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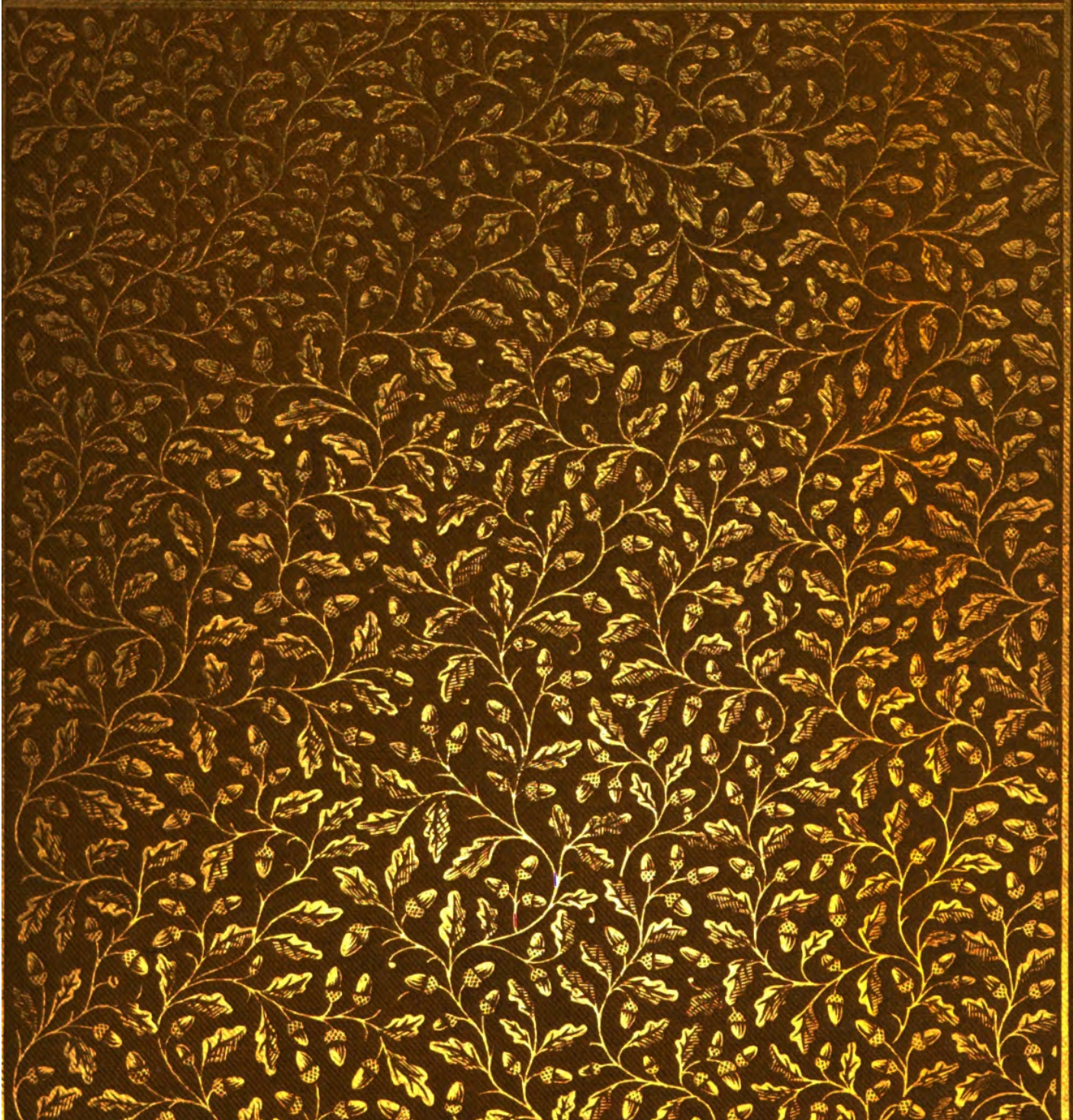


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EVANGELICAL CLASSICS

LEIGHTON

BLAIR



... His commandments. Oh!
... but to do them with
... is connatural and sym-
... writ within, not
... master over our head, but
... a sweet principle in our hearts,
... naturally. This makes a
... out of sensual pleasures,
... to corrupt self, even
... no will but His. The
... self in our flesh will be often
... love dispels them

... we may know how serene
... it is here likewise joined
... a quickening confidence
... Blessed is he that feareth. Fear
... hath an air of misery;
... He that feareth the Lord; that
... He that so fears, fears
... All petty fears are
... And this great fear is as sweet
... little fears are anxious and
... he says: "If my God

leased, no matter who is displeas'd; no matter
despise me, if He account me His; though all
like me, my dearest friends grow estranged and
another way, if He reject me not, that is my
fear; and for that I am not pleas'd, I know
will not." As they answer'd Alexander, when
he enquir'd what they most feared, thinking
they would have said, Let us should
them: Their answer was, We fear nothing
of Heaven should fall upon us; which they
did fear neither. A believer hath no fear but
the displeasur of Heaven, the anger of God
upon him; he fears that, that is account'd
terrible; but yet he shall not fear, shall not
dread it will fall on him, is better pleas'd
with the goodness of his God. Nothing is so
with trust, as here, as often elsewhere.
Psalm 119; and shall not fear.
There is no tribulation in this fear; this is
rest; even that most terrible will, that which
is not properly apprehens'd will then, the
of that present is a distraction. Though
little strength, and many and great sorrows.
Anaking of temptations from without, and
of sin within, and yet good reason for things
of fear and self-distrust; yet this shall not
off; yea, it must fitly put an end to



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EVANGELICAL CLASSICS.

LEIGHTON



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EVANGELICAL CLASSICS.

LEIGHTON



SELECTIONS
FROM THE WRITINGS OF
ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON

EDITED WITH A MEMOIR AND NOTES BY
WILLIAM BLAIR, D.D.

DUNBLANE.



EDINBURGH
MACNIVEN & WALLACE

MDCCCLXXXIII

1419.f.2



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TO

THE REV. ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
ST. ANDREWS

This Volume

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

IN REMEMBRANCE OF LONG FRIENDSHIP

BY HIS EARLY STUDENT

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

“The last thing that we discover in writing a book is to know what to put at the beginning.”—PASCAL'S *Thoughts*.

IN preparing this volume the Editor has made use of all the resources he could command. The authorities are named in the text or in the notes. Research has elicited nothing regarding the elder Leighton's connection with the University of St. Andrews; and an examination of Edinburgh parish registers, about 1611, has failed in verifying the statement that Robert Leighton was born in Edinburgh. The Editor expresses grateful acknowledgments to friends who have helped him with books, in finding access to documents, or otherwise; among others, to Mr. D. Hay Fleming, St. Andrews; Rev. J. Sturrock, Edinburgh, for the use of *Sion's Plea*, and *Speculum Belli Sacri*, original editions; Mr. Small, and Mr. Harris, for inspection of University papers and Town Council Records relating to Leighton's Principalship; Mr. Brander, Advocates' Library; Messrs. R. H. Christie, and J. G. Christie, B.D., *Bibliotheca Leightoniana*, Dunblane; Rev. W. R. Nicoll, M.A., Kelso; Rev. W. B. R. Wilson, Dollar; Rev. J. S. Bowie, B.D., Dunblane; Rev. A. B. Alexander, M.A., Langbank; Rev. James Muir, Bridge of Allan; and Rev. Professor Grahame, D.D., London.

It may be mentioned that the Memoir of Leighton by the Editor was in type before either the Lecture on Leighton by his distinguished friend Principal Tulloch, or that by Dr. Blaikie, appeared. Each of the three sketches has its own standpoint, and the reader may do well to peruse all of them.

The Editor sends out this little book, as a miniature of a great portrait, with the hope and prayer that some of the beauty of the original may steal into the soul of the reader and beget the desire for more. In a troubled age and clime, Leighton's spiritual life flourished in its grace and heavenward aspiration like the palm-tree, and grew in strength and fragrance like the cedar in Lebanon. And the grace of God, which was so rich in him, is still diffused through his writings "like fragrance after showers." The nimbus which the old masters set around the heads of their saints is not paled by lapse of years; so far from its lustre being dimmed by the light of the centuries, it grows more and more ethereal in its tone. And those who study the type of Christian thought and life engraven in the character and imprinted in the writings of Leighton, will understand the spiritual force he has been for the last two hundred years. Should this book be productive, with the Divine blessing, of such study and experience, the Editor will have his reward.

Memoir.

OF

ROBERT LEIGHTON.

Non est mortale quod opto. Cupio videre Cælestia.

Summa religionis est imitari quem colis.

Ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρωσ ἐσταύρωται.

ROBERT LEIGHTON was born in 1611 ; but the place of his birth is hitherto not known. He was the eldest son of Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotchman and Presbyterian minister in London and Utrecht, and who had also practised medicine for some time.¹ The elder Leighton was a man of letters, and in 1624 gave to the world a book called "*Speculum Belli Sacri* : or the Looking-Glasse of the Holy War," having for its aim "neither lucre nor applause, but the good of God's church." In 1628 he issued "An Appeal to the Parliament : or Sion's Plea against the Prelacie ;" both of which

¹ Note A.

books display great learning and faculty.¹ The dismal tale that grew out of these books, in the infliction of revolting cruelties on their unhappy author, has been a hundred times told. The penalties he paid were severe scourgings, pilloryings, mutilations of the nose and ears, hot-iron brandings of the cheek with the letters S. S. (Sower of Sedition), exorbitant fines, and life-long imprisonment. All these barbarities, worthy of a Torquemada, were exacted to the letter by the Star-Chamber from this Puritan of Puritans.² Such was the father of Robert Leighton, "with something," as Professor Masson thinks, "of the mild and meditative spirit of his son," to whom the son in his letters used the epithets "kind and loving father." Of his mother we know nothing save that she was a sweet-blooded Christian who left her impress on her son, as appears from his letters to her. Like Carlyle he could say, "My heart and tongue played freely with my mother." But the chroniclers of Robert Leighton have not given us

¹ Dr. Grosart thinks that the father was "in certain elements, a larger, stronger, wider-brained man, than his saintly son."

² He is described "as a man of low stature and fair complexion, eminent for learning and piety, who was never heard to speak of his persecutors but in terms of compassion and forgiveness."

her name, as did the Jewish historian who wrote of Hezekiah and said, "his mother's name also was Abi, the daughter of Zachariah." Under the roof-tree of such parents Leighton found his schools and schoolmasters, till he reached his sixteenth year.

Walpole says of the poet Gray, that "he never was a boy." Leighton was, on the contrary, a mere boy when, in 1627, he was sent down from London to the University of Edinburgh, and grew up under its fostering care, the same blameless boy, pious and docile, as his sister saw him in earlier days. His father placed him under the guardianship of Sir James Stewart of Coltness,¹ a man of strong Presbyterian principles. The University was still young, and the classes were taught by regents. Samuel Rutherford had just resigned his regency before Leighton matriculated; and Robert Ranken was regent of Leighton's class. During his first session his boy-nature came out in a mild, harmless way, in penning a lampoon on the Provost of Edinburgh, as some time after he wrote sarcastic verses on the Scottish Bishops.² He was for all that a diligent student, and when he took his degree of Master of Arts on the 28th of July 1631, his theses were Logic and Natural Philosophy.

¹ Note B.

² Note C.

The dire passion-play of the Star-Chamber had been enacted in London, with Alexander Leighton as the victim, just eight months before our Leighton left Edinburgh. He had been destined by his father for the ministry of the Church of Scotland ; but Charles I. and Laud had put forth their full strength to exterminate Presbyterianism ; and his father lay gagged in the Fleet Prison at their mercy. We do not stop to sentimentalise on the kind of emotion that stirred the gentle breast of the younger Leighton, as he beheld in his father the battered wreck of the man he once was, or the loathing of all religious intolerance that filled his soul. The fact is a significant one that for ten whole years after Leighton had completed his University course, he paused on the threshold of the Christian ministry ; and during these ten years his father was dragging the heavy chain of captivity for conscience' sake. How he spent these years, Bishop Burnet is our only informant. His father had brought him up "with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the Church of England, and sent him from Scotland to travel." The Leightons were of gentle blood, and some of his relatives were living at Douay. To that ancient place Leighton repaired. He is said to have spent some years in France, the language of which he

afterwards spoke as fluently as a Frenchman, and the French Bible was his closest companion to the end of his days. "The peculiar advantage of travel," he told his nephew, "was only to be understood by the trial of it."

The Long Parliament listened to the prayer of the Fleet prisoner, and released him in 1641.¹ That year Leighton appears in Scotland, now in his thirtieth year, having improved the interval by study and intercourse with men of other schools of thought and religion. Presbytery was now in the ascendant, and he receives licence as a preacher from the Presbytery of Edinburgh in July. Andrew Cant has just been translated to Aberdeen from Newbattle, a quiet parish six miles from Edinburgh ; and by the patronage of William Earl of Lothian, and with the cordial acceptance of the parishioners, Leighton is ordained minister of Newbattle, on the 16th December 1641.

LEIGHTON : THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER.

At the ripe age of thirty, his powers in their freshness and vigour, his mind thoroughly disciplined, liberalised, widened by observation, culture, experience ; his heart having found its centre and true balance in the cardinal verities of the Gospel,

¹ Note D

and the whole man breathing the air of habitual fellowship with God, his ministry begins. He has a large parish, the majority of the parishioners commonplace enough ; but there are several good families, whose society is open to him, Lord Lothian and Sir John Murray of His Majesty's Privy Chamber being members of his Session.

Hawthornden, in the parish of Lasswade, is only a few miles off, and the Laird there is Sir William Drummond, a Presbyterian as well as a poet, and doubtless well known to Leighton for ten years of the eleven over which his ministry extended. These were years of intense political activity and fermentation ; and Newbattle, within an hour's ride of the capital, was not shut out from sympathy with the national life and movement that played in and around Edinburgh. Leighton's parish lay in the Presbytery of Dalkeith ; and the Records¹ tell that so far from withdrawing "from the Conventions of the Presbytery," he was exemplary in his attendance, taking his share in preaching before Presbytery, Synod, the Assembly, and the Scottish Parliament. If, as Burnet says, "he disliked their Covenant, particularly the imposing of it," he nevertheless signed it along with his parishioners in 1643, and administered it many

¹ Note E.

years afterwards. To say "that he lived in great retirement, minding only the care of his own parish," is scarcely compatible with the evidence that exists to prove that he was one of the foremost men of the period. We find him a member of the General Assembly which met at St. Andrews on the 28th July 1642, and one of the Commission which met in October of that year, when the Commissioners were nominated for the Westminster Assembly. In 1648 he is one of the Committee for "trying members of the Assembly that had been active promoters of the last Sinful Engagement, or had accession thereto;" and in 1651 the Synod of Lothian unanimously select him as their representative to London, "for negotiating the freedom of brethren imprisoned there." The story of his being questioned "whether he preached to the times," and of his counter-question "to permit a poor brother to preach Jesus Christ and Eternity," still holds on its way. We may cite the Presbytery Record, under date the 16th April 1652, to show what amount of strain there was upon Leighton: "James Fairlie¹ and Robert Leighton were appointed to concur with the heritors of Borthwick for the transportation of Mr. John Weir from Leith, and for that effect to appear before the

¹ Note F.

Presbytery of Edinburgh." The Call, which was accepted, had this item in it: "And that it will be your study not to break, but entertain and preserve, the union and harmony of this Presbytery, wherein they are so singularly happy in this distracted time." This fragment of ecclesiastical procedure gives us the impress of the time, and lets in light on the relation in which Leighton stood to his brethren.

The times were distracted and sadly out of joint when the Great Rebellion shook the land, when every man's hand was against his neighbour. In the desperate effort to bolster up the cause of Charles II., whom the Presbyterians had crowned at Scone—the last Coronation ceremonial there—they had admitted "Malignants" to arms against Cromwell, and thereby produced that rent in the party, the jagged edges of which are known by the names of Resolutioners and Protesters, the first great schism in the Church since the Reformation. Worcester fight served only to embitter the feelings that had been engendered. The Assembly of 1652 spent a fortnight in fruitless wranglings, with no record of its acts; and when they tried to hold an Assembly next year Cromwell's Colonel Cotterel dispersed them. But the spirit of strife that so alienated other good men seems to have avoided

Leighton's Presbytery. They refused to be infected with the passion and violence that set at variance with their co-presbyters such saintly men as Samuel Rutherford and other Masters in Israel. Leighton loved peace as well as the truth, and sought to walk safely between the fires. Neither zealot nor craven, he steered in mid-channel, cultivating the spirit and temper he has crystallised in one of his favourite mottoes—*nec tumide, nec timide*. From his quiet retreat in Newbattle Manse, with the soft murmur of the Esk near by, he looked out as the Hebrew prophet of old from his hiding in Horeb, when wind and earthquake and fire passed by, but the Lord was not in them, and, like that prophet, covered his face with his mantle when the still small voice spoke to him. That voice of the Lord he knew better than political wind, or earthquake, or fire. For by instinct of nature his spirit was touched to fine issues. Mediævalism, in its purest and best, was kindred to his inner self; and there was in him that fine mystic spiritualism which he had admired in the Jansenists, from whom he had caught the tone that sent its vibration through his being, like a "lost chord" throughout his whole after life.¹ True Protestant and orthodox Presbyterian Leighton undoubtedly was in his

¹ Note G.

Newbattle days, and in measure to the end ; but he was also in sympathy with "the holy church throughout all the world" that had been witnessing to all the ages. And, although his admiration of the models of ancient piety did not issue in his betaking himself to cloister-life, like Nicholas Ferrar in his Oratory at Little Gidding, his inner life in Newbattle was very much the counterpart of the country parson of Bemerton, the saintly George Herbert, the sweet singer of *The Temple*, whose divine songs and ejaculations Leighton loved so well.

As a Presbyterian minister Leighton had a high ideal, to which his aspirations were ever rising and of which he became the embodiment. His genius, piety, culture and eloquence placed him in the front rank as a preacher.¹ Burnet's eulogium of his preaching is that

"it had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such that few heard him without a very sensible emotion. His style was rather too fine ; but there was a majesty and beauty in it that left so deep an impression that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet, with this, he seemed to look on himself as so ordinary a preacher that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others ; and when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice

¹ Note H.

beforehand. He had indeed a very low voice and could not be heard by a great crowd. There was a sublime strain in his preaching, with so grave a gesture, and such a majesty both of thought and language and of pronunciation, that I never once saw a wandering eye where he preached and have seen whole assemblies often melt in tears before him.”¹

Principal Baillie says of Andrew Gray of Glasgow :

“He has the new guise of preaching which Mr. Hugh Binning and Mr. Robert Leighton began, contemning the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses, but runs out on a discourse on some common head in a high romancing and unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory and understanding.”²

Of this noble trio³ who stood out in full relief, conspicuous for their eminence among such great preachers as Henderson, Douglas, Gillespie, Blair, Rutherford, Dickson, and many more, Leighton

¹ Burnet's *History of his own Time*, 1753, vol. i. bk. II., p. 194; and *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*, 1736, p. 221.

² Letter 194; Edin. 1775, vol. ii. p. 385.

³ Gray was son of Sir James Gray, and was minister of Glasgow only for a very short period, as he died at the age of twenty-three. Binning was minister of Govan, and died at twenty-six. Both were men of extraordinary powers, attainments and popularity. Leighton's sermons, like those of Gray and Binning, were spoken, without notes. The sermons of all three were printed after their death. The new school had respect to form rather than substance. All three were theologically sound, and full of evangelical fervour.

was *princeps* in age and leading of the new school of preaching which some called "the haranguing way." Discarding the method of multitudinous divisions he made the text in its parts his keynote. The logical order of the thought was preserved though the form was concealed, just as the wire-rope under a train lets it slip up or down an incline, the motive power hidden underneath, and only the motion and progress perceptible. Dr. Jerment, the first real biographer of Leighton, says :

"He condenses and throws out massy thoughts, complete and entire, and when he strikes a fresh vein he pursues it in a few sentences or pages with astonishing dexterity. Somewhat of the French manner, without its lightness and gaiety, appears in his compositions ; when we think he has exhausted the subject, there comes forth another mass superior to the rest in weight and value, and more highly polished. He touches every doctrine of the Gospel and always with the hand of a master, and in every discourse exhibits fully the way of salvation. His learning was without pedantry, and his solemnity without stiffness. He quotes from Plato and Seneca, from Chrysostom and Augustine, alludes to sublime or beautiful passages in Homer, Horace, or Virgil, and cursorily refers to several facts in history as well as to various phenomena in the world of nature."

There is an assemblage of rich properties in Leighton's sermons, the lofty and the lowly, the sublime and the simple, culture and common-sense, crystalline clearness, that "lucidity" which makes for sweetness and light according to a modern

thinker, rich human interest and happy illustration adapted to manifold human needs, poetical beauty and strong evangelical unction, keeping his preaching on a high level of excellence.

He preached to all men everywhere the Gospel of the
Golden Rule
The New Commandment given to men : with reverent
feet the earth he trode,
And studied still with deep research to build the uni-
versal Church
Lofty as is the love of God, and ample as the wants of
men.

“More sententious than Reynolds, more refined than Howe, more eloquent than Baxter ; less diffuse and argumentative but more practical than Charnock ; less profound, but clearer and more savoury than Owen ; less ingenious, but sweeter and more sublime than Hall, he will not suffer by comparison with any divine in any age.”¹

With all this many-sided power as a preacher, Leighton with his modesty and self-distrust would not print a sermon he preached. Nobly furnished for his high vocation in the judgment of all capable men, he was in his own esteem insufficient for so great a work ; and when about to become a bishop he said it would lead to one benefit : “ I shall break that little idol of estimation my friends have for me, and which I have been so long sick of.” For nearly two hundred years the world has been in

¹ Dr. Jerment.

possession of the Sermons and Expositions which were written in the old manse of Newbattle, and preached to the Covenanters that assembled in the old church from week to week ; and the judgment of Dr. Fall, the first editor, is confirmed by every student of Leighton : “ that they find a sweetness in this divine author’s thoughts and way of writing which makes those Scriptures thus treated by him drop sweeter to their souls than honey and the honey-comb.”

From a dislike of outward display Leighton refused to sit for his portrait ;¹ but somehow there was a likeness taken, and in many of his works there are apocryphal portraits of him habited in the Geneva gown and bands, with luxuriant black hair parted in the middle over a massive brow and powerful face, with meditative, pensive-looking eyes, and large nose, and moustache without beard, altogether making up the head of a Cavalier rather than a Covenanter.² In lieu of an engraving we present a word-portrait by the author of *The Bishop’s Walk*, who represents the great orb of his downcast eye, the fine pale shadow

¹ Note I.

² The best likeness is an engraving after the original miniature in the possession of the Rev. John Winter, M.A., Postling, Hythe, Kent,—the copyright of our friend, the Rev. Dr. Grosart, Blackburn.

wrought upon his cheek by years of thought, and lines of weariness and pain—

A frail slight form—no temple he
Grand, for abode of Deity ;
Rather a bush, inflamed with grace,
And trembling in a desert place,
 And unconsumed with fire,
 Though burning high and higher.

A frail slight form, and pale with care,
And paler from the raven hair
That folded from a forehead free,
God-like of breadth and majesty—
 A brow of thought supreme,
 And mystic glorious dream.

And over all that noble face
Lay somewhat of soft pensiveness,
In a fine, golden haze of thought
That seemed to waver light, and float
 This way and that way still,
 With no firm bent of will.

During his Newbattle days, Leighton was a frequent visitor to London, and after 1646 he visited the metropolis once a year, and remained there for three or four months. His father died about 1649 and bequeathed £1000 to Leighton, which never reached him, owing to the insolvency of the trustee. He was in London in 1652 “to see if he could obtain any sort of liberty to those ministers who were kept in the Tower and other places,” and his absence in England extended from May till the end

of November. What success he had with the Government in securing the liberation of the prisoners, we do not know ; but no sooner had he returned than he sought liberty for himself by demitting his charge. Twice over in December he tendered his resignation, and twice his Presbytery declined to set him free. The Moderator, the Earl of Lothian, and others remonstrated with him to no purpose. On the 27th January 1653 he appeared in person and pleaded "to be loosed from his charge;" and at the same meeting a call to be Principal of the University of Edinburgh was tabled, and on the 3d of February the Presbytery "loosed him from his ministry at Newbattle and transported him to the charge of Principal in Edinburgh College."¹

The reason Leighton gave to the Presbytery for resigning Newbattle was "the greatness of the charge, and the extreme weakness of his voice, which could not be heard through the whole congregation." He had often complained of this to the Presbytery. Small of stature he was also never robust, and was easily affected by colds, which in the end culminated in fatal pleurisy. But other reasons could be read between the lines ; and did we know the history of his five months' negotia-

¹ Note J.

tions in London, we should have a clearer view of the situation, and of the impact of the force that impelled him. Dare we conjecture that to lessen the friction caused by the election of Colville to the Principalship, the offer of academical preferment was held out to Leighton, who, like Robert Blair, kept "prudently silent and silently prudent"? Or was it that in his intercourse with good men he found his sympathies yearning for a wider circle of fellowship than he could describe with Newbattle as his centre?¹ The evidence is plentiful that Leighton continued loyal to the régime of Presbytery; but he was not blind to the severities that were practised from 1648 till 1652, and we may infer that the harshness shown towards so many worthy men, with all the accompaniments of bitter debates and sharp-shooting pamphlets, first cooled his covenanting ardour, and afterwards impelled him, in the struggle between his native timidity and conscientiousness, to seek refuge in the resignation of his ministry.

¹ Baillie hints "that Leighton associated with the high flyers in the Church" who were evangelical in their preaching and had leanings to the Sectaries. And Burnet affirms that "Leighton had entered into a great correspondence with many of the Episcopal party;" and with Burnet's father in particular.

LEIGHTON : THE PRINCIPAL OF EDINBURGH
UNIVERSITY.

Though Leighton was no longer a Presbyter he did not cease to be a Presbyterian.¹ The transition he had made was as if one of the Romish secular clergy had passed into the order of the Regulars. Were we to compare the change he made to one of recent times, we should select the retirement of Thomas Chalmers from the manifold activities of a Glasgow parish to the quiet shade of the Chair of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews, and, as he believed, *ad majus bonum ecclesiæ*. Twenty-two years before, Leighton had gone forth from the University, master of all the liberal arts which its faculties could impart. Now he returns, to enrich the University with the wide and varied culture which the tides of these years had brought home to him. He was something more than the president of an institution that had been planted

¹ The Town Council of Edinburgh and members of the College on the 20th June 1653 "elected Mr. Robert Leighton, Primar, Commissioner to the next General Assembly." The Assembly met 3d July, and doubtless Leighton sat with them, when Colonel Cotterel dispersed them. Burton says, "The last shred of separate national organisation was now gone, and for some years history is dormant in Scotland."—*History, etc.*, 1876, vol. vii. p. 50.

about seventy years in the heart of the nation ; he was the spiritual father and director of the men that were to mould the affairs of the coming time. Unquestionably his academical qualifications were of the first order,¹ and he came behind in no matter the five Principals that had preceded him.² One of these eminent men was Robert Boyd of Trochrig, whose tenure of office was only a few months, by reason of the petty kingcraft of James VI., yet long enough to earn golden opinions “for his gifts both in pulpit and schools ; for noblemen, lawyers and country ministers, who came upon occasion to town, resorted frequently to his lessons in the School, and his sermons in the Kirk.”³ Not less famed than he was our Leighton, who revived the custom of prelecting once a week to the students in Latin, as the fashion then was, and “if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would go on in his sermon in Latin with a purity and life that charmed all who understood

¹ Burnet describes “his great quickness of parts, his lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both of Greek and Hebrew and of the whole compass of theological learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures.”— *History of his own Time*, Edinburgh, 1753, vol. i. p. 193.

² Note K.

³ Calderwood's *History*.

it." These *Prælectiones Theologicæ, Parcæneses,* and *Meditationes Ethico-Criticæ,* are still extant both in Latin and in English. Principal Tulloch characterises them as "the most interesting of all Leighton's works." Burnet, Doddridge, Coleridge, Scholefield, and innumerable competent judges have spoken of these "diamonds set in gold" in terms of highest commendation.

As Principal it was Leighton's duty to preach to the students at morning service in the church which they were obliged to attend;¹ and in 1658 he made offer "to preach in the College Hall to the scholars in the afternoon of the Sabbath day once in three or four weeks, in turn with the rest of the Professors." Of these Professors, David Dickson, the reputed author of "O mother dear, Jerusalem," was one, as also Alexander Dickson his son, who was Leighton's successor in Newbattle, before occupying the Hebrew Chair.² "He was a great blessing in his post as Principal," says Burnet, "for he talked so to all the youths of any capacity or distinction that it had great effect on many of them." Nor was his interest in the

¹ Note L.

² Sir Robert Sibbald extols the staff of Professors under whom he studied in Edinburgh, with "Robertus Lichtonus, Primarius Professor."

University confined to the moral and religious welfare of the students. At the instance of the patrons he waited upon "his Highness and council, in 1658, for procuring an Augmentation of the rental of the College." "His Highness" was Cromwell, whose secretary John Milton, author of the sonnet in praise of Cromwell's victories, with the jewel in its head—"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," and already beginning his *Paradise Lost*, was seated at the table. A grant of £200 per annum, for the better endowment of the University, was made in response to Leighton's appeal. His access to Cromwell's court gave him an opportunity of observing the eminent men that surrounded the Protector, though Burnet alleges that Leighton disliked them, both statesmen and clergymen. He had a scheme for the higher education of Scotland by planting Grammar-schools over the country, and he advised Cromwell to provide support for such schools "out of the concealed revenues of the Kirk-rents."

Those nine years of residence within the College precincts gave scope to Leighton's studious ways and literary activity, of which we have the outcome in a large section of his works. His Sermons, for the most part, and his Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter, can be traced to Newbattle as

easily as one can see the wake of a noble ship in its path through the sea. But his learned leisure permitted him to touch and retouch what he had written, as Dr. Fall, Dr. Doddridge, and other editors could read in puzzling interlineations in his MSS. He had long been regarded as "a saint," and as having "something above human nature in him." And his commending his favourite author Thomas à Kempis to the students caused consternation in his colleague, David Dickson. His inner life was fed by communion with the Cambridge Platonists, with Tauler, and Francis de Sales and Pascal, as well as with Augustine, Bernard, and Boys. During the recess he renewed his acquaintance with the Continent and with the Jansenists, "who studied to bring things if possible to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages, on which all his thoughts were set." So strict was his life that suspicions were abroad that he was about to make his submission to Rome.¹ In the fierce light that beats upon the lives of public men, such allegations are easily made and believed, as we know to be the case with some of the best of our time. Counter-evidence there is enough to rebut such a charge, in Leighton's writings.² But there were colourable circumstances that served to draw the cloak of sus-

¹ Note M.

² Note N.

picion around him, such as his celibacy, avowed admiration of mystic devotion, recluse tendencies, severe mortifications, all of which seemed to say that he was a monk in everything except the dress. Added to these there was the fact, well accredited, that his courtly brother Sir Ellis Leighton, secretary to the Duke of York, was a pervert, and scrupled not to insinuate that his elder and greater brother had secret inclinations to Romanism. This Sir Ellis was the Mephistopheles and evil genius of Robert Leighton; and the deep Rembrandtesque picture which Burnet has painted of him we leave for the study of all who can appreciate faithful portraiture. Leighton was now treading on the edge of events that were fraught with change, and he was not quite unconscious of the insecurity of his footing. As the head of the metropolitan University his position was high and honourable, nor was he impatient for transition. But a change came, by which, without strain or effort of his own, he was to be moved away over a *mare magnum* whose waters could not rest, as a stranded ship is floated and borne away by the rising tide.

LEIGHTON : THE SCOTTISH PRELATE.

The death of Cromwell was soon followed by the Restoration, which rang in the false and rang out the true. Puritan hopes were dashed ; the Covenant which the King had sworn ten years before was ingloriously burnt at the cross by the common hangman. The recoil from Puritanic manners was terrible. And now the wedge which Resolutioner and Protester, with alternate blows, had been hammering hard, was driven home to the head ; and the frantic enthusiasm with which the Restoration was celebrated was portentous of other changes besides that of the visible ruler of the kingdom. The Stuarts, like the Bourbons, learned nothing and forgot nothing ; and Charles II. with the traditional “no bishop, no king,” as inherited wisdom, forgot the sturdy resistance with which the Covenanters had repelled the paternal government of his unhappy father. In the main the heart of Scotland was Presbyterian, but its voice at the Court was that of an ambitious churchman, James Sharp, and of a soldier of fortune and place-hunter like John Middleton, who assured the Government that the Scottish mind was favourable to Episcopacy. Everybody knows the name which Sharp

has earned by the part he played, writing smooth things to his Presbyterian constituents, and getting his patent to the primacy of all Scotland made out with all convenient despatch.¹ The unexpected at length happened: a new hierarchy was created for Scotland, and Sharp, its supreme pontiff, was Archbishop of St. Andrews.² The plan adopted was to have four Bishops consecrated in London as the foundation of the new order. James Hamilton, once a notable Covenanter and brother of Lord Belhaven, got the see of Galloway, and Andrew Fairfowl, a facetious person, was named Archbishop of Glasgow, while Sharp had St. Andrews. A fourth man was wanted to make a new bishop, and "the king," it is said, "of his own proper motion nominated Robert Leighton," who chose for himself the see of Dunblane. This last—Charles II. appointing Leighton to be a bishop—ranks among the curiosities of history, as singularly bizarre as if Ahab had of his own proper motion nominated Elijah to be his domestic chaplain. Had Cromwell made Leighton his spiritual adviser or

¹ Note O.

² Thomas Sydserf, once Bishop of Galloway, had survived the wreck of 1638, and lingered like an antediluvian in expectation of being made primate. But Sharp got him appointed Bishop of Orkney.

Whitehall preacher, posterity would have recognised a moral congruity between the agent and the object of the promotion. How then did Leighton come within the area of the royal favour? Burnet has explained the process and freed us from conjecture. Sir Ellis Leighton numbered among his friends Lord Aubigny, a brother of the Duke of Richmond, who had become a Catholic and entered priests' orders. This lordly priest was the King's confidant; and to him Sir Ellis introduced his brother as one who was on his way to Rome, who if made a Bishop might advance royal and Roman interests. Aubigny caught the story, and charmed with the beauty and attraction of Leighton reported his discovery to His Majesty, and accordingly Leighton was sent for. He was at the time in London, on his way home from Bath, where he had been residing for his health's sake, when the royal mandate surprised him. He struggled to escape from the entanglement, but at length yielded to the combined solicitations of his brother, Lord Lauderdale, and the King, though he described the ordeal of accepting as "a mortification greater than a cell and hair-cloth." He selected Dunblane for the same reason as Lot chose Zoar, "because it was a little city."

The ceremony of consecrating the four prelates

was preceded by a little difficulty which cropped up in the Anglican bishops discovering that Sharp and Leighton had been ordained after the subversion of the old hierarchy in 1638, and therefore, must needs be made deacons and priests in order to become bishops. Sharp at first declined to receive subaltern orders, but Leighton with his eclectic ideas of church power assented.¹ He reconciled his mind with the consideration, that he was now being received according to the rules of the Episcopal church, and that the orders he formerly received were not thereby annulled, which was not the idea of Juxon and Sheldon. As the Greek chorus, to adopt Froude's method of expressing opinion, we do not question Leighton's motive or his manner of construing the ceremony, and surrendering his Presbyterian orders ; but as a matter of prudence and policy, to go no higher, his submission, coupled with his private interpretation of the ceremony, was a blunder, shivering as it did at one blow the whole structure of Presbytery, and putting a weapon in the hands of nonconforming Presbyterians which they were not slow to wield.

