.

3. Wherein if hereafter we shall find any thing (as, upon farther understanding thereof, it is not impossible we may) that may seem to us favouring of *popery*, *superstition*, *heresy*, or *schism*, or contrary to *sound doctrine*, or *the power of godliness*; we shall be bound by the next article to endeavour the extirpation, after we have bound ourselves by this first article to the preservation thereof.

4. Wherein we already find some things (to our thinking) so far tending towards *superstition*<sup>a</sup> and *schism*<sup>b</sup>, that it seemeth to

<sup>a</sup> Viz. in accounting Bishops antichristian, and indifferent ceremonies unlawful.

<sup>b</sup> Viz. in making their discipline and government a  
mark



us more reasonable that we should call upon them to reform the same, than that they should call upon us to preserve it.

Secondly, we are not satisfied in the next branch concerning the reformation of religion in our own kingdom, in *doctrine, worship, discipline, and government*; how we can swear to endeavour the same, (which without making a change therein cannot be done,)

1. *Without manifest scandal to the Papist and Separatist,*

1. By yielding the cause, which our godly Bishops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever since the Reformation, have both by their writings and sufferings maintained; who have justified, against them both, the religion established in the Church of England to be agreeable to the word of God.

2. By justifying the Papists in the reproaches and scorn by them cast upon our religion, whose usual objection it hath been, and is, that we know not what our religion is; that since we left them, we cannot tell

mark of the true church, and the setting up thereof the erecting of the throne of Christ.

where

where to stay; and that our religion is <sup>a</sup> *a Parliamentary religion*.

3. By a tacit acknowledgment that there is something both in the doctrine and worship, whereunto their conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the Word of God, and consequently justifying them both, the one in his recusancy, the other in his separation.

4. By an implied confession, that the laws formerly made against Papists in this kingdom, and all punishments by virtue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjust; in punishing them for refusing to join with us in that form of worship, which ourselves (as well as they) do not approve of.

2. Without *manifest wrong unto ourselves*, our consciences, reputation, and estates, in bearing false witness against ourselves, and sundry other ways: by swearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vicious,

1. Which we have formerly by our personal

<sup>a</sup> “Let us not be blamed, if we call it Parliament religion, Parliament gospel, Parliament faith.” Harding, Confut. of Apology, part vi. chap. 2.

subscriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word; and have not been since either condemned by our own hearts for so doing, or convinced in our judgments by any of our brethren that therein we did amiss.

2. Which in our consciences we are persuaded not to be in any of the four specified particulars, (as it standeth by law established,) much less in the whole four, against the Word of God.
3. Which we verily believe (and, as we think, upon good grounds) to be in sundry respects much better, and more agreeable to the Word of God, and the practice of the Catholic Church, than that which we should by the former words of this article swear to preserve.
4. Whereunto the<sup>a</sup> laws yet in force require of all such clerks as shall be admitted to any benefice, the signification of their hearty assent, to be attested openly in the time of divine service, before the whole congregation there present, within a limited time, and that under pain (upon

<sup>a</sup> Stat. 13 Eliz. 12.

default made) of the loss of every such benefice.

3. Without *manifest danger of perjury*: this branch of the article (to our best understandings) seeming directly contrary,

1. To our former solemn protestation, which we have bound ourselves neither for hope, fear, or other respect, ever to relinquish. Wherein the doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the name of the *true Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England*, we take to be the same, which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacy, by us also taken, according to the laws of the realm, and the statutes of our University in that behalf. Wherein having first testified and declared in our consciences, that the *King's Highness is the only supreme Governor of this realm*, we do after swear to our power to assist and defend all jurisdictions; privileges, preeminences, and authorities, granted or belonging to the *King's Highness, his heirs and successors*, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm. One of the which privileges and preeminences,

nences, by an exprefs statute fo annexed, and that even, *in terminis*, in the felf-fame words in a manner with thofe ufed in the oath, is the whole power of fpiritual or ecclefiaftical jurifdiction, for the correction and reformation of all manner of errors and abufes *in matters ecclefiaftical*: as by the words<sup>a</sup> of the faid statute more at large appeareth. The oath affording the *propofition*, and the statute the *affumption*, we find no way how to avoid the *conclufion*.

## §. 4.

## OF THE SECOND ARTICLE OF THE COVENANT.

FIRST, it cannot but affect us with fome grief and amazement, to fee that ancient form of church-government, which we heartily

<sup>a</sup> “ Such jurifdictions, privileges, fuperiorities, and  
 “ preminences, fpiritual and ecclefiaftical, as by any,  
 “ &c. for the vifitation of the ecclefiaftical ftate and  
 “ perfons, and for reformation, order, and correction of  
 “ the fame, and of all manner of errors, herefies,  
 “ fchifms, abufes, offences, contempts, and enormities,  
 “ fhall for ever, by authority of this prefent Parliament,  
 “ be united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this  
 “ realm. An Act reftoring to the Crown the ancient  
 Jurifdiction, &c. 1 Eliz. 1.

(and,

(and, as we hope, worthily) honour, as under which our religion was at first so orderly, without violence or tumult, and so happily reformed, and hath since so long flourished with truth and peace, to the honour and happiness of our own, and the envy and admiration of other nations, not only

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated, without any reason offered to our understandings, for which it should be thought necessary, or but so much as expedient, so to do.

But also

2. Ranked with *popery, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness*; which we unfeignedly profess ourselves to detest as much as any others whatsoever.

3. And that with some intimation also, as if that government were some way or other so contrary to sound doctrine, or the power of godliness, that whosoever should not endeavour the extirpation thereof must of necessity partake in other men's sins, which we cannot yet be persuaded to believe.

4. And we desire it may be considered, in case a covenant of like form should be tendered to the citizens of London, wherein

wherein they should be required to swear, they would sincerely, really, and constantly, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of *treason, the city government*. (by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common Council, and other officers depending thereon,) *murder, adultery, theft, cozenage, and whatsoever shall be—&c.* lest they should partake in other men's sins: whether such a tendry could be looked upon by any citizen, that had the least spirit of freedom in him, as an act of justice, meekness, and reason.

