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## WALTER MARSHALL AND "THE GOSPEL MYSTERY OF SANCTIFICATION"

by A. SKEVINGTON WOOD

"WHEN I was first led by the mercy of God to value the Gospel of Christ", said the late S. P. Tregelles, "and to seek instruction in revealed truth, as that in which I had an interest, it was my lot, in the good providence of God, to be placed in close association with a teacher who, besides the Scriptures, pretty much confined my attention to three books—Calvin's 'Institutes', Pearson 'On the Creed', and Marshall's 'Gospel Mystery of Sanctification'. This guidance as to theological reading has been a conscious benefit to me ever since. To all I would recommend Calvin, Pearson and Marshall." A writer who was put by such an acute thinker and steadfast Calvinist as Tregelles alongside Calvin and Pearson was certainly no ordinary man. In July, 1955, we published a review of the recently reprinted "Gospel Mystery of Sanctification" from the pen of Mr. O. Raymond Johnston. We now publish a paper on Walter Marshall himself, which Dr. Skevington Wood (no stranger to the pages of THE EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY) read at Cambridge on December 12, 1956, to a Church History Group convened by the Tyndale Fellowship for Biblical Research.

"THERE is but one book in the language admitted by all to be the standard one on sanctification", affirmed Andrew Murray. "It is the work of Rev. Walter Marshall, published in 1692, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*. It has at all times received the highest praise from men of eminence both as theologians and as saints."<sup>1</sup> Murray then expressed his regret that this classic was not better known amongst the members of the Christian Church. He sought to publicize and popularize Marshall's work by presenting an abridged version. If Andrew Murray had cause to complain that his generation was unfamiliar with Walter Marshall and his masterpiece, it is not surprising that today this Puritan counsellor has almost disappeared into the mists of oblivion. Happily, a new edition of *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* published in 1954, with a brief introduction by Percy O. Ruoff, has gone some way towards restoring the lost prestige of this treatise.

The purpose of this article, however, is not to attempt an assessment of the book but to give some account of its author and indicate the extent of his subsequent influence. There is no extant biography of Walter Marshall and the notices of his life prefixed

to the various editions of his work are meagre in detail and often inaccurate at that.<sup>2</sup> A short sketch accompanied the original appearance of *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* in 1692 over the unidentified initials of N.N. There is a corroboratory note by Thomas Woodcock, sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Proctor of that University, who was ejected from the incumbency of St. Andrew Undershaft, London, in 1662.<sup>3</sup> Woodcock was acquainted with Marshall for many years and gladly testified to the authenticity of the foregoing eulogium. To this primary survey we may seek to add items here and there from other sources which will help to fill out the somewhat shadowy figure of Walter Marshall.

He was born at Bishop's Wearmouth, in the county of Durham, on June 15, 1628.<sup>4</sup> The Taylor edition of his work says that "of his parents nothing is known",<sup>5</sup> but we learn from the notice of his brother, John, in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* that the father was Walter Marshall, a cleric in holy orders.<sup>6</sup> The local parish registers confirm that he held the cure of Bishop Wearmouth from 1619 until 1629. From 1631 onwards he was Vicar of Hurstbourne Priors and later Rector of Morestead—both in Hampshire and in the diocese of Winchester.<sup>7</sup> The childhood of Walter Marshall *fills* is concealed from view until at the age of eleven he emerges as a scholar of Winchester College, to which he was elected on August 30, 1639.<sup>8</sup> This information ties in with the movements of the father. From Winchester he proceeded to New College, Oxford, where he gained a Fellowship which he held from 1648 to 1657.<sup>9</sup> He graduated B.A. on April 28, 1652. He resigned his Fellowship to take up another at Winchester College, on December 15, 1657.<sup>10</sup>

On May 10, 1654, he was approved to the living of Fawley, near Winchester, under the newly-formed Committee of Triers.<sup>11</sup> According to Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, a Mr. Tull was ejected from the rectory of Fawley during the Civil War and a number of Puritan "intruders" were awarded certificates of approbation before Marshall's appointment.<sup>12</sup> We know from Baxter's *Autobiography* that an Association had been established in Hampshire and we find Marshall named as an assistant to the Commission.<sup>13</sup>