On the larger question of his abandonment of the church of his father, to which he had given the best of his life, we do not enter at length. It

¹ Note P.

is enough to hold the balance between the conflicting parties.¹ Even Burnet, who loved Leighton as his own soul, admits this was a blemish. A living writer says of Leighton :—

“To me he appears indeed about as beautiful a spirit as ever lighted on this earth, an angel whom we entertained quite unawares, and certainly not with an angel’s entertainment. Yet I do not defend all his conduct, nor do I think it were well if all the world were like him. He was a servant of God who found himself strangely ranged on the devil’s side in the great conflict of the age, though fully minded all the while to fight the battle of the Lord. That is the problem, settle it as we may.”²

The problem was attacked by his contemporaries in many fugitive pieces of polemical writing, offensive and defensive, the one side making Leighton to be a veritable angel of darkness, and the other an angel of light.³ The perspective of Leighton in these and other pictures is untrue ; his merits or defects are as exaggerated as the magnified image of a man on the Brocken. In becoming an Episcopalian he was unquestionably sincere in his conduct. He had gradually by winds and tides been slewed round from his anchorage as a Presbyterian. To him it seemed a short step to turn in to the new highway which the

¹ Note Q.

² *The Bishop’s Walk*, London : Preface, pp. xiv. xv.

³ Note R.

Government had prescribed for the church. But it was a larger step to become a bishop, in the face of a reclaiming people, in a church with Sharp as its Primate. The new hierarchy, of which he was one, was created by the king before the Scottish Parliament had enacted the establishment of Prelacy; and it is hardly possible that Leighton was ignorant of the character of the prime movers in the revolution.¹ For before his consecration the reign of terror was begun, as was witnessed by the execution of Argyll, and in three days after, of James Guthrie of Stirling, who had been Leighton's intimate friend. But Leighton, in common with many of the English Presbyterians, was attracted by Ussher's Reduction, or modified Episcopacy, and in accepting a mitre, there lay, in the background of his hopes, the combination of the rival systems.² But when he approached Sharp, he found that Sharp had no plan of his own, and was unwilling to listen to Leighton's proposal, when the strong hand of authority could enforce unifor-

¹ "Leighton was as renowned for learning and goodness as his chief was for treachery and worldliness."—J. HILL BURTON.

² In a letter to Burnet he speaks of the regular conjunction of Episcopacy and Presbytery doing much better than either of them apart, and that he had constantly enough been of that opinion.

imity. And when, after the consecration, there was revelry, or at least riotous feasting, among the nobles to greet the new bishops, Leighton saw that the spirit of his colleagues was of the earth, earthly, and was fain, with David, to say, "I am weak this day though anointed king." Burnet says that Leighton then discovered his mistake, lost all heart and hope, saw cross characters of an angry Providence in the whole progress of the affair; that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up His church, so that the struggling about it seemed to him like a fighting against God.

Leighton travelled in the new carriage with the other prelates on their way to Scotland, but left them at Morpeth. He found his way to Edinburgh by Newbattle, where he stayed a little amid the scenes and memories of his pastorate. Arrived in Edinburgh, he preached in Trinity Church for his friend Robert Lawrie, afterwards Dean of Edinburgh and Bishop of Brechin; and then went to Dunblane to feel the pulse of the ministers in his new diocese. Burnet says that Leighton was so averse to vanity and pomp that he would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and did not accompany the other prelates when they rode in triumph into Edinburgh, and took their seats in

Parliament. He did appear, to the surprise of Sharp, in his place in Parliament, a few weeks after,¹ on the occasion of imposing the oath of allegiance on six ministers² who were summoned before the Lords of the Articles. Leighton defended the attitude of these ministers, and Sharp and Middleton had a passage at arms with him. They taunted him with not having taken the oath, and he defended himself by saying, that he had taken it, though not as a member of Parliament, and that he would not have come there had it not been church matters that were in dispute.

For the next ten years Dunblane was his home ; and as he was fond of natural scenery, Newbattle and Dunblane alike threw an atmosphere of beauty around his spirit. The old Cathedral overlooking Allan Water reminded him of his old church near the Esk ;³ while the background of upland and mountain added strength to beauty. The church and tower were clustered with memories of Culdee piety and Roman pomp, a long line of mitred men having played their part around this centre. He met his clergy in Synod, 15th September 1662,

¹ Note S.

² One of these ministers was John Carstares, the father of William Carstares, the friend and adviser of King William.

³ Note T.

and began his mild rule among them. Twice every year he met them; and held in all nineteen Synods in Dunblane. The ministers under him numbered thirty, comprising the two Presbyteries of Dunblane and Auchterarder, and, with two or three exceptions, all conformed. The old machinery of Session and Presbytery was kept running on the old lines; and there was no ritual innovation to provoke to opposition. Except in name Leighton was like one of the old superintendents of Knox, and his conciliatory spirit and gentle rule were in violent contrast to the state of matters outside his domain. Grieved at the persecution which thrust hundreds of godly ministers out of their charges in the West, Leighton, in 1665, resolved to resign. He went to London and laid the case of the suffering church before the king, saying that he could not concur in the planting of the Christian religion itself in such a violent manner, much less a form of church-government; and as he felt as if accessory to these acts of violence he prayed the king to give him leave to retire. With fair promises Leighton was sent back to Dunblane. But soon after things got to be worse, as the affair at Pentland and the licensed atrocities among a simple peasantry too plainly declared. And as Leighton was "the one man who redeemed the title of Scottish bishop from dis-

credit,"¹ he, along with Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, devised new measures for mitigating the ferocity that had been let loose. The "Indulgence," offering compensation or freedom to ministers that had been deprived, followed but did not allay the evil. In 1669 Leighton goes to London and other royal interviews are granted, and schemes of Comprehension and Accommodation are thrown like spider-webs across the gulf; but when tried they break down. After an interval of six years Parliament met in the autumn, and among other things passed the Assertory Act, which gave to the king the absolute control of the souls as well as the bodies of his subjects, making him "supreme over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical." Leighton spoke against this measure, and got some words in the Bill altered, but he voted in favour of the measure, and was sorry for his error as long as he lived. The first effect of the Act was the removal of the Archbishop of Glasgow, and soon after the appointment of Leighton as Commendator of that archdiocese, while still continuing Bishop of Dunblane. In administering the affairs of Glasgow see he found ample room for work in his attempts to undo the mischief of his predecessors. He endeavoured to reform his clergy, or "curates,"

¹ Dr. Story's *William Carstares* : London, 1874.

as they were vulgarly called, by bringing offenders to trial before a tribunal he had instituted, consisting of eminent men outside his diocese, namely Charteris, Nairn, and Aird : and his scheme of "Accommodation," which had virtually been in use from the beginning in Dunblane, for reclaiming the Covenanters, was tried. He held conferences in Edinburgh with the leading Presbyterians of the country, in the summer and autumn of 1670. And to soften down asperities and bring in the wandering sheep he sent forth six divines, Burnet, Nairn, Charteris, Aird, Cook, and Paterson, named by the people "the Bishop's Evangelists," to itinerate in the western shires, preach in vacant churches, and urge compliance with the "Accommodation." On their return after a crusade of three months he held a conference with the "Indulged" and others at Paisley, having along with him Sir John Harper, Professor Burnet, and Dean Ramsay, afterwards Bishop of Dunblane.¹ There was another conference held in Edinburgh in January 1671, when Hutcheson in name of the Presbyterians respectfully declined to accept Leighton's Scheme of Comprehension. The last attempt at

¹ Burnet gives details of Leighton's negotiations and debates. See his *Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, 1673, pp. 345-351.

allaying the discontent in which Leighton took part was his supporting Burnet's proposal of putting all "the outed ministers by couples into parishes," which Leighton compared to the act "of gathering the coals which were scattered over the house, setting it all on fire into the chimney, where they might burn safely." Lauderdale adopted this project, which is known as "the Second Indulgence," and sent it forth from the Council in September 1672. It was a child of the Royal Supremacy. It shunted ministers like pawns on a board, sent them here and there like constables, coupled them like coursing hounds. Sharp was wincing under the influence Leighton seemed to be gaining at head-quarters, and complained that Leighton was the ruin of the Church. Leighton, on the other hand, thought he was doing the only thing to save the Church; and as the apostle of comprehension and moderation¹ he came between the struggling parties with words of peace to be repelled with the taunt, "Who made thee a prince

¹ Dean Stanley, in his *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, 1872, says: "The Moderate party may claim Leighton as their pattern, the most apostolical of all Protestant Scotchmen." In a letter to the writer from the Dean, of 6th October 1873, he says: "I have regarded him not as one of the so-called Moderate party (because he lived in the century preceding) but as their pattern in respect to his

indeed the Sabbath-day of life, for he was now in the seventh decade of his years ; and all accounts represent that " Sunday " as George Herbert would say, as " most calm, most bright, the fruit of this, the next world's bud," and Leighton's spirit could every day make this prayer his own—

O let me take thee at the bound,
Leaping with thee from seven to seven,
Till that we both, being tossed from earth,
Fly hand in hand to heaven.

His working days had been made up by home-life, College-life, continental life, presbyter-life, principal-life, prelate-life, and the day which was running out " was the preparation, for the Sabbath of heaven drew on." As the evening advanced, the lamp which sent its light into the night was the Bible ; and the Psalter, as he used to say, " lay as a bundle of myrrh in his bosom night and day." His library was his field, where at eventide he meditated : for his books, goodly and choice, like the old guards of Napoleon, had been the companions of his fortunes and his supports in all his conflicts, and as he communed with them, and wrote down or read over his way-marks on their fly-leaves,¹ his " life " as Gambold has it " was all retouched again." But much as he loved his

¹ Note X.

books, and his quiet meditation thereon, he loved the sweet spirit of prayer yet more; and he one day said to Edward, his nephew, who was fast becoming his counterpart in features and Christian spirit, pointing to his ponderous tomes, "One devout thought is worth them all." Occasionally he put his hand to preaching, which had been his master-work from the beginning; and with those low mellow tones of his rich voice he spoke to the parishioners of Horsted Keynes¹ of Him whom his soul loved, "whose name is as ointment poured forth," and then his "doctrine dropt as the rain, his speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass."² His retreat was very serene and tranquil, with Sapphira his sister ministering to him, and his nephew sitting in admiration at his feet. Broadhurst was his Bethany, lying aloof from the heat and hate of the chief priests and rulers who were ever "consulting" how they might put some Lazarus to death.

In the summer days of 1679, his seclusion had several rude shocks. First there came tidings of

¹ Note Y.

² Amid all his hesitations, and sense of weariness, or, as he phrased it, *rerum humanarum fastidium*, he retained his liking for preaching.

the tragic fate of Archbishop Sharp, the man at whose side he had knelt, eighteen years before, in Westminster Abbey, that they might receive consecration as Apostles of the Most High, and now, alas! slain like a sheep, at noonday, on Magus Moor. Then came the slow news from the North, that the leaders in power were lashing their fiery steeds up to a bloodier goal, because he, the bearer of the olive branch, had lighted down from the chariot; that Claverhouse was riding red wet shod across the covenanting moorlands, leaving Drumclog, Bothwell Bridge, Greyfriars' Churchyard, and the Grassmarket, as the milestones of his progress. These black missives came to him in May and June. And there came a despatch sealed with the Royal signet addressed to him under his old title "For the Bishop of Dunblane," dated from "Windsor, July 16, 1679," as follows:—

"My Lord, I am resolved to try what clemency can prevail upon such in Scotland as will not conform to the Government of the church there; for effecting of which design, I desire that you may go down to Scotland with your first conveniency, and take all possible pains for persuading all you can of both opinions to as much mutual correspondence and concord as can be.—Your loving friend,

CHARLES R."

The hand of Monmouth was in this matter; but the "conveniency" never came. "Persuasion" had

come too late after oppression, for seventeen years, had driven a nation mad.

The call which next came to Leighton in his solitude was addressed to him by his friend Gilbert Burnet. It was in reality the old call which is ever becoming new : " Arise, depart, for this is not your rest." In 1684 Lord Perth¹ went up to London to receive his seals as Lord Chancellor of Scotland. He asked Burnet to introduce Leighton to him, and Burnet pressed Leighton to come up to London, for he knew him to be a skilful physician, one who could speak a word in season to him that was weary, " a kind word"—

A word on which to die
With a great hope peacefully.
He used to go down with a soul
Into the valley dark of dole,
Farther than any I ever knew
A convoy great and precious to
Full many a troubled heart
Sad from the earth to part.²

¹ Burnet says he was " one of the best-tempered men I ever knew," and yet with the intoxication of power he became one of the most sanguinary and immoral of men. Burnet thought that Leighton, " that angelical man, might awaken in him some of those good principles which he seemed once to have, but which were now totally extinguished." See Dr. Story's *William Carstares*, p. 94, etc.

² *The Bishop's Walk* : stanza 140.

Leighton arrived in London, and Burnet on shaking hands with him congratulated him on his good health.¹ Leighton smiled at the friendly cheer and said, "for all that, his work and journey both were now almost done." Possibly he felt the gentle touch of that invisible hand that was leading him away. Burnet was not impressed with Leighton's words till next day, when he found the good man seriously ill; constrained breathing, complaint of cold and sharp stitches, doubtless the consequence of exposure or overheating in travelling that June day. Pleurisy set in in acute form, and next day "speech and sense went away of a sudden, and he continued panting about twelve hours and then died without pangs or convulsions," while Burnet stood by in dumb sorrow for the loss of "one who had been the chief guide of his whole life." It was the 25th of June 1684 when he fell asleep in Jesus, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

With Leighton there set the one star whose milder lustre shone in the murky firmament of the

¹ "Age seemed as it were to stand still with him; his hair was still black and all his motions were lively; he had the same quickness of thought and strength of memory, but above all the same heat and life of devotion that I had ever seen in him."—Burnet's *History*, vol. ii. p. 431: Edinburgh, 1753.

Scottish hierarchy.¹ The impress he made on his contemporaries, who knew him best, was that of sanctified genius; and his writings have moulded the character and spirit of the thought and piety of two centuries. They laid his earthly remains in the south chancel of the parish church of Horsted Keynes.

Leighton used to say that if he had the choice of a place to die in it should be an inn, like the home-going of a pilgrim to whom the noisy world is as an inn of which he is weary.² Such was his day-dream, his mystic reverie, which sprang up as a fond fancy rather than a definite desire or positive prayer or vivid hope. There was a prediction budding in the heart that cherished the fond dream, and God fulfilled the vision in his own time. He came to London to minister to "a mind diseased," and found a lodging in the place where, probably,

¹ "A purer, humbler, holier spirit than Leighton's never tabernacled in Scottish clay." "He was one of the best, holiest, and mildest men of his time." "He had the greatest elevation of soul, the most mortified and most heavenly disposition that I ever yet saw in mortal." "He was a human seraph uniting the solar warmth with the solar light *unde ardet unde lucet.*" "A calm trust in God was the spirit which pervaded his whole life."—*Dr. Flint, George Gilfillan, Bishop Burnet, Bishop Jebb, Dr. Stoughton.*

² Cf. *Ex hac vita discedo tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam ex domo.*—CICERO.

he had been wont to resort, the old Bell Inn, Warwick Lane. The curious visitor who wends his way along that narrow lane may be shown some *Depôt for Goods*, instead of the historical Inn from which the spirit of Robert Leighton passed away from earth to heaven.

We think of another of famous memory whose place of departure was but a short distance from that of Leighton, and the circumstances not very dissimilar. John Bunyan left home on a divine errand, to reconcile a father and son from their estrangement, and having accomplished his mission, he found a resting-place with a friend in Snowhill, near Holborn Bridge. There fever came to him, and ten days after he yielded up his spirit on 31st August 1688. Bunyan and Leighton, dying in the heart of London, so near each other in place and time, are perhaps at this good hour the two most living religious writers in our English tongue.

Leighton lived in the world with contempt of its wealth and honours. His generosity was such that his sister had occasion to remind him that he was giving too freely, and added : " If you had a wife and family, Robert, you would not do so." " I know not how it would be," was his reply, " but I know how it should be ; Enoch walked with God,

and begat sons and daughters." Memorials of his benefactions remain to this day in scholarships and bursaries in the Colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow. And during his tenure of the diocese of Dunblane, the parish minister and the schoolmaster had a liberal share out of the Bishop's rents.¹ But his best legacy conveyed by his will, written with his own hand, was his Library, to the Cathedral of Dunblane, a touching memorial of his love to "the quaint old gabled place," where he once lived, and a monument of himself more precious than the tombs of mighty kings.

*Suavissima vita est quotidie sentire se fieri meliorem.
Leve est sua relinquere, seipsum relinquere gravissimum.*

*Sit vitæ regula Christus. Nec te quaesiveris extra.
Eripe me his invicte malis. Ne sit pax tua in ore
hominum.*

Sit oratio clavis diei et sera noctis.

Ὡς ἡδύ τῶ μισοῦντι τοὺς φαύλους τρόπους ἔρημία.

*θεοῦ δίδοντας, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει φθόνος,
καὶ μὴ δίδοντας, οὐδὲν ἰσχύει πόνος.*

Ναὶ ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ.

ἔπου Θεῶ.

¹ Note Z.

Qui veut vivre apres la mort,
Faut qu'il meure devant la mort.
Quid est diu vivere nisi diu torqueri ?
Si vis tibi cavere, te primum cave.
Melius dicit et docet qui intus habitat quam
qui foris clamat.
Cathedram habet in Caelo qui corda docet.
Quis est fons amoris ? Ille idem qui nos
lavit a peccatis nostris.
Exigua pars est vitae quam nos vivimus.
Properat vivere nemo satis.
Multi dum diu vixerunt, parum vixerunt.
Similis eris Illi cum Eum videris sicuti est ;
Si nunc similis sis Illi, videris Eum sicuti
pro nobis factus est humilis et obediens.

Θεὸν σέβου καὶ πάντα πράξεις ἐνθεῶς.

Θεοῦ μνήμονευτεον ὅπως ἀναπνευστέον.

προσοχή καὶ προσευχή.

NOTES.

NOTE A (page 1).

THE Leightons in early times owned the property of Usan, or Ulysses-haven, near Montrose. Their arms bore a lion rampant, with a lion's head for crest, and the motto "Light on." Two prelates of the name figure in the history of the fifteenth century, Alexander de Lichton, Bishop of Brechin, and Dr. Henry Leighton, Bishop of Moray and afterwards of Aberdeen. Leighton used the family crest as his seal.

NOTE B (page 3).

In one of his visits to London Sir James Stewart became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Leighton, "who placed his son Robert under Sir James's patronage for his education at Edinburgh."—See *Coltness Collections*.

NOTE C (page 3).

We have the Matriculation Lists of Edinburgh University 1627-31. The class of Mr. R. Ranken began 29th November 1627. At the head of the List stand the names of John Sinclair and Robert Hamilton. The former was Master of Berriedale, grandson of the Earl of Caithness; the latter

was the youngest son of Thomas Earl of Haddington. Leighton sat beside these scions of the nobility, as we gather from a letter to his father of 6th May 1628. The Provost, David Aikenhead of Kilquhis, had "restrained the boys from the play a good while; and upon that they made some verses mocking his red nose." Leighton made his contribution as follows :

That which his name¹ imports is falsely said
That of the oken wood his head is made;
For why, if it had been composed so,
His flaming nose had fired it long ago

Some accounts of this escapade represent Leighton as "called before the faculty of Masters, and, to please the provost, extruded the University," but reponed on the intervention of his friend Sir James Stewart. Leighton in the letter above quoted, says, "As for the Primar (Principal Adamson), and Regents, to say the truth they thought it not so heinous a thing, as I myself did justly think it. I hope the Lord shall bring good out of it to me. Pray for me, as I know you do, that the Lord may keep me from like falls. If I have either Christianity or naturality it will not suffer me to forget you, but as I am able to remember you still to God, and to endeavour that my ways grieve not God and you, my dear Parents, the desire of my heart is to be as little chargeable as may be. Now, desiring the Lord to keep you, I rest, ever endeavouring to be, your obedient son, Robert Leighton." This letter is addressed "To his kind and loving father Mr. Alexander Leighton, Doctor of Medicine, at his house on the top of Pudle Hill, beside the Black Friars' Gate, near the King's Wardrobe there, London." In a postscript he conveys his "duty to his mother, his loving brothers and sisters, and his duty to all his friends."

¹ His name is Okenhead.

Among other names in the list of Leighton's class there is that of ARCHIBALD JOHNSTONE, which, if we mistake not, is that of Lord Warriston, the pen of the Covenant and one of its martyrs. Of students in 1629, one bears the name of NATHANIEL RATHBAND. One of Leighton's sisters was Mrs. Rathband. In 1630 we find the name of ANDREW CANT, probably Leighton's predecessor in Newbattle.

NOTE D (page 5).

We have given the names of *two* brothers and *two* sisters of Leighton; but the mention of a young brother in his letter, in addition to James and Elisha, would imply that he had three brothers. This is also evident from the terms of his father's petition to the Long Parliament in 1640, in which, among other things, he states that when "the pursuivant searched his house, he held a pistol to the breast of a child five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not discover Jesuits' books."

NOTE E (page 6).

Dr. Thomas Gordon, minister of Newbattle, having in June 1862 communicated some extracts from the Records of Dalkeith Presbytery and Newbattle Session to *Notes and Queries*, Mr. David Laing, LL.D., V.P. of the Antiquarian Society, incorporated them, with notes of his own, in the Society's Transactions. The present writer, in 1858, made inquiry after the Records, but Dr. Gordon was not then able to supply extracts from them. The information contained in these Extracts regarding Leighton's conduct as a Presbyterian has been made use of in the present Memoir. The writer has dealt at greater length on the whole question in articles in *The United Presbyterian Magazine*, 1865, 1866, and 1869; also two articles in *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, for 1869.

NOTE F (page 7).

JAMES FAIRLIE was professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University during Leighton's student days. He was a regent in 1617, and, along with other academical dignitaries, was a disputant in Stirling Castle at the feast of reason King James VI. had there. The wise and witty sovereign said: "The defender is justly called Fairly; his thesis had some *fairlies*, and he sustained them *fairly*, and with many *fairlies* given to his opponents."—Fairlie was a zealous follower of Laud, and on 15th July 1637 was consecrated Bishop of Argyll; and on the 23d July he read Laud's Liturgy in Greyfriars Church—the same day that Jenny Geddes caused a commotion in St. Giles'; was deposed in 1638; afterwards made his submission to Presbytery; wandered about in much misery unable to find a church, for five or six years; was settled at last in 1644 as minister of Lasswade, the parish church of Drummond of Hawthornden. The reader will pardon these details as illustrative of a near neighbour of Leighton; the one the *quondam* Bishop of Argyll, the other the future Bishop of Dunblane. Fairlie died in 1658.—Baillie's *Letters*; Masson's *Drummond*, pp. 393-4.

NOTE G (page 9).

Dr. Stoughton says: "No passage of Scripture could be more appropriate as a motto for Leighton's life than that of one of Leighton's texts: 'In returning and rest shall ye be saved: in quietness and confidence shall be your strength.'" In his excellent preface to the poem of *The Bishop's Walk*, Dr. Walter C. Smith says of such mystic spiritualism, "that it has its private region of emotion and sensibility from which it is loth to be dislodged, even at the call of urgent duty, and to which it ever returns, feeling that its contact with these very duties of common life

has in some measure marred the delicate down upon the wings which would fain be soaring to heaven. Leighton, it seems to me, partook of this spirit." The poem itself is a fine ideal portrait of Leighton, and deserves to be better known. The Rev. Dr. Alex. B. Grosart quotes several of its stanzas in his *Essay on the Life and Writings of George Herbert*. Dr. Grosart says: "The secret with Herbert as with Leighton is that he regarded the Church as the ideal of perfection.

Oft Leighton's subtle fancy sped
Far back into its youth, and read,
In sculptured forms and texts and rhymes,
The secret of the ancient times ;
And their divinest sense
Of mystic reverence.

And in its Cross the Christ he saw ;
And in its pillars steadfast law ;
Its dim light bade with awe admire,
And thought soared heavenward on the spire
Urged onward by the chime
That told the fleeting time.

There is this apology for Leighton : that he had mixed little with the world, and was instinctively a recluse, and given to contemplation, while Herbert knew the men, from the King downward, who were dealing out contumely and persecution."

NOTE H (page 10).

Newbattle parish is four miles long and two miles in breadth. The communicants numbered about 900. A reader and schoolmaster was appointed in 1643, whose salary was 200 marks per annum. "It was with universal consent, both of minister and elders, condescendit upon that thair should be built befor the pulpet ane convenient seatt of timber for the reidar as in uther kirkis ; and the

elders to sit at the tabil or boord befor the pulpett." All parents were to be careful, so soon as their children came to capable years, to send them to some school, that they might learn at the least to read, and any defaulting parent was obliged to pay "as if they did send their children to school according to the number of them." The reader was at that time William Hamilton. Three years after, James Aird, son of a former minister, became schoolmaster and session clerk. He was afterwards minister of Ingram and then of Torrieburn, and one of Leighton's "Evangelists." We may note that Leighton's church stood within the grey old wall, called Monkland Wall, enclosing Newbattle grounds, about a bow-shot from the ruin of the Abbey. The present church is outside the abbey wall, and was built in 1727. It contains one link of association with Leighton in having the old oak pulpit from which he preached. There are also four communion cups of silver which were "presented to the Kirk of Newbotle 29th May 1646." A part of the present manse was the house which Leighton occupied, built in 1625 during the incumbency of Mr. John Aird. Over one of the windows there is an inscription, in keeping with Leighton's spirit, *Evangelio et Posteris*, and there is a hand-bell kept in the manse with the date of 1616. "The toun of Newbattell" of Leighton's day has shrunk into a hamlet of a few old houses along the road to Galashiels facing the abbey wall, and gave occasion to a local proverb "A' to ae side like Newbattle." At the gate of the abbey, a pair of jowgs dangles in the wind as a memorial of ancient discipline. The Esk is crossed by a fine old bridge of two arches; and the path or steep ascent of the highway used to be regarded as a haunt of evil spirits, to ward off which it was necessary for the traveller to stand still and repeat the Lord's Prayer. This old path, the old bridge, the old mill, and the old manse are the features of the locality that remain very much as they were in Leighton's time.

NOTE I (page 14).

Leighton, like his father, was of small stature. Dr. Fall, in letters, speaks of him as "the little Bishop." On hearing of the death of a portly man, "How is it," Leighton exclaimed, "that A. has broken through those goodly brick walls, while I am kept in by a bit of flimsy deal?" In a tractate called "Notes on *Vindiciae Foederum*, by D. Hay Fleming, 1881," Leighton's "accommodation" is referred to as the work of "the busie B. of Glasgow."

NOTE J (page 16).

At the meeting of Dalkeith Presbytery on the 27th January 1653, Andrew Bryson, Town Treasurer, in name of the town of Edinburgh, showed that the Council "had given Mr. Lichtone a call to be Principall of the Colledge, and his commission being required, he undertook to produce it at the next meeting." To expedite matters, the Presbytery appointed next meeting eight days after, and sent Mr. R. Carsane to preach in Newbattle and make public intimation to the parishioners "that if they had anything to say against the lowsing of their minister, they might appear before the Presbytery the next day." Then follows the finding of the Presbytery in the case "anent the desire of our brother Mr. Robert Lichtone to be lowsed from his ministrie at the kirk of Newbotle, by *reason of the greatnes of the congregacione farre exceeding his strength for discharging the dewties thereof, especially the extreme weakness of his voice not being able to reach the halfe of them when they are convened, which has long pressed him very sore, as he had formerly often expressed to us.*" Alexander Dickson, son of David Dickson, Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh, was appointed successor to Leighton in Newbattle, 7th October 1653. He was appointed Professor of Hebrew in Edinburgh, 3d September 1656, and filled that Chair till 1679.

NOTE K (page 19).

Bower, in his *History of the University of Edinburgh*, 1817, vol. i. p. 263, says of Leighton: "In learning, in just notions of religion and in true piety without ostentation or enthusiasm, he was not surpassed by any of his predecessors. In the discharge of his public functions as a clergyman and as Primarius professor of Divinity, and, indeed, in arranging and conducting the complicated business of an university he had few equals and no superiors."

NOTE L (page 20).

In 1587 the Council appointed Principal Rollock to teach Theology and to preach in the East Kirk (the High Church or St. Giles') in the mornings. This service for the students was transferred after a time to Trinity College Kirk, and then to Lady Yester's. The afternoon service for which Leighton made arrangements was in addition to his regular morning service, and was to be shared by David Dickson, William Keith, Alexander Dickson, Robert Douglas, and others.

NOTE M (page 22).

In Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. p. 26, it is recorded that Sir James Stewart told Leighton: "Your grandfather, Sir, was a Papist, your father a Presbyterian and suffered much for it in England, and you are a Bishop! what a mixture is this!" Leighton answered, "It's true, Sir, and my grandfather was the honestest man of the three."—In the same work, p. 274, it is said that James Guthrie and Leighton were very intimate when Leighton was a Presbyterian, and used to sleep together in Edinburgh; that Leighton was naturally proud in his temper and could not bear affront or contradiction. And again, at p. 327, Wodrow relates a story which came to him through Leighton's man-servant to the effect that when he was Principal of Edinburgh

College, he once a week or fortnight shut himself up in a room, with nothing but his Bible with him, and sometimes he had a candle lighted at night, and frequently not—observing a fast for two or three days.

NOTE N (page 22).

We do not quote the passages in Leighton's lectures and discourses that distinctly teach Anti-Roman doctrine, nor say, what every reader of Leighton knows, that his system from centre to circumference was thoroughly Protestant. But we cite the testimony of Burnet in connexion with his last interview with Leighton, in 1684, to prove how stern was his opposition to Rome to the end: "He was in his last years turned to a greater severity against Popery than I had imagined a man of his temper, and of his largeness in point of opinion, was capable of. He spoke of the corruptions, of the secular spirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in that Church, with an extraordinary concern; and lamented the shameful advances that we seemed to be making towards Popery. He did this with a tenderness and an edge that I did not expect from so recluse and mortified a man. He looked on the state the Church of England was in with very melancholy reflections, and was very uneasy at an expression then much used, that it was the best constituted church in the world."—*History of his own Time*, 1753, vol. ii. p. 432.

NOTE O (page 25).

The name of James Sharp has for two hundred years been embalmed in the odour of infamy in Presbyterian Scotland, not only on account of his betrayal of the cause he was advocating, but for his arbitrary and tyrannical use of the power he acquired as chief of the Scottish Church. He is regarded as a kind of Protestant Cardinal Beaton. Any attempt to extenuate his earlier duplicity or later severity, in the face of overwhelming evidence against him,

is preposterous. Dr. Hill Burton has given an analysis of his Letters, during his negotiations with Government, which is scorching to the last degree. Dr. Walter C. Smith, in his preface to *The Bishop's Walk*, says: "I know no men in history who could be more fitly described as 'the wicked' than Charles and James, Lauderdale and Melfort; Fairfowl, Sydserf, and Claverhouse, *et hoc genus omne*." History has supplied the name of Sharp—as wicked as any of them.

NOTE P (page 27).

When Sharp got his appointment to St. Andrews he went to Juxon, Bishop of London, and told him. Juxon said: "This is very good, but, Mr. Sharp, where are your orders? you must be ordained Presbyter before you can be consecrated Bishop." Mr. Leighton said: "I will yield; I am persuaded I was in orders before, and my ministrations are valid; and what they do is only cumulative and not privative; and though I should be ordained every year once, I will submit."—Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. i. pp. 89, 90. Dean Stanley says: "It was his supreme indifference to form, and his intense desire of union, which caused him not only to accept, however unwillingly, the office of a bishop, but to accept the conditions of being re-ordained by Episcopal ordination. It was nothing to him how often he was re-ordained. It was in his eyes a mere form which conveyed of itself no additional sanctity; and therefore whilst the worldly Sharp hesitated, the holy Leighton saw no difficulty."—*Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, delivered in Edinburgh by A. P. Stanley, D.D. London, 1872, p. 110.

NOTE Q (page 28).

For fuller insight into his state of mind in the transition stage, and afterwards, see Brodie's *Diary* and *The Coltness Collections*.

NOTE R (page 28).

James Stirling, minister of Paisley, deprived in 1662, thus writes in *Naphtali*: "It is true indeed that Mr. Lighton, prelate of Dumblan, under a Jesuitical-like vizard of pretended holiness, humility and crucifixion to the world, hath studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but always up the hill, toward promotion and places of more ease, honour and wealth, and as there is none of them all hath with a kiss so betrayed the cause, and smitten religion under the fifth rib, and hath been such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practice and expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination and design."—P. 341. To him Bishop Honeyman of Orkney replied, in his *Survey of Naphtali*, part ii. pp. 237-238. Among other things he speaks of Leighton's "integrity and soundness of faith, sanctification and exemplary conversation, having left such convincing impressions on the hearts of all that know him that they will not be blown away by the windy words of the libeller. Any that know him may see that so far as men can judge, he is a man crucified to the world and seeketh not great things therein." In Middleton's appendix to Archbishop Spottiswood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1677, p. 7, he says that Leighton "was a man of singular and wonderful piety, of great learning, and in him most of the eminent virtues we admire in the primitive Bishops seemed to be revived. His life was most exemplary and severe; he preached constantly, and seemed like one in heaven when he preached; his humility was astonishing; his meekness and charity were extraordinary; his expense on himself very small, but all he had he laid out on the poor."—*Maitland Miscellany*, 1847, vol. iv. part i. p. 293. Burnet has borne ample testimony to his great master in his *Life of Bishop Bedell*, Preface, p. 23, London, 1685;

History of his own Time, passim ; *Discourse of the Pastoral Care*, 1692, pp. 220-221, and in his *Vindication of the Scottish Church*, p. 345, etc. Sir George Mackenzie says the Presbyterians hated Leighton "most of all his fraternity, in respect he drew many into a kindness for Episcopacy by his exemplary life, rather than debates."—*Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland*, p. 161.

NOTE S (page 31).

