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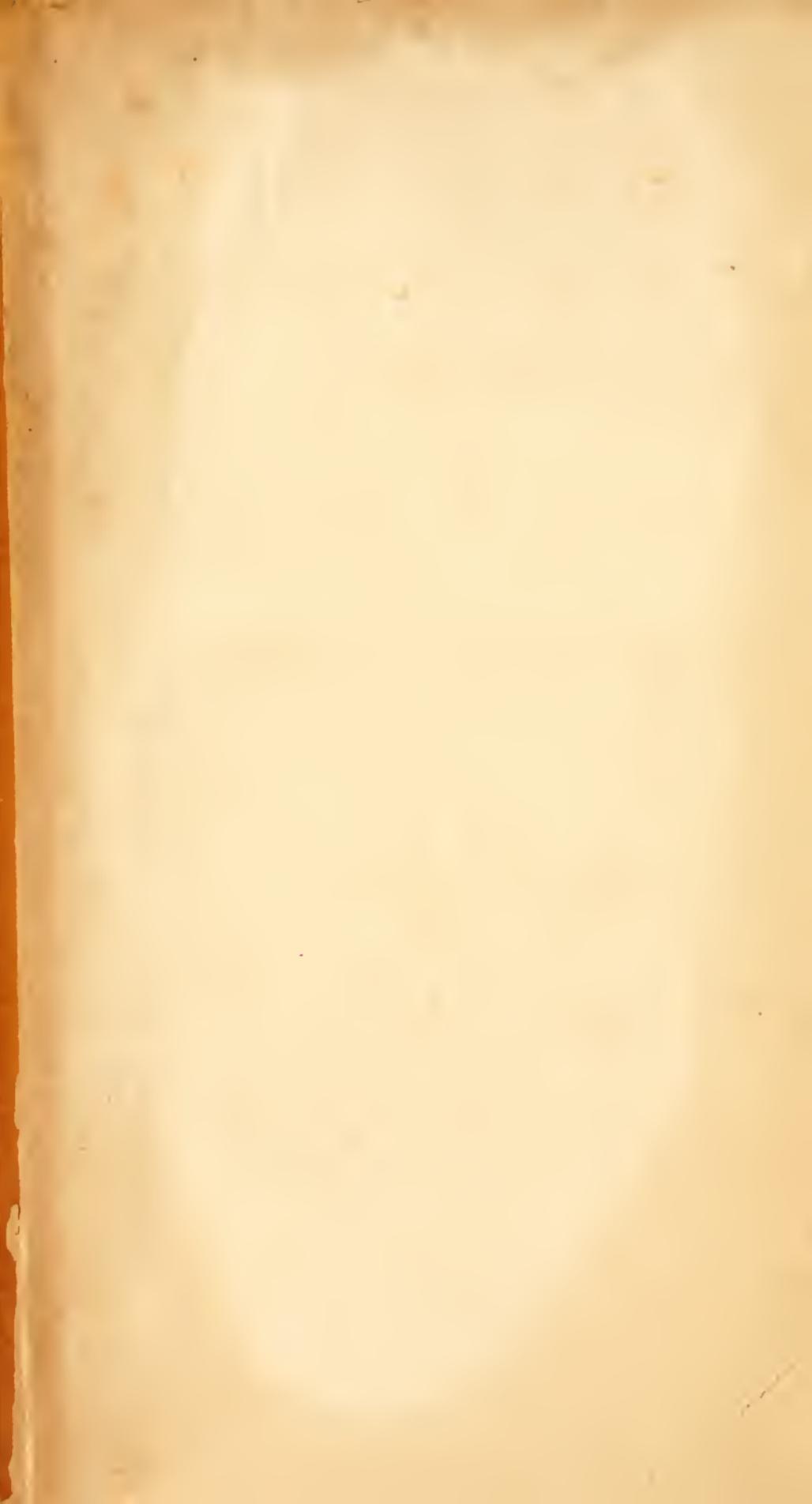
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EVANGELICAL  
BIOGRAPHY;  
OR,  
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIVES & DEATHS  
OF  
THE MOST EMINENT AND EVANGELICAL  
*AUTHORS OR PREACHERS,*  
BOTH BRITISH AND FOREIGN,  
IN THE SEVERAL  
DENOMINATIONS OF PROTESTANTS,  
FROM THE  
BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WHEREIN

*Are collected from authentic Historians, their most remarkable Actions, Sufferings, and Writings; exhibiting the Unity of their Faith and Experience in their several Ages, Countries, and Professions; and illustrating the Power of Divine Grace in their holy Living and Dying.*

BY THE

REV. ERASMUS MIDDLETON,

Of King's College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Countess of Cranford and Lindsay; and Rector of Turvey, Bedfordshire.

The FAITHFUL are chosen in Christ, EPH. i. 4.—called by grace, GAL. i. 15.—justified freely by grace, ROM. iii. 24.—holy and beloved, COL. iii. 12.—they live by faith, GAL. iii. 11.—obtain a good report through faith, HEB. xi. 39.—die blessed in the Lord, REV. xiv. 13.—shall appear with him in glory, COL. iii. 4.

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# BIOGRAPHIA EVANGELICA.

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## GEORGE ABBOT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

**E**MINENT as this Prelate was by his station, he was more so by his parts and learning, and by his zeal for the Protestant Religion. He had great influence in the public affairs of his time. We shall leave, however, as much as possible, the detail of his transactions, as a great member of the State, to the civil historian, and confine ourselves, principally, to those circumstances of his life, which mark him as a public Governor in the Church, or represent him in his function as a Man of GOD.

He was born October 29, 1562, at Guildford, in Surry, of very worthy parents; remarkably distinguished by their steady zeal for the protestant religion; for their living long and happily together, and for their singular felicity in their children. While his mother was pregnant with this son, she is said to have had a dream which proved at once an omen and an instrument of his future fortunes. Her dream was this: She fancied she was told in her sleep, that if she could eat a jack, or pike, the child she went with would prove a son, and rise to great preferment. Not long after this, in taking a pail of water out of the river Wey, which ran by their house, she accidentally caught a jack, and had thus an odd opportunity of fulfilling her dream. This story being much talked of, and coming to the ears of some persons of distinction, they offered to become sponsors for the child, which was kindly accepted; and they had the goodness to afford many testimonies of their affection to their godson, while

at school, and after he was sent to the university. Such were the good effects at least of his mother's dream.

When he was grown up to an age proper for receiving the first tincture of learning, he was sent with his elder brother Robert to the free-school, erected in their native town of Guildford, by King Edward VI. and having passed through the rudiments of literature, under the care of Mr. Francis Taylor, who had then the direction of that school, he was in 1578 removed to the University of Oxford, and entered a student in Baliol college. On November 29, 1583, being then bachelor of arts, he was elected probationer-fellow of his college; and afterwards proceeding in the faculty of arts, he entered into holy orders, and became a celebrated preacher in the university. He commenced bachelor of divinity in 1593, and proceeded doctor in that faculty in May 1597: And in the month of September, of the same year, he was elected master of University college. About this time it was, that the first differences began between him and Dr. Laud, which subsisted as long as they lived, and were the cause of great uneasiness to both. In the year following, which was 1598, he published a Latin work which did him great honour; and which was afterwards reprinted in Germany.

On March 6, 1599, he was installed dean of Winchester, in the room of Dr. Martin Heton, who was preferred to the bishoprick of Ely: Dr. Abbot being then about thirty-seven years of age. Some writers say that he was also dean of Gloucester, but this is absolutely a mistake. In 1600, he was vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, and distinguished himself while in that high office, by the opinion he gave with respect to the setting up again the cross in Cheapside, about which there were great disputes; but in the end he carried his point against Dr. Bancroft, then bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; which gained him great reputation, as appears by a tract published on that subject. The cross at Cheapside was taken down in the year 1600, in order to be repaired, and upon this occasion, the citizens of London desired the advice of both universities on this question, Whether the said cross should be re-erected or not? And Dr. Abbot, as vice-chancellor of Oxford, gave it as his opinion, that the crucifix with the dove upon it should not be again set up; but approved rather of a pyramid, or some other matter of mere ornament, for the reasons assigned in his letter. In this determination he acted consistently with his own practice, when in his  
said

said office he caused several superstitious pictures to be burnt at the market-place of Oxford, and among the rest, one in which was the figure of God the Father, over a crucifix, ready to receive the soul of Christ; and he professes in this letter, that he was moved to such proceedings by his own observation and experience. “ I  
 “ remember (says he) in that college [Baliol] where I  
 “ first lived, a young man was taken praying, and beating  
 “ his breast, before a crucifix in a window; which caused  
 “ the master and fellows to pull it down, and set up  
 “ other glass. Which example makes me nothing doubt,  
 “ but that the cross in Cheapside hath many, in the twi-  
 “ light and morning early, who do reverence before it,  
 “ besides Campian, whose act is famous, or rather in-  
 “ famous, for it. And, I am informed, that so much  
 “ hath been signified by the neighbours, or inquest, mak-  
 “ ing presentments concerning the circumstances of this  
 “ cause. By all which, I do conclude, that it is a  
 “ monument of their superstition; a great inducement,  
 “ and may be a ready way to idolatry; and that there  
 “ can be no tolerable use of this matter, which may be  
 “ able to countervail the dangers and obloquy arising  
 “ upon the retaining of it; and so much the rather, be-  
 “ cause it is perceived that many evil affected men do  
 “ make their advantage from hence, to insinuate into the  
 “ minds of their credulous hearers, that it is a token of  
 “ the return of their faith again into this land, since  
 “ their monuments are not extinguished in the chief street  
 “ of our greatest city.”

He afterwards desires, that the reader would observe, that the magistrates are to redress such enormities: “ For (continues he) I do not permit inferior men to run  
 “ headlong about such matters; and to rend, break, and  
 “ tear, as well within as without the churches, which  
 “ was that which Luther reprehended; but the advice and  
 “ consent of superior powers is to be had herein, that all  
 “ things may be done decently and in order.” He held it therefore necessary, that they should apply to the Archbishop of Canterbury [Whitgift] and to the bishop of London [Bancroft] for instructions. The issue of the matter was, that the cross only was erected again, without either the body or the dove, which was agreeable in the main to the sentiments of the vice-chancellor, and the heads of houses at Oxford.

He likewise published the same year his Sermons on the Prophet Jonah, which were received with great applause.

In

In 1603, he was again chosen vice-chancellor of the university, and discharged that office a second time with general approbation. In the succeeding year 1604, that translation of the Bible which is now in use, was made by the direction of King James, and Dr. Abbot was the second of eight learned divines in the University of Oxford, to whom the care of translating the whole New Testament (except the Epistles) was committed. He likewise published this year an answer to Dr. Hill's Reasons for upholding Popery. In 1605, he was a third time vice-chancellor. In the succeeding year, he is said to have had a great share in the troubles of Laud, who was called to an account by the vice-chancellor, Dr. Ayry, for a sermon of his preached before the university; and that year, likewise, he lost his father and mother.

In 1608, died his great patron Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord high treasurer of England, and chancellor of the University of Oxford, suddenly at the council table; at whose funeral, Dr. Abbot preached a sermon, which was afterwards printed, and generally commended.

After his decease, Dr. Abbot became chaplain to George Hume, Earl of Dunbar, and treasurer of Scotland, one of King James's early favourites, and who all along had a very high share in his esteem; and with him he went this year into Scotland, in order to assist in the execution of a very important design, for establishing an union between the Churches in that kingdom and this, wherein he behaved with so much prudence and moderation as gained him a very high character, and is thought to have been the first step to all his future preferment.

Dean Abbot now stood so high in the King's favour, that on the death of Dr. Overton, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, which happened the latter end of April 1609, his majesty thought of Dr. Abbot for his successor; and he was accordingly consecrated bishop of those united sees, on December 3d, in the same year. But this, it seems, did not appear in the King's eyes a sufficient recompence for the services rendered him by so able a man; and therefore, before he had sat a month in this bishopric, he was translated to London, that see becoming void by the death of Dr. Thomas Ravis; and he was accordingly removed thither on the 20th of January following. It was but a short time that he possessed both these bishoprics; and yet, in that short time, he so remarkably distinguished himself by the diligent performance of his function, by constant preaching, and by expressing the  
utmost

utmost readiness to promote learning and learned men, that he obtained a general good character, as appears from several memorials of those times.

While the good bishop was thus employed, a new opportunity offered of the King's testifying his esteem of, and confidence in him, by the archepiscopal see of Canterbury's becoming vacant, as it did on the 2d of November 1610, by the death of Dr. Richard Bancroft. The court bishops immediately cast their eyes upon the celebrated Dr. Launcelot Andrews, then bishop of Ely, and pointed him out to the king, as one sufficiently qualified to take upon him the government of the church; and they thought this recommendation, joined to the king's known regard for the parts and piety of this eminent man, enough to secure his promotion to the primacy; but either the king himself thought of the bishop of London, or he was proposed to him by his old friend and patron, the Earl of Dunbar; and therefore, without taking the advice of those prelates, his majesty preferred bishop Abbot to the see of Canterbury, in which he was seated on the 9th of April 1611; and, on the 23d of June following, was sworn one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Thus we see him, before he had arrived at the age of fifty, exalted to the highest dignity in the church, and celebrated by Godwin, one of his contemporaries, and a bishop too, for his learning, eloquence, and indefatigable diligence in preaching and writing, notwithstanding the great burthen that lay upon him, from the necessary attendance on the duties of his high office; especially presiding in the high-commission court, which sat weekly at his palace, and his regular assisting at council, which, while his health permitted, he never failed. At this time he was in the highest favour both with prince and people, and appears to have had a principal hand in all the great transactions in church and state; he was never esteemed excessively fond of power, or desirous of carrying his prerogative, as primate of England, to an extraordinary height; yet, as soon as he had taken possession of the archbishopric, he shewed a steady resolution in the maintenance of the rights of the high-commission court, and would not submit to Lord Coke's prohibitions. He likewise shewed his concern for the interest of the protestant religion abroad, by procuring his majesty's application to the States-general against Conrade Vorstius, whom they had called to the professorship of Leyden; in which affair

Sir

Sir Ralph Winwood was employed; and when it was found difficult to obtain from the States that satisfaction which the king desired, his Grace, in conjunction with the Lord treasurer, Earl of Salisbury, framed an expedient for contenting both parties. In all probability this alarmed some of the warm churchmen at home, who were by no means pleased with the king's discountenancing abroad those opinions which they themselves favoured in both universities; but, whatever their sentiments upon this matter might be, archbishop Abbot seems to have had as great concern for the church as any of them, when he thought it really in danger, as appears by a short and plain letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, about one Mr. Amias, who had been appointed preacher in the English congregation at the Hague, of whom the bishop says, that he was a fit person to breed up the captains and soldiers there in mutiny and faction, and consequently, very unfit for his office.

His great concern for the true interest of religion, made him a zealous promoter of the match between the Elector Palatine and princess Elizabeth; and that prince being here in the beginning of the year 1612, his Grace thought fit to invite the nobility that attended him to an entertainment, at his archepiscopal palace at Lambeth, where, though uninvited and unexpected, the elector himself resorted, to shew his great respect for the archbishop, and was so well pleased with his welcome, that when he feasted the members of the privy-council at Essex-house, he shewed particular respect to the archbishop, and those who attended him. On the fourteenth of February following, the marriage was solemnized with great splendour, the archbishop performing the ceremony on a stage erected in the middle of the royal chapel; and, on the 10th of April, his electoral highness returned to Germany; but before his departure, he made a present of plate to the archbishop, of the value of a thousand pounds, as a mark of the just sense he had of the pains his Grace had taken in the accomplishing his marriage; and as an additional mark of his confidence, he wrote to him from Canterbury, in relation to the causes of that discontent with which he left England.

The concern his majesty had shewn for removing Arminius first, and then Vorstius, had given their favourers in Holland so much uncasiness, that the famous Hugo Grotius, the great champion of their cause, was sent over to England, to endeavour to mitigate the king's displeasure

displeasure, and, if possible, to give him a better opinion of the Remonstrants, as they began then to be called; and we have a very singular account of the man, and of his negociation, from the pen of the archbishop.\*

In

\* This is contained in a letter from his Grace to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated June 1, 1713, from Lambeth: it contains a great variety of curious particulars, some of which follow. " You must take heed how  
 " you trust Dr. Grotius too far, for I perceive him to be so addicted to  
 " some partialities in those parts, that he feareth not to lash, so it may  
 " serve a turn. At his first coming to the king, by reason of his good  
 " Latin tongue, he was so tedious, and full of tittle-tattle, that the  
 " King's judgment was of him, that he was some pedant full of words,  
 " and of no great judgment. And I myself, di covering that to be his  
 " habit, as if he did imagine that every man was bound to hear him,  
 " so long as he would talk, (which is a great burthen to men replete  
 " with business) did privately give him notice thereof, that he should  
 " plainly and directly deliver his mind, or else he would make the  
 " King weary of him. This did not so take place, but that afterwards  
 " he fell to it again, as was especially observed one night at supper at  
 " the Lord bishop of Ely's, whither being brought by Mr. Casaubon,  
 " (as I think) my Lord intreated him to stay to supper, which he did.  
 " There was present Dr. Steward, and another Civilian, unto whom he  
 " flings out some question of that profession, and was so full of words,  
 " that Dr. Steward afterwards told my Lord, that he did perceive by  
 " him, that, like a smatterer, he had studied some two or three ques-  
 " tions, whereof when he came in company he must be talking to vin-  
 " dicate his skill; but if he were put from those, he would shew him-  
 " self but a simple fellow. There was present also, Dr. Richardson,  
 " the King's professor of divinity in Cambridge, and another doctor in  
 " that faculty, with whom he falleth in also about some of those ques-  
 " tions which are now controverted among the ministers in Holland.  
 " And being matters wherein he was studied, he uttered his skill con-  
 " cerning them: My Lord of Ely sitting still at supper all the while,  
 " and wondering what a man he had there, who, never being in the  
 " place or company before, could overwhelm them so with talk for so  
 " long a time. I write this unto you so largely, that you may know  
 " the disposition of the man, and how kindly he used my Lord of Ely  
 " for his good entertainment. You will ask me what is this to you?  
 " I must tell you, therefore, that you shall not be without your part.  
 " At the same time that Sir Noel Caron was together with Grotius,  
 " being now to take his leave of the King, it was desired of his ma-  
 " jesty, that he would not hastily give his judgment concerning points  
 " of religion, now in difference in Holland, for that his majesty had in-  
 " formation but of one side, and that his ambassador did deal partially,  
 " making all reports in favour of the one side, and saying nothing at  
 " all for the other. For he might have let his majesty know, how fac-  
 " tious a generation these contradicters are; how they are like to our  
 " puritans in England; how refractory they are to the authority of the  
 " civil magistrate, and other things of like nature, as I wrote you in  
 " my former letter. I doubt not but Grotius had his part in this in-  
 " formation, whereout I conceive you will make some use, keeping  
 " these things privately to yourself, as becometh a man of your em-  
 " ployment. When his majesty told me this, I gave such an answer as  
 " was fit; and now, upon the receipt of your letters, shall upon the  
 " first occasion give further satisfaction. All things rest here as they  
 " did, and I, as ready to do you all good offices, remain, &c.

“ GEORGE, Cant.”

In the spring of the year 1613, the affair of the Charterhouse was settled, and at the close of the month of June, his Grace, and the rest of the trustees, took possession of that place, pursuant to the will of Mr. Sutton.

Towards the close of the next year, the famous Antonio de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, took shelter here, from the persecution with which he was threatened by the pope, for discovering his dislike both of the doctrine and discipline of the church of Rome, and was very kindly received by his majesty, who was pleased to order the archbishop to entertain him, which he did with generous hospitality, till he was otherways provided for by the king. His Grace, however, thought himself sufficiently recompenced for the trouble given him in this affair, by this stranger's procuring for him the manuscript of Father Paul's excellent History of the Council of Trent. In the spring of the year 1618, viz. on the second of March, our good archbishop lost his brother Robert, the bishop of Salisbury, and, before his grief was well over for so near a relation, he met with fresh disturbance from the king's declaration for permitting sports and pastimes on the Lord's Day, which was dated at Greenwich, May 4, 1618. This declaration was ordered to be read in churches, and the archbishop, being accidentally at Croydon in Surry when it came thither, had the courage to forbid its being read, which, however, the king winked at, notwithstanding there were some about him, who let no opportunity slip of irritating him against this prelate. The Council of Dort sat this year, to which were sent from hence, in the beginning of the month of October, four commissioners, and amongst them Dr. Hall, dean of Winchester, with whose health the climate of Holland disagreeing, he returned, and Dr. Goad, the archbishop's chaplain, was sent in his place.

The end of this year proved as disagreeable to the bishop as its beginning; in autumn, the queen, his gracious mistress, falling ill of that distemper, which, after a tedious sickness, brought her to her end on the first of March following. The archbishop himself began also to grow infirm, and finding himself less fit for the affairs of the world than he had been, resolved, while he had still strength, to enter upon a great and good design, which he had long meditated as a testimony of affection to his  
native

native town of Guildford, where, on the fifth of April 1619, he was present when Sir Nicholas Kempe laid the first stone of his hospital, which the archbishop afterwards nobly endowed.

It was towards the end of this year, that the Elector Palatine accepted of the crown of Bohemia, which occasioned great disputes in King James's councils, some desiring that his majesty should not interfere in this matter at all, from a foresight that it would produce a war in Germany; others again, believing that both natural affection to his son and daughter, and a just concern for the protestant interest, ought to have engaged his majesty warmly to support the new election. The archbishop agreed in sentiment with the last mentioned party, and not being able at that time to attend the privy council, he wrote his mind with great plainness and freedom to the secretary of state. The next year was in a great measure spent in debates and negociations upon this subject, in which the king took a great deal of pains, with little effect.

The archbishop's declining state of health, making exercise a thing not only convenient but necessary for him, he was accustomed in the summer to make a tour into Hampshire for the sake of recreation, and being invited by the Lord Zouch to hunt in his park at Bramshil upon the edge of Berkshire, and not far from Hartford bridge, his Grace met there with the greatest misfortune that befel him in the whole course of his life; for, hunting in this park on the 24th of July, he let fly a barbed arrow from a cross-bow at one of the deer, which unfortunately struck one Peter Hawkins, Lord Zouch's keeper, (who was quite out of the bishop's sight, and had been warned more than once to keep out of the way,) in the left arm, by which wound a large blood-vessel being pierced, he bled to death in an hour's time. This unforeseen accident threw the archbishop into a deep melancholy, though he was not conscious to himself of the least inadvertency or indiscretion; neither did this wear off in time, but throughout his whole life he observed a monthly fast on a Tuesday, the day on which this fatal mischance fell out, and settled an annuity of twenty pounds on the widow, which soon procured her another husband. This affair made a very great noise, and there wanted not some to represent it in a sinister light to King James; but his majesty gave his judgment of the matter in a short and clear

clear sentence, ‘ An angel (said he) might have miscarried in this sort.’ When he was afterwards informed of the legal penalties which his Grace had incurred by this accident, he wrote him a consolatory letter with his own hand, in which amongst other things he told him, that ‘ he would not add affliction to his sorrow, or take ‘ one farthing from his chattels or moveables, which ‘ were forfeited by law.’

It does not appear, that his Grace was at all lessened, by the suggestions of his enemies, in the king’s favour, or his courage in any degree abated, by the troubles he had met with. On the contrary, we find him, in the year 1622, opposing the Spanish match, which was a thing the king had set his heart upon, with the greatest firmness and spirit, and even venturing, under his hand, to give his sentiments on that subject in terms so vigorous and pathetic, that no pen can properly represent them but his own.\* The king however remained fixed in his resolution,

\* This letter from the Archbishop to King James is without date, but the subject points out plainly enough the time when it was written; and it is inserted here, to shew the archbishop’s principles in religion, in regard to which there cannot be a fuller testimony.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ I HAVE been too long silent, and am afraid, by my silence, I have neglected the duty of the place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and your majesty to place me in: But now I humbly crave leave I may discharge my conscience towards God, and my duty to your majesty, and therefore I beseech you freely to give me leave to deliver myself, and then let your majesty do with me what you please. Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion: I beseech you to take into your consideration what your act is, what the consequence may be; by your act, you labour to set up the most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon. How hateful it will be to God, and grievous to your good subjects, the professors of the Gospel, that your majesty who hath often disputed, and learnedly written against those heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those wicked doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable. And hereunto I add what you have done, in sending the prince into Spain, without consent of your council, the privity and approbation of your people; and although you have a charge and interest in the prince, as son of your flesh, yet have the people a greater, as son of this kingdom, upon whom (next after your majesty) are their eyes fixed, and welfare depends; and so tenderly is his going apprehended, as (believe it) however his return may be safe, yet the drawers of him into this action, so dangerous to himself, so desperate to the kingdom, will not pass away unquestioned, unpunished. Besides, this toleration which you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, cannot be done without a parliament; unless your majesty will let your sub-

resolution, and the articles agreed on for the said marriage were sworn to, in the presence of the archbishop and other great officers of state, notwithstanding which they never took effect. The archbishop thenceforward assisted but seldom at council, being hindered chiefly by his infirmities; but in the king's last sickness he was called for, and attended with great constancy, and received the highest marks of the king's confidence, to the very last moment of his life, and was near him when he expired, on the twenty-seventh of March 1625.

At the coronation of King Charles I. the archbishop, as his office required, set the crown upon his majesty's head, though he was extremely weak, and much troubled with the gout; but thenceforward he visibly declined in the king's favour, and the Duke of Buckingham, who was his declared enemy, watched for an opportunity to make the archbishop feel the weight of his displeasure. This was at last taken, for his refusing to license a sermon, preached by one Dr. Sibthorpe, vicar of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, to justify and promote a loan, which the king had demanded. This sermon was preached at Northampton, in the Lent assizes, 1627, before the judges at Northampton, and it was transmitted to the archbishop, with the king's direction, to license it, which he refused to do, and gave his reasons for it; notwithstanding which, the sermon was licensed by the bishop of London, [Dr. Mountaigne] after many things had been corrected therein, from the lights given by the archbishop's objections, for which, however, it was resolved that he should suffer.

Discourses of this nature were so loud at court, that some of his Grace's friends overheard and reported them to him; upon which he thought fit to retire to his palace at Croydon, a month before his usual time. On the fifth of July, Lord Conway, who was then secretary of state, made him a visit, and intimated to him, that the king  
excepted

jects see, that you will take unto yourself ability to throw down the laws of your land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequences these things may draw afterward, I beseech your majesty to consider, and above all, lest by this toleration, and discountenancing of the true profession of the Gospel, wherewith God hath blessed us, and this kingdom hath so long flourished under it, your majesty do not draw upon this kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavy wrath and indignation.

Thus, in discharge of my duty towards God, to your majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken humble leave to deliver my conscience. Now, Sir, do what you please with me."

expected he should withdraw to Canterbury, which the archbishop declined, because he had a law-suit at that time with that city, and desired he might rather have leave to go to his house at Ford, five miles beyond Canterbury, which was yielded to: and, on the ninth of October following, the king granted a commission to the bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, to execute archepiscopal authority, the cause assigned being no more than this, ‘ That the arch-  
 ‘ bishop could not at that time, in his own person, at-  
 ‘ tend those services, which were otherwise proper for  
 ‘ his cognizance and jurisdiction.’

Some writers have pretended, that his supposed irregularity, occasioned by the death of Peter Hawkins, was revived; but the commission, which is extant on record, shews the contrary, nor indeed was that affair ever thought of afterwards; but the archbishop did not remain long in this situation, for the necessities of the times rendering a parliament necessary, his Grace was sent for about Christmas, and not only restored to his authority and jurisdiction, but, on his coming to court from his palace at Lambeth, was received, when he quitted his barge, by the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Dorset, who conducted him to his majesty, where, having kissed the king’s hand, he was desired not to fail the council table twice a-week.

His Grace sat in that parliament which began on the seventeenth of March following, and continued in the full exercise of his office ever after, of which it may not be amiss to take notice in this singular instance. On the twenty-fourth of August 1628, he consecrated Richard Montagu to the see of Chichester, a man who had been remarkably busy in supporting the pretence of his irregularity; and at this consecration Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, assisted, which is the clearest proof that can be, that no doubts stuck longer as to his irregularity, even with those who loved him least. In parliament, the archbishop maintained his credit in as high a degree as any of his predecessors, and it is more than probable, that the knowledge of this procured him such marks of respect, as were at this time afforded him by the court. When the ‘ Petition of Right,’ that great pillar of the English liberty, was under consideration, the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the sense of the House of Lords upon it, at a conference with the House of Commons,  
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and at the same time, laid before them such propositions as their Lordships had agreed upon, for which thanks were returned, in a set speech, by Sir Dudley Diggs.

The interest of bishop Laud was now so great at court, that he drew up a scheme of instructions, which having the king's name at the head of them, were, in the month of December 1629, transmitted to his Grace, under the pompous title, 'His Majesty's instructions to the most reverend father in God, George, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, containing certain orders to be observed and put in execution, by the several bishops in his province.' These instructions his Grace communicated to his suffragan bishops, in which, as Heylin observes, he acted ministerially; but to shew that he still meant to exercise his own authority in his own diocese, he restored Mr. Palmer and Mr. Udnay to their lectureships, after the dean and archdeacon of Canterbury had suspended them, and, in other respects, softened the rigour of those instructions, which were contrived to enforce the particular notions of a prevailing party in the church, which the archbishop thought a burden too hard to be borne by the tender consciences of those who made the fundamentals of religion their study, and were not so zealous for forms.

His conduct, in this and other respects, is said to have made his presence unwelcome at court; and so indeed it seems to have been, for upon the birth of Charles, Prince of Wales, (afterwards King Charles II.) which happened on the twenty-ninth of May 1630, Laud, then bishop of London, had the honour to baptize him, as dean of the chapel, notwithstanding that the Archbishop of Canterbury is the ordinary of the court; and the king's household, wherever it is, are regarded as its parishioners; so that this was visibly as much a slight upon the archbishop, as an act of favour towards his antagonist. The archbishop, however, was proof against all such accidents as these, and went on doing his duty without fear or favour; and yet one of the last acts of his life plainly shews, that he was very far from being so indifferent towards the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, as some have represented him. He followed them as *stated rules* for order, (for no church can subsist without some order) not as *essentials* of Christianity: And, without doubt, the archbishop, as well as many other good men, would most gladly have embraced any  
other

other ritual, which could have composed differences and promoted charity, if such a ritual had been devised.\* This act of his was an order, dated the third of July 1633, requiring the parishioners of Crayford, in Kent, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on their knees, at the steps ascending to the communion-table. We may well style this one of his last acts, since a month afterwards, viz. on the fourth of August in the same year, he deceased at his palace of Croydon, worn out with cares and infirmities, at the age of seventy-one. He was buried, according to his own express direction, in the church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, in his native town of Guildford, in Surry.

What has been said sufficiently proves, that he was a man of great natural parts, and those sufficiently improved, for the worthy performance of whatever his high station in the church required. He shewed himself, in many circumstances of his life, a man of great moderation towards all parties, a steady friend to the protestant religion, an honest, though perhaps not an humble courtier, and one who was desirous that the clergy should

\* STRYFE has preserved a curious paper, written by our Archbishop, and found among the MSS. of Archbishop USHER. It does too much honour to the healing and uniting spirit of the great CALVIN to be omitted. " Perusing some papers of our predecessor, Matthew Parker, we find, that JOHN CALVIN, and others of the protestant churches of Germany and elsewhere, would have had Episcopacy, if permitted; but could not, upon several accounts, partly fearing the other princes of the Roman catholic faith would have joined with the Emperor and the rest of the popish bishops, to have depressed the same; partly, being newly reformed, and not settled, they had not sufficient wealth to support their Episcopacy, by reason of their daily persecutions. Another, and a main cause was, They would not have any popish hands laid over their clergy. And whereas John Calvin had sent a letter, in King EDWARD VI.'s reign, to have conferred with the clergy of England, about some things to this effect, two popish bishops, viz. Gardiner and Bonner, intercepted the same, whereby Mr. Calvin's overture perished; and he received an answer, [probably from Gardiner and Bonner] AS IF IT HAD BEEN from the reformed divines of those times, wherein THEY CHECKED HIM, AND SLIGHTED HIS PROPOSALS. From which time, JOHN CALVIN and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND were at variance in several points; [i. e. of church discipline] which, otherwise, through God's mercy, HAD BEEN QUALIFIED, if those papers of his proposals had been discovered to the queen's majesty [Queen ELIZABETH] during John Calvin's life. But, being not discovered until, or about the sixth year of her majesty's reign, her majesty much lamented they were not found sooner; which she expressed before her council, in the presence of her great friends, Sir Henry Sidney and Sir William Cecil." See STRYFE'S Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 70.

should have attracted the reverence and esteem of the laity, by the sanctity of their manners, and the uprightness of their behaviour, rather than have claimed them as necessarily annexed to their function. These notions of his, squaring little with the humour of some writers, has drawn upon him many reflections that he did not deserve.

Some of them censured him for a puritan, and a ring-leader of the sectarian faction; and others, of indolence for not suppressing it. But Fuller very justly observes, that the ill-will he received from the court, and from those who were *high* in their notions of church-polity, principally arose from bishop Laud, who either aimed at his station for himself, or wished to drive so moderate a man out of it. They, moreover, could not endure his Calvinism, which began to grow out of fashion at court; nor admire his spirit, which could not promote persecution for the nonsensical trumpery which Laud afterwards introduced, and which men of all sorts might use, without having one spark of vital Christianity within them. The late speaker, Onslow, has given a strong vindication of his character, which may be seen in his life, distinctly published from the *Biographia Britannica*, to which is annexed his will, containing his numerous benefactions. Dr. Welwood, who was justly esteemed for his great knowledge of the ‘English History,’ and for his impartiality, gives a fair and candid account of our prelate, which we ought not to withhold from our readers. ‘Archbishop Abbot (says he) was a person of wonderful temper and moderation; and, in all his conduct, shewed an unwillingness to stretch the Act of Uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the peace of the church; or the prerogative of the crown, any farther than conducted to the good of the State. Being not well turned for a court, though otherwise of considerable learning, and genteel education, he either could not, or would not, stoop to the humour of the times; and now and then, by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his enemies to represent him as not well inclined to the prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular interest; and therefore not fit to be employed in matters of government.’

His charity and public spirit ought, certainly, to have been set in a clearer light than hitherto they have been,

by the friends to the church; the rather, because a writer, remarkable for his keenness, has been pleased to assert, that ‘marks of his benefaction we find none, in places of his breeding and preferment;’ which is at once an unjust and unchristian aspersion.

In regard to his learning, succeeding ages may judge thereof from his WRITINGS upon various subjects, of which the following is a list, as they were published.

