



MEMORIAL STATUE IN THE BULL RING, KIDDERMINSTER

STORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REV.  
RICHARD BAXTER'S "SAINTS' EVERLASTING  
REST".

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**I**N an open space of Kidderminster called the Bull Ring—at the centre of the town—there is a fine statue of Baxter which figures him with right hand uplifted and pointing heavenward—pointing, as the inscription says, "the way to the Everlasting Rest".<sup>2</sup>

It expresses, in eloquent symbolism what was indeed the supreme purpose of Baxter's ministry. His mind was filled with the thought of man as a "pilgrim of Eternity," whose earthly interests are of ab-

<sup>1</sup> An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 February, 1919.

<sup>2</sup> The whole inscription runs:—

Richard Baxter,  
Between the years 1641 and 1660.  
This town  
was the scene of the labours  
of  
Richard Baxter  
renowned equally for  
his Christian learning  
and his pastoral fidelity.  
In a stormy and divided age  
he advocated unity and comprehension  
pointing the way to  
"The Everlasting Rest".  
  
Churchmen and nonconformists  
united to raise this memorial  
A.D. 1875.

The author of the Inscription is said to have been Rev. Edward Parry, minister of the Unitarian Church, and afterwards founder and editor of the *Kidderminster Shuttle*. It seems to me a model of its kind. The statue was unveiled by Dean Stanley.

solutely no account save in their relation to his future destiny. Hence, to teach man how to prepare himself for a blessed future became his absorbing task.

But the symbolism is significant in another way. It shows how there has grown up an instinctive connexion between Baxter and his first book. Not more surely does John Bunyan suggest the *Pilgrim's Progress* than Richard Baxter the *Saints' Rest*. Bunyan wrote some eighteen other books, and Baxter wrote not fewer than 160 other books ; but each owes his common fame to one. No doubt, it has to be admitted at once that the common fame of the former has been on a far larger scale than that of the latter. *Pilgrim's Progress* has circulated in its millions, while the *Saints' Rest* has never gone beyond its thousands. But that is hardly the point. The point is that most people when they think of Bunyan think of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and that most people when they think of Baxter think of the *Saints' Rest*. Nor is there any difficulty in accounting for this fact when we remember that both dealt with the same theme—a theme deeply interesting then to a wide public ; and that both so treated it (though in very different fashion), as to capture and fascinate the reader's attention. And their treatment had at least three similar features. It was alike in the perfect sincerity of their faith and the intense force of their appeal ; it was alike in presenting conceptions of life, and the future, which professed to be drawn exclusively from the teaching of Scripture ; and it was alike in the possession of a singularly attractive style. Bunyan's style has often been extolled—by Lord Macaulay, e.g. whose dictum that it ranks with that of the Authorised Version of the Bible is well known. But Baxter's English is of much the same quality as Bunyan's—not less pure, clear, and simple. Here is what Archbishop Trench, no mean judge, has said of it : “ There reigns in Baxter's writings, and not least in the *Saints' Rest*, a robust and masculine eloquence ; nor do these want from time to time, rare and unsought felicities of language which, once heard, can scarcely be forgotten. In regard, indeed, to the choice of words the book might have been written yesterday. There is hardly one which has become obsolete ; hardly one which has drifted away from the meaning which it has in his writings. This may not be a great matter, but it argues a rare insight, conscious or unconscious, into all which was truest, into all which was furthest re-

moved from affectation and untruthfulness in the language—that, after more than 200 years, so it should be; and we may recognize here an element, not to be overlooked, of the abiding popularity of the Book."<sup>1</sup>

This is true, and I will but add that Baxter did not study style—except to make language as clear a medium of his thoughts as possible.

"I never loved affectation," he says, "nor too much industry about words, nor like the temper of them that do." "May I speak pertinently, piercingly, plainly, and somewhat properly, I have enough." "He is the best preacher" (or writer) "who feels what he speaks and then speaks what he feels."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to most of his books he says: "I wrote them in the crowd of all my other employments, which would allow me no great leisure for Polishing and Exactness, or any Ornament; so that I scarce ever wrote one Sheet twice over, nor stayed to make any Blots or Interlinings, but was fain to let it go as it was first conceived (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 124).

The *Saints' Rest* he speaks of as an exception. On the composition of this he bestowed more pains; and was in a position to do so, because most of it was written during an enforced leisure of four months. But there can have been no great study of words even in this case, seeing that during the same period he wrote another book—*Aphorisms of Justification*—and that the *Saints' Rest* itself ran into a volume of 800 quarto pages closely printed.

Baxter was born in November, 1615, and the first edition of the *Saints' Rest* came out in the early weeks of 1650. That is to say, it came out in his thirty-fifth year; and had been written, in great part, four or five years before. Thus, what I think is not generally realized, it was *the product of a young man*—a young man, moreover, rather weary of life. He relates the occasion of it in his *Autobiography*—"Whilst I was in health I had not the least thought of writing Books, or of serving God in any more publick way than preaching. But when I was weakened with great bleeding and left solitary in my chamber at Sir John Cook's in Derbyshire, without any acquaintance—but my servant—about me, and was sentenced to death by the Physicians, I began to contemplate more seriously on the Everlasting

<sup>1</sup> *Companions of the Devout Life*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, Premonition.

Rest which I apprehended myself to be on the Borders of. And that my thoughts might not scatter too much in my meditation I began to write something on that Subject, intending but the Quantity of a Sermon, or two . . . but being continued long in weakness where I had no books, nor no better employment, I followed it on till it was enlarged to the bulk in which it is published" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 108). This account of the book, written in or about 1664, fifteen years after the time when he thought himself on the point of death, agrees with that which he gave in the general "Dedication" of 1649. When he began to write his sense of weakness was so extreme that he did not expect to "survive two months longer". Yet he lived till 1691, and continued in strenuous mental toil almost to the end—a sure proof of extraordinary vitality. Still clearer proof might be found in his survival of the unnatural treatment to which, so frequently, he subjected himself. The story of what he calls his "remedies" is, indeed, an amazing record. Thus, in the present case, he was overtaken by illness at Sir John Cook's house through exposure "in a cold and snowy Season". "The cold, together with other things coincident," set his "Nose on bleeding," and he "bled about a quart or two". Then what did he do? He "opened four Veins," and "used divers other Remedies for several days". He adds, as we should expect, that this abuse of nature was "to no purpose". So he "gave" himself "A purge"—with the result that while it "stopped" the bleeding, it "so much weakened" him, "and altered" his "complexion that" his "Acquaintance who came to visit" him "scarce knew" him (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 58).

Such was his physical state when he began the *Saints' Rest*. He felt sick unto death. Then, too, he was sick in mind as well as in body. Recent experiences had brought him bitter disappointment, and may be said to have dried up his joy in life for the time being. Let us glance at these. After "about a year and three quarters" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 18) as a preacher at Bridgnorth Baxter came to Kidderminster (1641) "that place which had the chiefest of "his" labours and yielded "him" the greatest fruits of comfort" (*id.*, p. 20). But the outbreak of Civil War interrupted his prosperous labours. He was for the Parliament, while the people of the town, or at any rate the lowest stratum of the people—called the "Rabble" by Baxter—were for the King. By instigation of some outsiders the "Rabble" assailed him

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BAXTER'S PULPIT, NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE NEW  
MEETING HOUSE AT KIDDERMINSTER

as a Puritan and imperilled his life.<sup>1</sup> So, by advice of his friends, he withdrew and went to Gloucester. At the end of a month he returned. Very soon, however, when a rumour of the King's approach from Shrewsbury, on his way to Oxford, stirred the Rabble to greater violence than before, he withdrew a second time; and did not return for nearly six years. These years, so critical for the nation, were no less critical for Baxter. In the school of events he learnt what no books could teach him. While preaching at Alcester, on the first Sunday evening of his exile, the cannon could be heard from the battle of Edgehill (23 October, 1642). Next morning he and his friend the minister of Alcester (Mr. Samuel Clark) "rode to the field to see what was done". They saw it strewn with "a thousand dead bodies"; and the two exhausted armies facing each other across it—a sight which evoked the conviction that a fratricidal war so horrible must end in a few days, or weeks. Cherishing this hope he passed on to Coventry, and stayed a month with the Puritan Minister, Mr. Samuel King. Then, the war not being yet over, he removed to the Governor's house, having promised him and the committee of the town, to preach once a week to the garrison. Going beyond his promise, he preached once a week also to the townsfolk—for no payment but his lodging and diet. In this way, weeks ran into months, and still the war went on—though nothing but the rumour of it reached Coventry. "While I lived here in Peace and Liberty, as Men in a dry House do hear the storms abroad, so did we daily hear the news of one fight or other, or one garrison or other, won or lost; the two *Newbery* Fights, *Gloucester Siege*, the marvellous Sieges of *Plimouth*, *Lime*, and *Taunton*; Sir *William Waller's* Successes and Losses, the Loss at *Newark*, the Slaughter at *Bolton*, the greatest fight of all at *York*, with abundance more. So that hearing such sad news on one side or other was our daily Work, insomuch that as duly as I wakened in the Morning I expected to hear one come and tell me, *Such a Garrison is won or*

<sup>1</sup> The editor of the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* in "the Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature," says the assault upon him was occasioned by his having *obtained* an order from Parliament to destroy a crucifix in the churchyard, etc. But Baxter did not "obtain" it. It was "sent down," "and, thinking it came from just authority," he "left the Churchwarden to do what he thought good". Nor was this the immediate occasion of the "Rabble's Fury" which drove him away (see *R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 40).