His residence at Fawley was comparatively brief, for on November 28, 1656 he was admitted to the vicarage of Hursley, also in Hampshire, four miles from Winchester to the south west.<sup>14</sup> In March of the following year Jonathan Hoskins was approved to

Fawley.<sup>15</sup> John Hardy had been ejected from Hursley in 1645<sup>16</sup> and several ministers had held the cure, including Robert Webb, under whom the sale of Dean and Chapter lands was recorded in 1649.<sup>17</sup> Whether he was Marshall's immediate predecessor is not clear. Entries in the parish registers indicate that during his residence at Hursley Marshall married and became the father of two children. The births are recorded as follows: "Rebeka the daughter of Mr. Walter Marshall, minister of Hursley, by Mrs. Rebeka Marshall his wife, was borne the Fifteenth day of Julie Anno Dōni One Thousand Six Hundred Fiftie Nyne". "Anne, the daughter of the sayd Mr. Walter Marshall, by his sayd wife, was borne on the Nineth day of April A<sup>o</sup> Dōni One Thousand Six Hundred Sixty One."<sup>18</sup>

All that can be gleaned about his ministry at Hursley is that "he is said to have lived very retired, but to have been esteemed a diligent and zealous pastor".<sup>19</sup> At the Restoration Marshall's position was immediately jeopardized. As a Presbyterian he could not long endure the return to episcopacy. He was formally presented to his cure in 1661, according to the Episcopal Registers of Winchester, but his patron was Richard Major, father of Richard Cromwell's wife, Dorothy, a man who—so we learn from Oliver Cromwell's *Letters*—"did not like sectaries".<sup>20</sup> It is not therefore a matter of surprise that the association between him and Marshall was soon dissolved and that the latter was presented at the autumn Assizes of 1662 for refusing to use the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>21</sup> So, in the quaint language of N.N. in the first edition of *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*, "he was put under the Bartholomew Bushel, with near two thousand more lights (a sin not yet repented of), whose illuminations made the land a Goshen".<sup>22</sup> He was ejected from Hursley and his successor, Robert Maunder, was duly instituted on September 6, 1662.<sup>23</sup> No doubt he rather ruefully recalled the original promise of Charles II in the Declaration of Breda, the Great Charter of the restored monarchy: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence."<sup>24</sup>

Marshall's movements immediately after his ejection cannot be traced with any great certainty. It is said that he lived for a time with Thomas Woodcock, who was noted for his hospitality to

non-conforming ministers.<sup>25</sup> At no great interval from his removal from the vicarage of Hursley he was called to assume the pastoral care of a Presbyterian congregation at Gosport, "where he shined, though he had not the public oil".<sup>26</sup> The meeting-place was down an obscure alley off Lower South Street and could not have housed more than a handful.<sup>27</sup> Here Marshall ministered to a faithful people until the day of his death. His preaching was both acceptable and edifying and served to consolidate the witness of dissent in the town, as Bogue and Bennett testify.<sup>28</sup> For a time Marshall may have remained in Hursley: he was living there as late as November, 1667.<sup>29</sup> On August 10, 1672, his house at Southwick was licensed for preaching and we may presume that his ministry at Gosport was conducted from there.<sup>30</sup> We also discover him preaching in Winchester, Alton and Winton and even as far afield as Taunton, West Monkton, Crewkerne and Stoke St. Mary (all in Somerset). It is to the Winchester Episcopal Registers that we are indebted for these references.<sup>31</sup> The Bishop was George Morley, who was translated from Worcester in 1662. He was devoted to the house of Stuart, having attended Charles I in his last imprisonment in the Isle of Wight and attached himself to the pseudo-court of Charles II in Paris. He was correspondingly unsympathetic to all anti-Royalists and anti-Episcopalians and this animus is reflected in his returns. Ejected ministers are variously described as "pestilent fellows", "seditious persons" and "vagabonds", so that, by comparison, Marshall is let off lightly when dismissed as "a violent Nonconformist".<sup>32</sup>