I. *Quæstiones sex, totidem prælectionibus in Schola Theologica Oxoniæ, pro forma habitis, discussæ et disceptatæ anno 1597, in quibus è sacra Scriptura et Patribus, quid statuendum sit definitur. Oxoniæ 1598, 4to. It. Francoforti 1616, 4to.* This second edition was published by the famous Abraham Scultetus. II. Exposition on the Prophet Jonah, in certain Sermons preached at St. Mary’s church in Oxford. London, 4to. 1600. And again, 1613. III. His Answer to the Question of the Citizens of London, in Jan. 1600, concerning Cheapside Cross. London, 1641. IV. The Reasons which Dr. Hill hath brought for the upholding of Papistry, unmasked and shewed to be very weak, &c. Oxon. 4to. 1604. This Thomas Hill quitted the church of England for that of Rome, and wrote this book to vindicate that change. V. A Preface to the Examination of George Sprot, &c. VI. A Sermon preached at Westminster, May 26, 1608, at the Funeral of Thomas, Earl of Dorset, late Lord High Treasurer of England, on Isaiah xl. 6. by George Abbot, Doctor of Divinity, and Dean of Winchester, one of his Lordship’s Chaplains. London, 4to. 1608. VII. Translation of a part of the New Testament, with the rest of the Oxford divines, printed in 1611. VIII. Some Memorials, touching the Nullity between the Earl of Essex and his Lady, pronounced September 25, 1613, at Lambeth, and the difficulties endured in the same.\* To this is added, Some observable things since September 25, 1613, when the sentence was given in the cause of the Earl of Essex, concerning

\* This treatise makes fifty-six pages in twelves, and has the following remarkable attestation at the end of it. “ This narration is wholly written with mine own hand, and was finished October 2, 1613, being the eighth day after giving the sentence. And I protest before Almighty God, that I have not willingly wrote any untruth therein; but have delivered all things fairly to the best of my understanding, helping myself with such memorials and notes, as I took from time to time, that if there was occasion, I might thus set down at large the truth to posterity; when this case shall be rung from Rome gates, or the fact hereafter be questioned.

tinued unto the day of the marriage, December 26, 1613, which appears also to have been penned by his Grace, or by his direction; and to it is annexed, The Speech intended to be spoken at Lambeth, September 25, 1613, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when it came to his turn to declare his mind concerning the nullity of the marriage between the Earl of Essex and the Lady Frances Howard IX. A brief Description of the whole World; wherein is particularly described all the Monarchies, Empires, and Kingdoms of the same, with their Academies, &c. by the Most Reverend Father in God, George, late Archbishop of Canterbury. London, 8vo. 1634. Of which work there have been many editions. X. A short Apology for Archbishop Abbot, touching the Death of Peter Hawkins, dated October 8, 1621. XI. Treatise of perpetual Visibility and Succession of the true Church in all ages. London, 4to. 1624. His name is not to this book, only his arms, impaled by those belonging to the see of Canterbury, are put before it. Dr. Heylin acquaints us with the reason of his writing it, but does not tell us why he did not own it. XII. A Narrative, containing the true Cause of his Sequestration, and Disgrace at Court. In two Parts. Written at Ford in Kent, 1627. Bishop Hacket assures us, that he had seen this manuscript in the bishop's own writing, and had several of the facts contained in it from the archbishop's own mouth. XIII. History of the Massacre in the Valtoline. XIV. His Judgment of bowing at the Name of Jesus. Hamburgh, 1632, 8vo. Besides many instructions to the bishops of his diocese, speeches in parliament, letters, and other occasional compositions. He had also a great share in the re-publication of the great Bradwardine's admirable book, DE CAUSA DEI, in conjunction with the very learned Sir Henry Savile.

## ROBERT BOLTON.

THIS eminent Divine was born at Blackborne in Lancashire, in the year 1572. His parents, finding in him a strong inclination for learning, put him to a school in the town, wherein he plied himself so closely to his books, that in a short time he became the best scholar in the school. In his younger years he was a profane swearer and sabbath breaker; but, in an after period, a most illustrious example of the power of divine grace, and at length a faithful follower of Jesus Christ, and a powerful preacher of the Gospel.

About the twentieth year of his age, he was entered at Lincoln college, Oxford, where he made close application to the study of logic and philosophy; and having been well grounded in the rudiments of learning at school, he soon out-stripped those of his own time, and obtained the character of an excellent scholar. While he was thus diligently employed in his studies, his father died, with whom he lost the means of his support. But this affliction, in Providence, proved very advantageous for his growth in learning; for not being able to buy books, he borrowed, of his tutor and others, the best writers on natural and moral philosophy, and abridged them into his note-books, before he returned them. And such was his desire to obtain perfection in whatever he studied, that though he was a good Greek scholar, yet, that he might be a still greater proficient, he copied all Homer, in a fair Greek character, which he wrote much better than the common hand in use. This brought him to such readiness, that, being a famous disputant, he could discourse in the public schools in the Greek, with as much facility as in the Latin or English; and in them all he wrote and spoke in a sublime style, which was so familiar to him, that he could not avoid it even in common conversation.

He removed to Brazen-nose college, with a view to one of the fellowships, which are chiefly confined to Lancashire and Cheshire men; but for want of friends he was not chosen fellow, till about the thirtieth year of his age; at which time he took his master of arts degree. He performed the exercises of the college and of the university, being regent master, with such general satisfaction.

faction, that he was successively chosen to be reader of the lectures of logic, and of moral and natural philosophy. He was so much admired in the university for his public disputations, that though he was a master of arts but of short standing, he was appointed by the vice-chancellor, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, at King James's first visiting that university, to be one of the disputants before the king.

Besides his knowledge in logic and philosophy, he was a great student in metaphysics and mathematics, and in all school-divinity, especially in Thomas Aquinas, which he had read over once or twice, and written short notes upon. But all this while, he was not a scholar in the school of Christ. He loved stage-plays, cards, dice, and all the fashionable amusements of the times, but hated good men and their conversation, whom he would brand with the name of Puritans, believing them void both of learning and sincere religion. This has been the custom of later times than that of Mr. Bolton, and more or less of all ages. God's people have ever been honoured with an opprobrious name, and cried down for madmen and fools, if not downright hypocrites and knaves. See Wisdom, v. 4. This temper of mind discovered itself in Mr. Bolton once in particular at Cambridge; for being there at a commencement, he was induced, by the fame of Mr. Perkins, to go and hear him preach; of whom he said, after hearing him, that "he was a barren, empty fellow, " and a passing mean scholar:" But when God changed his heart, he soon changed his opinion of Mr. Perkins, and "thought him as learned a divine, for his age, as our " church has for many years enjoyed."

The manner of his conversion was as follows: While at Brazen-nose, he was intimately acquainted with a Mr. Anderton, his countryman, and for some time his school-fellow, a good scholar, but a thorough papist. This man having become a popish priest, and knowing Bolton's learning and parts, and that he was likewise straitened in his circumstances, took the advantage of it; and among other arguments, used to induce him to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and to go over with him to the English seminary, he told him he should be furnished with all necessaries, and have plenty of money. Mr. Bolton accepted of the proposal, and the time and place were appointed in Lancashire, where they should meet, and from thence take shipping: Mr. Bolton went accordingly, but Mr. Anderton never came; so he escap-  
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ed that snare. Soon after he returned to Brazen-nose college, and became acquainted with one Mr. Peacock, a pious learned man, by whose conversation he not only saw, that those doctrines of the church of Rome, which his schoolmaster had very early inculcated upon him, were unscriptural and absurd, but also that a thorough renovation of heart was essentially necessary to constitute him a true believer. ‘ It pleased God, (says Mr. E. Bagshawe, his biographer) by his [Mr. Peacock’s] acquaintance to frame upon his soul that admirable workmanship of his repentance and conversion to eternal life; but by such a way of working, as the Lord seldom useth but upon such strong vessels as, in his singular wisdom, he intends afterwards for strong encounters and rare employments. It was not any soft still voice, but in terrible tempests and thunder: the Lord running upon him as a giant, taking him by the neck and shaking him to pieces, as he did Job; beating him to the very ground as he did Paul, by laying before him the ugly visage of his sins, which were so heavy upon him, that he roared for grief of heart, and so affrighted him, that I have heard him say, “ he often rose out of his bed in the night, for very anguish of spirit.” And what further increased his spiritual distress, he was at the same time exercised with horrible thoughts of God, and terrible thoughts of faith,’ which Luther called, *the buffeting of Satan*; and with which Luther himself was so assaulted at his conversion, that Justus Jonas, then with him, in a letter to Melancthon writes,—‘ *ut nec calor, nec sanguis, nec sensus, nec vox superesset*: That neither speech, sense, blood, or heat appeared in him.’ This sharp fit of Luther’s lasted but for a short time, but Mr. Bolton’s continued for many months: Yet God gave him at length a blessed issue; and these grievous pangs, in which he was *born again from above*, produced two admirable effects in him, as well as in Luther and others, designed for eminence and great usefulness in the church; namely, An invincible courage for the cause of God; and great wisdom, from experience, in comforting afflicted spirits.

Mr. Bolton, from this time, purposing to enter into the ministry, was ordained in the thirty-fifth year of his age; and, two years after, was presented by Mr. Nicolls, serjeant at law, to the living of Broughton in Northamptonshire: At which time he published his first book, entitled, “ A Discourse upon true Happiness,” and dedicated

icated it to Mr. Nicolls, his patron. This first fruit of Mr. Bolton's genius and study, we are assured, was made the mean of conversion to several, who read it merely for the sake of his diction and style.

Being settled in the parsonage of Broughton, in the fortieth year of his age, he married Ann Boyce, of an ancient family in Kent, to whose care he committed the whole management of his domestic concerns, while he himself attended only to the weightier matters of his calling. For twenty years successively, he preached twice every Lord's Day, and catechized in the afternoon; and every day before the Lord's Supper he expounded a chapter, by which means he went through most of the historical part of the Old and New Testament. All which was so well studied and prepared, that it might have served a very learned auditory. In all his ministerial labours, he had in view the glory of God and the conversion of sinners, which God made abundantly successful, to the bringing many unto the righteousness of faith.

He had great knowledge, from experience and practice, in relieving and comforting afflicted consciences; so that people applied to him far and near: And several from beyond sea desired his advice and direction in different cases of conscience. This determined him in publishing his last excellent treatise, entitled, "Instructions for a right comforting afflicted Consciences." Though in his preaching he was "a son of thunder," yet to those that mourned in spirit he was "a son of consolation" indeed, and, with a tender compassionate heart, poured the oil of mercy into their wounds. He had great skill in discovering Satan's devices, and in battering down his kingdom. In all his sermons he used to discover the filthiness of sin, and to press very powerfully upon the conscience the duties of sanctification; which he did with such courage and holy boldness, that the truths he delivered pierced the very joints and marrow; with so much impartiality too, that he spared none in their sins, great or small, knowing that he was to deliver his Master's will, with whom was no respect of persons; and also with so much wisdom, that, in reproving sin, he never personated any man to put him to shame, nor ever pressed upon the conscience the guilt of sin, but with the authority of scripture: And when he had searched the conscience to the quick, he always took care to set forth Christ in all his grace and compassion, as the almighty and all-sufficient Saviour. He would often pro-  
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test, that it was a trouble to him to preach against their sins; that he delighted not to vex their consciences; that he should be glad the case was so with them, that he might only preach the riches of God's mercies in Christ all his days; but that he knew no other way to pull them out of the snare of Satan, than the way he was led to take.

Indeed he was a burning and shining light; and what most of all added lustre to his learning and parts, and extensive usefulness, was his holy exemplary life and conversation. His piety was remarkable; as is evident from his second book, entitled, "Directions for walking with God," which were framed out of the meditations of his own heart, as a guide for himself, for ordering his steps in the ways of righteousness; and which, through grace, he strictly observed throughout the course of his life. He usually prayed six times a-day: twice by himself, twice with his family, and twice with his wife. Besides, he often set apart days for private humiliation and prayer; always before the receiving of the communion, and sometimes on account of the afflictions of the church at home and abroad; which he was observed to perform with so much fervency and zeal, though, like Luther, 'he used such humility, as in the presence of Almighty God; but such fervency and faith, as if he had been talking with his friend.' He was very zealous for God; to whose glory he sacrificed himself and all his studies: 'This I can the more safely affirm, (says Mr. Bagshawe) because I know he frequently refused preferment from some of the nobility and bishops; and for no other reason, but that he might not be divorced from that country where his ministry was so well received, and so very successful.' He was universally bountiful; but he exceeded in those public distresses of Germany, France, Bohemia, &c. He always spent his income, yearly, in the maintenance of his family, and in acts of hospitality and charity.

In September 1631, he was seized with a quartan ague, the disease of which Calvin died; and perceiving, after two or three fits, that he grew very weak, he finished some particulars respecting his will, and then wholly retired from the world, comforting his soul with meditations of the joys of heaven, the subject he had prepared to preach upon the Sunday following. His last much-admired work, entitled, his "Four last things: Death, Judgment, Hell, and Heaven," he had just finished;

and

and having discoursed on the three former, he told them he should next Sunday treat of "Heaven," the last part of it: But he was prevented by sickness, and never preached after. And those inexplicable joys of heaven, which he had provided for matter of sweet contemplation with his people the following Sabbath, upon earth, the Lord prepared him for, and took him to the fruition of, in the eternal Sabbath of rest and glory, in heaven. His sickness, which was long and sharp, he bore with the greatest patience, for *he saw HIM that is invisible*. It was his whole delight to enjoy sweet communion and fellowship with his God and Saviour; and in intervals of ease, he would utter such expressions as these: "O! when will this good hour come? When shall I be dissolved? When shall I be with Christ?" Being told, that it was indeed better for him to be dissolved, but that the church would be sensible of their great loss in him, and the benefit of his ministry, he answered, "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again, and shew me both it and his habitation; but if otherwise, lo! here I am, let him do what seemeth good in his eyes." Another person asked him, Whether he could not be content to live, if God would grant him life? To whom he answered, "I grant that life is a great blessing of God; neither will I neglect any means that may preserve it, and do heartily desire to submit to God's will; but of the two, I infinitely desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ."

In the time of his sickness, there came many to visit him, but he admitted none but his intimate friends; using an expression of St. Augustine, who desired, ten days before he died, that none might come to him, that he in that time might the better be fitted for God. But to those that came, he gave very wise exhortations; for, notwithstanding his body was wasted, yet his understanding and memory were as active and quick, as in the time of his health. He encouraged the ministers that visited him, to be diligent and courageous in the work of the Lord, and not to faint under their afflictions. He exhorted all that came to see him, to make sure of Christ before they came to die. He thanked God for his wonderful mercy, in pulling him out of hell, and in sealing his ministry with the conversion of many souls, which he wholly ascribed to his grace and glory.

About a week before he died, when his *silver cord began to loosen*, and his *golden bowl to break*, he called for his wife,

wife, and desired her to bear his dissolution with a Christian fortitude; bidding her make no doubt but she should meet him again in heaven. And turning towards his children, (one son and four daughters) he told them, that they should not expect he could now say any thing to them, neither would his ability of body give him leave; he had told them enough in the time of his sickness and before, and begged they would remember it; hoping, that none of them would meet him, at that great tribunal, in an unregenerate state. Two days after, several of his parishioners visiting him, one moved, that as he had discovered to them by his doctrine the exceeding comforts that were in Christ, he would now tell them what he felt in his soul. “Alas! (said he) do you look for that now from me, that want breath and power to speak? I have told you enough in my ministry; yet to satisfy you, I am, by the wonderful mercies of GOD, as full of comfort as my heart can hold, and feel nothing in my soul but Christ, with whom I heartily desire to be.” Then seeing some weeping, he said, “O what a deal ado there is before one can die!”

The night before he died, when *the doors without began to be shut, the daughters of music to be brought low*, and he lay very faint, expecting every moment when *the wheel should be broken at the cistern*, he was told, that some of his dear friends were then about him, to take their last farewell: He desired to be raised up in bed; when, after gasping a while for breath, he said to them, “I am now drawing on apace to my dissolution. Hold out, faith and patience; your work will speedily be at an end.” And then shaking them by the hand, prayed heartily and particularly for them, and “desired them to make sure of heaven, and to bear in mind what he had formerly taught them in his ministry; protesting, that the doctrine which he had preached to them for the space of twenty years, was the truth of GOD, as he should answer at the tribunal of Christ, before which he should shortly appear.” This he spake in the very pangs of death: Upon which a dear friend, taking him by the hand, asked him, If he did not feel great pain? “Truly no, (said he) the greatest I feel is your cold hand.” And then desiring to be laid down again, he spake no more till the next morning, when he took his last leave of his wife and children, prayed for them, and blessed them all; and a few hours after, being Saturday, the 17th of December 1631, and in the sixtieth year of his

his age, he yielded up his spirit to God; and, according to his own expression, “celebrated the ensuing Sabbath “in the kingdom of heaven.”

READER, pray that thou mayest thus *follow them who, through faith and patience, inherit the Promises!*

## ARTHUR HILDERSHAM.

**ARTHUR HILDERSHAM** was born at Stechworth, near Newmarket, in Cambridgeshire, October the sixth 1563. He was the son of Thomas Hildersham of the said town, (a gentleman of an ancient family) and Ann Poole, his second wife, daughter to Sir Jeffery Poole, fourth son to Sir Richard Poole (who was cousin-german to King Henry VII.) and Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was daughter to George, Duke of Clarence, (the second brother to King Edward IV.) and Isabel, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Richard, the great Earl of Warwick and Salisbury. Thus much for his birth. His education was as follows: In his childhood he was brought up in the popish religion, taught to say his prayers in Latin; both his parents and their kindred, especially his mother, being zealous papists. When he was to be sent abroad to school, his father's aim was only to send him to a good school, where many gentlemen's sons were taught; but God so ordered it, (by his good providence) that his father placed him at Saffron-Walden school in Essex, with one Mr. Desborough, a godly man and a religious protestant, who, taking great affection to him for his wit and disposition, was very careful of him, and taught him not only such human learning as was fitting for his years, but the grounds of the protestant religion. This school-master was the first blessed instrument God was pleased to make use of, to work in him a liking and relish of the reformed religion. He continued with him till he was fit for the university, which was not long. When he was about thirteen, he was placed by his father with a very religious tutor in Christ college, Cambridge, where he continued till after he was master of arts, and gained much love and esteem for his piety, learning, ingenuity, affability, and inoffensive witty conversation.

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When he had been in Cambridge about two years, his father sent him up to London, intending to send him to Rome, being confident he should neither want respect, encouragement, nor preferment, for his great uncle's (cardinal Poole's) sake, brother to his mother's father; but he refusing to go, his father kept him long at London, taking him from one popish ordinary to another, hoping that such company would at length have prevailed with him to have gone, according to his desire. But he continuing firm in his resolution not to go to Rome, his father resolved to cast him off, which soon after he did. Thus he, whom God had appointed to suffer much for him, began to bear the yoke in his youth; and in his tender years became a confessor, in forsaking father, friends, all present maintenance, and probable hopes of great future preferment, for Christ's sake.

Being in this apparently forlorn condition, God, who comforteth those that are cast down, comforted him by meeting with Mr. John Ireton (then fellow of Christ college, afterwards rector of Kegworth in Leicestershire, a man famous for piety and learning) in London, who at their meeting said unto him, 'Arthur, why art thou so long from thy book, and lovest so much time?' 'Alas, Sir, (said he) I shall go no more to Cambridge;' and related to him his condition, and the occasion of it. 'Be not discouraged, said Mr. Ireton, thou hast a noble kinsman, whom I will acquaint with thy case; and I doubt not but he will provide for thee.' Accordingly, Mr. Ireton soon after went to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President of the North, (whose mother and Mr. Hildersham's mother were brother's children) and represented to him the sad condition of his poor kinsman: The noble Earl gladly embraced this opportunity of doing good; and sent for him, encouraged him, promised him maintenance, and gave order to Mr. Ireton to send him back to Cambridge, and to place him with a good tutor; 'for, said he, I suppose his father placed him with a papist.' But when Mr. Ireton assured him the contrary, he gave orders for him to return to his former tutor, of whose love to him and care of him Mr. Hildersham often used to speak.

He was of such good repute for his piety and learning, that by the major part of the fellows he was chosen fellow of that college; but Dr. Barwell, the master, making use of his negative voice, stopped him; and the matter came to the visitors, two of whom, namely, Dr. Perne,

Perne, and Dr. Goad, favouring his competitor, Mr. Willet, (who was afterwards Dr. Willet) made him fellow. Not long after, he was chosen Divine of Trinity Hall, in the said University, where he continued till September the 14th, 1587, at which time, by the afore-said noble Earl, he was placed preacher at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire: the impropriate tithes of the same parish being settled upon him for his life by the said Earl, and continued to him by the favour of the two succeeding Earls, until his death. He hath given public notice to the world of his duty and thankfulness to that noble house, in his dedicatory epistle to his lectures on the fourth chapter of St. John.

January 5, 1590, he married Mrs Ann Barfoot, (daughter of Mr. Barfoot, of Lamborn-hall, in Essex) who was a very valuable wife to him and a good mother to his children; she survived him about eight years. He was silenced in June 1590, and restored again in January 1591. He was instituted and inducted into the vicarage of Ashby, October the 4th, 1593.

In the year 1598, there was an attachment sent out of the high commission for his apprehension. In the beginning of King James's reign, when many petitioned for Reformation, (which petitions were subscribed by above seven hundred and fifty godly able preachers, in twenty-five counties, and directed to the Parliament, to his Majesty, the Lords of the Council, and to the Bishops,) he, with some few others of his brethren, were chosen and chiefly intrusted to manage that important business, to prosecute the petitions, to solicit the cause, and, if required, to dispute it. And whereas there were some appointed to deal (for those that desired Reformation) in the conference at Hampton court, he, with Mr. Stephen Egerton of London, and Mr. Edward Fleetwood of Lancashire, delivered to them ten demands and requests, made by thirty ministers, in the name of themselves and many others, which they entreated them to solicit his majesty for, in the behalf of the church.

He was deprived and silenced by the bishop of Lincoln, April 24, 1605, for refusal of subscription and conformity; yet, after some time, by the connivance and favour of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, he preached sometimes in that diocese, especially at those two famous exercises at Burton upon Trent, in Staffordshire, and Repton, in Derbyshire, which were the means of great good to the souls of many, both ministers and private

Christians,

Christians, in the parts adjacent. He was the principal support of these two exercises for many years.

In January 1608, by the favour of Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, he was allowed to preach again at Ashby, where he began his lectures on John iv 10, January 31, and continued that lecture weekly on Tuesday, till November 12, 1611. These lectures, being one hundred and eight, he published in his life-time, 1628, having them all written by himself, before he preached them; which course he took when he began those lectures, and continued it to his dying day; blaming himself much that he began it no sooner; for by that neglect both himself and others were deprived (in a great measure) of the benefit of his former labours.

November 1611, he was silenced by Dr. Neale's means, then bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, who complaining to the king of him, the king commanded the archbishop to write to the bishop of Lincoln, to send for Mr. Hildersham, and to silence him, which was accordingly done. The occasion of bishop Neale's complaint to King James was this: One Edward Wightman, (afterwards burnt at Litchfield for blasphemy and heresy) dwelling at Burton upon Trent, and coming sometimes to the exercise there, the bishop and his friends gave out, that Wightman learned his opinions (at least that of the soul's sleeping) of the Puritans, and at the aforesaid exercises, and of Mr. Hildersham by name. Bishop Neale informing King James of this, the king commanded him, when he went into the country, to send for Mr. Hildersham, and to hear what he could answer Wightman in this matter. The bishop accordingly sent for Mr. Hildersham, but would not hear his defence till Wightman came. Wightman being called to his second public hearing, November 26, 1611, in the presence of more than five hundred people, charged the bishop with many injuries he had done him, naming this for one, That he had given it out that he had learned his opinions from Mr. Hildersham, whereas I profess (said he) he neither taught nor confirmed me in any of them, but was of all men ever most opposite to me in them, and caused my own friends to reject me on account of them. Mr. Hildersham had long before in a private conference, in the presence of Mr. Aberley, the minister of Burton, (who had intreated him to take some pains to reclaim Wightman) shewed him, that his opinion of the soul's sleeping was directly repugnant to the holy scriptures, and an heresy long since condemned in  
the

the church. The places of scripture he urged against him were these, Luke xvi. 22, 23. and xxiii. 43. and Phil. i. 23. Mr. Hildersham soon after (March 10, 1608) received a letter from Wightman, by which he perceived, that Wightman grew more and more obstinate in his errors, and laboured to draw others into them; and in this he was confirmed by the reports of others. Mr. Hildersham therefore took occasion, in the next exercise, held at Burton, on March 15, 1608, publicly and at large to confute his error; the text that fell out to be the subject matter of their meditation, Heb. ix. 27. led him directly to it.

On the twenty-first of April 1609, above a twelve-month after, Wightman wrote him another letter, in which he reviled him for opposing his opinions at that exercise; and took upon him, after his manner, to answer it. Yet after all this, on the twenty-seventh of November 1611, before the bishop, he had the wickedness and audacity to avouch, to Mr. Hildersham's face, that at the exercise of March 15, 1608, mentioned above, he should say, That, indeed, the whole drift of the scripture did make for the opinion of the soul's sleeping, but that the church had otherwise judged of the matter. Mr. Hildersham protested, that he never spake or thought so, and offered by oath, or any other means that should be required, to avow, that he always held this his opinion to be directly contrary to the scriptures, and a most detestable heresy. Mr. Aberley also, who was present at the conference, was ready to depose that Mr. Hildersham spake no such thing at that time, but the direct contrary. So that not only the rest that were there were fully satisfied, but the bishop himself also openly professed, that he was assuredly persuaded Wightman had greatly wronged him in this he had said of him. Thus was Mr. Hildersham's innocency cleared in a public audience, during the time of Wightman's trial at Litchfield; yet he remained under the censure of silencing, which was procured to be inflicted on him upon this occasion, and the two above-mentioned exercises were put down; concerning which all the chief gentlemen of worth in those parts certified to Archbishop Bancroft, a little before his death, that the profit which that country (which, above most other places of the land besides, was known to stand in great need of such means of instruction) received by them was exceeding great.

Mr.

Mr. Hildersham continued silenced a long time, yet could not live peaceably from men, though he lived quietly with men; for, December 8, 1612, letters missive were sent out of the high commission court, requiring his appearance there; accordingly he appeared April 22, 1613, at which time he was judicially admonished and enjoined, that (saving the catechizing his own family only) he should not at any time hereafter preach, catechize, or use any part of the office or function of a minister, either publicly or privately, till he should be lawfully restored and released of his said suspension.

In the spring of 1614, he fell into a violent fever which held him long, the malignancy of which struck up into the roof of his mouth, and the gristle of his nose, and he was thought in great danger; but, by the blessing of God upon the care and skill of physicians and surgeons, he was recovered.

In September 1616, he was severely treated by the high commission court, for non-conformity and schism. He was fined in two thousand pounds, excommunicated, committed to prison, and ordered to make a public submission. Thus, unhappily, did Joseph's brethren fall out by the way, though commanded to be at peace among themselves! When he heard this harsh sentence, it became his wisdom to conceal himself, which accordingly he did for a long time in the city; and he was so preserved, that his adversaries could not meet with him.

During the time of his keeping close, Mr. John Hartley, one of the elders of the English congregation at Leyden in Holland, came with letters of credence from the congregation, making offer to him of the pastor's place then vacant; which he resolved to have accepted of, had not his wife's unwillingness to go over the seas detained him here. The above-mentioned fine of two thousand pounds was estreated, without abatement, into the exchequer, March 12, 1616; whence several processes were issued to the Sheriffs of Leicestershire, to inquire of his estate; but they, by several returns, answered they could find none. At length, the said fine was begged and granted by His Majesty King James, under the Great Seal, to Mr. Williams, page to the then Marquis of Buckingham; whereupon Mr. Hildersham compounded both with him, (giving him a great sum of money) and with the registers also of the high commission court for their part of the fine, and obtained a discharge from them both. I suppose it will be hard to find that

that any man was before, or scarce has been since, in that court, so deeply fined and heavily censured, merely for his judgment and conscience, having done nothing either factiously or contemptuously against that government and those orders of the church that were then established. He was indeed always, from his first entering into the ministry, a resolved and conscientious non-conformist, as appears from what has been already related, and so continued to his dying day: witness that clause in his last will: "I do hereby declare and protest, that I do continue and end my days in the very same faith and judgment, touching all points of religion, as I have ever been known to hold and profess, and which I have both by my doctrine and practice, and by my sufferings also, given testimony unto." He was a great admirer, follower and friend of Mr. Thomas Cartwright, who left his papers to him and Mr. John Dod, to peruse and publish what they thought fit of them.

But though he himself was a constant non-conformist, yet such was his ingenuousness and Christian charity, that he respected, esteemed, and was very familiar with those whom he knew to be religious and learned, though of another judgment. He always opposed the separation of the Brownists, and the semi-separation of Mr. Jacob, with whom, as also with some ring-leaders of the former sort, he had several conferences and disputes. He is called by Dr. Willet, (his contemporary, and once competitor) 'The hammer of schismatics, whom they commonly call Brownists.'

After the censure of the high commission court, he lived privately a long time, sometimes in the city, sometimes in the country. He was always, whether silent or having liberty to preach, a constant student; when he was in the country, and had conveniency of place and weather, he used to walk alone every morning near an hour to meditate. In the morning he read constantly a chapter, whence he gathered some observations, and wrote them in a book, with the reference to some common-place in the margin, which he referred to his common-place book by numbers. He used the same method in reading other books; but out of some, he referred the most observable things in them to his common-place book, by the pages in them. As he was much in secret prayer, so he was fervent therein, and frequent in ejaculations, as was observed by some godly friends,

friends, whose occasions often brought them near the place where he studied.

He was always a diligent frequenter of the public assemblies, whether he were in the city or country; he used often, even in his old age, to write sermons in the church. He so highly prized the ministry of the word, that he would often say, "He never heard any godly minister preach, though but of weak parts, but he got some benefit by him."

He sojourned in many families, and always, by his godly and amiable carriage, got love and esteem of all in the house. He was much in the house of Mrs. Catharine Redich, of Newhall in Derbyshire, (widow to Alexander Redich, Esq. of Redich in Lancashire, his bosom-friend) his ancient acquaintance, and constant dear friend to his death, who survived him not above eight days, the grief for his death hastening (as it was supposed) her end. In her house at Hampstead, near London, August 21, 1624, he fell sick of a violent fever, which put him into such danger, that the physicians doubted of his recovery. He over-hearing some intimation of this, when he thought none were in the room, the curtains being drawn about his bed, he was overheard by one in the room to speak audibly those words of Psalm cxviii. 17, "*I shall not die but live, and declare the works of the Lord.*" At that time, there was as little hope of his preaching as of his recovery; but God, in great mercy, soon after restored him both to health and liberty.

The next year, namely, June 20, 1625, he was licensed by Dr. Ridley, then vicar-general to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to preach in the diocese of London, Lincoln, and Litchfield and Coventry, under the seal of that office. By virtue of which license he began to preach, August 3, 1625, in Ashby church aforesaid, those eight sermons on Psalm xxxv. 13 concerning fasting, prayer, and humiliation for sin, which were published after his death, according to his own copy left under his hand, by his son, Mr. Samuel Hildersham. On the twenty-eighth of the next month, he began his one hundred and fifty-two lectures on Psalm li. published in the same manner, in 1635. Notwithstanding his being licensed as above, he was silenced again, March 25, 1630, by notice given him from the court at Leicester, of the King's instructions for every lecturer to read service in the surplice and hood; and he began to preach again

August

August 2, 1631, and so continued till the December following, which was the last sermon that he preached.

Soon after he fell sick of his last sickness, and, perceiving it to increase, he sent for his son already mentioned, who lived at West Felton in Shropshire, forty-nine miles from Ashby; he, with his wife, came to him with all convenient speed, January 13, and staid with him till his death.

Their company and attendance at that time (as always indeed) was very contenting and comfortable: And of his daughter-in-law (who was the person he himself proposed as a meet wife for his son, and in whom he always took great delight) he was heard, with affection, to express himself thus: "Never man had a kinder daughter-in-law."

His disease (though not understood to be so at the first) proved the scurvy, which, being a dull and melancholic distemper, indisposed him to speak much; yet, as he shewed wonderful patience through his whole sickness, so he used many holy and heavenly expressions to those that attended him, or came to visit him, who, as he was much beloved and honoured in the country, were not a few.

He suggested to some dear friends his fears, that wolves would, ere long, come in amongst them, and therefore earnestly exhorted them to continue stedfast in the truth which they had received. And having occasion to mention those words, 1 Tim. iii. 5. *How shall he take care of the church of God?* looking to his son, he said, "O son, son, that care of the flock is the main thing!"

March 4, being the Lord's Day, he grew very weak. His son prayed with him many times that day; and whilst he was praying the last time, the father departed and slept in the Lord, between nine and ten o'clock that night, namely, 4th March 1631, being sixty-eight years and five months old. Thus he, who had so long diligently kept the holy rest of the Sabbath, did in the close of the Sabbath rest from his labours; and having glorified God often both in public and private on that day before, was at last on that day received into glory. Mr. Herring (his dear and familiar friend) being then at Coventry, was sent for the next day, and came and preached the lecture in Ashby church on Tuesday, March 6, in the morning, (Mr. Hildersham having ordered in his will that there should be no funeral-sermon at his burial) and then spake in a spiritual and affectionate manner, concerning the

loss which that congregation, the country, and the whole church, had sustained by the death of Mr. Hildersham. In the afternoon of that day his body was borne by neighbouring ministers to the grave, accompanied by a great multitude both of ministers and others, who expressed much sorrow and lamentation.

He lived in Ashby for the most part (though often forced to remove his dwelling) of forty-three years and six months, with great success in his ministry, love and reverence of all sorts. He was very charitable to the poor himself, and earnest in exciting his auditors to contribute towards their relief. In few country congregations in England, the collections for the poor were so large, as they were on the quarter-days at his lectures.

Ashby sustained an exceeding great loss by his death; for he was the peace-maker amongst his neighbours, and the patron of the poor; wickedness was checked, and godliness cherished by his great care and wisdom. He was a friend to every one in a good cause; and it was his unwearied delight to be extensively useful in his day and generation.

He lived to a great age, considering that his pains in preaching weakened him so much; yet this happiness God vouchsafed to him, which was more than ordinary, that he outlived not his parts; but as his graces increased towards his end, so his abilities of invention, judgment, memory, and elocution, decayed not in his age. He left a precious memory behind him, and had (in the apostle's words) *letters of commendation written in the hearts of many.*

His Books, which we have already mentioned, will prove more durable monuments of his name, than that which his son erected for him in Ashby church. In Mr. Hildersham's Lectures on the fourth Chapter of St. John, there is prefixed an Epistle to the Reader by J. C. that is John Cotton of New England, who speaks in the highest terms of the Author, and of that performance. And of a Treatise on the Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, printed in 1608, Mr. Cotton gives the following testimony:—‘ It hath been of singular good use to many poor souls, for their preparation to that ordinance. And in very deed, those questions and answers do more fully furnish a Christian to the whole of that spiritual duty, than any other, in any language, that I know, in so small a compass.’ After these Lectures had been some little time published, Mr. Cotton received several letters from  
various

various parts, beseeching him to intercede with Mr. Hildersham to print the Sermons on the fifty-first Psalm, so far as he had preached them, and the remainder afterwards, when they were preached, and any thing else he had ready for the press. Mr. Cotton, therefore, in a letter to him from Boston, dated the third of February 1629, says,—‘ Since the Sermons already on part of the ‘ Psalm, [*i. e.* the fifty-first] do arise to a just and full ‘ volume, be intreated to hearken to the desires of so ‘ many at home and abroad, and give them leave to be ‘ doing good, whilst the rest are preparing. You have ‘ cause to love the Lord your God with all your might ; ‘ and therefore, since those sermons might be shewing ‘ your love to God in working his work, before their ‘ fellows, do not hold back any part of their service to ‘ the church for the present time.’ This request Mr. Cotton likewise renewed in another letter of 23d July, in the same year.