Secondly, for episcopal government; we are not satisfied how we can, with a good conscience, swear to endeavour the extirpation thereof, 1. In *respect of the thing itself*. Concerning which government we think we have reason to believe,

That it is (if not *jure divino* in the strictest sense, that is to say, expressly commanded by God in his word, yet) of *apostolical institution*; that is to say, was established in the churches by the Apostles, according to the mind, and after the example, of their Master Jesus Christ, and that by  
virtue

virtue of their ordinary power and authority derived from him, as deputed by him governors of his Church.

2. Or at least, that *Episcopal Aristocracy* hath a fairer pretension, and may lay a juster title and claim to a divine institution, than any of the other forms of church-government can do, all which yet do pretend therunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Presbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular congregations, or gathered churches.

2. But we are assured by the undoubted testimony of ancient records and later histories, that this form of government hath been continued with such an universal, uninterrupted, unquestioned succession in all the churches of God, and in all kingdoms that have been called Christian throughout the whole world for fifteen hundred years together, that ~~there~~ never was, in all that time, any considerable opposition made there against. That of Arius was the greatest, wherein yet there was little of consideration, beside these two things: that it grew at the first but out of discontent; and gained him at the last but the reputation of an heretic. From which antiquity and continua-



ance we have just cause to fear, that to endeavour the extirpation thereof,

1. Would give such advantage to the Papists, who usually object against us, and our religion, the contempt of antiquity, and the love of novelty, that we should not be able to wipe off the aspersion.
2. Would so diminish the just authority due to the consentient judgment and practice of the Universal Church, (the best interpreter of Scripture in things not clearly expressed, for *Lex currit cum praxi*;) that without it we should be at a loss in sundry points both of *faith* and *manners*, at this day firmly believed and securely practised by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries, we should be called upon for our proofs: as namely, sundry orthodoxal explications concerning the Trinity and Co-equality of the Persons in the Godhead, against the Arians and other heretics; the number, use, and efficacy of Sacraments; the baptizing of infants; national churches; the observation of the Lord's day; and even the Canon of Scripture itself.

Thirdly, *In respect of ourselves*; we are not  
 satis-

satisfied how it can stand with the principles of *justice, ingenuity, and humanity*, to require the extirpation of episcopal government, (unless it had been first clearly demonstrated to be unlawful) to be sincerely and really endeavoured by us,

1. Who have all of us, who have taken any degree, by subscribing the XXXIX Articles, testified our approbation of that government: one of those Articles<sup>a</sup> affirming the very book containing the form of their *Consecration*, to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.
2. Who have most of us (viz. as many as have entered into the ministry) received orders from their hands, whom we should very ill requite for laying their hands upon us, if we should now lay to our hands to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have sundry of us, since the beginning of this Parliament, subscribed our names to petitions exhibited, or intended to be exhibited, to that High Court, for the continuance of that government: which as we then did sincerely and real-

<sup>a</sup> Art. XXXVI.

ly, so we should, with like sincerity and reality, still (not having met with any thing since to shew us our error) be ready to do the same again, if we had the same hopes we then had of the reception of such petitions.

4. Who hold some of us our livelihood, either in whole or part, by those titles of *Deans, Deans and Chapters, &c.* mentioned in the articles; being members of some collegiate or cathedral churches.

And our memories will not readily serve us with any example in this kind since the world began; wherein any state or profession of men, though convicted (as we are not) of a crime that might deserve deprivation, were required to bind themselves by oath, *sincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that, (in itself not unlawful,) together wherewith they must also root out themselves, their estates, and livelihoods.

5. Especially it being usual in most of the said churches, that such persons as are admitted members thereof, have a personal oath administered unto them, to maintain the honour, immunities, liberties,



ties, and profits of the same; and whilst they live to seek the good, and not to do any thing to the hurt, hindrance, or prejudice thereof; or in other words to the same effect.

— Fourthly, *In respect of the Church of England*; we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the established government, no necessity or just cause for so doing, either offering itself, or being offered to our understandings.

1. Since all change of government unavoidably bringeth with it, besides those that are present and evident, fundry other inconveniences, which no wit of man can possibly foresee to provide against, till late experience discover them: we cannot be sure that the evils which may ensue upon the change of this government, (which hath been of so long continuance in this kingdom, is so deeply rooted in the laws thereof, and hath so near a conjunction with, and so strong an influence upon, the civil state and government, as that the change thereof must infer the necessity of a great alteration to be made in the other also,) may not be greater than the

posed evils, whatsoever they are, which by this change are sought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our knowledge of that desperate nature, as not to be capable of other remedy than the utter extirpation of the whole government itself.

2. Whereas the House of Commons<sup>a</sup> have remonstrated, that it was far from their purpose or desire to *abolish the church-government*, but rather that *all the members of the Church of England should be regulated by such rules of order and discipline, as are established by Parliament*; and that it was malignancy to *infuse into the people*, that they had any other meaning: we are loth, by consenting to the second article, to become guilty of such *infusion*, as may

a “ — give advantage to this malignant party to introduce our proceedings. They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all church-government.” Remonst. 15 Dec. 1641. Exact. Collect. p. 19. “ The Lords and Commons do declare, that they intend a due and necessary reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, and to take away nothing in the one or in the other, but what shall be evil, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome.” Declar. 9 Apr. 1642. Exact. Coll. p. 135.

bring



bring us within the compass and danger of the fourth article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by sundry Acts of Parliament, that *the holy Church of England was founded in the state of Prelacy within the realm of England*; we dare not, by endeavouring the extirpation of Prelacy, strike at the very foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) cooperate towards the ruin of this famous Church, which in all conscience and duty we are bound with our utmost lawful power to uphold.

Lastly, In respect of our obligations to his Majesty by our duty and oaths; we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the extirpation of the church-government by law established, without forfeiture of those obligations.

1. Having in the oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be *the only supreme Governor in all ecclesiastical causes, and over all ecclesiastical persons*; and having bound ourselves both in that oath, and by our Protestation, to maintain the King's honor, estate, jurisdictions, and all manner of rights: it is clear to our understand-

<sup>a</sup> Statute of Carlisle 25 Ed. I. recited 25 Ed. III.

things, that we cannot without disloyalty and injury to him, and double perjury to ourselves, take upon us, without his consent, to make any alteration in the ecclesiastical laws or government, much less to endeavour the extirpation thereof; unless the imposers of this Covenant had a power and meaning (which they have openly disclaimed<sup>a</sup>) to absolve us of that obedience, which under God we owe unto his Majesty, whom they know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law.