It was evidently whilst ministering at Gosport and itinerating amongst the dissenting congregations in the neighbourhood that Walter Marshall was brought to an experience of full salvation.<sup>33</sup> His preaching had an increasing efficacy not only upon his hearers, but also upon his own heart. He was awakened to a sense of spiritual need and led to find its satisfaction in the sanctifying work of grace. *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* was spun out of his own experience. For a number of years he had been increasingly distressed about the state of his soul. He had diligently sought peace of conscience by many mortifying methods, but without avail. He refers in his book to the painful and fruitless struggles after peace and holiness in which he had engaged. Out of the abundance of the heart his mouth spoke and his pen wrote. "The doctrine of salvation by sincere obedience, that was invented against Antinomianism, may well be ranked among the worst Antinomian errors. For my part I hate it with a perfect

hatred, and account it mine enemy, as I have found it to be. And I have found by some good experience the truth of the lesson taught by the apostle, that the way to be freed from the mastery and dominion of sin, is 'not be under the law, but under grace' (Rom. 6: 14)."<sup>34</sup>

Marshall consulted the spiritual guides of his time and party. He confided in Richard Baxter, whose writings he had often read and deeply pondered. Baxter replied that he had misunderstood the spirit of his works and took them too legally. He afterwards consulted Thomas Goodwin and opened his heart even more fully. He specified certain sins which weighed upon his conscience. When he had finished, Goodwin told him in reply that "he had forgotten to mention the greatest sin of all, the sin of unbelief, in not believing on the Lord Jesus Christ for the remission of his sins, and for the sanctifying of his nature". That word spoken in due season proved the turning point in Marshall's spiritual pilgrimage. It was owned by God and brought home with power to the seeker's heart. He saw the mistake of his earlier years: that he had all unconsciously been striving to establish his own righteousness and had not submitted himself to the righteousness of God. But now he was delivered from bondage to fear and led into the glorious liberty of the children of God. Henceforward "he set himself to studying and preaching Christ, and attained to eminent holiness, great peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost."<sup>35</sup>

When he died in Gosport in 1680, he told those who stood around his bed: "I die in the full persuasion of the truth, and in the comfort of that doctrine I have preached unto you." Then, after a pause, he uttered his last words in the language of Scriptures: "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."<sup>36</sup> His funeral sermon was preached by his friend Samuel Tomlyns, formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge, who, like Marshall, suffered under the Act of Uniformity, being ejected from the rectory of Crawley in Hampshire. We gather from Calamy that "he afterwards preached privately as he had opportunity till he was called to a congregation at Winchester".<sup>37</sup> This was the Presbyterian conventicle alluded to in the Tenison MSS. "at the house of one Jones" in the parish of St. Michael in Soke. The two "Heads and Teachers" are named as Tomlyns and Marshall. It was Tomlyns who in 1672 came up to London and was instrumental in securing licenses for a number of preaching places, no doubt under the second Conventicle Act

of 1670. He nevertheless continued to suffer and pay fines for his unflinching nonconformity.

Fortunately, this discourse (from 2 Corinthians 5: 1) has been preserved in print, but, less fortunately for our present purpose, it carries no reference to the life and character of Walter Marshall. It is dedicated to Lady Anne Constantine and Mrs. Mary Fiennes, with an epistle to the inhabitants of Gosport. In this latter occurs the solitary paragraph which conveys any information at all concerning Marshall himself. It reads: "Christian friends, it hath seemed good to the sovereign Lord of heaven and earth to make a breach upon you, by snatching away from you a faithful and laborious servant of Christ, who fed you with his doctrine, and edified you by his example; he wooed you for Christ in his preaching, and allured you to Christ by his walking. Though the seedsman be dead, yet the doctrine he preached is incorruptible seed, the word of God, which lives and abides for ever; and though his service among you by vocal preaching is past, yet your account for your profiting by, and growth under, his ministry is to come."<sup>38</sup> The preface is dated August 23, 1680, and the same year appears on the title page. This evidence rules out as incorrect this year 1690 assigned by some writers as the date of Marshall's death.<sup>39</sup> His successor at Gosport was John Searle and the cause remained under Presbyterian discipline until 1732, when it turned Independent during the ministry of John Hurrion. It was to this charge that David Bogue, the co-founder of the London Missionary Society, was appointed in 1777.<sup>40</sup>