*lost, or Such a Defeat received or given: and do you hear the news,* was commonly the first word I heard. So miserable were those bloody days in which he was the most honourable that could kill most of his enemies" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 46).

At length came the news of Naseby (June 15, 1645); and with it a great change for Baxter. A visit to Naseby field was followed by a visit to the Parliamentary Headquarters before Leicester. His ostensible purpose was to discover what he could about two or three old friends in the army; but there was something more behind. His deeper purpose was to find out what he could about the religious state of the army. For disquieting reports, growing ever more definite, had reached him, to the effect that Cromwell's soldiers were given up to all manner of subversive notions; and that Cromwell himself was either indifferent, or even actively sympathetic. And, to his horror, he found that, for once, report had fallen short of the truth. There is no room or need here to go into details. It is enough to note that Baxter, then and there, formed a grave resolution. The post of chaplain in his friend Colonel Whalley's regiment<sup>1</sup> was offered him; and, against his inclination, he decided to accept it. He did so in the temper of an enthusiast. He was sure that if the ministers generally had from the first taken and kept their due place among the soldiers, they could easily have nipped off the poisonous buds of false doctrine, one by one, as they appeared. This task the ministers had declined or else had grown weary of. Now alas! it might be too late. Now, if the ministers came forward, they might encounter, from the deluded soldiers, fierce resistance, or, at best, a cold welcome. Truly they had missed a golden opportunity. He, in his ignorance, had missed it too. But all the more reason why, even at the eleventh hour, he should do what he could. Baxter's courage, whenever duty seemed to call him, was invincible. He took no thought of personal consequences. And

<sup>1</sup> Baxter accompanied Whalley's regiment to most, if not all, of the places to which it went during the next two years. In this way, he saw much fighting. He was present at the battle of Langport (10 July, 1645); at the siege of Bridgwater (taken by storm 23 July); at the final assault of Bristol (11 September); at the siege of Exeter (surrendered 13 April, 1646); at that of Oxford (surrendered 24 June, 1646); at that of Banbury (for two months before its fall, 9 May, 1646); and at that of Worcester (apparently for the greater part of the eleven weeks before its capture on 22 June, 1646).

he had a most naïve confidence in his own powers of persuasion. On the other hand, he was very apt to overlook the real difficulties in front of him, and to underrate his enemy. Hence, the frequent failures which surprised him in the course of his many controversial adventures ; and his failure in this, his first adventure, was probably to himself the most surprising of all, "As soon as I came to the Army Oliver Cromwell coldly bid me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there." He discovered the key to Cromwell's attitude when he heard that "his secretary gave out that there was a Reformer come to the Army to undeceive them, and to save Church and State, with some such other Jeers" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 52). Nevertheless, he set himself, "from day to day, to find out the corruptions of the soldiers," and to counteract them. These corruptions, of course, were not vices of conduct, but faults of opinion. The former had short shrift in Cromwell's army. Opinion, however, was free to utter itself as it liked. And, complains Baxter, what it liked was to utter itself "sometimes for State Democracy and sometimes for Church Democracy ; sometimes against forms of Prayer and sometimes against Infant Baptism . . . sometimes against set times of Prayer, and against the tying of ourselves to any Duty before the Spirit move us ; and sometimes about Free-grace and Free-will, and all the points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. . . . But their most frequent and vehement Disputes were for Liberty of Conscience, as they called it, i.e. that the Civil Magistrate had nothing to do to determine of anything in Matters of Religion, by constraint or restraint, but every man might not only *hold* but *preach*, and *do*, in Matters of Religion, what he pleased ; that the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do but with civil things, to keep the peace, and protect the Church's Liberties, etc." (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 53). It would not be fair to say that Baxter's disapproval extended to *all* these opinions. It certainly did not in equal degree. What most provoked him was the dogmatic ignorance of their advocates ; and what alarmed him was the threatened danger to law and order in Church and State. His own creed, political and ecclesiastical as well as theological, though not narrow, rested on strictly conversative foundations, and had no room for the revolutionary. To him, therefore, the outlook was terrifying if the army, or rather the Radicals of the army, got the upper hand. And he was forced to see them getting the upper hand more and more, while his own counteractive endeavours, on the whole, were

quite fruitless, outside Whalley's regiment. Indeed, if the last words he wrote on his unhappy experiment are to be taken seriously, he was becoming so obnoxious to some of the soldiers that, had he gone on longer, they were ready to kill him "in their fury" (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 59). Such were the conditions under which he wrote the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*. He was sick in body and mind. He was life-weary; and turned to death as to a friend. His work, he thought, had been a failure. The work of others, who stood for what he conceived to be the cause of God, was also a failure, or on the way to failure. England lay under the judgment of God, and so long as she refused to repent of her sins the judgment would remain. But Baxter saw no sign of repentance; and we, looking back, can see why. We can see that what he thought England's sins were, for the most part, just those manifestations of angry discontent with things as they were which expressed her striving, her birth-throes, towards a better world. Baxter was not the first man, nor the last, to take fright at such manifestations, and miscall them sins. It demands a kind of faith in human nature, and in God himself, which he did not possess, in order to be calm and hopeful amid whirlwinds of change. Baxter neither possessed that faith; nor understood men, like Cromwell, who possessed it greatly. His own faith was strong; was clear; in certain ways, was broad and free; but, at some vital points, it was sore hampered by formulæ—formulæ to which he clung, as if it were identical with the very substance of truth. Baxter's mental state, then, was not cheerful—was, indeed, somewhat morbid—when he began to write of the *Saints' Rest*. And this fact is noteworthy because it is really the key, in large measure, to his book. Melancholy, born of a sick body and mind, tinctures it more or less, throughout, and particularly some of its most characteristic passages.

1. Here is one, e.g. which shows how deeply the war had distressed him: "O the sad and heart-piercing spectacles that mine eyes have seen in four years' space! In this fight, a dear friend fall down by me; from another, a precious Christian brought home wounded or dead; scarce a moneth, scarce a week without the sight or loss of blood. Surely there is none of this in heaven. Our eyes shall then be filled no more, nor our hearts pierced, with such fights as at Worcester, Edghil, Newbury, Nantwich, Montgomery, Horncastle, York, Naseby, Langport, etc. . . ." "What heart is not wounded to think on

Germanie's long desolations ?<sup>1</sup> O the learned Universities ! The flourishing churches there, that now are left desolate ! Look on *England's* four years' blood, a flourishing land almost made ruined ; hear but the common voice in most Cities, Towns, and Countreys through the Land, and judge whether here be no cause of sorrow ; Especially look but to the sad effects, and men's spirits grown more out of order, when a most wonderful Reformation by such wonderful means might have been expected. And is not this cause of astonishing sorrows ? Look to *Scotland*, look to *Ireland*, look almost anywhere and tell me what you see. Blessed that approaching day, when our eyes shall behold no more such sights ; nor our ears hear any more such tidings. How many hundred Pamphlets are Printed, full of almost nothing but the common calamities ? So that it's become a gainful trade to divulge the news of our Brethren's sufferings. And the fears for the future that possessed our hearts were worse than all that we saw and suffered. O the tydings that run from *Edghil fight*, of *York fight*, etc. How many a face did they make pale ? and how many a heart did they astonish ? Nay, have not many died with the fears of that which if they had lived they had neither suffered nor seen ? It's said of Melancthon, that the miseries of the Church made him almost neglect the death of his most beloved children. To think of the Gospel departing, the Glory taken from *Israel*, our Sun-setting at Noon-day, poor souls left willingly dark and destitute, and with great pains and hazard blowing out the light that should guide them to salvation ! What sad thoughts must these be ? To think of Christ removing His Family, taking away both worship and worshippers, and to leave the land to the rage of the merciless. These were sad thoughts. Who could then have taken the Harp in hand, or sung the pleasant Songs of Zion ? But blessed be the Lord who hath frustrated our fears ; and who will hasten the rejoycing day when Zion shall be exalted above the Mountains and her Gates shall be open day and night. . . . Thus shall we rest from our participation of our Brethren's sufferings.<sup>2</sup>

2. Among the "Excellencies of our Rest," which Baxter enumerates, one is this : " We shall then Rest from all our sad Divisions and un-

<sup>1</sup> Refers to the Thirty Years' War (1618-48).

<sup>2</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 15.

Christian-like quarrels with one another". In the margin<sup>1</sup> he says : " This was written upon the war in Scotland, the Death of Mr. Love,<sup>2</sup> the Imprisonment of many more, and an Ordinance for the Sequestering of all Ministers that would not go to God on their Errands, in Fasting and Prayer, or in Thanksgivings for their Successes. And an order made to put out all Ministers from all the cities, Market-Towns, and Garrisons, that subscribed not their Engagement." Baxter was very angry with Cromwell and his party for their conduct in what is called the Second Civil War. Cromwell's invasion of Scotland ; his stern suppression of a Royalist plot in which Presbyterians—even Presbyterian divines like Rev. Christopher Love had a hand ; his call upon the nation to observe days of prayer and fasting for the furtherance of his campaign and of thanksgiving for victories like Dunbar ; his demand for a declaration of loyalty to a regicide Government—were crimes, in Baxter's view, almost past forgiveness. He had dreamed of a union between England and Scotland by means of which both lands, without strict uniformity, should enjoy all the benefits of the Gospel in a reformed Church.