In the same Epistle to the Reader, Mr. Cotton mentions a letter that Mr. Hildersham wrote to a gentlewoman upon the subject of Separation, which, falling into the hands of one Johnson, a noted separatist, it was printed, with Johnson’s answer to it, without Mr. Hildersham’s privity or consent: ‘ Which (says Mr. Cotton) ‘ hath so strongly and clearly convinced the iniquity of ‘ that way, [of Separation] that I could not but acknow- ‘ ledge in it both the wisdom of God, and the weakness ‘ of the separatist ; his wisdom, in bringing to light such ‘ a beam of the light of his truth, by the hand of an ‘ adversary, against the Author’s mind ; and the weak- ‘ ness of the other, to advance the hand of his adversary, ‘ to give himself and his cause such a deadly wound in ‘ open view, as neither himself nor all his associates can ‘ be able to heal.’

Dr. Preston [for an account of whom, see Vol. II. p. 460.] having obtained a perusal of his Lectures on John iv. in MS. returned them with the following letter :

‘ I will say to you faithfully and ingenuously what I ‘ think, without adding a word more than my own heart ‘ is persuaded of. First, in general, for putting them to ‘ the press, I do not only think that they are worthy of ‘ it, but, so far as any intreaty of mine might prevail, I ‘ should press you to it, as depriving God’s church of a ‘ very great benefit if you should refuse. In particular, ‘ besides the profitableness of the matter, these two ‘ things I observe in the reading of it: First, throughout ‘ the

‘ the whole carriage, there appeareth a continued strength  
 ‘ (that I may so call it) without any failing or deficiency,  
 ‘ without any inequality, unevenness, or deformity of  
 ‘ some parts with the rest. Secondly, It is press and  
 ‘ succinct (though large) the things choice and pertinent,  
 ‘ and thoroughly depending each on other. In brief, so  
 ‘ it is, there is nothing that need be added, and *nihil quod*  
 ‘ *amputem*. So that, when I went about to take out  
 ‘ some things for my own use briefly, I could not almost  
 ‘ tell what to leave out. To say all in a word, Sir, I  
 ‘ do think it is such as will answer to your name, and  
 ‘ such as men would look for from you. There are very  
 ‘ few writings, but wherein we commonly see some fail-  
 ‘ ings in these two particulars which I mentioned. Be-  
 ‘ sides, the method I much like, as very judicious;  
 ‘ which hath not ruled you, but you it, in a seasonable  
 ‘ changing it, as your matter lieth; so casting the frame  
 ‘ of it, that it extorteth not more than is necessary from  
 ‘ you, nor cutteth off any thing that you would deliver:  
 ‘ Which one precise, uniform method, strictly kept, often  
 ‘ doth. I hope it will be a good help to ministers when  
 ‘ they read it, and bring the method of doctrine and uses  
 ‘ into more credit.’

He had one excellent son, Mr. Samuel Hildersham, of  
 whom Mr. Matthew Henry makes honourable mention  
 in the life of his father, Mr. Philip Henry. He died at  
 Birmingham, in April 1674, aged eighty.

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## JOHN DOWNE, B. D.

**T**HIS excellent person was born about the year of our  
 Lord 1570, in Devonshire, and descended of a credit-  
 able and religious parentage. He was brought up in a  
 liberal manner, first in the country, and then in the  
 University of Cambridge. Here he took his degree of  
 Bachelor in Divinity, and was admitted *ad eundem* in  
 Oxford, in July act, 1600. He was fellow of Emanuel  
 college in Cambridge, to which he was an honour by his  
 piety and learning, and from which he went forth to be  
 a *light in the world*.

It was esteemed a kind providence, that, among others who afterwards proved eminent in the church, he had for an early contemporary the famous Bishop Hall; and for an uncle, by the mother's side, Bishop Jewel, the pattern of his age for sanctity, piety, and theology, and whom Mr. Downe proposed to himself as an example of imitation: He could scarce have chosen a better among mere men.

Had his means been answerable to his worth, he had not lain in such obscurity as he did; but had doubtless moved and shined in a far higher and more extensive sphere. He was first presented by the master and fellows of his college to the vicarage of Winsford, in the county of Somerset, where he continued for a while; but afterwards became rector of Instow, in his own country, a small parish, lying just in the angle where the river Taw and Turridge meet, and afterwards fall together into the Severn. It was worth about a hundred pounds a-year; but it was the more valuable, he used to say, because his patron did not live there, which is very true at all times, unless patrons should happen to be good men: Otherwise, they corrupt the poor, and hinder the minister in any just concern for their spiritual welfare. A rich man in a country parish is either the greatest blessing or the heaviest curse contained in it.

Though he had no great income, yet God so blessed him with competent means, that he lived contentedly, brought up his children in a decent manner, furnished himself with a fair library, relieved the poor, and was not wanting to his kindred, that stood in need of his help. And for hospitality, he was constant in it; entertaining his friends and such as came to visit him, in as cheerful and plentiful a manner as became his circumstances and condition. 'But upon these things I will not insist, (says Dr. Hackwell, who himself was a very learned and pious man) chusing rather to come to those which are more proper for him, his intellectual, his moral, his civil, his spiritual wisdom, and (above all) his *turning many to righteousness*.

'As to his *intellectual wisdom*: the sharpness of his wit, the fastness of his memory, and the soundness of his judgment, were in him, all three, so rarely mixed, as few men attain them single in that degree he had them all. His skill in the languages was extraordinary, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, and (I believe) Italian. His knowledge in the liberal arts and sciences

was

was universal; grammar, logic, rhetoric, poetry, history, philosophy, music, and the mathematics. In some of which sciences he so far excelled, that I dare say, in the western parts of the kingdom, he did not leave behind him his equal; neither do I speak any thing, to amplify, by way of rhetoric; I speak *less* than the truth.

‘ His *moral wisdom* appeared in the checking of his appetite by temperance and sobriety: Free he was in the lawful use of God’s creatures, but never excessive; nor ever could be drawn to it, either by example or persuasion: Which in a constitution so crazy, was, no doubt, under God, a special means for drawing out the thread of his life. In his carriage he was grave, yet sociable enough; courteous, yet without affectation or vain compliment; a sure friend, to the utmost of his power, where he professed it, yet without flattery.

‘ His *civil wisdom* appeared in the government of his parish and family, in the education of his children, and the children of his friends, upon special requests, committed to his charge; in his marriage, and the marriages of his daughters; and lastly, in the preserving, managing and disposing that estate which God lent him, in an orderly manner.

‘ His *spiritual or divine wisdom* appeared in his great knowledge of the Scriptures, in which, with Timothy, he was trained up *from a child*; and, as another Apollos, grew *mighty in them*; to which he added the help of the best interpreters, both ancient and modern, the study of the fathers, the school-divines, ecclesiastical history, and the controversies of the times, as well with the papists as others; and that in matters not only of doctrine, but of discipline: In all which he was so well studied, and, upon all fitting occasions, so willing and ready, either by writing or speaking, to express himself, as many, and those not unlearned divines, were content, nay glad, to draw water from his well, and to light their candle at his torch. Nay, some who were his adversaries in his life-time, have in open pulpit, since his death, to God’s glory, their own comfort, and his honour, confessed as much. But the highest point of his spiritual wisdom appeared in the *practice of piety*; in a due conformity of his actions to his speculations; drawing out (as it were) a fair copy, in the course of his life, of those wholesome lessons which he found in his books, formed in his brain, and taught to others.

‘ One main branch of this duty, and effect of this wisdom, was his teaching; he taught every where and every way, by his example and by his pen, but especially by his preaching, both publicly and privately: Publicly, by expounding, catechizing, and preaching; in which he was so diligent, that, since his entering into the ministry, (which he often professed to be his greatest honour and comfort in this world) he went through the whole body of the Bible, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation.

‘ And as he was thus diligent in teaching, so was he constant in his course, as long as his health and strength would give him leave: Indeed, he went beyond his strength, concluding with his uncle, Bishop Jewel, ‘ That a general should die in the field, and a preacher ‘ in the pulpit.’ The manner of his teaching was not by loud vociferation, or ridiculous gesticulation, or ostentation of wit, or other affectations, but in the evident *demonstration of the spirit and power*, it was demonstrative, masculine, and mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strong holds. Deep it was, and yet clear; rational, and yet divine; perspicuous, yet punctual; artificial, yet profitable; calm, yet piercing; ponderous, yet familiar; so that the ablest of his hearers might always learn something, and yet the simplest understand all: Which was a rare mixture; and in this mixture he run a middle and moderate course, most agreeable to the canons and constitutions of that church in which he was born and bred; betwixt the apish superstition of some, and the peevish singularity of others; betwixt blind devotion, and over-bold presumption; betwixt unreasonable obedience, and unwarrantable disconformity; betwixt popish tyranny, grounded upon carnal policy, and popular confusion, guided by mere fancy: The one labouring for an usurped monarchy, and to turn all the body into head; the other for a lawless anarchy, and to have a body without a head.

‘ Though in his teaching he ran this middle course, yet he always aimed not only at the information of the judgment, but the reformation of the will, the beating down of impiety, and the convincing of the conscience; to the drawing his hearers, as from ignorance to knowledge, and from error to truth, so likewise thereby, from rebellion to obedience, and from profaneness to religion. And truly I little doubt but many a good soul, now a saint in heaven, did they understand our actions and de-

sires,

sires, and withal could make known their opinions to us, would soon give us to understand that, under God, he was the instrument for the turning of them unto righteousness, and for the directing and conducting them to that place of bliss.

‘ And I have as little doubt, but that many a good person he left behind him, blessed God and the memory of this good man, for that spiritual knowledge and comfort which they received by his ministry. One lady in particular of note and rank, after his death, sent letters written with her own hand to some of his nearest friends, testifying her conversion to have been first wrought by his means. And no doubt many others might as justly and truly have done the like, had they been disposed, or if occasion had required it.

‘ Thus he spent the course of his life, abounding in the work of the Lord, till his last sickness seized on him, when he reckoned himself not a man of this world: Indeed all along, in health and strength, he was a professed pilgrim and sojourner in it, and as a soldier he had warred after it: And now being arrested and imprisoned, he professed to his friends who came to visit him, lifting up his hands to heaven, “ That though his body was here, his heart was above, and consequently his treasure; *for where a man’s treasure is, there will his heart be also.*” He likewise assured them, “ That though he saw death approaching, yet he feared it not; death being now but a drone, and the sting thereof taken out.” During this sickness, he made his household his congregation, his chamber his chapel, and his bed his pulpit; from whence he sent up many holy and heavenly ejaculations, and made a most solemn confession of his faith, not only to the satisfaction and instruction, but the admiration of his hearers. Amongst the rest, two things there were which he much and often insisted upon: the one, “ That he hoped only to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ;” the other, “ That he constantly persevered in the doctrine and discipline professed and maintained by the church of England, in which he was born, baptized, and bred.” And this he many times and earnestly protested, in a very serious and solemn manner, resting his soul upon the truth of it.

‘ His glass being now almost run, and the hour of his dissolution drawing near, though his memory and senses no way failed him, he desired to be absolved after the manner prescribed by the church, and according to his desire,

desire, having first made a brief confession, and therein expressing a hearty contrition, together with an assurance of remission, by the precious blood of his dear Saviour, he received absolution from the mouth of a lawful minister; and having received it, professed that he found great ease and comfort therein; and withal, that he was desirous to partake of the Lord's Supper, if the state of his body would have permitted him. And not long after, imagining with himself that he heard some sweet music, and calling upon Christ, "Sweet Jesus kill me, that I may live with thee," he sweetly fell asleep in the Lord, as did the proto-martyr, who ready to yield up the ghost, prayed, and said, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Thus he lived and thus he died, nearly approaching the great climacterical year of his age, at Instow in Devonshire, in 1631, and was buried in the chancel of that parish church.

'A great loss was sustained in the loss of this one man, in those days; his flock lost a faithful pastor, his wife a loving husband, his children a tender father, his servants a good master, his neighbours a friendly neighbour, his friends a trusty friend, his kindred a dear kinsman, that whole country a great ornament; the king lost a royal subject, the kingdom a true-hearted Englishman, the clergy a principal light, the church a dutiful son, the arts a zealous patron, and religion a stout champion.' Thus far Dr. Hackwell, whose testimony there is no reason to doubt; though due praise, given to some characters gone before us, seem like high-flown panegyric in these days, in which to be truly religious is by many thought foolish; and he is esteemed the cleverest man who, instead of following Christ and his gospel, knows how to follow the great, and to scrape together all the preferments in his power.

We will conclude this account of our pious and evangelical preacher, with the attestation of Bishop Hall, in a letter to Dr. Hackwell, our Author's biographer.

' WORTHY DR. HACKWELL,

' I do heartily congratulate to my dead friend and  
' collegian, this your just and noble commemoration. It  
' is much that you have said; but, on this subject, no  
' whit enough. I can second every word of your praises,  
' and can hardly restrain my hand from an additional re-  
' petition. How much ingenuity, how much learning  
' and worth, how much sweetness of conversation, how  
' much elegance of expression, how much integrity and  
' holiness,

' holiness, have we lost in that man? No man ever  
 ' knew him but must needs say, that one of the brightest  
 ' stars in our west is now set; the excellent parts that  
 ' were in him, were a fit instance for your learnedly-  
 ' defended position, of the vigour of this last age; where-  
 ' into he gave his accurate and witty stipulation. I do  
 ' much rejoice yet, to hear, that we shall be beholden  
 ' to you for some mitigation of the sorrow of his loss. by  
 ' preserving alive some of the posthume issue of that gra-  
 ' cious and exquisite brain; which when the world shall  
 ' see, they shall marvel that such excellencies could lie  
 ' so close, and shall confess them as much past value as  
 ' recovery. Besides those skilful and rare pieces of di-  
 ' vinity tracts and sermons, I hope (for my old love to  
 ' those studies) we shall see abroad some excellent monu-  
 ' ments of his Latin poesy: In which faculty, I dare  
 ' boldly say, few, if any, in our age exceeded him. In  
 ' his polemical discourses, (some whereof I have by me)  
 ' how easy is it for any judicious reader to observe the  
 ' true genius of his renowned uncle, Bishop Jewel!  
 ' Such smoothness of style, such sharpness of wit, such  
 ' interspersions of well-applied reading, such grave and  
 ' holy urbanity: Shortly, (for I well foresaw how apt  
 ' my pen would be to run after you in this pleasing tract  
 ' of so well-deserved praise) these works shall be as the  
 ' cloak which our prophet left behind him in his rapture  
 ' into heaven. What remains but that we should look  
 ' up after him, in a care and endeavour of readiness for  
 ' our day; and earnestly pray to our God, that as he  
 ' hath pleased to fetch him away in the chariot of death,  
 ' so that he will double his spirit on those he hath thought  
 ' good to leave yet below. In the mean time, I thank  
 ' you for the favour of this your grave, seasonable, and  
 ' worthy sermon, which I desire may be prefixed, as a  
 ' meet preface, to the published labours of this happy  
 ' author. Farewell. From your loving friend and fel-  
 ' low labourer,

' Jos. EXON.'

' EXON PALACE, }  
 ' 22d March 1631. }

## THOMAS TAYLOR.

**T**HOMAS TAYLOR was born at Richmond in Yorkshire, of worthy and godly parents: His father was recorder of that town, and a very Gaius or Onesiphorus to the silenced ministers of England, and to the exiled ministers of Scotland. He brought up several sons to the ministry. This son of his was a child trained up in the holy Scriptures, which are able to make wise to salvation. Afterward, as age came on, he was well grounded in other learning, and was sent to Cambridge, where he became fellow of Christ's college. He was there most laborious in the study of tongues, arts, sciences, and all sorts of exercises about them; and especially in divinity, which was his profession. For a time he was Hebrew reader to the college. Being soon ripe, he entered into the ministry at the age of one-and-twenty years.

In Queen Elizabeth's time, he was called to preach at Paul's Cross, and preached the sermon there in King James's time.

In the course and work of his ministry, he spent thirty-five years, with all diligence and painfulness, even to the very end, when by right he might have spared himself; living in all sincerity and godly pureness, with entire love of souls, with all watchfulness, with meekness, and wonderfully quickened with zeal. He was an utter enemy of popery, arminianism, antimonianism, and other sects which crept up in those times, as appeareth partly by his writings. Amidst all his solid discourses, he was an excellent and ready orator, and wound up his matter with a good application, even when at times it was but ordinary. And from this course he would scarce suffer himself to be withdrawn, at any time, to refresh his spirits by a little freedom. Yea, sometimes when he was drawn forth into the country for recreation, by the solicitation of God's people, he escaped not without his usual burden: Or he spent his vacant time in preparing books for the press, which were both many and very useful. And men of understanding observed a great seal put to his ministry, in several places whereto he was called: Some were converted, others confirmed, others comforted

comforted in the way of GOD: And in those times of division, wherein many professors have turned into by-ways, those that were his constant hearers continued in that way stedfast and unshaken in faith and love, which is in Christ Jesus. At Reading there was a generation of young preachers, who, under his ministry, grew up in knowledge and holiness, and some eminency of gifts, profiting by him and his pains there; as also in the city of London, and at Cambridge.

Neither was he altogether for the public, but pious in private; and not only in the course of his family, but in keeping fasts among the godly of the place, which in those days was rather a dangerous exercise. And, to make them solid professors indeed, he put them upon a weekly way of handling catechetical points of divinity; that is, every week to confer of one of the heads of religion, according to the catechism subjoined to Mr. Dod's Treatise on the Commandments, still proving the doctrines by testimonies of Scripture. For other personal qualifications, he was a man full of love, alms-deeds, and merciful consideration of the needy, though not with a trumpet. And he was a man blessed of GOD with all the blessings of wisdom, Prov. iii. 16. *Length of days, riches and honour.*

In this holy and blessed course, he drew on towards his end. It was his climacterical year of fifty-six, and the year of our Lord 1632. Having over-laboured himself with preaching in the city, he betook himself to his country house at Isleworth, to be a little refreshed. But having inflamed and corrupted his blood by preaching, he soon fell into his mortal disease, a pleurisy; for curing whereof, though no means were wanting, yet the desired effect (through the counsel of GOD) followed not. In the beginning of his sickness he set his house in order most holily, and as became so worthy a father, and then bade farewell to all, as one thoroughly prepared for his departure; full of faith and patience, and joy in the Holy Ghost: careful of the welfare of the church at home, then in danger to be corrupted; grieved for the evils he knew in some men's dealings. He thus expressed his joy in GOD, and in the conquest of Christ: "Oh, (said he) we serve a good Lord, who covers all imperfections, and gives great wages for little work; and in mercy he hath provided for me some of the greatest." He used other holy speeches, full of faith and joy, which his infirmity would not suffer him to utter perfectly.

perfectly. In this manner he languished by degrees, and at last, on the Lord's Day, being the usual day of his principal labours, he was dismissed of all, and went to keep a perpetual Sabbath in heaven, where now he resteth from his labours, and his works follow him, even a full reward in endless glory, *which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive, what those things are which God hath prepared for them that love him.*

Mr. Leigh calls him 'a solid and judicious divine,' and gives us this short list of his WORKS:

“ There are divers useful treatises of his published:

A Comment on Titus, and the Twelfth Chapter of the Revelation:

A book in folio, containing divers Tracts:

And other Treatises mentioned in the late catalogue of divinity books.”

## WILLIAM AMES, D. D.

**I**N the Christian church, some of its ministers are appointed to gather in the flock, others to feed and nourish it; some to guide by the still waters of grace, others to guard against the incursions of the foe; some to build up in the truths of the Gospel, others to maintain and fight for those truths against the attacks of error. Of this last kind was our learned divine, who was famous for his controversial writings, but much more so abroad than in his native country; for he lived many years in foreign parts, and there ended his days. He was descended from an ancient family in Norfolk, where he was born in the year 1576.

He was educated at Christ-church college, Cambridge, under the famous Mr. William Perkins, by whom, probably, he was brought to the knowledge of *the truth, as it is in Jesus*. He seems to have been zealous in the maintainance of it, and vehement against every species of sin, and particularly against the corruptions and idolatry of the church of Rome. A remarkable instance of his zeal, in this respect, is given by Dr. Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*. ‘ Mr. Ames (says he) was preaching (about the year 1610) at  
‘ St. Mary’s,

‘ St. Mary’s, or, to use his own expression, “ having  
 ‘ the place of a watchman for an hour in the tower of  
 ‘ the university,” took occasion to inveigh against the  
 ‘ liberty taken at that time, especially in those colleges  
 ‘ which had Lords of Misrule, a pagan relique, which,  
 ‘ he said, as Polydore Virgil observed, remains only in  
 ‘ England. Hence he proceeded to condemn all play-  
 ‘ ing at cards and dice, affirming that the latter in all  
 ‘ ages was accounted the device of the devil; and that,  
 ‘ as GOD invented the one-and-twenty letters whereof  
 ‘ he made the Bible, the devil found out the one-and-  
 ‘ twenty spots on the die; that canon-law forbade the  
 ‘ use thereof, seeing, *Inventio diaboli nullá consuetudine  
 ‘ potest validari.* His sermon (continues Mr. Fuller)  
 ‘ gave great offence to many of his auditors, the rather  
 ‘ because in him there was a concurrence of much non-  
 ‘ conformity, insomuch that, to prevent an expulsion  
 ‘ from Dr. Val. Cary, the master, he forsook the college,  
 ‘ which proved unto him neither loss nor disgrace, be-  
 ‘ ing chosen afterwards, by the States of Friesland, Pro-  
 ‘ fessor of their University.’ In 1613, his Dispute with  
 Grevinchovius, Minister at Rotterdam, appeared in print.  
 He was at the Synod of Dort in 1618, and informed  
 King James’s ambassador from time to time of the de-  
 bates of that assembly.

When he had been twelve years in the doctor’s chair at Franeker, he resigned his professorship, and accepted of an invitation to the English congregation at Rotterdam, the air of Franeker being too sharp for him, as he was troubled with a great difficulty of breathing. Upon his removal to Rotterdam, he wrote his *Fresh Suit against Ceremonies*, but did not live to publish it himself; for his constitution was so shattered, that the air of Holland did him no service. He had determined to remove to New England; but his asthma returning at the beginning of the winter, put an end to his life at Rotterdam, where he was buried on the 14th of November 1633. He was (to use the words of Mr. Leigh) a judicious and solid divine, a strict Calvinist in doctrine, and of the persuasion of the independents with regard to the subordination and power of the classes and Synods.

In the same year he died, the last book he wrote above mentioned was published. The editor informs us, That  
 ‘ with the coming forth of this book into the light, the  
 ‘ learned and famous author, Dr. Ames, left the light or  
 ‘ darkness rather of this world. And though his name

‘ in this controversy was hitherto concealed, yet that  
 ‘ which was generally but imagined before, (that the  
 ‘ “ Reply,” and this “ Fresh Suit,” to Dr. Burgess’s  
 ‘ Rejoinder, were his work) is now certainly known to  
 ‘ be his; it pleads truth succinctly and perspicuously,  
 ‘ as indeed his vein in all his writings and discourses did  
 ‘ most admirably lead him to do: That he shewed him-  
 ‘ self a pattern of holiness, a burning and shining light,  
 ‘ a lamp of learning and arts, a champion of truth, espe-  
 ‘ cially while he was, for the space of twelve years at  
 ‘ least, in the doctor’s chair at Franeker.’

After this advertisement follows a copper print of him, in a little black silk cap, thin piqued beard, ruff about his neck, and a cloak over his shoulder. The inscription round it mentions him to be fifty-seven years of age when he died. On the back of this picture is a testimony by S. O. asserting, ‘ That the Doctor’s books are famous  
 ‘ in all Europe; upon which many have come to him out  
 ‘ of Hungary, Poland, Prussia, and Flanders, to be edu-  
 ‘ cated, as sundry students in our land can testify: And  
 ‘ I myself, and divers others have heard them affirm,  
 ‘ they would not have stayed there, but for the liking  
 ‘ they had of him.’

The WORKS of Dr. Ames are as follow :

I. Sermons preached at St. Mary’s in Cambridge; but when or where printed, is not known. II. *Puritanismus Anglicanus*, octavo, 1610. And in English, at London, quarto, 1641, containing the chief doctrines of the Puritans. III. *Disputatio scholastica inter Nic. Grevinchovium et Gul. Amesium*, &c. octavo, Amsterdam, 1613, concerning Arminius’s Opinions of Election, &c. IV. *Disputatio inter Amesium et N. Grevinchovium*, &c. Rotterdam, octavo, 1615. Lugd. Bat. 1617, 1633, &c. About Reconciliation by the Death of Christ, &c. V. *Coronis ad collationem Hagiensem*, duodecimo, Lugd. Bat. 1618, 1628, 1630: confuting the Answers given by the Arminians to the Dutch Pastors. VI. *Medulla Theologica*, duodecimo, Franeker, 1623. Amsterdam, 1627, 1628, 1634, 1641. Also in English, London, duodecimo. VII. *Explicatio utriusque Epistolæ S. Petri*, duodecimo, Amsterdam, 1625, 1635. The same in English, London, quarto. VIII. *De incarnatione Verbi*, octavo, Franeker, 1626, against the Socinians. IX. *Bellarminus cnervatus*, &c. octavo, Amsterdam, 1627, 1628. Oxon, 1629. London, 1633, &c. An excellent Treatise against Popery. X. *De conscientia*, &c. duodecimo, Amsterdam, 1630, 1631;

1631, 1643. And in English, with this title, *A Treatise on Conscience, with the Power and Cases thereof*, quarto, London, 1643. XI. *Antisynodalia, &c.* duodecimo, Franeker, 1692. Amsterdam, 1633: against the Remonstrants. XII. *Demonstratio logica vera*, duodecimo, Lugd. Bat. 1632. XIII. *Disputatio Theologica, ibid.* Against metaphysics. XIV. *Technometria, &c.* octavo, Amsterdam, 1632; or, *The Purpose and Bounds of Arts.* XV. *A Reply to Bishop Morton.* XVI. *A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship; or, A Triplication upon Dr. Burgess's Rejoinder for Dr. Morton*, quarto, 1633. XVII. *A first and second Manuduction.* XVIII. *Rescriptio ad responsum Grevinchovii de redemptione generali*, octavo, Lugd. Bat. 1634. XIX. *Christiana catecheseos sciographia*, octavo, Franeker, 1635. XX. *Lectiones in omnes Psalmos Davidis, &c.* octavo, Amsterdam, 1635; and London, 1647. He wrote also some Prefaces, &c. to the writings of others, and a few scattered Pieces, not mentioned in any catalogue of his books. His Latin works were reprinted at Amsterdam, in 1658, in five volumes, with a Preface by Matthias Nethenus.

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## GEORGE HERBERT.

**GEORGE HERBERT** was born the third day of April, in the year of our Lord 1593, near the town of Montgomery, and in the castle that then bore the name of that town and county. The castle was at that time a place of state and strength, which, with a plentiful estate, had been long in the possession of the Herberts. The father of this George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, knight, the son of Richard Herbert, knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the county of Monmouth, Bart. who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the reign of our King Edward the Fourth. His mother was Magdalen Newport,\* the youngest

\* While Mr. Herbert's widow, she resided four years in Oxford, for the convenience of her eldest son's education in that University; where, on account of her more than feminine understanding and extraordinary piety, she became acquainted with the most eminent for  
worth

youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High-Arkall in the county of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, Comptroller of His Majesty's household. His brother was the famous Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who certainly was a very learned and polished man, but not so much a Christian (to say the least of him) as our excellent Author.

Her son, George Herbert, spent much of his childhood under the eye and care of his prudent mother, with the tuition of a chaplain or tutor, till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster, and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the amiable and lovely behaviour of his childhood endeared him to all that knew him, and where appeared evident marks of great genius and piety. It appears from the following letter to his dear mother for a New Year's gift, written in the first year after his going to Cambridge, that he consecrated the first fruits of his early age to virtue and a serious study of learning. "—— but I  
 " fear the heat of my late age hath dried up those  
 " springs, by which, scholars say, the muses used to take  
 " up their habitations. However, I need not their help,  
 " to

worth and learning, both in and near the University; and particularly with the great Mr. Donne, afterwards Doctor in Divinity and Dean of St. Paul's, [see his life, Vol. II. p. 492.] who enclosed to her in a most polite and elegant letter, with some sacred hymns, the following sonnet.

*To the Lady Magdalen Herbert, of St. Mary Magdalen*

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

' J. D.'

“ to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that  
 “ are daily writ and consecrated to Venus, nor to be-  
 “ wail that so few are writ that look towards God and  
 “ heaven. For my own part, my meaning, dear mo-  
 “ ther, is in these sonnets to declare my resolution to  
 “ be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and  
 “ ever consecrated to God’s glory.\*”

This happy resolution, formed in the seventeenth year of his age, continued; and, as he grew older, so he grew in learning and more in favour both with God and man; and God gave him perseverance, and kept him so growing in grace, that he may very properly be held forth as a pattern of grace to posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy. In the year 1609 he was made minor fellow; in 1611, bachelor of arts; on March 15, 1615, major fellow of the college; and in the same year, being the twenty-second year of his age, he was made master of arts: And in the year 1619 he was chosen orator for the university. The first opportunity of shewing his qualifications for this employment of orator, was in a letter to King James, who had sent the university his book, entitled *Basilicon Doron*, and their orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter, he wrote,

*Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis, hospes!  
 Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.*

This letter was written in such excellent Latin, was so richly fraught with fancy, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the king, that he required the orator’s name, and then asked the Earl of Pembroke if he knew him? Whose answer was, ‘That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue, than for that he was of his name and family.’ At which the king smiled, and asked the Earl leave, that he might love him too; for he took

\* The dedication itself, in his own words, is in the following verse:

“ Lord, my *first fruits* present themselves to thee;  
 “ Yet not mine neither; for from thee they came,  
 “ And must return. Accept of them and me,  
 “ And make us strive, who shall sing best thy name.  
 “ Turn their eyes hither, who shall make again;  
 “ Their’s, who shall hurt themselves or me, refrain.”

took him to be the jewel of that university. And, after a discourse with him, his majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, that he found the orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit.

About this time a very happy friendship took place between Mr. Herbert and Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, which continued till death. At the time of his being orator, he had learned the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues perfectly, hoping with his predecessors to become Secretary of State, being at that time high in the King's favour, and much beloved by the most eminent of the court nobility. This often drew him from Cambridge to attend on the king, who gave him the same *sinecure* which Queen Elizabeth gave to her favourite, Sir Philip Sidney, worth at that time a hundred and twenty pounds a-year.

He often designed to leave the university and to travel, supposing that his studies hurt his health, being consumptive, and subject to frequent fevers and other infirmities; but on this as on other occasions he readily submitted to the will of his mother, who was averse to his either leaving the university, or going abroad.\* And while he thus waited

\* As Mr. Herbert's duteous affection to his mother appears in a letter written to her when she was in a fit of sickness; and, as it shews how well qualified he was for what he afterwards came to be, a father as well as pastor to his parish, we shall, without any farther apology, lay it before our readers.

“ MADAM,

“ AT my last parting from you I was the better content, because I  
 “ was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family;  
 “ but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather  
 “ increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would  
 “ quickly make good my wish, but that my employment does fix me  
 “ here, being now but a month to our *commencement*: Wherein, my  
 “ absence by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much  
 “ shall it make my prayers the more constant and the more earnest for  
 “ you to the God of all consolation. In the mean time I beseech  
 “ you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort,  
 “ who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin. What hath af-  
 “ fliction grievous in it more than for a moment? Or why should our  
 “ afflictions here have so much power or boldness as to oppose the hope  
 “ of our joys hereafter? Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect  
 “ of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys;  
 “ therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider  
 “ what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near  
 “ those true comforts.

“ Your last letter gave me an earthly preferment, and kept heavenly  
 “ for yourself: But would you divide and choose too? Our college  
 “ custom

waited with expectation of a call from Cambridge to court, he lost two of his principal friends, namely, Lodowick, Duke of Richmond, and James, Marquis of Hamilton; and, not long after them, died King James also;

“ customs allow not that, and I should account myself most happy, if I might change with you; for I have always observed the thread of life to be like other threads or skenes of silk, full of snarls and incumbrances. Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up, and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem.

“ For myself, dear mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family, and so brought up your children, that they have attained to the years of discretion, and competent maintenance: So that now if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch, that whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.—And for temporal afflictions! I beseech you to consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind.

“ For those of *estate*, of what poor regard ought they to be, since if we had riches, we are commanded to give them away? So that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: But, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider, that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find blessed be the rich, or blessed be the noble; but *blessed be the meek*, and *blessed be the poor*, and *blessed be the mourners*, for they shall be comforted. And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be *blessed*.

“ And for afflictions of the *body*, dear Madam, remember the holy martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures, as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end: And your's (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know, that if any of your's should prove a Goliath-like trouble, yet you may say with David, *That GOD who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.*

“ Lastly, for those afflictions of the *soul*, consider that God intends that to be as a sacred temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief; or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist, Psalm lv. *Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee.* To which join that of St. Peter, 1 Peter, v. 7. *Casting all your care on the Lord, for he careth for you.* What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burthen, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend his service? To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you: (Phil. v. 4.) St. Paul saith there, *Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice.* He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? Yes, *I say again rejoice*; so that it is not left

also; and with them, in a great measure, died Mr. Herbert's hopes of court-preferment. Soon after this event, he retired to a friend's house in Kent, where he so indulged a solitary life, that it was thought he would more impair his health by it, than he had formerly done by hard studying. In this time of his retirement, he had many severe conflicts with himself, whether he should pursue the prospects and pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to the study of divinity, and enter into holy orders. These, with the scruples of conscience that exercised his mind upon receiving a presentation, considering the last great account he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and frequently to say, "He endured such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endured them." The agitation and distress of his mind may be seen, in some measure, from the following verses written at that time, entitled

" AFFLICTION.

" WHEREAS my birth and spirit rather took

" The way that takes the town:

" Thou didst betray me to a ling'ring book,

" And wrapt me in a gown.

" I was entangled in a world of strife,

" Before I had the power to change my life.

" Yet, for I threatened oft the siege to raise,

" Not simp'ring all mine age:

" Thou often didst with *academic* praise

" Melt and dissolve my rage;

" I took the sweeten'd pill, till I came where

" I could not go away, nor persevere.

" Yet,

" to us to rejoice, or not rejoice; but whatsoever befalls us, we must  
 " always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us:  
 " And it follows in the next verse, *Let your moderation appear to all  
 " men: the Lord is at hand; be careful for nothing.* What can be said  
 " more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves: God is at hand to de-  
 " liver us *from ALL, or in ALL.* Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and  
 " accept the good meaning of

" Your most obedient son,

" GEORGE HERBERT."