The Minutes of the Scottish Parliament of 1662 give the Bishops present as St. Andrews, Glasgow, Galloway, Dunkeld, Moray, Ross, Brechin, Caithness, The Isles, all of whom were brought into the House and took the oath of Allegiance and oath of Parliament. Their names were added to the Lords of the Articles. Leighton was conspicuous by his absence. Nor was he present on 7th May, when Sharp and Fairfowl in Holyrood Abbey, "clothed in white surplices and black satin gowns," as Lamont's *Diary* tells, consecrated Patrick Forbes, John Paterson, Murdoch M'Kenzie, David Strachan, George Halliburton, and Robert Wallace to their respective sees of Caithness, Ross, Moray, Brechin, Dunkeld, and the Isles. Row, in the *Life* of Robert Blair, says: "Prelate Leighton, carrying like a pawky prelate, refused the title of Lord, or to take place of gentlemen, neither did he sit down in Parliament, May 8th (at the opening of which Session, Mr. George Haliburton, Prelate of Dunkeld, preached) as all the rest of the Prelates did." This confirms what Burnet says. But when Burnet goes on to say—"as indeed he never came to Parliament but when there was something before them that related to religion or to the Church," we conclude that it was not for a considerable time after till he entered Parliament. When Burnet does introduce him it is vague enough. Row relieves us as to the date by telling us that "in the end of May, they [the ministers impeached] were brought before

the Lords of the Articles, who tendered the Oath of Allegiance to them." But as the ministers desired that they might give their sense of the oath, namely, that which Archbishop Ussher put upon it, and as the Lords would not permit them to do so, nor receive any paper from them, nor would the Lords themselves give their sense of it, then it was, as Row says, that "Prelate Leighton (who before that time had neither been in Parliament nor with the Lords of the Articles) spoke in favour of the ministers." He gives the substance of Leighton's speech, as Burnet also has done, and says that "Prelate Sharp alleged that he had been too bold and rash to speak and debate in that question before he had asked liberty. . . . Some thought well of Leighton's reasoning in their behalf; others thought he spoke so from a Popish principle; for in his sense the Papists that were members of Parliament took the oath. . . . But as concerning Leighton it was difficult what to judge of his actings or sayings, he carried so smoothly among the ministers of his diocese." Row also says that Leighton's condescensions made Dunblane clergy think *he was but straking cream in their mouths at first*. Leighton was therefore present in Parliament, about three or four weeks after it met in 1662. He was present again in the Session of 1663, and was appointed one of the Commissioners for the plantation of kirks and valuation of teinds. There was no meeting of Parliament after this till 19th October 1669, when Leighton was again present, and was chosen one of the Lords of the Articles. Row says "they had no preaching nor praying at their down-sitting." But he adds: "The first Sabbath Prelate Sharp preached before the Commissioners and Members of Parliament. He spoke against the Indulgence, etc." Leighton preached before Parliament on the 14th November, two days before the passing of the Assertory or Supremacy Act. His sermon was from the text, John xxi. 22, and was first published by Dr. Fall in 1708, from Leighton's ms. It was published by

David Wilson, Edinburgh, publisher of Leighton's Works, in 1746, "as taken down from the Bishop as he delivered it." In West's edition of Leighton, 1870, both versions of this sermon are given. It thus appears that Leighton took his place in Parliament, and was not the recluse Burnet represents him to be.

NOTE T (page 31).

Leighton loved Dunblane as a residence. There is a slip of footpath between the Cathedral and the Allan, where it is said he meditated. It is called "The Bishop's Walk," and has given the title to Dr. Walter Smith's fine poem. A tradition lingers that Leighton had a servant-man called John, who was on an easy footing with the bishop. On one occasion, John went away to catch fish in the Allan, and locked Leighton, by mistake, in the house. When John returned, all the reproof he got was: "John, when you next go to fish, be sure to lock the door *past*," *i.e.* past the hold, so as to leave it open.

NOTE U (page 36).

Leighton was anxious to quit his post in 1665 as he felt that he stood alone, not one of the bishops apparently seconding his movements. He was *Athanasius contra mundum*. Still more eager was he for release after he had the administration of Glasgow along with Dunblane. In a letter to Lauderdale, he speaks of "our distempered church affairs," and the Act or Second Indulgence of September 1672 having divided the Presbyterians more against themselves than anything that had before befallen them. He goes on to say: "For though they generally think it girds them too straight into a corner, yet the soberer of them incline to be doing with it till better come, which they are still gaping for, and let them do, for that keeps them from despair. But others of them have some scruple concerning it; but

what kind of scruple that can be, I think passes the skill of any man in his right wits to imagine. However, there is this good in it, that it amuses them, and keeps their heads and tongues busy, which otherwise would not be so innocently employed. And truly I believe that the utmost that is to be expected from the best counsel, relating to this affair, is the preventing of mischief, and keeping things from running to extreme confusion. But for Church order and cordial agreement, I confess I have given over to look for it in these parts in our time. But had this change been either a little lower modelled at first, or at least as it was, a little more calmly managed, it might likely have attained much better reception and settlement long ere this time; but it was unhappily, and I fear irrecoverably lost, at first setting out, by too high and too hot and hasty counsels. And I look on it at present as a forlorn after-game; and nothing remains but to make the best that may be of it as it is." The tone of this letter has an edge of acerbity against the Covenanters one would scarcely have expected in Leighton. At the same time, his opinion regarding "the high, hot, hasty counsels" refers to Sharp and Fairfowl and Middleton's ejection of ministers. And what a stroke he throws into the picture of the wretched policy of the Government to recover the country, by calling it "a forlorn after-game"!

Leighton's resignation of Glasgow took place in August 1674. In the *Maitland Miscellany*, vol. iv. p. 293, the deed of demission is given, from the original among the Collections of Dawson Turner, Esq., as follows:—

"Being resolved to retire to a private life I doe absolutely surrender and resign my present charge of the diocese of Glascoe to be disposed of as his Matie [Majesty] shall think fitt.
R. LEIGHTON."

In the close of a letter to Lauderdale he gives his reasons:—1. The dreadful weight and charge of souls, and the inspec-

tion required, and his sense of unfitness. 2. Continuing divisions and contentions of this Church, and the little or no appearance of their cure for our time. 3. The earnest desire he had long had of a retired and private life, which is now much increased by sickliness and old age drawing on, and the sufficient experience he had had of the folly and vanity of the world. And in a word, *rerum humanarum fastidium*. The same paper of Reasons is given in Bower's *History of the University of Edinburgh* (Edin. 1811), vol. i. Appendix vi., which was taken from a manuscript in the College.

NOTE X (page 38).

Leighton's Library is, next to the Cathedral, the most interesting historical memorial in Dunblane. Dean Stanley remarks, in his *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 113, that it "alone of inhabited ecclesiastical edifices in Scotland retains a mitre over the door." An interesting account of the Library will be found in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii., edited by David Laing. Originally there were above 1500 volumes, which, according to a writer in *Notes and Queries*, were "the choicest works procurable in the age in which he lived, and afford an interesting and characteristic memorial of his mind and judgment." Upwards of 1200 volumes of Leighton's remain; over 100 are lost, and several are missing. Unfortunately the autographs of his own works, now printed, were not sent back to the Library. We note the names of some of the more important, omitting Patristic authors:

Commentaries, etc.—Ainsworth, Beza, Bolducius, Calvin (12 vols.), Capellus, Caryl, Dods, Fabricius, Fergusson (James), Grotius (12 vols.), Hammond, Heinsius, Helbart, Hutcheson, Leigh, Lemnius, Lightfoot, Dr. Owen, Buxtorff (12 vols.), Erasmus (9 vols.), Philo-Judaeus, Stella, Toletus, Vicars, Savonarola.

Sermons.—Daille, Marmet, Smith (John), Ward, Andrews, etc.

Devotional Works.—F. de Sales, Donne, Drexelius (13 vols.), Gerhard, Thomas à Kempis ; Spiritual and precious Pearl ; Arndts (1666), bound up with Luther's Hymn Book.

Contemporaries, etc.—Baxter (3), Lord Brook, Sir T. Browne, Bp. Burnet (8), Calderwood (D.), C. King, Digby, Forbes (2), Fuller, Gataker, Godwin (5), Gouge, Hales, Bp. Hall, Herbert (3), Howe, Sir G. Mackenzie, Hen. More, Sir T. More, Pascal, Patrick, S. Rutherford (3), Rous, Scougal (H.), Selden, Sibbes, Stillingfleet, Symson, Taylor (Jeremy) (14), Thorndyke (4), Twisse, Ussher (4), Walton, Wotton.

Some of these were special favourites, such as Smith of Cambridge, À Kempis, De Sales, etc. About 206 volumes contain Markings, Marginalia, or fine sayings, of which we have given some specimens in the text. In the Life of Leighton promised by Rev. W. West (as part of the six-volume edition of his works, 1870), but not yet published, all these notes will be printed.

NOTE Y (page 39).

Horsted Keynes, Sussex, in the centre of the weald, is an interesting place enough, with wild forest scenery. Broadhurst Manor belonged to his brother-in-law Edward Lightmaker, who was so impressed with Leighton's serene piety, that he said to himself : " If none shall get to heaven but so holy a man, what will become of me ? " He accordingly gave up business, because he deemed it dangerous to soul-health, and made the remainder of life a preparation for Eternity. Broadhurst is now a farm-house. There is a shady avenue overgrown with ferns, and a group of old trees, which was Leighton's favourite resort. The rector in Leighton's time, for five years at least before his death, was the Rev. Giles Moore. He kept a diary, which was printed in 1871, under the title of *A Clergyman's Diary of*

the Seventeenth Century. It is a curious fact that Leighton is not mentioned in it.

NOTE Z (page 45).

Leighton's beneficence was continuous. When he came to Dunblane, he allowed the parish minister to draw 350 merks from the Bishop's Rents, as had been the case during Presbytery, in terms of a grant made by King Charles I. at Berwick, 18th Nov. 1641. His successor, Bp. Ramsay, claimed the grant and uplifted it. There are references to other cases of Leighton's surrender of his dues in order to augment the stipends of ministers, noted in the Minutes of Dunblane Presbytery.

A SELECTION FROM THE WRITINGS OF
ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON,

CONSISTING OF

*Sermons, Expositions, Addresses, Charges,
and Letters.*

Ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ
τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ ἐμοὶ κόσμος
ἐσταύρωται, καὶ γὰρ τῷ κόσμῳ. GAL. vi. 14.

[Written by Leighton on the fly-leaf
of Savonarola's *Expositio Orationis
Dominicæ*, etc. Ludg. 1613.]

An eminent and holy person yet alive in our Church said, 'He would rather be instrumental in persuading one man to be serious in religion, than the whole nation to be Conformists.'—HENRY SCOUGAL, 1650-1678.

A great light of this nation used to say, that the most edifying way was to have long texts and short sermons.

DR. GAIRDEN, Aberdeen, 1678.

Funeral Sermon of H. Scougal.

He was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of Divine things I ever saw in any man.

BISHOP BURNET, 1643-1715.

Dum intellectum illuminat, cor pariter accendit.

JAMES FALL, D.D., 1647-1711.

There is a spirit in Leighton's works I never met with in any human writings; nor can I read many lines in them without being moved.—HENRY MILES, D.D. circa 1740.

In the works of this great adept in true Christianity, we do not so much hear of goodness as see it in its most genuine traces; see him a living image of his Divine Master, for such indeed his writings show him to have been.

PHILIP DODDRIDGE, D.D., 1702-1751.

I hope you are daily refreshing your soul with the heavenly waters of Dunblane; that is a Spa of celestial origin, and its waters purify and invigorate decayed constitutions.

ALEXANDER WAUGH, D.D., 1754-1831.

Full of the richest imagery and breathing a spirit of the most sublime and unaffected devotion, the reading of him is a truce to all human cares and human passions; and I can compare it to nothing but the beautiful representation in the 23d Psalm, it is like 'lying down in green pastures and by the side of still waters.'—ROBERT HALL, A.M., 1764-1827.

Of all our learned Protestant theologians, Leighton, perhaps, best deserves the title of a spiritual divine, with philosophic and richly gifted mind, amply stored with all the knowledge that books and long intercourse with men of the most discordant characters could give, under the convictions, impressions, and habits of spiritual religion.

S. T. COLERIDGE, 1772-1834.

Read Leighton, and found the writings of that holy man blest to my spirit's real good.

HENRY MARTYN, B.D., 1781-1812.

Qui Leightonum novit, videbit Christianum Theologum qui loquitur de redemptione ut qui ad solam in Christo spem ipse confugerit. Leightonum legas, et, quantum possis, imiteris.—JAMES SCHOLEFIELD, A.M., circa 1828.

A beautiful writer, and one of the best of men.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, 1765-1832.

His meekness, spirituality, humility, and fervid devotion present a striking contrast to the pride, venality, shameless profligacy, and persecuting rigour of his brethren.

HENRY BELFRAGE, D.D., 1774-1835.

As a biblical expositor Leighton was above his own age; and as a theologian and experimental writer, few have equalled, still fewer surpassed him, either before or since his time.—JOHN BROWN, D.D., 1784-1858.

I wish you would read Leighton ; I don't know any writer equal to him. What are your Bickersteths, and Bridges, and Jowetts ?—DANIEL MACMILLAN, 1813-1857.

He stood aloof in thought from his age, . . . but he continues by his writings a Christian light and influence now, when all his theological contemporaries in Scotland are forgotten.—PRINCIPAL TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D.

He was like a fair flower of Paradise dropt amidst the thorns and thistles on some bleak mountain-side. His character was of an almost ideal excellence, and so divinely beautiful, that men, while attracted by it, were also awed by it, as beyond what imitation could hope to reach in the carthly state of being.—PROFESSOR FLINT, D.D., LL.D.

There are few men whose character gives the impression of a more complete elevation both above the cares and the prejudice of the world—of a more entire detachment from earth.—DEAN STANLEY.

S E R M O N S.

LEIGHTON died in 1684, without having printed anything. And had his modest intentions been strictly observed by his relatives and literary executors no scrap of his writings would have been spared. Dr. Fall, ex-Principal of Glasgow, was his first editor, and began in 1692 to open the precious treasures of the Archbishop to the world, in a small octavo volume of his sermons of 392 pages. The title runs thus:—“SERMONS preached by Dr. *Robert Leighton*, late Archbishop of GLASGOW. PUBLISHED at the desire of his Friends, after his death, from his papers written with his own hand. *He was a burning and a shining Light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoyce in his Light.* S. JO. 5. 35. *He being dead, yet speaketh.* Heb. 11. 4. LONDON, Printed for *Sam. Keble*, and are to be sold at the *Great Turk's-Head* in *Fleet Street* over against *Fetter Lane-End*, 1692.” In his “Epistle to the Pious and Devout Reader,” the editor says: “The discourses are but a small taste of a great many more that were written by the same most reverend author. A judgment will be made from the reception these meet with concerning the publishing other Discourses by the same pen.” He acquaints the reader with the fact that “his composures in Latin are about to see the light, for they need not fear it;” and after speaking of Leighton “never appearing in print upon any occasion in his whole life, as his profound humility made him judge himself neither fit to write nor speak, though he did both to a great perfection,” he men-

tions the fact that Leighton had signified his wish that his mss. should not be published. "Some words that dropt from him occasionally some time before his death against the publishing of his papers, put those in whose hands they were under no small difficulties what to do with them, till they maturely considered the difference there ought to be made between a settled resolute purpose and an humble answer to a question put to him concerning them ; which was considered only as an effect of that modesty which was eminent in him to a very high degree, and which gave a peculiar lustre to all his other excellencies." How much would the world have lost had Leighton's mss. been burnt, or scattered no one could tell whither ! We should have been spiritually poorer to-day had Drs. Burnet and Fall not wisely guided the Lightmakers to preserve the pile of papers which the saintly hand of Leighton had through long years built up. It is a just observation that "owing to the marvellous fulness and perfection of the spiritual life which pervades them, Leighton's works are worth many times over all the writings of his Scottish contemporaries. There is nothing equal to them in our devotional literature from its rise until now."¹ His first editor could scarcely have anticipated the reception, first and last, which the publication he superintended should have, when he so tentatively, and with something like an apology for so doing, put Leighton in print. He tells us that "the author was so averse to all controversies, that he thought the best way to refine some low notions was to graft great and high thoughts on them. And therefore instead of attacking them, or disputing about them, he studied to improve them to some pious reflection. If he went along with some of the received notions of that age and place he lived in, he made them much brighter and less offensive by his way of handling them." He speaks, too, of Leighton's

¹ Dr. R. Flint.

style as having a little more art thrown into it, owing to the mean style which then prevailed ; but he adds : “ it is what all men who have raised the strain of their language have fallen into at first.” At the same time he confesses his admiration of Leighton’s style, and accordingly has been at some pains “ to cause to be copied out for the press what the author writ in so neglected a manner with his own hand.”

It is to Dr. Fall’s credit that he did not attempt, like some later editors, to *improve* Leighton’s style, “ neglected ” though it seemed to be. We know how improvements have been attempted on old Gothic architecture, obliterating and defacing its glory, a “ deformation,” as Laud said when he looked on the ruins of Dunblane Cathedral. And similar improvements have been tried on Leighton, with like results. “ What thinkers and readers want increasingly is to get near and nearer the immortal dead, to catch up their own very words, to be possessed of the actualities of their thought and emotion and expression.” The style of an author is himself as much as the course and current of his thoughts ; and every reader of Leighton knows how Leightonian his manner is. “ Leighton was no ‘ master of sentences,’ no weaver of a Babylonish garment of splendid words. At his best we have some most musical, most lovely sentences ; but these are exceptional. He is too eager to give thoughts to tarry nicely over the forms which they take. His very negligences are fixed, and so, characteristic.”¹

In giving selections from his Sermons we have aimed at an exact Leightonian text, by a careful comparison of Dr. Fall’s edition of 1692 with other and later editions by Doddridge, Jerment, Middleton, Pearson, Aikman, and West. Dr. Fall’s edition, in the *Bibliotheca Leightoniana* at Dunblane, is, in the main, the basis of our text, as it brings us nearer Leighton’s very words and phrases. The

¹ Rev. A. B. Grosart, LL.D.

apologetic tone of the first editor as to Leighton's "way of expression or method of handling the passages of Scripture here treated of, not being according to the modern critical exactness, or his style not being after the mode and dress of those times," is no longer needed. And we do not think his disciple overcharged the estimate of his master, whose works he gave to the world, when he said that he was "the delight and wonder of all who knew him, his thoughts noble, his expressions beautiful, his gesture and pronounciation (peculiar to himself) had a gravity, a majesty and yet a sweetness in them, that many severe judges have often said, were beyond all that they had ever seen at home or abroad ; and that that which gave the greatest authority to all he said was, that his life was such a continued course of sublimest virtue and the most elevated piety that has appeared in this age."

I.

CHRISTIAN HEROISM.¹

He shall not be afraid of evil tidings : his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.—PSALM cxii. 7.

ALL the special designs of men agree in this, they seek satisfaction and quietness of mind, that is, happiness. This then is the great question, Who is the happy man? 'Tis here resolved, verse first, *Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, that delighteth in his commandments.*

This blessedness is unfolded as a rich landscape that we may view the well-mixed colours, the story and tissure of it ; the whole Alphabet in capital letters ; and take all and set them together, 'tis a most full, complete blessedness, not a letter want-

¹ You remember what Bishop Burnet says of Leighton, that he had known him for twenty years, and that he had never all that time known him to say a word or do an action that he would not wish to have been the last word or action of his life.—Read that sermon of Leighton's entitled "The Believer a Hero." I used to read that sermon very often, and always with pleasure.—*Letters of Thomas Erskine* (1800-1840), pp. 83, 42. Edin. 1877.

ing to it.¹ Amongst the rest, that which we have in these words is of a greater magnitude and brightness than many of the rest, *He shall not be afraid of evil tidings.*

Well may it begin with a *Hallelujah*, a note of praise to Him in whom this blessedness lies. Oh, what a wretched creature were man, if not provided to such a portion ! without which is nothing but disappointment, and thence the racking torment and vexation of a disquieted mind, still pursuing somewhat that he never overtakes.

The first words, as the inscription : *The blessedness of that man*, etc., so the particulars follow ; where outward blessings are so set as that they look and lead higher, pointing at their end, the infinite goodness whence they flow and whither they return, and carry along with them this happy man.

And these promises of outward things are often evidently accomplished to the righteous and their seed after them, and that commonly after that they have been brought very low. But when 'tis otherwise with them they lose nothing. 'Tis good for

¹ The allusion is to the acrostic form of the Psalm ; each of the twenty-two verses in Hebrew begins with one of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their order.—*Story* and *tissure* allude to the historical picture, in tapestry as it were, of the blessed man. We retain the archaic form of *tissure* for *tissue* or *texture*. Some read *glory* for *story*.

many, yea 'tis good for all the godly that have less of these lower things, to raise their eye to look after higher ; the eye of all, both of these that are held somewhat short, and for those that have abundance in the world.

These temporal promises were more abounding and more frequently fulfilled, in their very kind, in the times of the Law ; yet still the right is constant, and all ages do give clear examples of the truth of this word. Where it is thus, 'tis a blessing created by its aspect to this promise, and so differs from the prosperity of ungodly men, and where 'tis otherwise with the righteous and their seed, 'tis no shift, but a most solid comfort, to turn their eyes to a higher compensation.

But howsoever it go, this still holds : *He shall not be afraid of evil tidings*, notwithstanding the hardest news that can come to his ears, of anything that concerns himself or his children, or the rest of God's children in his charge in the world, *his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.*

I. First, let us take a little of the character of this blessed man. Who is it that is thus undaunted ? *The man that feareth God.*

All the passions are but several ebbings and flowings of the soul, and their motions are the

signs of its temper ; which way it is carried, that is mainly to be remarked by the beating of its pulse. If our desires and hopes and fears be in the things of this world and the interest of flesh, this is their distemper and disorder : the soul is in a continual fever. But if they move God-wards, then is it composed and calm in a good temper and healthful point, fearing and loving Him, desiring Him and nothing but Him, waiting for Him and trusting in Him. And when any one affection is right, and in a due aspect to God, all the rest are so too ; for they are radically one, and He is the life of that soul that is united to Him ; and so in Him it moves in a peculiar spiritual manner, as all do naturally in the dependence of their natural life on Him that is the *Fountain of Life*.

Thus we have here this *fear of God*, as often elsewhere, set out as the very substance of holiness and evidence of happiness. And, that we may know there is nothing either base or grievous in this fear, we have joined with it *delight* and *trust* ; Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord, *that delighteth greatly in his commandments*, which is that badge of *love to Him*, to observe them, and that with delight, and with great, exceeding delight. So then, the fear is not that which love casts out, but that which love brings in. This fear follows and

flows from love, a fear to offend, whereof nothing so tender as love, and that, in respect of the greatness of God, hath in it withal a humble reverence. There is in all love a kind of reverence, a cautious and respective wariness towards the party loved ; but especially in this, where not only we stand in a lower relation as children to our Father, but the goodness that draws our love doth infinitely transcend our measures and reach ; therefore there is a *rejoicing with trembling*, an awful love, *the fearing the Lord and his goodness* (Hosea iii. 5). This, both *fear* and *trust* ; the heart touched by the Spirit of God, as the needle touched with the loadstone, looks straight and speedily to God, yet still *with trembling*,¹ being filled with this holy fear.

¹ In a noble sermon on Psalm cxix. 136, Leighton says : “ Love is the leading passion of the soul, all the rest follow the measure and motion of it, as the lower heavens are said to be wheeled about with the first.” Cf. stanza 41 of *The Bishop's Walk* :—

But true it was that in his soul,
The needle pointed to the pole,
Yet trembled as it pointed still,
Conscious alike of good and ill ;
In his infirmity
Looking, O Lord, to Thee.

Mrs. Greville's “ Prayer for Indifference ” has this :—

Nor ease nor peace that heart can know
That, like the needle true,
Turns at the touch of joy or woe,
But, turning, trembles too.

That delighteth in His commandments. Oh! this is not only to do them, but to do them with delight; somewhat within is connatural and symbolical; yea, this very law itself writ within, not standing as a hard taskmaster over our head, but impressed within as a sweet principle in our hearts, and working from thence naturally. This makes a soul find pleasure in purging out of sensual pleasures, and ease in doing violence to corrupt self, even undoing it for God, having no will but His. The remainders of sin and self in our flesh will be often rising up, but this predominant love dispels them. So this fear works with delight.

And further, that we may know how serene and sweet a thing it is, it is here likewise joined with confidence, *Trusting*, a quickening confidence always accompanying it; and so undoubtedly it is a blessed thing: *Blessed is he that feareth.* *Fear* sounds rather quite contrary, hath an air of misery; but add, *whom?* He that *feareth the Lord*; that touch turns it into gold. He that so fears, fears not; *He shall not be afraid.* All petty fears are swallowed up in this great fear, as a spirit inured with great things is not stirred nor affected at all with small matters. And this great fear is as sweet and pleasing as these little fears are anxious and vexing. Secure of other things, he says: "If my God

be pleased, no matter who is displeased ; no matter who despise me, if He account me His ; though all forsake me, my dearest friends grow estranged and look another way, if He reject me not, that is my only fear ; and for that I am not perplexed, I know He will not." As they answered Alexander, when he sent to inquire what they most feared, thinking possibly they would have said, *Lest he should invade them* : Their answer was, *We fear nothing but lest heaven should fall upon us* ; which they did not fear neither. A believer hath no fear but of the displeasure of Heaven, the anger of God to fall upon him ; he fears that, that is, accounts that only terrible ; but yet he doth not fear, doth not apprehend it will fall on him, is better persuaded of the goodness of his God. So this *fear* is still joined with *trust*, as here, so often elsewhere. (Psalm xxxiii. 18 ; xl. 3 and cxlvii. 11.)

There is no turbulency in this fear ; 'tis calm and sweet ; even that most terrible evil, that which this fear properly apprehends and flies, *Sin*, yet the fear of that goes not to a distraction. Though there is little strength, and many and great enemies, mighty Anakims of tentations from without, and corruption within, and so, good reason for a holy, humble fear and self-distrust, yet this should not beat us off ; yea, is most fit to put us on to trust in

Him who is our strength. Courage ! the day shall be ours, though we may be often foiled and down, and sometimes almost at a hopeless point, yet *our Head* is on high ; He hath conquered for us and shall conquer in us ;¹ therefore, upon this confidence so fear, as not to fear. *Why should I fear in the days of evil, when the iniquity of my heels shall compass me about ?* (Psalm xlix. 5), which, I take, is some grievous affliction, and that with a visage of punishment of sin ; guiltiness to be read in it, yet not fear. *If I trusted in wealth and boast myself in the multitude of riches*, then that being in hazard I must fear ; leaning on that, it failing, I might fall. But this is my confidence (verse 15) : *God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for He shall receive me.* Wealth cannot, but He can. It *buys* not a man out from His hand, but He *buys from the hand of the grave* ; so the word is. For the visible heavens, even their fall, and the dissolution of nature would not affright a believer. (Psalm xlvi. 1.)

Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinae.

Alas ! most persons have dull or dim apprehensions and shallow impressions of God, therefore they have little either of this *fear* or this *trust*.

¹ See the same thought in one of his letters.

God is not in all their thoughts, but how to compass this or that design, and if they miss one, then to another ; they are cast from one wave upon another. And if at any time they attain their purpose, find it but wind, a handful of nothing, far from what they fancied it.

O my brethren ! my desire is that the faces of your souls were but once turned about, that they were towards Him, looking to Him, continually fearing Him, *delighting, trusting* in Him, making Him your All. Can anything so elevate and ennoble the spirit of a man as to contemplate and converse with the pure, ever-blessed Spring and Father of Spirits ? Beg that you may know Him, that He would reveal Himself to you ; for otherwise no teaching can make Him known. 'Tis to light candles to seek the sun, to think to attain to this knowledge without His own revealing it. *If he hide his face, who then may behold him ?* (Job xxxiv. 29.) Pray for this quickening knowledge, such a knowledge as will effectually work this happy *fear* and *trust*.

You that have attained anything of it, desire and *follow on to know the Lord* ; particularly, so as your hearts may repose on Him ; so fear as you may not fear. He would have our spirits calm and quiet, for when they are in a hurry and confusion,

they are then fit for nothing, all within makes a jarring unpleasant noise, as of an instrument quite out of tune.

The fear of God is not, you see, a perplexing doubt and distrust of His love ; on the contrary 'tis a fixed resting and trust on His love. Many that have some truth of grace¹ are, through weakness, filled with disquieting fears ; so possibly, though they perceive it not, it may be in some a point of wilfulness, a little latent undiscerned affectation of scrupling and doubting, placing much of religion in it. True, where the soul is really solicitous about its interest in God, that argues some grace ; but being vexingly anxious about it, it argues that grace is low and weak. A sparkle there is even discovered by that smoke ; but the great smoke still continuing and nothing seen but it, argues there is little fire, little faith, little love.

And this as it is unpleasant to thyself, so to God, as smoke to the eyes. What if one should be always questioning with his friend whether he loved him or no, and upon every little occasion

¹ Leighton uses this phrase "truth of grace" in the Sermon on 2 Cor. vii. 1, and in his *Commentary* on 1 Pet. iv. 17. It means true grace implanted ; as "the life of grace" means grace manifested in the life.

were ready to think he doth not, how would this disrelish their society together, though truly loving each other ! The far more excellent way, and more pleasing both to ourselves and to God, were to resolve on humble trust, reverence and confidence, most afraid to offend, delighting to walk in His ways, loving Him and His will in all, and then resting persuaded of His love though He chastise us. And even though we offend Him and see our offences in our chastisements, yet He is good, *plenteous in redemption*, ready to forgive. Therefore *let Israel trust and hope in the Lord* (Psalm cxxx. 7), let my soul *roll itself on him*,¹ and adventure there all its weight ; He bears greater matters, upholding the frame of heaven and earth, and is not troubled nor burdened with it.

The heart of man is not sufficient for self-support ; therefore naturally it seeks out some other thing to lean and rest itself on. The unhappiness is, for the most part, that it seeks to things below itself ; these, being both so mean and so uncertain, cannot be a firm and certain stay to it. These things are not fixed themselves, how can they then fix the heart ? Can a man have firm footing on a quagmire or moving sands ? Therefore men are forced in these things still to shift their seat, and

¹ Psalm xxii. 8, marginal reading.

seek about from one to another, still rolling and unsettled. The believer only hath this advantage ; he hath a rest high enough and sure enough, out of the reach of all hazards. *His heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.* (Psalm xci. 2.)

II. The basis of this happiness is,—*He trusteth in the Lord.* So *the heart is fixed*; and, so fixed, it *fears no evil tidings.*

This *trust* is grounded on the Word of God, revealing the Power and All-sufficiency of God, and withal His Goodness, His offer of Himself to be the stay of souls, commanding us to rest on Him. People wait on I know not what *persuasions* and *assurances*, but I know no other to build faith on but the *word of promise*, the truth and faithfulness of God opened up ; His Wisdom and Power and Goodness as the stay of all these that, renouncing all other props, will venture on it and lay all upon Him. *He that believes sets to his seal that God is true,*¹ and so he is sealed for God, his portion and interest secured. *If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.*²

This is the way to have peace and assurance, which many look for first : *Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on thee, because*

¹ John iii. 33.

² Isaiah vii. 9.

*he trusteth in thee.*¹ So here the heart is fixed by trusting.

Seek, then, clearer apprehensions of the Faithfulness and Goodness of God, hearts more enlarged in the notion of free grace and the absolute trust due to it ; thus shall they be more established and fixed in all the rollings and changes of the world.

His heart is fixed, or prepared, ready, prest and in arms for all services, resolved not to give back, able to meet all adventures and stand its ground. God is unchangeable, and therefore faith is invincible that sets the heart on Him, fastens it there on the Rock of Eternity ;² then let winds blow and storms arise, it cares not.

This firm and close cleaving unto God hath in it of the affection which is inseparable from this trust, *love with faith*, and so a hatred of all ways and thoughts that alienate and estrange from God, that remove and unsettle the heart. The holiest, wariest heart is surely the most believing and fixed heart ; if a believer will adventure on any one way of sin, he shall find that will unfix him, and shake his confidence more than ten thousand hazards and assaults from without. These are so far from moving that they settle and fix the heart commonly more, cause it cleave the closer and nearer unto

¹ Isa. xxvi. 3.

² Isa. xxvi. 4, *marg.* Rock of ages.

God ; but sinful liberty breeds disquiet and disturbs all. Where sin is, there will be a storm ; the wind within the bowels of the earth makes the earthquake.

Would you be quiet, and have peace within in troublous times ?—keep near unto God, beware of anything that may interpose betwixt you and your confidence. *It is good for me*, says the Psalmist, *to be near God*, not only to *draw near* but to *keep near*, to cleave to Him and dwell in Him,—so the word is. Oh the sweet calm of such a soul amid all storms ! Thus once trusting and fixed, then no more fear ; *not afraid of evil tidings*, not *any ill-hearing*.¹ Whatsoever sound is terrible in the ears of men, the noise of war, news of death, or even the sound of the trumpet in the last Judgment, he hears all this undisquieted.

Nothing is unexpected, being once fixed on God ; then the heart may put cases to itself and suppose all things imaginable, the most terrible, and look for them, not troubled before trouble, with dark and dismal apprehensions, but satisfied in a quiet unmoved expectation of the hardest things. Whatsoever it be, though particularly not thought on before, yet the heart is not afraid of the news of it, because *fixed, trusting on the Lord* ; nothing

¹ *Septuagint* has—'Ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς πονηρᾶς οὐ φοβηθήσεται.

can shake that foundation nor dissolve that union ; therefore no fear. Yea, this assurance stays the heart in all things, how strange and unforeseen soever to it ; “ All foreseen to my God in whom I trust, yea, fore-contrived and ordered by Him.” This is the impregnable fort of a soul : “ All is at the disposal and command of my God ; my Father rules all : what need I fear ?”

Every one trusts to somewhat ; as for honour and esteem and popularity, they are airy, vain things ; but riches seem a more solid work and fence, yet they are but a tower in conceit, not really. *The rich man's wealth is his strong city, and as a high wall in his own conceit ; the name of the Lord is a strong tower*¹ indeed. This is the thing, all seek some fence and fixing ; here it is, we call you not to vexation and turmoil, but from it. And, as St. Paul said, *Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you ;*² ye blindly and fruitlessly seek after the show. The true aiming at this fixedness of mind will make that, though they fall short, yet by the way they will light on very pretty things that have some virtue in them, as they that seek the Philosopher's Stone. But the believer hath the thing, the secret itself of tranquillity and joy, and this turns all into gold, their iron chains

¹ Prov. xviii. 10, 11.

² Acts xvii. 23.

into a crown of gold : *For our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory ; while we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen, for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.*¹

This is the blessed and safe estate of believers. Who can think they have a sad, heavy life ? Oh ! it is the only lightsome, sweet, cheerful condition in the world ! The rest of men are poor, rolling, unstead things, every report shaking them *as the leaves of trees are shaken with the wind,*² yea, lighter than so, as *the chaff that the wind drives to and fro*³ at its pleasure. Would men but reflect and look in upon their own hearts, 'tis a wonder what vain childish things the most would find there, glad and sorry at things as light as the toys of children, at which they laugh and cry in a breath ; how easily puffed up with a thing or word that pleaseth us, bladder-like, swelled with a little air, and it shrinks again in discouragements and fear upon the touch of a needle point, which gives that air some vent.

What is the life of the greatest part but a continual tossing betwixt vain hopes and fears, all

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18.

² Isa. vii. 2.

Psalm i. 4.

their days spent in these? Oh! how vain a thing is a man even *in his best estate*, while he is nothing but himself, his heart not united and fixed on God, *disquieted in vain!* How small a thing will do it; he needs no other but his own heart, it may prove disquietment enough to itself; his thoughts are his tormentors.