2. We cannot sincerely and really endeavour the extirpation of this government, without a sincere desire and real endeavour, that his Majesty would grant his royal assent to such extirpation. Which we are so far from desiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden duty by our daily prayers to beg at the hands of Almighty God, that he would not for

<sup>a</sup> "They infuse into the people, that we mean—to leave every man to his own fancy—absolving him of that obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom we know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law, as well as with the temporal." Exact. Collect. ubi supra, p. 19.



our sins suffer the King to do an act so prejudicial to his honour and conscience, as to consent to the rooting out of that estate, which by so many branches of his *Coronation Oath*, he hath in such a solemn manner sworn, by the assistance of God, to his power to maintain and preserve.

3. By the laws of this land, <sup>b</sup> the *Collation* of *Bishoprics* and *Deaneries*; the <sup>d</sup> *fruits* and *profits* of their lands and revenues during their vacancies; the <sup>e</sup> *first fruits* and *yearly tenths* out of all ecclesiastical promotions; and sundry other privileges, profits, and emoluments, arising out of the

a That he will “grant, keep, and confirm the laws, customs, and franchises, granted to the Clergy by the glorious King S. Edward: and that he will grant and preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all canonical privileges, and due law and justice: and that he will protect and defend them, as every good King in his kingdom ought to be protector and defender of the Bishops, and the Churches under their government.” Vide *Exact. Coll.* p. 290, 291.

b See Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. 20. and 1 Ed. VI. 2.

c See Stat. 39 Eliz. 8.

d Stat. 14 Ed. III. 4 and 5. and 17 Ed. III. 14.

e Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. 3. and 1 Eliz. 4.

state



state ecclesiastical, are established in the Crown, and are a considerable part of the revenues thereof; which, by the extirpation of Prelacy, as it is in the article expounded, or by subsequent practice evidenced, will be severed and cut off from the Crown, to the great prejudice and damage thereof. Whereunto as we ought not in common reason, and in order to our allegiance as subjects, yield our consent; so having sworn expressly to *maintain the King's honour and estate*, and to our power to assist and defend all jurisdictions, &c. belonging to his Highness, or united and annexed to the imperial Crown of the realm, we cannot, without manifest perjury, (as we conceive,) consent thereunto.

4. The government of this realm being confessedly an *empire*, or *monarchy*<sup>a</sup>, and that

<sup>a</sup> “ — Supremam potestatem et merum imperium  
 “ apud nos habet Rex.” Cambd. “ Whereas by  
 “ dry divers old authentic histories and chronicles it is  
 “ manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of  
 “ England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in  
 “ the world, governed by one supreme Head and King,  
 “ having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial  
 “ Crown

of a most excellent temper and constitution, we understand not how it can become us to desire or endeavour the extirpation of that government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the most agreeable, and no way prejudicial to the state of so well a constituted monarchy: infomuch as King James would often say, what his long experience had taught him, *No Bishop, no King*. Which aphorism, though we find in sundry pamphlets of late years to have been exploded with much confidence and scorn, yet we must profess to have met with very little in the proceedings of the late times, to weaken our belief of it. And we hope we shall be the less blamed for our unwillingness to have any actual concurrence in the extirpating of episcopal government; seeing of such extirpation there is no other use imaginable, but either the alienation of their revenues and inheritances, (which how it can be severed from *sacrilege* and *injustice*, we leave others to find out,) or to make way for the

"Crown of the same." Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. 12. See also 1 Eliz. 3.

in-



introducing of some other form of church-government: which, whatsoever it shall be, will (as we think) prove either destructive of, and inconsistent with, monarchical government, or at leastwise more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual exercise thereof, than a well-regulated Episcopacy can possibly be.

### §. 5.

#### OF THE OTHER PARTS OF THE COVENANT.

HAVING insisted the more upon the two first articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein ourselves have a more proper concernment; we shall need to insist the less upon those that follow, contenting ourselves with a few (the most obvious) of those many great, and (as we conceive) just exceptions that lie there against.

**I.** In the third article, we are not satisfied that our endeavour to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority is so limited, as there it is, by that addition, *In the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdom.* Forasmuch as,

1. No such limitation of our duty in this behalf is to be found, either in the oaths of

of Supremacy and Allegiance, (which no Papist would refuse to take with such a limitation,) nor in the Protestation, nor in the Word of God.

Our endeavour to preserve the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, is required to be sworn of us in the same article, without the like or any other limitation added thereunto.

3. Such limitation leaveth the duty of the subject at so much looseness, and the safety of the King at so great uncertainty, that whensoever the people shall have a mind to withdraw their obedience, they cannot want a pretence from the same for so doing.

4. After we should, by the very last thing we did, (viz. swearing with such a limitation,) have made ourselves guilty of an actual and real diminution (as we conceive) of his Majesty's just power and greatness; the obtestation would seem very unseasonable (at the least) with the same breath to call the world to bear witness with our consciences, that we had no thoughts or intentions to diminish the same.

5. The

5. The swearing with such a limitation is a testimony of the subject's loyalty (to our seeming) of a very strange nature; which, the principles of their several religions false, the conscience of a most resolute Papist or Sectary may securely swallow, and the conscience of a good Protestant cannot but strain at.

2. In the fourth article,

1. We desire it may be considered, whether the imposing of the Covenant in this article do not lay a necessity upon the son, of accusing his own father, and pursuing him to destruction, in case he should be an incendiary, malignant, or other evil instrument, such as in the article is described. A course which we conceive to be contrary to religion, nature, and humanity.

2. Whether the swearing according to this article doth not rather open a ready way to children that are sick of the father, husbands that are weary of their wives, &c. by appealing such as stand between them and their desires, of malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful intentions and designs.

3. Our-

3. Ourselves having solemnly protested to maintain the liberty of the subject, and the House of Commons having publicly declared against the exercise of an arbitrary power, with order that their said Declaration should be printed and published in all the parish-churches and chapels of the kingdom, there to stand and remain as a testimony of the clearness of their intentions; whether the subjecting of ourselves and brethren by oath unto such punishments, as shall be inflicted upon us, (without law or merit,) at the sole pleasure of such uncertain judges as shall be, upon any particular occasion, *deputed for that effect*, of what mean quality or abilities soever they be, even to the taking away of our lives, *if they shall think it convenient so to do*, though the degree of our offences shall not require or deserve the same; be not the betraying of our liberty in the lowest, and the setting up of an arbitrary power in the highest degree that can be imagined.