TRINITY COLLEGE, }  
 29th May 1622. }

- “ Yet, lest perchance I should too happy be  
 “ In my unhappiness;  
 “ Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me  
 “ Into more sicknesses.  
 “ Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making  
 “ Thine own gifts good; yet me from my ways taking.
- “ Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me  
 “ None of my books will shew:  
 “ I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,  
 “ For then sure I should grow  
 “ To fruit or shade; at least some bird would trust  
 “ Her household with me, and I would be just.
- “ Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek;  
 “ In weakness must be stout:  
 “ Well, I will change my service, and go seek  
 “ Some other master out:  
 “ Ah, my dear GOD! though I am clean forgot,  
 “ Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.”

He had no sooner determined to devote himself to the service of the sanctuary, than, going to London, he informed a court friend of it, who laboured to dissuade him from it; urging, that it was too mean an employment, and too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To which he replied, “ It has been formerly judged, that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times has made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that God who gave them: Knowing, that I can never do too much for him, who hath done so much for me, as to make me a CHRISTIAN. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus.”

In the course of this year, he was ordained deacon; and on July 15, 1626, he was made Prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the diocese of Lincoln: Whose parish church being unfit for divine service, he not only made a kind of vow to GOD, if he were able, to rebuild that church,

but

but lived to see it completely rebuilt and finished. About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, he was seized with a sharp quotidian ague; when it was remarked, that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, “ Lord, abate my great affliction, and increase my patience; but, Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it.” By which sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed how willing he was to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life.

In April 1630, he was presented to the living of Bemerton, about a mile from Salisbury; ‘ from which period, I must bespeak the reader (says Mr. Isaac Walton) to prepare for an almost incredible history of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life: A life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it; a life, that if it were related by a pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety, for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not, and am not pleased with myself that must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now: But it becomes not me to censure; my design is rather to assure the reader, that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows, and I will do that with sincerity.’

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires him, he set some rules to himself for the future management of his life, and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said, “ I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what I so ambitiously thirsted for; and I can now behold the court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures; pleasures that are so empty, as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed; but in God and his service is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety; and I will now

“ use

“ use all my endeavours to bring my relations and de-  
 “ pendants to a love and reliance on him, who never  
 “ fails those that trust him. But, above all, I will be  
 “ sure to live well, because the virtuous life of a clergy-  
 “ man is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all  
 “ that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire  
 “ to live like him. And this I will do, because I know  
 “ we live in an age that hath more need of good exam-  
 “ ples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who  
 “ hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve at  
 “ his altar, that, as by his special grace he hath put into  
 “ my heart these good desires and resolutions, so he  
 “ will, by his assisting grace, enable me to bring the  
 “ same to good effect; and that my humble and charit-  
 “ able life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to  
 “ my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my mas-  
 “ ter and governor; and am so proud of his service, that  
 “ I will always observe, and obey, and do his will, and  
 “ always call him Jesus, my master; and I will always  
 “ contemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be  
 “ conferred on me, when I shall compare them with the  
 “ title of being a priest, and serving at the altar of  
 “ Jesus, my master.”

And that he did so, appears in many parts of his book  
 of “ Sacred Poems,” especially in that entitled “ The  
 Odour;” in which he seems to rejoice in the word Jesus,  
 and to say, that the adding these words, “ my Master,”  
 to it, and the often repeating them, seemed to perfume  
 his mind. And for his free choice of God’s service in  
 the work of the ministry, in another place, (“ The  
 Pearl,” Matth. xiii.) he rejoices and says,—“ I know  
 “ the ways of learning; I know what nature does wil-  
 “ lingly, and what when it is forced by fire; I know the  
 “ ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to  
 “ noble expressions; I know the court; I know the  
 “ ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon  
 “ what terms I declined all these for the service of my  
 “ Master, JESUS;” and concludes,

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

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton,  
 and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical

cal coat, he returned so habited to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her, " You are now a minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house, as not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know, that a priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and, I am sure, places so purchased do best become them: And let me tell you, that I am so good a herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife, as to assure him, ' it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness."

He hasted to get the parish church repaired, then to beautify the chapel, (which stands near his house) and that at his own great charge: He then proceeded to rebuild the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be written upon, or engraved in the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

" TO MY SUCCESSOR.

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

The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's Proverbs, and the words were, *Keep thy heart with all diligence.* In which first sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules, for the discharge of a good conscience, both to GOD and man; and delivered his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence: And at the close of his sermon told them, " That should not be his constant way of preaching, and that he would not fill their heads with unnecessary notions, but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, " That they would be constant to the afternoon's service and catechizing;" and shewed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his sermons were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and he as constantly declared why the church appointed that portion of Scripture to be that day read, and in what manner the Collect for every Sunday refers to the Gospel or to the Epistle then read to them. And, that they might pray with understanding, he usually took occasion to explain, not only the Collect for every particular day, but the reasons of all the other Collects and Responses in our service; and made it plainly appear to them, that the whole service of the church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as, namely, that we begin with confession of ourselves to be vile miserable sinners; and that we begin so, because, till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we need, and pray for; but having in the Prayer of our Lord begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed, and hoping, that as the priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession and real repentance we have obtained that pardon, then we dare proceed to beg of the Lord to open our lips, that our mouths may shew forth his praise; for, till then we are neither able nor worthy to praise him: But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*, and fit to proceed to a further service of our God, in the Collects, and Psalms, and Lauds, that follow in the service.

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

And for the Hymns and Lauds, appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second lessons were read to the congregation, he proceeded to inform them, that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the minister in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up and express their gratitude to Almighty God for those his mercies to them, and to all mankind; and say with the blessed virgin, *That their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God, their Saviour*: And that it was their duty

also

also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, *That their eyes have seen their salvation*; for they have seen that salvation, which was but prophesied till his time: And he then broke out in expressions of joy to see it; but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up their sacrifices of praise to their God for that and all his mercies. A service, which is now the constant employment of that blessed virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed saints that are possessed of heaven, and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, *Holy, holy, holy Lord God; glory be to God on high, and on earth peace.* And he taught them, that to do this was an acceptable service to God, because the prophet David says in his Psalms, *He that praiseth the Lord, honoureth him.*

He made them to understand, how happy they be that are freed from the incumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under, namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical law; freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know, that having received so many and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered and shewed his mercy, which by the mouth of the prophets he promised to our forefathers:* And this he hath done, according to his holy covenant made with them; and we live to see and enjoy the benefit of it in his birth, in his life, his passion, his resurrection, and ascension into heaven, where he now sits, sensible of all our temptations and infirmities, and where he is at this present time making intercession for us to his and our Father; and, therefore, they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited and thus redeemed his people.*—These were some of the reasons by which Mr. Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the Psalms and Hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the church-service.

He informed them, when the priest prayed only for the congregation, and not for himself, and when they only

only prayed for him, as (namely) after the repetition of the Creed, before he proceeds to pray the Lord's Prayer, or any of the appointed Collects, the priest is directed to kneel down and pray for them, saying, *The Lord be with you*: And then they pray for him, saying, *And with thy spirit*.—And he assured them, that when there is such mutual love, a Christian congregation, calling thus upon God with one heart and one voice, and in one reverend and humble posture, look as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

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

He instructed them, that as by the second commandment we are required not to bow down or worship any idol or false god, so by the contrary rule we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they did thereby declare both their obedience to the church, and an assent into that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them, that in the Shorter Creed or Doxology, so often repeated daily, they also stood up, to testify their belief to be, that *the God that they trusted in was one God in three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, to whom the priest gave glory; and because there had been heretics that had denied some of these three persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, *It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so, world without end*: And all gave their assent to this belief, by saying *Amen*.

He instructed them what benefit they had by the church's appointing the celebration of holidays, and the excellent use of them, namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God, and (as the Rev. Mr. Hooker says) to be the land-marks to distinguish times; for, by them we are taught to take notice how the years pass by us, and that we ought not to let them pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which they give us

occasion

occasion to remember; and therefore the year is appointed to begin on the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the angel's appearing to the blessed virgin, with the joyful tidings, that *she should conceive and bear a son that should be the Redeemer of mankind*; and she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation, namely, at our Christmas, a day on which we commemorate his birth with joy and praise; and that, eight days after this happy birth, we celebrate his circumcision, namely, on that which we call New Year's Day; and that upon what we call Twelfth Day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles; and that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them that Jesus was, forty days after his birth, presented by his blessed mother in the Temple, namely, on that day which we call *The Purification of the Blessed Virgin, Mary*. And he instructed them, that by the Lent Fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days, and that we ought to endeavour to be like him in purity; and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole his crucifixion, and at Easter commemorate his glorious resurrection. And he taught them, that after Jesus had manifested himself to his disciples to be *that Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried*, by his appearing and conversing with them for the space of forty days after his resurrection, he then, and not till then, *ascended into heaven*, in the sight of his disciples, namely, on that day which we call *The Ascension, or Holy Thursday*; and that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to his disciples at or before his Ascension, namely, *That though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their comforter*; and he did so, on that day which the church calls Whitsunday.— Thus the church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings, which we do or might receive at those seasons.

He made them know why the church hath appointed Ember Weeks, and the reason why the Commandments and the Epistles and Gospels were to be read at the altar or communion-table; why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling, and why to pray some Collects standing;

ing; and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not to make that a treatise which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it; but I have done when I have told the reader, that he was constant in catechizing every Sunday in the afternoon, and that his catechizing was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit, and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have a full congregation.

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

He appeared constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice a-day at the church-prayers in the chapel, which almost joined to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four; and then and there, he lifted up holy hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like David, brought not only his own household thus to serve the Lord, but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a-day; and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert, that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example, to persuade others to a practical piety.

And

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

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and composed many divine hymns and anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol: and, though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such, that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the cathedral church in Salisbury, and at his return would say, "That his time spent in prayer and cathedral music elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part, at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

In one of his walks to Salisbury he overtook a gentleman, to whom, after a proper salutation, he said, "Sir, I take the liberty to ask some account of your faith; and the rather, because, though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tythe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, because I know there are some sermon hearers who are like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh." And after some further conversation, Mr. Herbert gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity and directions for his faith and practice, and in such a spirit of wisdom and meekness, that the gentleman was quite charmed with him, and sought opportunities in future to meet him in his walks to Salisbury, and to attend on his ministry at Bemerton, always mentioning Mr. Herbert's name with the greatest veneration; and continued to the day of his death praising God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbour minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolment for the wickedness of the times, and contempt of the clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say, "One cure for these distempers would be, for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember weeks  
" strictly,

“ strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them  
 “ in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy.  
 “ And another cure will be, for them to restore the  
 “ great and neglected duty of catechizing, on which the  
 “ salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-  
 “ people does depend; but principally, that the clergy  
 “ themselves would be sure to live unblameably, and  
 “ that the dignified clergy especially, who preach tem-  
 “ perance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions  
 “ to express a visible humility and charity in their lives;  
 “ for this would force a love and imitation, and an un-  
 “ feigned reverence from all that knew them.” (And  
 for proof of this, we need no other testimony than the  
 life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath  
 and Wells.) “ This (said Mr. Herbert) would be a  
 “ cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our  
 “ age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us,  
 “ and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation  
 “ of the manners of the laity; for it is not learning, but  
 “ this, this only, that must do it; and, till then, the  
 “ fault must lie at our doors.”

And in another of his walks to Salisbury, he came up  
 with a poor man whose horse had fallen under his load,  
 and seeing both man and horse in distress, and in need of  
 present help, he took off his coat, and helped the man to  
 unload his horse and to load him again; which being  
 done, he gave him money to refresh himself and horse,  
 and told him, “ If he loved himself, he should be mer-  
 “ ciful to his beast.” But coming to his musical friends,  
 they were surprised to see the neat trim Mr. Herbert  
 come in so soiled and discomposed; to whom he apolog-  
 ized by telling them the occasion. One of the com-  
 pany said, ‘ He thought he had disparaged himself by  
 ‘ so dirty an employment.’ To which he gave the fol-  
 lowing answer: “ The thought of what I have done  
 “ will prove music to me at midnight; and that the  
 “ omission of it would have upbraided me, and made  
 “ discord in my conscience whensoever I should pass by  
 “ that place; for if I am bound to pray for all that be  
 “ in distress, I am sure I am bound, so far as it is in my  
 “ power, to practise what I pray for: And I do not  
 “ wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell  
 “ you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life  
 “ without comforting a sorrowful soul, or shewing  
 “ mercy; and I praise God for this occasion. And now  
 “ let us tune our instruments.”

He was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tythe, and gave her a power to dispose that to the poor of his parish, with a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn; which trust she most faithfully performed, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty, for she rejoiced in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity.—And for his own, he set no limits to it; nor did he ever turn his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours, to the meanest of whose houses he would go and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able, to do it. And, when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was: “He would not see the danger of want so far off; but being the Scripture does so commend charity, as to tell us, that charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the law, the life of faith: And that charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come; being these, and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee. O charity; and being all my tithes and church dues are a deodate from thee, O my God; make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and, by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus, my master. Sir, (said he to his friend) my wife hath a competent maintenance secured to her after my death, and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall by God's grace be unalterable.”

This account is given by Mr. Walton of the excellencies of the active part of his life, and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which almost joined to it; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day though he were very weak; in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in

pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; he confessed it, but said, “ His life could  
 “ not be better spent than in the service of his Master,  
 “ Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him;  
 “ But (he said) I will not be wilful, for Mr. Bostock  
 “ shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow,  
 “ and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this  
 “ mortal shall put on immortality.” And accordingly Mr. Bostock, his curate, from that time continued to be reader till Mr. Herbert’s death.

About a month before his death, his friend Mr. Farrer sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (afterwards Rector of Friar-Barnet, in the county of Middlesex) to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden with an account of Mr. Herbert’s condition. Mr. Duncon found him at that time lying on his bed, or on his pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon; he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his brother Farrer, of which Mr. Duncon satisfied him; and after a conference of Mr. Farrer’s holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon,—“ Sir, I see by your  
 “ habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray  
 “ with me?” Which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, ‘ What prayers?’ To which Mr. Herbert’s answer was, “ Oh, Sir, the prayers of my mother, the church  
 “ of England: no other prayers are equal to them; but,  
 “ at this time, I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for  
 “ I am weak and faint;” and Mr. Duncon did so. And at Mr. Duncon’s parting with him, Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: “ Sir, I pray give my brother Farrer  
 “ an account of my decaying condition; and tell him, I  
 “ beg him to continue his prayers for me; and let him  
 “ know, that I have considered that God only is what  
 “ he would be; and that I am by his grace become now  
 “ so like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him,  
 “ and do not repine at my want of health. And tell  
 “ him, my heart is fixed on that place where true joy  
 “ is only to be found, and that I long to be there,  
 “ and will wait my appointed change with hope and  
 “ patience.”

And having said this, he did with such humility, as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look say to him, “ Sir,  
 “ I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother  
 “ Farrer,

“ Farrer, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of  
 “ the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt  
 “ God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the  
 “ will of Jesus my master, in whose service I have now  
 “ found perfect freedom: Desire him to read it, and  
 “ then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of  
 “ any dejected, poor soul, let it be made public; if not,  
 “ let him burn it, for I and it are less than the least of  
 “ God’s mercies.”

Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of “ The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations;” of which Mr. Farrer would say, ‘ There was the picture of a divine soul in every page, and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety.’ And it appears to have done so, for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

When Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge for the vice-chancellor’s *imprimatur*, he objected to the two following well known lines:

“ Religion stands a tip-toe in our land,  
 “ Ready to pass to the American strand.”

But after some arguments he said, ‘ I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book.’ It was a candid expression; and subsequent events have shown, that there hath been, as yet, no fulfilment of the prediction.

In this time of his decay, he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near him, especially by the bishop and prebends of the cathedral church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces, (then a part of his family) and one Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose: “ I now  
 “ look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see  
 “ the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music,  
 “ and pleasant conversation; how they are now all passed  
 “ by me as a shadow that returns not, and are all be-  
 “ come dead to me, or I to them; that as my father  
 “ and generations have done before me, so shall I now  
 “ suddenly (with Job) make my bed also in the dark;  
 “ and,

“ and, I praise God, I am prepared for it; and, that  
 “ I am not to learn patience, now I stand in such need  
 “ of it; and that I have practised mortification, and  
 “ endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eter-  
 “ nally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this  
 “ valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain;  
 “ and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall  
 “ be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties  
 “ that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the  
 “ New Jerusalem, dwell there with men made perfect,  
 “ dwell where these eyes shall see my Master and Sa-  
 “ viour Jesus, and with him see my dear mother, and  
 “ relations, and friends; but I must die, or not come to  
 “ that happy place: And this is my content, that I am  
 “ going daily towards it; and that every day that I have  
 “ lived hath taken a part of my appointed time from  
 “ me; and that I shall live the less time for having  
 “ lived this and the day past.”

These and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of heaven, before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he arose suddenly from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,—“ My God, my  
 “ God,

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

And having thus tuned it, he played and sung:

“ The Sundays of man’s life,  
 “ Threaded together on Time’s string,  
 “ Make bracelets to adorn the wife  
 “ Of the Eternal glorious King:  
 “ On Sundays, heaven’s door stands ope,  
 “ Blessings are plentiful and rife,  
 “ More plentiful than Hope.”

Thus he continued meditating and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death, and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, “ My dear friend, I am sorry I have no  
 “ thing to present to my merciful God but sin and  
 “ misery; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will  
 “ put a period to the latter.” Upon which expression, Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-  
 building

building Layton church, and his many acts of mercy: To which he made answer, saying, "They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise." After this discourse, he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and observed him to fall into a sudden agony; which so surprised her, that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did? To which his answer was, "That he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his master Jesus." After which answer he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, "if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable." To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock. Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door; then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last will, and give it into my hand:" Which being done, he delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor, for the good of my wife and nieces, and I desire you to shew kindness to them as they shall need it: I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which he said, "Lord, grant me mercy, for the merits of my Jesus; and now, Lord, receive my soul." And with these words he peaceably and calmly breathed forth his soul into the hands of him who gave it; Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

The death of this saint, thus *precious in the sight of God*, (as will be *the death of all his saints to the end*)

was in the year 1635; his remains lie interred in the parish church at Bemerton near Sarum, under the communion-table, and covered with a grave-stone, without any inscription.

In his person he was rather tall, very lean, but exceeding straight; his speech and mien bespoke him the true gentleman; and his affability and humanity shewed him to be no less a Christian. None could ever be more admired and beloved than he was, by all that knew him. Lord Bacon, as well as Dr. Donne, were among his friends, and inscribed to him some of their writings.

His poems, entitled "The Temple," were printed at London in 1635, in 12mo; and his "Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson's Character, and Rules of Holy Life," was published in 1652. His **WORKS** have since been published together in one volume.

## RICHARD SIBBES, D. D.

**T**HIS grave and solid divine (as Mr. Leigh calls him) was born upon the borders of Suffolk, near Sudbury, and being trained up at school, when he was grown ready for the university, was sent to Cambridge, in 1595, and was admitted into St. John's college, where he so profited in learning, and approved himself by his blameless conversation, that he was promoted from one degree to another in the college; being chosen first scholar, and then fellow of that house. He also took all the degrees of the university, with general approbation and applause. It pleased God to convert him by the ministry of Mr. Paul Baines, whilst he was lecturer at St. Andrew's, in Cambridge. And when Mr. Sibbes had been master of arts some time, he entered into the ministry, and shortly after was chosen lecturer at Trinity church, in Cambridge: To whose ministry, besides the townsmen, many scholars resorted; so that he became the happy instrument of bringing some souls to God, as also of edifying and building up others. He appears, from an archidiaconal register, to have been Vicar of Trinity parish only during the two last years of his life; the famous Dr. Thomas Goodwin having resigned in his favour.

About

About the year 1625 or 1626, he was chosen master of Katharine-hall in Cambridge, in the government whereof he continued till his dying day; and, like a faithful governor, he was always very careful to procure and advance the good of that little house. For he procured good means and maintenance by his interest in many worthy persons, for the enlargement of the college; and was a means of establishing learned and religious fellows there; insomuch that in his time, it proved a very famous society for piety and learning, both as to fellows and scholars.

But before this, about the year 1618, he was chosen preacher at Gray's Inn, where his ministry found such general approbation and acceptance, that, besides the learned lawyers of the house, many noble personages and many of the gentry and citizens resorted to hear him; and many had reason to bless God for the benefit which they received by him. Dr. William Gouge, who frequently heard him preach, says, 'that he sometimes had a little stammering in the time of his preaching, but then his judicious hearers always expected some rare and excellent notion from him.'

His learning was mixed with much humility, whereby he was always ready to undervalue his own labours, though others judged them to breathe spirit and life, to be strong of heaven, speaking with authority and power to men's consciences. His care in the course of his ministry was to lay a good foundation in the heads and hearts of his hearers. And though he was a wise master-builder, and that in one of the most eminent auditories for learning and piety which was in the land; yet, according to the grace which was given to him, (which was indeed like that of Elisha, in regard of the other prophets, the elder brother's privilege, a double portion) he was still taking all occasions to preach the fundamentals to them, and, among the rest, the incarnation of the Son of God. And preaching at several times, and by occasion of so many several texts of Scripture concerning this subject, there is scarce any one of those incomparable benefits, which accrue to us thereby, nor any of those holy impressions, which the meditation hereof ought to work in our hearts, which was not by him unfolded. The truth of this appeared so evident to an eminent divine, upon reading his sermons when in print, that he said, 'I less wonder now at the noted humility of the author, finding how often his thoughts dwelt upon the humiliation of Christ.'

Indeed

Indeed he was thoroughly studied in the holy Scriptures, which made him a man of God, *perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work*; and, as became a faithful steward of the manifold grace of God, he endeavoured to teach it to others, and to store them with knowledge, wisdom, and spiritual understanding. He was a man that enjoyed much communion with God, and, like John the Baptist, was a burning and shining light, wasting and spending himself to enlighten others.

He was upon all occasions very charitable, drawing forth not only his purse in relieving, but his very bowels in commiserating, the wants and necessities of the poor members of Christ. He used sometimes, in the summer-time, to go abroad to the houses of some worthy personages, where he was an instrument of much good, not only by his private labours, but by his prudent counsel and advice, that upon every occasion he was ready to minister unto them. And thus having done his work on earth, he was received to heaven, peaceably and comfortably resigning up his spirit unto God, in the year 1635, and in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

His Works. He was 'famous (says Mr. Leigh) for the piety, learning, devotion, and politeness [he means *polished style*] of his two genuine writings, *The Bruised Reed*, and *The Soul's Conflict*.' These we have seen, and can assure the Christian reader, who is under exercise of spirit, that he will hardly be able to find two books written by man, which are more likely to afford him direction, comfort, and relief, than these most excellent pieces of Dr. Sibbes. We regret that they are out of print; or rather, that the piety of the times does not hasten them into print again. Upon the subject of spiritual distress, there is scarce any book in our language more valuable, except the Bible. At least, the writer hath found it so respecting himself. His "Divine Meditations and Holy Contemplations," were reprinted in 1775. in a small duodecimo, dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, and recommended by the honourable and reverend Mr. Walter Shirley. His Sermons on Canticles v. are so excellent, that the judicious Mr John Dod, having perused them in manuscript, would not cease soliciting Dr. Sibbes till he had prevailed upon him to print them; and for that end wrote to him as follows: ' — I judge it altogether unmeet, (says he) that such precious matter should be concealed from the public use.

‘ use. I judge these Sermons a very profitable and excellent help, both to the understanding of that dark and most divine Scripture, as also to kindle in the heart all heavenly affections towards Jesus Christ: The whole frame whereof is carried with such wisdom, gravity, piety, judgment, and experience, that it commends itself to all that are godly wise: And I doubt not but they shall find their temptations answered, their fainting spirits revived, their understandings enlightened, and their graces confirmed; so that they shall have cause to praise God for the worthy Author’s godly and painful labours.’

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## JOSEPH MEDE, B. D.

**T**HIS profound scholar was born in October 1586, at Berden in Essex, and related to the family of Sir John Mede of Lofts-Hall, in the same county, who much pleased himself in so worthy a kinsman, to whom (when fellow of Christ’s college) he sent his eldest son to be his pupil; accounting it a singular felicity to have him under the care and conduct of so worthy and accomplished a tutor.

When he was about ten years old, both he and his father fell sick at the same time of the small-pox: To the father it proved mortal, to the son very hazardous. But Almighty God, who designed him for a great blessing to the world, delivered him then out of that, and afterwards out of other dangers: Of which merciful preservation, he had by him his thankful “Memorials,” the better to excite himself to a due celebration of the divine goodness.

His mother afterwards married one Mr. Gower of Nasing in Essex, by whom he was sent to school first to Hodsdon, and after that to Wethersfield in Essex. In which time, going to London upon some occasion, he bought Bellarmin’s Hebrew Grammar. His master, having no skill in that language, told him it was not a book fit

fit for him: But he would not be discouraged from the perusal of it; and setting upon it industriously, he attained no small skill in the Hebrew tongue, before he left the school; by these fair blossoms, giving an early assurance to his friends of those excellent fruits which he afterwards brought forth.

His friends, being encouraged by the pregnancy of his parts, his assiduous industry, and proficiency in learning, sent him, in the year 1602, to Christ's college in Cambridge, where he was admitted pupil to Mr. Daniel Rogers, fellow of that college. When he had been there three years, Mr. Rogers leaving the college, Mr. William Addison became his tutor, to whose pupils, after he was bachelor of arts, he used to read; as afterward, when he was master of arts, he moderated at disputations at the desire of his tutor, one of the then proctors of the university.

The improvements, which he made in a short time by his industry, were so conspicuous, that they drew upon him the eyes, not only of his own college, but of the whole university: Which could not but be observable in him, because he wanted that felicity of utterance, which sets off slight parts; and had so great an hesitation in his speech, as rendered his expression painful to himself, and not pleasing to others. This made him decline (as much as he might) all public disputations, and other exercises, as not to be performed by him without great difficulty: His labour in them (as he was wont to tell his familiars) being double to that of others, in regard he was to study, not for matter only, but for words; not to express his mind, but for words that he could utter: yea, and to take care to dispose them too, in that order, that the construction might suit with his ability. Wherein, he in time became a rare example, how much a discreet observation of such an imperfection can work towards the cure of it. For, by an heedful inspection into the nature of his defect, what words he most stuck at, either single, or in conjunction, and at what times he was more or less free, he attained so great a mastery over that infirmity, that he was able to deliver a whole sermon without any considerable hesitation.

That also of his own relation, is not here unworthy the remembering, that not long after his entrance into philosophical studies, he was for some time disquieted with scepticism, that troublesome and restless disease of the Pyrrhonian school of old. For, lighting upon a book

in a neighbour-scholar's chamber, (whether it was Sextus Empericus, or some other upon the same subject, is not now remembered) he began upon the perusal of it, to move strange questions to himself, and even to doubt whether the *το Παν*, the whole frame of things, as it appears to us, were any more than a mere phantasm or imagination. The improvement of the conceit (as he would profess) rendered all things so unpleasant to him, that his life became uncomfortable. He was then but young, and therefore the more capable of being abused by those perplexed notions, by which Pyrrho had industriously studied to represent the habitation of truth as inaccessible: But, by the mercy of God, he quickly made his way out of these troublesome labyrinths, and gave an early proof that he was designed for profound contemplations, by falling so soon upon the consideration of subjects the most subtle and curious.

By that time he had taken the degree of master of arts, (which was in 1610) he had made so happy a progress through all kind of academical studies, that it was manifest to all, that that title was not (as with too many it is) any false inscription: He was justly so styled, and was universally esteemed as one who well understood all those arts, which make up the accomplishment of a scholar. He was an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathematician, an excellent anatomist, (being usually sent for when they had any anatomy in Caius college) a great philologer, a master of many languages, and a good proficient in the studies of history and chronology; of which we shall give a more particular account in the following part of this short history.

His first shewing himself abroad, was by an address he made to that great patron and example of learning, Dr. Andrews, (then bishop of Ely, afterward of Winchester) in a Latin tract, *De Sanctitate Relativa*, &c. Which, being written in his early days, he did not permit to be printed, having afterward given the substance of it, with improvements, in another Treatise on 1 Cor. xi. 22. and in his *Concio ad Clerum* on Lev. xix. 30. And this early specimen of his theological studies gained the approbation of so great a judgment as his was to whom it was presented; insomuch that, shortly after, he having need of the king's favour concerning his election to a fellowship, that worthy bishop stood his firm friend, and not only maintained his right then, but afterward desired him for his household-chaplain: Which place, notwithstanding,

withstanding, he civilly refused, as valuing the liberty of his studies above any hopes of preferment, and esteeming that freedom which he enjoyed in his cell (as he used cheerfully to term it) as the haven of all his wishes.

And indeed, these thoughts had possessed him betimes. For, when he was a school-boy, being sent by his uncle, Mr. Richard Mede, a merchant, who being at that time without children, offered to adopt him for his son, if he would live with him, he accepted not the proffer, but shewed early, that no worldly amusement was sufficient to entice him from his studies. He chose the more solitary way of knowledge, rather than the so much beaten and frequented way of wealth; and made as much haste in his study to become a more than ordinary knowing and learned man, as others abroad in the world do to be rich even to abundance.

Wherefore, divine providence being favourable to his design, that he might have a fair opportunity to perfect his own accomplishments, and be the better enabled to promote the good of others, and eminently approve himself the servant of Christ. he was chosen fellow of Christ's college; and to the service of Christ, his gracious Master, he seriously devoted his best studies and endeavours. The fellowship, into which he was elected, was that of King Edward's foundation, and therein he was successor to Mr. Hugh Broughton, and Mr. Dillingham, both of them famous for Hebrew learning. This place was supernumerary to the institution of the foundress the lady Margaret: A society of divines she intended it, and, by a master and twelve fellows, alluded to Christ and his college of apostles. Which conceit (as some thought) was intentionally spoiled by the addition of that supernumerary fellowship, but however, gave occasion of an ill-placed jest against Mr. Mede at his election; one opposite to his admission venting this piece of wit, without either civility or judgment, 'We are twelve of the foundation, and there (said he, pointing to Mr. Mede) sits the odd fellow.' Which conceit could have no true sense as touching the quality and character of Mr. Mede, unless by odd, had been meant singular, and that for piety and learning; which eminencies could not make him less eligible, according to the statute.

It is very little to the credit of his college, that such a man should need all the patronage of bishop Andrews to ensure his election: And it is a melancholy proof of the narrow intolerant spirit of arminianism (that cousin-german

german of popery) which began about that time to appear at court and college, that it could reject so pious and profound a scholar as Mr. Mede, only because it was supposed, " he looked too much towards Geneva;" or, in other words, was too rigid a church of England man, in maintaining the most important doctrines of her articles and homilies.

Being thus chosen fellow of the college, he was not long after made reader of the Greek lecture of Sir Walter Mildmay's foundation, and held it all his life-time: Which rendered that tongue, as also several others, very familiar to him. For his constant reading Homer, did not only make him perfect in that author, but he being a diligent collator of the Greek with the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, acquainted himself familiarly with the idioms of all those languages at once. He had, besides, made a collection of such Greek, Latin and English words, as he had observed to have a near sense and like sound with the Hebrew. By which means, as he made the language more familiar to him, so he consulted the pleasure and advantage of his friends; being from this store furnished with what might render his converse more acceptable to them, in whose contentment he had a true satisfaction.

He preserved his knowledge in academical learning, by the private lectures which he read to his pupils, to whom he was an able and faithful guide. For, being a fellow of a college, he esteemed it a part of his duty to further the education of young scholars, which made him undertake the careful charge of a tutor: And this he managed with great prudence, and equal diligence. After he had, by daily lectures, well grounded his pupils in humanity, logic, and philosophy, and by frequent converse understood to what particular studies their parts might be most profitably applied, he gave them his advice accordingly: And when they were able to go alone, he chose rather to set every one his daily task, than constantly to confine himself and them to precise hours for lectures. In the evening, they all came to his chamber to satisfy him, that they had performed the task he had set them. The first question, which he used to propound to every one in his order, was, *Quid dubitas?* What doubts have you met with in your studies to day? (For he supposed, that to doubt nothing, and to understand nothing, were much alike.) Their doubts being propounded, he resolved their *quæres*, and so set them upon clear ground,

to proceed more distinctly. And then, having by prayer, commended them and their studies to God's protection and blessing, he dismissed them to their lodgings. Thus carefully did he discharge the trust of a tutor; though he well knew, and was used to say, "That the office of training up young scholars in the university, proved oftentimes but a thankless business." In short, he was not for a soft and easy, self-pleasing, course of life; but was most willing to spend himself in a laborious endeavouring the best improvement (not of himself only, but) of others, those especially committed to his care.

He so entirely devoted himself to the study of all excellent knowledge, that he made even the time, which he spent in his recreation, serviceable to his design. He allowed himself little or no exercise but walking: And oftentimes, when he and others were walking in the fields, or in the college-garden, he would take occasion to speak of the beauty, signatures, useful virtues, and properties of the plants then in view. For he was a curious florist, an accurate herbalist, thoroughly versed in the book of nature; not unseen in any kind of ingenuous knowledge, such especially as were both for delight and use. The chief delight which he took in company was to discourse with learned friends; particularly, for several years he set apart some of his hours to spend them in the conversation of his worthy friend Mr. William Chapple. (afterward provost of Trinity college near Dublin in Ireland, and bishop of Cork and Ross) who was justly esteemed a rich magazine of rational learning, and who again did as highly value the interest he had in Mr. Mede, and the singular advantage of his converse.

In his retirement to his private studies, he employed himself principally in a curious inquiry into the most abstruse parts of learning, and endeavoured for the knowledge of those things, which were more remote from the vulgar track.

Among other things, he spent no small pains (in his younger years) in sounding the depths of astrology, and much paper he blotted in calculating the nativities of his near relations and fellow-students. That which he thought himself to have found, by all his search, was only this, "That the celestial luminaries, having an unquestionable influence upon all sublunary bodies, in the like position of the heavens, may reasonably be thought to have a similitude in their operation, and thereby to cause a sympathy in things produced under  
" like

“ like constellations, and an antipathy under different.  
 “ But this not extending farther than a natural inclina-  
 “ tion, and being in men alterable by custom, education,  
 “ and infinite external impediments, he judged it not  
 “ (without extreme vanity) to be presumed upon as  
 “ any infallible ground of prediction of future actions;  
 “ especially in such things wherein men, acting out of  
 “ choice, run counter many times to their natural incli-  
 “ nations.”

But, leaving the pursuit of astrology, he applied himself to the more useful study of history and antiquities, particularly to a curious inquiry into those mysterious sciences, which made the antient Chaldeans, Egyptians, and other nations so famous; tracing them, as far as he could have any light to guide him, in their oriental schemes and figurative expressions, as likewise in their hieroglyphics; not forgetting to inquire also into the oneirocritics of the antients. Which he did the rather, because of that affinity he conceived they might have with the language of the prophets, to the understanding of whom he shewed a most ardent desire. His humanity studies, and mathematical labours, were but initial things, which he made attendants to the mysteries of divinity: And though they were preparatives, as he could use them, yet they were but at a distance off, and more remote to his aim: for he had more work to do, before he could be master of his design. A well-furnished divine is compounded of more ingredients than one. For histories of all sorts, but those especially which concern the church of God, must be studied and well known: And therefore he made his way by the knowledge of all histories, general, national, antient and modern, sacred and secular. He was a curious and laborious searcher of antiquities relating to religion, Heathen, Jewish, Christian and Mahometan! The fruits of which studious diligence appear visibly in several of those excellent Treatises, which have passed the press.