In the preface to the first edition of *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* the elusive N.N. speaks of Marshall's translation by death, "Elijah-like, dropping these sheets as his mantle for succeeding Elishas to go forth with, for the conversion of sinners, and comfort of drooping souls".<sup>41</sup> Some of the "succeeding Elishas" who benefited by his book and paid their tribute to its usefulness are known to us and a rehearsal of their names will indicate the continuing influence of this classic of holiness. A recommendatory preface was prefixed to the Edinburgh edition of 1733. It was signed by the founder of the Scottish Secession Church, Ebenezer Erskine, and his brother Ralph, together with such other ministers of the Kirk and the Associate Presbytery as Alexander Hamilton, James Wardlaw, James Ogilvie and James Gibb. They welcomed the first publication of Marshall's work in Scotland and warmly commended it to others. "As we have perused the book ourselves with great edification and pleasure, so we know it hath

had the high approbation and testimony of many eminent for grace and holiness: and judge the publication of it at this time of day seasonable among us, for promoting practical religion and godliness, and for giving a just view of the vast odds there is betwixt heathenish morality, adorned with the finest flourishes of human rhetoric, and true gospel holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord."<sup>42</sup>

The testimony of these notable leaders of the Secession in Scotland is corroborated by a quotation which they insert from Robert Trail's pamphlet *A Vindication of the Protestant Doctrine concerning Justification, and of its Preachers and Professors, from the Unjust Charge of Antinomianism*. It occurs in a postscript. "I think that Dr. Owen's excellent book of Justification, and Mr. Marshall's book of the Mystery of Sanctification by faith in Jesus Christ, are such vindications and confirmations of the Protestant doctrine, against which I fear no effectual opposition. Mr. Marshall was a holy and retired person, and is only known to most of us by his book lately published. The book is a deep, practical, well-jointed discourse, and requires a more than ordinary attention in reading of it with profit. And, if it be singly used, I look upon it as one of the most useful books the world hath seen for many years. Its excellence is, that it leads the serious reader directly to Jesus Christ, and cuts the sinews and overturns the foundation of the new divinity by the same argument of gospel holiness, by which many attempt to overturn the old. And as it hath already had the seal of high approbation by many judicious ministers and Christians that have read it, so I fear not but it will stand firm as a rock against all opposition, and will prove good seed, and food, and light to many hereafter."<sup>43</sup> The judgment of this eminent Presbyterian divine, who at the time when *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* was published was ministering to a Scottish congregation in London, is not lightly to be set aside.

In the 1744 Edinburgh edition a further recommendation is appended over the signature of Adam Gib, who had joined the Associate Presbytery in 1735 and in whose house the Anti-Burgher Synod was constituted in 1747. Having spoken of the legal and evangelical schemes of holiness respectively, he goes on: "The correction which one of these sorts, and the instruction in righteousness which both of them need, may be peculiarly gained from this book: and for these purposes, they [i.e., the adherents of both schemes] are earnestly entreated to peruse it completely, and in the same order wherein written: so that the one sort may not,



from looking first into the latter part thereof, throw it aside as Arminian ; nor the other sort from looking only into the former part, throw it aside as legal. In fine," Gib concludes, "whereas I have scarcely ever been acquainted with any practical composure, of human product, so evangelical, in a thread more connect, and a method more exact than this ; I equally despair, that any shall reap true benefit in a partial and confused reading ; and hope that excellent fruit shall, through the Divine blessing, rebound therefrom, unto such as may do it otherwise."<sup>44</sup>