3. The substance of the fifth article being the settling and continuance of a firm peace and union between the three kingdoms, since it is  
our

our bounden duty to desire, and according to our several places and interests by all lawful means to endeavour the same; we should make no scruple at all to enter into a covenant to that purpose, were it not

1. That we do not see, nor therefore can acknowledge *the happiness of such a blessed peace between the three kingdoms*, (for we hope *Ireland* is not forgotten,) as in the article is mentioned, so long as *Ireland* is at war within itself, and both the other kingdoms engaged in that war.
2. That since no peace can be firm and well-grounded, that is not bottomed upon justice, the most proper and adequate act whereof is, *jus suum cuique*, to let every one have that which of right belongeth unto him; we cannot conceive how a firm and lasting peace can be established in these kingdoms, unless the respective authority, power, and liberty of *King, Parliament, and Subject*, as well every one as other, be preserved full and entire, according to the known laws and continued unquestioned customs of the several kingdoms in former times, and before the beginning of these sad distractions.

4. In the sixth article we are altogether unsatisfied.

1. The whole article being grounded upon a supposition; which hath not yet been evidenced to us, viz. that *this cause*, meaning thereby (or else we understand it not) the joining in this Covenant of mutual defence for the prosecution of the late war, *was the cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms*; and that it so much concerned *the glory of God, and the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King*.

2. If all the premises were so clear, that we durst yield our free assent thereunto, yet were they not sufficient to warrant to our consciences what in this article is required to be sworn of us; unless we were as clearly satisfied concerning the lawfulness of the means to be used for the supporting of such a cause. For since evil may not be done, that good may come thereof, we cannot yet be persuaded, that *the cause of religion, liberty, and peace, may be supported, or the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and the honour of the King, sought to be advanced, by such means*, (to our best understandings) are both improper for



those ends, and destitute of all warrant from the laws, either of God, or of this realm.

5. Lastly, in the conclusion, our hearts tremble to think, that we should be required to pray, *that other Christian Churches might be encouraged by our example to join in the like association and covenant, to free themselves from the Antichristian yoke, &c.* Wherein

1. To omit that we do not know *any Antichristian yoke* under which we were held in these kingdoms, and from which we owe to this either war or Covenant our freedom; (unless by the Antichristian yoke be meant episcopal government, which we hope no man that pretendeth to truth and charity will affirm:)
2. We do not yet see in the fruits of this association or Covenant among ourselves any thing so lovely, as to invite us to desire (much less to pray) that other Christian Churches should follow our example herein.
3. To pray to the purpose in the conclusion of the Covenant expressed, seemeth to us all one in effect as to beseech Almighty God, the God of love and peace,
  1. To take all love and peace out of the hearts

hearts of Christians, and to set the whole Christian world in a combustion.

2. To render the reformed Religion, and all Protestants, odious to all the world.

3. To provoke the Princes of Europe to use more severity towards those of the reformed Religion; if not (for their own security) to root them quite out of their several dominions.

4. The tyranny and yoke of Antichrist, if laid upon the necks of subjects by their lawful Sovereigns, is to be thrown off by *Christian boldness* in confessing the truth, and *patient suffering* for it; not by taking up arms, or violent resisting of the higher powers.

§. 6.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS CONCERNING THE  
MEANING OF THE COVENANT.

OUR afore said scruples are much strengthened by these ensuing considerations.

First, That whereas no oath, which is contradictory to itself, can be taken without perjury; because the one part of every contradiction must needs be false: this Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leastwise (which

to the point of conscience is not much less effectual) seemeth to us to contain, fundry contradictions; as namely, amongst others, these.

1. To preserve as it is, without change, and yet to reform and alter, and not to preserve, *one and the same reformed Religion.*
2. Absolutely and without exception to preserve; and yet upon supposition to extirpate the self-same thing, *viz. the present religion of the Church of Scotland.*
3. To reform church-government, established in England and Ireland, *according to the Word of God*; and yet to extirpate that government, which we are persuaded to be according thereunto, for the introducing of another, whereof we are not so persuaded.
4. To endeavour *really the extirpation of heresies, schisms, and profaneness*; and yet withal to extirpate that government in the Church, the want of the due exercise whereof we conceive to have been one chief cause of the growth of the said evils; and do believe the restoring and continuance thereof would be the most proper and effectual remedy.

5. *To preserve with our estates and lives the liberties of the kingdom; that is (as in the Protestation is explained) of the subject; and yet, contrary to these liberties, to submit to the imposition of this Covenant, and of the Negative Oath, not yet established by law; and to put our lives and estates under the arbitrary power of such as may take away both from us when they please, not only without, but even against law, if they shall judge it convenient so to do.*

Secondly, We find in the Covenant fundry expressions of dark or doubtful construction, whereunto we cannot swear in judgment till their sense be cleared and agreed upon. As, Who are the *common enemies*? and which be the *best reformed Churches*? mentioned in the first article. Who (in the fourth article) are to be accounted *Malignants*? How far that phrase of *binding reformation* may be extended? What is meant by *the supreme judicatory of both the kingdoms*? and fundry other.

Thirdly, By the use that hath been made of this Covenant, (sometimes to purposes of dangerous consequence,) we are brought into some fears and jealousies, lest by taking the same we



should cast ourselves into more snares than we are yet aware of. For in the first article,

1. Whereas we are to endeavour the reformation of religion in this kingdom in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best reformed Churches now to be seen

2. The reformation in worship (whereby we could not suppose any more was intended, according to their former Declaration, than a review of the Service-Book, that the translations might be in some places amended, some alterations made in the Offices and Rubrics; or at most some of the ceremonies laid aside for the reasons of expediency and condescension) hath produced an utter abolition of the whole form established; without substituting any other certain form in the room thereof.

3. The reformation in point of discipline

“The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a true and necessary reformation of the Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing therein but what shall be evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthenfome.” Dec. 9 Apr. 1642.

Exact. Col. p. 135.

and

and government intended (so far as by the overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is such, as we conceive not to be according to the Word of God, nor (for any thing we know) according to the example of any church that ever was in the world (best or worst) since the creation.