To histories he added those necessary attendants, which, to the knowledge of the more difficult Scriptures, must never be wanting, viz. “ An accurate understand-  
 “ ing of the ichnography of the tabernacle and temple,  
 “ the order of the service of God therein performed,  
 “ as also the city of Jerusalem, together with an exact  
 “ topography of the Holy Land; besides other Jewish  
 “ antiquities, Scripture-chronology, and the exact cal-  
 “ culation of times, so far especially, as made for the  
 “ solving

“ solving or clearing of those difficulties and obscure  
 “ passages that occur in the historical part of Scripture,  
 “ which the vulgar chronologers have perplexed, and  
 “ the best not fully freed from scruple.” And how  
 great his abilities were for the sacred chronology, may  
 appear (to omit other proofs) from that clause in a letter  
 of the learned Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh, to him;  
 ‘ I have entered upon the determination of the contro-  
 ‘ versies which concern the chronology of the sacred  
 ‘ Scripture, wherein I shall in many places need your  
 ‘ help.’

By the fruit of these studies, particularly by his happy  
 labours upon the Apocalypse and prophetic Scriptures,  
 what honour our Author purchased abroad (besides what  
 he gained at home) among men studious in this way, and  
 therefore capable of judging, is evident by the many  
 letters sent him from learned men in several parts, ex-  
 pressing their own and others high esteem of his writings:  
 Insomuch, that those who have never seen him, gave  
 him this high elogy, ‘ That for explaining of Scripture-  
 ‘ difficulties, he was to be reckoned among the best in  
 ‘ the world.’ Which was agreeable to what the learned  
 Mr. Alsop spake of him in his funeral commemoration  
 before the university, ‘ That if he had been encouraged  
 ‘ to write upon the more difficult places of holy writ,  
 ‘ and that God, in mercy to the world, had been pleased  
 ‘ to lengthen out his days, assuredly he would have out-  
 ‘ gone any author then extant, and probably would have  
 ‘ given light to some hard places of Scripture, which now  
 ‘ remain in the dark, and unexplained till the last day of  
 ‘ judgment.’

As these various and useful accomplishments made his  
 company very desirable to scholars; so the goodness of  
 his disposition made him equally communicative, and  
 free to impart his knowledge to those who came to him,  
 either out of the same university, or from abroad. To  
 these he used to impart himself with that willingness,  
 that it seemed questionable, who had the greater de-  
 sire, they to hear, or he to communicate his studies to  
 them: Which made a familiar friend of his once merrily  
 say to one that, having been partaker of his discourse,  
 gave him thanks, ‘ That he might spare his thanks; for  
 ‘ that they were not so much beholden to him for deli-  
 ‘ vering himself to them, as he was to them for hearing  
 ‘ him.’ For this great advantage he made himself of the  
 civility which he shewed to others, that, by the commu-  
 nication,

nication of his notions to his friends, they became so fixed in his memory, that he was afterward able readily to deliver them in a well-formed discourse, and was wont, as often as he had occasion to express himself in public, (especially in those college-exercises which they call common-places) to make use of the forementioned discourses, which, with a little labour, he could put into an apt form. Some of which are those excellent *Diatribæ*, which, with the rest of his works, are published for the common benefit of the church; which, though but few in comparison of that great store wherewith so rich a magazine was furnished, yet even in those few, he hath discovered more rare pieces of recondite learning, than are to be found in some vast volumes of many much admired authors.

Concerning which *Diatribæ*, this is fit to be advertised, that though there are in some of them several things of a strain that transcends the capacities of common readers; yet it would be a great mistake, for that reason, to suspect this worthy person as guilty of ostentation or affectedness. For as they were academical exercises, and not fitted for a vulgar audience, so he himself was of all knowing men the greatest hater of that vanity. He always disapproved the unnecessary quotations of authors, and the use of foreign languages and terms of art, in popular sermons; and, in expressing his dislike of such practices, would sometimes say, "that they savoured of as much inconsiderateness, as if shoemakers should bring shoes to be drawn on with their lasts in them." Judging it a scarce pardonable folly for men, going about the instruction of the ignorant, to propound things in such terms as themselves understood not, till they had spent many years at the school or university; and which, how significant soever in themselves, and to the learned, yet were but as so many stumbling blocks to common auditors, or at best but as stiles, which though some might probably leap over, yet they interrupted the progress of their attention.

Nay, to give this excellent person his just right, he was so far from the vanity of ostentation, that it is hard to say, whether he was more eminent for his rare knowledge, or for his singular humility and modesty in valuing his own abilities; insomuch, as he could not, without trouble, hear of that great opinion and esteem which some (deservedly enough) had conceived of his great learning: He owning only some diligence, freedom from

prejudice and *studium partium*, as his best abilities; as himself hath excellently expressed in a letter of his to his friend Mr. Hartlib. To which may be added, that having received some notices of the great value which some learned men both at home, and in a foreign university, put upon his apocalyptic labours, he made only this modest return to a friend, who, perhaps, thought he might highly please him with that news, “that he  
 “saw no great cause, for all that, why he should think  
 “much better of himself; adding withal, that he had  
 “frequently observed it to be the hap of many a book,  
 “that had little or no worth in it, to find applause in the  
 “world, when, in the mean while, a well-deserving book  
 “is scarce taken notice of.” So far was this good man from all proud self-reflections, from glorying in his wisdom and strength of parts, or in any performance of his own.

To omit many other instances of his humility, (for his life was full of them) we shall add the little desire which he had to academical honours, or to great preferments and worldly advantages. For the former, this may not unfitly be here remembered, that he was studiously regardless of academical degrees, as being unwilling to make any great noise and report in the world: And, but that he was overpowered to do it by the then master of the college, he had never so far proceeded as to have been bachelor in divinity, which he became in the year 1618. A master of arts he was, and a great master too, before he was called; but more than so to be, he affected not. An argument, that that grace was eminent in him, wherein others most commonly are too short and defective. And for the latter, how far he was from any ambitious and eager pursuing the advantages and great things of this world, appeared by his refusing an offer made him by his uncle, and another by the then bishop of Ely (which we intimated before); so likewise by his modest denial of the provostship of Trinity college near Dublin in Ireland, to which he was elected upon the recommendation of another great prelate, Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh, and by his unwillingness the second time to accept of it, when he was in danger to be put into that preferment. The height of his ambition was, only to have had some small donative *sine cura* made additional to his fellowship, or to have been placed in some collegiate church or rural college: Some such place of quiet retirement from the noise and tumults of the world, with a competency  
 moderated

moderated by Agur's wish, (neither poverty nor riches) was the top and utmost of his desires. And yet, when he spake thus, he would add, "not that he should be restless, or discontented, till he could obtain some such thing; but to shew what kind of life he did affect, and in how low an orb of this world's preferences he would have been content to be placed." This sense of his mind is clearly expressed by himself in a letter of his to a worthy friend, (written upon occasion of certain ungrounded conjectures made by some, upon his being by the then Archbishop of Canterbury admitted into the number of his chaplains) in which he affirms, "That he lived, till the best of his time was spent, in tranquillity and retirement: And now, that there is but a little left, should I (saith he) be so unwise (suppose there were nothing less) as to enter now into a tumultuous life, where I should not have time to think my own thoughts, and must of necessity displease others or myself? Those who think so, know not my disposition in this kind to be as averse, as some perhaps would be ambitious."

This inward sense of his soul (which was his most deliberate choice) did not arise from any melancholy, or sour discontent upon some great disappointment, (for he, that had no great ambitions, could have no great disappointments) nor did it spring out of a fond and over-dear affection to privacy, or from an unfitness for business, and converse with the world (the property of some who are styled mere scholars): For his colleagues, and others, who had the happiness to be acquainted with him, knew him to be a person of singular prudence, and admirable abilities, both for giving pertinent directions and advice in any important case as a friend, and for managing of college affairs as a fellow, and for discharge of his particular trust as tutor. He was wont, indeed, to call his study his cell; but not as if he meant (according to the lazy and useless monastic way of life) to immaure and shut up himself there from converse with others. He was far from affecting such an unprofitable, inactive solitude: For none was more free and open for converse, especially with ingenuous and inquiring scholars. Let who would repair to him, provided they were not captious and impertinent, he would give them their fill of discourse, and enlarge to ample satisfaction; yea, he would farther take the pains, if so much were desired, to give his full  
mind

mind in writing; even himself would do it without the help of an *amanuensis*.

There is one thing more to this purpose, which here offers itself to be considered, that though our Author loved a retired studious life, yet his thoughts were not shut up within his cell; but his soul covered the whole earth; (to borrow that expression of Siracides concerning Solomon) his heart was as large and wide as the universe. He so lived, and was affected, as became a citizen of the world: More especially, as became a Christian and a member of the catholic church, his thoughts and cares were particularly concerned in the affairs of Christendom. And accordingly, for the gaining of foreign intelligence (besides his letters from some knowing friends, with whom he kept correspondence) he was not unwilling to expend yearly something out of his small incomes: And when he sent to such as were at charge to furnish him (weekly for the most part) with intelligence, he used in his letters to them to call it his tribute (that was his word, implying his ingenuity, and withal his respect; not wages, or any the like word of a mercenary or servile signification): And to one of them, he was pleased once pleasantly to say, "I am neither dean nor bishop; but thus much I am willing to set apart, to know how the world goes: Adding, that if it were with him, as it is with some, (whose incomes were greater, and who wanted neither riches nor honour, but a good heart, and the power to do good with them in the world) he should do a great deal more than he did;" as numbering the affairs of Christendom amongst his best concernments, and the gaining a more particular acquaintance therewith (by helping to maintain correspondencies among learned and wise men in distant countries) amongst the best uses he could make of that estate which God had given him.

But that which added no small lustre to our Author's character, was, his prudent moderation in the declaration or defence of his private opinions. He was never forward in any company to catch at hints of discourse, or to take any other occasion to reveal his particular judgment: So far was he from the temper of those men, who being puffed up (it may be) with a small knowledge, account it nothing to know, unless others know that they do; who must talk or burst, not so much for benefit to others, as to disperse and publish their own praise. He knew there was a time to speak, and a time to keep silence;

silence; and he knew how to do both. ‘There is that keepeth silence, (saith Siracides) knowing his time:’ So did he. It was a frequent proverbial saying of our Author’s, “he that cannot hold his tongue, can hold “nothing;” and he practised accordingly. Not that he was a niggard of his notions, or backward to impart to others, what himself knew (for he was most communicative, both of his notes and notions), but he prudently considered the character of the persons then in presence, and the temper of the times: Nor did he neglect to follow that other maxim of the son of Sirach, in a more improved sense, ‘Shew not forth wisdom out ‘of time.’ He was always more modest and sober than to prostitute his thoughts to unworthy persons; which were *to cast pearls before swine*: But if any were seriously desirous to be informed, and seemed out of no ill design to ask his opinion, to such he was not unwilling to communicate his inward sentiments privately. Otherwise, our Author was well content, and satisfied without even these private communications, not caring to impart any of his peculiar notions, but (as he would say) “where he found some appetite;” nor would he offer them, and try whether they had a stomach, but they themselves must discover it; much less would he go about (as he said) to cram them. So far was he from being obtrusive unto any, that even some of familiar acquaintance with him (he professed) knew as little of his notions, as any stranger whatsoever.

Nor did his modesty and good temper less appear in the defence of his private opinions: For he would not be offended with others who were not of his mind, nor eagerly contend with those who differed from him, having resolved never to abandon Love, in the prosecution of Truth. “I never found myself prone to “change my hearty affections to any one for mere “difference in opinion,” was a worthy return of his to one, who opposed him with more heat than needed. And therefore, only as occasion required, having fairly propounded his judgment, and the reasons of it, he ingenuously left every man to judge for himself, without expressing the least ambitious zeal to win others to his opinion. To this purpose, he expressed himself to a tenacious person he had once to deal with, one that would be always replying, having found out some shift or other that must go for an answer; “It is sufficient (said he) “for a man to propound his opinion with the strongest  
“evidence

“evidence and arguments that he can, and so leave it; “Truth will be justified of her children.” He observed also, that, in most points of controversy, men’s passions are vehemently engaged, and the disputants generally argue according to their interests: And, therefore, when he saw men impetuous in the assertion of their opinions, and peremptory in the rejection of other men’s judgments, he commonly answered such only with silence; not caring to entertain discourse with them, who, instead of a sober and modest inquiry into truth, were addicted to a disingenuous way of disputing; that was his term, which in his sense signified, to be always resolved for the last word; for after he discovered any to be such, he would give them full leave to have the last word, either in speaking or writing, because he would speak or write no more, whatever he thought.

But besides his prudent moderation, there was also to be observed in him that, which by the epigrammatist is made one main ingredient of an happy life, a prudent simplicity, a mixture of what our Saviour, Christ, commends as imitable in the wise serpent and in the harmless dove. He was not so imprudent, as always to utter his mind, or before any company to reveal what new notion or unvulgar truth he had discovered: But he was always so generously honest, so open and single-hearted, as not to speak wickedly for God, or talk deceitfully for him; nor would he apply himself to any unwarrantable policies for the promoting or commending of truth to others. Such little crafts, and undue practices, were below the nobleness and integrity of his spirit. To this purpose, we may fitly take occasion here to remember a serious and excellent passage of his: “I cannot believe that “truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth; but “I fear, that the maintenance thereof by fallacy or “falsehood may not end with a blessing.”

We might also briefly observe another instance of his prudence; and that was as to the choice of the fittest and most seasonable time for communicating truth to others. And indeed, this was a point of prudence, which he would advise should be most carefully considered, as being, in his esteem, half the work: Otherwise some useful notions might, because they were uncommon, be rashly condemned, before they were well considered and understood: And there are none more ready to condemn, than the half-learned and half-witted, (which are not the less numerous nor the less confident sort of men) who steer  
not

not (as he observed) by reason, but by another compass, viz. faction, or interest, or affection, &c.

And now having advanced thus far in the description of his attainments, we may not silently or slightly pass over his charity, a grace that was very eminent and conspicuous in him; and of this (not to insist upon the many particulars of it that might be given) we shall select only two general instances, wherein he expressed his charity towards men. And they were, 1. His careful concealing or lessening of others' failings and imperfections. 2. His relieving the necessitous.

He was so exact in the first instance, that he would speak evil of no man; much less would he watch for their halting, as one that rejoiced in iniquity. Nay, at such a distance was he from that evil, but epidemical, humour, that he chose rather to speak well of those, in whom he had only hope for a ground of commendation. Nor did he only conceal and cover the faults of others, even of his enemies; but he would also avoid the company of such as he had observed to please themselves, or thought to tickle ill-minded persons, in passing unworthy censures upon other men. And thus sometimes by silence, sometimes by rebuke, and (when it was convenient) by withdrawing from the place and company, he declared he would have no share in the sin of those who endeavoured to shew their uncharitable wit, in either disparaging the parts or vilifying the performances of others. As for himself, when his own name was concerned, he was signally patient; he knew how to bear personal disrespects with an untroubled spirit, nobly and meekly; and thus (according to that of Siracides) he glorified his soul in meekness.

As he was thus Christianly careful to conceal or lessen the failings and imperfections of others; so he was no less diligent to express his charity in relieving those wants which could not be concealed. For as to his temper, he was inwardly sympathizing and affected with the tenderest compassions towards others in their straits and difficulties, as feeling in himself their griefs, and resenting their calamities and hardships as his own. And agreeable to this temper was his practice: For, as became him that was so Christianly affected, he forgot not to do good, and to communicate upon all just occasions. And he was more exactly careful to observe all the due seasons and objects of beneficence, because he looked upon charity and alms-giving not as an arbitrary thing,

left

left to men's choice or discretion to be done or omitted, but as a necessary and indispensable duty.

Nor would he be discouraged and taken off from such acts of merciful beneficence by the unworthy returns he sometimes met with from some disobliging persons. Other charities seemed to him but low and easy and common, such as even publicans and sinners (those of the worst note in the world) do perform, who love those that love them, and do good to those who do good to them. But the charity which is extended to all, even to enemies, to those who are contrary to us either in judgment or affection, is the more noble, god-like, extraordinary: And such was our Author's; for were men of different persuasions from him, and at as great distance from one another as from Rome to Geneva or Amsterdam, &c. yet even all these might more or less upon occasion be influenced upon by his charity.

As his charity was thus largely extensive and universal, so it was likewise accompanied with the greatest cheerfulness. He so shewed mercy as one that indeed loved mercy, and by giving cheerfully, he made it appear, that he well remembered that of the apostle, *God loveth the cheerful giver*. He so gave, as one possessed with the grand importance of that noble maxim of our Saviour, *It is more blessed to give than to receive*. He gave with a cheerful heart, and with a cheerful eye, as if he sensibly and feelingly knew the deliciousness of that inward joy and satisfaction, which arise from the conscience of doing good, so as to rescue others by a seasonable charity from sorrow and misery.

And therefore our Author, leaving the men of the world, such as do only relish and mind earthly things, to their penurious scantlings, their low and weak degrees of charity, beyond which their niggardness will not suffer them to move; and leaving also the more common and ordinary measure and proportions of beneficence, wherein the better sort think to quit themselves like Christians, and come off fairly and creditably; he chose the more excellent way, and (to the glory of God and the honour of the Author's memory be it remembered) he devoted unto God, and set apart the tenth of his yearly incomes, for charitable and pious uses. To this his vowing unto God so large a free-will-offering, not any vain-glorious humour, but the love of Christ constrained him, and a deep sense of gratitude to almighty God for his many and undeserved favours. Nay, so far was he from that  
poor

poor design of gaining hereby a thin reward of airy applause from the world, that he studied as much to keep it secret, as the Pharisaic hypocrites contrived to do their alms with noise, and all the pomp and observation imaginable.

There were not a few that wondered at his diffusive charity, considering his incomes were not great: For he had nothing but what his place in the college afforded, no dignity or advantageous preferment abroad. But their wonder might have been lessened, had they either seriously considered the promises of plenty and outward blessings in this life made by God peculiarly to this grace of charity; or had they known how great a sum the prudent charitable man is able to lay up for the poor, by a frugal management of a little stock. But our Author knew it well by experience, which is the mother of wisdom; the surest way of knowing for ourselves, and convincing others. And

This his honest thrift and frugality were the more able to administer to his charity, because it was accompanied with a constant temperance. His feeding for the most part was rather to suffice nature, than to allow any pleasure to his appetite, which being usually good, sometimes (though very seldom) he would gratify with making a larger meal; but his ordinary was his college-commons, (to which no man was more constant) with the smaller sort of beer, (the wine which he drank at the communion, being usually more than he drank all the year besides) which made him merrily tell them, who observed the thriving of his body, (which in his latter years was very apparent) that they might see what college-commons could do. Another of his pleasant observations was upon those fellow-commoners, who came to the university only to see it, or to be seen in it: These he called "the university tulips," who made a gaudy shew, and soon disappeared.

And now having spoken of his charity, or love towards men, it aptly falls into this place, that we should observe something of his love towards God: Wherein yet we need not be so large as in the former instances; for what we have already observed of his character doth abundantly prove it. His meekness, patience, Christian prudence, and moderation, and those two bright graces of the greatest magnitude, his humility and charity, are pregnant evidences, and real demonstrations of the love of God dwelling in him. Where these fruits of the spirit  
grow

grow and flourish, it is a sure sign that such a Christian is rooted in love. To be meek and patient, humble and lowly in spirit, to have an heart full of charity, and melted into all compassionate endeavours for the good of others, even of enemies; these are higher and harder things, than to talk of religion, or to say, Lord, Lord; to shew much love with the mouth, or to abound with the external observances of religion; for so did the Pharisees, who therefore by their outward specious profession gained a great reputation of sanctity from the world; but yet of them our Saviour pronounceth freely and smartly, *I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you.* In brief, he testified his love to God in that which is the most eminent and genuine expression of it, *viz.* an entire, sincere, uniform, and constant obedience to his commandments; for, *this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments:* Or (according to those two main characteristics of the pure and undefiled religion) in unspottedness from the world, and charity to the poor and desolate.

As to his person, his body was of a comely proportion, rather of a tall than low stature. In his younger years (as he would say) he was but slender and spare of body; but afterwards, when he was full grown, he became more fat and portly, yet not to any such excess as diminished, but rather increased, the goodliness of his presence to a comely decorum. His eye was full, quick, and sparkling. His whole countenance was composed to a sedate seriousness and gravity: *Majestas et Amor* were well met here: an awful majesty, but, withal, an inviting sweetness. His behaviour was friendly and affable, intermixed with a becoming cheerfulness and inoffensive pleasantry. His complexion was a little swarthy, as if somewhat overtinctured with melancholy; which yet rather seemed to serve the design of his studious mind, than to clog it with those infirmities which commonly attend the predominancy of that humour. And as for the whole constitution and temperament of his body, it could not but be observed that his vitals were strong; and yet it was noted of him, that there was an a-symmetry and disproportion in the subservient faculties, as not all duly performing their particular offices in so exact time and measure as ordinary; and yet nature was so faithful in her compensations, that there was no such irregularities in her economy as made him fall short of that chief  
desire

desire of all wise men, the having *mentem sanam in corpore sano*, 'a sound mind in a sound body.'

He was patient of cold, and well able to go through a winter without much fire: So that his rule was, for several years together, to have no fire made in his chamber before All-Saints' Day; and then after that but some times, now and then, (and not constantly) as the weather did require. But that year in which he died he found an alteration, being somewhat chill and indisposed a month or two before; so that he was forced to alter his custom, and could not stay for a fire till November, because he found himself indisposed, and not perfectly well. His expectation was in the interim, that nature by some way or other would have relieved herself, which encouraged him to go on in his attending upon those offices which were performable in his place; and the rather, because his aguish disposition was not constant.

Upon the 29th of September 1638, the day of the weekly accounts, when the manciple after dinner was to give up the particulars of all the expences of the whole college that week to the master and fellows then present, (amongst whom Mr. Mede never failed to be one, unless detained by some extraordinary occasion) he appeared in the hall at dinner-time as usual. But before all was ended, he was forced to rise up and hasten to his chamber, being sick and ill at ease. Thither when he was come, and set down in his chair, he presently fainted away, and sunk down upon the hearth; and the posture that he was found lying in, was not without some danger to one of his legs from the fire.

A master of arts of that college, a friend to Mr. Mede, and who honoured him very much, came upon a particular occasion to his chamber, (so the good Providence of God did order it) who seeing him lie in that posture, at which he was surprized with no little astonishment, put to all his strength to recover him to his seat; and that he did indeed, but with very much ado. Being a little come to himself, he complained he was ill. And ill it proved to him, (or rather for the surviving) that it happened to be so at a time when the best noted physicians were from home; the university being then the more thin, by reason of the plague which had been in Cambridge that summer. An apothecary being sent for, he went to Dr. N. an ancient, learned, and judicious physician, but less fit for practice, being gouty and bed-ridden. He prescribed a clyster to be presently administered  
him.

him. But the apothecary, unacquainted with the state of his body, (not having that special regard to the tenderness of those parts, which, had he been acquainted with things before, he should reasonably have had) did so irritate the hæmorrhoid veins, that they swelled up immediately; and so angry they grew, that they shut up the passage. And now this good man began to be in extremity of pain; for the clyster working inwardly, (because no passage downward was to be found) tormented him exceedingly. But the next day, being Sunday, and the last of September, the adventurous apothecary (whether with the aforesaid doctor's advice or not, it could not be clearly resolved, adventured upon a farther experiment, and so) gave him a strong purge; imagining (it is likely) that this would force all downward. But, contrary to that fancy, it wrought still but within, and so procured more torment and sickness to the distressed patient. All that day he continued very ill and out of order, worse and worse still, as it was easy to observe. But by those that were eye-witnesses of his pain and great affliction, it was easy to observe his Christian patience at this time.

We may easily conceive the exquisiteness of the pain he endured, by reason of the physic tearing him within; but some then present have professed, that they could not but admire his incomparable patience under this sore trial; and that he lay under the extremity of his distemper with so much meekness and quiet submission to the hand of God, that they never knew the like.

Thus had Patience her perfect work in him; and as he possessed his vessel (his body) in sanctification and honour, having lived a life of chastity and purity; so he likewise possessed his soul in patience, while he possessed it in this earthen and brittle vessel of the body; and hereby gave an illustrious proof, that he had learned that great lesson of self-denial and resigning up himself to the will of his heavenly Father. It was, in the time of his health, his meat and drink to do his will, and now to be enabled meekly to submit to it was his cordial. Thus was he still and silent before God, committing himself to him as unto a faithful creator, and unto Jesus Christ, that *merciful and faithful high-priest, who ever liveth to make intercession for us*; the glory and prerogative of whose sole mediation at the right hand of God, he had always faithfully asserted in his discourses.

In the night following, his spirits began to fail; yet being in perfect memory, an hour or two before day-break, he desired to have Mr. John Alsop sent for, (a most worthy consocius of that learned society) who being come, Mr. Mede told him, he hoped he should do well, for that now he perceived his physick to work downward. But Mr. Alsop, by what he saw, was fearful of the worst, suspecting (as it proved true) that the purging downward proceeded not in that case from any activity or strength of nature, but rather from debility and weakness; thereupon like a wise and good man, he advised him, however it might please God to deal with him, to set his house in order, and to dispose of by will whatsoever God had given him. It was readily accorded to by Mr. Mede, and Mr. Alsop was by him constituted the executor of his will; whereby he gave to the poor of the town of Cambridge an hundred pounds, and to the college, whereof he was a member, all the remainder of his estate, (after some legacies to his kindred) amounting to three hundred pounds, (a large legacy out of a scholar's purse) for and towards the new building then intended, as also for the adorning of the chapel; nor was he unmindful of the library, for he knew well the excellent use of good books. This he did in way of grateful return for the mercies he had so long enjoyed in that college, the enlarging and increase of whose prosperity and good estates was his great desire and endeavour, and that he preferred above his chief joy.

And now having finished the care of his secular affairs, he composed his soul for its address into the divine presence with holy thoughts and humble prayers; desiring also to strengthen his faith and heighten his love, whilst, by the participation of the holy communion, he made a thankful commemoration of his Saviour's death, by which he hoped for an entrance into the happiness of an eternal life. But in this he was prevented (shall we say?) by the sudden approach of death; or not rather, more suddenly; and in a higher measure satisfied in his desire by the love of his Saviour, who, instead of giving him a taste of the bread of life here on earth by faith, received him into the present possession and more full participation of the ineffable joys in heaven?

Thus died this religious and learned person, on Monday morning, about break of day, the first of October 1638, having lived fifty-two years, and spent above two thirds of his time in that college, to which, whilst he lived,

lived, he was so great and illustrious an ornament, and which, now he is dead, is his monument.

The next day in the evening (being October 2d) he was decently carried to his grave by the fellows of the house, and there, in the inner chapel of the college, about the middle of the area, on the south side, close to the bachelors' or sophisters' seats, he lies interred.

The executor, some time after, preached his funeral sermon in a full congregation of regents and non-regents, at St. Mary's, before the whole university, with high approbation of all that heard it, upon that text in Gen. v. 24. *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.* But this sermon is not extant.

We will only observe one thing concerning the time of his death, that he was taken from the evils that were then ready to come upon this island: A favour which God vouchsafes to many of the righteous. So of good Josiah it is said, *He should be gathered to his grave in peace, and not see all the evil which God should bring upon Jerusalem.* So Posidonius, in the life of St. Austin, relates, 'that he was taken away by death, when the Goths and 'Vandals had begun to besiege Hippo;' so that he saw not the direful miseries that were coming upon that place. Thus that good God, who favoured our Author with a life of tranquillity and freedom from worldly encumbrances, made his death a preservative against those approaching evils, which then hovered over this kingdom, and closed his eyes, that he saw not those dreadful calamities, which were so grievous and afflictive unto all meek and humble Christians to behold.

We come now to give an account of his WORKS. In his life-time he published three Treatises only: The first, entitled *Clavis Apocalyptica ex innatis et insitis visionum characteribus eruta et demonstrata. Cantabrigiæ, 1627, 4to;* to which he added, in 1632, *In sancti Joannis apocalypsin commentarius, ad amussim clavis Apocalypticae.* This is the largest and the most elaborate of any of his writings. The other two were but short Tracts: Namely, about the name *Θυσιαστήριον*, anciently given to the holy table, and about churches in the apostles' times. The rest of his works were published after his decease; and in the best edition put out by Dr. John Worthington, in the year 1672, in folio, the whole are divided into five books, and disposed in the following order. The first book contains fifty-three Discourses on several Texts of Scripture: The second, such Tracts and Discourses as are  
of

of the like argument and design: The third, his Treatises upon the propheticall Scriptures, viz. the Apocalypse, St. Peter's prophecy concerning the day of Christ's second coming, St. Paul's prophecy touching the apostasy of the latter times, Tobie's prophecy *de duplici Judæorum captivitate et statu novissimo*, and three Treatises upon some obscure passages in Daniel: The fourth, his Letters to several learned men, with their letters also to him: The fifth, *Fragmenta sacra*, or such miscellanies of divinity, as could not well come under any of the forementioned heads.

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WILLIAM WHATELY, A. M.

WILLIAM WHATELY, a pious, laborious, and successful preacher of God's word, was born of religious parents in the year 1583, at Banbury in Oxfordshire; of which borough his father was frequently mayor, and in the commission for the peace. His mother carefully bred him up in the knowledge of the Scriptures from a child, till he was of a proper age, and then sent him to the best schools in those parts: And being of a quick apprehension, a clear judgment, and a most happy memory, he made so great a proficiency in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, that, at the age of fourteen, he was entered at Christ's college in Cambridge. Here he became a hard student, and soon was reckoned a good logician and philosopher, an able disputant, and an excellent orator: He also studied poetry and mathematics with good success. He was a constant hearer of Dr. Chadderton and Mr. Perkins; the two famous preachers at that time in Cambridge.

Mr. Henry Scudder, a contemporary of Mr. Whately, who was afterwards rector of Collingborne-dukes, in Wiltshire, says, 'It was our tutor's custom to have all his pupils to prayers in his chambers every evening, when he took an opportunity to inquire of the under graduates what they had heard and learned on the preceding Lord's day: And when any of us were at a stand or non-plus, he would say, Whately, what say you? Who seldom

‘ seldom failed to repeat as readily as if he had been the  
 ‘ preacher himself. By this he won our tutor’s love,  
 ‘ and caused us to wonder at him; and such was our  
 ‘ pride, that he gained also our envy.’ His father, not  
 being determined what to breed him to, took him from  
 the university, after he had taken his bachelor of arts  
 degree with credit: But so great was his thirst for  
 knowledge, that, at his father’s house, he made the most  
 diligent application to his studies. After a while he mar-  
 ried the daughter of the reverend Mr. George Hunt, who  
 was condemned to suffer martyrdom, but saved from exe-  
 cution by the death of Queen Mary. Mr. Hunt was im-  
 fortunate with him to enter into holy orders; and being  
 at length prevailed upon, he entered at St. Edmond-hall,  
 Oxford, where he took his master of arts degree.

He had not been long ordained before he was chosen  
 lecturer of Banbury, which he performed with so much  
 approbation and success, for four years, that he was then  
 called to be vicar of the same church; and discharged  
 that office, with the utmost fidelity, for near thirty years,  
 till he died.

His abilities for the work of the ministry were more  
 than ordinary. He was naturally eloquent, and had  
 words at will. He was of an able body, sound lungs,  
 and a strong good voice. He was a Boanerges, “ a son  
 of thunder,” and yet, upon occasion, a Barnabas, “ a  
 son of consolation:” But what crowned all was, that  
 God gave him a heart to seek him and his glory, and  
 to aim at the salvation of all those that heard him above  
 all other concerns. His speech and preaching was not *in*  
*the enticing words of man’s wisdom, but in the demonstration*  
*of the spirit and of power:* And, like Apollos, he was  
*eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures.* He preached twice  
 every Lord’s day, and in the evening catechized, examin-  
 ed, and instructed young people; and preached a lecture,  
 besides, once in the week. Mr. Scudder says, ‘ his  
 preaching was plain, but as much according to the Scrip-  
 tures, the rules of right, and of right reason, as any I  
 ever knew or have heard of. In conference he hath told  
 me what he aimed at, what use he made of the arts, and  
 what rules he observed in studying his sermons;’ which,  
 because they may be particularly acceptable to those that  
 have a design for the work of the ministry, we will insert  
 them in Mr. Scudder’s own words.

‘ That he might better understand his text, he made  
 ‘ use of his knowledge in the Hebrew and Greek; and of  
 ‘ rhetoric

' rhetoric to discover what forms of speech in the text  
 ' were to be taken in their primary and proper signifi-  
 ' cation, and what were elegantly wrapped up in tropes and  
 ' figures: Then, well weighing and considering the  
 ' context, he would, by the help of logic, find out the  
 ' scope of the Holy Ghost in that scripture. When he  
 ' preached through a whole chapter, he began by first  
 ' analyzing it; then, if a doctrinal text, to state the  
 ' doctrine and prosecute it: But if the text consisted of  
 ' illustrations or circumstances of some principal truth  
 ' there prosecuted, he would then form some leading  
 ' branch of the text, deduce a doctrine, which should  
 ' be easy and natural, that the truth observed in the  
 ' text might be the argument or middle term, and by  
 ' a simple syllogism he might conclude his doctrine.  
 ' Then he proved it by quotations from Scripture; and  
 ' lastly, confirmed it by arguments and reasons drawn  
 ' from the Scriptures, which he aimed to keep as middle  
 ' terms, that he might also syllogistically conclude the  
 ' same doctrine.

' Then, according to the nature of the doctrine, and  
 ' the need and aptness of his auditory, he made his  
 ' application, using the same helps of rhetoric and logic,  
 ' &c. but always in a concealed way. 1. In confirming  
 ' some profitable truth that some might be in doubt  
 ' about. 2. Convince men of some error, or reprove  
 ' some vice. 3. Exhort to some duty. 4. Resolve  
 ' some doubt or case of conscience. 5. Comfort those  
 ' that stood in need of consolation. 6. And sometimes  
 ' would point out remedies against certain vices, which  
 ' he had been reproofing; as may be seen in his printed  
 ' sermons.'

His sermons were well studied, and in general written  
 out at large; and if it so happened, that he had but just  
 time to read over what he had written, and to take two  
 or three short heads before he went to preach, he was  
 able to deliver his discourse in very near the same words.  
 And it pleased God to make his labours abundantly suc-  
 cessful; that, in the course of his ministry he was  
 the happy instrument of converting, confirming, and  
 building up some thousands. He was a diligent visitor  
 of the sick under his charge, without respect of persons;  
 and was a great peace-maker amongst any of his flock  
 that were at variance. He had very extraordinary gifts,  
 and great fervency of spirit in prayer: And his constant  
 practice was, to read the Scriptures and pray twice a-day

in his family, and sometimes to catechize; to pray with his wife, and alone morning and evening. He set apart private days of humiliation with his family on special occasions, and often for the examination of themselves previous to their going to the Lord's Table; at which times he would exceed himself in pouring out his soul to God with many tears. He was frequent in the exercise of private fasting and humbling himself alone before God; which, though it impaired his bodily health, was serviceable to the health of his soul. He was very able and always willing to confer with and to resolve the doubts of all that came to consult him. And such was his love to that numerous people over which God had placed him, that, though his income was small, and he had many offers of great preferment in the church, yet he never could be persuaded to leave them. He was daily inquisitive after the affairs of God's church, and very sincerely sympathized with all God's people, both in their prosperity and adversity.