" O what sweet idolizing thoughts of our future state had we in time of wars ! What full content did I promise my soul when I should enjoy Peace, and see the Gospel set up in power and plenty, and all the ordinances in purity, and the true Discipline exercised in the churches, and ignorance cured, and all persecutions ceased, and the mouths of railers stopped, who kept men from Christ by filling the world with prejudice against Him ? And now where is the Rest that I promised myself ? Even that is my greatest grief from which I expected most Content. Instead of Peace we have more bloodshed ; and such as is confessed to be the blood of Saints. The two nations that were bound in an Oath of Union, and where so great a part of the Interest of Christ on earth is contained (in regard of Purity of Doctrine and Worship) are dashing each other in pieces, and the souls of multitudes let out of their bodies by those that look to rejoice with them for ever in Heaven. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

" O what a potent instrument for Satan is a misguided Conscience ! "

<sup>1</sup> Not, however, in any edition (I think) earlier than the seventh (1658, " revised by the author ").

<sup>2</sup> Executed on 22 August, 1651.

<sup>3</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. II, chap. ix. § 1.

"O what hellish things are Ignorance and Pride that can bring men's souls to such a state as this!"<sup>1</sup>

"That the same men, who would have travelled through reproaches many miles, to hear an able faithful minister, and not think the labor ill bestowed, should now become their bitterest enemies, and the most powerful hinderers of the success of their labors, and travel as far to cry them down! It makes me almost ready to say, O sweet, O happy days of persecution, which drove us together in a closure of Love! (we) who being now dried at the fire of Liberty and Prosperity are crumbled all into dust by our contentions. But it makes me seriously, both to say and to think: O sweet, O happy day of the Rest of the Saints in Glory! When, as there is one God, one Christ, one Spirit, so we shall have one Judgment, one Heart, one Church, one Employment for ever! When there shall be no more Circumcision and Uncircumcision, Jew and Gentile, Anabaptist or Pædo baptist, Brownist, Separatist, Independent, Presbyterian, Episcopal; but Christ is All and in All. We shall not there scruple our communion, nor any of the Ordinances of Divine Worship. There will not be one for singing and another against it; but even those who here jarred in discord shall all conjoyn in blessed concord and make up one melodious Quire." . . . "Well, the fault may be mine and it may be theirs; or more likely both mine and theirs. But this rejoiceth me, that my old friends who now look strangely on me, will joyfully triumph with me in our common Rest."<sup>2</sup>

3. "We shall rest also from all our own personal sufferings"—is the title of another section. This "may seem a small thing to those that live in continual ease, and abound in all kind of prosperity". But such is not the case of the saints. "They live a dying life as full of sufferings as of days and hours." "Grief creeps in at our eyes, at our ears, and almost everywhere. It seizeth upon our head, our hearts, our flesh, our Spirits, and what part doth escape it? Fears do devour us, and darken our Delights, as the Frosts do nip the tender Buds. Cares do consume us and feed upon our Spirits, as the scorching Sun doth wither the delicate flowers." Such, at any rate, has been his own case, "who in ten or twelve years' time have scarce had a whole day free from some dolor. O the weary nights

<sup>1</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 14.

and days ! O the unseverable languishing weakness ! O the restless working vapors ! O the tedious nauseous medicines ! besides the daily expectations of worse ! And will it not be desirable to Rest from all these ?

“ There will be then no crying out, O my head, O my Stomack, or O my Sides, or O my Bowels. No, no ; sin and flesh and dust and pain, will all be left behind together. O what would we not give now for a little ease, much more for a perfect cure ? how then should we value that perfect freedom ? If we have some mixed comforts here, they are scarce enough to sweeten our crosses ; or if we have some short and smiling Intermissions, it is scarce time enough to breathe us in, and to prepare our tacklings for the next storm. If one wave pass by, another succeeds ; and if the night be over, and the day come, yet will it soon be night again.”<sup>1</sup>

Such illustrations—which might be easily multiplied—seem to warrant what has been said, that the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* bears clear traces of its author's melancholy state of mind. If Baxter had written it, while in a state of inward serenity, no doubt its general outlines would have been the same, but certainly not its prevailing tone. If, e.g., he had written it some fourteen years later, when he composed that self-review (in his *Autobiography*<sup>2</sup>) which is the very mirror of a soul chastened and sweetened by experience, I am sure the tone would have been different. I am sure, especially, that his meditations of heaven would have been more free, here and there, from brain-sick fancies ; and that his terrific imaginations of hell would have been left out, or greatly modified. As it is, I think it might be possible to demonstrate that the *Saints' Everlasting Rest* did much to foster that unhealthy attitude to life and death which is so marked a characteristic of English piety, even the truest, in the eighteenth century.

Another feature of the book is remarkable. One would expect a discourse on Rest to be Restful. But restfulness is the last, and least, impression which it makes. Of course there are quiet resting-places. Almost the whole of chapter viii. in Part III—on “ Further Causes of Doubting Among Christians ”—is a quiet resting-place in green pastures and within the sound of still waters. But, speaking generally,

<sup>1</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. vii. § 16.

<sup>2</sup> *R.B.*, Pt. I, pp. 130-8.

one feels as if afloat on a swift and swirling current which never gets clear of chafing obstacles. One is kept on the stretch and strain from end to end. And the reason is to be found in his theological position. He was neither a thorough-going Calvinist nor an avowed Arminian. He was, however, more of the latter than he knew. His first (published<sup>1</sup>) book—*Aphorisms of Justification*—is the proof of this. Here, the doctrine of imputed righteousness, in the accepted Calvinistic sense, is met by a doctrine of Evangelical Righteousness which virtually overthrows it. Baxter had come to feel a horror of Antinomianism,<sup>2</sup> and of that one-sided conception of Divine grace which made it the chief mark of a Christian to leave everything to God. There were many around him who encouraged themselves in spiritual laziness, and even in moral laxity, by such doctrine. This led him to lay stress on the human element in salvation—especially on those moral claims of the Gospel, to which its grace was meant to be the strongest incentive. But, as often happens in cases of reaction, he went too far. While ascribing in so many words, the whole process of salvation to the prevenient, or efficient, grace of God, he so harps upon the call for strenuous and incessant toil that practically he makes salvation an entirely human achievement, and to the end a precarious one. I have often thought in reading some parts of the book that its motto might well be : “How hard it is to enter into the kingdom of heaven !” and have wondered if the effect of its perpetual urgency upon simple Christian souls was not inevitably to encourage a feeling of despair. Let me cite one example of my meaning. In Part III he has a chapter (vi.) entitled “An Exhortation to the Greatest Seriousness in Seeking Rest,” and this is supported by “twenty lively rational considerations to quicken us to the greatest obligation that is possible” ; then by “ten more very quickening considerations” ; then by “ten more very quickening by way of question” ; finally by “ten

<sup>1</sup> Published a year before the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*.

<sup>2</sup> “I confess I am an unreconcilable Enemy to their” (Antinomian) “doctrines ; and so let them take me. I had as lieve tell them so as hide it. The more I pray God to illuminate me in these things, the more am I animated against them. The more I search after the truth in my studies the more I dislike them. The more I read their own books the more do I see the vanity of their conceits. But above all, when I do but open the Bible I can seldom meet with a leaf that is not against them” (*Confession of his Faith* (1655), p. 5).

more peculiar to the godly to quicken them". Following this is a chapter (vii.) "persuading all men to try their title to this Rest, and directing them in this trial". Hereupon he proceeds to open and expound "the nature of assurance or certainty of salvation". Further, he shows "how much, and what, the spirit doth to the producing it; and what Scripture, what Knowledge, what Faith, what Holiness and Evidences, what Conscience and internal sense, and what Reason or Discourse do in the work". Last, comes a chapter, 43<sup>1</sup> pages in length, which is occupied with "a more exact enquiry into the nature of sincerity"; and Directions—twelve or more—concerning the use of marks in self-examination; and a "Discovery" how far a man may go and not be saved. In the first section of this chapter he tells the reader that he himself, as a young Christian, lay in doubt and perplexity with regard to his sincerity for seven years; and that what he is about to say has been tested in his own experience. And certainly he says not a little that is helpful, while the last summarizing paragraphs are no less wholesome than true. But the reader asks: Why, O why, was he not content with the summary; <sup>2</sup> why did he think it necessary to argue and urge the matter in a way so sure to harass any sensitive and humble soul that might strive to follow his guidance?