In the second article, our grief and fears had been less, if we could have observed the extirpation of popery, heresy, schism, and profaneness, to have been as really intended, and set on with as much speed and animosity, as the extirpation of prelacy, and that which some call superstition. But when we see, under the notions of rooting out prelacy and superstition, so much quickness used to fetch in the revenues of the Church, and the sacred utensils, (no otherwise guilty of superstition, for ought we know, than that they are worth something;) and on the other side, so little yet done toward the extirpation of heresy, schism, and profaneness, as things of less temporal advantage; we cannot dissemble our suspicion, that the designers of this Covenant might have something else before their eyes, besides what in the begin-

ning of the introduction is expressed; and that there is something meant in this article that looketh so like sacrilege, that we are afraid to venture thereon.

3. In the third article-

1. Although we should not otherwise have apprehended any matter of danger or moment in the ordering of the particulars in the article mentioned; yet since M. Chaloner in his Speech, and others have made advantage thereof to infer from that very order, that the defence of the King's person and authority ought to be with subordination to the preservation of the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdom, which are <sup>b</sup> *in the first place*, and before it, to be endeavoured; we hope we shall be excused, if we dare not take the Covenant in this sense; especially, considering that if the argument be of any force, it will bind us at least as strongly to endeavour the maintenance of *the King's person, honour, and*

<sup>b</sup> "From whence it is most evident, that the rights and privileges of Parliaments, and liberties of the kingdom, are in the first place to be preserved." Answer to Scottish Papers, 18 Nov. 1646, p. 21.



*estate* in the first place, and the rest but subordinately thereunto, because they are so ordered in the Protestation: and then, that Protestation having the advantage of preceding, it will bind us more strongly, as being the first obligation.

2. Whereas some have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this particular, by being told, that that limitation, *in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms*, was not to be understood exclusively: yet when we find that the House of Commons, in their answer to the Scottish papers, do often press that limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preserve the King's Majesty's person and authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deter us from taking the Covenant in this particular so understood.

3. Especially being told in a late pamphlet, that the King, not having preserved the

“ We observe you mention the defence of the King,  
twice from the Covenant, yet in both places leave out  
*In the preservation and, &c.* p. 39 and 46; a main  
clause, without which the other part ought never to  
be mentioned.” p. 56.

liber-

liberties of the kingdom, &c. as of duty he ought, is thereby become a *tyrant*, and so ceaseth to be a king, and consequently that his subjects cease to be subjects, and owe him no longer subjection. Which assertion since we heartily detest, as false and scandalous in the supposition; and in the inference seditious and devilish, we dare not, by subscribing this article, seem to give the least countenance thereunto.

4. But it striketh us with horror to think what use hath been made of this fourth article concerning the punishment of Malignants, &c. as by others; otherways, so especially by *the Corrector of a Speech without Doors*; written in the defence of M. Chaloners Speech; who is so bold as to tell the Parliament, "That they are bound  
 "by their Covenant (for the bringing of  
 "evil instruments to condign punishment)  
 "to destroy the King and his posterity;  
 "and that they cannot justify the taking  
 "away of Strafford's and Canterbury's  
 "lives for delinquency, whilst they suffer  
 "the chief delinquent to go unpunished."

§. 7

OF THE SALVO'S.

THE salvo's that we have usually met withal, for the avoiding of the afore said scruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or some particulars therein of special importance, we find upon examination to be no way satisfactory to our consciences.

The first is, that we may take the Covenant *in our own sense*: but this, (in a matter of this nature, viz. an imposed promissory oath, in the performance whereof others also are presumed to be concerned,) seemeth to be

1. Contrary to the nature and end of an oath; which, unless it be full of simplicity, cannot be sworn in truth and righteousness, nor serve to the ending of controversies and contradictions, which was the use for which it was instituted, Heb. vi.
2. Contrary to the end of speech: God having given us the use of speech for this end, that it might be the interpreter of the mind, it behoveth us, as in all other our dealings and contracts, so especially where there is the intervention of an oath, so to speak, as that they whom it concerneth  
may

may clearly understand our meaning by our words.

3. Contrary to *the end of the Covenant* itself; which being the confirmation of a firm union among the covenanters, that by taking thereof they might have mutual assurance of mutual assistance and defence; if one may be allowed to take it in one sense, and another in a contrary, the covenanters shall have no more assurance of mutual assistance each from other after the taking of the Covenant, than they had before.

4. Contrary to the *solemn profession* made by each covenantor, (in express terms in the conclusion thereof,) *in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts*, that he taketh it *with a true intention to perform the same, as he shall answer it at the great day*.

2. This will bring a scandal upon our religion,

1. That we practise that ourselves, which we condemn in the Papist, viz. swearing with Jesuitical equivocations and mental reservations.

2. That we take the glorious and dreadful name

name of God, in vain, and play fast and loose with oaths: inasmuch as what we swear to-day in one sense, we may swear the direct contrary to-morrow in another. And

3. It will give strength to that charge which is laid to the Presbyterian party in special, both <sup>a</sup>by Jesuits and <sup>b</sup>Sectaries; that there is no faith to be given to Protestants, whatever they swear; because they may swear one thing in their words, and in their own sense mean another.

2. The second way is, to take the Covenant with these or the like general salvo's expressed; viz. *So far as lawfully I may; So far as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the laws of the land; Saving all oaths by me formerly taken, &c.* But

1. We believe this mocking of God would be so far from freeing us from the guilt

<sup>a</sup> "Hæretici nec Deo nec hominibus servant fidem—  
<sup>b</sup> "Speciatim hoc addo, Calvinistas in hac re deteriores  
<sup>c</sup> "esse quam Lutheranos. Nam Calvinistæ nullam servant  
<sup>d</sup> "fidem: jurâ, perjura.—Lutherani moderatiores sunt."

Becan. 5. Manual. Controv. 14. n. 4 et 6.

<sup>e</sup> "Invent oaths and covenants for the kingdom, dis-  
<sup>f</sup> "pense with them when he pleaseth, swear and for-  
<sup>g</sup> "swear as the wind turneth, like a godly Presbyterian."

Arraign. of Persec. in Epist. Ded.

of

of perjury, that thereby we should rather contract a new guilt of most vile and abominable hypocrisy.