He lamented very much to see what an unbecoming behaviour prevailed among Christians, merely from differences of opinion, while they were agreed in the fundamental truths of Christianity. He was judiciously charitable himself towards those that appeared to be blessed with the power of godliness, though they were not of his judgment in all things. He was glad when any of the righteous smote him, and would take it well, not from his superiors and equals only, but from his inferiors; giving testimonies of his love to such afterwards, that he did not before. He abounded in works of mercy; being truly a liberal man, he studied liberal things: Nor did he wait till objects of mercy and charity were presented to him, but he diligently sought them out. After our Author's decease, Messieurs Edward Leigh and Henry Scudder published, from his manuscripts, a small folio volume, entitled, "Prototypes; or the primary precedent Presidents out of the book of Genesis:" which Mr. Leigh dedicated to the people of Banbury; and wherein he gives him the following character.

' At Banbury, even amongst you, was your pastor  
' born and bred; and there he lived and died. Ministers  
' are called incumbents; so was he, being diligently resi-  
' dent in his place: They are styled lights; so was he;  
' like a candle or lamp, he spent himself to give light to  
' others. He spent his income (temporal and eccle-  
' siastical) and strength amongst you; and, as he said in  
' his

‘ His sickness, “ He sought not your’s, but you.” Of all  
 ‘ the ministers I ever knew so experimentally, he was the  
 ‘ most unblameable in his conversation. I had the hap-  
 ‘ piness to live almost a year with him in his house, near  
 ‘ four years under his ministry, and to be esteemed by  
 ‘ him one of his most faithful friends: I have cause to  
 ‘ bless God for him while I live, since it pleased him,  
 ‘ by his means, not only to reveal many saving truths  
 ‘ unto me, but also to set them with such power, as I  
 ‘ hope I shall never forget them. Oh, with what life and  
 ‘ zeal would he both preach and pray! and how strict  
 ‘ and watchful was he in his whole life! being (as every  
 ‘ good minister should be) blameless, sober, just, holy,  
 ‘ temperate, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt  
 ‘ to teach, a lover of good things and good men.

‘ He studied to approve himself unto God, a work-  
 ‘ man that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the  
 ‘ word of truth. He propounded to you the examples  
 ‘ of holy writ, and was himself, while he lived, an exam-  
 ‘ ple and pattern of all good works. In a word, he was  
 ‘ a most pious and accomplished divine.—He was exceed-  
 ‘ ingly well-skilled in both the original tongues: He  
 ‘ was a good logician, as his exact “ Analysis of the Ten  
 ‘ Commandments” shews; a good philosopher, as his  
 ‘ Sermons in manuscript on the 104th Psalm do witness;  
 ‘ a good rhetorician or orator, as his printed treatises  
 ‘ abundantly testify. He had words at will, and could  
 ‘ readily and aptly express himself in his sermons; and,  
 ‘ by long experience, he had obtained to a great profi-  
 ‘ ciency in the art of preaching; and has written a  
 ‘ “ Tract” upon that subject. He had an excellent gift at  
 ‘ characterizing or fitly describing a virtue or a vice, or  
 ‘ any other thing. I might also extol his other endow-  
 ‘ ments, his strong natural parts, solid judgment, and  
 ‘ tenacious memory; and commend some virtues in  
 ‘ which he excelled to your imitation, as his humility,  
 ‘ mercifulness, beneficence, laboriousness and diligence  
 ‘ in his calling\*; and then also shew how comfortably  
 ‘ he died, being full of heavenly speeches and godly ex-  
 ‘ hortations; but I shall only add, before I pass from  
 ‘ himself

\* In the course of his preaching he went through the book of Judges, the first and second books of Samuel, to the eleventh chapter of the first book of Kings; through the Psalms, as far as to the hundred and sixth, and the whole Gospel of St. John, besides all the principles of the Christian religion, systematically several times.

‘ himself to his “ posthumous work,” That Mr. Whately  
 ‘ was the most bountiful minister to the poor I think in  
 ‘ England of his means. Your consciences will witness  
 ‘ that he hath often pressed and urged this duty upon  
 ‘ you; and as he was earnest in persuading his hearers  
 ‘ to beneficence, so he practised the same himself; enter-  
 ‘ taining poor widows or necessitous persons weekly at  
 ‘ least at his own table, and gave the tenth of his whole  
 ‘ income in that way: And he has told me himself, that  
 ‘ God had exceedingly blessed him, and made prosperous  
 ‘ his temporal concerns, after he took to that course; and  
 ‘ in his sickness he was comforted with that promise,  
 ‘ Psalm xli. 1, 3. *Blessed is he that considereth the poor,*  
 ‘ *the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble. The Lord*  
 ‘ *will strengthen him upon the bed of languishing; thou*  
 ‘ *wilt make all his bed in his sickness.* O follow him there-  
 ‘ fore who by faith and patience inherits the promises;  
 ‘ let his good example and wholesome instructions pro-  
 ‘ voke you to all holiness, that you all so may partake  
 ‘ with him in that happiness of which he is now fully  
 ‘ possessed.’

‘ Notwithstanding all this good, (says Mr. Scudder)  
 ‘ which according to truth has been said of him, it must  
 ‘ be remembered that he was a man, and not without his  
 ‘ imperfections and frailties. For what man is he that  
 ‘ liveth and sinneth not? And as it is also said, *In many*  
 ‘ *things we sin all.*

‘ It is usual with God that men of the greatest parts  
 ‘ and gifts should be exercised with some or other inordi-  
 ‘ nate affection to be mortified, and some strong temp-  
 ‘ tations, to have some thorn in the flesh, or some other  
 ‘ messenger of Satan (as the Apostle had) to buffet them:  
 ‘ Else they would be exalted above measure to the slight-  
 ‘ ing, contemning, and condemning of their brethren;  
 ‘ and other men would have too high an opinion of them,  
 ‘ half deifying them, despising those who are no less  
 ‘ holy, but not so exceedingly gifted as they.

‘ There was nothing that more evidently discovered  
 ‘ the truth of God’s grace in this man, than that which  
 ‘ was occasioned by his slips and strong temptations; for  
 ‘ these made him more watchful over himself than  
 ‘ otherwise he would have been. It made him more  
 ‘ humble and more to loathe his original corruption and  
 ‘ sinful nature, and bewailing himself, to cry with the  
 ‘ Apostle, *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me*  
 ‘ *from the body of this death!* And as he was the most

‘ sensible

‘ sensible of the captivity and bondage, which sin would  
 ‘ strive to hold him under; since that *when he would do*  
 ‘ *good, evil was present with him*, and made him sometimes  
 ‘ to do some things which in the bent of his soul he  
 ‘ would not have done: So it served to make him more  
 ‘ humble in himself, more earnest in prayer to God,  
 ‘ and more compassionate towards others in whom sin  
 ‘ remaineth, even after their conversion; which (as the  
 ‘ Apostle saith) is a weight, and doth easily beset them to  
 ‘ hinder them in their Christian race. And this I am  
 ‘ assured of, that he would be the first to spy out his  
 ‘ own faults, even such as others could not discern,  
 ‘ having no peace in himself till he had with all speed  
 ‘ and earnestness sought and regained pardon and peace  
 ‘ with God. He may be a pattern to all in receiving  
 ‘ admonition from any, that should in love remind him  
 ‘ of his fault.’

His last days were his best days; being observed to  
 grow exceedingly in humility and heavenly-mindedness.  
 And for a considerable time before his latter end, God  
 gave him victory over his strongest corruptions, which  
 for a long time kept him in continual exercise. About  
 two months before his death, he was much troubled  
 with a cough and shortness of breath, which at length  
 so weakened him, that he was not able to preach any  
 more. In his sickness he gave heavenly and wholesome  
 counsel to his people, neighbours, and friends, that came to  
 visit him; and he exhorted them, to labour in redeeming  
 the time—to be much in reading, hearing, and meditating  
 on the word of God—in prayer, brotherly love, and  
 communion of the saints—that they would be careful  
 to hold that fast which he had taught them out of the  
 word of truth—and that while the means of salvation  
 were to be had, they would spare no pains nor cost to  
 enjoy them.

His pains towards the last were very great, all which  
 he bore with the greatest patience. He was much in  
 ejaculations and lifting up his heart to God in behalf of  
 the church and state, and for himself also, in which he  
 was most frequent and earnest a little before his death.  
 A friend and minister praying with him, said,—‘ If his  
 ‘ time be not expired, O Lord, be pleased to restore him,  
 ‘ for the good of thy church; but if otherwise, put an  
 ‘ end to his pains, if it be thy good pleasure.’ Upon  
 hearing of this, he lifted up his eyes stedfastly towards  
 heaven, and one of his hands, not being able to lift up  
 the

the other, and in the close of that prayer softly and sweetly gave up the ghost, shutting his eyes himself, as if fallen into a pleasant sleep. ‘ Thus he lived much desired, and died much lamented, on Friday the tenth of May, 1639, and near the end of the fifty-sixth year of his age.’ He also, like Mede, was taken away from the evil, which soon after was permitted to fall upon this country in general, and upon the town of Banbury in particular.

His WORKS. I. Exposition of the Ten Commandments. II. A Sear-cloth, or Treatise upon the Cumbers of Marriage. III. Prototypes, mentioned above. IV. Three Sermons, upon various occasions.

## WILLIAM BEDELL, D. D.

BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

THE best account we have of this excellent man, has been given us by the famous Bishop Burnet, who published his life and letters, from the communication of Mr. Clogy, Bishop Bedell’s son-in-law, in the beginning of the reign of King James II. It was one of the books, which was published by the protestant ministers of that time, in opposition to the alarming growth of popery under that deluded prince. We will present our readers with such parts of it, as may afford a full idea of this good man, referring them for a longer detail to the book itself, which, it is to be wished, was in every body’s hands.

William Bedell was born at Black-Notley in Essex, in the year 1570. He was the younger son of an ancient and good family, and of no inconsiderable estate. After he had passed through the common education at schools, he was sent to Emanuel college in Cambridge, and put under Dr. Chadderton’s care, the famous and long-lived head of that house; and here all those extraordinary things, that rendered him afterwards so conspicuous, began to shew themselves in such a manner, that he came to have a very eminent character both for learning and piety: So that appeals were often made to him, as  
differences

differences or controversies arose in the university. He was chosen fellow of the college in 1593, and took his degree of bachelor in divinity in the year 1599.

From the university he was removed to the town of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, where he served long in the gospel, and with great success, he and his colleague being of such different characters, that whereas it was said of him that he made the difficultest places of Scripture appear plain, it was said, that his colleague made the plainest places appear difficult; the opening of dark passages, and the comparing of many texts of Scripture, together with a serious and practical application of them, being the chief subject of his sermons: Which method several other great men at that time followed, such as Bishop Usher, Dr. Jackson, and Mr. Mede. He had an occasion given him, not long after his settlement in this charge, to shew his courage, and how little he either courted preferment, or was afraid of falling under the displeasure of great men: For when the Bishop of Norwich proposed some things to a meeting of his clergy, with which they were generally dissatisfied, though they had not resolution enough to oppose them; he took that hard province upon himself, and did it with so much strength of reason, as well as discretion, that many of those things were let fall: Upon which, when his brethren came and magnified him for it, he checked them and said, "he desired not the praises of men."

His reputation was so great and so well established both in the university and at Suffolk, that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton to be his ambassador at Venice, at the time of the interdict, he was recommended as the fittest man to go chaplain in so critical a conjuncture. This employment proved much happier and more honourable for him than that of his fellow student and chamber-fellow Mr. Wadsworth, who was at that time beneficed in the same diocese with him, and was about that time sent into Spain, and was afterwards appointed to teach the infanta the English tongue, when the match between the late king and her was believed concluded: For Wadsworth was prevailed on to change his religion and abandon his country, as if in these two those words of our Saviour had been to be verified, *there shall be two in one bed, the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left*. For as the one of these was wrought on to forsake his religion, the other was very near the being an instrument of a great and happy change in the republic of Venice. I need not say

say much of a thing so well known as were the quarrels of Pope Paul V. and that republic; especially since the history of them is written so particularly by him that knew the matter best, the celebrated Father PAUL.

Father Paul was then the divine of the state, a man equally eminent for vast learning and a most consummate prudence; and was at once one of the greatest divines, and of the wisest men of his age. But to commend the celebrated historian of the Council of Trent, is a thing so needless that I may well stop; yet it must needs raise the character of Bedell much, that an Italian, who, besides the caution that is natural to the country, and the prudence that obliged one in his circumstances to a more than ordinary distrust of all the world, was tied up by the strictness of that government to a very great reservedness with all people, yet took Bedell into his very soul; and, as Sir Henry Wotton assured King Charles I. he communicated to him the inwardest thoughts of his heart, and professed that he had learnt more from him in all the parts of divinity, whether speculative or practical, than from any he had ever conversed with in his whole life.

So great an intimacy with so extraordinary a person is enough to raise a character, were there no more to be added. Father Paul went further, for he assisted him in acquiring the Italian tongue, in which Bedell became such a master, that he spoke it as one born in Italy, and penned all the sermons he then preached, either in Italian or Latin; in this last it will appear by the productions of his pen yet remaining, that he had a true Roman style, inferior to none of the modern writers, if not equal to the ancients. In requital of the instruction he received from father Paul in the Italian tongue, he drew up a grammar of the English tongue for his use, and for others that desired to learn it, that so they might be able to understand our books of divinity; and he also translated the English Common-prayer book into Italian; and father Paul and the seven divines, that during the interdict were commanded by the senate both to preach and write against the pope's authority, liked it so well, that they resolved to have made it their pattern, in case the differences between the pope and them had produced the effect which they hoped and longed for.

During his stay at Venice, the famous Ant. de Dominis, Archbishop of Spoleto, came to Venice; and having received a just character of Mr. Bedell, he discovered his  
secret

secret to him, and shewing his ten books, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, which he afterwards printed at London. Bedell took the freedom which he allowed him, and corrected many ill applications of texts of Scripture, and quotations of fathers. For that prelate, being utterly ignorant of the Greek tongue, could not but be guilty of many mistakes both in the one and the other; and if there remain some places still that discover his ignorance of that language too plainly, yet there had been many more, if Bedell had not corrected them: But no wonder if in such a multitude some escaped his diligence. De Dominis took all this in good part from him, and entered into such familiarity with him, and found his assistance so useful, and indeed so necessary to himself, that he used to say he could do nothing without him.

When the difference with the pope was made up, and in all things greater regard was had to the dignity of their state, than to the interest of religion, father Paul was out of all hopes of bringing things ever back to so promising a conjuncture; and wished he could have left Venice, and come over to England with Mr. Bedell: But he was so much esteemed by the senate for his great wisdom, that he was consulted by them as an oracle, and trusted with their most important secrets: So that he saw it was impossible for him to obtain his *congè*; and therefore he made a shift to comply as far as he could with the established way of their worship; but he had in many things particular methods, by which he in a great measure rather quieted than satisfied his conscience. In saying of mass, he passed over many parts of the canon, and in particular those prayers, in which that sacrifice was offered up to the honour of saints: He never prayed to saints, nor joined in those parts of the offices that went against his conscience; and in private confessions and discourses, he took people off from those abuses, and gave them right notions of the purity of the Christian religion; so he hoped he was sowing seeds that might be fruitful in another age: And thus he believed he might live innocent in a church that he thought so defiled.

And when one pressed him hard in this matter, and objected that he still held communion with an idolatrous church, and gave it credit by adhering outwardly to it, by which means others that depended much on his example would be likewise encouraged to continue in it: All the answer he made to this was, that God had not given him the spirit of Luther.

He expressed great tenderness and concern for Bedell, when he parted with him; and said that both he and many others would have gone over with him, if it had been in their power: But that he might never be forgot by him, he gave him his picture, with an Hebrew Bible without points, and a little Hebrew psalter, in which he wrote some sentences, expressing his esteem and friendship for him; and with these he gave him the invaluable manuscript of the History of the Council of Trent, together with the History of the Interdict and of the Inquisition; the first of these will ever be reckoned the chief pattern after which all, that intend to succeed well in writing history, must copy. But among other papers that father Paul gave him, some that were of great importance are lost: For in a letter of Mr. Bedell's to Dr. Ward, he mentions a collection of letters that were sent him weekly from Rome during the contests between the jesuits and dominicans, concerning the efficacy of grace, of which father Paul gave him the originals; and in his letter to Dr. Ward, he mentions his having sent them to him. These, very probably, contained a more particular relation of that matter than the world has yet seen, since they were wrote to so curious and so inquisitive a man; but it seems he did not allow Bedell to print them, and so it is to be feared, they are now irrecoverably lost.

But now Mr. Bedell had finished one of the scenes of his life with great honour. The most considerable addition he made to his learning at Venice, was in the improvements in the Hebrew, in which he made a great progress by the assistance of R. Leo, that was the chief chacham of the Jewish synagogue there: From him he learned their way of pronounciation, and some other parts of rabbinical learning; but in exchange for it, he communicated to him, that which was much more valuable, the true understanding of many passages in the Old Testament, with which that rabbi expressed himself often to be highly satisfied: And once in a solemn dispute, he pressed his rabbi with so clear proofs of Jesus Christ being the true Messiah, that he, and several others of his brethren, had no other way to escape, but to say that their rabbins every where did expound those prophecies otherwise, according to the tradition of their fathers. By R. Leo's means, he purchased that fair manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emanuel college; and, as I am credibly informed, it cost him its weight in silver.

After

After eight years stay in Venice, he returned to England, and without pretending to preferment, or aspiring to it; he went immediately to his charge at St. Edmundsbury, and there went on in his ministerial labours; with which he mixed the translating father Paul's immortal writings into Latin. Sir Adam Newton translated the two first books of the History of the Council of Trent, but was not master enough of the two languages; so that the Archbishop of Spoleto said it was not the same work; but he highly approved of the two last, that were translated by Mr. Bedell, who likewise translated the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, and dedicated them to the King. But no notice was taken of him, and he lived still private and unknown in that obscure corner. He could not stoop to those servile compliances, that are often expected by those that have the distribution of preferments in their power. He thought that to be an abjectness of spirit that became not a Christian philosopher, much less a churchman, who ought to express a contempt of the world, a contentedness with a low condition, and a resignation of one's outward circumstances wholly to the conduct of divine providence; and not to give that advantage which atheists and libertines take from the covetousness and aspirings of some churchmen, to scoff at religion, and to call priesthood a trade.

He was content to deserve preferment, and did not envy others, who, upon less merit but more industry, arrived at it. But though he was forgot at court, yet an eminent gentleman in Suffolk, Sir Thomas Jermyn, who was a privy-counsellor, and vice-chamberlain to King Charles I. and a great patron of piety, took such a liking to him, that as he continued his whole life to pay him a very particular esteem, so a considerable living that was in his gift, falling void, he presented him to it in the year 1615. When he came to the Bishop of Norwich to take out his title to it, he demanded large fees for his institution and induction: But Bedell would give no more than what was sufficient gratification for the writing, the wax, and the parchment, and refused to pay the rest. He looked on it as simony in the bishop to demand more, and as contrary to the command of Christ, who said to his apostles, freely ye have received, and freely give. And he thought it was a branch of the sin of simony to sell spiritual things to spiritual persons; and since whatsoever was asked, that was more than a decent gratification to the servant for his pains, was asked by reason of the thing

thing that was granted, he thought this was unbecoming the gospel, and that it was a sin both in the giver and in the taker. He had observed that nothing was more expressly contrary to all primitive rules.

Upon these accounts, Mr. Bedell resolved rather to lose his presentation to the parsonage of Horeingsheath, than to purchase his title to it by doing that which he thought simony. And he left the bishop and went home: But some few days after, the bishop sent for him, and gave him his titles, without exacting fees of him; and so he removed to that place, where he stayed twelve years, during which time he was a great honour to the church, as well as a pattern to all churchmen.

His habit and way of living were very plain, and becoming the simplicity of his profession. He was very tender to those that were truly poor, but was so strict in examining all vagabonds, and so dexterous in discovering counterfeit passes, and took such care of punishing those that went about with them, that they came no more to him, nor to his town.

In all that time no notice was ever taken of him, though he gave a very singular evidence of his great capacity. For being provoked by his old acquaintance Wadsworth's letters, he wrote upon the points in controversy with the church of Rome, with so much learning and judgment, and in so mild a strain, that no wonder if his book had a good effect on him, for whom it was intended: It is true he never returned and changed his religion himself, but his son came from Spain into Ireland, when Bedell was promoted to the bishopric of Kilmore there, and told him, that his father commanded him to thank him for the pains he was at in writing it: He said, it was almost always lying open before him, and that he had heard him say, he was resolved to save one. And it seems he instructed his son in the true religion, for he declared himself a protestant on his coming over. This book was printed, and dedicated to the late king, while he was prince of Wales, in the year 1624.

The true reasons that obstructed Bedell's preferment seem to be these: he was a Calvinist in the matter of decrees and grace; and preferments went generally at that time to those that held the other opinions. He had also another principle, which was not very acceptable to some in power: He thought conformity was an exact adhering to the rubric; and that the adding any new rite or ceremony, was as much non-conformity, as the  
passing

passing over those that were prescribed: So that he would not use those bowings or gesticulations that grew so much in fashion, that men's affections were measured by them. He had too good an understanding not to conclude that these things were not unlawful in themselves; but he had observed, that when once the humour of adding new rites and ceremonies got into the church, it went on by a fatal increase, till it had grown up to that bulk, to which we find it swelled in the church of Rome. And this began so early, and grew so fast, that St. Austin complained of it in his time, saying, that the condition of Christians was then more uneasy by that yoke of observances, than that of the Jews had been. And therefore Bedell thought the adhering to established laws and rules was a certain and fixed thing, whereas superstition was infinite. So he was against all innovations, or arbitrary and assumed practices; and so much the more, when men are distinguished and marked out for preferment, by that which in strictness of law was a thing that deserved punishment.

But as he was well satisfied with that which the providence of God laid in his way, and went on in the duties of his pastoral care, and in his own private studies, and was as great a pattern in Suffolk of the pastoral care in the lower degree, as he proved afterwards in Ireland in the higher order. He laboured not as an hireling that only raised a revenue out of his parish, and abandoned his flock, trusting them to the cheapest mercenary that he could find; nor did he satisfy himself with a slight performance of his duty only for fashion's sake; but he watched over his flock like one that knew he was to answer to God for those souls committed to his charge: So he preached to the understandings and consciences of his parish, and catechized constantly. And, as the whole course of his own most exemplary behaviour was a continued sermon, so he was very exact in the more private parts of his function, visiting the sick, and dealing in secret with his people, to excite or preserve in them a deep sense of religion. This he made his work, and he followed it so close, and lived so much at home, that he was so little known, or so much forgot, that when Diodati came over to England many years after this, he could hear of him from no person that he met with, though he was acquainted with many of the clergy. He was much amazed at this, to find that so extraordinary a man, that was so much admired at  
Venice,

Venice, by so good judges, was not so much as known in his own country; and so he was out of all hope of finding him out, but by mere accident he met him in the streets of London, at which there was a great deal of joy on both sides. And upon that Diodati presented him to Morton, the learned and ancient bishop of Durham, and told how great a value father Paul set on him; upon which that bishop treated him in a very particular manner. It is true, Sir Henry Wotton was always his firm and faithful friend, but his credit at court had sunk: For he fell under necessities, having lived at Venice at an expence above his appointments. And as necessitous courtiers must grow to forget all concerns but their own, so their interest abates, and the favour they are in lessens, when they come to need it too much. Sir Thomas Jermyn was in more credit, though he was always suspected of being too favourable to the puritans; so that his inclinations being known, the character he could give of him did not serve to raise him in England.

While he was thus neglected at home, his fame was spread into Ireland; and though he was not personally known either to the famous Bishop Usher, or to any of the fellows of Trinity college in Dublin, yet he was chosen by their unanimous consent to be the head of their college, in the year 1627. And as that worthy primate of Ireland, together with the fellows of the college, wrote to him, inviting him to come and accept of that mastership, so an address was made to the king, praying that he would command him to go over. And that this might be the more successful, Sir Henry Wotton was moved to give his majesty a true account of him, which he did in very strong terms.

But when this matter was proposed to Mr. Bedell, he expressed so much both of true philosophy and real Christianity in the answer that he made to so honourable an offer, that I will not undertake to give it otherwise than in his own words, taken from a letter which he wrote to one that had been employed to deal with him in this matter. The original of this and most of the other letters that are set down, were found among Archbishop Usher's papers, and were communicated by his reverend and worthy friend, Dr. Parre.

“ SIR,

“ WITH my hearty commendations remembered: I  
 “ have this day received both your letters, dated the 2d  
 “ of

“ of this month; I thank you for your care and dili-  
 “ gence in this matter. For answer whereof, although  
 “ I could have desired so much respite, as to have con-  
 “ ferred with some of my friends, such as possibly do  
 “ know the condition of that place better than I do,  
 “ and my insufficiencies better than my Lord Primate;  
 “ yet since that I perceive by both of your letters, the  
 “ matter requires a speedy and present answer, thus I  
 “ stand: I am married, and have three children; there-  
 “ fore if the place requires a single man, the business is  
 “ at an end. I have no want, I thank my God, of any  
 “ thing necessary for this life; I have a competent liv-  
 “ ing of above a hundred pounds a-year, in a good air  
 “ and seat, with a very convenient house near to my  
 “ friends, a little parish, not exceeding the compass of  
 “ my weak voice. I have often heard it, that changing  
 “ seldom brings the better, especially to those that are  
 “ well. And I see well, that my wife (though resolv-  
 “ ing, as she ought, to be contented with whatsoever  
 “ God shall appoint,) had rather continue with her  
 “ friends in her native country, than put herself into  
 “ the hazard of the seas, and a foreign land, with many  
 “ casualties in travel, which she, perhaps out of fear,  
 “ apprehends more than there is cause.

“ All these reasons I have, if I consult with flesh and  
 “ blood, which move me rather to reject this offer;  
 “ (yet with all humble and dutiful thanks to my Lord  
 “ Primate for his mind and good opinion of me.) On  
 “ the other side, I consider the end wherefore I came  
 “ into the world, and the business of a subject to our  
 “ Lord Jesus Christ, of a minister of the Gospel, of a  
 “ good patriot, and of an honest man. If I may be of  
 “ any better use to my country, to God’s church, or  
 “ of any better service to our common Master, I must  
 “ close mine eyes against all private respects; and if  
 “ God call me, I must answer, Here I am. For my  
 “ part, therefore, I will not stir one foot, or lift up my  
 “ finger for or against this motion; but if it proceed  
 “ from the Lord, that is, if those whom it concerns  
 “ there, do procure those who may command me here,  
 “ to send me thither, I shall obey, if it were not only  
 “ to go into Ireland, but into Virginia, yea, though I  
 “ were not only to meet with troubles, dangers, and  
 “ difficulties, but death itself in the performance. Sir,  
 “ I have, as plainly as I can, shewed you my mind;  
 “ desiring you with my humble service to represent it  
 “ to

“ to my reverend good Lord, my Lord Primate. And  
 “ God Almighty direct this affair to the glory of his  
 “ holy name, and have you in his merciful protection;  
 “ so I rest

“ Your loving friend,

From Bury, }  
 6th March 1626. }

“ WILL. BEDELL.”

The conclusion of this matter was, that the king, being well informed concerning him, commanded him to undertake this charge, which he cheerfully obeyed; and set about the duties incumbent on him in such a manner, as shewed how well he had improved the long time of retirement that he had hitherto enjoyed, and how ripely he had digested all his thoughts and observations. He had hitherto lived as if he had been made for nothing but speculation and study; and now, when he entered upon a more public scene, it appeared that he understood the practical things of government and human life so well, that no man seemed to be more cut out for business than he was. In the government of the college, and at his first entry upon a new scene, he resolved to act nothing till he both knew the statutes of the house perfectly well, and understood well the tempers of the people; therefore when he went over first, he carried himself so abstractedly from all affairs, that he passed for a soft and weak man. The zeal that appeared afterwards in him, shewed, that this coldness was only the effect of his wisdom, and not of his temper: But when he found that some grew to think meanly of him, and that even Usher himself began to change his opinion of him: Upon that when he went over to England some months after, to bring his family over to Ireland, he was thinking to have resigned his new preferment, and to have returned to his benefice in Suffolk; but the primate wrote so kind a letter to him, that as it made him lay down those thoughts, so it drew from him the following words, in the answer that he wrote to him.

“ Touching my return, I do thankfully accept your  
 “ Grace’s exhortation, advising me to have faith in God,  
 “ and not to consult with flesh and blood, nor have  
 “ mind of this country. Now I would to God, that  
 “ your Grace could look into my heart, and see how lit-  
 “ tle I fear lack of provision, or pass upon any outward  
 “ thing

“ thing in this world: My chief fear in truth was, and  
 “ is, lest I should be unfit and unprofitable in the place;  
 “ in which case, if I might have a lawful and honest  
 “ retreat, I think no wise man could blame me to retain  
 “ it: Especially having understood that your Grace,  
 “ whose authority I chiefly followed at the first, did  
 “ from your own judgment, and that of other wise  
 “ men, so truly pronounce of me, that I was a weak  
 “ man. Now that I have received your letters so full  
 “ of life and encouragement, it puts some more life in  
 “ me. For sure it cannot agree with that goodness and  
 “ ingenuity of yours, praised among all God’s graces  
 “ in you, by those that know you, to write one thing  
 “ to me, and to speak another thing to others of me,  
 “ or to go about to beguile my simplicity with fair  
 “ words, laying in the mean while a net for my feet,  
 “ especially sith my weakness shall in truth redound to  
 “ the blaming of your own discretion in bringing me  
 “ thither.”

Thus was he prevailed on to resign his benefice, and carry his family to Ireland, and then he applied himself, with that vigour of mind that was peculiar to him, to the government of the college.

He corrected such abuses as he found among them; he set such rules to them, and saw these so well executed, that it quickly appeared how happy a choice they had made: And as he was a great promoter of learning among them, so he thought his particular province was to instruct the house aright in the principles of religion. In order to this he catechized the youth in the college once a week, and preached once on a Sunday, though he was not obliged to it: And that he might acquaint them with a plain and particular body of divinity, he divided the church catechism into two-and-fifty parts, one for every Sunday, and explained it in a way so mixed with speculative and practical matters, that his sermons were both learned lectures of divinity, and excellent exhortations to virtue and piety. Many took notes of them, and copies of them were much inquired after; for as they were fitted to the capacity of his hearers, so they contained much matter in them, for entertaining the most learned. He had not staid there above two years, when by his friend Sir Thomas Jermyn’s means, a patent was sent him to be Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, two contiguous sees in the province of Ulster.

And now in the fifty-ninth year of his age, he entered upon a different course of life and employment, when it might have been thought, that the vigour of his spirits was much broken and spent. But by his administration of his diocese, it appeared that there remained yet a vast heat and force of spirit to carry him through those difficult undertakings, to which he found himself obliged by this new character; which if it makes a man but a little lower than the angels, so that the term angel is applied to that office in Scripture, he thought it obliged him to an angelical course of life, and to divide his time, as much as could consist with the frailties and necessities of a body made of flesh and blood, as those glorious spirits do, between the beholding the face of their father which is in heaven, and the ministering to the heirs of salvation. He considered the bishop's office made him the shepherd of the inferior shepherds, if not of the whole diocese; and therefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing, by which he might advance the interest of religion among them: And he thought it a disingenuous thing to vouch antiquity for the authority and dignity of that function, and not at the same time to express those virtues and practices that made it so venerable among them. Since the forms of church government must appear amiable and valuable to the world, not so much for the reasonings and arguments that learned men use concerning them, as for the real advantages that mankind find from them.

In laying open his designs and performances in this last and greatest period of his life, there are fuller materials than in the former parts. For my author was particularly known to him during a large part of it, and spent several years in his family; so that his opportunities of knowing him were as great as could be desired, and the Bishop was of so gentle a temper, and of so communicative a nature, that he easily opened himself to one, that was taken into his alliance as well as into his heart, he being indeed a man of primitive simplicity. He found his diocese under so many disorders, that there was scarce a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by excessive dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale in so sordid a manner, that it was grown to a proverb. But I will not enlarge further on the ill things others had done, than as it is necessary to shew the good things that were done by him. One of his cathedrals, Ardagh, was fallen down to the ground, and there

there was scarce enough remaining of both those revenues to support a bishop that was resolved not to supply himself by indirect and base methods. He had a very small clergy, but seven or eight in each diocese of good sufficiency; but every one of these was multiplied into many parishes, they having many vicarages apiece; but being English, and his whole diocese consisting of Irish, they were barbarians to them; nor could they perform any part of divine offices among them. But the state of his clergy will appear best from a letter that he wrote to Archbishop Laud concerning it, which I shall here insert.

“ Right reverend Father, my honourable good Lord.

“ SINCE my coming to this place, which was a little  
 “ before Michaelmas, (till which time, the settling of the  
 “ state of the college; and my Lord Primate’s visitation,  
 “ deferred my consecration) I have not been unmindful  
 “ of your Lordship’s commands to advertise you, as my  
 “ experience should inform me, of the state of the  
 “ church, which I shall now the better do, because I  
 “ have been about my dioceses, and can set down, out  
 “ of my knowledge and view, what I shall relate: And  
 “ shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is  
 “ very miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh,  
 “ one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built  
 “ by St. Patrick, together with the bishop’s house there,  
 “ is down to the ground. The church here, built, but  
 “ without bell or steeple, font, or chalice. The parish  
 “ churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and  
 “ unrepaired. The people, saving a few British planters  
 “ here and there, (which are not a tenth part of the  
 “ remnant) obstinate recusants. A popish clergy more  
 “ numerous by far than we, and in full exercise of all  
 “ jurisdiction ecclesiastical, by their vicar-general and  
 “ officials; who are so confident, as they excommunicate  
 “ those that come to our courts, even in matrimonial  
 “ causes: Which affront hath been offered myself by  
 “ the popish primate’s vicar-general; for which I have  
 “ begun a process against him. The primate himself  
 “ lives in my parish, within two miles of my house;  
 “ the bishop in another part of my diocese further off.  
 “ Every parish hath its priest; and some two or three  
 “ apiece, and so their mass-houses also; in some places  
 “ mass is said in the churches.