I know some men are, by a stronger understanding and moral principles, somewhat raised above the vulgar, and speak big of a constancy of mind; but these are but flourishes, an acted bravery. Somewhat there may be that will hold out in some trials, but far short of this fixedness of faith. Troubles may so multiply as to drive them at length from their posture, and come on so thick with such violent blows, as will smite them out of their artificial guard, disorder all their Seneca¹ and Epictetus, and all their own calm thoughts and high resolves. The approach of death, though they make a good mien and set the best face on it, or if not, yet some kind of terror, may seize on their spirits which they are not able to shift off. But the soul trusting in God is prepared for all,

¹ The exclamation above, "Oh! how vain a thing is a man!" is clearly a quotation from Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*—"O quam contempta res homo, nisi supra humana se erexerit."

not only for the calamities of war, pestilence, famine, poverty, or death, but in the saddest apprehensions of soul, above hope *believes under hope*; even in the darkest night casts anchor in God, reposes on Him, when he sees *no light*.¹ Yea, *though he slay me*, says Job, *yet will I trust in him*; not only though I die, but *though he slay me*, when I see His hand lifted up to destroy me, yet from that same hand will I look for salvation.

My brethren, my desire is to stir in your hearts an ambition after this blest estate of the godly that fear the Lord and trust on Him, and so fear no other thing. The common revolutions and changes of the world, and those that in these late times we ourselves have seen, and the likelihood of more and greater coming on, seem dreadful to weak minds. But let these persuade us the more to prize and seek this fixed, unaffrighted station: no fixing but here where we make a virtue of a necessity.

Oh that you would be persuaded to break off from the vile ways of sin that embase the soul and fill it full of terrors, and disengage them from the vanities of this world to take up in God, to live in Him wholly, to cleave to and depend on Him, to esteem nothing beside Him. Excellent was the

¹ Isaiah 1. 10.

answer of that holy man to the Emperor, first essaying him with large proffers of honour and riches to draw him from Christ : *Offer these things* (says he) *to children, I regard them not.* Then after he tried to terrify him with threatenings : *Threaten* (says he) *your effeminate courtiers, I fear none of these things.*¹

Seek to have your hearts established on Him by the faith of eternal life, and then you will be ashamed to distrust Him in any other thing. Yea, truly you will not much regard nor be careful for other things how they be, it will be all one, the better and worse of this moment, the things of it even the greatest, being both in themselves so little and worthless, and of so short continuance.

Well, choose you ; but, all reckoned and examined, I had rather be the poorest believer than the greatest king on earth. How small a commo-

¹ Basil the Great's answer to the Emperor Valens : " He who has but a few books and a wretched garment can suffer nothing from confiscation ; banishment is nothing to one to whom all places are alike ; and torture cannot be inflicted where there is not a body to bear it. Put me to death and you do me a favour, for you send me earlier to my rest."—Leighton alludes to Basil and the Forty Martyrs in his *Commentary* on 1 Peter iv. 14.—Basil's works are in Leighton's Library—*one bears date 1596—*

In vellum bound, with gold bedight,
Great volumes garmented in white.

tion, small in its beginning, may prove the overturning of the greatest kingdom ! But the believer is heir to *a kingdom that cannot be shaken*. The mightiest and most victorious prince,¹ that hath not only lost nothing, but hath been gaining new conquests all his days, is stopt by a small distemper in the middle of his course. *He returns to his dust*, then his vast designs fall to nothing, *in that very day his thoughts perish*. But the believer in that very day is sent to the possession of his crown ; that is his coronation day ; *all his thoughts* are accomplished.

How can you affright him ? Bring him word his estate is ruined : *yet my inheritance is safe*, says he. “Your wife or child or dear friend is dead :” *yet my Father lives*. “You, yourself must die :” *Well, then, I go home to my Father and to my inheritance*.

For the public troubles of the church, doubtless, it is both a most pious and generous temper to be more deeply affected for these than for all our private ones ; and to resent common calamities of any people, but especially of God’s own people, hath been the character of men *near unto him*. Observe the pathetic strains of the Prophets bewailing, when they foretell the desolation even of

¹ Alexander the Great.

foreign kingdoms, much more for the Lord's chosen people, still mindful of Zion, and mournful for her distresses. See Jeremiah ix. 1, and the whole book of Lamentations. Psalm cxxxvii. 5, *If I forget thee, O Jerusalem*; pious spirits always public (spirited), as even brave heathens for the Commonwealth. So he, in that of Horace¹—*Little regarding himself but much solicitous for the public*. Yet even in this, with much compassion, there is a calm in a believer's mind. How these agree none can tell but they that feel it. He finds, amidst all hard news, yet still *a fixed heart trusting*, satisfied in this,—deliverance shall come in due time (Psalm cii. 13); and that in those judgments that are inflicted, man shall be humbled and God exalted (Isaiah ii. 11 and v. 15,16), and that in all tumults and changes and subversions of states, still *His throne is fixed*, and with that the believer's heart likewise (Psalm xciii.). So Psalm xxix. 10, *The Lord sitteth upon the flood: yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever*; or, *sate in the flood*, possibly referring to the general deluge, yet that then God sat quiet, and still *sitteth King for ever*. He steered the Ark and

¹ Invenit insomni volventem publica cura
Fata virum casusque urbis, cunctisque timentem,
Securumque sui.

The passage is not in Horace, but in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, ii. 239-241.

still guides His church through all. So Psalm xlvi. throughout that whole Psalm. In all commotions the Kingdom of Christ shall be spreading and growing, and the close of all shall be full victory on His side, and that's sufficient.

Of this a singular example is in Job, who was not daunted with so many *ill-hearings*, but stood as an unmoved rock amidst the winds and waves.¹

In this condition there is so much sweetness, that, if known, a man might suspect himself rather selfishly taken with it than purely loving God. Such joy in believing, or at least such peace, such a serene calmness is in no other thing in this world. Nothing without or within a man to be named to this of *trusting* on His *goodness* : He is God, and on His *faithfulness*, giving His promise for thy warrant, He commands thee *to roll thyself on him*. The holy soul still trusts in the darkest apprehensions. If it is suggested, *thou art a reprobate* ; yet will the soul say, " I will see the utmost and hang by the hold I have, till I feel myself really cast off, and will not willingly fall off. If I must be separated from Him, He shall do it Himself ; He shall shake me off while I would cleave to Him. Yea, to the utmost I will look for mercy,

¹ Ille, velut pelagi rupes inmota, *resistit*.—VIRGIL'S *Aeneid* vii. 587. Leighton reads *manebat* for *resistit*.

and will hope better ; though I found Him shaking me off, yet will I think He will not do it.”—It is good to seek after all possible assurance, but not to fret at the want of it ; for even without these assurances which some Christians hang too much upon, there is in simple trust and reliance upon God and in a desire to walk in His ways, such a fort of peace as all the assaults in the world are not able to make a breach in. And to this, add that unspeakable delight in walking in His fear joined with this trust. The noble ambition of pleasing Him makes one careless of pleasing or displeasing all the world. Besides, the delight in His commandments, so pure, so just a law, holiness, victory over lusts, and temperance, hath a sweetness in it that presently pays itself, because His will.

’Tis the godly man alone who by this fixed consideration in God looks the grim visage of death in the face, with an unappalled mind. It damps all the joys, and defeats all the hopes of the most prosperous, proudest, and wisest worldlings. As he said, when shot, *Avocâsti ab optima demonstratione* ;¹ so it spoils all their figures and fine devices. But *to the righteous there is hope in his death* ;²

¹ Archimedes of Syracuse was killed by a soldier while engaged with one of his problems.

² Prov. xiv. 32.

he goes through it without fear, without Caligula's *Quo vadis?*¹ Though riches, honours, and all the glories of this world are with a man, yet he fears, yea, he fears the more for these, because here they must end. But the good man looks death out of countenance, in the words of David: *Though I walk through the valley and shadow of death, yet will I fear no evil, for Thou art with me.*

¹ Evidently alluding to Adrian's "Farewell to his Soul," to which also he alludes in the close of his sermon on Isaiah lx. 1, without naming Adrian, "*Quo nunc abibis?* Whither goest thou?" said that Emperor to his soul." The address runs thus:—

Animula, vagula, blandula
Hospes comesque corporis,
Quae nunc abibis in loca
Pallidula, rigida, nudula,
Nec ut soles dabis joca.

Pope has imitated the address in his ode of *The Dying Christian to his Soul*—"Vital spark of heavenly flame," etc.

II.

HOLINESS.

Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.—2 COR. VII. 1.

It is a thing both of unspeakable sweetness and usefulness for a Christian often to consider the excellency of that estate to which he is called. It cannot fail to put him upon very high resolutions, and carry him on in the Divine ambition of being daily more suitable to his high calling and hopes. Therefore, these are often set before Christians in the Scripture, and are pressed here by the Apostle upon a particular occasion of the avoidance of near combinements with unbelievers. He mentions some choice promises that God makes to His own people, and of their near relation to, and communion with, Himself; and upon these he enlarges and raises the exhortation to the universal endeavour of all holiness, and that, as aiming at the very top and high degree of it.

In the words are—1. The Thing to which he would persuade. 2. The Motive.

I. The THING—Holiness in its full extension and intention ; *purging ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, and perfecting holiness in the fear of God.*

The purging out of filthiness and perfecting of holiness express, as usually they are distinguished, those two parts of renewing grace, *Mortification* and *Vivification*. But I conceive they are not so truly different parts as a different notion of the same thing, the decrease of sin and the increase of grace being truly one thing, as the dispelling of darkness and augmenting of light. So here, the one is rendered as the necessary result, yea, as the equivalent of the other ; the same thing indeed, *purging from filthiness, and in so doing perfecting holiness : perfecting holiness and in so doing purging from filthiness ; that perfection, by which is meant a growing, progressive advance towards perfection.*

The words, without straining, give us, as it were, the several dimensions of holiness : *the breadth,—purging all filthiness ; the length* parallel to man's composure, running all along through his soul and body, *purging filthiness of the flesh and spirit :*

the height, perfecting holiness : the depth, that which is the bottom whence it rises up, a deep impress of the fear of God, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

Cleanse ourselves.—It is the Lord that is the Sanctifier of His people ; He *purges away their dross and tin*, He *pours clean water*, according to His promises, yet doth He call us to cleanse ourselves : even *having such promises*, let us *cleanse ourselves*. He puts a new life into us and causes us to act, and excites us to excite it and call it up to act in the progress of sanctification. Men are strangely inclined to a perverse construction of things ; tell them that we are to act, and work, and give diligence, then they would fancy a doing in their own strength and be their own saviours. Again, tell them that God works all our works in us, and for us, then they would take the ease of doing nothing ; if they cannot have the praise of doing all, they will sit still with folded hands and use no diligence at all. But this is the corrupt logic of the flesh, its base sophistry. The Apostle reasons just contrary, Phil. ii. 12, *It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do ; therefore*, would a carnal heart say, *we need not work, or at least may work very carelessly*. But he infers, *Therefore let us work out our salvation with fear*

and trembling, in the more humble obedience to God and dependence on Him, not obstructing the influences of His grace, and by sloth and negligence provoking Him to withdraw or abate it. Certainly many in whom there is truth of grace are kept low in the growth of it by their own slothfulness, sitting still, and not bestirring themselves and exercising the proper actions of that spiritual life by which it is entertained and advanced.

From all filthiness.—All kind of sinful pollutions; not, as men commonly do, reform some things and take to themselves dispensations in others, at least in some one peculiar sin, their *Mistress* and their *Herodias*, their *Delilah*. No parting with that; yea, they rather forego many other things, as a kind of composition for the retaining of that.

Of flesh and spirit.—The whole man must be purified and consecrated to God; not only refined from the gross outward acts, but from the inward affection to it, and motions of it, that so the heart go not after it (Psalm cxxxi.), which under restraints of outward committing sin it may do, and very often does; as the Israelites *lusted after the flesh-pots*, their hearts remained in Egypt still, though their bodies were brought out. This is then to be done; affection to sin to be purged out,

that is to cleanse the ground, not only to lop off the branches, but to dig about, and loosen and pluck up the root. Though still fibres of it will stick, yet we ought still to be finding them out and plucking them up.

Further, These, not only of the inner part of all sins, but of some sins that are most or wholly inward, that hang not so much on the body, nor are acted by it—those *filthinesses of the spirit* that are less discerned than those of the flesh, and as more hardly discerned, so, when discerned, more hardly purged out, *Pride, self-love, unbelief, curiosity*, etc., which, though more retired and refined sins, yet are pollutions and defilements, yea, of the worst sort, as being more spiritual, are *filthinesses of the spirit*. Fleshly pollutions are things of which the devils are not capable in themselves, though they excite men to them, and so they are called *unclean spirits*. But the highest rank of sins are those that are properly *spiritual wickednesses*. These in men are the chief strengths of Satan, the inner works of these forts and strongholds (2 Cor. x. 4).

Many that are not much tempted to the common gross sensualities, have possibly (though an inclination to them, yet) a kind of disdain, and, through education, and morality and strength of reason,

with somewhat of natural conscience, are carried above them ; who yet have many of these *heights*, those lofty *imagination*s that *rise against God and the obedience of Christ*, all which must be demolished.

Perfecting holiness.—Not content with low measures, so much as keeps from hell, but aspiring towards perfection, aiming high at self-victory, self-denial, and the love of God, purer and hotter, as a fire growing and flaming up, and consuming the earth. Though men fall short of their aim, yet it is good to aim high ; they shall shoot so much the higher, though not full so high as they aim. Thus we ought to be setting the state of perfection in our eye, resolving not to rest content below that, and to come as near it as we can, even before we come at it (Phil. iii. 11, 12). This is to act as one that hath such a hope, such a state in view, and is still advancing towards it.

In the fear of God.—No working but on firm ground ; no solid endeavours in holiness where it is not founded in a deep heart, a reverence of God, a desire to please Him and to be like Him, which springs from love.

This, most men are either strangers to wholly, or are but slight and shallow in it, and therefore make so little true progress in holiness.

II. Then there is the MOTIVE: *Having these promises.*—Being called to so fair an estate, so excellent a condition, to be the *people, yea, the sons and daughters of God*, therefore, they are called to the coming forth from Babel and to the separating of themselves from sin and purging it out. Holiness is His image in His children; the more of it, the more suitable to that blessed relation and dignity, and the firmer are the hopes of the inheritance of glory.

Consider sin as a *filthiness*, hate it. Oh, how ugly and vile is lust, how deformed is swelling pride! And all sin is an aversion from God, a casting the noble soul into the mire, the defacing all its beauty. Turning to present things it pollutes itself with them, that *he who was clad in scarlet embraces the dunghill*, as Jeremiah in another sense laments.

Purity of things is an unmixture and simplicity corresponding with their own being; and so is the soul when elevated above the earth and sense and united unto God, contemplating Him and delighting in Him; all inordinate bent to the creatures or to itself (which is the first and main disorder) doth defile and debase it. And the more it is sublimed and freed from itself, the purer and more

heavenly it grows, and partakes the more of God and resembles Him the more.

This, then, is to be our main study, first to search out our iniquities, the particular defilements of our nature, not only gross filthinesses, drunkenness, lasciviousness, etc., but our love of this earth, or of air or vanity of mind, our self-will and self-seeking. Most, even of Christians, are short-sighted in their own secret evils, *the filthinesses of spirit* especially, and use little diligence in this inquiry. They do not seek light from God *to go in before Him*, and to lead them into themselves as the prophet had in the discovery of the idolatries at Jerusalem. Oh that we could once see what heaps of abominations lie hid in us, one behind another !

Then having searched out, we must follow on *to purge* out ; not to pass over nor spare any, but to delight most in casting out the best beloved sin, the choicest idol that hath had most of our service and sacrifices, to make room for Jesus Christ.

And never cease in this work, for still there is need of more purging. One day's work in this disposes for, and engages to a further, to the next ; for as sin is purged out, light comes in, and more clear discoveries are made of remaining pollutions. So then, still there must be progress, less of the world and more of God in the heart every day. Oh !

this is a sweet course of life ! what gain, what preferment to be compared to it ?

And in this 'tis good to have our ambition growing ; the higher we rise to aspire still the higher, looking further than before, even toward the perfection of holiness. It is not too much we can here attain to, but sure 'tis commonly far less than we might ; we improve not our condition and advantages as we might do. The world is busy, driving forwards their designs. Men of spirit are animated both by better and worse success ; if anything miscarry, it sets them on the more eagerly to make it up in the right management of some other design ; and when they prosper in one thing, that enables and encourages them to attempt further. Shall all things seem worth our pains ? Are only grace and glory so cheap in an account that the least diligence of all goes that way ? Oh ! strange delusion !

Now our *cleansing* is to be managed by all holy means : *Word* and *Sacrament* more wisely and spiritually used than commonly with us ; and *private prayer* that purifies and elevates the soul, takes it up into the Mount and makes it shine ; and particularly supplicating for the Spirit of holiness and victory over sin is not in vain ; it obtains its desires of God, the soul becoming that which it is fixedly set upon ; *holy resolution* : Christians,

much wanting in this, faint and loose in their purposes ; *the consideration of divine truths*, the mysteries of the kingdom, the hope of Christians, yea, rich and great *promises* ; that is particularly here the motive. These are all the means, holy means they are, as their end is the perfection of holiness.

Having these promises.—Now consider whether it is better to be the slaves of Satan or the sons of God ; measure delight in God with the low base pleasures of sense. *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God* ; these gradually go on together, and are perfected together.

Why, then, is there such an invincible love of sin in the hearts of men ? At least why so little love of holiness and endeavour after it, so mean thoughts of it as a thing either indecent or unpleasant, when it is the only noble and the only delightful thing in the world ? The soul by other things is drawn below itself, but by *holiness* it is raised above itself and made divine. *Pleasures of sin for a season* : the pleasure of a moment exchanged for those of eternity ! But even in the meantime, in this *season*, the soul is fed with communion with God, one hour of which is more worth than the longest life of the highest of the world's delights.

III.

FOLLOW CHRIST.¹

What is that to thee ? follow thou me.—JOHN XXI. 22.

OF all that ever lived on earth, the most blessed was this handful and small company our Lord choosed for His constant attendants, to see His Divine miracles, enjoy His sweetest company, and to hear His Divine doctrine. What a holy flame of love must have burned in their hearts, who were always so near the Sun of Righteousness ! It was indeed a sad hour wherein that was eclipsed, and the Lord of life lay dead in the grave. And what a deluge of joy was in their hearts when He

¹ This sermon was “preached before my Lord Commissioner and the Parliament of Scotland, 14th November 1669,” *i.e.* two days before the passing of the Act asserting the Royal Supremacy ; and the year of the “First Indulgence.” It was “taken down from the Bishop as he delivered it,” and published by D. Wilson, Edinburgh, 1746, and is here reproduced. Dr. Fall had published it in 1708, from Leighton’s MS. Both forms are given in W. West’s Edition, 1869.

rose again ; and what a transport was it when they saw Him ascend, and a shining cloud kissing His feet and parting Him from them ! In the interval, as He had risen Himself, so He is raising them from their unbelief. St. Peter, not content with a bare forsaking his Lord, had also denied Him ; but He falls not a-quarrelling, but speaks of love to them, and blows up these sparkles of love with this threefold question. St. Peter answers fervently, but most modestly ; whereupon his Lord gives him a service suitable to his love, *Feed my sheep* ; for which none are qualified but they that love Him. But when he grows bold to ask a question, he gets a grave check and a holy command, *What is that to thee ? Follow thou me*. This was a transient stumble in one who, but lately recovered of a great disease, did not walk firmly. But it is the common track of most, to wear out their days with impertinent inquiries. There is a natural desire in men to know the things of others and to neglect their own, and to be more concerned about things to come than about things present. And this is the great subject of conversation ; even the weakest minds must descant upon all things, as if the weakest capacities could judge of the greatest matters, by a strange levelling of understandings, more absurd and irrational than that of

fortunes. Most men are beside themselves, never at home, but always roving. It is true, a man may live in solitude to little purpose, as Domitian catching flies in his closet. Many noisome thoughts break in upon one when alone ; so that when one converseth with himself it had need be said, *Vide ut sit cum bono viro*. A man alone shall be in worse company than are in all the world, if he bring not into him better company than himself or all the world, which is the fellowship of God and the Holy Spirit. Yet the matters of the church seem to concern all, and so indeed they do ; but every sober man must say, all truths are not alike clear, alike necessary, nor of alike concernment to every one. Christians should keep within their line. If it be the will of our Great Master that the order that hath been so long in the church continue in it, or not, *What is that to thee ?* It is certainly a great error to let our zeal run out from the excellent things of religion, to matters which have little or no connexion with them. A man, though he err, if he do it calmly and meekly, may be a better man than he who is stormy and furiously orthodox. Our business is to follow JESUS, and to trace His life upon earth, and to wait His return in the clouds. Had I a strong voice, as it is the weakest alive, yea, could I lift it up as a

trumpet, I should sound a retreat from our unnatural contentions and irreligious strivings for religion. Oh! what are the things we fight for, compared to the great things of God? There must be a great abatement of the inwards of religion, when it runs wholly to a scurf. God forbid any think that, except all be according to our mind, we must break the bond of peace. If we have no kindness to our brethren, yet let us have pity upon our mother, and not tear her bowels. And indeed, next to the grave and silent shades of death, a cottage in some wilderness is to be wished for, to mourn for the pride and passion of mankind. How do the profane wretches take advantage from our breaches! But if there be such here, because of the weakness, folly, and passions of some men, is it folly to *follow Jesus*? Are some ridiculous? and for that will you turn religion into ridicule? If you do, it will at last turn to a *sardonic* laughter. Because we contend for a little, is the whole an invention? Will the pillars be brangled¹ because of the swarms of flies that are about them?

There is an Eternal Mind that made all things, that stretched out the heavens, and formed the spirit of man within him. Let us tremble before Him, and love the Lord Jesus. Our souls have

¹ *To brangle* = to shake to pieces.

indelible characters of their own excellency in them, and deep apprehensions of another state, wherein we shall receive according to what we have done upon earth. Was not Jesus the Son of God declared to be such by His miracles, but chiefly by His resurrection from the dead? Hath these not been received and transmitted to us, through all ages, many martyrs following Him through racks and fires and their own blood to His glory? And shall we throw off all these! Better be the poorest, weakest, and most distempered person upon earth, with the fear of God, than the greatest wit and highest mind in the world, if profane; or, though not such, if void of any just sense of the fear of God: *For a living dog is better than a dead lion.* Some religious persons are perhaps weak persons, yet in all ages there have been greater nobles and more generous souls truly religious, than ever were in the whole tribe of atheists and libertines.

Let us therefore follow the holy Jesus. Our own concernments concern us not, compared to this. *What is that to thee?* may be said of all things besides this. All the world is one great impertinency to him who contemplates God and His Son Jesus. Great things, coaches, furniture or houses, concern the outward pomp or state of the world,

but not the necessities of life ; neither can they give ease to him that is pinched with any one trouble. He that hath twenty houses lies but in one at once ; he that hath twenty dishes on his table, hath but one belly to fill ; so *ad supervacua sudatur*.¹ All are uncertain ; sudden storms fall on, and riches fly away as a bird to heaven, and leave those who look after them sinking to hell in sorrow.

A Christian is solicitous about nothing. If he be raised higher, it is that he desires not ; if he fall down again, he is where he was. A well-fixed mind, though the world should crack about him, shall be in quiet ; but when we come to be stretched on our death-bed, things will have another visage. It will pull the rich from his treasure, strip the great of his robes and glory, and snatch the amorous gallant from his fair beloved mistress, and from all we either have or grasp at. Only sin will stick fast and follow us ; these black troops will clap fatal arrests on us and deliver us over to the jailor. Are these contrivances, or the dark dreams of

¹ A saying of Seneca, Ep. 4, which Leighton in the MS. of the sermon renders, "they are vain superfluities, which we strain and strive after." This was one of his favourite quotations. He has it written, in an early hand, on the fly-leaf of *De Imitando Christo*, 1564, above one from Æschylus (*Cho.* 554), ἀπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφν.

melancholy? All the sublimities of holiness may be arrived at by the deep and profound belief of these things. Let us therefore ask, Have we walked thus, and dressed our souls by this pattern?

But this hath a nearer aspect to pastors, who should be copies of the fair original, and second patterns, who follow nearer Christ. They should be imitating Him in humility, meekness, and contempt of the world, and particularly in affection to souls, feeding the flock of God. Should we spare labour, when He spared not His own blood? How precious must the sheep be, who were bought at so high a rate as was the blood of God! Oh for more of this Divine and Evangelic heat, instead of our distempered heat! *This is the substance of religion, to imitate Him whom we worship.*¹ Can there be a higher or nobler design in the world than to be God-like and like Jesus Christ? He became like us, that we might be the more like Him. He took our nature upon Him, that He might transfuse His into us. His life was a track

¹ The saying of Pythagoras, Τέλος ἀνθρώπου ὁμοίωσις Θεῶ, or, *Summa religionis est imitari quem colis*. In the MS. version Leighton gives, *Summa religionis est imitare Christum*. He quotes the common Latin form of the saying in his sermon on Rom. xiii. 11-14, and elsewhere; and he has written it on his copy of the *Opuscula* of Dionysius Carthusianus, 1534.

of doing good and suffering ill. He spent the days in preaching and healing, and often the nights in prayer. *He was holy, harmless, and undefiled, and separate from sinners.* How then can heirs of wrath follow *the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world?*¹

Humility, meekness, and charity were the darling virtues of Christ. He came to expiate and to extirpate our pride; and when that Majesty did so humble Himself, shall a worm swell? No grace can be where the mind is so swelled with this airy tumour.² He was meek, and reviled not again, nor did He vent His anger though He met with the greatest injuries. The rack of His Cross could make Him confess no anger against those who

¹ MS. sermon has here, "The more sinful we were, the more need had we of a sinless Redeemer. It is strange that herds of swine should become followers of the Lamb!" In all probability Leighton varied the expressions he had in MS. during the delivery, as he preached without the MS.

² On a very small copy of *De Imitando Christo*, 1622, Leighton has written the following sentence from St. Bernard (Serm. 1 in Epiph.): *O humilitas, virtus Christi! quantum confundis superbiam vanitatis nostrae!* And on the opposite page, after *sis Sabbatum Christi*, the following from Gregory the Great: *Humilitas est conservatrix virtutum, et qui sine humilitate caeteras virtutes congregat quasi in ventum pulverem portat.* Leighton uses the same ideas in 1 Pet. v. 5 as here, and quotes St. Bernard, *Intolerabilis impudentiae est, ut ubi sese exinanivit Majestas, vermiculas infletur et intumescat.* See also 1 Pet. ii. 17.

were draining Him of His life and blood ; all He did was to pray for them. Charity was so dear to Him, that He recommended it as the characteristic by which all might know His disciples if *they loved one another*. But alas ! by this may all know we are not His disciples, because we hate one another. But that we may imitate Him in His life we must run the back-trade, and begin with His death, and must die with Him. Love is a death.¹ He that loves is gone, and lost in God, and can esteem or take pleasure in nothing besides Him. When the bitter cup of the Father's wrath was presented to our Lord, one drop of this elixir² of love and union to the Father's will sweetened it so, that He drank it off without more complaining. This death of Jesus mystically acted in us must strike down all things else, and He must become our All. Oh that we would resolve to live to Him that died, and to be only His, and humbly follow the crucified Jesus ! All else will be quickly gone. How soon will the shadows that now amuse us and please our eyes fly away !

¹ Cf. Com. on 1 Pet. iv. 1.

² Leighton brings in this allusion to alchemy in his sermons and commentary. Under 1 Pet. ii. 18-20 he paraphrases Herbert's ode—"The Elixir." For other "allusive quotations from Herbert" see Dr. Grosart's *Complete Works of George Herbert*, 1874, vol. ii. pp. cxxxii-cxxxvii.

COMMENTARY ON FIRST PETER.

IT is by his Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter the Apostle, that Leighton is best known. He prepared it for the pulpit of Newbattle, between his thirtieth and forty-second year. What special apparatus he used in the study of his subject we cannot tell, as it was not then the fashion to name all the authors consulted. We can fancy him sitting down with his Greek Testament, his Cotton's Concordance, his Pasor, or Scapula Lexicon, to get at the mind of the Spirit as written down by the hand of the Apostle. Then, with that spiritual insight which God had given him, he penetrated beneath the surface of grammatical investigation, beyond the veil of scholarly analysis of words, into the inner shrine where clear vision of Divine things is granted in answer to that prayer, "Open Thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of Thy law." He has written on the fly-leaf of his *De Imitando Christo*, a beautiful book printed by Arnold Birkman at Cologne, 1564, the following happy words from Augustine, which, we may be sure, he translated into fact in his Newbattle study: "*Oratio postulet, lectio inquirat, meditatio inveniatur, contemplatio degustet et digerat.*" Such commentators as Heinsius, Mayer, Erasmus, Beza, Schotan, Capellus, and Calvin, which are to this day on the shelves of his Library, doubtless received his attention. But he was debtor to Greek and Barbarian, to Heathen and Christian, and, like the bee, extracted honey from every flower. He found materials for

illustration in every book he read, Classic or Christian Father, in Aurelius or Augustine. Now his thought took its tinge from an ode of George Herbert, or a saying of Seneca, or Francis de Sales, or Sir Thomas Browne, or Sir Thomas More, or Dr. Henry More. He quoted Cicero and Horace, and Ovid and Virgil, just as he quoted Ambrose or Jerome, Thomas à Kempis or Thomas Aquinas. He had bosom friends in St. Bernard and St. Gregory, but he also entertained the great poets and philosophers and historians of Greece and Rome, and gathered wisdom from converse with Sophocles and Euripides, Plato and Aristotle, Xenophon and Plutarch, Julius Cæsar and Epictetus. He found side-lights in antiquity, in mediævalism, in the Reformers and Neo-Platonists; Plotinus and Salvianus, Erasmus and Luther, Drexelius and De Serres, Bacon and Bayly, were there with a gift to be laid on the altar. In this, as in some other respects, he was a true son of Alexander Leighton, whose two books, *Sion's Plea*, and *The Looking-glass of the Holy War*, are crammed with choice morsels from all literature.

The Commentary, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, is the best that has been produced. Dr. John Brown, in his "Expository Discourses" on the same Epistle, makes seventy distinct quotations from Leighton; and characterises him as teaching "a singularly pure and complete theology, a theology thoroughly evangelical, in the true sense of that often abused epithet, being equally free from legalism and antinomianism; in a spirit of enlightened and affectionate devotion, love to the brotherhood and charity to all men; and in a style which, though very unequal, indicates in its general structure a familiarity with the classic models of antiquity, and in occasional expressions is in the highest degree felicitous and beautiful." In connection with the saintly John Brown, who loved Leighton so deeply, we cannot refrain from quoting the wise words of his son, the late and loved John Brown, M.D., as, in great measure,

fitly appropriate to Leighton: "With devotional feeling, with everything that showed reverence and godly fear, he cordialised wherever and in whomsoever it was found, Pagan or Christian, Romanist or Protestant, bond or free: and, while he disliked, and had indeed a positive antipathy to intellectual mysticism, he had a great knowledge and relish for such writers as Dr. Henry More, Culverwel, Scougall, Madame Guyon, whom (besides their other qualities) I may perhaps be allowed to call affectionate mystics; and for such poets as Herbert and Vaughan, whose poetry was pious, and their piety poetic."¹ Coleridge, who called the Commentary "the reverberations of Peter's strokes," has culled many aphorisms from it, and from other writings of Leighton, in his *Aids to Reflection*, and thereby aided in perpetuating the reverberations. The first edition appeared in two parts, the first at York in 1693, and the second at London in 1694, under the editorship of Dr. Fall, who informs "the pious reader" that the "Sermons," which appeared in 1692, had received such general acceptance that the bookseller was under the necessity "to make a second edition." Such acceptance had induced the good Doctor to "offer the following meditations of this primitively devout author upon the first two chapters of the first Epistle General of St. Peter." The Latin Discourses were by that time also in the press. It is from the first edition we make our selections, with the first editor's wish made our own, "that the author's design in preaching these Discourses, and the editor's in publishing them, that they might make wise the simple and convert the soul," may be attained. "Paul may plant, and Apollos may water, but God giveth the increase, which that it may be in that abundance which shall make both planters and waterers rejoice in that great and last harvest, is and shall be the fervent prayer of the Publisher, J. F."

¹ Letter to Dr. Cairns regarding Rev. Dr. John Brown.

The First Sentence of the Commentary.

The grace of God in the heart of man is a tender plant in a strange unkindly soil, and therefore cannot well prosper and grow without much care and pains, and that of a skilful hand, and that hath the art of cherishing it; for this end God hath given the constant ministry of the Word to His church, not only for the first work of conversion, but also for confirming and increasing of His grace in the hearts of His children.

The Apostle Peter.

By that which is spoken of him in divers passages of the Gospel, he is very remarkable amongst the Apostles, both for his graces and his failings; eminent in zeal and courage, and yet stumbling oft in his forwardness, and once grossly falling; and these, by the providence of God, being recorded in Scripture, give a check to the excess of Rome's conceit concerning this Apostle. Their extolling and exalting him above the rest, is not for his cause, and much less to the honour of his Lord and Master Jesus Christ, for He is injured and dishonoured by it; but 'tis in favour of themselves, as Alexander distinguished his two friends that the one was a friend of Alexander, the other a friend of the king. That preferment they give

this Apostle is not in goodwill to Peter, but in the desire of Primacy. But whatsoever he was, they would be much in pain to prove Rome's right to it by succession. And if ever it had any such right, we may confidently say, it has forfeited it long ago by departing from St. Peter's footsteps, and from his faith, and retaining too much those things wherein he was faulty, namely :—

His unwillingness to hear of and consent to Christ's sufferings, his *Master, spare thyself, or Far be it from thee*, in those they are like him ; for thus they would disburden and exempt the church from the Cross, from the real cross of afflictions ; and instead of that have nothing but painted, or carved, or gilded crosses ; these they are content to embrace, and worship too, but cannot endure to hear of the other. Instead of the cross of affliction they make the *Crown* or *Mitre* the badge of their church, and will have it known by prosperity, and outward pomp, and so turn the church militant into the church triumphant, not considering that it is Babylon's voice, not the church's, *I sit as a queen and shall see no sorrow*.

Again, his saying on the Mount at Christ's Transfiguration, when he knew not what he said, *It is good to be here* ; so they have little of the true glory of Christ, but the false glory of that monarchy

on their seven hills ; *'Tis good to be here,* say they.

Again, in their undue striking with the sword, not the enemies, as he, but the faithful friends and servants of Jesus Christ.

But to proceed ; we see here St. Peter's office or title, *An Apostle*, not *chief Bishop*. Some in their glossing have been so impudent as to add that beside the text. Though (chap. v. 4) he gives that title to Christ alone, and to himself only *fellow-Elder* ; and here not *Prince of the Apostles*, but *an apostle*, restored and re-established after his fall, by repentance, and by Christ Himself after His own death and resurrection (see John xxi.). Thus we have in our Apostle a singular instance of human frailty, on the one side, and of the sweetness of Divine grace on the other. Free and rich grace it is, indeed, that forgives and swallows up multitudes of sins, of greatest sins, not only sins before conversion, as to St. Paul, but foul offences committed after conversion, as to David, and to this Apostle ; not only once raising them from the dead, but when they fall, stretching out the same hand, and raising them again and restoring them to their station, and comforting them in it by His *free Spirit*, as David prays. Not only to cleanse polluted clay, but to work it into

vessels of honour, yea, of the most defiled shape to make the most refined vessels, not vessels of honour of the lowest sort, but for the highest and most honourable services, vessels to bear His own precious name to the nations; making the most unworthy and the most unfit, fit by His grace to be His messengers.