One of those who most cordially expressed his indebtedness to Walter Marshall was James Hervey, the Evangelical Rector of Weston Favell from 1752 until his death in 1758. Hervey was the first literary popularizer of the eighteenth-century revival and his best known work, *Theron and Aspasio*, appeared in 1755. In the third volume he pays his meed of praise to Marshall. "It is with great pleasure, and without any diffidence, that I refer my readers to Mr. Marshall's treatise on Sanctification. Which I shall not recommend in the style of a critic, nor like a person of taste, but with all the simplicity of the weakest Christian: I mean, from *my own experience*. It has been made one of the most useful books to my own heart. I scarce ever fail to receive spiritual consolation and strength from the perusal of it ; and were I to be banished into some desolate island, possessed only of two books besides my Bible, this should be one of the two, perhaps the first that I would choose."<sup>45</sup> Prior to the sixth edition of *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*, Hervey despatched a letter to the publisher, dated November 5, 1756, in which he gave full permission to include his eulogy in *Theron and Aspasio*. "Mr. Marshall expresses my thoughts," he declared. "He prosecutes my scheme: and not only pursues the same end, but proceeds in the same way. I shall therefore rejoice in the prospect of having the *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* stand as a fourth volume to *Theron and Aspasio*. Might I be allowed, without the charge of irreverence to use the beautiful images of an inspired writer, I could with great satisfaction say, If this be a wall, that will build upon it a palace of ivory ; if this be a door, that will enclose it with boards of cedar (Song of Solomon, 8: 9)."<sup>46</sup> William Cudworth, Hervey's Dissenting friend, who, much to John Wesley's distress, drew him away into extreme views of imputed righteousness, prepared an abbreviated version of Marshall in 1766, entitled *The Scriptural Doctrines of Justification, Faith and Holiness*. He aimed to omit what was less intelligible and more disputable and to present a

convenient digest, mainly in the author's own words. This was the first in a series of such abridgements.<sup>47</sup>

Another tribute was paid by the poet, William Cowper, who was himself, of course, associated with the Evangelical movement. Addressing his cousin in a letter from Weston on March 11, 1767, he says: "The book you mention lies now upon my table. Marshall is an old acquaintance of mine; I have both read him and heard him read with pleasure and edification. The doctrines he maintains are, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, the very life of my soul, and the soul of all my happiness; that Jesus is a *present* Saviour from the guilt of sin by His most precious blood, and from the power of it by His Spirit; that corrupt and wretched in ourselves, in Him, and in *Him only*, we are complete. I think Marshall one of the best writers, and the most spiritual expositor of Scripture I ever read. I admire the strength of his argument, and the clearness of his reasoning, upon those parts of our most holy religion which are generally least understood (even by real Christians), as masterpieces of the kind. . . . I never met with a man who understood the plan of salvation better, or was more happy in explaining it."<sup>48</sup>

John Wesley's attention was drawn to Marshall's work by an unnamed correspondent in November, 1767. *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* was represented to the Methodist leader as "containing so much poison mixed with food" as to be "exceeding dangerous" and "not fit to be recommended to any but experienced Christians".<sup>49</sup> This adverse criticism was based on Marshall's insistence that "our natural state doth remain, in a measure, with all its corrupt principles and practices, as long as we live in the present world".<sup>50</sup> An entire controversy lies behind that apparently innocent qualification "in a measure". Marshall went on to reveal the extent of this measure in his view of the matter. "You may as well wash a Blackamoor white as purge the flesh from its evil lusts. It will lust against the Spirit in the best saints upon earth."<sup>51</sup> It was to this assertion that Wesley's anonymous correspondent took exception, asking: "How, then, am I to come to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ? Is there a reconciliation between the 'fulness of Christ' in a believer, and all his 'corrupt principles and practices'? Is it thus that the strong man armed is to be cast out, with the spoiling of his goods?"<sup>52</sup> Wesley's own estimate of Marshall is contained much later in a letter he wrote in January, 1782 to Thomas Davenport. He states that "near forty years ago" a friend recommended