A similar feeling springs up after reading in Part IV his rules for meditation. To himself meditation had grown to be "the delight-fullest task . . . that ever men on earth were employed in". He

<sup>1</sup> In the tenth edition. It is 53 in the (less closely printed) fourth edition.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, the pith of it all is in the following:—

Pt. III, chap. viii. § 9. "Grace is never apparent and sensible to the Soul but while it is in Action. Therefore, want of Action must needs cause want of Assurance. . . . The fire that lieth still in the flint is neither seen nor felt, but when you smite it and force it into Act, it is easily discerned. . . . It is so with our graces. . . . Thou now knowest not whether thou have Repentance, or Faith, or Love, or Joy: why be more in the Acting of these and you will easily know it. . . . You may go seeking for the Hare or Partridge many hours, and never finde them while they lie close and stir not, but when once the Hare betakes himself to his legs, and the Bird to her wings, then you see them presently. So long as the Christian hath his Graces in lively Action, so long, for the most part, he is assured of them. How can you doubt that you love God in the Act of Loving? Or, whether you believe in the very Act of Believing? If, therefore, you would be assured, whether this sacred fire be kindled in your hearts, blow it up; get it into a flame and then you will know. Believe till you feel that you do believe; and Love till you feel that you Love."

would fain, therefore, win others to the use and enjoyment of it. But he conceives it, also, as an imperative duty. Indeed, its duty rather than its delight becomes the burden of his discourse. "Christians, I beseech you, as you take me for your Teacher, and have called me hitherto, so hearken to this Doctrin. If ever I shall prevail with you in anything let me prevail with you in this—to set your hearts where you expect a Rest and Treasure. Do you not remember that when you called me to be your Teacher, you promised me under your hands, that you would faithfully and conscionably endeavor the receiving every truth, and obeying every command, which I should from the Word of God manifest to you? I now charge your promise upon you; I never delivered to you a more apparent Truth, nor prest upon you, a more apparent duty then this."<sup>1</sup>

Much that he goes on to say is excellent. Nothing better, as a guide to spiritual self-discipline has, I think, ever been written. But, *suo modo*, it is overdone. Whoever might set himself to perform the duty as Baxter sets it forth could not fail to faint and grow weary.<sup>2</sup> At a later time he came partially to see this. For in 1670, Mr. Giles Firmin, "a worthy minister that had lived in New England" (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 74), wrote a book in which he objected that Baxter screwed "weak ones too high in this duty of meditation".<sup>3</sup> Baxter took it well—describes it as a "gentle reproof"—and admitted that it was not wholly undeserved. In his reply to Firmin he says: "I find, what long ago I found, that I was to blame that I observed no more the weakness and danger of melancholy persons when I first wrote it" (the *Saints' Rest*); "and that I was not more large in disswading them from taking that to be their work which they cannot do. For I believe I have spoken with farre more then ever this Reverend Brother hath done (though he be a Physician) who have been disabled by Melancholy and other weakness of brain from this work: which made me so oft since give them such warning" (p. 27). So "I now add more particularly (lest I should injure any) that I take it (I) not to be the duty of a minister to leave his necessary Study, Preaching,

<sup>1</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. IV, chap. iii. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Pt. IV, chap. xiii. "The abstract or sum of all for the sake of the weak," § 1.

<sup>3</sup> *The Duty of Heavenly Meditation* reviewed by R. B. at the invitation of Mr. G. Firmin's Exceptions in his book entitled *The Real Christian*, 1671.

Prayer, etc., for this set meditation ; (2) nor for a magistrate to leave his necessary work of Government for it ; (3) nor for any man in active life to leave a necessary duty of his place for it ; (4) nor for any weak persons to stretch their braines beyond their abilitie to do what they cannot do. Greatest Duties must be preferred ; and men must endeavour prudently according to their capacity and power. And God will have mercy and not sacrifice."

This, of course, does not imply any yielding on Baxter's part as to the substance of what he had said ; but does qualify it with a dose of good sense.<sup>1</sup>

We are not concerned here with Baxter's theology. I question, indeed, if his theology—at any rate as regards its bearing on the life to come—can any longer interest the modern mind. Our general attitude and outlook have so much changed. But it is relevant to note some signs of its influence on later developments.

1. His reiterated insistence on man's part in the work of salvation, and especially on the necessity of obedience to the Christian moral law, had much to do with the rapid decline of Antinomianism ; and with the growth of that "moralism" which took its place. As regards the latter, it is probable that Baxter would have been sorry to own any responsibility. But as regards the former he knew it and rejoiced. Writing about 1664 he says : "This sect of the Antinomians was so suddenly almost extinct that now they little appear and make no noise among us at all nor have done these many years". He ascribes its decline largely to the effect of his "controversial writings," but I am disposed to think that the stringent ethical temper of the *Saints' Rest* did even more. For a temper is more infectious than an argument ; and, moreover, for the scores who read the arguments there were hundreds who read the *Saints' Rest*.

2. The same ethical stringency, with its implied recognition of man's free power of choice, was of no small consequence in dissolving the current type of Calvinism. There are, indeed, places in the book where the language is Calvinistic enough to satisfy the most severe. The people of God (he asks)—who are they ?

"They are a small part of lost mankinde whom God hath from Eternity predestinated to this Rest, for the glory of His Mercey ; and

<sup>1</sup> Firmin wrote "a weak reply" which Baxter thought "not worthy of a rejoinder" (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 104).

given to his Son to be by him in a special manner Redeemed, and fully recovered from their lost estate, and advanced to this higher Glory ; all which, Christ doth in due time accomplish, accordingly, by himself for them, by his Spirit upon them.<sup>1</sup>

But the mental attitude which inspired his preaching took no account at all of such doctrine. He addressed men from first to last as, somehow, masters of their fate. If he harboured any real doubt of this, the greater portion of the book is more than meaningless—it is a grotesque impertinence. Nay, it is a ghastly exhibition of make-believe. But he had no doubt. His Calvinism was a theory which the logical part of him did not permit him to deny in so many words, but his conscience asserted the contrary with irresistible vehemence. His real voice may be heard in such words as these : “ If we are drawn by natural operations as by ropes, like things that have no life, then it is in vain to talk of Voluntary and Involuntary ; nor do I understand that to be a living creature whose power of Desire is subject to Destiny ”. And he supports himself on Clement of Alexandria who had said : “ But for us who have learned from the Scripture that God hath given men to choose and avoid things by a Free and Absolute power, let us rest in the Judgment of Faith which cannot be moved or fail us : manifesting a cheerful and ready spirit because we have chosen life ”.<sup>2</sup>

Here we may see the position which earned for him the name of Baxterian—a position accepted by many of the later Puritans, especially those of the Presbyterian tradition, and through them by a majority of the eighteenth century Nonconformists as well as many Churchmen. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it approximates to the position of most thoughtful Christians at the present day.

3. The *Saints' Rest*, strange to say, discloses Baxter as, in no uncertain sense, a Rationalist. Thus, the opening sentences of Pt. III, are these :—

“ Whatsoever the Soul of man doth entertain must make its first entrance at the understanding ; which must be satisfied, first, of its Truth, and secondly of its goodness, before it find any further admittance. If this porter be negligent, it will admit of anything that bears but the face or name of Truth and goodness ; but if it be faithful and diligent in its office, it will examine strictly and search to the quick.

<sup>1</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. I, chap. viii. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, Pt. III, chap. ii. § 12 margin.

What is found deceitful, it casteth out, that it go no further ; but what is found to be sincere and currant, it letteth into the very heart, where the Will and Affections do with welcome entertain it, and by concoction (as it were) incorporate it into its own substance."<sup>1</sup>

This describes his uniform standpoint. He professes to believe nothing until it has passed the test of Reason, or understanding. He is not happy (in the first Pt., chap. vi.) until he has established that "this Rest tried by nine Rules in Philosophy or Reason" is "found by all to be the most excellent State in general"; nor is he content (in Pt. IV), until he has shown, to his own satisfaction, that Reason accords with all he says concerning the practice of meditation; and in Pt. II, his single aim is to demonstrate the rationality of his thesis, that Scripture is the Word of God. It is true that Reason, having done this, on a basis of external evidence, at once retires into the background. "I will believe anything in the world which I know certainly that God speaks or Revealeth: though the thing itself be ever so unreasonable. For I have Reason to believe (or rather to know) that all is True which God revealeth how improbable so ever to flesh and blood" (Preface to Pt. II). Hence it became easy for him to accept, e.g. all the Biblical miracles, and the popular belief in witchcraft. Biblical sanction, in each case, was final. But still his genuine respect for Reason was such as could lead him to say: "He that hath the best and rightest Reason, and by consideration maketh the most use of it, is the best Christian and doth God best service; and all sin is . . . for want of right reason and using it by consideration."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, he felt himself free to indulge a drastic criticism of those who fetched materials for their creed from (so-called) authorities outside the Bible. Repudiating all such authorities, he would require no more from any man than to subscribe the Bible as it stands and as a whole. "Two things have set the Church on fire, and been the plagues of it above one thousand years: (1) Enlarging our Creed and making more fundamentals than ever God made; (2) composing (and so imposing) our Creeds and Confessions in our own words and phrases.

"When Men have learned more manners and humility than to accuse God's language as too general and obscure (as if they could mend it) and have more dread of God and compassion on themselves, then

<sup>1</sup> *S.E.R.*, Pt. III, chap. i. § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pt. II, Preface.

to make those to be Fundamentals, or certainties, which God never made so ; and when they reduce their Confessions (1) to their due extent, and (2) to Scripture phrase (that Dissenters may not scruple subscribing) then, and (I think) never till then, shall the Church have Peace about Doctrinals."<sup>1</sup>

This drew upon him, as it did upon Chillingworth, a charge of Socinianism. It was, indeed, by no means the attitude of the "orthodox," who took it for a sign of grace to receive without question the whole sum of traditional faith (so far as Protestant) including the Bible itself. And the frequency with which Baxter is quoted, as against such an attitude, by the theological progressives of the next generation, particularly the Arians, is proof of his influence in promoting that rationalistic movement whose issue went far beyond what he intended, or would have approved.