An Apostle : a Christian Minister.

Apostle of Jesus Christ.—Sent by Him, and the message no other but His name, to make that known. And what this apostleship was *then*, after some extraordinary way befitting these first times of the Gospel, that is *now*, the ministry of the Word in ordinary, and therefore an employment of more difficulty and excellency than is usually conceived by many, not only of those that look upon it, but even of those that are exercised in it, to be ambassadors for the greatest of Kings, and upon no mean employment, that great treaty of peace and reconcilment betwixt Him and mankind (2 Cor. v. 20).

Eternal Election.

The Apostle comforts these strangers of this dispersion by the spiritual union which they obtained by Effectual Calling, and so calls off their eyes from their outward dispersed and despised

condition, to look above that, as high as the spring of their happiness, the free love and election of God.¹ *Scattered* in the countries, and yet gathered in God's election, chosen or picked out ; *strangers* to men amongst whom they dwelt, but known and foreknown to God ; removed from their own country, to which men have naturally an unalterable affection, but made *heirs of a better* (as follows, verses 3, 4) ; and having within them the evidence both of Eternal Election, and of that expected Salvation, *the Spirit of holiness* (verse 2). At the best the Christian is but a stranger here, set him where you will, as our Apostle teacheth after ; and 'tis his privilege that he is so ; and when he thinks not so he forgets and disparages himself, and descends far below his quality, when he is much taken with anything in this place of his exile.

¹ W. West, B.A. (ed. 1870), very improperly rebukes Leighton, *in loco*, as follows : "Mark how the author, taking the Calvinistic scheme for Gospel, *paves his way* by introducing technical terms which involve its fundamental principles. *Effectual Calling* is a phrase which has no equivalent in Scripture generally, or in St. Peter's address in which it is here assumed to be contained. The Apostle addresses all the Christians to whom he writes as elect, sanctified, etc. ; but effectual calling involves the Calvinistic distinction of elect and non-elect among the members of Christ's visible church." In other notes he shows equal boldness in trying to put Leighton in the wrong, as if Leighton were an incapable theologian !

But this is the wisdom of a Christian when he can solace himself against the meanness, and any kind of discomfort of his outward condition, with the comfortable assurance of the love of God, that He hath called him to holiness, given him some measure of it, and an endeavour after more ; and by this may he conclude, that He hath ordained him unto salvation. If either he is a stranger where he lives, or as a stranger deserted of his friends and very near stript of all outward comforts, yet may he rejoice in this, that the eternal, unchangeable Love of God, that is from everlasting to everlasting, is sealed to his soul. And oh, what will it avail a man to be compassed about with the favour of the world, to sit unmolested in his own home and possessions, and to have them very great and pleasant, well moneyed, and landed and befriended, and yet estranged and severed from God, not having any token of His special love !

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'Tis a very difficult work to draw a soul out of the hands and strong chains of Satan, and out of the pleasing entanglements of the world, and out of its own natural perverseness to yield up itself unto God, to deny itself and live to Him, and in so doing to run against the main stream, and the current of the ungodly world without, and corruption

within. The strongest rhetoric, the most moving and persuasive way of discourse, is all too weak, the tongue of men and angels cannot prevail with the soul to free itself, and shake off all that detains it ; although it be convinced of the truth of those things that are represented to it, yet still it can and will hold out against it, and say *Non persuadebis etiamsi persuaseris.*

The hand of man is too weak to pluck any soul out of the crowd of the world, and set it in amongst the select number of believers. Only the Father of spirits hath absolute command of spirits, viz., the souls of men, to work on them as He pleaseth, and when He will. This powerful, this sanctifying Spirit knows no resistance, works sweetly and yet strongly ; it can come into the heart, whereas all other speakers are forced to stand without. That still voice within persuades more than all the loud crying without, as he that is within the house, though he speak low, is better heard and understood, than he that shouts without doors.¹

When the Lord Himself speaks by this His

¹ *Melius dicit et docet qui intus habitat quam qui foris clamat*, a saying of Augustine which Leighton, in his early days, wrote on the fly-leaf of Thomas à Kempis (ed. 1564).

Spirit to a man, selecting and calling him out of the lost world, he can no more disobey than Abraham did, when the Lord spoke to him after an extraordinary manner, to depart from his own country and kindred, Gen. xii. 4,—*Abraham departed, as the Lord had spoken to him.* There is a secret but very powerful virtue in a word, or look, or touch of this Spirit upon the soul, by which 'tis forced, not with a harsh, but a pleasing violence, and cannot choose but follow it, not unlike that of Elijah's mantle upon Elisha, 1 Kings xix. 19. How easily did the disciples forsake their callings and dwellings to follow Christ!

The Spirit of God draws a man out of the world by a sanctified light sent into his mind, discovering to him—1. How base and false the sweetness of sin is that withholds men and amuses them, that they return not, and how true and sad the bitterness is that will follow upon it; 2. Setting before his eyes the free and happy condition, *the glorious liberty of the sons of God*, the riches of their present enjoyment, and their far longer and assured hopes for afterwards; 3. Making the beauty of Jesus Christ visible to the soul, which straightway takes it so, that it cannot be stayed from coming to Him, though its most beloved friends, most beloved sins, be in the way, and hang about it and cry,

“Will you leave us so?”¹ It will tread upon all to come within the embracements of Jesus Christ, and say with St. Paul, *I was not disobedient to, or unpersuaded by, the heavenly Vision.*

Think it not enough you hear the Word, and use the outward ordinances of God, and profess His name; for *many are thus called*, and yet *but a few of them are chosen*. There is but a small part of the world outwardly called, in comparison of the rest that is not so, and yet the number of true elect is so small, that it gains the number of these that are called, the name of *many*. They that are in the visible church and partake of external vocation are but like a large list of names (as in civil elections is usual), out of which a small number is chosen to the dignity of true Christians, and invested into their privilege. Some men, in nomination to offices or employments, think it a worse disappointment and disgrace to have been in the list, and yet not chosen, than if their names had not been mentioned at all. Certainly 'tis a greater unhappiness to have been *not far from the kingdom of God* (as our

¹ “Now he had not run far from his own door, but his wife and children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return (Luke xiv. 26), but the man put his fingers in his ears, and ran on crying, ‘Life! life! eternal life!’”—*Pilgrim's Progress.*

Saviour speaks), and miss of it, than still to have remained in the furthest distance : to have been at the mouth of the haven (the *Fair Havens* indeed), and yet driven back and shipwrecked. Your labour is most preposterous ; you seek to ascertain and make sure things that cannot be made sure, and that which is both more worth, and may be made surer than them all, you will not endeavour to make sure. Hearken to the Apostle's advice, and at length set to this in earnest, *to make your calling and election sure* ; make sure this election as 'tis here (for that's the order), your effectual calling sure, and that will bring with it assurance of the other, the eternal election and love of God towards you, which follows to be considered.

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Now the connection of these, we are, for our profit, to take notice of, that *effectual calling* is inseparably tied to this eternal *foreknowledge* or *election* on the one side and *salvation* on the other. These two links of the chain are up in heaven in God's own hand, but this middle one is let down to earth, into the hearts of His children, and the laying hold on it, hath sure hold on the other two, for no power can sever them ; and therefore the reading the characters of God's image in their own souls, those are the counterpane of the golden

characters of His love, in which their names are written in the book of life. Their believing writes their names under the promises of the revealed book of life, the Scriptures, and so ascertains them that the same names are in the secret book of life that God hath by Himself from eternity. So finding the stream of grace in their hearts, though they see not the fountain whence it flows, nor the ocean into which it returns, yet they know that it hath its source, and shall return to that ocean which ariseth from their eternal election and salvation, and shall empty itself into eternity of happiness.

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If *election*, *effectual calling*, and *sanctification* be inseparably linked together, then by any one of them a man may lay hold upon all the rest, and may know that his hold is sure ; and this is that way wherein we may attain, and ought to seek, that comfortable assurance of the love of God. Therefore, *make your calling sure*, and by that your *election* : for that being done, this follows of itself. We are not to pry immediately into the decree, but to read it in the performance. Though the mariner sees not the pole-star, yet the needle of the compass that points to it tells him which way he sails. Thus the heart that is touched with the loadstone

of Divine love, trembling with godly fear, and yet still looking towards God by fixed believing, points at the love of election, and tells the soul that its course is heavenward, towards the haven of eternal rest. He that loves, may be sure he was loved first ; and he that chooses God for his delight and portion, may conclude confidently that God hath chosen him to be one of those that shall enjoy Him and be happy in Him for ever ; for that our love and electing of Him is but the return and repercussion of the beams of His love shining upon us.

The Atonement.

The sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.— This *sprinkling* has respect to the rite of the legal purification by the sprinkling of blood, and that appositely ; for these rites of sprinkling and blood did all point out this blood and this sprinkling, and exhibited this true ransom of souls which was only shadowed by them.

As the use and end of sprinkling was *purification* and *expiation*, because sin merited death, and that the pollutions and stains of human nature were by sin ; such is the pollution, that it can be no manner of way washed off but by blood (Heb. ix. 22). Neither is there any blood able to purge from sin, except the most precious blood of Jesus

Christ, which is called *the blood of God*, Acts xx. 28.

That the stain of sin can be washed off only by blood, intimates that it merits death. And that no blood but that of the Son of God can do it, intimates that this stain merits eternal death ; and it had been our portion, except the death of the eternal Lord of life had freed us from it.

Filthiness needs sprinkling ; *guiltiness* (such as deserves death) needs sprinkling of blood ; and the death it deserves being everlasting death, the blood must be the blood of Christ, the eternal Lord of life, dying to free us from the sentence of death.

The soul (as the body) hath its life, its health, its purity, and the contrary of these, its death, diseases, deformities, and impurity, which belong to it as their first subject, and to the body by participation.

The soul and body of all mankind is stained by the pollution of sin. The impure leprosy of the soul is not a spot outwardly, but wholly inward ; hence, as the corporal leprosy was purified by the sprinkling of blood, so is this. Then by reflecting, we see how all this that the Apostle St. Peter expresseth, is necessary to justification :—1. Christ, the Mediator betwixt God and man, is God and man ; 2. A Mediator not only interceding, but also satisfying, Eph. ii. 16 ; 3. This satisfaction

doth not reconcile us, unless it be applied ; therefore, there is not only mention of *blood*, but the *sprinkling* of it. The Spirit by faith sprinkleth the soul, as with hyssop, wherewith the sprinkling was made : this is it of which the Prophet speaks, Isaiah liii. 15, *So shall he sprinkle many nations* ; and which the Apostle to the Hebrews prefers above all legal sprinklings (chap. ix. 12, 13, 14), both as to its duration and as to the excellency of its effects.

Men are not easily convinced and persuaded of the deep stain of sin, and that no other laver can fetch it out but *the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ*. Some that have moral resolutions of amendment, dislike at least gross sins and purpose to avoid them, and 'tis to them cleanness enough to reform in those things ; but they consider not what becomes of the guiltiness they have contracted already, and how that shall be purged, how their natural pollution shall be taken away. Be not deceived in this ; 'tis not an evanishing sigh, or a light word, or a wish of *God forgive me* ; no, nor the highest current of repentance, nor that which is the truest evidence of repentance, amendment. 'Tis none of these that purifies in the sight of God, and expiates wrath ; they are all imperfect and stained themselves, cannot stand and answer for themselves, much less be of value to counterpoise

their former guilt of sin. The very tears of the purest repentance, unless they be sprinkled with this blood, are impure ; all our washings without this are but washings of the blackmore, it is labour in vain (Jer. ii. 22 ; Job ix. 30, 31). There is none truly purged by the blood of Christ, that do not endeavour purity of heart and conversation ; but yet it is the blood of Christ by which they are all fair, and there is no spot in them. Here 'tis said — *Elect to obedience* ; but because that obedience is not perfect, there must be sprinkling of the blood too. There is nothing in religion farther out of nature's reach, and out of its liking and believing, than *the Doctrine of Redemption by a Saviour, and a Crucified Saviour, by Christ, and by His blood, first shed on the Cross in His suffering, and then sprinkled on the soul by His Spirit*. 'Tis easier to make men sensible of the necessity of repentance and amendment of life (though that is very difficult) than of this purging by the sprinkling of this precious blood. Did we see how needful Christ is to us, we would esteem and love Him more.

Grace and Peace:

It hath always been a civil custom amongst men to season their intercourse with good wishes one for another ; this the Apostles use in their Epistles

in a spiritual divine way, suitable to their holy writings. It well becomes the messengers of *grace and peace* to wish both, and to make their salutation conform to the main scope and subject of their discourse. The Hebrew word of salutation we have here, *Peace*, and that which is the spring both of this, and these good things, are all in the other word of salutation, used by the Greeks, *Grace*. All right rejoicing, and prosperity, and happiness flows from this source, and from this alone, and is sought elsewhere in vain.

In general this is the character of a Christian spirit, to have a heart filled with *blessing*, with this sweet good-will and good-wishing to all, especially to those that are their brethren in the same profession of religion. And this charity is a precious balm, diffusing itself in the wise and seasonable expressions of it, upon fit occasions; and those expressions must be cordial and sincere, not like that you call *court holy-water*,¹ in which there

¹ In the General Assembly of 1709 a member replied to Carstares, "I, sir, am as good a man as yourself, bating that you have a sprinkling of court holy-water, which I must own myself a stranger to, and never affected to meddle with." The answer of Carstares was, "Dear brother, I can more easily forgive this peevish sally of yours than you, perhaps, will be able to forgive yourself when you come sedately to reflect upon it."

is nothing else but falsehood, or vanity at the best. This manifests men to be the sons of blessing, and of the ever-blessed God, the Father of all blessing, when in His name they bless one another : yea, our Saviour's rule goes higher, *to bless those that curse them*, and urges it by that relation to God as their Father, that in this they may resemble Him : *That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.*

But in a more eminent way, it's the duty of pastors to bless their people, not only by their public and solemn benediction, but by daily and instant prayers for them in secret. And the great *Father who seeth in secret, will reward them openly.*

They are to be ever, both endeavouring and wishing their increase of knowledge, and all spiritual grace, in which they have St. Paul a frequent pattern.

They that are messengers of this *grace*, if they have experience of it, 'tis the oil of gladness that will dilate their heart, and make it large in love and spiritual desires for others, especially their own flocks.

Grace.—We need not make a noise with the many school-distinctions of *grace*, and describe in what sense 'tis here to be taken ; for no doubt 'tis all *saving grace* to those dispersed brethren, so that

in the largest notion that it can have that way, we may safely here take it.

What is *preventing grace*, *assisting grace*, *working* and *co-working grace* (as we may admit these differences in a sound sense), but divers names of the same effectual saving grace, in relation to our different estate; as the same sea receives different names from the different parts of the shore it beats upon ?

First, it prevents and works ; then it assists and prosecutes what it hath wrought : *He worketh in us to will and to do*. But the whole sense of saving grace, I conceive, is comprehended in these two : 1. Grace in the fountain, that is the peculiar love and favour of God ; 2. In the streams, the fruits of this love (for 'tis not an empty, but a most rich and liberal love), viz., all the graces and spiritual blessings of God bestowed upon them whom He hath freely chosen. The love of God in itself can neither diminish nor increase, but it is multiplied, or abounds, in the manifestation and effects of it. So then to desire grace to be multiplied to them, is to wish to them the living spring of it, that love that cannot be exhausted, but is ever flowing forth, and instead of abating, makes each day richer than another.

And this is that which should be the top and

sum of Christian desires, to have or want any other thing indifferently, but to be resolved and resolute in this, to seek a share in this grace, the free love of God, and the sure evidences of it within you, the fruit of holiness and the graces of His Spirit ; but the most of us are otherwise taken up. We will not be convinced how basely and foolishly we are busied, though in the best and most respected employments of the world, so long as we neglect our noblest trade of growing rich in grace, and the comfortable enjoyment of the love of God. Our Saviour tells us of *one thing needful*, importing that all other things are comparatively unnecessary, by-works and mere impertinencies ; and yet in these we lavish out our short and uncertain time ; we let the other stand by till we find leisure. Men who are altogether profane think not on it at all ; some others possibly deceive themselves thus, and say, When I have done with such a business in which I am engaged, then I will sit down seriously to this, and bestow more time and pains on these things that are undeniably greater and better, and more worthy of it. But this is a slight that is in danger to undo us. What if we attain not to the end of that business, but end ourselves before it ? or if we do not, yet some other business may step in after that. Oh then, say we, that must be

despatched also. Thus by such delays we may lose the present opportunity, and, in the end, our own souls.

Oh ! be persuaded it deserves your diligence, and that without delay, to seek somewhat that may be constant enough to abide with you, and strong enough to uphold you in all conditions, and that is alone this free grace and love of God. While many say, *Who will show us any good ?* set you in with David in his choice, *Lord, lift thou up the light of Thy countenance upon me, and this shall rejoice my heart more than the abundance of corn and wine.*

This is that light that can break into the darkest dungeons, from which all other lights and comforts are shut out ; and without this, all other enjoyments are what the world would be without the sun, nothing but darkness. Happy they who have this light of Divine favour and grace shining into their souls, for by it they shall be led to that city where the sun and moon are needless, *for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof* (Rev. xxi. 23).

Peace.—Godliness is profitable for all things, saith the Apostle, having the promises of this life and that which is to come ; all other blessings are

the attendants of grace, and follow upon it. This blessing that the Apostle here (and so St. Paul in his Epistles) joins with *Grace*, was, with the Jews, of so large a sense as to comprehend all that they could desire ; when they wished *peace*, they meant all kind of good, all welfare and prosperity. And thus we may take it here for all kind of peace, yea, and for all other blessings, but especially that spiritual peace which is the proper fruit of grace, and doth so intrinsically flow from it.

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We ought also to wish for ecclesiastical peace to the Church, that she may be free from dissensions and divisions. These readily arise, more or less (as we see in all times), and haunt religion, and the reformation of it, as a *malus genius*. St. Paul had this to say to his Corinthians, though he had given them this testimony, that *they were enriched in all utterance and knowledge, and were wanting in no gift*, 1 Cor. i. 5 ; yet presently after, ver. 11, *I hear that there are divisions and contentions among you. The enemy hath done this*, as our Saviour speaks ; and this enemy is no fool, for, by Divine permission, he works to his own end very wisely. For there is not one thing that doth on all hands choke the seed of religion so much, as thorny debates and differences about itself. So, in succeeding ages, and at

the breaking forth of the light in Germany in Luther's time, multitudes of sects arose

Profane men do not only stumble, but fall and break their necks upon these divisions. We see (think they, and some of them possibly say it out) that they who mind religion most cannot agree upon 't ; our easiest way is not to embroil ourselves, nor at all to be troubled with the business. Many are of Gallio's temper, they *will care for none of these things*. Thus these offences prove a mischief to the profane world, as our Saviour says, *Woe to the world because of offences*.

Then the erring side, that is, taken with new opinions and fancies, are altogether taken up with them, their main thoughts spent upon them ; and thus the sap is drawn from that which should nourish and prosper in their hearts, *sanctified useful knowledge* and *saving grace*. The other are as weeds that divert the nourishment in gardens from the plants and flowers ; and certainly these weeds, viz., men's own conceits, cannot but grow more with them, when they give way to them, than solid religion doth ; for their hearts (as he said of the earth) are mother to those, but stepmother to this.

It is also a loss even to those that oppose errors and divisions, that they are forced to be busied that

way ; for the wisest and godliest of them find (and such are sensible of it) that disputes in religion are no friends to that which is far sweeter in it, but hinders and abates it, viz., those pious and devout thoughts that are both the more useful, and truly delightful.

As peace is a choice blessing, so this is the choicest peace, and is the peculiar and inseparable effect of this grace with which it is here jointly wished, *Grace and Peace*; the flower of peace growing upon the root of grace. This spiritual peace hath two things in it : 1. Reconciliation with God ; 2. Tranquillity of spirit. The quarrel and matter of enmity, you know, betwixt God and man is the rebellion, the sin of man ; and he being naturally altogether sinful, there can proceed nothing from him but what foment and increases the hostility. 'Tis grace alone, the most free grace of God, that contrives, and offers, and makes the peace, else it had never been. We had universally perished without it. Now in this consists the wonder of Divine grace, that the Almighty God seeks agreement, and entreats for it, with sinful clay, which He could wholly destroy in a moment.

Jesus Christ, the mediator and purchaser of this peace, bought it with His blood, *killed the enmity by His own death* (Eph. ii. 15). And therefore the

tenor of it in the Gospel runs still in His name, Rom. v. 1, *We have peace with God through Jesus Christ our Lord*; and St. Paul expresses it in his salutations, that are the same with this, *Grace and peace from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ*.

As the free love and grace of God appointed this means and way of our peace, and offered it; so the same grace applies it, and makes it ours, and gives us faith to apprehend it.

And from our sense of this peace, or reconciliation with God, arises that which is our inward peace, a calm and quiet temper of mind. This peace that we have with God in Christ is inviolable; but because the sense and persuasion of it may be interrupted, the soul that is truly at peace with God may for a time be disquieted in itself, through weakness of faith, or the strength of temptation, or the darkness of desertion, losing sight of that grace, that love and light of God's countenance, on which its tranquillity and joy depends. *Thou hidst Thy face*, saith David, *and I was troubled*. But when these eclipses are over, the soul is revived with new consolation, as the face of the earth is renewed and made to smile with the return of the sun in the spring; and this ought always to uphold Christians in the saddest times, viz., that the grace and love of God towards them depends not on their

sense, nor upon anything in them, but is still in itself incapable of the smallest alteration.

'Tis natural to men to desire their own peace, the quietness and contentment of their minds ; but most men miss the way to it, and therefore find it not, for there is no way to it indeed, but this one, wherein few seek it, viz., reconcilment and peace with God. The persuasion of that alone makes the mind clear and serene, like your fairest summer days. *My peace I give you, saith Christ, not as the world. Let not your hearts be troubled.* All the peace and favour of the world cannot calm a troubled heart ; but where this peace is that Christ gives, all the trouble and disquiet of the world cannot disturb it. *When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble, and when He hideth His face, who then can behold Him, whether it be done against a nation or against a man only ?*¹ (See also for this, Psalms xlvi. and cxxiii.) All outward distress to a mind thus at peace, is but as the rattling of the hail upon the tiles to him that sits within the house at a sumptuous feast. A good conscience is called so, and with an advantage that no other feast can have, nor could men endure it. A few hours of feasting will weary the most professed epicure, but a conscience thus at peace is

¹ Job xxxiv. 29.

a continual feast, with continual unwearied delight. What makes the world take up such a prejudice against religion, as a sour unpleasant thing? They see the afflictions and griefs of Christians, but they do not see their joys, the inward pleasure of mind that they can possess in a very hard estate. Have you not tried other ways enough? Hath not he tried them that had more ability and skill for't than you, and found them not only *vanity*, but *vexation of spirit*? If you have any belief of holy truth, put but this once upon the trial, seek peace in the way of grace. This inward peace is too precious a liquor to be poured into a filthy vessel; a holy heart, that gladly entertains grace, shall find that it and peace cannot dwell asunder.

An ungodly man may sleep to death in the lethargy of carnal presumption and impenitency; but a true, lively, solid peace he cannot have. *There is no peace to the wicked, saith my God, Isa. lvii. 21.* And if He say there is none; speak peace who will, if all the world with one voice should speak it, it shall prove none.

Christian Hope, in contrast to Worldly Hopes.

It is said to be *lively*, enlivening and comforting the children of God in all distresses, enabling them to encounter and surmount all difficulties in the

way. And then it is *formally* so ; it cannot fail, dies not before accomplishment. Worldly hopes often mock men, and so cause them to be ashamed, and men take it as a great blot, and are most of all ashamed of those things that discover weakness of judgment in them. Now worldly hopes do thus : they put the fool upon a man ; when he hath judged himself sure and laid so much weight and expectation on them, then they break and fail him. They are not living, but lying hopes, and dying hopes ; they die often before us, and we live to bury them, and see our own folly and infelicity in trusting to them ; but at the utmost, they die with us when we die, and can accompany us no further. But this hope answers expectation to the full, and much beyond it, and deceives no way, but that happy one of far exceeding it.

A *living hope*, living in death itself ! The world dare say no more for its device but *Dum spiro spero* ; but the children of God can add, by virtue of this living hope, *Dum exspiro spero*. 'Tis a fearful thing when a man and all his hopes die together. Thus saith Solomon of the wicked, *When he dieth* (many of them *before*, but at the utmost *then*, all of them), *then die his hopes*, Prov. xi. 7 ; *but the righteous hath hope in his death*, Prov. xiv. 32. Death, that cuts the sinews of all other hopes, and

turns men out of all other inheritances, it alone fulfils this hope and ends it in fruition ; as a messenger sent to bring the children of God home to the possession of their inheritance.

Worldly Mirth.

As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon nitre, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart, Prov. xxv. 20. Worldly mirth is so far from curing spiritual grief that even worldly grief, where 'tis great and takes deep root, is not allayed but increased by it. A man that is full of inward heaviness, the more he is compassed about with mirth, it exasperates and enrages his grief the more, like ineffectual weak physic that removes not the humour, but stirs it and makes it more unquiet ; but spiritual joy is seasonable for all estates. In prosperity 'tis pertinent to crown and sanctify all other enjoyments, with this that so far surpasses them ; and in distress 'tis the only *Nepenthe*, the cordial of fainting spirits ; so Psalm iv. 7, *He hath put joy into my heart.* This mirth makes way for itself, which other mirth cannot do. These songs are sweetest in the night of distress.¹

¹ Coleridge says : "There is something exquisitely beautiful and touching in the first of these similes, and the second, though less pleasing to the imagination, has the charm of propriety."—*Aids to Reflection*, p. 60 (ed. 1854).

The Stain of Sin.

All possessions here are defiled and stained with many other defects and failings ; still somewhat wanting, some damp on them, or crack in them ; fair houses, but sad cares flying about the gilded and ceiled roofs ; stately and soft beds, a full table, but a sickly body and queasy stomach ; the fairest face, some mole or wart in it ; all possessions stained with sin, either in acquiring or in using them, therefore called *Mammon of unrighteousness*, Luke xvi. 9 ; iniquity so involved in the notion of riches that it can very hardly be separated from them. St. Hierom. says, *Verum mihi videtur illud, dives aut iniquus est, aut iniqui haeres.*¹ Foul hands pollute all they touch ; 'tis our sin that defiles what we possess ; 'tis sin that burdens the whole creation and presses groans out of the very frame of the world : Rom. viii. 22, *For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.* This our leprosy defiles our houses, the very walls and floors, our meat and drink and all we touch, polluted alone, and polluted in society, our meetings and conversations together being for the greatest part

¹ "That seems true to me, that a rich man is either unjust, or the heir of an unjust man."—JEROME.

nothing but a commerce and interchange of sin and vanity.

We breathe up and down in an infected air, and are very receptive of the infection by our own corruption within us. We readily turn the things we possess here to occasions and instruments of sin, and there is no liberty nor delight in their use, without abusing them. How *few* are they that *can carry* (as they say) *a full cup even*; that can have digestion strong enough for the right use of great places and estates; that can bear preferment without pride, and riches without covetousness, and ease without wantonness!

The Inheritance unfading.

No spot of sin nor sorrow there, all pollution wiped away and all tears with it; no envy nor strife; not, as here among men, one supplanting another, one pleading and fighting against another, dividing this point of earth with fire and sword. No, this inheritance is not the less by division, by being parted amongst so many brethren; every one hath it all, each his crown, and all agreeing in casting them down before His throne, from whom they have received them, and in the harmony of His praises.

This inheritance is often called a kingdom, and

a crown of glory. This word may allude to those garlands of the ancients, and this is its property, that the flowers in it are all *Amaranths*, as a certain plant is named, and so it's called, 1 Pet. v. 4, *a crown of glory that fadeth not away.*

No change at all there, no winter and summer : not like the poor comforts here, but a bliss always flourishing. The grief of the saints here is not so much the changes of outward things as of their inward comforts. *Suavis hora, sed brevis mora.* Sweet presences of God they sometimes have, but they are short and often interrupted. But *there*, no cloud shall come betwixt them and their SUN ; they shall behold Him in His full brightness for ever ; and as no change in their beholding, so no weariness nor abatement of their delight in beholding. They sing a new song, always the same, and yet always new. The sweetest of our music, one day of it will weary them that are most delighted with it ; what we have here cloy but satisfies not ; the joys above never cloy, and yet always satisfy.

Profitable exercise of the Imagination.

'Tis not altogether unprofitable, yea, 'tis much wisdom, in Christians to be arming themselves against such temptations as may befall them hereafter, though they have not as yet met with them ;

to labour to overcome them beforehand, to suppose the hardest things that may be incident to them, and to put on the strongest resolutions they can attain unto. Yet all that is but an imaginary effect ; and therefore there is no assurance that the victory is any more than imaginary too, till it come to action, and then, they that have spoken and thought very confidently, may prove but (as he said of the Athenians) *fortes in tabula*, patient and courageous in picture or fancy ; and, notwithstanding all their arms and dexterity in handling them by way of exercise, may be foully defeated when they are to fight in earnest. *The children of Ephraim, being armed, and carrying bows* (says the Psalmist, Psalm lxxviii. 9), yet *turned back in the day of battle*. 'Tis the battle tries the soldier, and the storm the pilot.¹ How would it appear that Christians can be themselves not only patient but cheerful in poverty, in disgrace and temptations² and persecutions, if it were not often their lot to meet with those ? He that framed the heart knows it to be but deceitful, and He that gives grace knows the weakness and strength of it exactly ; yet He is pleased to speak thus, that by afflictions and hard

¹ Cf. *Gubernatorem in tempestate, in acie militem intelligas.*—SENECA.

² The word in the original edition is *attempts*.

tasks He tries what is in the hearts of His children. For the word of God speaks to men, and therefore it speaks the language of the children of men ;¹ thus Gen. xxii. 12, *Now I know that thou fearest God, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.*

The Discipline of Temptation.

God delights to call forth his champions to meet with great temptations, to make them bear crosses of more than ordinary weight ; as commanders in war put men of most valour and skill upon the hardest services.² God sets some furious trial upon

¹ Coleridge calls this " a just and pregnant thought suggested to Leighton by Genesis xxii. 12." In John Smith's *Select Discourses* the aphorism occurs: *Lex loquitur linguam filiorum hominum.* Vid. Theol. Lect., Introductory.

² In Dr. Alexander Leighton's *Speculum Belli Sacri*, chap. xxxiii. p. 126, " The ordering of the Battle," the learned author says: " In the point of embattling there is not only a due form required, but also fit and convenient matter in the due place ; some do order the weakest forces in the front and the strongest in the wings, some do the contrary. No certain rule can be given in this, but as occasion shall be given from the enemies' order, so must they do. The ordering of Xantippus his forces, was the only means of restoring Carthage from her ruins. He placed his stronger forces in the wings, and his weaker in the front. In the fight against Marcus Attilius Regulus, he charged the light forces, that after they had shot their shafts, they should retire themselves within the wings,

a strong Christian, made strong by His own grace, and by his victory makes it appear to the world, that though there is a great deal of counterfeit coin of profession in religion, yet some there are that have the power, the reality of it, and that 'tis not an invention, but there is truth in it; that the invincible grace, the very Spirit of God dwells in the hearts of true believers; that He hath a number that do not only speak big, but do indeed and in good earnest despise the world, and overcome it by His strength. Some men take delight to see some kind of beasts fight together; but to see a Christian mind encountering some great affliction, and conquering it, to see his valour, in not sinking at the hardest distresses of this life nor the affrightfulest end of it, the cruelest kinds of death, for His sake, this is (as he said)¹ *dignum Deo spectaculum*; this is a combat that God delights to look upon, and He is not a mere beholder in it; for 'tis the power of His own grace that enables and supports the Christian in all those conflicts and temptations.

drawing the enemies after them, and withal they should get themselves without their own and help to compass in the enemy."

¹ Seneca, *De Providentiâ*, chap. ii. Mr. West gives references showing that Leighton has Seneca in mind in the above paragraph.

The Christian no Stoic.

Now for a season, if need be, ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations.—This the Apostle blames not, but aims at the moderating of it. Seek not altogether to dry up this stream, but to bound it, and keep it within its banks. Grace doth not destroy the life of nature, but adds to it a life more excellent; yea, grace doth not only permit, but requires some feeling of afflictions. There is an affected pride of spirit in some men, instead of patience, suitable to the doctrine of the Stoics (as 'tis usually taken), they strive not to feel at all the afflictions that are on them; but this is to *despise the correction of the Lord*, which is alike forbidden, as *fainting* under it (Heb. xii. 5). We should not stop our ears, but, as the prophet speaks, *hear the rod and him that hath appointed it*, Mic. vi. 9. Where there is no feeling at all, there can be no patience.¹

Faith and Reason.

Whom not seeing but believing.—Faith elevates

¹ Coleridge's comment on this is: "Of the sects of ancient philosophy, the Stoic is perhaps the nearest to Christianity. Yet even to this sect Christianity is fundamentally opposite." He says, "The especial aim and characteristic operation of Christianity is to moralise the affections."—*Aids to Reflection*, p. 65.

the soul not only above sense, and sensible things, but above reason itself. As reason corrects the errors that sense might occasion, so supernatural faith corrects the errors of natural reason.¹

The sun seems less than the wheel of a chariot ; but reason teaches the philosopher that 'tis much bigger than the whole earth, and the cause why it seems so little is its great distance.

The naturally wise man is as far deceived by this carnal reason, in his estimate of Jesus Christ, *the Sun of Righteousness*, and the cause is the same, his great distance from Him ; as the Psalmist speaks of the wicked : Ps. x. 5, *Thy judgments are far above out of his sight*. He accounts Christ and His glory a smaller matter than his own gain, honour, or pleasure ; for these are near him, and he sees their quantity to the full, and counts them bigger, yea, far more worth than they are indeed. But the Apostle St. Paul, and all they that are

¹ Coleridge has a comment of seven or eight pages on this aphorism of Leighton, ending thus : " By reason, Leighton means the human understanding, the explanation annexed to it being (by a noticeable coincidence) word for word the very definition which the founder of 'the Critical Philosophy' [Kant] gives of the understanding, namely, 'the faculty judging according to sense.'" He then gives a discourse of great length "on the difference in kind of Reason and the Understanding."—*Aids to Reflection*, London, 1854, pp. 167-185.

enlightened by the same Spirit, they know by faith, which is divine reason, that the excellency of Jesus Christ far surpasses the worth of the whole earth, and all things earthly (Phil. iii. 8).

The Final Happiness of Christians, the theme of Prophecy.

Unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you by them that have preached the Gospel unto you.—We see how the prophets ministered it, as the great and never-failing consolation of the Church in those days, in all their distresses. 'Tis a wonder when they are foretelling either the sorrows and afflictions, or temporal restorement and deliverances of that people of the Jews, what sudden outleaps they will make to speak of the kingdom of Jesus Christ and the days of the Gospel, that he who considers not the spirit they were moved by, would think it were incoherence and impertinency. But they knew well what they meant, that those news were never unseasonable, nor besides the purpose, that the sweetness of those thoughts, viz., the consideration of the Messiah, was able (to such as believed it) to allay the bitterest distresses, and that the great deliverance He was to work was the

top and sum of all deliverances. Thus their prophecies of Him were present comfort to themselves and other believers then ; and further, were to serve for a clear evidence of the divine truth of those mysteries in the days of the Gospel, in and after their fulfilling.