2. It seemeth all one unto us, (the thing being otherwise supposed unlawful) as if we should swear to kill, steal, commit adultery, or forswear ourselves, so far as lawfully we may.

3. If this would satisfy the conscience, we might with a good conscience not only take the present Covenant, but even subscribe to the *Council of Trent* also, yea, and to the *Turkish Alcoran*; and swear to maintain and defend either of them, viz. so far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, for the second article in particular, in the branch concerning the extirpation of church-government, we are told that it is to be understood of the whole government taken collectively, and in *sensu composito*, so as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferior officers belonging to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, we shall have sufficiently discharged our whole promise in that particular, without any prejudice done to Episcopacy. But

1. Nei-

1. Neither the composers of the Covenant by their words, nor the imposers of it by their actions, have given us the least signification that they meant no more.

Yea rather, if we may judge either by the cause or the effects, we may well think there was a meaning to extirpate the whole government, and every part thereof, in the article expressed. For

1. The Covenant being (as we have no cause to doubt) framed at the instance of the Scots, and for the easier procuring of their assistance in the late war, was therefore in all reason so to be framed and understood as to give them satisfaction; and (considering what themselves have<sup>a</sup> declared against Episcopacy,) we have little reason to believe the

<sup>a</sup> "By the Covenant, both Houses of Parliament, and many thousands of other his Majesty's subjects of England and Ireland, stand bound, as well as we, to hinder the setting up of the church-government by Bishops in the kingdom of Scotland: and that we, as well as they, stand bound to endeavour the extirpation thereof in England and Ireland." Scots' Declaration to the States of the United Provinces, 5 Aug. 1645, recited in answer to the Scots' Papers, p. 23.



taking away Apparitors, or any thing less than the rooting out of Episcopacy itself, would have satisfied them.

2. The proceedings also since the entering of this Covenant, in endeavouring by ordinance of Parliament to take away the name, power, and revenues of Bishops, do sadly give us to understand what was their meaning therein.

Fourthly, As to the scruples that arise from the sovereignty of the King, and the duty of allegiance as subjects, we find two several ways of answering, but little satisfaction in either.

1. The former, by saying (which seemeth to us a piece of unreasonable and strange divinity) that *protection* and *subjection* standing in relation either to other, the King being now disabled to give us protection, we are thereby freed from our bond of subjection. Whereas

- i. The subject's obligation (*jus subjectionis*) doth not spring from, nor relate unto, the actual exercise of kingly protection, but from and unto the Prince's obligation to protect (*jus protectionis*). Which obligation lying upon him as a duty which he is bound in conscience to

to perform, when it is in his power so to do; the relative obligation thereunto lieth upon us as a duty, which we are bound in conscience to perform, when it is in our power so to do. His inability therefore to perform his duty doth not discharge us from the necessity of performing ours, so long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King should not protect us, but neglect his part, though having power and ability to perform it, his voluntary neglect ought not to free us from the faithful performance of what is to be done on our part. How much less then ought we to think ourselves disobliged from our subjection, when the *non-protection* on his part is not from the want of will, but of power!

2. The latter, (wherein yet some have triumphed,) by saying, that the Parliament being the supreme judicatory of the kingdom, the King, *wheresoever in person*, is ever present *there in his power*, as in all other courts of justice; and that therefore whatsoever is done by them, is not done without the King, but by him. But crav-

ing pardon first, if in things without our proper sphere we hap to speak unproperly or amiss, we must next crave leave to be still of the same mind we were, till it shall be made evident to our understandings, that the King is there *in his power*, as it is evident to our senses, that he is not there *in his person*: which, so far as our natural reason and small experience will serve us to judge, all that hath been said to that purpose can never do.

For, first, to the point of presence :

1. We have been brought up in a belief, that for the making of laws the actual *royal assent*<sup>a</sup> was simply necessary, and not

<sup>a</sup> The old forms of Acts of Parliament were, "The King willeth, provideth, ordaineth, establisheth, granteth, &c. by the assent of Parliament," &c. See Statutes till 1 Hen. IV. After that, "The King, of the assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and at the special instance and request of the Commons of this realm, hath ordained," &c. See Statutes 1 Hen. IV. till 1 Hen. VII. A form of such petition of the Commons, see 1 Ric. III. 6. "Prayen the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that where, &c. Please it therefore your Highness, by the advice and assent of the Lords spiritual and temporal in this your present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, to ordain," &c.

"No

only a virtual assent supposed to be included in the votes of the two Houses: otherwise, what use can be made of his negative voice? or what need to *desire* his royal assent to that which may be done as well without it?

2. The Statute<sup>b</sup> providing that *the King's assent to any Bill signified under his Great Seal* shall be to all intents of law as valid and effectual, as if he were personally present, doth clearly import, that, as to the effect of making a law, the King's power is not otherwise really present with the

“No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict of law, although both the Houses agree unanimously in it, till it hath the royal assent.” Ancient Customs, p. 54.

“Assemblée de ceux troys estats est appelée un Act de Parliament: car sans tous troys n'est aucun Act de Parl.” Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

“We admit that no Acts of Parliament are complete, or formally binding, without the King's assent.” H. P. Answer to David Jenkins, p. 6.

“—which if your Majesty shall be pleased to adorn with your Majesty's royal assent, (without which it can neither be complete and perfect, nor—).” Stat. 1 Jac. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Stat. 33 Hen. III. 21.

two Houses, than it appeareth either in his person or under his seal: any other *real presence* is to us a riddle, not much unlike to that of *Transubstantiation*; an imaginary thing, rather devised to serve turns, than believed by those that are content to make use of it

3. Such presence of the King there, when it shall be made appear to us, either from the writs whereby the members of both Houses are called together, or by the standing laws of the land, or by the acknowledged judgment and continued practice of former and later ages, or by any express from the King himself, clearly declaring his mind to that purpose, we shall then, as becometh us, acknowledge the same, and willingly submit thereunto.

And as for the argument drawn from the *analogy* of other courts, wherein the King's power is always supposed to be virtually present, under submission we conceive it is of no consequence.

1. The arguments *a minore* and *a maiore* are subject to many fallacies; and, unless there be a parity of reason in every requisite respect between the things compared, will

will not hold good.\* A petty constable (they say) may do something which a justice of peace cannot do: and the steward of a petty manor hath power to administer an oath, which (as we are told) the House of Commons itself hath no power to do.