## II

We will now turn to the book itself. The first edition was licensed for publication on 15 January, 1649-50, by Rev. Joseph Caryl, and was printed in London by Rob. White for Thomas Underhil and Francis Tyton. It bears the title, which later editions repeated without change, "The—*Saints' Everlasting Rest*—or, a—Treatise—of the Blessed State of the Saints—in their enjoyment of God in Glory—Wherein is showed its Excellency and Certainty—the Misery of those that lose it, the way to Attain it—and Assurance of it ; and how to live in the continual—delightful Forecasts of it, by the help of Meditation.

"Written by the Author for his own use, in the—time of his languishing, when God took him off—from all Publike Employment ; and afterwards—Preached in his weekly Lecture—and now published by *Richard Baxter*, Teacher—of the Church of *Kedermister* in *Worcestershire*."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Saints' Rest*, Pt. II, Preface.

<sup>2</sup> Then, the texts Ps. lxxiii. 16 ; 1 Cor. xv. 19 ; Col. iii. 2, 3, 4 ; John xiv. 19. London, printed for *Thomas Underhill* and *Francis Tyton*, and are to be sold at the Blue Anchor and Bible in *Paul's Churchyard*, near the little North-Door, and at the three Daggers in Fleet Street, in the Inner Temple Gate, 1650. "Baxter's copy of the *Saints' Rest* with his inscription is a treasured possession of the Corporation of our Town. It lies in

There is a dedication of the whole "to my dearly beloved Friends, the Inhabitants of the Burrough and Forreign<sup>1</sup> of Kidderminster—a very tender, grateful and candid utterance." The work consists of four parts, and each part has its separate dedication; the first to Sir Thomas Rous, Bt., with the Lady Jane Rous his wife, of Rous Lench, about ten miles East of Worcester; the second, "to my Dearly beloved Friends, the inhabitants of Bridgnorth, both Magistrates and People" . . . "in testimony of my unfeigned love to them who were the first to whom I was sent to publish the Gospel"; the third "to my Dearly beloved Friends—the Inhabitants of the City of Coventry, both Magistrates and People, especially Coll. John Barker, and Coll. Thomas Willoughby, late Governours, with all the Officers and Souldiers of their Garrison"; the fourth "to my dearly beloved Friends in the Lord, the inhabitants of the Town of Shrewsbury, both magistrates, ministers, and People, as also of the Neighbouring Parts" . . . "As a testimony of his Love to his Native Soyl, And to his many Godly and Faithful Friends there living."

In one place<sup>2</sup> he tells us how the book grew into four parts. After treating of the nature, character, and excellencies of the *Saints' Rest*, in the first part, he reflected that the Saints too commonly are indifferent to their great inheritance. Hence he went on to write what became Pt. IV—consisting of a "Directory" "to the Delightful Habit of Contemplation". It begins properly with chap. iii., but to clear the ground he "premised" chap. i.—"Reproving our Expectations of Rest on Earth," and chap. ii.—"Reproving our Unwillingness to Die". Then, when the work seemed complete, it struck him that he had overlooked the most radical cause of indifference to a future life, viz.: "A secret, lurking, unbelief in its reality". He remembered that he himself had "oft suffered" by "assaults" "in that point"; and that his own doubts had ebbed and flowed according to the measure of his faith in the divine authority of the Scriptures. So he proceeded to write Part II which advances reasons for accepting.

the Mayor's Parlour with the ancient Deeds and Parchments of the Borough, preserved in a large Glass Case."—Note by Mr. William F. Baillie, of the Free Library, Kidderminster.

<sup>1</sup> "Foreign" is still in use as a term for a part of the parish which lies outside the Borough—and so to some extent outside its control. If this carries with it certain drawbacks it means (or meant) lower rates!

<sup>2</sup> The Premonition.

the Bible as an infallible Revelation (*inter alia*) of man's immortality. The third part was added last—though in time for the first edition: "the four first Chapters for the use of sensual and secure sinners, if any of them should happen to read this book; the last three for the godly, to direct and comfort them in affliction, and specially to persuade them to the great duty of helping to save their brethrens' souls; the seven middle Chapters for the use both of the Godly and the ungodly, as being of unspeakable concernment to all".

Thus, strictly speaking, the book is not one book but four. Moreover, within each of the four—particularly Pt. III—there are what amount to separate Treatises on such subjects as the doctrine of Justification and Sincerity, and the sufferings of the lost. All these digressions from his main theme seemed to Baxter to have some important bearing upon it; and several of them are, indeed, among the most interesting things in the volume. But they constrain one to share his own regret that he had missed the discipline of a regular University training. Undue, and not seldom unbounded, discursiveness was always his chief literary fault—a fault which the firm hand of some severe and competent tutor in his early years might have cured, or, at least, checked. As it was, the fault grew upon him increasingly, just because he appears to have been unconscious of it.

Baxter also informs us as to when and where the several parts<sup>1</sup> were written. During the siege of Worcester in the late spring and early summer of 1646, he was quartered at Rous Lench—a happy time, varied by a brief visit to Kidderminster. Then when his regiment removed into Leicestershire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire he went with it. By the time he reached Derbyshire winter had come

<sup>1</sup> Each part has its own title-page.

Thus: (2) The *Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Second Part—containing the Proofs of the Truth and certain futurity of our Rest, and that the Scripture, promising that Rest to us, is the perfect infallible Word and Law of God.

(3) The *Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Third Part—containing Several Uses of the former Doctrine of Rest.

(4) The *Saints' Everlasting Rest*—the Fourth Part—containing a Directory for the getting and keeping of the Heart in Heaven: by the Diligent Practice of that Excellent unknown Duty of Heavenly Meditation. Being the main thing intended by the Author, in the writing of this Book; and to which all the rest is but Subservient.

on ; and " at Melbourne<sup>1</sup> in the edge of Derbyshire," the " cold and snowy " weather proved too much for him. He fell ill. His wish was to get home (i. e. to Kidderminster) : for he was among strangers ; but weakness forced him to stay. At the end of three weeks, however, he managed to reach Mr. Nowell's<sup>2</sup> house at Kirby-Mallory in Leicestershire, " where with great kindness he was entertained " another three weeks. By that time Lady Rous had heard of his condition and insisted upon his being removed to Rous Lench. Here, by dint of " the greatest care and tenderness," he gradually regained some strength ; and, after three months, made his way home. As to the *Saints' Rest*, he began it at Sir John Cook's ; continued it at Mr. Nowell's ; " bestowed upon it all the time he could at Rous Lench ; and finished it shortly after at Kidderminster." This is Baxter's own statement. More precisely, it can be said that Parts I, II, and IV were finished at Rous Lench ; and that what he added at Kidderminster was a portion of Part III.<sup>3</sup> His dedicatory letter to Sir Thomas and Lady Rous<sup>4</sup> breathes warm gratitude but no flattery.

<sup>1</sup> Melbourne Hall was the seat of Sir John Coke (Cooke), son of the Sir John who had been " Secretary of State in King James the First's " time. He succeeded his father in 1643 and died at Paris in 1650. A descendant, Charlotte Cooke (Coke), was the mother of Sir Peniston Lambe, Bart., created Baron Melbourne of Kilmore, May, 1770 (see Nichol's *History of Leicestershire*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 783 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> This would be Verney Noel (Nowell) " the second but eldest surviving son " of William Noel (*d.* 25 March, 1641). He " was advanced in the dignity of a Baronet on 6 July, 1660 " ; and died in 1669. His younger brother, Andrew of Congeston, Leicestershire, married a " daughter of Sir Rous of Rous Lench ". There was thus a connexion between the Rous and the Noel families—which might explain how Lady Rous came to hear of Baxter's condition as well as Mr. Nowell's " great kindness " (see Nichol's *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 766).

<sup>3</sup> We know for certain that Part IV came next after Part I (of which he speaks in the Introduction as " the former part ").

Further, we learn from a Preface " to the Reader," which stood before the first edition of Part II, that this was written " where he had not the benefit of a Library " (meaning his own).

Hence Part II was written at Rous Lench, and so, therefore, was Part IV.

This bears out what Baxter says that " almost all the Book was written when I had no Book but a Bible and a Concordance " (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 108).

<sup>4</sup> The ancestral home of these Puritan gentlefolk stood near the top of the hill on which Rous village is situated ; and is described as " ancient,

"In your house," he says, "I found an Hospital, a Physician, a Nurse, and real Friends, and (which is more than all) daily and importunate Prayer for my Recovery, and since I went from you kindnesses have still followed me in abundance. Such behaviour towards a mere Stranger called for all his gratitude and had it." But he goes on to add: "The best return I can make of your love is in commending this Heavenly duty to your Practice; wherein I must entreat you to be the more diligent and unwearied, because as you may take more time for it than the poor can do, so have you far stronger temptations to divert you; it being extremely difficult for those that have fullness of all things here, to place their happiness really in another life, and to set their hearts there as the place of their Rest—which yet must be done by all that will be saved. Study Luke xii. 16-22, and xvi. 19-25; Matt. vi. 21."