These sweet streams of their doctrine do as the rivers ; they made their own banks fertile and pleasant as it ran by, and flowed still forward to after ages, and by the confluence of more such prophecies, grew greater as it went, till it fell in with the main current of the Gospel in the New Testament, both acted and preached by the Great Prophet Himself, whom they foretold *to come*, and recorded by His apostles and evangelists, and thus united into one river, clear as crystal. This doctrine of salvation in the Scriptures hath still refreshed the city of God, His Church under the Gospel, and still shall do so, till it empty itself into the ocean of eternity.¹

The first discovery we have of this stream, nearest its source, the eternal purpose of divine mercy, is in that promise which the Lord Himself

¹ “ In the whole course of my studies, I do not remember to have read so beautiful an allegory as this ; so various and detailed, and yet so just and natural.”—COLERIDGE, quoted by W. West, B.A.

preached in few words to our first parents, that had newly made themselves and their race miserable : *The seed of the woman shall break the head of the serpent*, Gen. iii. 15.

The agreement of their predictions with the things themselves, and the preaching of the postles following, the other kind of men employed in this salvation, make up one organ or great instrument, tuned by the same hand, and sounding by the same breath of the Spirit of God ; and that is expressed here, as the common authority of the doctrine in both, and the cause of their harmony and agreement in it.

Temperance.

Be sober.—Let your minds be sober, all your affections inwardly attempered to your spiritual condition ; not glutting yourselves with fleshly and perishing delights of any kind ; for the more you take in of these, the less you shall have of spiritual comfort and of this perfect hope. They that pour out themselves upon present delights look not like strangers, and hopeful expectants of another life and better pleasures.

And certainly the Captain of our salvation will not own them for His followers that lie down to drink of these waters, but only such as in passing

take of them with their hand.¹ As excessive eating or drinking makes the body sickly and lazy, fit for nothing but sleep, and besots the mind, cloyes up the way with filthy crudities through which the spirits should pass, bemires them, and makes them move heavily as a coach in a deep way ; thus doth all immoderate use of the world and its delights wrong the soul in its spiritual condition, makes it sickly and feeble, full of spiritual distempers and inactivity, benumbs the graces of the Spirit, and fills the soul with sleepy vapours, makes it grow secure and heavy in spiritual exercises, and obstructs the way and motion of the Spirit of God in the soul. Therefore, if you would be spiritual, healthful, and vigorous, and enjoy much of the consolations of heaven, be sparing and sober in those of the earth, and what you abate in the one shall certainly be made up in the other. Health, and a good constitution of body, is a more constant remaining pleasure than that of excess and momentany pleasing of the palate ; thus, the comfort of this hope is a more refined and more abiding contentment than any is in the passing enjoyments of this world ; and 'tis a foolish bargain to exchange a drachme of the one for many pounds of the other. Consider how pressingly the Apostle St. Paul reasons, 1 Cor. ix.

¹ Cf. Judges vii. 5-7.

25. And take withal our Saviour's exhortation : *Be sober and watch, for ye know not what hour your Lord will come.*¹

Benediction.

Peace be with you all that are in Christ Jesus.—The entertainment and increase of Christian love, of due esteem of one another, and affection one to another, is no matter of empty compliment, but is the very stamp and badge of Jesus Christ upon His followers. It is therefore most carefully to be preserved entire ; and unhappy are they that do by any means willingly break it. Oh ! let us beware of doing so, and *follow peace*, even when it seems to fly from us !

This *peace*, that is the portion of those *in Christ*, is indeed within them, and with God ; but through *Him*, 'tis likewise *one with another*, and in that notion, to be desired and wished jointly with the other.

They that are in Christ are the only children and heirs of true peace. Others may dream of it, and have a false peace for a time, and wicked men may wish it to themselves and one another ; but 'tis a most vain and insignificant hope ;² but to wish it

¹ Matthew xxv. 13.

² Various readings—*vain hope and thought*,—*vain hope and will come to nought*.—Prof. John Brown, quoting the last

to them that are in Christ hath good ground, for all solid peace is founded on Him and flows from Him. *Now the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, through Jesus Christ. Amen.*

paragraph, says : " I part from the devout Archbishop with reluctance, as from a pious accomplished friend, who has been my instructive and delightful companion during my leisurely journey through this most fertile region of the world of inspiration, and to whom I am much indebted for turning my attention to some of its more recondite beauties, and for gathering for me, and for you, some of its sweetest flowers and richest fruits."—*Expository Discourses on First Peter*, 1849, vol. ii. p. 553.

UNIVERSITY LECTURES AND ADDRESSES.

LEIGHTON was Principal of Edinburgh University for nine years, and gave Lectures in Latin to the students. These were first issued in 1693 by Dr. Fall, and afterwards in 1828 and 1837 by Professor Scholefield of Cambridge. We are indebted to the enterprise of an Edinburgh bookseller for widening the influence of Leighton's writings, in the middle of last century. David Wilson, in 1746, published "Select Works of Archbishop Leighton, some of which were never before printed." Among these there were ten sermons, nine of which were copied "from the Bishop's originals sixty years ago," and one which "a gentleman had in his possession, taken from the Bishop as he delivered it." It is to be noted that Wilson was honoured in prefixing "some account of the Life and Character" of Leighton to this work. Then again, in 1748, he published other two volumes, entitled *The Expository Works and other Remains of Archbishop Leighton*, Revised by P. Doddridge, D.D., with a preface by the Doctor. A good many pieces also appeared for the first time, such as Lectures on Psalm xxxix., Isaiah vi., and Romans xii., besides Letters to the Synods of Glasgow and Dunblane, and the *Meditationes Ethico-criticae in Psalmos iv, xxxii, cxxx*, "translated from the Author's Latin by a good hand." Wilson was not only much indebted to Doddridge, but also to the Rev. R. (afterwards Professor) Hamilton, who "revised the sheets as they came from the press." In his note to the Reader he says, "I am now endeavouring to recover the worthy author's Discourses on the Epistle to the Ephesians, men-

tioned by Dr. Fall in his preface to the second volume of the Commentary on Peter, and, if I succeed, I intend to publish them." The recovery of these discourses is still a desideratum.¹ The translation of the *Meditations on the Psalms* was not the work of Doddridge. In his admirable Preface he says, "I have taken care they should be faithfully translated, and have reviewed the version with as much accuracy as my other engagements would allow. It is indeed impossible to transfuse the inimitable elegance and strength of the original into any translation; but he who is incapable of the pleasure of using that, will, I hope, be glad to enjoy the benefit of such eminently pious reflections, though under the disadvantage of a dress much less beautiful and ornamental." The translation of the *Lectures and Addresses* appeared in 1763. Mr. West, in his edition of 1870, gives a new translation of all the Latin compositions of Leighton. The selections given are taken from the previous translations, carefully compared with the original, in order to represent, as far as possible, the style as well as the thought of the author.

No words are needed to extol the high qualities of the Lectures and Addresses. When Doddridge was requested by Wilson to introduce Leighton's works to the world by a commendatory preface, he absolutely refused to do so, "knowing," as he said, "how very unworthy I am to pretend, by my suffrage, to add anything to the reputation and acceptance of what came from the pen of so eminently great and good a man; and the more I know of him, and

¹ The Rev. Dr. Alex. Waugh of London, in a letter dated February 3, 1814, addressed to Rev. John Brown of Whitburn, says, "I begin with Leighton's mss. When I waited on Mr. Reid in Pall Mall, he expressed great readiness to assist in the recovery of them, if at all possible. . . . I assured him that our object was not selfish; but that if the valuable works of so eminent a divine could only be brought to light, our object would be completely gained. . . . He assured me that if he should be so fortunate as to light on them, he would most cheerfully give them to us."—*Life of Dr. Waugh*, 1839, p. 253.

of myself, the more deeply sensible I must be of this." It is not without good reason Leighton has been called "our Scottish Fénelon;" for although he passed not under the cold shade of kings and courtiers, he had, like Fénelon with Bossuet, the sharp acrimony of some of his compeers; and his saintly life was as the ægis of a Christianity of a sweeter and stronger character than that with which the name of De Guyon is identified. In these Lectures, as academical studies, there is fuller scope given for the display of his ripe erudition; while those rich qualities that impart charm and sanctity to his Sermons and Commentary are also everywhere conspicuous.

Citations from Scripture are numerous; the writings of Paul give the highest number, 39; after which the Psalms, 28; the Gospels, 25; the Proverbs, 11; and about twenty of the other books are quoted. There are three passages taken from the Septuagint, and two from the Apocryphal books. Upwards of seventy Greek and Latin authors are mentioned. Aristotle is quoted 15 times; Homer, 6; Sophocles, 5; Euripides, 6; Plato, 9; Plutarch, 5; Æschylus, Aristophanes, Thales, 2 each; while Xenophon, Isocrates, Hesiod, Menander, Pythagoras, Aratus, Ariston, and others, furnish their contributions. Among Latin authors there are quotations from Horace, 17; Seneca, 26; Virgil, 15; Lactantius, 8; Cicero, 6; and Juvenal and Persius, Lucretius and Lucan, Terence and Ovid, A. Gellius, Claudian, Varro, and others, are represented. First among the Fathers stands Bernard, 26; next, Augustine, 18; Ambrose and Basil, 6 each; Herm. Trismegistus, 5; Chrysostom and Th. à Kempis, 4 each; and Tertullian, Synesius, the three Gregories, Clemens Alexandrinus, Ignatius, Claudius Victor, and others, are more or less frequently cited. Boetius, with his *Consolation of Philosophy*, was a favourite with Leighton, as he was with all mediæval-minded men, and is quoted four or five times, while Luther and Lord Bacon have each a niche.

MEDITATIONS ON SOME OF THE PSALMS.

PSALM IV. 1.

The Power of Prayer.—Many of the calamities of pious men have an aspect of misery ; but, to prove that they were really happy, they poured out many prayers in their calamities, they had many and seasonable deliverances shining favourably on their calamities, and many songs of praise they sang to God their Deliverer ; and even when cast into the fire these odours abundantly diffuse their savour.

Hear me.—Behold the sanctuary of this holy man in all his trials ; which he accordingly adorns with accumulated titles, similar to those in Psalm xviii. 1, *My Rock, my Fortress, my Strength, my Deliverer, my Buckler,* etc. He indeed is *a place of refuge to his children, therefore in his fear his strong confidence.* A wonderful enigma that, *in fear confidence ; but the thing itself is most true, as Solomon puts it, Proverbs xiv. 26, and again xviii. 10, The name of the Lord is a strong tower ; the righteous man runneth into it and is safe.* And they who know not this refuge, miserable and panic-stricken when danger is near, run hither and thither like little frightened mice,¹ as Antoninus

¹ μυιδίων ἐπτοημένων διαδρομαῖς.

excellently expresses it. The life of man upon earth is a warfare ;¹ and it is better in the midst of enemies and dangers to know one great fortress than many by-paths. He who knows to pray may be pressed, but he cannot be oppressed.

Hear me, O Lord.—He did not deem it enough to have said this once, but he redoubles it. He who truly prays, pleads his cause earnestly, nor only earnestly, but vehemently, and is the more urgent to be heard, because his necessities and difficulties, and the ardent stirrings of his own desires and affections, constrain him. And the prayers that have such qualities are those only that are carried up on high, and offer the most grateful violence to heaven. Nor does the Divine benignity grant anything more readily, and with more inclination, than that which seems, by the most fervent prayers, to be taken by force, and, so to speak, extorted. And Tertullian did not hesitate to say, that when we pray eagerly, we advance as it were in close line of battle and besiege God.² And St. Basil says, “We must be importunate with God.”³ These are the perpetual sacrifices of the

¹ This is the Vulgate form of Job vii. 1, *Militia est vita hominis super terram.*

² *Acriter precantes veluti stipato agmine Deum obsidere.*

³ *δυσωπείν Θεόν.*

temple of God, and the rational offerings,¹ prayers, and vows intermingled with praises, flowing from an upright and pure heart. But he who supplicates coldly invites a denial;² neither is it to be wondered at that we often do not urge God to hear the prayers which we ourselves while we offer them scarcely hear; nor that they do not penetrate the heavens, yea, that they do not even go up at all. It is not wonderful that they do not ascend, when they do not even go out from us, but, like wretched abortives, die in the birth; for they do not proceed as if discharged from the inmost heart, but are born on the surface of the lips and there they expire; quite different from what Homer ascribes to his Ulysses, so endowed with wise eloquence, when he says that he sent a shout, not from his mouth, but from his breast: ὄπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος ἴει,—

Forth from his breast he sent a mighty cry!

Thou God of my righteousness.—Thou who art righteous Thyself, and the Advocate of my righteousness. *My righteousness*, that is, first, of my righteous cause, and secondly, of my righteous life; for both are necessary in order to confidence in prayer; not that depending on this *righteousness* we should seek Divine help and grace as a matter

¹ καὶ θυσίαι λογικαί.

² Qui autem frigide rogat, docet negare.

of just debt, for then *it were no more of grace*, as the Apostle strongly argues, Rom. xi. 6. Certainly our prophet is very far from boasting of his own merits ; for he so mentions his righteousness, as at the same time to implore the Divine mercy, *Be merciful and gracious to me*. And this is indeed the genuine temper of one who truly prays—purity and humility : *for polluted hands are an abomination to the Lord, and He hates the heart that is puffed up ; He beholds the proud afar off ;* as also our Redeemer's parable explains, Luke xviii. *Wickedness is an abomination to the Lord. If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me ; but the righteous God loves righteousness, and His countenance beholds the upright.*¹ The words of a wicked man, when he prays, are as a fan or bellows of the anger of God, whereby it is provoked into a flame ; for how can he appease God who does not please God ; or please God, when he is displeased with God, and has no regard for the pure laws of God and that holiness which is so dear to Him ?

Thou hast enlarged me when I was in distress.— Since many a time I have experienced both the wealth of Thy benignity and the power of Thy right hand, from this I lay hold of my confidence, because Thou art immutable, and, in rescuing Thy

¹ Ps. v. 4 ; lxvi. 18 ; xi. 7.

servants from surrounding dangers, art unwearied. The recorded examples of others who have also been delivered by Divine aid animate us in prayer, Ps. xxii. 4, *Our fathers trusted in thee, they trusted in thee, and Thou didst deliver them.* But our own experiences are both more recent and are nearer to us, and he who treasures them up in his memory, not only by this means is grateful to God, but also is wise for himself; because he enjoys all those benefits of the Divine favour twice, and not even twice, but as often as he needs them afresh; not only sustaining his faith in new dangers by observing previous deliverances, but also by humble prayer in God's sight unfolding and repeating the same, he now more earnestly implores new ones, and then more effectually obtains them. And so, as it were by a certain magnetic force, he attracts benefits to benefits, and calls out the Divine favour, alluring it by itself.

Thou hast enlarged me.—The Redeemed of the Lord may especially say so concerning their chief and great deliverance, in having been snatched from the jaws of hell and of eternal death. Of this so great salvation they sing perpetual praises, which they thus inscribe, **TO GOD OUR DELIVERER!**¹ And by this salvation, than all others so much more glorious, they may confidently urge and hope

¹ Deo Liberatori.

in all other cases wherever the need arises, the help of His Divine right hand.

There is one thing more, and it is so self-evident as scarcely to need a caution, that he who is not accustomed to prayer, even when the gale of prosperity blows softly upon him, will employ it very unskilfully and falteringly when the waves of adversity roll around him ; as Xenophon also warns in his life of Cyrus : τῶν θεῶν πρακτικώτερος ἂν εἴη, κ.τ.λ.

Verse 2. *O ye sons of men, how long will ye turn my glory into shame? How long will ye love vanity, and seek after leasing?*

Justly may we admire both the force and the velocity with which prayer flies upward, and brings down answers from heaven : ἄμα ἔπος, ἄμα ἔργον, *No sooner said than done* ; if not as to the accomplishment of the thing itself, which perchance may be deferred till a more opportune occasion, at least as to the clear and firm hope, and the strong confidence inspired in the mind of the supplicant. Prayer is, as the poet says, “an escape from the violence of men and the realms of sin, that, on outspread wings, it may dare to commit itself to heaven.”¹ Whether you interpret the words *praepetes*

¹ — *Vim hominum fugiens atque impia regna
Praepetibus pennis audet se credere coelo.*

VIRGIL, *Aeneid* vi. 15.

pennae as signifying a good omen, that is, birds opportunely flying on before and taking their proper seats, or birds that fly high and aloft, in opposition to birds that fly low, or, in a word, you take it to mean such birds as Homer called *τανυσιπτέρας*, those that fly with broad expanded wings, because the augurs most carefully watched those which flew on before with huge wings, wide-spread and stretching evenly—about which grammarians and philologists contend, discussing trifles, and studious of mere words—certain it is, that among the entire race that swims through the air by the steerage of their wings, prayer soars to the loftiest height and with the swiftest motion, and at the same time also most happily and most auspiciously, and elevates the soul above all the dangers as well as the solaces of this earthly scene. Behold this holy man, just a little ago, invoking God in the midst of his straits, and with so much pressure entreating that he might be heard! but now, as if he had obtained his desires to the full, boldly rebuking men that are hostile to him, however highly exalted and very mighty in the royal palace they might be.

Vanity of earthly possessions.

What are, indeed, mostly all those things which we mortals, with such strife of spirit, pursue?

Trifles, all of them, and the shadows of smoke, or nothing.¹ Of this hereafter, but first, *How long will ye turn my glory into shame?* The things which in reality alone adorn man, and constitute his only glory, are holiness, piety, faith; and these almost are the only things which are held in scorn and contempt. Even among Christians, at least so called, to be a Christian is in itself a thing with the deepest brand of opprobrium on it. We have a long time ago lost the true names of things: candid simplicity of manners is contemned under the name of rusticity; religion is held to be silly superstition; innocence and gentleness are called dulness and stupidity; pride has obtained the name of magnanimity, and craft that of wisdom; so we *turn true glory into shame*, and in our shame we glory. And because few can discern the true good, they consume the whole day of this brief life in trying to catch the false and fictitious. He who accumulates riches may seem, perhaps to himself, and also to others, to be a wise man; but oh, how far from it, and with how base a lie does he impose upon himself! If he spends them on appetite and other services of luxury, he throws into the foulest gulf that which with so much sweat he has heaped together. Or if he hoards up wealth, how soon does it pass away

¹ φλεδόνες ἅπαντα καὶ καπνοῦ σκιάι.

from him to his heirs!¹ Does he hunt for fame and vainglory? Then he feeds even on air, and for a thing of nought he is the slave of all things. Moreover, sensual pleasure—who is there so mad as in himself not to perceive how fetid a falsehood it is? It drives men furious after little trifling questions, like flying bees which pour out the grateful honey, but strike their stings into the jaded hearts.²

Piety is something high, sublime, kingly, invincible, indefatigable; pleasure is low, servile, imbecile, frail; the one has for its companion, neither sickly satiety nor bitter repentance; the other has both. Hear, young gentleman, the Divine voice of heavenly wisdom, with fervid affection and loud cry calling you back from the devious mazes of error and the headlong descents to ruin; *How long, says she, will ye love vanity and seek after lies?* he who seeks me shall not be over-wearied in running hither and thither, for he will find me sitting at

¹ ἄν δὲ φυλάττη
κληρονόμοις, ἀπὸ νῦν γίνεται ἀλλότρια.

² agit furentes,
Apiumque par volantum,
Ubi grata mella fudit,
Ferit icta corda morsu.

Boetius, *De Consolatione Phil.* iii. 7. Boetius uses *fruentes* for *furentes*.

his door ; and he who finds me needs seek nothing else, unless he be one whom the blessed and eternal life cannot satisfy. O would that the obstinate labour and unwearied assiduity with which men pursue the fleeting and fading pleasures of sense would impart some stimulus to your minds to give at least equal diligence in this loftiest and most blessed study ! “ For though,” to use the words of St. Chrysostom, “ it is scarcely proper to demand from you so great an attachment to these objects, notwithstanding their being so lovely, give at least this much.”

PSALM CXXX.

De Profundis.

Out of the depths have I cried unto Thee, O Lord.—It is certainly both a very useful and pleasant employment to observe the emotions of great minds, especially in great and arduous circumstances ; but that mind only is truly great and superior to all the world, which does in the most placid manner subject itself to God in all things, and securely casting its burdens and cares upon Him, in every vicissitude of human affairs, looks up to His supreme hand, and fixes its regard upon that alone. Now the Royal Prophet everywhere

witnesses that such was his mind, and as elsewhere, so also more evidently in this short Psalm, which seems to be his. As if lifting up his head out of the midst of the waves, and raising his countenance and voice to heaven, he says, *Out of the depths do I cry to thee, O Lord.* For he does not express a thing already done, but, as with the Hebrews the past is used for the present subject, so I take it is the formula of this prayer.

Out of the depths.—As if he were immersed and overwhelmed in an abyss of miseries, namely, and of calamities. It is indeed the natural lot of *man* that *he is born to trouble*, as *the sparks*, or children of the coals, *fly upward*: “so close akin are grief and life.”¹ Yet men who are born again seem to have their proportion as it were doubled, or are *twice born to trouble*; so many and so great are the evils, beyond the rest of mankind, with which they are heavily burdened, that you see them sometimes almost oppressed with them. But if this seem wonderful to any one, truly he cannot see very far off,² and looks only on the surface of things, and does not penetrate very deep within these depths; since even the philosophers themselves discovered admirable reasons for this dis-

¹ ὡς ἄρα συγγενής ἐστὶ λύπη καὶ βίος. — MENANDER.

² μωπάζει, 2 Pet. i. 9.

compensation of Providence, and professed in this respect that they boldly pleaded the cause of God : "God loves His own children in truth and also in severity." ¹ "How very different," says the Roman moralist, "is the love of fathers to their children from the way in which their mothers indulge them ! They order the boys to be called up early to their studies, and suffer them not to be idle even on holidays, and wring out from them often the sweat, and sometimes even the tears. But the mothers like to fondle them in their bosom and keep them under their shelter, never to weep, never to grieve, never to labour. God has a father's disposition towards good men, and these He loves with more strength than tenderness. He says, Let them be roused up by toils, and sorrows, and losses, that they may acquire real vigour ; should they be luxuriously brought up they would languish through inactivity, and be not only unfit for work, but also unable to carry about an unwieldy and weighty body." ² Presently after he quotes a manly word of Demetrius the Cynic : "There is nothing," says he, "that to me seems more unhappy than the man whom adversity has never touched ; he has not been permitted to test himself. To wish to pass

¹ *Vere suos amat et severe Deus.*

² Seneca, *De Prov.* ii.

through life without adversity, is to be ignorant of the other side of the nature of things. I pronounce thee wretched, because thou hast never been wretched. Hast thou slipped through life without an opponent? no one can know what thou art capable of, not even thou thyself." On the other hand, in adversity men experience not so much what they themselves can do, as what God can do in them, and what is the help of His Divine grace in the trial, wonderfully sustaining them, and oftentimes making them joyful by a happy exit, so that they can say, *My God, my Strength, and my Deliverer!* So too *the goodwill of Him who dwells in her* preserves the Church in the midst of the flames, like *the burning bush*. And when she seems overwhelmed with waters, He brings her back as it were only washed and purified, so that the saying may be well applied to her, *Mergas profundo, pulchrior exsilit*, You may plunge her in the deep, yet she springs up fairer than ever.

We are unwilling to adopt that paradox of the Stoics, *That evils which befall good men are not evils at all*; which, however, may be taken in a favourable sense, since religion teaches us that all those evils, even the worst of them, can be converted into, and work together for good; which, I admit, comes almost to the same thing, nor per-

haps did they wish to mean anything else. Exile, poverty, diseases, are indeed evils, that is, they have something hard and sharp in them ; but when they fall on a good and brave man, they seem to lay aside their badness, and become gentle. And that very sharpness has this good, that it excites and exercises virtue, and by exercising even augments it ; that it fixes deeper the roots of faith, as the wind attacking a tree,¹ and strengthens fortitude and patience under evils ; and, as is evident in this example, it compels, by a sort of sweet and happy necessity, to confession of sins and to a seeking for refuge under the wings of the Divine benignity, and inciting to hope in God.

And there is certainly this one thing in which adversity yields gain to godly men, since it calls away their affections from the earth and from earthly things, or even wrests them off while pertinaciously adhering to them. "It is expedient, doubtless, that they should experience hardships here, lest they should like this poor lodging as if it were their own home."² They should feel that they

¹ Scholefield reads *viritus incursans* ; we prefer Mr. West's reading of *ventus*, as agreeing with Seneca's figure, *Arbor non solida est, nisi in quam frequens ventus incursat.*

² *Expedi omnino ut hic dura experiantur, ne stabulum ament pro domo sua.*

are *strangers and pilgrims upon earth*, that they may more frequently and with more ardent longing sigh for their fatherland, and very often repeat it, Home ! Dear Home ! Best Home !¹ For the sons and heirs of the kingdom must be weaned by this wormwood, lest, allured by the blandishments of the flesh and the poisoned sweetness of the world, they barter away those true and pure joys of their blessed hope for these false, and foul, and fatal joys ; and lest the heavenly soul, being subjugated, should give way to pleasures and be overmastered by the flesh, the pernicious root of manifold miseries. In fine, we see how much vigour and vehemence adversity adds to prayer ; for the divine Psalmist, the deeper he has sunk, the more keenly he cries, *Out of the depths have I cried.*

Now this prayer has in itself those precious virtues of a prayer which is acceptable to God, blended in the sweetest intermixture, namely, faith, fervour, humility. *Faith*, in that he prays *out of the depths* ; fervour, in that *he cries*, and both again in the next words ; *faith*, in that he is in the midst of evils,

¹ οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος. Leighton has this quotation in his Latin *À Kempis*, 1622 (a charming little thing, 4 in. by 2, and just 2 oz. in weight), written as follows :—

οἶκοι γενοίμην·

οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος.

and yet does not despair of being heard ; *fervour*, in that he urges this with reiterated desires and words ; *humility* also, in what follows, where he feels himself immersed in a sea of iniquities not less than of calamities, and most humbly acknowledges that he is so entirely overwhelmed by them as not to be able to stand, unless held up by pure grace and mercy : *If Thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, who shall stand ?* And here again *Faith* manifests itself more clearly along with its own kindred, *Hope* and *Charity*, which, like the Three Graces, hand in hand, undivided mutually sustain each other. You have *Faith*, verse 4th, *There is forgiveness with Thee ; Hope*, in the 5th and 6th, *I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in His word do I hope ; Charity* in the 7th and 8th, where he affectionately invites all the Israel of God to a communion of the same faith and hope, and, for more abundantly establishing these graces, with lively emotion proclaims the riches of the Divine benignity. This is, then, the composition of this remarkable prayer, which thus indeed composed, *as a pillar of smoke perfumed with myrrh, and frankincense, and every kind of most fragrant perfume*, ascends. And this you have, in place of an analysis, which indeed to treat more minutely after the manner of word dissection, and to clothe

in the trite vocables of the school, to speak freely, would be as easy and puerile as certainly it is barren and fruitless. Nor indeed do I pass any other judgment on the common method of explaining a passage by a multiplication of little observations, and with a kind of violence pressing out its import, as if heads and particulars were to be valued by their number rather than by their weight and usefulness. But so far as this is concerned, let there be liberty to each one to follow his own inclinations. "This privilege we both demand and allow reciprocally."¹

Out of the depths.—Oh the invincible and immortal power of Divine faith which lives in the midst of the waves! Into whatever billows it may be plunged, it cannot be submerged, but, raising itself, and the soul in which it is, emerges and swims above all, *φελλὸς ὡς ἀβάπτιστος*, like cork which refuses to sink; having this in common with the Divine love, according to that saying of Solomon in the Song, *that many waters cannot quench it*. Whatever great things the Stoics may say of their wise man, and whatever the whole of philosophy may preach of fortitude, all this verily, and that too in an eminent degree, is surpassed by Divine

¹ Hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim.—HORACE, *Ars Poet.* 11.

faith. By this the pious man, though denuded of every earthly aid and solace, wraps himself up, not indeed in his own virtue, but in that of God Himself; and hence it is that by no tyranny, by no threatenings, by none of the ills of life, by no dread of death, can he be conquered, since he assuredly leans upon Omnipotence itself. *The Lord is my Light, he says, and my Salvation; whom shall I fear? The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid? Though war should rise against me, though an host should encamp against me,*¹ *faith says, I am secure in the secret place of the Most High, and embracing Him I shall fear nothing.*²

¹ Psalm xxvii. 1, 3.

² Sub latibulo Excelsi, inquit fides, segura sum, et *nihil illum amplexa timebo.* The first part of the sentence is an echo of Psalm xci., Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi, or of Psalm xxvii. 5, protexit me in abscondito tabernaculi sui; the last clause is a quotation from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 67.

PRÆLECTIONES THEOLOGICÆ.

(*Theological Lectures.*)

I.

PRÆLECTIO PROÆMIALIS : *Introductory Lecture.*

I UNDERTAKE a great work, sensible of my own littleness, yea, as one who is least of all, I venture upon a work which is the greatest of all;¹ for, among the pursuits of men, can any one be named

¹ *Magnum opus parvus aggredior, imo opus omnium maximum, omnium minimus.* It is difficult without a circumlocution to render this terse Latin into equivalent English. Cicero uses "*Magnum quid aggredi.*" And there may have been in the mind of Leighton the Horatian phrase, "*Nec conamur tenues grandia,*" "We humble writers do not undertake high themes" (*Carm.* i. 6. 9); or that other, "*operosa parvus carmina fingo*" (*Carm.* iv. 2. 31-32), "I, a diminutive thing, like a Matinian bee, compose elaborate odes." Horace, doubtless, has his own small stature implied in this allusion, "*apis Matinæ more modoque, parvus.*" And Leighton, with this reminiscence of Horace, may have intended a playful allusion to his own *personnel*, or short stature, as well as a bold contrast between the great task to which he addressed himself, and his consciousness of inadequacy and slender ability for its discharge.

more noble than that of forming anew the minds of men after the Divine image? But, as I think, there is no one who will not acknowledge that this is the genuine and principal end, not only of pastors in their congregations, but also of Doctors in the schools. And although this academical office, in many respects ungrudgingly yields to that other, the pastoral, in this one respect, however, it seems to have somewhat of a loftier tendency, as it is the function of the latter to imbue with heavenly doctrine the hearts of the common people for the most part, but it is the work of the former to imbue the more select, namely, educated and studious young men, from among whom, it is to be hoped, some will, with the Divine blessing, afterwards become messengers of the same doctrine.

And surely it is right and proper that those who have this work laid upon them by a Divine hand, should, on this account, gird themselves for prosecuting it with so much the more heart and enthusiasm, when they reflect with themselves to what an extent there may flow forth, and into how many fields of our Lord, there may in due time be transmitted, as it were by canals and aqueducts, whatever, namely, of Christian instruction and of true piety they may infuse into the tender minds of their students. By an argument not very unlike

this, Plutarch endeavours to incite the philosophers to aim at the instruction of great men and princes, and advises them not sullenly to shun their society, "for thus," says he, "in the shortest way will you be useful to the greatest number." For he who teaches plebeians and the illiterate has only instructed single individuals in virtue and wisdom, and although they attain the highest proficiency, the gain is only a private one; but that man who bends his energies for the instruction of presidents and magistrates, or those who in future may become such, by cultivating one mind thoroughly, confers a benefit on large societies of men. And certainly there is no physician, if he be fond of honour, *ἀνφιλόκαλος ᾗ*, as Plutarch says, who would not much more readily cure the eye which is to see for, and be overseer¹ of the many; and a lyre-maker, *λυροποιὸς*, would construct his lyre with so much the greater pleasure, if he knew that it would be touched by the hands of Amphion, so as to draw the pliant stones to build up themselves into the walls of the citadel of Thebes. A learned and ingenious man, applying this to our present subject, calls University Professors makers of lyres, by whom the walls of a much more illustrious and beautiful city, namely, the Heavenly Jerusalem, are to be

¹ Visurus et vigilaturus.

built ; these very stones being truly, and without fable, as it were, living stones, by the sweet attractive energy of the music of the Gospel, come spontaneously together to rear the edifice.

I am not so little acquainted with myself as to think that I may dare to hope for even so little progress in so vast an enterprise, on account of any specific ability of my own ; but while I humbly depend upon the Divine goodness and favour, what forbids me cherishing a hope ? for in an Omnipotent hand all instruments are alike.

Nor can it be questioned that He can make whatever He pleases out of anything He pleases, who made all things out of nothing ; that He can with the utmost ease strengthen the weak, and enrich the needy, who gives all things to all, *life and breath and all things* ;¹ and whatever emptiness we have within us attracts and invites the fulness of Him

“ Who all things fills, and high o’er all still dwells ;
Who teaches mind, and the mind’s shafts repels.”²

Under His auspices, therefore, young gentlemen, we must aspire to true and saving wisdom, and we must walk in that way by which also we may rise

¹ ζῶην, καὶ πνοήν, καὶ πάντα.

² ὅς πάντα πληροῖ, καὶ ἄνω παντὸς μένει·
ὅς νοῦν σοφίζει, καὶ νόου φεύγει βολάς.

above this lower world.¹ For it is not my intention to entangle you in the bramble-thickets of trifling questions and disputations ; but if I had any share in that excellent art, it would be my earnest desire to lead you as gently as I can, and be myself such a companion to you, along those pleasant and easy paths of piety to the blessed life hereafter, and to inflame your minds with desires that pant after, and love that burns for heavenly things. And to use the language of that great theologian, I would “add wings to your souls, snatch them away from the world, and restore them to God.”² For, if I may be permitted to speak freely, most of the subjects which are treated of even in our Theological Schools, and are taught and disputed with great display and noise, have, mayhap, the thorny sharpness, but certainly at the same time the thorny barrenness ; they can tear and puncture, but they cannot feed minds, *for no one ever gathered grapes of thorns or figs of thistles*. “To what does it tend,” says one, “to dispute profoundly concerning the Trinity, if thou art destitute of humility, and so art displeasing to the Trinity ?”³ And St. Augustine, upon that

¹ Cf. VIRGIL, *Georg.* iii. 8 :—

—Tentanda via est, qua me quoque possim

Tollere humo, victorque virûm volitare per ora.

² πτερυγῶν τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ ἀρπάσαι κόσμον, καὶ δοῦναι Θεῷ.

³ Thomas à Kempis.

passage of Isaiah, "*I am thy God, that teacheth thee to profit,*" aptly says, "the teaching is of useful things, not subtilities."¹ And this is what I wish and pray, that while we, according to our measure, act as under-teachers, He who has His chair in heaven, and who teaches the hearts of men on earth,² may effectually and thoroughly instruct you.

But that you may be capable of this heavenly light and learning, it is before all things necessary that your minds be called back to themselves; for, as long as they gape after trifles and vanities, and are dispersed and divided in hunting after them, he who would offer them the precepts and admonitions of wisdom, commits them, like the Sibyl's leaves, to the nimble winds.³ It is certainly a matter of much labour and special art to fix the hearts of men, especially young men and boys, and bring them into contact with their very selves, in order to be explored. We read in the parable of the Gospel regarding the Prodigal Son, that he first

¹ *Utilia non subtilia.*

² *Qui cathedram in cælo habens, corda docet in terris* (St. Augustine). Leighton has this saying written on his *De Imitando Christo*, 1564, and quotes it often in his works. See Lecture xx., on "Happiness as it lies in God," and Sermon on Job xxxiv. 31, 32.