him to read *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* and then supplies this comment. "A few passages I found scattered up and down which I thought leaned towards Antinomianism. But in general I approved of it well, and judged it to be an excellent book. The main proposition, that inward and outward holiness flow from a consciousness of the favour of God, is undoubtedly true. And it is a truth that should always be before our eyes."<sup>53</sup> It is typical of Wesley's generous spirit that, even though he would no doubt disagree with Marshall about the principle of sin remaining in the flesh after the further work of grace in sanctification, yet he nevertheless appreciated and generally approved his great treatise.<sup>54</sup>

This review of the influence of Walter Marshall upon evangelical notabilities of succeeding generations may fittingly close with an extract from the voluminous correspondence of Dr. Thomas Chalmers: "I know not if I ever spoke to you of Marshall on Sanctification. He is at present my daily companion; nor do I know an author who sets forth the Gospel in a way so suited to promote the conjoint interests of peace and holiness."<sup>55</sup> With these testimonials before us we may subscribe to the opinion contained in the "Brief Notice" prefixed to Taylor's edition, in his Christian Library series: "His 'Directions' exhibit views of the gospel so much beyond those of many other divines, that his book may be styled the ARCANA of practical Christianity; and those who bestow upon it sufficient time and attention, will find it a repository of evangelical truth, and worthy of all the encomiums which different writers have bestowed upon it."<sup>56</sup>

*Sunderland.*

#### REFERENCES

- <sup>1</sup> *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification*, abridged by Andrew Murrey, v.
- <sup>2</sup> There is a brief account of Marshall in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXXVI, 249-50, but it is by no means exhaustive. Mr. Ruoff supplies "A Short Biographical Sketch" in an Appendix (pp. 249-253), but this is little more than a reproduction of the notice prefixed to the Taylor edition.
- <sup>3</sup> *Gospel Mystery*, Taylor Edition, xvi.
- <sup>4</sup> Registers of Bishop Wearmouth.
- <sup>5</sup> Taylor Edition, xviii.
- <sup>6</sup> Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, I, 974.
- <sup>7</sup> Joseph Foster, *Index Ecclesiasticus*.
- <sup>8</sup> T. F. Kirby, *Winchester Scholars*, 12.
- <sup>9</sup> Foster, *Al. Ox.*, I, 975. D.N.B. dates his Fellowship from 1650, but the Sewell MSS. in New College, Oxford, cited by A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*, 341, confirm 1648. The Taylor Edition states that "he proceeded to Oxford in 1648, having been elected to a scholarship at New College in that University. After the expiration of his two years of probation

he was admitted to a Fellowship in the College, which he continued to hold till the year 1657" (xviii).

<sup>10</sup> Kirby, *op cit.*, 178 ; Sewell MSS.

<sup>11</sup> Triers Admission Books 1654-9 (Lambeth Palace Library MSS. L 997. 1. 44). For the Committee, see W. A. Shaw, *History of the English Church, 1640-1660*, II, 467 ff.

<sup>12</sup> John Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England*, 382, 384. A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 381, says, "Not found at Fawley" and identifies with Robert Tutt, Rector of Barford St. Martin.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Baxter, *Autobiography*, I, 167.

<sup>14</sup> Winchester Episcopal Certificates (Public Record Office), cf. Matthews, *op. cit.*, 341.

<sup>15</sup> List of Rectors from 1273, kindly supplied by Rev. John Mearing, B.D. The Fawley Parish Registers do not go back beyond 1677.

<sup>16</sup> List of Vicars, kindly supplied by Rev. Dr. C. L. Holthouse.

<sup>17</sup> Shaw, *op cit.*, II, 543.

<sup>18</sup> Registers of Hursley.

<sup>19</sup> Taylor Edition, xix.

<sup>20</sup> D.N.B. XXXVI, 249.

<sup>21</sup> Assize Records, 24.1 (Public Records Office).