In one thing Baxter never fell short, viz. sincerity.

So far the first edition. For the second Baxter wrote what he called "a Premonition,"<sup>1</sup> dated 17 May, 1651. Instead of the comparatively short address "to the Reader," which preceded Part II, he wrote an elaborate essay by way of confuting "Unbelievers, Antiscripturists, and Papists"; or establishing "the Orthodox".

Some passages which had given offence "by touching on the late publike quarrels"<sup>2</sup> he modified. A chapter (the ninth), which he had "forgotten," was added to Part II. Another chapter, the lengthy one about the "Nature of Sincerity," was added to Part III. Many slighter alterations were also made, especially in Parts I and II; and the few quotations from memory, and the Bible, which he had put into the margin of the first edition were supplemented—in a few instances

large, and built round a court" (Nash's *Worcestershire*, Vol. II, pp. 84, 85).

Lench is said to be a salt-mining term and to mean a shelf of rock. There is a bunch of Lenches in the same district.

Sir Thomas was Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1654 (*R.B.*, Pt. I, p. 110).

- <sup>1</sup> This relates (1) the alterations and additions to the second edition;  
 (2) the method of the book;  
 (3) some objections which had been made against it;  
 (4) its main design.

<sup>2</sup> There are several of these, but the chief, I think, may be found in § 13 of chap. vii. Pt. I, where the changes as compared with the first edition are very curious.

replaced—by a crowd of exact citations from many scores of authors.”<sup>1</sup> These vividly evidence the range and variety of his reading. In particular, they indicate a close acquaintance with the “Fathers”—Cyprian, Tertullian, Augustine, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius; a decided preference for Augustine and Clement; a facile knowledge of mediæval scholastic writers, including Thomas Aquinas, and of the more recent Protestant theologians; strangest of all, an ardent admiration of Seneca whom he quotes at every turn. Of pure literature one could hardly expect any trace; nor is it probable that Baxter ever read much outside theology. But he appreciated George Herbert and closes the whole work with one of his poems besides quoting him several times in the text.

After the second edition the changes introduced were, on the whole, few and slight. An exception<sup>2</sup> to this is an addition to the eleventh

<sup>1</sup> Of these he says (Premonition):—

“I have added many Marginal quotations, especially of the Ancients: which though some may conceive to be useless, and others to be merely for vain ostentation, yet I conceived useful both for the sweetness of the matter (concerning which I refer you to the perusal: to me it seemed so in the Reading) as also to free myself from the charge of singularity.”

I have counted quotations from at least 150 writers. Henry Stubbs (“Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause”—1659) calls Baxter a “Retailer of other men’s learning and Quoter of Quotations” (p. 43); and speaks contemptuously of his learning: of Hebrew he knew about as much as he could acquire by “two or three days’ study”; he wrote “false Latine” as John Husse was accused of doing, and if Husse deserved to burn for it so did Baxter; and he knew little or nothing of Greek (pp. 17-18, 34). This last charge was perhaps near the truth. For I notice that he quotes Clement of Alexandria in an English translation, and that when he has occasion to quote what Socrates said “being near death” he does so from Cicero (*Apud Platonem, Cicerone interprete,* Pt. II, Preface).

<sup>2</sup> Another exception occurs in the fourth edition (1653), Part I, chap. viii. § 2.

Here is inserted a note (of two pages) which begins:—

“Reader, understand that since I wrote this I begin to doubt of the soundness of what is expressed in the four next foregoing pages—which I am not ashamed to acknowledge, but ashamed that I published it so rashly.” He has been brought at least to a partial change of mind; and this note is added “to let you know that I would not have you take these two leaves as my judgement, and herein to let you see how unsafe is it for Ministers to be too bold and confident in such unsearchable difficulties, and how unsafe for private Christians to build too much on men’s judgement in such points, which further knowledge may cause them to retract.”

The question at issue (whether Regeneration, effectual Vocation, and

chapter of Part III, first made at the end of the fifth edition (1654), and a further addition to this in the form of an address to the Reader at the end of the 7th edition (dated 15 Jan., 1657). The most interesting change is one which, I think, is generally known. In the 1st edition, p. 86, Baxter wrote :—

“I think Christian, this will be a more honourable Assembly than you ever here beheld ; and a more happy society than you were ever of before. Surely Brooke and Pim and Hambden and White, etc., are now members of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right ayning, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant Senate than this from which they are taken is, or ever Parliament will be. It is better to be a doorkeeper to that Assembly whether Twisse, etc., are translated then to have continued here the Moderator of this. That is the true *Parliamentum Beatum*, the Blessed Parliament, and that is the only Church that cannot erre.”

“In all Impressions of the Book” subsequent to 1659 (i.e. in the 9th edition (1662) and onwards) the names of the Lord Brooke, Pim, and Hambden were blotted out, “not,” says Baxter, “as changing my judgment of the persons,” but as perceiving “the need” “of taking away” something which certain men “might stumble at”.<sup>1</sup> For John

Sanctification are all one thing) is of no interest to us ; but the note well illustrates the writer's careful sincerity, modesty, and open-mindedness. In the same section there is another long passage against Baptismal Regeneration which he afterwards omitted.

To the 7th edition (1658) and the following is prefixed an engraved hieroglyphic title-page.

<sup>1</sup> *R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 177. He actually omitted the whole of the passage as just quoted. But this did not save him from the sort of gentry he had in mind. Writing about 1677 he says : “In June, 1676, Mr. Jane, the Bishop of London's Chaplain, Preaching to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, turned his Sermon against Calvin and Me ; and My charge was *That I had sent as bad men to Heaven as some that be in Hell*, because in my book I had said that I thought of Heaven with the more pleasure because I should meet there with *Peter, Paul, Austin, Chrysostom, Jerom, Wickliff, Luther, Zuingline, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Zanchy, Paræus, Piscator, Hooper, Bradford, Latimer, Glover, Sanders, Philpot, Reignolds, Whitaker, Cartwright, Bayne, Bradshaw, Bolton, Ball, Hildersham, Pemble, Twisse, Ames, Preston, Sibbs, Brook, Pim, Hambden.*

“Which of these the Man knew to be in Hell I cannot conjecture : it's like those that differed from him in judgment.” It might have occurred to Baxter that his list, consisting of those with whom he agreed, exposed him to suspicion of a similar onesidedness *by its omissions.*

Hampden especially he retained the profoundest esteem—a man “that Friends and Enemies acknowledged to be most Eminent for Prudence, Piety, and Peaceable Counsels”.

I have already said that the *Saints' Rest* could have no chance of becoming popular in the same degree as *Pilgrim's Progress*. Its size alone stood in the way. Yet *Pilgrim's Progress* with its 11th edition in 1688, ten years after the 1st, is run pretty close by the *Saints' Rest* with its twelve editions before the author's death in 1691. How many copies went to an edition is not easy to say; but it would seem that the number was not less than 1500<sup>1</sup>—which means a circulation of 18,000 for the twelve editions: surely a remarkable phenomenon. It is significant that the first eight editions came out at the rate almost of one a year. These years (1650-59) cover the period when the Puritan spirit, which the book so powerfully expresses, was in the ascendant. The 9th edition appeared in 1662—three years after the 8th, years of Puritan decline. The 10th did not appear till 1669. The 11th is dated 1671; while the 12th, dated 1688, seventeen years later, marks a very slow sale. Evidently the book was ceasing to attract the religious public. In fact, as we know, the religious public had reached the point of caring but little for religion in Baxter's sense of the word, i.e. in the sense of an inward, spiritual, unworldly life. Religion by 1688 had become, largely, another name for ecclesiastical or doctrinal formalism. The chilling régime of Deism had set in. Religion as something divine in man was discredited, and dubbed enthusiasm. No wonder, therefore, if disgust was taken at what would be felt as the high-pitched enthusiasm of the *Saints' Rest*. I can adduce no concrete proof; but I should say that the book, in its complete form, found few, if any, readers—or at least buyers—after 1690.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *infra.*, note on p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Baxter says (*R.B.* Pt. I, p. 115) that its “success” went “beyond all the rest” of his writings, not excepting his *Call to the Unconverted*, of which “about 20,000” copies were printed “in a little more than a year”. He is referring, of course, to its influence, not its sale. Of its influence in particular cases, the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, writing in 1758, cites some illustrations from the period previous to that year (see Preface to his edition). Dr. Grosart adds to these the case of the Duke of Wellington whose copy of the *Saints' Rest* was shown to him a short time after the Duke's death, “with a corner of a leaf turned down to mark the place where the great

Not only its theme but its handling of the theme, tended to kill its influence. Anyhow, it is a fact that there is scarcely a traceable mention of it between 1690 and 1754, by which time the Methodist movement was in full swing, and had revived a state of mind to which the book was once more congenial. Indeed, it was John Wesley himself who recalled attention to it. Among the many monuments of that great man's industry not the least marvellous is what he named a "Christian Library," consisting of copious extracts from Christian writers; or, in some cases, complete reprints of particular works. His range of selection was dictated by nothing more narrow than the fitness of a writing to promote Christian life or faith, and is a striking testimony to Wesley's catholic sympathy<sup>1</sup> as well as to his richly cultivated literary taste. It may serve to remind us that there were two John Wesleys, the fervent Evangelist and the ardent Scholar. The two might seem to be incompatible; but the "Christian Library" shows that in him as in Paul, and many another, fervent religion can be a reasonable service. So it is not surprising that he devoted a volume to Baxter. If you consult the first edition of the Library, extending to fifty volumes, it is Vol. 37. This comprises 442 pages and is all taken from the *Saints' Rest* [including most of the General Dedication, the first six chapters of Pt. I (with the conclusion), the first twelve chapters of Pt. III, and

Soldier had 'left off' on departing for Walmer Castle" (*Annotated List of Baxter's Writings*, p. 10).