³ An allusion to the Sibyl's prophecies, written on the leaves of trees, which every student of Virgil would understand.

came to himself, and then, at length, returned to his father.¹ Seeing it is a great step towards conversion to God, that the mind should be turned to itself, and should ponder deeply its own concerns, as the pious Bernard significantly expresses it by this prayer, "May I return from outward things to those that are inward, and, from things within me, may I ascend to those that are above;"² I should regard it, indeed, as no small gain, if in this assembly I should send away one of you—would that there were many! oh, I would it were all!—persuaded of the necessity of making, more than heretofore, serious and secret resolutions with regard to your immortality and eternal things. "O vain minds of men! O blind hearts!"³ This is what God complains of His people, that *they have not a heart to understand*. This is the great disgrace, this the great misery of the human race, that they live without forethought.⁴ Inconsideration, that ἀβουλία, thoughtlessness so *brutish* (pardon the word, if I can make the thing more intelligible

¹ The same remark occurs in his sermon on Hosea v. 15, at the end. Mr. West gives parallel references from A Kempis, Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard.

² Ab exterioribus ad interiora redeam, et ab interioribus ad superiora ascendam.

³ O vanas hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!—LUCRETIUS, ii. 14: *Miseras* for *vanas*.

⁴ ἀπρονοήτως.

by it), is the death of souls. How true is that saying of the ancients, "A thoughtful mind is the source of every good thing"!¹

The Psalmist's advice is, *Commune with your own heart*, speak to yourselves, which few certainly do, for you will find the most of men in no place so rarely as in company with themselves. But it is my desire that you should be on terms of closest intimacy with your very selves, and, as becomes students, remain at home, dwell with and speak often to yourselves. Seriously consider, To what purpose do I live? Whither am I going? Ask thyself, "Hast thou any end or purpose thou pursuest, and in what direction the bow is aimed?"² These things which I have embraced for the Christian Faith, and so often heard, about a future world, about eternal life and death, whether are they true or false? If they be true, as we all un-

¹ Intellectus cogitabundus principium omnis boni. In the *Sancta Sophia* of Augustin Baker, 1657,—a work very dear to Leighton, which has an aphorism written by his hand, ἐγγὺς Κυριοῦ πλήρης μαστίγων,—the ancient saying is ascribed to Augustine, and is translated, "All good proceeds from the understanding as its first principle."

² Est aliquid quo tendis et in quod dirigis arcum?—PERSIUS, *Sat.* iii. 60. It was the first precept of philosophy to know the end or aim, and to direct all things to that end. In line 61 the master asks the scholar, *An passim sequeris corvos*, etc.

doubtedly profess to believe they are, then, certainly, the greatest affairs of this world are vain, and lighter even than vanity itself; all our knowledge is ignorance, our riches poverty, our pleasures bitter, and our honour vile and dishonourable. O how ignorant men covetous of glory are, as to what it is or how to be sought for! Nay, eagerly catching the shadow of glory, they avoid and turn their backs upon that which is true and solid and everlasting. The future happiness of the righteous is a thing above all our expression, ay, and exalted beyond all conception, oh, to what a wonderful height! By comparing great things with small, we can trace out so much of those lofty and invisible blessings by earthly and familiar things. In this respect, also, the Holy Scriptures let themselves down to our level,¹ as the Hebrews express it, "The law of God speaks the language of the sons of men."² They represent that celestial life under the names of an inheritance, and of riches, and under those of a kingdom and a crown, but along with epithets that are neither common to, nor in congruity with any earthly glory or opulence. It is *an inheritance, but, incorruptible, undefiled, and*

¹ συγκαραβαλονσι.

² *Lex Dei loquitur linguam filiorum hominum*, quoted in his Commentary under 1 Peter i. 6.

that fadeth not away. It is a kingdom, but one *which cannot be moved*, or shaken, much less destroyed; which cannot be said of sublunary thrones, as all history abundantly testifies, and also our own so recent experience. To you, if you put your faith in the Gospel, an inheritance so great and a crown so unfading are offered. Hearken, ye sons of Adam, ye greedy and ambitious race : lo ! here is room, not only for exciting, but for satiating a laudable avarice and ambition ; but we are forced to confess that faith in these things is a rare virtue. O precious faith !¹—for, among the large flocks of believers in these lands, any one may, without injustice, exclaim, Where is the man who believes ? Never shall that man persuade me that he believes in heavenly things, who cleaves to this earth, nay, who does not scorn and despise it with all its allurements, and strain every nerve to the utmost of his desire and effort, with this one end in view, that he may obtain those boundless and eternal blessings.

Nor is there anything in the way itself that may deter you, unless holiness of spirit and life seem to be a hard and grievous law ; on the other hand,

¹ O cara fides ! Pearson and West read *rara* ; we retain the reading of Jerment and Scholefield, as giving a higher tone to the exclamation, and being quite in unison with the context.

nothing surely can be named that is more worthy of man, nothing more becoming, nothing that is attended with greater pleasure. I therefore beseech and entreat you, young gentlemen, by the mercies of God,¹ and by your own most precious souls, that you would seriously consider these things, and bend your whole energies towards these studies. Make but a trial, without fear of danger, only make such use of the ways of this wisdom, and I doubt not but they will so allure you with their pleasantness, that you will never depart from them. For this purpose I very specially advise you that you be assiduous in prayer: nay, it is St. Paul that exhorts you that you *pray without ceasing*:² so that prayer may be, not only, according to that old saying, The key of the day and the lock of the night,³ but, so to speak, a staff by day, and a bed by night; which two things are signified by almost one Hebrew word.⁴ And, certainly, you will pray more easily, and with

¹ Per misericordiæ Divinæ viscera. ² 1 Thess. v. 17.

³ *Sit oratio clavis diei et sera noctis* is a gem which Leighton has chased in manifold ways in his works; see under 1 Peter iii. 12; the close of his "Valedictory Address to Students," etc. He wrote it down, when he was a young man, in his Thomas à Kempis, ed. 1564, alongside of a saying of Augustine, *Oratio postulet*, etc.

⁴ מַטֵּה, a staff; מִטָּה, a bed; cf. Gen. xlvii. 31 and Heb. xi. 21.

more pleasure, the oftener you do it ; not only from the common rule of acts and habits, but because prayer, being converse with God, makes the soul increasingly purer and more like God, and, from that frequent seeing and conversing with Him, increases so much the more our love to Him, that thereby the soul is incited with more earnestness and more ardour, and can by no means live without this frequent exercise.

II.

DE CHRISTO SALVATORE : *Of Christ our Saviour.*¹

It is an acknowledged fact that the proclamation of Gospel doctrine is very gladsome, and quite in accordance with its own name. O how much sweeter are *these glad tidings* than all the music of choirs ; nay, of all news which all ages have transmitted to us, the most joyful ! O happy shepherds to whom these tidings were sent down from heaven ! Ye, of a truth, while keeping watch in the fields under the cold sky of night, were in this very thing happier far than even kings asleep on gilded beds, in that the nativity of the Supreme King and Begotten from eternity, that nativity being so

¹ This forms the fourteenth lecture of the series of *Prælectiones*.

recent and so amazing, and bringing salvation to all the world, greeted you first of all. *Behold*, says the angel, *I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people: for unto you is born this day a Saviour.*¹ And with him suddenly there was a larger choir of angels, also appearing to you,² who sang together that heavenly hymn of the nativity, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.* Most truly might it be said, "Now a strange Child is sent down from high heaven," etc.³ Whence also His name was sent down along with Him; *His name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.*⁴ "O sweetest name of Jesus!" says Bernard: "honey in the mouth, melody in the ear, medicine in the heart."⁵ He it is who would not,

¹ Luke ii. 10, 11.

² A various reading is *audientibus vobis*, "in your hearing."

³ "Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto."—VIRGIL, *Eclogue* iv. 7. The prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl is supposed to have been derived from Isaiah ix., and, according to some, was written by a Jew, about a hundred years before the time of Virgil. Virgil was born B.C. 70, and died B.C. 19.

⁴ Matthew i. 21.

⁵ O dulcissimum nomen Jesu, mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde medicina. Cf. Bernard's hymn beginning, "Jesu dulcis memoria," so well known in its English garb, "Jesus, the very thought of Thee."

that we who were so miserable, and so deservedly miserable, should yet utterly perish. Nor did He clothe Himself only with the nature of our flesh, but also with the person or likeness of our sin; we understand the word person in a legal sense, our guilt having been transferred to Him.¹ Whence we not only read that *the Word was made flesh*,² but also, that *He was made sin for us, who knew no sin*;³ and in the Epistle to the Galatians, iii. 13, that He was *made a curse*, that to us from Him there might flow forth eternal benediction and beatitude. That immaculate Lamb of God bore our sin, which was devolved upon Him, and by bearing it He took it away, and by dying He vanquished death. And how wonderful is the combination of blessings He has secured for us! He not only delivers us from prison and death, but presents us also with a kingdom, according to that saying of Psalm ciii. 4, *Who redeemeth thee from death, and crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies.*⁴

That these tidings are certainly very grateful

¹ Nec solum carnis nostræ naturam, sed et peccati nostri personam induit: personam intelligimus ὑποθέσει νομικῆ reatu nostro in illum transmissio.

² John i. 14.

³ 2 Cor. v. 21.

⁴ Qui redimit a morte te, et benignitate ac misericordia coronat. The Vulgate has *interitu* for *morte*.

and gladsome to hear, there is no one, I think, so dull of understanding or of hearing as to deny.¹ But we may not unreasonably suspect that of the many so-called Christians who here and there receive these tidings with applause, this question may be put to them, without a mark of injustice, *What means this for you?*² Large indeed and glorious are these blessings, and pertaining indiscriminately to all to whom they are announced, unless they themselves reject them, and shut the door against happiness that comes seeking admission; yet this is what a great part of mankind not only do, but over and above, they impose upon themselves by a fallacious hope, as if it were enough to have been able to hear of these great blessings, and, from the sound of them floating past, to dream that they are happy. But, O wretched men! of what value are all these immense riches to you (I must not indeed say, *if you be not permitted to use them*,³ but this rather), *if any of you know not how to use them?*

¹ Adeo ficulnea mente et asininis auribus, *lit.* with a mind as dense as fig-leaves, and with asinine ears. Or, may there not be an allusion in *ficulnea* to the barren fig-tree?

² τί ταῦτα πρὸς σε; cf. τί πρὸς σε; John xxi. 22.

³ Si non conceditur uti. Cf. HORACE, *Ep.* i. 5. 12: "Quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti." Horace frequently employs *uti* in the sense of enjoying what one uses.

I would, therefore, that these words of the Gospel were impressed on your minds : *He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own,¹ and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.*²

In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom ;³ without Him, forsooth, there is nothing but emptiness, because *in him all fulness dwells.* But still, what good can it do us to hear on all hands these immense riches of our Jesus spoken of, in the most fitting terms and with painful elaboration, nay, even to speak of them ourselves, when we discourse as of a good that is foreign and extraneous to us, the heart not yet being opened to let Him in ? What help, I pray, would it bring to a poor man, and half naked, and struggling with stern cold and hunger, to give him a most accurate description of the Fortunate Islands, as they call them, and of all the opulence of the Indies, and of the New World with its gold mines ? Should he, I say, hear or read of these things, or should any one graphically describe them to him, either by tongue,

¹ *εἰς τὰ ἴδια*, velut in domum suam,—as if He came into His own house.

² John i. 10-12.

³ Col. ii. 3.

or pen that has the art of description, can it be doubted, unless his despair has become utter insensibility,¹ that the sight of this empty form and phantom of riches would convulse him with so much the more intolerable a sense of his own want and misery? Moreover, in regard to this treasure of which we speak, the misery of those who hear and think of it in vain is ever enhanced, because there is no one of them who is not miserable by choice, and a beggar in the midst of great wealth;² and not only miserable of his own free will, but also obstinately so, and from an invincible and insane indulgence towards his own misery. "For who but a downright madman would reject such golden offers?"³

We shall state the case as briefly and clearly as possible: To those that receive Him into their heart of hearts,⁴ *our Christ is all*; to those who receive Him not, *He is nothing*. For how can there be given, or even with the mind conceived, any good, however great, which is suitable and ample in enjoyment, without some kind of union between that good and the needy one? *Behold,*

¹ Ni ad ἀναίσθησιν usque desperet.

² Magnas inter opes inops.—HORACE.

³ Quis enim, nisi mentis inops, oblatum hoc respuat aurum.—OVID.

⁴ Ipsum in intima cordis sui penetralia recipienti.

says the Psalmist, *all they that are far from thee O Lord, shall perish.*¹ This is the great, this the only good of the human race, to be united to GOD ; and the only medium of this union is JESUS. In whatever sense you take it, He ought truly to be called *the Union of unions*, who, in order that He might more fitly and more closely unite our souls to God, did not disdain to unite Himself to our flesh.

The great business of our life, therefore, young gentlemen, is this reception of Christ, which we press upon you, and a union with Him which can never be rent asunder.² Thrice happy, and more, are they whom this unbroken bond holds together a bond which no quarrels tear in twain, nor even the last day of life can dissolve.³ Rather, above all days that last day is a happy one, for this very reason, that it gives the last complement to this union, and not only does not dissolve it, but even renders it most absolutely perfect and eternal.

But, that it may last for ever, coeval with that interminable life, that union must necessarily take

¹ Ps. lxxiii. 27.

² Unio ἀδιάσπαστος.

³ Cf. HORACE, *Carm.* Lib. i. 13. 17 :—

Felicis ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec malis
Divulsus querimoniis
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

its beginning even in this brief and fleeting life. And what, pray, hinders, that all of us, even if we have not yet secured this object, should not attain it just now, since the most gracious Jesus not only repels no one that comes to Him, but offers Himself to those who do not wilfully repel Him, and, placing Himself before the door, earnestly begs for an entrance? Oh, why do not these *everlasting doors open, that the King of Glory may come in,*¹ and reign within us? Nay, though He were to be sought from afar and laboriously, why do we cause delay, and what wretched chains hold us, that, having shaken them all off, and even ourselves too, we should not go out beyond ourselves, and seek Him incessantly till He meet us? And having found Him, with the celestial Spouse we can rejoice over Him, and say, *I held him and would not let him go;*² and at length with the same add that blessed word, *My Beloved is mine, and I am his.*³ And this possession is, indeed, always reciprocal. Nor does any one truly receive Jesus, who does not at the same time give himself entirely to Him. Nor among all the things which we pursue is there any barter given that is comparable to this. What we gain on both sides is immense, not only from our reception of Him, but also from the surrender

¹ Psalm xxiv. 7.

² Song iii. 4.

³ Song ii. 16.

of ourselves. As long as this is deferred, we are the vilest slaves ;¹ when any one delivers himself up to Christ, then indeed he is free and possessor of himself. Why do we wander about in vain ?² Hither let us turn our faces, hither direct our minds ; so that He who is ours by the donation of the Father, and His own voluntary gift of Himself, may be ours also by our joyful and ready acceptance of Him. As St. Bernard says, on that passage of the Prophet, *Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given*,³ “Let us use what is ours for our own advantage.” So, therefore, may He be ours by possession and use,⁴ and may we in like manner be His for ever ; never indeed forgetting how dearly He has bought us.

III.

DE FELICITATE HUMANA : *Of Human Happiness.*⁵

Though I were not to say what the term Happiness generally signifies, I think none of you would

¹ Vilissima sumus mancipia.

² Quid frustra vagamur? Cf. Jerem. xxxi. 21, Vulgate : Usquequo deliciis dissoluêris filia vaga? quia creavit Dominus novum super terram: FEMINA CIRCUMDABIT VIRUM.

³ Isaiah ix. 6.

⁴ κτήσει καὶ χρήσει.

⁵ Of the twenty-four Theological Lectures, seven or eight

be at a loss to know. I may, however, tell you, that you may have a more intelligent notion both of the thing itself, perhaps, as well as of other things that are to be built upon it, that there is no controversy on this point ; for all men are agreed that the several terms employed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin to express happiness, mean this one thing, *the perfect good of an intelligent nature*.¹ I say *of an intelligent nature*, for no one can say, unless by a gross perversion of terms,² that inanimate or brute creatures are blessed, or that oxen or horses are happy, however well fed they may be, and left in the most unrestricted ease and freedom. And as *good* is peculiar to intelligent agents, so also is *perfect good*, which, when understood in its full and perfect sense, is Happiness. For, although ordinary conversation is very profuse in its use of this term, and though with a desultory levity men

deal more or less directly with Happiness. The second, third, and fourth discuss the name and nature of Happiness, prove its reality, and that it cannot be found in the world or earthly things. The selection is made from the second and third lectures.

¹ Omnes enim homines per illud quod Hebræi אֵשֶׁרִי, Græci μακαριότητα sive εὐδαιμονίαν, Latini *Fœlicitatem* seu *Beatitudinem* appellarunt, hoc unum consenserunt, *Perfectum naturæ intelligentis bonum*.

² Nisi catachresticè admodum.

misapply it to whatever good things come in their way, even the shadows of good, especially such things as they are in need of, as your Philosopher¹ in his *Ethics* points out; "The sick man considers health his good, and the poor man, wealth;" besides, though learned men, nay, even sacred writers, mark some indications and beginnings of future happiness itself with this name, yet, as already observed, the term in its perfect sense, which is really its own proper sense, comprehends the most perfect, and in all particulars the absolute plenitude of good, so that it admits not the least thing which could give a pang, and omits nothing which could yield delight. That good, then, whatever it may be, which most absolutely fills up the whole sphere of rational appetite, is, as they² say, *objective happiness*; but *actual or formal happiness* itself is *the possession and fruition of that good*. It consists of a perfect tranquillity of mind, and that not of a stupid and insipid kind, like the calm

¹ *Philosophus vester*, i.e. Aristotle. Bower, in his History of the University of Edinburgh, describes the place which "*the philosopher*, for this was the name by which he was known," held in all the Universities. His *Ethics* was the text-book of philosophy in Edinburgh. The quotation Leighton makes, ὁ νοσήσας ὑγίειαν, καὶ ὁ πενόμενος πλοῦτον, is from the *Ethic. Nicom.* i. 4. 3.

² The schoolmen or philosophers.

of the Dead Sea, but is lively and bright as the flowers, and always joyous ; not mere painlessness,¹ but, above all, the top of exuberant delight.² And if the word had not been lowered by baser uses, I should not hesitate to call it *pleasure* ;³ indeed, we may fearlessly call it so, provided we purify it by this baptism,⁴ and, let me say, with these adjuncts, descriptive of its dignity, that it is such pleasure as is perfect, perennial, pure, spiritual, and divine. For never, since I ventured to use my judgment in matters of this sort, have I been able to acquiesce in that dogma of Aristotle and of the Schools, which draws a distinction between the fruition of the complete good (which I hold to be happiness), and the delight arising from that fruition. For, according to that definition, that good would not be the ultimate end, nor desired on its own account ; because whatever good we wish

¹ *ἀναλγησία* almost = *ἀναισθησία*, a word which Sir James Y. Simpson has made familiar to English eyes and ears as Anæsthesia. Leighton has Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.* i. 10. 12, in mind in using *ἀναλγησία*, thus *ἐπειδὴν φέρη τις εὐκόλως πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀτυχίας, μὴ δι' ἀναλγησίαν, ἀλλὰ γεννάδας ὦν καὶ μεγαλόψυχος.*

² *Jucunditas.*

³ *Voluptas.* Leighton has a marginal note here as follows : *Ἡ εὐδαιμονία ἡδονὴ ἀμετάβλητος. Felicitas (est) voluptas semper eadem.*—SOCRATES *apud* Stobæum.

⁴ *ῥαντισμὸς*, lit. sprinkling.

to possess, we wish to have it for this purpose, that we may enjoy it with tranquillity and gladness ; and this delight enjoyed without interruption, or satiety without loathing, is *Love in possession of its object and that has obtained its desire.*¹

I propose to speak of the chief end of our being, and begin with the Father of spirits or intelligences : God, blessed for ever, and from all eternity most happy, is Himself His own happiness to Himself, His own self-sufficiency ;² that eternal and infinite complacency which He has in Himself is the peculiar and most complete happiness of God, whose Being is Himself, and who gives being to all else. This is well expressed by St. Chrysostom, who says, "That it is the peculiar property of God not to be in need of anything ;"³ and Claudius Victor beautifully represents Him as "a Potentate who reigned in the majesty of creative power, seeing all the creatures that were to be created and made, beholding with omniscient eye all the ages, and having ever present all the revolutions of time ;

¹ Amor possidens et voti compos.

² αὐτάρκεια, Aristotle's term, *Eth. Nicom.* i. 7. 6 : φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐταρκείας τὸ αὐτὸ συμβάλειν.

³ Θεοῦ μάλιστα ἴδιον τὸ ἀνευδεές· Dei maxime proprium est indigum non esse.

to Himself He was a kingdom, immense with its vast resources of happiness.”¹ And yet all we can say of this prime and increate felicity and majesty is but mere stuttering : here, not only speech fails us, but all thought as well, when we contemplate HIM who is the SELF-EXISTENT BEING,² existing without men, without angels, without any creature throughout the infinite ages before time began, dwelling in Himself alone, effulgent, and blessed and glorious ! As the poet says, “ Whose is the eye

¹ Regnabatque potens in majestate creandi,
Et facienda videns, gignendaque mente capaci,
Secula dispiciens, et quicquid tempora volvunt
Præsens semper habens, immensum mole beatâ
Regnum erat ipse sibi.

Regnum erat ipse, etc. Cf. *mens regnum bona possidet*, in the *Thyestes* of Seneca ;

“ My mind to me a kingdom is,
Such perfect joy therein I find ;”

in Byrd's Psalms, etc., 1588 ; or that of R. Southwell :

“ My mind to me an empire is,
While grace affordeth health.”

² ἀνθελιαστον, τὸν ὄντα. Professor Scholefield in a note (ed. 1837) confesses his inability to understand ἀνθελιαστον, and conjectures ἀνεξέταστον, *unsearchable*, as the correct reading. But he gives another reading, suggested by a very learned friend, which is more probable, namely αὐθέκαστον. He adds that the phrase is Platonic, and quotes the *Phædo*, § 62, αὐτὸ ἕκαστον ὃ ἐστι, τὸ ὄν, κ.τ.λ. Aristotle uses αὐτοέκαστον in *Eth. Nicom.* i. 6. 5.

so wise or strong that will not shut, blenched by the lightning gleams of thy glory?"¹

Let us therefore descend to ourselves, but with the design of returning and ascending again to Him; and may the end and object of this descent for our self-reflection be our ascent and return to God. For if we inquire into our ultimate end, this inquiry must necessarily cease and determine in that ascent; for He Himself is that ultimate end, beyond whom there is neither beginning nor end.

The happiness of angels, though it is an intermediate degree, we pass over; first, because it is our design to discuss our own happiness, and secondly, because both kinds of happiness, theirs and ours, will be found, upon the whole, to be exactly the same.

With regard to our own happiness, we shall first establish the proposition *that it really exists*; and then at length inquire *what it is*, or on what it rests.

We assert then, that human happiness can be shown to exist, and this ought rather to be taken

¹ Τίνος δμμα σοφδν
Ταῖς σαῖς στεροπαῖς
Ἐνακοπτόμενον
Ὁ καταμύσει;

SYNESIUS, *Hymn. Tert.*

for granted, as beyond all doubt, than precisely proved. But when I say *human* happiness, I am quite sure you will not understand me to mean such as depends upon human things, but that I take it subjectively, and understand by it the happiness of men. Now, he who would proceed to deny that this is not only among the possibilities, but even a thing actually attained by some part, at least, of the human race, would, for certain, render himself not only most undeserving of that happiness, but even most unworthy of human nature itself; because, as far as in him lay, he would despoil it of its loftiest hope and its supreme honour. But whosoever admits that all things were built up by an infinitely wise Architect, cannot possibly doubt that man, the head and glory of all His visible works, was made capable of a worthy and suitable end. The principal beauty of the world is this, that all things are disposed in such excellent order, and every single thing is designed for some proper and well-adjusted end; and if there were a defect in regard to man, who is by far the noblest part of the visible world, what a great deformity must there be, how great a chasm!¹ All the greater, too, must that gulf be, in that, as we have said, man is endued with such a strong desire for such an end, so that

¹ μέγα χάσμα, cf. Luke vi. 26.

this desire would be empty and vain ;¹ and thus that morbid and querulous saying which the Psalmist uttered in a paroxysm of grief would have something in it that could be defended : *Wherefore hast Thou made all men in vain ?*² This would not only have been a frightful vacuum in nature, but, so to say, there would have been misery created for, and torment inevitable to the whole human race, had man been formed, not only with a useless capacity, but an inappeasable appetite for a good never to be obtained and altogether impossible. But, as this can by no means be admitted, there must be some full and permanent and satisfying good which man may attain, and by which, when attained, he is truly happy.

When we revolve this in the mind, do we not feel a keen inward stimulus by which we are roused to lay all other cares aside, in order to find and follow this one good ? There cleaves to us, I own, while we live in the body, a necessity of using corporeal and perishing things ; but that we should be slaves to the belly or the flesh, or cleave with affection to the earth, there is no necessity, nay, it is an

¹ ὥστε κενὴν εἶναι καὶ ματαίαν τὴν δρεξίω.—ARISTOTLE, *Ethic. Nicom.* i. 2. 1. The full sentence is *πρῶτοι γὰρ οὕτω γ' εἰς ἀπειρον, ὥστ' εἶναι κενὴν καὶ ματαίαν τὴν δρεξίω.*

² Ps. lxxxix. 47.

indignity of the highest kind, and not to be borne. Who is there that could imagine that man was born to filter so much food and drink, and to satiate the other appetites of a body which he has in common with the brutes, to chase the winds, and to hunt after evanishing and fallacious hopes, through all his life; and yet, when this short insanity is transacted, to be buried in the earth and resolved into dust? Far be it from us to draw such a conclusion; there is something undoubtedly beyond, and that so great and of such lasting duration, that, compared with it, this point of time which we live here, with all its businesses and pleasures, is more vain and despicable than smoke. "I am greater," says the Roman sage, "and born for greater ends, than that I should be the slave of my mean body."¹ With how much more of truth may we say this, if

¹ The *Romanus Sapiens*, so named, or in the older editions simply R. S., in Paræneses iii. and viii., and in Meditations on Psalm xxxii., is his favourite Seneca, *Ep.* 65:—Major sum, et ad majora genitus, quam ut sim mancipium mei *corpuseuli*, as in the text, but in Seneca the last word is *corporis*. The saying will also be found in one of his letters, with the reading *istis corpuseulis*. The animated passage above, in which he ridicules the idea of making the body a mere vehicle for food and drink, is coloured by a parallel passage in Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* i. And similarly, below, he has Seneca, *Ep.* 65, in his thought when he speaks of release from the fetters of the body.

we be born again from heaven ! Let it shame us to live with bowed head like the brute creation, bending down and beholding the earth, or even to pursue the airy and vain shadows of science, and, meanwhile, we either know not, or do not consider, whence we have sprung and whither we are soon to return, what place is about to receive our souls, when they are freed from those fetters of the body. If your souls earnestly *desire to know one thing*,¹ this happiness, and the way that leads to it, *Search the Scriptures, for from them alone we think, or all profess to think, we can have eternal life.*² I exhort you, and entreat you, that you will not, either from slothful negligence, or from too much diligence in inferior studies, let any day pass in which you do not, with devout and attentive mind, read some part of the Sacred Volume, always joining prayer as companion to your reading, that you may thereby draw towards you that Divine Light, without which Divine things cannot be read and understood. But, with this light shining full upon them, it is ineffable to what a degree these inspired writings will become sweet, yea, above and beyond Cicero and Demosthenes, and Homer and Aristotle, and all the other orators, poets, and philosophers. They dispute concerning a happi-

¹ Ps. xxvii. 3.

² John v. 39.

ness that is imaginary, and every one, after his own manner, says some vain and uncertain things about it ; but this Book alone, both with absolute certainty and the utmost clearness, teaches us true happiness, what it is, and in what direction we should go in order to attain it. This is what turned the affections and the studies of St. Augustine into this channel. "In Cicero and Plato, and other such writers," says he, "I find many things ingeniously said, and conveying a gentle warmth to the heart ; but in all of them I do not find this, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.'"¹

PARÆNESIS : *Exhortation.*²

It is but a point that we live, ay, and even less than a point. Yet as it is not a mathematical point,

¹ Apud Ciceronem et Platonem aliosque ejusmodi scriptores multos, inquit, sunt acute dicta et leniter calentia ; sed in iis omnibus hoc non invenio, Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vobis requiem præbebo. —AUG. *Conf.* vii. 20. Leighton quotes the close of this quotation (from Matt. xi. 28) in a letter already referred to, of date Oct. 1659. This lecture may have been written about the same date.

² The *Paræneses* were addressed to students of the University of Edinburgh at the Graduation Ceremonial or on the occasion of their receiving the degree of M.A. There are eight *Paræneses* and one *Oratio valedictoria*, nine in all,

as they say, or wholly indivisible, when we divide it into minute parts, it seems something ample, and invests itself with the pretentious semblance of a large space of time ; nay, according to the Aristotelian notion, it even appears divisible *in infinitum*. Besides those vulgar and petty divisions of human life, either into the four stages of a man's age,¹ or into decades which involve the yet minuter reckonings of years and months, there is, in addition, a great variety of distribution of the periods of one's own life, and having something so far peculiar to itself, resulting from the diverse employments and studies with which each is occupied, from the chapter of accidents, and from the plan of life so frequently undergoing a change. And I doubt not but that you, my studious young friends, look upon this present instant of time as the beginning of a new period of your life or age ; and, indeed for anything I may say to the contrary, you are free to do so, only you ought, at the same time, seriously to consider whatever be the portion of time we occupy in this world, how evanescent, how literally or one for each year of Leighton's Principalship. The Oratio was pronounced in 1662, after he was appointed to be Bishop of Dunblane. We give the fourth of the *Paræneses*, and the Valedictory.

¹ Per quatuor ætatis gradus. Cf. "As you like it;" Act II. 7.

nothing, is the sum of it. And into whatever small parts we may distinguish it, certainly if we view the miseries and mournful calamities of life, the age even of a boy¹ may seem too long; but if we consider the mere space of time, even of the old man who is most full of years, O how brief and fleeting that life is!

And indeed a great part of men, when they now feel that they are capable of human affairs, and resolve to enter upon some course of life suitable to manhood, are snatched away in the very beginnings of such a course by untimely death. And this assuredly is the grave malady both of the young, and even of the old, that they send their desires and designs into the distant future, and arrange the webs of businesses and studies for many years; meanwhile, they very seldom and very slightly consider how foolish and fallacious a thing it is to depend on to-morrow, and how swiftly this our *breath goeth forth, and we return to our earth; in that very day*, as the Royal Prophet warns us, even the wisest *thoughts* both of the highest magnates and of princes *perish*.² And accordingly,

¹ Etiam pueri ætas nimis longa videri poterit. The translators say, *the life even of a child*; but the contrast is with *senis annosissimi*; as Cicero has *ex pueris excedere*. Cf. Wordsworth's line, "The child is father of the man."

² Ps. cxlvi. 4.

my dear young friends, I warn you of this, lest such an illusion should seat itself in your minds ; for it is not only the vulgar sort of persons that spend their strength in that way, but the most even of those who desire to be regarded, and are actually regarded, not only as learned, but even as wise men. Not that I would prohibit you, nay, rather would I by every argument persuade you, to elect, under Divine direction, and with forethought and prudence, the purposes and studies of your life ; then, when you have elected your course, let your whole soul be sedulous in the prosecution and perfecting of these aims and studies. This only do I say, by way of caution to you, that you should not entertain many and great hopes as to this world, comprehended in a long series, all of which you will soon find to be more vain than dreams of the night, through some instrument, or opportunity of action, or wished-for event, or the very thread of your life failing them and you. And to whatever extent life should be protracted, and successes constantly respond to your desires, there will yet steal on, you know, and I wish you would remember it, there will steal on, I say, and oh how soon ! that fatal and final day, in which all things must be relinquished, both those we have brought to an end and have got possession of, and those which are only

begun, or even are but conceived in hope and in the counsels of the heart.

And these very things which have been said for restraining your minds from looking forward at far too great a length, at the same time persuade you to extend your prospects much longer ; not to a great length in respect of things pertaining to the earth, which indeed are not long, but a much longer way, that is, beyond all earthly and perishing things, to those that are heavenly and eternal. And those who do not lift their eyes to these objects *are blind*, as saith the Apostle Peter.

But of you, my dear young friends, I hope better things. I do not think I require to urge you with many motives to industry, and assiduous progress in polite and philosophical learning ;¹ in which, if the severity and unhappiness of these times have stolen away anything from the regular academical curriculum, that certainly ought to be recovered as soon as possible, by diligent subsequent reading. But, if no such misfortune had occurred, I believe you are not unaware that in our schools it is only the foundations of those studies that are laid, upon which many years, and an indefatigable industry, may build up an edifice of fuller erudition, which, by the access of the Divine Spirit, may be consecrated

¹ In studiis humanis et philosophicis.

into a temple for God. And this is what, before every other study, I wish you would hold in estimation and desire, *that you may be holy, because our God is holy*; that when you go out from this College,¹ oh! that those with whom you mingle may not find you inflated with conceit of vain and trivial learning, and pertinacious, and sharp-witted, and on all occasions obtrusive disputants! but may all see in you, as it were, types and exemplars of piety, purity, temperance, and modesty, and every kind of virtue, especially humility, which is the splendid and prominent virtue of Christ,² and which above all He commends to His disciples *to learn* of Him. Further, I am unwilling even to suspect that any one of you in future will be either immodest, or a glutton, or wine-bibber, or in any way impious or profane. I exhort and beseech you, my dear young friends, to direct your minds to this one thing, that you may cleanse your hearts from all

¹ *Ex hisce gymnasiis egressos vos.*

² *Præclara est et insignis Christi virtus.* It was Leighton's darling virtue, breathing in his breath, speaking by his words, clothing him as with a vesture. He loved to write down on the fly-leaves of his books, which were his note-books when paper was paper, choice sayings of the Church's grey fathers in praise of humility. But his own life was *præclara et insignis* with this as its crowning virtue.

ignoble and impure love of the world and the flesh ; that you may live to God only, while on earth, and then, assuredly, when you remove hence, you will live in heaven together with God for ever.

You have my best wishes that this title of Master of Arts may be happy and auspicious¹ to you. But I pray the Father of lights, that He would deem you worthy of that which is much more solid and exalted than human honour, that you may be *called the sons of God*, and that your conduct may be such as befits so great a name and so blessed a Father.

Let us pray.