<sup>22</sup> *Gospel Mystery*, Edinburgh Edition, iii. According to Matthews approximately 936 ministers were deprived by the enforcement of the Act of Uniformity. With the addition of those already displaced through the Restoration, the total is estimated at 1,760 (Matthews, *op cit.*, xii-xiii).

<sup>23</sup> G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, II, 1037 ; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 341. The list of Hursley Rectors gives 1660 for Maunder's institution.

<sup>24</sup> S. R. Gardiner, *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660*, 466.

<sup>25</sup> Taylor Edition, xx.

<sup>26</sup> Edinburgh Edition, iii.

<sup>27</sup> Taylor Edition, xxiv.

<sup>28</sup> David Bogue and John Bennett, *History of Dissenters*, I, 242.

<sup>29</sup> *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 4. s. iii, 66.

<sup>30</sup> Matthews, *op cit.*, 341.

<sup>31</sup> From Tenison MSS., cited in Turner, *op. cit.*, I, 7, 141 ; II, 1040, 1095, 1100.

<sup>32</sup> As Dr. Robert S. Boshier reminds us in his valuable book on *The Making of the Restoration Settlement*, on his return from exile in the spring of 1660, Morley was "soon immersed in a two-fold task—on the one hand, to moderate the indiscreet propaganda of the Laudian party. and on the other, to employ those "arts and artifices" (mentioned in a letter from Edward Hyde to John Barwick on March 23), "which might lead to the disruption of Presbyterian solidarity, and reconcile the more moderate ministers to the prospect of Anglican re-establishment" (108). Morley, indeed, took a leading part in conciliation at the Restoration and in 1662 he actually made a visitation of his dioceses in an attempt to persuade ministers like Marshall to subscribe and thus retain their cures (272 and n. 2). The Bishop's antipathy must therefore be considered in the light of the general rejection of his placatory approaches.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Edinburgh Edition, iii ; Taylor Edition, xx-xxiii.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor Edition, 162-3.

<sup>35</sup> Edinburgh Edition, iii.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, iv.

<sup>37</sup> Edward Calamy, *An Account of the Ministers and others Ejected and Silenced, 1660-1662, II*, 263.

<sup>38</sup> Preface, *Funeral Sermon*.

<sup>39</sup> Bogue and Bennett, *op cit.*, I, 454 ; *Gospel Mystery*, 1819 Edition, iv.

<sup>40</sup> Bogue and Bennett, *op. cit.*, I, 242 n.

<sup>41</sup> Edinburgh Edition, iv.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, vii.

<sup>45</sup> James Hervey, *Theron and Aspasio, III*, 336. Joseph Bellamy, of New England, made extensive quotations from Marshall in his *Letters and Dialogues between Theron, Paulinus and Aspasio*, published in London in 1761. Hervey defended Marshall's book from the assaults of Dr. Cotton.

<sup>46</sup> Edinburgh Edition, ix.

<sup>47</sup> Another abridgement was prepared by John Berrie of Dalkeith in 1820, and recommended by John Brown of Whitburn, and his brothers Ebenezer and Thomas. Andrew Murray's abridgement has already been mentioned. It was Cudworth who recommended Marshall's work to Lady Huntingdon, who greatly valued it.

<sup>48</sup> William Hayley, *Life of William Cowper*, I, 181. There is another reference in Letter 10.

<sup>49</sup> *Journal of John Wesley*, ed. Nehemiah Curnock, V, 240.

<sup>50</sup> Taylor Edition.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Journal*, V, 240.

<sup>53</sup> *Letters of John Wesley*, ed. John Telford, VII, 101-2. Telford assumes that the friend who recommended Wesley to read Marshall was the author of the anonymous letter of 1767. But it could hardly be described as a recommendation and was written fourteen, not forty, years previously. It would rather appear that Wesley was introduced to *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* not long after his evangelical conversion.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. an excellent article on Wesley and Marshall by J. Harrison Stringer, in *The Joyful News*, July 28, 1955.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Chalmers, *Correspondence*, I, 530.

<sup>56</sup> Taylor Edition, xxv.