Readers of George Eliot may recall her reference in *The Mill on the Floss* (chap. xii.): "Mrs. Glegg walked across the room to the small book-case, and took down Baxter's *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, which she carried with her upstairs. It was the book she was accustomed to lay open before her on special occasions: on wet Sunday mornings, or when she heard of a death in the family, or when, as in this case, her quarrel with Mr. Glegg had been set an octave higher than usual." Had its mere presence (like that of the Bible) come to have the effect on some minds of a spiritual stimulant, or sedative? Apparently Mrs. Glegg did not read it.

<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to quote the following from Wesley's Preface to Samuel Clark's *Lives* (Vol. 15 in Christian Library Edition, 1822). "§ 4. Perhaps it may be useful as well as agreeable to those who have broken loose from that miserable bigotry which is too often entailed upon us from our forefathers, to observe how the same spirit works the same work of grace in men upright of heart, of whatever denomination. These, how widely soever they differ in opinion, all agree in one mind, one temper. How far distant soever they are from one another with regard to the circumstances of worship, they all meet in the substance of all true worship—the faith that worketh by love."

the first ten of Pt. IV (with conclusions)]. The omissions are of those portions which to Wesley might appear irrelevant, or too personal, or of transient interest.

From a similar standpoint was made that abridgment which has had the greatest vogue ; and, indeed, has been the only form of the *Saints' Rest* known to most people. It was made by the Rev. Benjamin Fawcett, minister of the Nonconformist Church of Kidderminster at a period when that Church could claim to be the single historical representative of Baxter in the town.

Its preface is dated Kidderminster, 25 December, 1758, and Mr. Fawcett's account of it is as follows : "In reducing it to this smaller size I have been very desirous to do justice to the author, and at the same time promote the pleasure and profit of the serious reader. And, I hope, these ends are in some measure answered ; chiefly by dropping things of a digressive, controversial, or metaphysical nature ; together with prefaces, dedications, and various allusions to some peculiar circumstances of the last age ; and particularly by throwing several chapters into one, that the number of them may better correspond with the size of the volume ; and sometimes by altering the form, but not the sense, of a period, for the sake of brevity ; and when an obsolete phrase occurred, changing it for one more common and intelligible.

"I should never have thought of attempting this work if it had not been suggested and urged by others, and by some very respectable names, of whose learning, judgment, and piety I forbear to avail myself. However defective this performance may appear, the labour of it (if it may be called labour) has been, I bless God, one of the most delightful labours of my life." The first edition (of date 1 January, 1759) names Salop (Shrewsbury) as the place where it was printed—by J. Colton and I. Eddowes ; and it was to be "sold by J. Buckland at the Buck in Paternoster Row ; T. Field at the Wheatsheaf, the Corner of Paternoster Row, Cheapside ; and E. Oilly at the Rose and Crown in the Poultry, London".<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kidderminster, as a place of sale, is not mentioned. On the title-page is a quotation from Baxter's Preface to Scudder's *Christian's Daily Walk* : "I think it of great Service to the Souls of Men to call them to the Notice and Use of such a Treatise as this, and to bring such old and excellent writings out of Oblivion and the Dust."

The effect of Mr. Fawcett's enterprise was to give the *Saints' Rest* a new lease of life on an extended scale. A 13th edition, issued by W. Baynes, 54 Paternoster Row in 1814,<sup>1</sup> is a sign of this. Ten years later, 1824,<sup>2</sup> Fawcett's version formed Vol. I of a series entitled "Select Christian Authors" which was published at Edinburgh. It had the distinction of being introduced by an Essay from the pen of Thomas Erskine, Esq., advocate—better known as Thomas Erskine, of Linlathen, the saintly layman who did so much to enlighten and sweeten the Scottish Evangelical mind of his day. The Essay is appreciative, but by no means unqualified in its praise. Baxter's limitation of Free Grace, and dilation on the sufferings of the lost were points, especially, which Erskine, author of *The Unconditional Freedom of the Gospel*, was sure to dislike. Whether by the merit of Baxter's thoughts, or Erskine's Essay, or both, one cannot say; but the volume commended itself so far as to reach a 5th edition in five years, i.e. in 1829. Then, in that year, a further edition of Fawcett appeared in Manchester—the printers and publishers being R. & J. Gleave, top of Market St., and No. 191 Deansgate. Also, in the same year, an abridgment of *Fawcett* came out from Fisher, Son & Jackson, London.<sup>3</sup> Its editor was Isaac Crewdson, who signs the preface "Ardwick, Manchester"; and says "he has been induced to present this compendium to the public, in the hope that, being reduced to a smaller compass, it may find its way into a still wider circle." The hope was fulfilled: for by 1838 it had run into its 33rd thousand

<sup>1</sup> Eighth edition, 1803; 9th (corrected) 1807; 11th, 1810.

Edition 13 is also said to be "corrected," and there is a quotation from W. Wilberforce, M.P., which is called a "Recommendation". It has no exclusive reference to the *Saints' Rest*, but commends this, and Baxter's Practical Works generally. The corrections seem to be chiefly verbal. Another edition, "printed for the Book Society for promoting Religious Knowledge, and sold at their depository, No. 19 Paternoster Row," has no date.

<sup>2</sup> A new edition of (Fawcett?) appeared at *Romsey*, 1816, another at *Derby*, 1819. (These I have not seen.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1838 the publishers were "Harvey & Darton: Darton & Clark London; and G. Simms and W. Ellerby, Manchester".

Here may be mentioned "Selections from Jeremy Taylor. Whole Duty of Man, Baxter, Lord Bacon, and Clarendon," by Edward S. Bosanquet, "Plaistow, 30 March, 1840".

Next to Jeremy Taylor, Baxter is given the most space, and the Selections are, I think, all taken from the *Saints' Rest*.

and an 11th edition.<sup>1</sup> But the unabridged Fawcett still held its own ; and, in 1856, found a new publisher in T. Nelson & Sons. Perhaps this is the edition which has sold more widely than any other—unless we except the one published by Scott & Webster, Charterhouse Square, London, in their “English Classic Library.” Then, in 1866, Wm. Tegg, London, published the original with a preliminary Essay by John Morison, D.D. Pt. II is curtailed and the General Dedication omitted ; otherwise it is the complete book. Complete, in about the same degree, is the edition, in two volumes, published by Griffith, Farran, Oxenden & Welsh, in their “Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature (1887)”. Less complete is an edition by William Young, B.A., of which the preface is signed 7 August, 1907, Bramhall, Cheshire. This exists in two forms—one published by E. Grant Richards, London, beautifully printed with a vellum back (brown) and stiff paper (grey) boards ;<sup>2</sup> the other a reprint by the Religious Tract Society without date. It omits chapter viii. in Part I, chapters i.-vii. in Part II ; the whole of Part III, chapters iv., vii., ix. in Part IV ; also, the General Dedication—except one passage ; the Premonition ; and the long Preface to Part II.

“The present edition,” says Mr. Young, “is unlike any other

<sup>1</sup> In the “advertisement” to this edition it is said : “As the Editor seeks no pecuniary emolument from this work, but issues it solely for the sake of promoting the best interests of his fellow-men ; and, as he believes it may be read with advantage by all classes of the community, he feels bold to solicit those who unite in this view to aid in its circulation . . . anyone inclined to print this work may apply to the editor for the use of the stereotype Plates.

“The prices are—Boards 1s. each ; for 50 copies, 11d. each.

	100	10d.	“
Cloth 1s. 3d. “	50	1s. 2d. each,	“
	100	1s. 1d.	“

French editions of Crewdson appeared as follows :—

Baxter (Richard). *Le repos éternel des saints* [Crewdson]. Presbyterian Board.

— *Le repos éternel des saints* . . . Abrégé par I. Crewdson. Traduit sur la 5<sup>e</sup> édition.

*Paris, J. J. Risler, 1833, 18mo, pp. 292.*

— 2<sup>e</sup> édition.

*Paris, 1839, 18mo.*

— [Another édition.]