ETERNAL KING ! whose throne remains firm and immovable from the beginning of time, and will endure to all eternity : for *before the mountains*

¹ Felix sit vobis hic titulus opto. The formula at the capping of a graduate, as appears from the appendix to Spottiswoode's *History of the Church of Scotland*, London, 1677,—after putting the cap on the candidate's head—was the old Roman one, Quod ut tibi felix faustumque sit, Deum optimum maximum precor. The ceremony was observed on the 11th July, and began at ten o'clock, and lasted till the evening. When the College Hall was getting ready as a chapel for the students, and again at the Restoration, the graduations took place in Lady Yester's Church.—BOWER'S *Hist. Edin. Univ.* vol. i. p. 272.

were brought forth, or ever Thou hadst formed the earth and the world, even from everlasting to everlasting Thou art GOD. Whatever things exist, visible and invisible, all derive their being and life from Thee alone ; and on Thee, as on their supreme King and Father, all things, from the highest even to the lowest, wait as servants ; many indeed with an obedience that is unconscious and blind, yet certain and constant, but others with open vision and voluntary service,¹ and all the rest yield homage, though against their wills and striving to resist Thee. *Great art Thou, O Lord, Thou art great, and greatly to be praised,*² and of Thy greatness there is no end ; far distant are the heavens from the earth, but much more distant is Thy Majesty from our every expression and conception thereof. Impress, we pray Thee, on our hearts, most gracious Father, a profound reverence of Thy name, and a most humbling sense of our own vileness, and our nothingness ; and may Thy grace make us *accepted* by Thee *in the beloved*³ JESUS, having blotted out *by the blood of His cross*⁴ all our sins, and having poured out His Spirit from on high upon us. Gracious God, irradiate with the light of Thy favour

¹ Videntia et volentia, reliqua etiam invita et renitentia. Cf. Psalm cxxiii. 2.

² 1 Chron. xvi. 25.

³ Eph. i. 6.

⁴ Col. i. 20.

this our assembly ; and let this work, which is now being done under Thy gracious disposal and approbation, be accompanied, we beseech Thee, by Thy effectual benediction, and may the glory of Thy name follow it, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ORATIO VALEDICTORIA : *Valedictory, or Farewell Address to the Students.*

I am unwilling to keep you away too long, either from your studies, or from the relaxations of your studies, by this address, though it is, as I suppose, my last among you. A considerable number of you, certainly, I speak to now for the first time ; still I have many who are witnesses of the uniform object of all my dissertations in this assembly. All of them had this one aim, namely, that *the form of sound words*,¹ that is, of Christian doctrine, and

¹ ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων τύπος, 2 Tim. i. 13. The phrase ὑποτύπωσις ἔχει gives colour to Leighton's thought of having the *characteres non impressi, sed et insculpti prœcordiis indelebili prorsus firmitudine inhærerent*. Cf. his remarks under 1 Pet. ii. 21, on ὑπογραμμὸν : "Every step of Christ is a letter of this copy, and particularly in this point of suffering, He wrote us a pure and perfect copy of obedience, in clear and great letters, in His own blood."

through that the characters of the fear and love of God, might not only be impressed, but also imprinted on your hearts, and there abide with a firmness quite indelible ; and that this one thing might not only be acknowledged to be an indisputable axiom with you, but also regarded as above all price, “That godliness is the one and only good among men.”¹ Moreover, that your minds might be freer and less encumbered for the prosecution of this one study, I have incessantly, and with as much vehemence as I could, recalled you from those thorny and sterile petty questions and disputes which have pervaded the whole of theology ; with which, however, many theologians and doctors, of no small name, have wrangled with the most passionate zeal, so as to split and lawlessly cleave the whole world asunder.² For my part, I have always been at pains to support those great and undisputed³ main points of our holy religion, which are few and clear, and some of which have

¹ ὅτι ἐν καὶ μόνον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθὸν ἢ εὐσέβεια.—
HERMES TRISMEGISTUS. In his English copy of *The Imitation of Christ*, 1640, he has written ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μόνον πάθος τὸ ἀγαθόν.—TRISM.

² Theologi et doctores fervidissime insudantes σχίζονται, καὶ κόσμον ὄλον τέμνουσιν ἀθέσμως. There is a touch of severe sarcasm in *fervidissime insudantes*, as applied to the party spirit of the times.

³ ἀναμφισβητήτοις.

been approved by the consent and suffrage of all nations, and of the whole human race ; and the others, by the undivided voice of all Christians.

And, indeed, in the first class there are those articles which we have at intervals discussed, concerning the One Supreme and Eternal Principle, and the emanation and origin of all things from Him alone ; as also their continual preservation and government ; and concerning the law of GOD imposed upon the human race, and the rewards and punishments annexed to the same.

But the other class of the great dogmas in religion is indeed peculiar to Christian philosophy, but certainly common to all the followers of that religion, namely, those strong foundations of our faith, and of all our hope and joy, concerning the Son of God vesting Himself with our flesh ; His dying and reviving for the destruction of sin, and therefore of death itself ; His ascension into the highest heavens, and His exaltation there, above all the choirs and thrones of angels, with the same flesh of ours which He had put on ; whence also we expect He will return with great glory, in that day, *when He shall be glorified in all his saints, and admired in all that believe.*¹ As many, therefore, as desire to receive

¹ 2 Thess. i. 10.

that last Epiphany with joy and exultation, must be saints, and conformed to their Head, who is the King of saints, most holy ;¹ must live *soberly, righteously, and godly,*² in thorough contempt of this transitory world, their own earthly flesh, and the sordid pleasures of the earth ; and those things which draw the admiration of men of vile and servile minds, they must tread down and trample under their feet. For if any one be able to strive for this victory, and through struggle secure it, him the Lord will own for His servant, and as His disciple will that great Master acknowledge him. He will become like God while on earth, and, after this brief conflict, he will triumph in the presence of God for ever.

These, then, are the things which it is our interest to know, and the observance of which makes us happy. To these you will call your minds, my ingenuous young friends, if you be wise, indeed that you may be wise. Those shadows which we catch at fly away ; and away flies this life which we live, a shadow. The things which are above and beyond the circuit of the senses

¹ Sancti sint necesse est, et Capiti suo sanctissimo conformes.

² Sobrii, pii, ac justii, Titus ii. 12. The Vulgate has *sobriè et justè et piè.*

alone are solid and eternal. "Why do ye embrace these earthly things," says Bernard, "which are neither true riches, nor yours?" "If they be yours," says he, "take them with you." And Lactantius beautifully remarks that, "whoever would prefer the life of the soul, ought to contemn the life of the body; nor can he otherwise aspire to the highest good, unless he despise the things which are lowest. For the all-wise God did not wish us to attain to immortality luxuriously and easily, but that we should arrive at that inexpressible reward of eternal life with the greatest difficulty and hard labour."¹

Remember, however, lest you be discouraged, that that great Redeemer of souls, and that too your Leader, has gone on before you, and we have to do with a foe already vanquished. Him only let us unhesitatingly follow, and of victory there can be no question. For this is a true victory and worthy of a Christian man, to bridle the barbarous hordes of his passions with the supreme command

¹ *Quisquis animæ vitam maluerit, corporis vitam contemnat necesse est; nec aliter aspirare ad summum poterit bonum, nisi quæ sunt ima despexerit. Noluit enim sapientissimus Deus nos immortalitatem delicate ac molliter assequi, sed ad illud æternæ vitæ inenarrabile præmium summa cum difficultate et magnis laboribus pervenire.*

of reason and religion.¹ But that is the basest servitude, when our diviner part is in subjection to the affections of our vile mean body. Now we are conquerors, doubtless, by firmly believing and with fortitude wrestling, but yet also by unweariedly watching and praying. Let prayer be not only the key of the day and the lock of the night ;² let it be the staff and stay of our whole day's journey, with which we may cheerfully and soon *go up into the mount of God*.³ Prayer is the solace of the drooping spirit, drives away devils, is the great instrument of all grace and peace. In regard to your reading, let the sacred codex of the Scriptures be familiar to you above all volumes ; thence you will truly draw in light and drink the sacred draughts.⁴ And to this it is right to add the reading of other works also, namely those of

Barbaras cupiditatum gentes rationis ac religionis frænare imperio.

² Oratio clavis diei et sera noctis. *Vide antea.*

³ Ex. xxiv. 13.

⁴ *Illinc vere lucem et pocula Sacra.* The motto and device of the University of Cambridge, a figure holding the sun in one hand and the sacred celestial cup in another, with the legend, *Hinc lucem et pocula Sacra.* Leighton quotes this motto in his meditation on Ps. xxxii., "O pure, perennial, and above all sweet fountains of the Scriptures : *Hinc lucem*, etc. Hence light we draw and fill the Sacred Cup."

pious men which are conformable to Scripture, and which may be helpful to you; among which I mention that little book, *Of the Imitation of Christ*;¹ for “the sum of religion is to imitate Him whom you worship.”²

May our dearest Jesus imprint upon your hearts a living image of His own immaculate, meek, and lowly heart, by which, in that last great day, He may both recognise you as His own, and, together with all His redeemed and sealed ones, receive you into the mansions of the blessed. **Amen.**

Let us pray.

Eternal Maker and Ruler of the world,³ *praise*

¹ *De Imitatione Christi*, a life-long favourite of Leighton; of which he had many editions, in different languages.

² Summa religionis est imitari quem colis—a saying of Pythagoras. *Vide antea.*

³ *Æterne rerum Conditor et Rex*, evidently from the Cockerow Hymn of Ambrose (A.D. 340-397), of which the first stanza runs—

Æterne rerum Conditor
Noctem diemque qui regis,
Et temporum das tempora
Ut alleves fastidium.

Dr. Hamilton Macgill has a fine translation in his *Songs of the Christian Creed and Life*, London, 1879—

Eternal God, who built the sky,
Benignly ruling night and day!
By bidding light or darkness fly,
Thou dost our weariness allay.

*waiteth for Thee in Sion;*¹ yet as Thou art infinitely greater than all hymns of praise, silence² is praise to Thee in Sion. The angelic choirs can praise Thee better in their songs, but let us in silence and wonder fall down at the footstool of Thy throne, while they repeat that, their continual cry: *Holy, Holy, Holy, God of hosts, who filleth heaven and earth with His glory!*³ But O that we had within us the faculty of setting forth that most holy NAME! that Name which, according to their measure, all things of this visible world which surround us celebrate, the heavens and the stars, the winds and the rivers, the earth and the ocean, and every kind of living creatures. Surely Thou hast put within us souls and faculties suited for such employment, above all these other creatures, whereby we are able to offer such praises with the light of the intellect, and animated with the

¹ *Te decet hymnus in Zione.*—Ps. lxxvii., *Vulgate.*

² *Silentium tibi in Zione laus est,* Ps. lxxv. 1 and lxxii. 1, *marg.* Leighton uses this rendering in a lecture on Isaiah vi. 4, and quotes Trismegistus, *σιωπῆ φωνούμενε.* Cf. the closing lines of Thomson's Hymn—

“ But I lose

Myself in Him, in Light ineffable !

Come, then, expressive silence, muse His praise !

³ *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, exercituum Deus, qui et terram gloria replet sua et cœlum,* Isa. vi. 3, *marg.*

“ His glory is the fulness of the whole earth.”

fervour of our affections, and to express more articulately those very songs of all the rest of Thy visible creatures. But these heavenly souls of ours, even particles of the breath of God, alas how deeply have we immersed them in the mire! Nor can they be extricated again from this mire, and purged from their impurities, by any hand except Thy right hand alone, O Father most high and most gracious! If Thou shalt deign to visit us with this grace, then at length shall we offer to Thee new songs as incense, and ourselves thus renewed as a whole burnt-offering; and what remains to us of life we shall not live to ourselves, but to Him only and wholly who died for us.

May Thy most powerful hand sustain Thy Church universal throughout the whole world, and especially in these islands, and may the beams of Thy countenance continually make her glad. Let our King be joyful in Thee, and trusting in Thy benignity, let him never be moved;¹ may piety and righteousness establish his throne, and let peace and the Gospel of peace² bless these kingdoms,

¹ *Exultet in te Rex noster, et benignitate tua fretus nunquam dimoveatur*: an adaptation from Psalm xxi. 7: Quoniam rex sperat in Domino, et in misericordia Altissimi non commovebitur.—*Vulgate*.

² The last paragraph of this prayer bears internal evidence of the time of the Restoration. The subsequent twenty or

through Jesus Christ our Lord ; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be praise, honour, and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

thirty years, it is needless to say, were years of unrighteousness in respect of the throne and its surroundings ; and except Leighton, and other like-minded men within the Establishment, and the persecuted children of the Covenant without the camp, there were few faithful witnesses of the truth of the Gospel, and the blessing of peace was withheld. Sincere, undoubtedly, the prayer for peace was, as was the heart from which it came ; but, like the intercession of Abraham for Sodom, it could not prevent the inevitable. Leighton was not yet disenchanted from the dream of a millennium or golden age, when strifes should cease, and every man would sit under his vine and his fig-tree. Had he forecast the miserable tale, in which he was a leading character, for the next twelve years, he would have done wisely to have kept by the College Close. His letters to Lauderdale, Burnet, and others, when he was struggling for release from office as a bishop, reveal the anguish of his heart. "He that sees within me and all men, perfectly knows how much I would prefer a retreat, and the poorest private life, to the highest church preferment in the three kingdoms." He speaks of "struggles and tossings of my thoughts concerning my engaging in this station, both before my submission to it and ever since. As for us of this order in this kingdom, I believe 'twere little damage either to Church or State, possibly some advantage to both, if we should all retire ; but that is a thing neither to be feared nor hoped."

CHARGES¹ TO THE CLERGY OF THE SYNOD OF DUNBLANE.

I.

The Register bears that Leighton's first Synod was held at Dunblane on the 15th September 1662, when "the Bishop preached, and propounded some few particulars, which by the unanimous voice of the Synod were approved and enacted. The Bishop left a note of particulars propounded and written with his own hand, the true copy of which is here inserted."

For Discipline.

1. That all diligence be used for the repressing of profaneness, and the advancement of solid piety and holiness, and therefore—

2. That not only scandals of unchastity, but drunkenness, swearing, cursing, filthy speaking, and mocking of religion, and all other gross offences, be brought under Church censure.

¹ The so-called Charges were printed in 1797. They were not taken from the author's MSS., but from the Register or Minute-Book of the Synod of Dunblane, which is still preserved in the Bibliotheca Leightoniana at Dunblane. The press copy was written out for P. Neill, the publisher, by the Rev. Michael Gilfillan, minister of the Secession Church, Dunblane, of whom it is recorded that "he had read almost every book of value in Leighton's library, with

3. That scandalous offenders be not absolved till there appear in them very probable signs of true repentance.

4. That inquiry be made by the minister, not only into the knowledge, but the practice and track of life of those that are to be admitted to the Holy Communion, and all profane and evidently impenitent persons be secluded till their better conversation and obedience to the Gospel be more apparent.

5. That family prayer be inquired after, and they that can be exhorted to join with it reading of the Scriptures.

For Worship.

1. That instead of lecturing and preaching both at one meeting, larger portions of the Scriptures, one whole chapter at least of each Testament, and Psalms withal, be constantly read ; and this not as a by-work, while they are convening, but after the people are well convened, and the worship solemnly care, and some of them more than once" (Dr. Belfrage, *Sketches of Life and Character*, p. 8). The writer in 1870 prepared a copy of the Register for publication, but withheld it till Mr. West's edition was completed. The *Register of the Diocesan Synod of Dunblane, 1662-1688*, was published in 1877 by W. Blackwood, Edinburgh, under the editorial care of our friend the late Dr. John Wilson of Dunning.

begun with confession of sins and prayer, either by the minister, or some fit person by him appointed.

2. That the Lord's Prayer be restored to more frequent use ; likewise the Doxology and the Creed.

3. That daily public prayer in churches, morning and evening, with reading of the Scriptures, be used, where it can be had conveniently, and the people exhorted to frequent them, not so as to think that this should excuse them from daily private prayer in their families and in secret, but rather as an help to enable them and dispose them the more for both these ; and let the constant use of private prayer be recommended to all persons as the great instrument of sanctifying the soul, and of entertaining and increasing in it the love of God.

4. That the younger sort and the ignorant be duly catechised at fit times all the year through, and so that it be not wholly laid over on some days or weeks before the celebration of the Communion ; but that the inquiry at that time be rather of their good conversation and due disposition for partaking that holy ordinance, as was said before in an article touching discipline.

5. That ministers use some short form of catechism, such as they may require account of, till a common form be agreed on.

6. That preaching be plain and useful for all

capacities, not entangled with useless questions and disputes, nor continued to a wearisome length ; the great and most necessary principles of religion most frequently treated upon, and oftentimes larger portions of Scripture explained, and suitable instructions and exhortations thence deduced ; and that the sermon at that time be doubtless as truly preaching and useful, if not more so, than insisting for one whole sermon or more upon one short verse or sentence.

The Bishop propounded to the brethren, that it was to be reminded by himself and themselves to what eminent degrees of purity of heart and life their holy calling doth engage them, to how great contempt of this present world and inflamed affections towards heaven, springing from deep persuasions within them of those things they preach to others, and from the daily meditation of them and secret prayer ; and that we consider how ill it becomes us to be much in the trivial conversation of the world ; but when our duty or necessity involves us in company, that our speech and deportment be exemplarily holy, ministering grace to those with whom we converse. And, to add but this one thing, so suitable to ministers of the gospel of peace, that we be meek and gentle, and lovers and exhorters of peace, private and public,

among all ranks of men, endeavouring rather to quench than to increase the useless debates and contentions that abound in the world; and be always more studious of pacific than of polemic divinity, that certainly being much diviner than this, for the students of it are called "the sons of God."

II.

ENACTED BY THE BISHOP AND SYNOD,

9th October 1666.

1. That all the ministers do endeavour to bring their people to a high esteem of the Holy Scriptures and of the reading of them in public, and to give evidence thereof by a reverend and attentive hearing, none being permitted to stand about the doors, or lie in the kirkyard during the time of reading; and if, after warning made of this, any shall be found to continue in the same disorder, they are by due rebuke and censure to be brought to obedience.

2. That the ministers be careful to direct the Readers what parts of Scripture are most frequently to be read, as the history of the Gospel, and the Epistles, and of the Old Testament the most intelligible and particular parts, particularly large

portions of the Psalms at all times, being both so excellently instructive, and withal so divine forms of prayers and praises, and therefore have been so much used by the Christian Church in all ages, and always made so great a part of their public service.

3. That no Readers be permitted but such as are tried and approved by the Presbytery.

4. That besides the reading between the second and third bell, which is but in the interval for those that are come, till the rest do convene, some part of the Scriptures be read after the last bell is rung out, and the congregation more fully met, and the minister is come in, either by himself or the Reader at his appointment; one chapter at least, together with some of the Psalms, one or more as they are of length, and of which some part afterwards may be sung, and so the people shall the better understand what they sing. And thus shall this so useful ordinance of public reading of the Scriptures be performed with more solemnity, and brought into greater respect and reverence, and the people be more universally and plentifully edified by it. But, together with this, the reciting of the Ten Commandments and the Belief, according to the Acts of former Synods, is no Lord's Day to be omitted; nor is this only or mainly meant as a help to the people learning the Word of God, and

so being made able to repeat them, but as a solemn publication of the law of God as the rule of our life, and a solemn profession of our believing the articles of our Christian faith, and the quickening of our affections towards both.

And as to that exercise of reading the Scriptures, it cannot be imagined that any well-instructed and solid-minded Christian can question the great expediency and usefulness of it for all ranks of people ; for besides that many of our commons cannot read, and so cannot use the Scriptures in private, and too many that can, yet do neglect it, even they that use them most in private, will not only no whit the less, but so much the more, be well satisfied and edified with hearing them read in public, and will more reverently and religiously attend to them, and, with the blessing of God upon their so doing, not fail to find (what others can say they have often found) divers passages and sentences falling frequently in upon their hearts in public reading, with particular warmth and divine force, nothing below, if not sometimes beyond, what they usually find in private.

If the minister think fit to make his sermon for the time upon some part of what, by himself or by his appointment, hath been read, it may do well ; and so much the better the longer that be, and the

shorter the sermon be ; for 'tis greatly to be suspected that our usual way of very short texts and very long sermons is apt to weary people more and profit them less.

But whatsoever they do in this they would beware of returning to their long expositions besides their sermon at one and the same meeting, which, besides the tediousness and other inconveniences is apt to foment in people's minds the foolish prejudice and proud disdain they have taken against the Scriptures, read without a superadded discourse ; in which conceit, for all their zeal against Popery, they seem to be too much of the Romish opinion, as accounting the Holy Scriptures so obscure in themselves that is someway dangerous, or at least altogether unprofitable, to intrust the common people either with reading or hearing any part of them at any time, unless they be backed with continual expositions.

5. That ministers do endeavour to reduce the people from the irreverent deportment they have generally contracted in public worship, particularly from their most undecent sitting at prayer, to kneel or stand, as conveniently they may ; that as we may worship both with our bodies and souls Him that made both, and made them for that very end, oh ! how needful is that invitation to be often rung

in our ears, that seem wholly to have forgot it: "O come, let us worship and bow down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker."

III.

The Synod which met 11th April 1671 was presided over by Rev. Thomas Lindsay, minister of Dunblane and Dean. The following letter from Leighton was read :

GLASGOW, *April 6, 1671.*

REVEREND BRETHREN,—The superadded burden that I have here sits so hard upon me that I cannot escape from under it to be with you at this time, but my heart and desires shall be with you for a blessing from above upon your meeting. I have nothing to recommend to you, but (if you please) to take a review of things formerly agreed on, and such as you judge most useful to renew the appointment of putting them in practice, and to add whatsoever shall further occur to your thoughts that may promote the happy discharge of your ministry and the good of your people's souls. I know I need not remind you, for I am confident you daily think of it, that the great principle of fidelity and diligence and good success in that great work is Love ; and the great spring of love to souls is love to Him that bought them. He knew it well Himself, and gave us to know it when He said, " Simon,

lovest thou Me? Feed my sheep, Feed my lambs." Deep impression of His blessed name upon our hearts will not fail to produce lively expression of it, not only in our words and discourses in private and public, but will make the whole track of our lives to be a true copy and transcript of His holy life. And if there be within us any sparkles of that Divine love, you know the best way, not only to preserve them, but to excite them, and blow them into a flame, is by the breath of prayer. Oh! prayer, the converse of the soul with God! the breath of God in man returning to its Original,¹ frequent and fervent prayer, the better half of our whole work, and that which makes the other half lively and effectual; as that holy company tells us when designing deacons to serve the tables, they add: "But we will give ourselves continually to prayer and the ministry of the Word." And is it not, brethren, our unspeakable advantage, beyond all the gainful and honourable employments of the world, that the whole work of our particular calling is a kind of living in heaven, and, besides its tendency to the saving of the souls of others, is all

¹ Cf. George Herbert's "THE TEMPLE," 19, *Prayer*:—

"God's breath in man returning to his birth."

Also 76:

"Of what an easy quick access."

along so proper and adapted to the purifying and saving of our own? But you will possibly say, What does he himself that speaks these things to us? Alas! I am ashamed to tell you. All I dare say is this: I think I see the beauty of holiness, and am enamoured with it, though I attain it not; and how little soever I attain, would rather live and die in the pursuit of it, than in the pursuit, yea, or in the possession and enjoyment, though unpurified, of all the advantages that this world affords. And I trust, dear brethren, you are of the same opinion, and have the same desire and design, and follow it both more diligently, and with better success. But I will stop here, lest I should forget myself, and possibly run on till I have wearied you, if I have not done that already; and yet if it be so, I will hope for easy pardon at your hands, as of a fault I have not been accustomed to heretofore, nor am likely hereafter often to commit. To the all-powerful grace of our great Lord and Master, I recommend you and your flocks, and your whole work amongst them, and do earnestly entreat your prayers for

Your unworthiest but most affectionate

Brother and Servant,

R. LEIGHTONNE.

LETTERS OF LEIGHTON.

EVERYBODY likes to read the letters of a great and good man ; and it is to be regretted that we have so few of the letters of Leighton, to help us to read the complex features of his life. We have Burnet's authority for the statement that Leighton "entered into a great correspondence with Episcopalians" and others during his ministry at Newbattle. Some of the letters written to Burnet's father must have come into Burnet's hands, not to speak of many communications between Leighton and Burnet himself. Friendly notes would pass from Leighton to his brother Sir Ellis, and the Lightmakers at Broadhurst, as well as to his favourite students, and such followers and admirers as Andrew Gray and Henry Scougall ; or men like Nairn, Charteris, James Aird, who were his confidants ; or public men who helped him in his plans of accommodation and schemes of comprehension, such as Sir John Harper and Sir Robert Murray. We may even suppose that the Primate Sharp would, now and then, receive a letter bearing the mark of the seal of the Bishop of Dunblane or the Archbishop of Glasgow, the recovery of which would now delight the heart of all the antiquarians.

Had some loving disciple collected and published Leighton's letters soon after his death, as Robert Macward, the amanuensis of Samuel Rutherford, did with Rutherford's,

many a repository would have yielded up their treasures. But it was not till sixty years had passed that even a meagre account of Leighton's life appeared. Dr. Doddridge, in 1748, had "a large collection of letters"¹ which came through the hands of the Rev. Dr. Latham of Derby and Rev. W. Arthur of Newcastle, but of these only a few appeared in Wilson's edition, "the remainder, with some other papers, are reserved, to be inserted in a larger account of the author's life, which, if God permit, may hereafter be expected." Doddridge died about three years and a half after this, and the promise was never fulfilled.

Mr. David Laing had the intention "to form a collection of the unpublished letters which were written at various periods of Leighton's life;" but he was forestalled by the Rev. C. F. Secretan, Westminster, who collected and printed fifteen letters, chiefly from the Lauderdale Correspondence in the British Museum, in *Notes and Queries*, vol. i., 1862. A very interesting letter, with a facsimile, is given in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, vol. iii., 1853, p. 232, in Mr. Laing's account of "The Leightonian Library at Dunblane."

The limits of this volume have curtailed the selection of Leighton's letters. In the Lauderdale Correspondence, and in letters to James Aird and others, Leighton gives us insight into his heart and life. Mr. Laing says "his letters show that he was by no means destitute of worldly wisdom and sagacity, but with all his earnest endeavours to conciliate matters, he found his duties neither a sinecure nor at all lucrative."

¹ There seems to have existed, at one time, a large body of Leighton's letters, but what is come of them we know not. It is an unspeakable loss to literature, and history and religion; for the few that do exist are precious beyond measure.—*The Bishop's Walk*, Notes, p. 138.

I.

We have already (p. 48) given the substance of one of the earliest of Leighton's letters. Its preservation is due to the fact that it was seized in the house of Alexander Leighton, in 1629, by the authorities of the Star-Chamber, along with other "seditious" and explosive material, as offensive to the great powers of that period as some chemical compounds are to those of our day. Laud had read the letter and indorsed it, little dreaming that the boy-writer, the son of the intractable Presbyterian, would thirty years afterwards be one of his own Order. There is another letter which was written by Leighton from Edinburgh, 12th March 1629, and is addressed "to his loving mother." This must have been his stepmother.¹ His father was at Utrecht, "living precariously," as Professor Masson states, "as a preacher to an English or Scotch congregation there. Intercommunication is difficult, and the son in particular, who has heard of the book which his father has been printing in Holland for circulation in England (*Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*), is anxious to hear news of him."² The elder Leighton had written on March 14th to his wife, telling her that he is getting things in order for his return, that he was to be ordained on the 22d, and would leave for England on the 24th of March. A call had been given him in London, "so freely and publicly put upon him that he could not avoid it." He hopes the Parliament has the thing (his book?). "As for the means," he adds, "we must wait upon God, of whose bounty and goodness we have had many expressions ;

¹ See Dr. Irving's *Literary Scotchmen*, 1850, vol. ii. p. 120.

² *Life of John Milton*, by Professor David Masson, M.A., LL.D., 1875, vol. i. pp. 298, 299.

blessed be His name ! I mean to come over upon Jehovah's protection, under whose wings if we walk nothing can hurt us."

LOVING MOTHER,—I received a letter from my father, which, although it was brief, yet it perspicuously made manifest unto me the danger that he of likelihood would incur of the book which he hath been printing. God frustrate the purpose of wicked men ! He sent some of the books hither, which are like to bring those that meddled with them in some danger ; but I hope God shall appease the matter, and hinder the power of wicked men, who, if they could do according to their desire against God's children, would make havoc of them in a sudden. The Lord stir us up to whom this matter belongs to pray to God to defend and keep His children and His cause ! If trouble come, there is no cause of sinking under it ; but a comfortable thing it is to suffer for the cause of God, and the greater the cross¹ be, if it be for righteousness, the greater

¹ "If your hand and pen had been at leisure to gain glory on paper, it had been but paper glory ; but the bearing of a public cross so long, for the now controverted privileges of the crown and sceptre of free King Jesus, the Prince of the kings of the earth, is glory booked in heaven."—From a letter of Samuel Rutherford to Dr. Alexander Leighton, written at "St. Andrews, Nov. 22, 1639." Rutherford styles him, "Reverend and much

comfort it may afford, and the greater honour it will be to go patiently through with it. . . . Exhort my brother to walk with God, and pray for me that the same may be my case.

II.

The next letter, of date "May 17th, 1629," is also from "Edinburgh" to his mother. She has sent some things from London, as mothers often do to sons at College, and he writes to say that the things have not come to him. But he is more concerned for his father than the missing things.

I more desire to hear something of my father's affairs. I have not so much as seen any of his books yet, though there be some of them here. I pray, with the first occasion write to me what he hath done. As yet my part is in the meanwhile to recommend it to God. Remember my duty to my aunt, my love to my brother James. I bless God for the thing I hear of him, though I come short of it myself. Pray him to pray for me that God uphold me, and let not Satan take advantage either by objecting liberty before me, or ill example.

honoured Prisoner of hope," and thus speaks of Leighton's mutilation: "the King whose marks ye are bearing, and whose dying ye carry about in your body."—*Rutherford's Letters*, Macniven and Wallace, 1863, Letter 289.

Remember me to Elisabeth, Elisha, and my young brother and sister, and to Mrs. Freese. Pardon my most rude forme of writeing in regard of the past, and the time of night wherein I write this letter.

III.

The following letters, written in "Newbottle," 31st December 1649, and 4th February 1650, relating to a legacy left him by his father, are addressed to his "affectionate brother," Mr. Edward Lightmaker.

1.

That you give me notice of, I desire to consider as becomes a Christian, and to prepare to wait for my own removal. What business follows upon my father's [death] may be well enough done without me. Any pittance belonging to me may possibly be needful and useful for my subsistence ; but truly, if something else draw me not, I shall never bestow so long a journey on that I account so mean a business. Remember my love to my sister your wife, and to my brother and sister Rathband, as you have opportunity. I am glad to hear of the welfare of you all, and above all things wish for myself and you all our daily increase in likeness to Jesus Christ, and growing heavenwards, where He is who is our treasure. To His grace I recommend you.

2.

Your kind advice I cannot but thank you for, but I am not easily taught that lesson. I confess it is the wiser way to trust nobody ; but there is so much of the fool in my nature as carries me rather to the other extreme, to trust everybody. Yet I will endeavour to take the best course I can in that little business you write of. It is true there is a lawful, yea, a needful, diligence in such things ; but alas ! how poor are they to the portion of believers, where our treasure is ! That little that was in Mr. E.'s hands hath failed me ; but I shall either have no need of it, or be supplied some other way. And this is the relief of my rolling thoughts, that while I am writing this, this moment is passing away, and all the hazards of want and sickness shall be at an end. My mother writes to me, and presses my coming up. I know not yet if that can be ; but I intend, God willing, so soon as I can conveniently, if I come not, to take some course that things be done as if I were there. I hope you will have patience in the meantime. Remember my love to my sisters. The Lord be with you, and lead you in His ways.

From the Presbytery Records it appears that on the 14th March 1650, "Mr. Robert Leightoun did show the

Presbyterie that a weightie businesse did call for him to England, and obtained libertie to goe, having told the Presbyterie that he had taken a course for providing of his Kirk till his return." He remained in London till May. His brother-in-law alluded to his loss (of £1000), "Oh, no more of that," said Leighton; "the good man has escaped from the care and vexation of that business." "What," said his brother-in-law, "is that all you make of the matter?" "Truly," replied Leighton, "if the Duke of Newcastle, after losing nineteen times as much of yearly income, can dance and sing, while the solid hopes of Christianity will not avail to support us, we had better be as the world." It was about this time that he and his brother and others were nearly drowned on the Thames, near Lambeth, and when all were in terror Leighton was calm. He afterwards remarked, "It would have been no great harm if we had all been safe landed on the other side."

IV.

The letter which follows is marked, "Edinbro, Jan. 16th," but without the year. It is a "word of comfort" to his brother-in-law, Edward Lightmaker, on the death of a dear son, and reveals the warmth and tenderness of Leighton's affections. When his brother-in-law died, Leighton said, as he returned from his funeral, "Fain would I have thrown myself into the grave with him." Cf. Letters 273, 291, 463, 482, by St. Francis de Sales, written in similar circumstances.

I am glad of your health and recovery of your little ones; but indeed it was a sharp stroke of a pen that told me your pretty Johnny was dead;

and I felt it truly more than, to my remembrance, I did the death of any child in my lifetime. Sweet thing, and is he so quickly laid to sleep? Happy he! Though we shall have no more the pleasure of his lisping and laughing, he shall have no more the pain of crying, nor of being sick, nor of dying; and hath wholly escaped the trouble of schooling, and all other sufferings of boys, and the riper and deeper griefs of riper years; this poor life being all along nothing but a linked chain of many sorrows and many deaths. Tell my dear sister she is now much more akin to the other world; and this will quickly be passed to us all. John is but gone an hour or two sooner to bed, as children use to do, and we are undressing to follow. And the more we put off the love of this present world, and all things superfluous beforehand, we shall have the less to do when we lie down. It shall refresh me to hear from you at your leisure.

V.

The following letter, written when he was Principal of the University of Edinburgh, illustrates his ruling passion, "to be conformed to the image of God's Son." He once said, "To be content to stay always in this world is above the obedience of angels. Those holy spirits are employed, according to the perfection of their natures; and restless-

ness in hymns of praise is their only rest. But the utmost we poor mortals can attain to is to lie awake in the dark, and a great piece of art and patience it is *spatiosam fallere noctem.*"

Some days ago I received some lines from you, and they were very welcome ; for I know no better news can come from any corner of the earth, than of a soul attempting to overcome the world and its own self, and in any degree prevailing and resolving still onwards. All the projects and conquests of the world are not to be named to it. Oh ! what a weariness is it to live amongst men, and find so few men ; and amongst Christians, and so few Christians ; so much talk and so little action ; religion turned almost to a tune and air of words, and amidst all our pretty discourses, pusillanimous and base, and so easily dragged into the mire ; self and flesh and pride and passion domineering while we speak of being in Christ, and clothed with Him, and believe it, because we speak it so often and so confidently ! Well, I know you are not willing to be thus gulled, and having some glances of the beauty of holiness, aim no lower than perfection, which in the end we hope to attain ; and in the meanwhile, the smallest advances towards it are more worth than crowns and sceptres. I believe it, you often think on these words of the blessed

champion, Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 24,¹ etc. There is a noble Guest within us. Oh! let all our business be to entertain Him honourably, and to live in celestial love within; that will make all things without be very contemptible in our eyes. I should rove on did I not stop myself, it falling out well too for that, to be hard upon the post hours ere I thought of writing. Therefore 'good-night' is all I add, for whatever hour it comes to your hand, I believe you are as sensible as I that it is still night; but the comfort is, it draws nigh towards that bright morning that shall make amends.

Your weary fellow-pilgrim,

R. L.

¹ "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain."

THE END.