2. That the High Court of Parliament is the supreme judicatory, we have been told it is by virtue of the King's right of presiding there, he being the *supreme Judge*, and the members of both Houses his council: which being so, the reason of difference is plain between that and other judicatories in fundry respects.

1. The Judges in other courts are deputed by him, and do all in his name, and by his authority; and therefore the presence of his power in those courts of ministerial jurisdiction is sufficient, his personal presence not necessary, neither hath he any

\* "Dominus Rex habet ordinariam jurisdictionem dignitatem, et potestatem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt.—Ea quæ jurisdictionis sunt et pacis—ad nullum pertinent nisi ad coronam et dignitatem regiam, nec a corona separari possunt." Bracton, cited by Stamford, lib. ii. cap. 2.



personal vote therein at all. But in the High Court of Parliament, where the King himself is the supreme Judge, judging in his own name, and by his own authority, his power cannot be presumed to be really present, without either the actual presence of his person, or some virtual representation thereof signified under his Great Seal.

2. The Judges in inferior courts, because they are to act all in his name, and by his authority, do therefore take oaths of fidelity for the right exercising of judicature in their several places; sitting there, not by any proper interest of their own, but only in right of the King, whose Judges they are, and therefore they are called the King's Judges and his Ministers. But in the High Court of Parliament, the Lords and Commons sit there in council with the King as supreme Judge, for the good of the whole realm; and therefore they are not called the King's Judges, but the King's Council; and they have their several proper rights and interests peculiar and distinct both between themselves, and from that of the King's; by reason where-  
of



of they become *distinct orders*<sup>a</sup>, or, as of late times they have been styled, (in this sense, we conceive,) *three distinct estates*<sup>b</sup>. Each of which being supposed to be the best conservators of their own proper interest, if the power of any one estate should be presumed to be virtually present in the other two, that estate must needs be inevitably liable to suffer in the proper interests thereof; which might quickly prove destructive to the whole kingdom, the safety and prosperity of the whole consisting in the conservation of the just rights and proper interests of the main parts, viz. the King, Lords, and Commons, inviolate and entire.

3. The Judges of other courts, forasmuch as their power is but ministerial, and merely judicial, are bounded by the pre-

<sup>a</sup> For in our laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Commonalty are the three estates. “—We your said most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects,” (viz. the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons,) “representing your three estates of your realm of England.” 1 Eliz. 3. “—the state of the Clergy being one of the greatest states of this realm.” 8 Eliz. 3.

<sup>b</sup> See Finch *supra* ad lit. d.

sent laws, and limited also by their own acts; so as they may neither swerve from the laws in giving judgment, nor reverse their own judgments after they are given. But the High Court of Parliament, having (by reason of the King's supreme power residing therein) a power legislative as well as judicial, are not so limited by any earthly power, but that they may change and over-rule the laws and their own acts at their pleasure. The King's personal assent therefore is not needful in those other courts, which are bounded by those laws whereunto the King hath already given his personal assent; but unto any act of power beside, beyond, above, or against the laws already established, we have been informed, and it seems to us very agreeable to reason, that the King's personal assent should be absolutely necessary: forasmuch as every such act is the exercise of a legislative rather than of a judicial power; and no act of legislative power in any community (by consent of all nations) can be valid, unless it be confirmed by such person or persons as the sovereignty of that community resideth in.

Which

Which sovereignty, with us, so undoubtedly resideth in the person of the King, that his ordinary style runneth, *Our Sovereign Lord the King*<sup>a</sup>: and he is in the Oath of Supremacy expressly acknowledged to be *the only supreme Governor within his realms*. And we leave it to the wisdom of others, to consider what misery and mischief might come to the kingdom, if the power of any of these *three estates* should be swallowed up by any one, or both the other, and if then, under the name of a judicial, there should be yet really exercised a legislative power.

4. Since all judicial power is radically and originally in the King, (who is for that cause styled by the laws *the fountain* of

<sup>a</sup> “The Crown of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately to God in all things touching the regality of the said Crown—” 16 Ric. II. 5. “Omnis sub eo est, et ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Parem autem non habet Rex in regno suo, quia—Item nec multo fortius superiorem aut potentiorē habere debet, quia sic esset inferior suis subiectis.” Bracton. conten. 2. rubr. 36. “—Cui ἀποκατορίκῃ legibus ipsis legum vim imponendi potestatem Deus dedit.” Finch *Nemotach.* in *Epist. Dedic. to King James*.

*justice*;) and not in any other person or persons, but by derivation from him; it seemeth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferior courts of ministerial justice, nor the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament, may of right exercise any other power over the subjects of this realm, than such as by their respective patents and writs issued from the King, or by the known established laws of the land, formerly assented unto by the Kings of this realm, doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which laws, patents, and writs, being the exact boundary of their several powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our understandings, either from the laws of the realm, or from the tenor of those writs by which the Parlia-

“ *provis jurisjuræ.* Bracton. “ By war to intend the  
 “ alteration of the laws in any part of them, is to levy  
 “ war against the King, and consequently treason by the  
 “ Statute of 25 Ed. III.—because they are the King’s  
 “ laws. He is the fountain from whence, in their se-  
 “ veral channels, they are derived to the subject.” Mas-  
 ter Saint-John’s Speech concerning the Earl of Stra-  
 ford, p. 12.

ment

ment is called; that the two Houses of Parliament have any power, without the King, to order, command, or transact; but with him to treat, consult, and advise concerning the great affairs of the kingdom. In which respect they have fundry times, in their Declarations to his Majesty, called themselves by the name of his *Great Council*. And those laws and writs are, as we conceive, the proper topic, from which the just power of the honourable Houses can be convincingly deduced; and not such frail collections, as the writs of men may raise from seeming analogies and proportions

§. 8.

OF THE NEGATIVE OATH.

WE are not satisfied how we can submit to the taking of the *Negative Oath*,

1. Without forfeiture of that *liberty* which we have sworn and are bound to preserve. With which liberty we conceive it to be inconsistent, that any obligation should be

“Et ibidem vobiscum colloquium habere, tractare—super dictis negotiis, tract. vestrumque consilium impensur.—” Writ to the Lords.

laid

laid upon the subject by an oath not established by Act of Parliament.