*Toulouse, Société des Livres Religieux, 1859, 18mo.*

<sup>2</sup> An inset before the first page names the price, 7s. 6d. net.

which has been published ; and will, it is hoped, fill a place which has long been vacant. It has some features which ought to commend it to those who would like to see a great religious classic treated with the same consideration and scrupulous care as any other famous literary work." Yet it exhibits one or two strange mistakes. Thus, as if he had not seen the first edition, Mr. Young says that the second contained three *new* dedications. Again, he says that the 12th edition in 1688 was the first to appear with a portrait of the author taken in his fifty-fifth year, the fact being, as Dr. Grosart had pointed out,<sup>1</sup> that this portrait "is sometimes inserted" in the 11th edition of 1671 (or 1677). Once more, he says that editions, after the 12th, continued to appear at somewhat longer intervals—a fact of which no one else seems to be aware.

Besides these English editions I have met with a reprint of Fawcett's abridgment in Welsh by the Rev. Thomas Jones (dated 1790) ; also, with one in Gaelic by the Rev. John Forbes, minister of Sleat, dated "Mansa Slàit," 1862. But a more interesting edition is one belonging to the year 1797, and emanating from J. Chambers & Co., Aberdeen. It is a quarto volume, quite distinct from Fawcett's work ; and with a fairly full life of Baxter, along independent lines, by an anonymous hand. With comparatively slight omissions it includes the whole of the original,<sup>2</sup> and runs to 463 pages. The striking feature, however, is the list of subscribers, printed between the Dedication to Sir Thomas Rous and Part I. The list covers several pages in double columns and represents close upon a thousand copies.<sup>3</sup> Here and there is an entry like this : Mr. Green, Methodist Preacher ; David Howie, Student ; Rev. Mr. Leith, Minister, Towie ; Rev. Mr. McBean, Alves ; Mr. Spence, Minister, Glenbucket. Or, an entry like this, George Miles, Bookseller, in Dundee, ninety-four copies. But not many required more than one copy ; and most of the subscribers were of the labouring or trading class. No one is designated "gentle-

<sup>1</sup> *Annotated Lists of Baxter's Writings*, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> It has the General and Particular Dedications ; the Premonition.

Pt. I, chaps. i.-viii.

„ II, „ i.-x.

„ III, „ i.-xiv.

„ IV, the whole, including appendices.

<sup>3</sup> The price is not given.

man".<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind the date (1797), and the fact that it falls within the period when a strong evangelical movement was beginning to spread over Scotland, under the influence of the Haldanes,<sup>2</sup> this revival of interest in Baxter is explained. There may be other editions<sup>3</sup> unknown to me, and I have said nothing about the circulation of the *Saints' Rest* in the Colonies or America because as yet I know nothing. But enough about its history has been presented, I think, to warrant the assertion that the book is not dead. In fact, I venture to say that, making full allowance for its outworn theology, so much of it is richly human, or sprang from an experience inspired of God, that it cannot wholly die. Its theology is not more antiquated than that of the *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Paradise Lost* or *Regained*; yet both these are alive because of elements in them which are vital. For a like reason the *Saints' Rest* is alive, although the vital elements may not be quite the same.

Baxter was an object of many slanderous reports—few more so—and one of these charged him with growing rich at the expense of his publishers. Nay, it said that the booksellers in order to make any profit out of his books had to sell them "at excessive rates". He was not content, it was alleged, with less than "a return" of £300 or £400 a year at least. The story seems to have been bruited first in

<sup>1</sup> The variety of occupation is remarkable—mason, weaver, tailor, shoemaker, sailmaker, merchant, gardener, butcher, reedmaker, ropemaker, sailor, vintner, hosier, corkcutter, tanner, flaxdresser, blacksmith, sawyer, woolcomber, brewer, clerk, schoolmaster, etc.

<sup>2</sup> James A. Haldane (1768-1851) began in 1797 to make extensive evangelistic tours over Scotland, preaching often to "large audiences".

<sup>3</sup> An edition of Fawcett, printed at London, Edinburgh, and *New York* is dated 1856. Another is dated *Philadelphia*, 1828. One in German, "Die Ewige Ruhe der Heiligen," was issued at *New York* (1840?) (I have not met with these.) Extracts from the *Saints' Rest* of special sections have been printed at various times:—

- (a) "Address to Parents" (§§ 11-18, Pt. III), Birmingham (1855?).
- (b) "The Second Coming of Christ" (chap. v. Pt. I), with a brief Preface (and a hymn) by C. H. Spurgeon, 1858.
- (c) Pt. I, chap. vii., in "Light in the Valley of Death, or Considerations Fitted to Strengthen the Faith and Sustain the Mind of the Dying Believer," by Nevins, Baxter . . . Boston, and R. Erskine, Edinburgh, 1847.
- (d) "What is Heaven?" . . . from *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, first series of tracts (Nos. 545, 546), R.T.S., 1830?

1658, and in a Postscript to his *Five Disputations of Church Government and Worship* (of which the last word is "Finitur, 9 July, 1658") he deals with it in a very interesting statement. It is intended for "satisfaction to certain calumniators," and is dated 11 October, 1658. From this it appears:—

1. That he left his "two first Books" (*Aphorisms of Justification* and the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*) "to the Booksellers' will".

2. That for all the rest he received no payment in money, but only every fifteenth book of the whole edition. Sometimes the number thus set aside for him fell short of 100,<sup>1</sup> sometimes it amounted to a few more. These he took simply to give away. But they were insufficient for his purpose, since he sometimes wanted to give away as many as 800.<sup>2</sup> Because, therefore, he was "not rich enough to buy so many" he "agreed with the Bookseller" (his "neighbour" Nevil Simmons) "to allow 1s. 6d. a Ream (which is not a penny a quire) out of his own gain towards the buying of Bibles and some of the Practical books which he printed,"<sup>3</sup> for the poor; covenanting with him that he should sell my Controversial Writings as cheap, and my Practical Writings somewhat cheaper than, books are ordinarily sold". Thus what payment he received was in books for free distribution—his own, or those of others.

3. "To this hour I never received for myself one penny of money from them" (the booksellers) "for any of my writings to the best of my remembrance; <sup>4</sup> but if it fell out that my part came to more than I gave my friends, I exchanged them for other Books". In short, he had never taken a penny of direct profit on his own account for any of his books. Surely an exceptional record among authors for disinterestedness!

4. He concludes: "And now censorious slanderer . . . that thou mayest have the utmost relief that I can procure thee for the time to come, I shall agree with my Booksellers to sell all that I publish at three farthings a sheet, and to print the price of every book at the bottom of the title-page".<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taking 100 as the average, this would indicate 1500 as the number for an edition.

<sup>2</sup> In the case of his "Practical Books".

<sup>3</sup> Italics mine.

<sup>4</sup> Confirmed, he says, by his "accounts".

<sup>5</sup> This in fact was done. Incidentally he names the prices of his books (not, however, of the *Saints' Rest*) previous to 1658. He also tells the

But the slander lived on. In 1678—twenty years later—his Kidderminster publisher, Nevil Simmons, became bankrupt or, as Baxter puts it, “broke”; and had been driven to failure, it was said, because Baxter had “taken too much money for” his “books”—the old story—the fact being, on the contrary, that he had “freely given” Simmons (from time to time) “gains” exceeding £500, “if not above £1000” (*R.B.*, Pt. III, p. 182). Hereupon he wrote to an unnamed friend a yet fuller account of his practice in relation to publishers. Among other welcome items there is this: “as an act of meer kindness” he offered the *Saints’ Rest* to Thomas Underhill and Francis Tyton (London), leaving the matter of profit to themselves. “They gave” him “Ten pounds for the first Impression, and Ten pounds apiece, that is, Twenty pounds for every after Impression till 1665.” The ninth edition was reached in that year, which means that by then the book had brought him £170. After this he received nothing more, owing to Mr. Underhill’s death, the poverty of his widow, and Mr. Tyton’s losses in the fire of London (1666). Henceforth he bought, “out of his own purse,” every copy of the book which he “gave to any Friend or poor Person that asked it”. Then he repeats what has been noted above—viz. his rule of the fifteenth book for himself before 1658—and adds this: that, since the slander of that year, he had also taken 1s. 6d. for every Ream of the other fourteen. With part of the money, thus accruing, he had bought Bibles for poor families while he remained at Kidderminster—i.e. for two years, and had earmarked the rest for “charitable uses”. The total amount came to £300 or £400; and increased to £830 after his removal to London. At the time of writing (1678) the whole of this sum, plus a £100 of his wife’s money, lay in the hands of Sir Robert Viner, “a worthy Friend,” to be “settled on a charitable use after” his “death”. Finally, we gather that he did make a little profit latterly, but only when his “Fifteenths” yielded more copies than he needed for his friends, etc. For then he let the bookseller have the remainder for two-thirds of the selling price. Thus both he and the author gained something. There is a touch of pathos in his last words. He had inherited (he says) a small patrimony but had given it all away to his

reader that it costs him as much as £50 to “have twenty quire of” his “writing well transcribed” and that (“for some books”) a “Neighbour-minister” has done this “tedious work” for him free of charge.

poor kindred ; he had been "divested" "15 or 16 years" "of all ecclesiastical maintenance"; during these years he had never "received Wages from" Church or Lecture ; his wife's money was not his, nor, if it had been, was it "much more than half" their "yearly expense"; "much against" his "Disposition" he was "put to take Money of the Bounty of special particular Friends". In short, he was a poor man, and rendered poor by his own almost too scrupulous consideration of other people's claims or supposed claims. He might well say "of all crimes in the world I least expected to be accused of Covetousness". Yet he was.