2. Without abjuring our *natural allegiance*, and violating the *oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us formerly taken. By all which being bound to our power to *assist the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to swear, from our heart, *not to assist him*.

3. Without *diminution of his Majesty's just power and greatness*, contrary to the third article of the Covenant, by acknowledging a power in the two Houses of Parliament, in opposition to the King's power. Whereas we profess ourselves unable to understand, how there can be any lawful power exercised within this realm, which is not subordinate to the power of the King.

### §. 9.

#### OF THE ORDINANCES CONCERNING THE DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTORY.

FIRST, concerning them all together; we are

“Every subject by the duty of his allegiance is bounden to serve and assist his Prince and Sovereign Lord at all seasons, when need shall require.” 11 Hen. VII. 18.

not

not satisfied how we can submit to such Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament, not having the *royal assent*,

1. As are contrary to the established laws of this realm, contained in such Acts of Parliament, as were made by the joint consent of King, Lords, and Commons.
2. Nor so only, but also pretend by repeal to abrogate such Act or Acts. For, since *eiusdem est potestas destruere, cuius est constituere*, it will not sink with us, that a lesser power can have a just right to cancel and annul the act of a greater.
3. Especially the whole power of ordering all matters ecclesiastical being by the laws, in express words, *for ever annexed to the imperial Crown of this realm*. And upon what head that Crown ought to stand, none can be ignorant.

2. As to the particular Ordinances; those that concern *the Discipline* first:

1. If under that title be comprehended the *government* also, we cannot submit thereunto, without consenting to the eradication of a government of reverend antiquity in the Church: which (notwithstanding



the several changes of religion within this realm) hath yet from time to time been continued and confirmed by the public laws and great charters of the kingdom: than which there cannot be a more ample testimony, that it was ever held agreeable to the civil government and the subject's liberty: which also the successive Kings of this realm at their several coronations have solemnly sworn to preserve; and the continuance whereof, for sundry reasons before (upon the second article of the Covenant) specified, we heartily wish and desire.

2. But if the word *Discipline* be taken (as it is in the first article of the Covenant) as *contradistinguished unto the government*, there is something even in that also, wherein we are not fully satisfied; viz. the leaving of so much power in so many persons, and those, many of them, of mean quality, for the keeping back of thousands of well-meaning Christians from the benefit and comfort of the blessed Sacrament: an austerity, for which there appeareth not to us any probable warrant from the Word of God, but which seemeth rather repugnant,

nant, as to the general principles of Christian prudence and charity, so to the directions and practice of St. Paul <sup>a</sup> in particular; who in a Church abounding with sundry errors and corruptions both in faith and manners, (having first given order for the excommunicating of one only person, that by shameless continuance in a notorious sin had brought a foul scandal upon the Gospel,) sufficing himself then with a general proposal of the great danger of *unworthy communicating*, remitted every other particular person to a *self-examination* <sup>b</sup>, without any order either to Ministers or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the holy Communion upon their examination.

sig. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular; we cannot, without regret of conscience, (during our present judgment, and the continuance of the present laws) consent to the taking away of *the Book of Common Prayer*.

24. Which by our subscriptions most of us have approved, with a solemn promise

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. v. 1, &c. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 28, &c.

- therewithal, in the public service to use the form prescribed therein, and no other.
2. Which, according to our said subscription and promise, and our bounden duty according to the Statute in that case provided, we have hitherto used in our churches, chapels, and other oratories, to the great benefit and comfort of our souls.
3. Which we verily believe not to contain any thing, which (with such favourable construction as of right ought to be allowed to all manner of writings) is not justly defensible; which hath not been by learned and godly men sufficiently maintained against such exceptions as have been heretofore taken thereat; and which we are confident (by the assistance of Almighty God) we shall be able to justify, as occasion shall be offered, against all Papists, and other oppugners or depravers thereof whatsoever.
4. Which is established by an *Act of Parliament*, made, in peaceable times, by as good and full authority as any under heaven can have over us; which doth so weigh with us, that as it ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> from

the necessity of giving in any particular exceptions against the Directory, or any thing therein contained; so it layeth an inevitable necessity upon us of continuing the form of Prayer therein enjoined, and of not admitting any Directory, or other form, to the prejudice thereof, till the said Act shall, by the like good and full authority, be repealed.

In which Statute there is not only an *express command* given to all Ministers for the using of the same, but there are also *sanctions of severe punishments* to be inflicted upon such of them as shall refuse so to do; or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing to the derogation or depraving of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, with punishments also to be inflicted ~~on~~ every other person whatsoever, (*the Lords of the Parliament not excepted*;) that shall in like manner declare or speak against the said Book; or shall by deed or threatening compel, or otherwise procure or maintain, any Minister to say open Prayer, or to minister any Sacrament in any other manner or form than is mentioned in the said Book; or shall interrupt or hinder any Minister in the use of the said forms, as by the

words of the said Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute also hath had such universal powerful influence into the succeeding times, that in all such Statutes as have been first made against Popish Recusants, the refusing to *be present at Common Prayer, & to receive the Sacrament according to the forms and rites* mentioned in that Book, is expressed as the most proper legal character, whereby to distinguish a *Popish Recusant* from a true Protestant. In so much that use hath been made of that very character inundry Acts, since the beginning of this present Parliament, for the taxing of double payments upon Recusants.

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Where we clearly and freely represented our present judgment concerning the said Covenant, Negative Oath, and Ordinances; which, upon better information in any particular, we shall be ready to rectify. Only we desire it may be considered, that if any one single scruple or reason in any the premises remain unsatisfied, (though we should receive full satisfac-

\* Stat. 23 Eliz. 1; and 29 Eliz. 6; and 35 Eliz. 1 and 2; and 3 Jac. 4 and 5.

•faction

satisfaction in all the rest; the conscience would also remain still unsatisfied. And in that case, it can neither be reasonable for them that cannot satisfy us to press us, nor lawful for us that cannot be satisfied to submit to the said Covenant, Oath, and Ordinances.

QUINTIL.

*Quis damnaverit eum, qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur, jur et mente?*

ROM. xiv. 22.

*Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.*

THE END.





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*Shortly will be published,*

In One Volume, printed uniformly with this Work,  
The Life of SIR MATTHEW HALE, by Bishop Burnet;  
AND  
The Life of DR. HAMMOND, by Bishop Fell.