“ Fryars

“ Fryars there are in diverse places, who go about,  
 “ though not in their habit, and by their importunate  
 “ begging impoverish the people; who indeed are gene-  
 “ rally very poor, as from that cause, so, from their  
 “ paying double tythes to their own clergy and ours,  
 “ from the dearth of corn, and the death of their cattle  
 “ these late years, with the contributions to their sol-  
 “ diers and their agents: And which they forget not to  
 “ reckon among other causes, the oppression of the  
 “ court ecclesiastical, which in very truth, my Lord, I  
 “ cannot excuse, and do seek to reform. For our own,  
 “ there are seven or eight ministers in each diocese of  
 “ good sufficiency; and (which is no small cause of the  
 “ continuance of the people in popery still) English,  
 “ which have not the tongue of the people, nor can  
 “ perform any divine offices, or converse with them;  
 “ and which hold many of them two or three, four, or  
 “ more vicarages apiece; even the clerkships themselves  
 “ are in like manner conferred upon the English; and  
 “ sometimes two or three, or more, upon one man, and  
 “ ordinarily bought and sold or let to farm. His Majesty  
 “ is now with the greatest part of the country, as to  
 “ their hearts and consciences, king, but at the pope’s  
 “ discretion.

Kilmore, }  
 April 1, 1630. }

“ WILL. KILMORE & ARDAGH.”

Here was a melancholy prospect to a man of so good a  
 mind, enough to have disheartened him quite, if he had  
 not had a proportioned degree of spirit and courage to  
 support him under so much weight. After he had reco-  
 vered somewhat of the spoils made by his predecessor, and  
 so put himself into a capacity to subsist, he went about  
 the reforming of abuses: And the first that he undertook  
 was pluralities, by which one man had a care of souls  
 in so many different places, that it was not possible to  
 discharge his duty to them, nor to perform those vows,  
 which he made at his ordination, of feeding and in-  
 structing the flock committed to his care. And though  
 most of the pluralists did mind all their parishes alike,  
 that is, they neglected all equally, yet he thought this  
 was an abuse contrary both to the nature of ecclesiastical  
 functions, to the obligations that the care of souls natu-  
 rally imported, and to those solemn vows that church-  
 men made at the altar when they were ordained: And he

knew

knew well that this corruption was no sooner observed to have crept into the Christian church, than it was condemned by the fourth General Council at Chalcedon.

He thought it a vain, and indeed an impudent thing, for a man to pretend that he answered the obligation of so sacred a trust, and so holy a vow, by hiring some mercenary curate to perform offices: Since the obligation was personal, and the ecclesiastical functions were not like the Levitical service in the temple, in which the observing their rites was all that was required. But the watching over souls had so many other things involved in it, besides officiating according to the rubric, that it drew this severe reflection from a witty man, in which though the wit of it may seem too pleasant for so serious a subject, yet it had too much sad truth under it; ‘That  
 ‘ when such betrayers and abandoners of that trust, which  
 ‘ Christ purchased with his own blood, found good and  
 ‘ faithful curates that performed worthily the obligations  
 ‘ of the pastoral care, the incumbent should be saved by  
 ‘ proxy, but be damned in person.’ Therefore the Bishop gathered a meeting of his clergy, and in a sermon with which he opened it, he laid before them, both out of Scripture and antiquity, the institution, the nature, and the duties of the ministerial employment; and after sermon he spoke to them largely on the same subject in Latin, styling them, as he always did, “his brethren and  
 “ fellow presbyters:” And exhorted them to reform that intolerable abuse, which as it brought a heavy scandal on the church, and gave their adversaries great advantages against them, so it must very much endanger both their own souls, and the souls of their flocks. And to let them see that he would not lay a heavy burden on them, in which he would not bear his own share, he resolved to part with one of his bishoprics. For though Ardagh was considered as a ruined see, and had long gone as an accessory to Kilmore, and continues to be so still; yet since they were really two different sees, he thought he could not decently oblige his clergy to renounce their pluralities, unless he set them an example, and renounced his own; even after he had been at a considerable charge in recovering the patrimony of Ardagh, and though he was sufficiently able to discharge the duty of both these sees, they being contiguous, and small; and though the revenue of both did not exceed a competency, yet he would not seem to be guilty of that which he so severely condemned in others: And therefore he resigned Ardagh

to Dr. Richardson; and so was now only Bishop of Kilmore. The authority of this example, and the efficacy of his discourse, made such an impression on his clergy, that they all relinquished their pluralities.

The condemning pluralities was but half of his project. The next part of it was to oblige his clergy to reside in their parishes: But in this he met with a great difficulty. King James, upon the last reduction of Ulster after Tyrone's rebellion, had ordered glebe-lands to be assigned to all the clergy: And they were obliged to build houses upon them, within a limited time, but in assigning those glebe-lands, the commissioners that were appointed to execute the king's orders, had taken no care of the conveniencies of the clergy: For in many places these lands were not within the parish, and often they lay not all together, but were divided in parcels. So he found his clergy were in a strait. For if they built houses upon these glebe-lands, they would be thereby forced to live out of their parishes and it was very inconvenient for them to have their houses remote from their lands. In order to remedy this, the bishop, who had lands in every parish assigned him, resolved to make an exchange with them, and to take their glebe-lands into his own hands for more convenient portions of equal value that he assigned them: And that the exchange might be made upon a just estimate, so that neither the bishop nor the inferior clergy might suffer by it, he procured a commission from the Lord Lieutenant for some to examine and settle that matter, which was at last brought to a conclusion with so universal a satisfaction to his whole diocese, that, since the thing could not be finally determined without a great seal from the king, confirming all that was done, there was one sent over in all their names to obtain it; but this was a work of time, and so could not be finished in several years: And the rebellion broke out before it was fully concluded.

By his cutting off pluralities there necessarily fell many vacancies in his diocese; his care to fill these comes to be considered in the next place. He was very strict in examinations before he gave orders to any. He went over the articles of the church of Ireland so particularly and exactly, that one who was present at the ordination of him that was afterwards his archdeacon, Mr. Thomas Price, reported, that though he was one of the senior fellows of the college of Dublin, when the bishop was provost, yet his examination held two full hours: And  
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when he had ended any examination, which was always done in the presence of his clergy, he desired every clergyman that was present to examine the person further, if they thought that any material thing was omitted by him; by which a fuller discovery of his temper and sufficiency might be made. When all was ended, he made all his clergy give their approbation before he would proceed to ordination: For he would never assume that singly to himself, nor take the load of it wholly on his own soul. He took also great care to be well informed of the moral and religious qualities of those he ordained, as well as satisfied himself by his examination of their capacity and knowledge.

He had always a considerable number of his clergy assisting him at his ordinations, and he always preached and administered the sacrament on those occasions himself: And he never ordained one a presbyter, till he had been at least a year a deacon, that so he might have a good account of his behaviour in that lower degree, before he raised him higher. He looked upon that power of ordination as the most sacred part of a bishop's trust, and that in which the laws of the land had laid no sort of imposition on them, so that this was entirely in their hands, and therefore he thought they had so much the more to answer for to God on that account; and he weighed carefully in his thoughts the importance of those words, *Lay hands suddenly on no man, and be not a partaker of other men's sins.* Therefore he used all the precaution that was possible for him in so important an affair. He was never prevailed on by any recommendations nor importunities to ordain any; as if orders had been a sort of freedom in a company, by which a man was to be enabled to hold as great a portion of the ecclesiastical revenue as he could compass, when he was thus qualified: Nor would he ever ordain any without a title to a particular flock. He remembered well the grounds he went on, when he refused to pay fees for the title to his benefice in Suffolk, and therefore took care that those who were ordained by him, or had titles to benefices from him, might be put to no charge: For he wrote all the instruments himself, and delivered them to the persons to whom they belonged, out of his own hands, and adjured them in a very solemn manner to give nothing to any of his servants. And, that he might hinder it all that was possible, he waited on them always on those occasions to the gate of his house, that so he might be sure that they should not give

give any gratification to his servants. He thought it lay on him to pay them such convenient wages as became them, and not to let his clergy be burdened with his servants. And indeed the abuses in that were grown to such a pitch, that it was necessary to correct them in so exemplary a manner.

His next care was to observe the behaviour of his clergy; he knew the lives of churchmen had generally much more efficacy than their sermons, or other labours could have; and so he set himself much to watch over the manners of his clergy; and was very sensibly touched, when an Irishman said once to him in open court, 'that the king's priests were as bad as the pope's priests.' These were so grossly ignorant, and so openly scandalous, both for drunkenness and all sorts of lewdness, that this was indeed a very heavy reproach: Yet he was no rude nor morose reformer, but considered what the times could bear. He had great tenderness for the weakness of his clergy, when he saw reason to think otherwise well of them: And he helped them out of their troubles, with the care and compassion of a father. One of his clergy had two livings; but had been cozened by a gentleman of quality to farm them to him for less than either of them was worth, and he acquainted the Bishop with this: Who upon that wrote very civilly, and yet as became a bishop, to the gentleman, persuading him to give up the bargain: But having received a sullen and haughty answer from him, he made the minister resign up both to him; for they belonged to his gift, and he provided him with another benefice, and put two other worthy men in these two churches; and so he put an end both to the gentleman's fraudulent bargain, and to the churchman's plurality.

When he made his visitations, he always preached himself, and administered the sacrament; and the business of his visitations was, what it ought truly to be, to observe the state of his diocese, and to give good instructions both to clergy and laity. Some slight inquiries were used to be made, and those chiefly for form's sake; and indeed nothing was so much minded, as that which was the reproach of them, the fees, that were exacted to such an intolerable degree, that they were a heavy grievance to the clergy. But our Bishop reformed all these excesses, and took nothing but what was by law and custom established, and that was employed in entertaining the clergy: And when there was any overplus, he sent it always to  
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the prisons, for the relief of the poor. At his visitation he made his clergy sit all with him, and be covered, whenever he himself was covered. For he did not approve of the state in which others of his order made their visitations, nor the distance to which they obliged their clergy. And he had that canon often in his mouth, 'that a presbyter ought not to be let stand after the bishop was set.'

Our worthy Bishop, in his endeavours to reform the church of abuses, met with immense opposition from the chancellors of dioceses and other ecclesiastical officers, who profited by those abuses. He was borne down by the torrent of influence, but was never overcome in his purposes, which he maintained with the firmness of a Christian, who knew himself engaged in the cause of God and truth, and was not to follow the will of man, but of him who sent him to preach the Gospel. It must be acknowledged, to their reproach, that the other bishops did not stand by our Bishop in this matter, but were contented to let him fall under censure, without interposing in it as in a cause of common concern: Even the excellent primate, Usher, told him, the tide went so high that he could assist him no more; for he stood by him longer than any other of the order had done. But the Bishop was not disheartened by this. And as he thanked him for assisting him so long, so he said he was resolved, by the help of God, to try if he could stand by himself. But he went home, and resolved to go on in his courts as he had begun, notwithstanding this censure. For he thought he was doing that which was incumbent on him, and he had a spirit so made, that he resolved to suffer martyrdom, rather than fail in any thing that lay on his conscience. But his chancellor was either advised by those that governed the state, to give him no disturbance in that matter, or was overcome by the authority he saw in him, that inspired all people with reverence for him: For as he never called for the one hundred pound costs, so he never disturbed him any more, but named a surrogate, to whom he gave order to be in all things observant of the Bishop, and obedient to him: So it seems, that though it was thought fit to keep up the authority of the lay chancellors over Ireland, and not to suffer this Bishop's practice to pass into a precedent, yet order was given under hand to let him go on as he had begun; and his chancellor had so great a value for him, that, many years after this, he told my Author, that he  
thought

thought there was not such a man on the face of the earth as Bishop Bedell was; that he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland, and that if he had not been borne down by mere force, he had overthrown the consistorial courts, and had recovered the episcopal jurisdiction out of the chancellor's hands. But now that he went on undisturbed in his episcopal court, he made use of it as became him, and not as an engine to raise his power and dominion; but considering that all church power was for edification, and not for destruction, he both dispensed that justice that belonged to his courts equally and speedily, and cut off many fees and much expence, which made them be formerly so odious; and also when scandalous persons were brought before him to be censured, he considered that church-censures ought not to be like the acts of tyrants, that punish out of revenge, but like the discipline of parents, that correct in order to the amendment of their children: So he studied chiefly to beget in all offenders a true sense of their sins. Many of the Irish priests were brought often into his courts for their lewdness; and upon that he took occasion, with great mildness, and without scoffing or insultings, to make them sensible of that tyrannical imposition in their church, in denying their priests leave to marry, which occasioned so much impurity among them; and this had a good effect on some.

This leads me to another part of his character, that must represent the care he took of the natives; he observed, with much regret, that the English had all along neglected the Irish, as a nation not only conquered but undisciplinable: And that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them, but the making them pay their tythes. And indeed their priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them: And they taught the people nothing but the saying their *paters* and *aves* in Latin. So that the state both of the clergy and laity was such, that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of souls: Therefore he resolved to set about that apostolical work of converting the natives, with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way; for by their  
means

means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed religion among the natives, or rather of the Christian religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions, as they call sins, to them; and were to pay them tythes.

The Bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them to ecclesiastical benefices, which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the English nation. For it was believed that all those Irish converts were still papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous, than otherwise, by that disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand considered chiefly the duty of a Christian bishop: He also thought the true interest of England was to gain the Irish to the knowledge of religion, and to bring them by the means of that, which only turns the heart, to love the English nation: And so he judged the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it; since such as changed their religion would become thereby so odious to their own clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them: And he took great care to work in those, whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the converts that he had raised to benefices, there was but one only that fell back when the rebellion broke out: And he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the English, among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a convent of friars very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short catechism, to be printed in one sheet, being English on the one page, and Irish on the other; which contained the elements, and most necessary things of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture: This he sent about all over his diocese; and it was received with great joy, by many of the Irish, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after

after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours.

The Bishop also set himself to learn the Irish tongue; and though it was too late for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree, as to compose a complete grammar of it, (which was the first that ever was made, as it is said) and to be a critic in it: He also had common-prayer read in Irish every Sunday in his cathedral, for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself; and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes: For there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the book of Common Prayer were already put in the Irish tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the Old Testament as well as the New, put also into the hands of the Irish; and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work: And by the advice of the primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched on one King, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the Irish tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy, but notwithstanding his age and the disadvantages of his education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for an higher character; therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and set him to work, in order to the translating the Bible: Which he was to do from the English translation; since there were none of the nation to be found that knew any thing of the originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter; and as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the seventy interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian translation, which he valued highly; and he corrected the Irish, where he found the English translators had failed.

He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only way to let the knowledge of religion in among the Irish, as it had first let the reformation into the other parts of Europe: And he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard Fulgentio preach at Venice, with which he was much pleased:

pleased: It was on these words of Christ, *Have ye not read?* And so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, *Have ye not read?* all the answer they could make to it was, No: for they were not suffered to do it. Upon which he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures, by the see of Rome. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon preaching upon Pilate's question, *What is truth?* He told them, at last after many searches he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said, there it was in his hand, but then he put it in his pocket, and said coldly, 'but the book is prohibited;' which was so suited to the Italian genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed that, in the primitive times, as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues: And that all people were exhorted to study them. But he had great opposition in this business, where he had reason to expect most assistance: And the great rebellion breaking out in Ireland soon afterwards, frustrated our good Bishop's design. Yet notwithstanding this rebellion, the manuscript of the translation of the Bible escaped the storm, and falling into good hands, was printed at the charge of that Christian philosopher, Mr. Boyle, who, as he reprinted upon his own charge the New Testament, so he very cheerfully went into a proposition for reprinting the Old.

But to go on with the concerns of our Bishop, as he had great zeal for the purity of the Christian religion, in opposition to the corruptions of the church of Rome; so he was very moderate in all other matters, that were not of such importance. He was a great supporter of Mr. Dury's design of reconciling the Lutherans and the Calvinists; and as he directed him by many learned and prudent letters, that he wrote to him on that subject, so he allowed him twenty pounds a-year, in order to the discharging the expence of that negotiation, which he paid punctually to his correspondent at London. And it appeared by his managing of a business that fell out in Ireland, that if all that were concerned in that matter had been blest with such an understanding, and such a temper as he had, there had been no reason to have despaired of it.

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There came a company of Lutherans to Dublin, who were afraid of joining in communion with the church of Ireland, and when they were cited to answer for it to the archbishop's consistory, they desired some time might be granted them for consulting their divines in Germany: And at last letters were brought from thence concerning their exceptions to communion with that church, because the presence of Christ in the sacrament was not explained in such a manner as agreed with their doctrine. The Archbishop of Dublin sent these to our Bishop, that he might answer them; and upon that he wrote so learned and so full an answer to all their objections, and explained the matter so clearly, that when this was seen by the German divines, it gave them such entire satisfaction, that upon it they advised their countrymen to join in communion with the church.

Bishop Bedell was exactly conformable to the forms and rules of the church; he went constantly to common-prayer in his cathedral, and often read it himself, and assisted in it always, with great reverence and affection. He preached constantly twice a-Sunday in his cathedral on the epistles and gospels for the day, and catechized always in the afternoon before sermon; and he preached always twice a-year before the judges, when they made the circuit. His voice was low and mournful, but as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks and behaviour that struck his auditors. When he came into church, it appeared in the composed manner of his behaviour, that he observed the rule given by the preacher, of keeping his feet when he went into the house of God; but he was not to be wrought on by the greatness of any man, or by the authority of any person's example to go out of his own way; though he could not but know that such things were then much observed, and measures were taken of men by these little distinctions, in which it was thought that the zeal of conformity discovered itself.

He preached very often in his episcopal habit, but not always, and used it seldom in the afternoon; nor did he love the pomp of a choir, nor instrumental music, which he thought filled the ear with too much pleasure, and carried away the mind from the serious attention to the matter which is indeed the singing with grace in the heart, and the inward melody with which God is chiefly pleased. And when another bishop justified these things, because they served much to raise the affections, he answered,

swered, "That in order to the raising the affections, those " things that tended to edification ought only to be " used:" And thought it would be difficult otherwise to make stops; for upon the same pretence an infinity of rites might be brought in. And the sense he had of the excesses of superstition, from what he had observed during his long stay in Italy, made him judge it necessary to watch carefully against the beginnings of that disease, which is like a green sickness in religion.

He never used the common-prayer in his family; for he thought it was intended to be the solemn worship of Christians in their public assemblies, and that it was not so proper for private families.

So far I have prosecuted the relation of his most exemplary discharge of his episcopal function, reserving what is more personal and particular to the end, where I shall give his character. I now come to the conclusion of his life, which was indeed suitable to all that had gone before. But here I must open one of the bloodiest scenes that the sun ever shone upon, and represent a nation all covered with blood, that was in full peace, under no fears nor apprehensions, enjoying great plenty, and under an easy yoke; under no oppression in civil matters, nor persecution upon the account of religion: For the bishops and priests of the Roman communion enjoyed not only an impunity, but were almost as public in the use of their religion, as others were in that which was established by law; so that they wanted nothing but empire, and a power to destroy all that differed from them. And yet on a sudden this happy land was turned to be a field of blood. Their bishops resolved in one particular to fulfil the obligation of the oath they took at their consecration, of persecuting all heretics to the utmost of their power; and their priests, that had their breeding in Spain, had brought over from thence the true spirit of their religion, which is ever breathing cruelty, together with a tincture of the Spanish temper, that had appeared in the conquest of the West Indies, and so they thought a massacre was the surest way to work, and intended that the natives of Ireland should vie with the Spaniards for what they had done in America.

The conjuncture seemed favourable; for the whole isle of Britain was so embroiled, that they reckoned they should be able to master Ireland, before any forces could be sent over to check the progress of their butchery. The Earl of Strafford had left Ireland some considerable

considerable time before this. The parliament of England was rising very high against the king; and though the king was then gone to Scotland, it was rather for a present quieting of things that he gave up all to them, than that he gained them to his service. So they laid hold of this conjuncture, to infuse it into the people, that this was the proper time for them to recover their ancient liberty, and shake off the English yoke, and to possess themselves of those estates that had belonged to their ancestors: And to such as had some rests of duty to the king it was given out, that what they were about was warranted by his authority, and for his service. A seal was cut from another charter, and put to a forged commission, giving warrant to what they were going about. And because the king was then in Scotland, they made use of a Scotch seal. They also pretended that the parliaments of both kingdoms being either in rebellion against the king, or very near it, that the English of Ireland would be generally in the interest of the English parliament; so that it was said, that they could not serve the king better than by making themselves masters in Ireland, and then declaring for the king against his other rebellious subjects.

These things took universally with the whole nation; and the conspiracy was cemented by many oaths and sacraments, and in conclusion all things were found to be so ripe, that the day was set in which they should every where break out; and the castle of Dublin being then as well stored with a great magazine, which the Earl of Strafford had laid up for the army that he intended to have carried into Scotland, had not the pacification prevented it, as it was weakly kept by a few careless warders, who might have been easily surprized: It was resolved that they should seize on it, which would have furnished them with arms and ammunition, and have put the metropolis, and very probably the whole island into their hands. But though this was so well laid, that the execution could not have missed, in all human appearance; and though it was kept so secret, that there was not the least suspicion of any design on foot, till the night before, and then one that was among the chief of the managers of it, out of kindness to an Irishman that was become a protestant, communicated the project to him: The other went and discovered it to the Lords Justices; and by this means not only the castle of Dublin was preserved, but in effect Ireland was saved. For in  
Dublin

Dublin there was both a shelter for such as were stripped and turned out of all they had, to fly to, and a place of rendezvous, where they that escaped before the storm had reached to them, met to consult about their preservation.

But though Dublin was thus secured, the rest of the English and Scotch in Ireland, particularly in Ulster, fell into the hands of those merciless men, who reckoned it no small piece of mercy when they stripped people naked, and let them go with their lives. But the vast numbers that were butchered by them, which one of their own writers, in a discourse that he printed some years after, in order to the animating them to go on, boasts to have exceeded two hundred thousand, and the barbarous cruelties they used in murdering them, are things of so dreadful a nature, that I cannot easily go on with so dismal a narrative, but must leave it to the historians.

I shall say no more of it than what concerns our Bishop. It may be easily imagined how much he was struck with that fearful storm, that was breaking on every hand of him, though it did not yet break in upon himself. There seemed to be a secret guard about his house: For though there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him, yet the Irish were so restrained, as by some hidden power, that they did him no harm for many weeks: His house was in no condition to make any resistance, so that it was not any apprehension of the opposition that might be made them, that bound them up. Great numbers of his neighbours had also fled to him for shelter: He received all that came, and shared every thing he had so with them, that all things were common among them; and now that they had nothing to expect from men, he invited them all to turn with him to God, and to prepare for that death which they had reason to look for every day; so that they spent their time in prayers and fasting, which last was now like to be imposed on them by necessity. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to that over-ruling power, that stills the raging of the seas, and the tumult of the people: They seemed to be overcome with his exemplary conversation among them, and with the tenderness and charity that he had upon all occasions expressed for them; and they often said, he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland.

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He was the only Englishman in the whole county of Cavan that was suffered to live in his own house without disturbance; not only his house, and all the out-buildings, but the church and church-yard were full of people; and many, that a few days before had lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to lay upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature, and were every day expecting when those swords that had, according to the prophetic phrase, drank up so much blood, should likewise be satiated with theirs. They did now eat the bread of sorrow, and mingled their cups with their tears. The Bishop continued to encourage them to trust in God, and in order to that, he preached to them the first Lord's Day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was penned by David when there was a general insurrection of the people against him under his unnatural son, Absalom; and he applied it all to their condition. He had a doleful assembly before him, an auditory all melting in tears: It requires a soul of an equal elevation to his, to imagine how he raised up their spirits, when he spake to them these words, *But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me, round about.* And to the conclusion of the Psalm, *Salvation belongeth to the Lord: Thy blessing is upon thy people.* The next Lord's Day, hearing of the scoffings, as well as the cruelty of the Irish, he preached on these words in Micah, *Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy: When I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God?* By these means, and through the blessings of God upon them, they encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for the worst that their enemies could do to them.

While these things were in agitation, the titular bishop of Kilmore came to Cavan; his name was Swiney, he was like his name, for he often wallowed in his own vomit. He had a brother, whom the Bishop had converted, and had entertained him in his house, till he found out a way  
of

of subsistence for him. He pretended that he came only to protect the Bishop, so he desired to be admitted to lodge in his house, and assured him that he would preserve him. But the Bishop hearing of this, wrote a letter in Latin to him; and is indeed a style fit for one of the most eloquent of the Roman authors.\*

This letter commends itself so much, that I need say nothing but wish my reader to see where he can find such another, wrote on such an occasion, with so much spirit, as well as piety and discretion: It was the last he ever wrote, and was indeed a conclusion well becoming such a pen. It had at that time some effect, for the Romish bishop

\* The following is a translation of it:

“ REVEREND BROTHER,

“ I AM sensible of your civility in offering to protect me by your presence in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you: But there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and there is a great number of miserable people of all ranks, ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary; besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest, is the difference of our way of worship: I do not say of our religion, for I have ever thought, and have published it in my writings, that we have one common Christian religion. Under our present miseries, we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of Psalms: and since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not yourself; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour those murderers would break in upon us, who, after they have robbed us of all that belongs to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God good service by our slaughter. For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the Divine protection. To a Christian, and a bishop, that is now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter: On the contrary, nothing is more desirable. And though I ask nothing for myself alone, yet if you will require the people under an *anathema*, not to do any other acts of violence to those whom they have so often beaten, spoiled, and stripped, it will be both acceptable to God, honourable to yourself, and happy to the people, if they obey you: But if not, consider that God will remember all that is now done: To whom, reverend brother, I do heartily commend you.

“ Your’s in Christ,

“ 2d November 1641.

“ WILL. KILMORE.”

Endorsed thus

“ To my Reverend and Loving Brother,  
“ D. Swiney.”

bishop gave him no farther disturbance till about five weeks after this, so that from the twenty-third of October, which was the dismal day in which the rebellion broke out, till the eighteenth of December following, he, together with all that were within his walls, enjoyed such quiet, that if it was not in all points a miracle, it was not far from one; and it seemed to be an accomplishment of those words, *A thousand shall fall on thy side, and ten thousand at thy right-hand; but it shall not come nigh thee: There shall no evil befall thee, for he shall give his angels charge over thee.*

While this good man was now every day waiting for his crown, the rebels sent to him, desiring him to dismiss the company that was about him; but he refused to obey their cruel order, and he resolved to live and die with them, and would much more willingly have offered himself to have died for them, than have accepted of any favour for himself, from which they should be shut out. And when they sent him word, that though they loved and honoured him beyond all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many, yet they had received orders from the council of state at Kilkenny, that had assumed the government of the rebels, that if he would not put away the people that had gathered about him, they should take him from them; he said no more, but in the words of David and St. Paul, *Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seems good to him; the will of the Lord be done:* So on the eighteenth of December they came and seized on him, and on all that belonged to him, and carried him and his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, prisoners to the castle of Lochwater, the only place of strength in the whole county. It was a little tower in the midst of a lake, about a musket shot from any shore: And though there had been a little island about it anciently, yet the water had so gained on it, that there was not a foot of ground above water, but only the tower itself.

They suffered the prisoners to carry nothing with them, for the titular bishop took possession of all that belonged to the Bishop, and said mass the next Lord's Day in the church. They set the Bishop on horseback, and made the other prisoners go on foot by him: And thus he was lodged in this castle, which was a most miserable dwelling. The castle had been in the hands of one Mr. Cullum, who, as he had the keeping of the fort trusted to him, so he had a good allowance for a magazine to be laid

up in it, for the defence of the country: But he had not a pound of powder, nor one fixed musket in it, and he fell under the just punishment of the neglect of his trust, for he was taken the first day of the rebellion, and was himself made a prisoner here. All but the Bishop were at first clapt into irons, for the Irish, who were perpetually drunk, were afraid lest they should seize both on them and on the castle. Yet it pleased God so far to abate their fury, that they took off their irons, and gave them no disturbance in the worship of God, which was now all the comfort that was left them.

The house was extremely open to the weather, and ruinous: And as the place was bare and exposed, so that winter was very severe; which was a great addition to the misery of those that the rebels had stripped naked, leaving to many not so much as a garment to cover their nakedness. But it pleased God to bring another prisoner to the same dungeon, that was of great use to them, one Richard Castledine, who had come over a poor carpenter to Ireland, with nothing but his tools on his back, and was first employed by one Sir Richard Waldron in the carpentry work of a castle, that he was building in the parish of Cavan: But Sir Richard wasting his estate before he had finished his house, and afterwards leaving Ireland, God had so blest the industry of this Castledine, during thirty years labour, that he bought this estate, and having only daughters, he married one of them, out of gratitude, to Sir Richard's youngest son, to whom he intended to have given the estate that was his father's: He was a man of great virtue, and abounded in good works, as well as in exemplary piety: He was so good a husband that the Irish believed he was very rich; so they preserved him, hoping to draw a great deal of money from him. He being brought to this miserable prison, got some tools and old boards, and fitted them up as well as was possible, to keep out the weather.

The keepers of the prison brought their prisoners abundance of provision, but left them to dress it for themselves; which they that knew little what belonged to cookery were glad to do in such a manner as might preserve their lives; and were all of them much supported in their spirits. They did not suffer as evil doers, and they were not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but rejoiced in God in the midst of their afflictions; and the old Bishop took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, and the restraint of his person, comforting himself in this, that

that these light afflictions would quickly work for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

The day after his imprisonment, being the Lord's day, he preached to his little flock on the epistle for the day, which set before them the pattern of the humility and sufferings of Christ; and on Christmas Day he preached on Gal. iv. 4, 5. and administered the sacrament to the small congregation about him; their keepers having been so charitable as to furnish them with bread and wine. And on the twenty-sixth of December, Mr. William Bedell, the Bishop's eldest son, preached on St. Stephen's last words, which afforded proper matter for their meditation, who were every day in expectation when they should be put to give such a testimony of their faith, as that first martyr had done: And on the second of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment, Mr. Clogy preached on St. Luke ii. 32, 33, 34. During all their religious exercises, their keepers never gave them any disturbance; and indeed they carried so gently towards them, that their natures seemed to be so much changed, that it looked like a second stopping the mouths of lions. They often told the Bishop, that they had no personal quarrel to him, and no other cause to be so severe to him, but because he was an Englishman.

But while he was in this dismal prison, some of the Scots of that county, that had retired to two houses that were strong enough to resist any thing but cannon, and were commanded by Sir James Craig, Sir Francis Hamilton, and Sir Arthur Forker, afterwards Lord Granard, finding themselves like to suffer more by hunger than by the siege that was laid to them, made so resolute a sally upon the Irish, that they killed several, took some prisoners, and dispersed the rest, so that many months passed before they offered to besiege them any more. Among their prisoners four were men of considerable interest; so they treated an exchange of them for the Bishop, with his two sons and Mr. Clogy, which was concluded, and the prisoners were delivered on both sides on the seventeenth of January: But though the Irish promised to suffer the Bishop, with the other three, to go safe to Dublin, yet they would not let them go out of the country, but intended to make further advantage by having them still among them; and so they were suffered to go to the house of an Irish minister, Denes O'Shereden, to whom some respect was shewed, by reason of his extraction, though he had forsaken their religion,  
and

and had married an English woman: He continued firm in his religion, and relieved many in their extremity. Here the Bishop spent the few remaining days of his pilgrimage, having his latter end so full in view, that he seemed dead to the world and every thing in it, and to be hasting for the coming of the day of God. During the last Sabbaths of his life, though there were three ministers present, he read all the prayers and lessons himself, and likewise preached on all those days.

On the ninth of January he preached on the whole forty-fourth Psalm, being the first of the psalms appointed for that day, and very suitable to the miseries the English were then in, who were killed all day long, as sheep appointed for slaughter. Next Sabbath, which was the sixteenth, he preached on the seventy-ninth Psalm, the first psalm for the day, which runs much on the like argument, when the temple was defiled, and Jerusalem was laid on heaps, and the dead bodies of God's servants were given to be meat to the fowls of heaven, and their flesh to the beasts of the earth, and their blood was shed like water, and there was none to bury them. Their condition being so like one another, it was very proper to put up that prayer, *O remember not against us former iniquities: Let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us, for we are brought very low.* Together with the other: *Let the sighing of the prisoners come before thee; according to the greatness of thy power, preserve thou those that are appointed to die.* On the twenty-third he preached on the last ten verses of the seventy-first Psalm, observing the great fitness that was in them to express his present condition, especially in these words, *O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works: Now also when I am old, and grey-headed, forsake me not.* And on the thirtieth, which was the last Lord's day in which he had strength enough to preach, he preached on the hundred and forty-fourth Psalm, the first appointed for that day; and when he came to the words in the seventh verse, which are also repeated in the eleventh verse, *Send thine hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood.* He repeated them again and again, with so much zeal and affection, that it appeared how much he was hasting to the day of God, and that his heart was crying out, *Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly: How long, how long!* And he dwelt so long upon them, with

so many sighs, that all the little assembly about him melted into tears, and looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution. And it proved too true, for the day after he sickened; which on the second day after appeared to be an ague, and on the fourth day he apprehending his speedy change, called for his sons, and his sons' wives, and spake to them at several times, as near in these words as their memories could serve them to write them down soon after.

“ I am going the way of all flesh: I am now ready to  
 “ be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand.  
 “ Knowing, therefore, that shortly I must put off this  
 “ tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed  
 “ me, I know also, that if this my earthly house of this  
 “ tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God,  
 “ an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,  
 “ a fair mansion in the New Jerusalem, which cometh  
 “ down out of heaven from my God. Therefore, to  
 “ me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which in-  
 “ creaseth my desire, even now to depart and to be  
 “ with Christ, which is far better than to continue here  
 “ in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this  
 “ world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken there-  
 “ fore unto the last words of your dying father; I am no  
 “ more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend  
 “ to my Father and your Father, to my God and  
 “ your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Jesus  
 “ Christ, my Redeemer; who ever lives to make inter-  
 “ cession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins,  
 “ and washed me from them all in his own blood, who  
 “ is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power;  
 “ who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure  
 “ they are and were created.

“ My witness is in heaven, and my record on high,  
 “ that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth, and  
 “ in the ministry of the Gospel of his dear Son, which  
 “ was committed to my trust: I have finished the work  
 “ which he gave me to do, as a faithful ambassador of  
 “ Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God. I  
 “ have preached righteousness in the great congrega-  
 “ tion: Lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou  
 “ knowest. I have not hid thy righteousness within  
 “ my heart; I have declared thy faithfulness, and thy  
 “ salvation; I have not concealed thy loving kindness  
 “ and thy truth from the great congregation of mankind.  
 “ He is near that justifieth me, that I have not concealed  
 “ the

“ the words of the holy one; but the words that he gave  
 “ to me, I have given to you, and ye have received  
 “ them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before  
 “ God (in every station of my pilgrimage, from my  
 “ youth up to this day) in truth, and with an upright  
 “ heart, and to do that which was upright in his eyes,  
 “ to the utmost of my power; and what things were  
 “ gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss  
 “ for Christ; yea doubtless, and I account all things but  
 “ loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ  
 “ my Lord; for whom I have suffered the loss of all  
 “ things, and I account them but dung, that I may win  
 “ Christ, and be found in him, not having my own  
 “ righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is  
 “ through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is  
 “ of God by faith; that I may know him, and the  
 “ power of his resurrection, and the fellowship of his  
 “ sufferings, being made conformable unto his death:  
 “ I press therefore towards the mark, for the prize of  
 “ the high calling of God, in Jesus Christ.

“ Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ,  
 “ neither tribulation nor distress, nor persecution, nor  
 “ famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though  
 “ (as ye hear and see) for his sake we are killed  
 “ all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the  
 “ slaughter: Yet in all these things we are more than  
 “ conquerors, through him that loved us: For I am  
 “ persuaded, that neither death nor life, nor angels,  
 “ nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor  
 “ things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any crea-  
 “ ture, shall be able to separate me from the love of  
 “ God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore love not the  
 “ world, nor the things of the world; but prepare daily  
 “ and hourly for death, (that now besieges us on every  
 “ side) and be faithful unto death, that we may meet  
 “ together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last  
 “ day, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, with  
 “ all those that are clothed with white robes, in sign of  
 “ innocency, and palms in their hands, in sign of victory;  
 “ which came out of great tribulation, and have washed  
 “ their robes, and made them white in the blood of the  
 “ Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst, nei-  
 “ ther shall the sun light on them, or any heat; for  
 “ the Lamb, that is in the midst of the throne, shall feed  
 “ them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of  
 “ waters,

“ waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their  
“ eyes.

“ Chuse rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the  
“ people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for  
“ a season, which will be bitterness in the latter end.  
“ Look therefore for sufferings, and to be daily made  
“ partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that  
“ which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh  
“ for his body’s sake, which is the church. What can  
“ you look for, but one woe after another, while the  
“ man of sin is thus suffered to rage, and to make havock  
“ of God’s people at his pleasure, while men are divided  
“ about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant  
“ over us, and careful of those, whose blood is pre-  
“ cious in God’s sight, though now shed every where  
“ like water? If ye suffer for righteousness’ sake, happy  
“ are ye; be not afraid of their terror, neither be ye  
“ troubled; and be in nothing terrified by your adver-  
“ saries; which is to them an evident token of perdition,  
“ but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to  
“ you is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to be-  
“ lieve on him, but also to suffer for his sake. Rejoice,  
“ therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ’s  
“ sufferings, that when his glory shall be revealed, ye  
“ may be glad also, with exceeding joy. And if ye be  
“ reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye: The  
“ spirit of glory, and of Christ, resteth on you. On  
“ their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is  
“ glorified.

“ God will surely visit you in due time, and return  
“ your captivity as the rivers of the South, and bring  
“ you back again into your possession in this land:  
“ Though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heavi-  
“ ness through manifold temptations; yet ye shall reap  
“ in joy, though now ye sow in tears: All our losses  
“ shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my  
“ God will supply all your need, according to his riches  
“ in glory, by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding  
“ abundantly for us, above all that we are able to ask or  
“ think.”

After that he blessed his children, and those that stood  
about him, in an audible voice, in these words: “ God  
“ of his infinite mercy bless you all, and present you  
“ holy, and unblameable, and unreprouvable in his sight,  
“ that we may meet together at the right hand of our  
“ blessed

“ blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and  
“ full of glory. Amen.” To which he added these  
words: “ I have fought a good fight: I have finished the  
“ course of my ministry and life together. Though  
“ grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing  
“ the flock, yet I trust the Great Shepherd of his flock  
“ will save and deliver them out of all places, where  
“ they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day ;  
“ that they shall be no more a prey to the heathen,  
“ neither shall the beasts of the land devour them ; but  
“ they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them  
“ afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation.”  
And, after a little interval, he said, “ I have kept the  
“ faith once given to the saints ; for the which cause I  
“ have also suffered these things ; but I am not ashamed,  
“ for I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded  
“ that he is able to keep that which I have committed to  
“ him against that day.”

After this time he spoke little ; for as his sickness increased, his speech failed, and he slumbered out most of the time, only between whiles it appeared that he was cheerfully waiting for his change ; which at last came about midnight on the seventh of February, that he fell asleep in the Lord, and entered into his rest, and obtained his crown, which in some sort was a crown of martyrdom ; for no doubt the sad weight of sorrow that lay upon his mind, and his ill usage in his imprisonment, had much hastened his death : And he suffered more in his mind by what he had lived to hear and see in the last fifteen weeks of his life, than he could have done, if he had fallen by the sword, among the first of those that felt the rage of the Irish. His friends went about his burying ; and since that could not be obtained, but by the new intruding bishop's leave, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Shereden went to ask it, and Mr. Dillon was prevailed with by his wife, to go and second their desire. They found the bishop lying in his own vomit, and saw a sad change in that house, which was before a house of prayer, and of good works ; but was now a den of thieves, and a nest of uncleanness. The bishop, when he was awakened out of his drunkenness, excepted a little to it, and said, the church-yard was holy ground, and was no more to be defiled with heretics' bodies ; yet he consented to it at last. So on the ninth of February he was buried according to the direction himself had given, next his wife's coffin. The Irish did him unusual honours at his burial,  
for

for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them accompanied his body from Mr. Shereden's house to the church-yard of Kilmore, in great solemnity, and they desired Mr. Clogy to bury him according to the office prescribed by the church; but though the gentlemen were so civil as to offer it, yet it was not thought adviseable to provoke the rabble so much, as perhaps that might have done; so it was passed over. But the Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*, May the last of the English rest in peace: For they had often said, That as they esteemed him the best of the English Bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them.

Thus lived and died this excellent Bishop; in whom so many of the greatest characters of a primitive and apostolical bishop did shew themselves so eminently, that it seemed fit that he should still speak to the world, though dead, both for convincing the gainsayers of that venerable order, and for the instruction of those that succeeded him in it; since great patterns give the easiest notions of eminent virtues, and teach in a way that has much more authority with it than all speculative discourses can possibly have. And as the lives of the primitive Christians were a speaking apology for their religion, as well as a direction to those that grew up; so it is to be hoped that the solemn, though silent, language of so bright an example will have the desired effect both ways: And then my Author will have a noble reward for his labours. To this we shall add a little of his character.

He was a tall and graceful person; there was something in his looks and carriage that discovered what was within, and created a veneration for him. He had an unaffected gravity in his deportment, and decent simplicity in his dress and apparel. He had a long and broad beard; for as the custom then was, he never saw a razor pass upon his face. His grey hairs were a crown to him, both for beauty and honour. His strength continued firm to the last; so that the week before his last sickness, he walked about as vigorously and nimbly as any of the company, and leaped over a broad ditch; so that his sons were amazed at it, and could scarce follow him.

His eyes continued so good, that he never used spectacles, nor did he suffer any decay in any of his natural powers, only by a fall in his childhood he had contracted a deafness in his left ear. He had great strength and  
health

health of body, except that a few years before his death, he had some severe fits of the stone, which his sedentary course of life seemed to have brought on him, which he bore with wonderful patience. The best remedy that he found for it was to dig in his garden till he had very much heated himself, by which he found a mitigation of his pain. He took much pleasure in a garden, and having brought over some curious instruments out of Italy, for racemation, engrafting, and inoculating, he was a great master in the use of them.

His judgment and memory, as they were very extraordinary, so they remained with him to the last. He always preached without notes, but often wrote down his meditations after he had preached them. He did not affect to shew any other learning in his sermons, but what was proper for opening his text, and clearing the difficulties in it; which he did by comparing the originals with the most ancient versions. His style was clear and full, but plain and simple; for he abhorred all affectations of pompous rhetoric in sermons, as contrary to the simplicity of Christ. His sermons were calculated for the great design of infusing in the hearts of his hearers right apprehensions and warm thoughts of the great things of the Christian religion: which he did with so much the more authority, because it appeared that he was much moved himself with those things that he delivered to others.

He was always at work in his study, when the affairs of his function did not lead him out of it: In which his chief employment was the study of the text of Scripture. He read the Hebrew and the Septuagint so much, that they were as familiar to him as the English translation. He read every morning the Psalms appointed by the Common Prayer for the day in Hebrew; or if his son, or any other that was skilled in the Hebrew, was present, he read one verse out of the Hebrew, turning it into Latin, and the other read the next, and so by turns till they went through them.

He had gathered a vast heap of critical expositions of Scripture. All this, with his other manuscripts, of which there was a great trunk full, fell into the hands of the Irish. He had wrote very learned paraphrases and sermons on all those parts of Scripture that were prescribed to be read in the second service, but all these are lost. His great Hebrew manuscript was happily rescued out of the hands of those devourers of all sacred things, and is to this day preserved in the library of Emanuel college:

college: For an Irishman, whom he had converted, went among his countrymen, and brought out that and a few other books to him.

Every day after dinner and supper, there was a chapter of the Bible read at his table, whosoever were present, protestants or papists, and Bibles were laid down before every one of the company, and before himself either the Hebrew or Greek; and in his last years the Irish translation was laid, and he usually explained the difficulties that occurred.

He wrote many books of controversy; which was chiefly occasioned by the engagements that lay on him, to labour much in the conversion of persons of the Roman communion; and the knowledge he had of that church, and their way of worship, by what he had seen and observed while he was at Venice, raised in him a great zeal against their corruptions. He not only looked on that church as idolatrous, but as the anti-christian Babylon, concerning which St. John saw all those visions in the Revelation. He wrote a large treatise in answer to those two questions, in which the missionaries of that communion triumph so much, ‘Where was our religion before Luther? and what became of our ancestors that died in popery?’ Archbishop Usher pressed him to have it printed, and he had resolved to do it; but that, with all his other works, was swallowed up in the rebellion. He kept a great correspondence, not only with the divines of England, but with many others over Europe; for he wrote both Latin and Italian very elegantly.

He was very free in his conversation, but talked seldom of indifferent matters: He expressed a great modesty of spirit, and a moderation of temper in every thing he spoke; and his discourse still turned to somewhat that made his company useful and instructing. He spoke his own thoughts very plainly, and as he bore well with the freedom of others, so he took all the discreet liberty that became a man of his age and station, and did not stick to tell even the learned and worthy Primate Usher, such things as he thought were blame-worthy in him; and with the same sincerity he shewed him some critical mistakes that he met with in some of his works. They were very few, and not of any great importance; but they did not agree with the primate’s exactness in other things, and so he laid them before him; which the other took from him with that kindness and humility that became so gracious a man.

His habit was decent and grave ; he wore no silk, but plain stuffs ; the furniture of his house was not pompous nor superfluous, but necessary for common use, and proper. His table was well covered, according to the plenty that was in the country, but there was no luxury in it. Great resort was made to him, and he observed a true hospitality in house-keeping. Many poor Irish families about him were maintained out of his kitchen : And in the Christmas time, he had the poor always eating with him at his own table ; and he brought himself to endure both the sight of their rags, and their rudeness. He was not forward to speak, and he expressed himself in very few words in public companies. At public tables he usually sat silent. Once at the Earl of Strafford's table, one observed, that while they were all talking, he said nothing. So the primate answered, Broach him, and you will find good liquor in him ; upon which that person proposed a question in divinity to him, and in answering it the Bishop shewed both his own sufficiency so well, and puzzled the other so much, that all at table, except the Bishop himself, fell a-laughing at the other.

The greatness of his mind, and the undauntedness of his spirit on all occasions, have appeared very evidently in many of the passages of his life ; but though that height of mind is often accompanied with a great mixture of pride, nothing of that appeared in the Bishop. He carried himself towards all people with such a gaining humility, that he got into their hearts : He lived with his clergy as if they had been his brethren : When he went his visitations, he would not accept of the invitations that were made him by the great men of the country, but would needs eat with his brethren in such poor inns, and of such coarse fare, as the places afforded.

A person of quality, that had prepared an entertainment for him during his visitation, took his refusing it so ill, that whereas the Bishop promised to come and see him after dinner ; as soon as he came near his gate, which was standing open, it was presently shut, on design to affront him, and he was kept half an hour knocking at it : The affront was visible, and when some would have had him go away, he would not do it, but said, “ they will hear ere long.” At last the master came out, and received him with many shews of civility, but he made a very short visit, and though the rudeness he met with prevailed not on him, either to resent it, or to go away  
upon

upon it, yet it appeared that he understood it well enough.

He avoided all affectations of state or greatness in his carriage: He went about always on foot, when he was at Dublin, one servant only attending on him, except on public occasions, that obliged him to ride in procession among his brethren. He never kept a coach: For his strength continued so entire, that he was always able to ride on horseback. He avoided the affectations of humility as well as of pride, the former flowing often from the greater pride of the two; and amidst all those extraordinary talents, with which God had blest him, it never appeared that he overvalued himself, nor despised others; that he assumed to himself a dictatorship, or was impatient of contradiction. He took an ingenious device to put him in mind both of his obligations to purity and humility: It was a flaming crucible with this motto in Hebrew, "Take from me all my tin." The word in Hebrew that signifies tin, was *Bedil*. This imported that he thought that every thing in himself was but base alloy, and therefore he prayed that God would cleanse him from it. He took the thought from Isaiah i. 25.

His great humility made the more secret parts of his life, as to his private walking with God, less known, except as they appeared in that best and surest indication of it, which his outward conversation gave; yet if the rebels had not destroyed all his papers, there would have been found among them great discoveries of this; for he kept a daily journal for many years; but of what sort it was, how full, and how particular, is only known to God, since no man ever saw it, unless some of the rebels found it. Though it is not probable that they would have taken the pains to examine his papers, it being more likely that they destroyed them all in a heap. He never thought of changing his see, or of rising up to a more advantageous bishopric, but considered himself as under a tye to his see, that could not be easily dissolved. So that when the translating him to a bishopric in England was proposed to him, he refused it, and said he should be as troublesome a bishop in England, as he had been in Ireland.

It appeared he had a true and generous notion of religion, and that he did not look upon it so much as a system of opinions, or a set of forms, as a divine discipline that reforms the heart and life: and therefore when some men were valued upon their zeal for some  
 lesser

lesser matters, he had those words of St. Augustine's often in his mouth, 'It is not leaves but fruit that I seek.' This was the true principle of his great zeal against popery: It was not the peevishness of a party, the sourness of a speculative man, nor the concern of an interested person, that wrought on him: But he considered the corruptions of that church, as an effectual course for enervating the true design of Christianity; and this he not only gathered from speculation, but from what he saw and knew during his long abode in Italy. His devotion in his closet was only known to HIM, who commanded him to pray in secret. In his family he prayed thrice a-day, in a set form, though he did not read it: This he did in the morning, and before dinner, and after supper: And he never turned over this duty, or the short devotions before and after meat, on his chaplain, but was always his own chaplain. He looked upon the obligation of observing the Sabbath as moral and perpetual, and considered it as so great an engine for carrying on the true ends of religion, that as he would never go into the liberties that many practised on that day, so he was exemplary in his own exact observation of it, preaching always twice, and catechizing once; and besides that, he used to go over the sermons again in his family, and sing psalms, and concluded all with prayer.

As for his domestic concerns, he married one of the family of the L'Estranges, that had been before married to the recorder of St. Edmundsbury: She proved to be, in all respects, a very fit wife for him; she was exemplary in her life, humble and modest in her habit and behaviour, and was singular in many excellent qualities, particularly in a very extraordinary reverence that she paid him: She bore him four children, three sons and a daughter, but one of the sons, and the daughter, died young, so none survived but William and Ambrose. The just reputation his wife was in for her piety and virtue, made him choose that for the text of her funeral sermon, *A good name is better than ointment.* She died of a lethargy, three years before the rebellion broke out; and he himself preached her funeral sermon, with such a mixture both of tenderness and moderation, that it touched the whole congregation so much, that there was very few dry eyes in the church all the while. He did not like the burying in the church; for, as he observed, there was much both of superstition and pride in it, so he believed it was a great annoyance to the living, when there was

so much of the steam of dead bodies rising about them; he was likewise much offended at the rudeness which the crowding the dead bodies in a small parcel of ground occasioned; for the bodies already laid there, and not yet quite rotten, were often raised and mangled; so that he made a canon in his Synod against burying in churches: And as he often wished that burying places were removed out of all towns, so he chose the most remote and least frequented place of the church-yard of Kilmore for his wife, and by his will he ordered that he should be laid next her, with this bare inscription,

*Depositum Gulielmi quondam Episcopi Kilmorensis.*

*Depositum* cannot bear an English translation, it signifying somewhat given to another in trust, so he considered his burial as a trust left in the earth till the time that it shall be called on to give up its dead.

This account is chiefly taken from Bishop Burnet, who assures us, that those who knew Bishop Bedell well, believed that his real character exceeded these memorials, communicated by his zealous and worthy friend, and that his memory will outlive all the perishing trophies in brass or marble. Annexed to the above volume, are several letters, written by our Bishop and Bishop Hall, to and concerning Mr. Wadsworth, who had been perverted to popery: They are very excellent in their kind, and contain a solid and masterly refutation of the errors in the Romish communion.

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## JOHN DAVENANT, D. D.

BISHOP of SALISBURY.

THIS very learned Prelate was the son of an eminent merchant, and born in Watling Street, London, about the year 1570, but originally descended from the ancient family of the Davenants of Sible-Heningham in Essex, and of Davenant's Lands in that parish, where his father was born, and his ancestors (says Mr. Fuller) continued  
in



*Published as the Act directs March 27. 1763.*

*From the original Picture. Lucas's Collection Cambridge.*



in a worshipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry III. What school he was educated in, we cannot find. But he was admitted to Queen's college in Cambridge, in 1587, where he took his degrees in arts regularly, after having given in his juvenile exercises such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitaker hearing him dispute, said, 'That he ' would in time prove the honour of the university;' a prediction (as Fuller observes) that proved not untrue.

A fellowship was offered him about 1594, but his father would not suffer him to accept it, on account of his plentiful fortune; however, after his father's decease he accepted of one, and was admitted into it in September 1597. Being thus settled in the college, he distinguished himself (as he had already done before) by his learning and other excellent qualifications; and in the year 1601 took his degree of bachelor of divinity. In 1609 he proceeded doctor; and the same year was elected Lady Margaret's professor of divinity.

In the year 1614 he was chosen master of his college; and became so considerable, that he was one of those eminent English divines sent by King James I. to the Synod of Dort, in the year 1618.\* He returned to England in May 1619, after having visited the most eminent cities and other remarkable places in the Low Countries. Upon the death of his brother-in-law, Dr. Robert Townson, he was advanced to the see of Salisbury, and continued in favour during the remainder of King James's reign; but in Lent 1630-1, he incurred the court's displeasure, for meddling (in a sermon preached before the King at Whitehall) with the predestinarian controversy, 'all curious search into which,' his majesty King Charles had

\* The others were, George Carleton, D. D. then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester; Joseph Hall, D. D. then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter and Norwich; and Samuel Ward, D. D. Master of Sidney College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton. [But the air not agreeing with Dr. Hall, he obtained leave to return to England about Christmas, and Thomas Goad, D. D. was sent in his room.] They embarked October the seventeenth, landed at Middleburgh the twentieth; came to the Hague the twenty-seventh of the same month; and thence removed to Dort, where the Synod was opened November the third, O. S. and ended April the twenty-ninth. They came back to England, May the seventh. During their stay in Holland, these four divines had ten pounds a-day allowed them by the States, and a present of two hundred pounds, at their departure, for their charges; besides a golden medal to each of them, on which was represented the Synod sitting.

had strictly enjoined, in his declaration prefixed to the thirty-nine articles in 1628, 'to be laid aside.'

As soon as his sermon was ended, it was signified to him, That his majesty was displeas'd he had stirred this question, which his majesty had forbidden to be meddled withal, one way or the other. The Bishop's answer was, That he had deliver'd nothing but the received doctrine of our church, established in her seventeenth article, and that he was ready to justify the truth of what he had then taught. He was told, The doctrine was not gainsaid, but his majesty had given command these questions should not be debated, and therefore he took it more offensively that any should be so bold as in his own hearing to break his royal commands. To which he replied, That he never understood his majesty had forbid the handling of any doctrine comprised in the articles of our church, but only raising of new questions, or adding of new sense thereunto, which he had not done, nor ever should do.

Two days after, when he appeared before the privy-council, Dr. Samuel Harsnet, Archbishop of York, made a speech near half an hour long, aggravating the boldness of Bishop Davenant's offence, and shewing many inconveniencies that it was likely to draw after it. When the Archbishop had finished his speech, the Bishop desired, That since he was called thither as an offender, he might not be put to answer a long speech upon the sudden, but that his Grace would be pleas'd to charge him point by point, and so to receive his answer; for he did not yet understand wherein he had broken any commandment of his majesty's, which was taken for granted.

After some pause, the archbishop told him, He knew well enough the point which was urged against him, namely, the breach of the King's declaration. Then he stood upon this defence, That the doctrine of predestination, which he taught, was not forbidden by the declaration: First, Because in the declaration all the articles are established, amongst which the article of predestination is one. Secondly, Because all ministers are urged to subscribe unto the truth of the article, and all subjects to continue in the profession of that, as well as of the rest. Upon these and such like grounds, he gathered, it could not be esteem'd amongst forbidden, curious, or needless doctrines; and here he desired that out of any clause in the declaration it might be shew'd him, that keeping himself within the bounds of the article, he had transgressed

gressed his majesty's command; but the declaration was not produced, nor any particular words in it, only this was urged, That the king's will was, that, for the peace of the church, these high questions should be forborne. He added, That he was sorry he understood not his majesty's intention; which if he had done before he should have had choice of some other matter to treat of, which might have given no offence; and that, for the time to come, he should conform himself as readily as any other to his majesty's command. Whereupon he was dismissed.

At his departure, he entreated the Lords of the council to let his majesty understand, that he had not boldly, or wilfully and wittingly, against his declaration, meddled with the forenamed point; and that now, understanding fully his majesty's mind and intention, he should humbly yield obedience thereunto. The reader may see the good Bishop's own account of this affair, in his letter to Dr. Ward, preserved in Fuller's Church History, book xi. p. 140, &c.

For this pretended contempt of the king's declaration, he was not only reprov'd the same day, but also summoned to answer two days after before the privy-council; and, though he was dismissed without further trouble, and even admitted to kiss the king's hand, yet he was never afterwards in favour at court.

He died of a consumption upon the twentieth of April 1641, to which, it is said, a sense of the sorrowful times he saw coming on did not a little contribute; and was buried in Salisbury cathedral, where there is a stone placed to his memory. Among other benefactions, he gave to Queen's college, Cambridge, the perpetual advowsons of the rectories of Cheverel Magna, and Newton Tony in Wiltshire; and a rent-charge of thirty-one pounds ten shillings *per annum*, for the founding of two Bible-clerks, and buying books for the library in the college. As to his character, he was humble and hospitable; painful in preaching and writing; and behaved in every station with exemplary gravity and moderation: He was a man of great learning, and a very eminent divine.

His Works are, I. A Latin Exposition on St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. *Expositio Epistolæ D. Pauli ad Colossenses, per Reverendum in Christo Patrem Joannem Sarisburiensem Episcopum in lucem edita: Olim ab eodem, Dominae Margaretae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Professore Theologico, dictata*, fol. The third edition was printed

at Cambridge in 1639. It is the substance of lectures read by our Author as Lady Margaret professor. So were also the following: II. *Praelectiones de duobus in Theologia controversis capitibus: De Judice Controversiarum, primo: De Justitia habituali et actuali, altero, &c. Cant. 1631. fol.* III. In 1634, he published the questions he had disputed upon in the schools, forty-nine in number, under this title: *Determinationes Quaestionum quarundam Theologicarum, per Reverendissimum Virum Joannem Davenantium, &c. fol.* IV. Animadversions upon a 'Treatise lately published, [by S. Hoard] and entitled, 'God's Love to Mankind, manifested by disproving his absolute decree for their damnation.' Camb. 1641, 8vo.

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## JONATHAN BURR.

OF this good man we have but little; but the little which remains, affords a regret, that we have no more.

He was born at Redgrave in Suffolk, about the year 1604, and, in process of time, became a preacher of the gospel. His godly parents had previously prepared him by great care in his education; and when he left the university, he first preached at Horninger near St. Edmundsbury, and afterwards at Reckingshall, in the same county of Suffolk. The unhappy disputes about church-ceremonies and discipline inclined him, with many others, to quit his native land for the wild region and bad climate of New England. It is to be regretted, that good men of both parties shewed so little moderation and forbearance, and that a healing spirit of peace and concord no more prevailed. Had these religious breaches been made up, it is very possible, that the succeeding calamities which have befallen this nation on a civil account had never occurred. One may trace all the contentions which have befallen this country, in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James I. the unhappy Charles I. and even in the conflict with America, from the irreligious broils, which have rent the church upon the subject of ceremonies and circumstances.

Mr.

Mr. Burr, however, and doubtless upon a principle of the strictest conscience, thought it his duty to venture the dangers of the ocean and American wilds, for the establishment of that form of church-government, which he and many others believed to be most acceptable to God, or at least most edifying to themselves. He took with him three children, and his wife big with a fourth. In New England he pursued his calling as a preacher, till it pleased God to take him from this world to a better.

He had just returned from preaching on the redemption of time, when he fell into a sickness of ten days continuance; in the course of which there appeared in him a wonderful patience and submission. His wife, perceiving his willingness to die, asked him, Whether he was desirous to leave her and his children? To whom he answered, “Do not mistake me. I am not *desirous* of *that*; but I “bless God, that now my will is the Lord’s will. If “he will have me to live yet with my dear wife and “children, I am willing. I will say to you, my dear “wife and children, as the apostle says, *It is better for “you that I abide with you; but it is better for ME to be “dissolved, and to be with Christ.*”

And perceiving his wife disconsolate, he asked her, “If she could not be willing to part with him?” And on her saying, by way of answer, how hard it was, he replied, “That God would be better than ten husbands;” adding, “our parting is but for a time. I am sure we “shall one day meet again. I lie sluggish in bed, when “others are at work.”

Observing how diligently his wife tended him, he said to her, “Do not spend so much time with me, but go “thy way and spend some time in prayer. Thou “knowest not what thou mayest obtain from God. I “fear, lest thou look too much upon this affliction.”

The night before he died, he was overheard sometimes to say, “I will wait until my change come.” And, “why art thou so loth to die?”

A few hours before his departure, it was observed that he had a sore conflict with the angel of death, who shot his last arrow at him. And when one who attended him, said, ‘the sting of death is taken away. The ‘Lord Jesus Christ has overcome death for you. This is ‘one of Satan’s last assaults: His work is now almost at ‘an end, though he be a subtle enemy, and would, if it ‘were possible, deceive the very elect:’ He presently  
broke

broke in on the speaker, “ *if it were possible,*” said he; “ but, blessed be God, there is *no possibility.*”

Seeing the company loth to leave the room, he prayed in Latin, as long as he had strength to do it. And when he was to appearance just expiring, he called for his wife, and stedfastly fixing his eyes upon her, said, “ *Cast thy care upon God, for he careth for thee.*” And the words, “ hold fast, hold fast,” spoken to her, were the last he uttered. He died August 3, 1641.

He was of so charitable a disposition, that when it was intimated to him, that he might err in reserving no more for himself, he would answer, “ I often think of those words, *He that soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly.*”

Whenever he was informed that any thought meanly of him, he would say, without being moved at it, “ I think meanly of myself, and therefore may well be content, that others should think meanly of me.”

Mr. Thomas Hooker, a preacher of New England, being one of his auditors when he preached to a great assembly at Charlestown, near Boston, had this expression concerning him: ‘ Surely this man will not be long out of heaven, for he preaches as if he were there already.’

## BARNABY POTTER, D. D.

BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

**T**HIS good Prelate was born in the Barony of Kendal in Westmoreland, in the year 1578, where he had his school education, till he was well qualified for the university, when he was admitted to Queen’s college, Oxford. Here he was first chosen a scholar, then a fellow, and afterwards provost. While he was a fellow, he was a much admired tutor to several gentlemen’s sons of eminence and worth, of whom he took the greatest care, training them up in all useful learning, and in the true principles of the Christian religion. He was a very humble, meek man, of few words, an affecting preacher, and a favourer of strict professors of religion. His custom was to write one part of his sermon, and to commit it to memory presently, and

and then another, so that he could preach with much facility, and upon a little warning.

He was, for some time, lecturer at Abington, and at Totness, in Devonshire, where he was much respected. He then proceeded doctor in divinity, and, being presented, the following year, to a pastoral charge by Sir Edward Giles, of Devonshire, he married the knight's daughter, and settled in that country. But he had not been long possessed of his benefice, before he was chosen provost of Queen's college, Oxford, (upon the death of Doctor Ayray) unanimously, but without his knowledge. He was also made chaplain in ordinary to Prince Charles, and called at court 'the penitential preacher.' After he had been ten years provost, he gave up that place, and went again into the country, with a view to reside upon his charge; but King Charles, passing by many solicitations in the behalf of others, peremptorily nominated him Bishop of Carlisle. What Nazienzen said of Basil, may with the greatest propriety be applied to our Bishop: 'He was promoted; he did not steal or shuffle himself into the chair; he did not invade it; the honour sought and followed him.' Being made a Bishop, he still continued a constant zealous preacher; and Joshua's resolution being his, he, and all his servants and attendants, served the Lord with the greatest order and regularity, performing family worship himself every morning and evening. In the beginning of the parliament, he preached at Westminster, and inveighed against the corruptions and innovations that had crept into the church; a discourse, by the best judges, well approved of. But the great confusion, and constant alarms, that were in and about London at that time, and hearing that he himself was censured as popish, merely because he was a Bishop; it is said, he laid this so much to heart, that he fell sick and died in 1642, about the great climacterical year of his age.

So little candour is to be found in troublesome times, when men of all parties absurdly think they do God service by pushing every thing to extremes! One healer of breaches is of more worth than a thousand helpers of division. It is also a much rarer character, and, when it appears, is often calumniated by both sides, because it will not follow and approve the vehemence or madness of either.

Our Bishop was a great favourer of pious professors and lecturers, and, on that account, was reputed by many a puritanical Bishop. It used to be said at court in King James's

James's time, 'that organs would blow him out of the church.' He utterly disliked (what certainly no truly godly man could approve) the 'Book of Sports,' and told a minister, with whom he was acquainted, that if it should be sent down to his diocese, he would slight it, and urge none of his jurisdiction to read it. He was of a weak constitution of body, rather melancholic and lean, from being a hard student; he had a strong memory, and was a critic in the Hebrew; his recreation was usually vocal music, in which he himself always bore a part. He was the last Bishop that died as a member of the parliament, and was Bishop of Carlisle about fourteen years.

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## LEWIS DE DIEU.

**T**HIS great man was minister of Leyden, and professor in the Walloon college of that city, was a scholar of great abilities, and uncommonly versed in the oriental languages. He was born upon the seventh of April, in the year 1590, at Flushing, where his father, Daniel de Dieu, was minister. Daniel was a man of great merit, and a native of Brussels, where he had been a minister two-and-twenty years. He removed from thence in 1585, to serve the church at Flushing, after the Duke of Parma had taken Brussels. He understood Greek and the oriental languages; and he could preach with the applause of his auditors in German, Italian, French, and English. The churches of the Netherlands sent him, in 1588, over to Queen Elizabeth, to inform her of the designs of the Duke of Parma, who secretly made her proposals of peace, though the King of Spain was equipping a formidable fleet against England.

Lewis studied under Daniel Colonius, his uncle by his mother's side, who was professor at Leyden in the Walloon college. He was two years minister of the French church at Flushing; and might have been court-minister at the Hague, if his natural aversion to the manners of a court had not restrained him from accepting that place. There are some circumstances relating to that affair, which deserve to be remembered. Prince Maurice being in Zealand, heard

heard Lewis de Dieu preach, who was yet but a student; and some time after sent for him to court. The young man modestly excused himself, declaring, that he designed to satisfy his conscience in the exercise of his ministry, and to censure freely what he should find deserved censure: A liberty, he said, which courts did not care to allow. Besides, he thought the post which was offered him more proper for a man in years than a student. The prince commended his modesty and prudence.

He was called to Leyden in the year 1619, to teach, with his uncle Colonius, in the Walloon college; and he discharged the duty of that employment with great diligence till his death, which happened in the year 1642. He refused the post, which was offered him, of divinity-professor in the new University of Utrecht; and, if he had lived long enough, he would have had the same post in that of Leyden. He married the daughter of a counsellor of Flushing, by whom he had eleven children.

He published, in the year 1631, a Commentary on the Four Gospels, and Notes on the Acts of the Apostles. His first care had been to examine the Latin versions of the Syriac New Testament, made by Tremellius and Guido Fabricius Boderianus; and that of St. Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew, made by Munster and Mercerus. He found a great many faults in these versions; which put him upon examining the vulgar translations, those of Erasmus and Theodore Beza, the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. He compared them with one another, and all of them with the Greek text. He published also the Revelation of St. John, which he printed both in Hebrew and Syriac characters, with a Latin version of his own. He published the History of the Life of Jesus Christ, written in the Persian tongue, by the jesuit Jerom Xavier, with learned notes; and he joined to the original a Latin translation. The History of St. Peter, written in the Persian language, was also published by him, with a Latin translation and notes. He drew up likewise rudiments of the Hebrew and Persian tongues, and a parallel of the grammar of the oriental tongues. Some things also of smaller note were published by his friends after his death. Father Simon speaks advantageously of the writings of Lewis de Dieu, in the thirty-fifth chapter of his 'Critical History of the Commentators on the 'New Testament.' The learned Constantine l'Empereur says of him, 'That, whenever he had occasion to mention his name, he was quite at a loss by what epithets  
' to

‘ to praise him, for in practical godliness, and the knowledge of divinity, science of all kinds, and the languages, he was truly a star of the first magnitude.’ What high esteem our great Archbishop Usher had for him, may be seen in the collection of the Archbishop’s letters, published by Dr. Parr.

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## HENRY ALTING, D. D.

**HENRY ALTING**, professor of divinity at Heidelberg and at Groningen, was born at Embden the seventeenth of February 1583, of a very ancient and honourable family. His father, Menso Alting, was pastor of Embden; and his mother, Mary Biscof, was an excellent person. He was sent very early to school, and after having gone through his classical studies and a course of philosophy at Groningen, he was sent into Germany in 1602. He remained three years at Herborn, in which time he made such proficiency under the famous Piscator, Mathias Martinius, and William Zepperus, that he was allowed to teach philosophy and divinity. When he was preparing to set out upon his travels to Switzerland and France, he was chosen preceptor to the three young Counts of Nassau, Solmes, and Issenberg, who studied at the once protestant University of Sedan with the electoral Prince Palatine: He took upon him this charge in the beginning of September 1605. The electoral Prince left Sedan, with the three young noblemen, in 1606, and Alting accompanied them to Heidelberg, where he continued to instruct his three noble pupils. He was also admitted to read some lectures in geography and history to the electoral Prince till the year 1608, when he was appointed his preceptor: The Prince’s exercises, corrected by Alting, are preserved in the Vatican library, and shewn to travellers, as we are informed by Emmius, the author of Alting’s life; who adds, ‘ that they are as much worth seeing as most of the reliques commonly shewn to the curious.’ In this capacity, Alting accompanied him to Sedan, and instructed him so carefully, that the Prince, upon his  
return

return to Heidelberg in 1610, being examined on all points of religion before the Duke of Deux Ponts, administrator of the electorate, and several other persons of distinction, answered very judiciously, and in Latin.

Alting was one of the persons appointed to attend the young elector into England, in 1612; where he became acquainted with George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. King, Bishop of London, and Dr. Hackwell, Preceptor to the Prince of Wales, and had also the honour of conversing with King James. The marriage between the elector and the princess of England being solemnized at London, in February 1613, Alting left England, and arrived at Heidelberg on the first of April. In the following August, he was appointed professor of the common-places of divinity; and as he could not preside in the disputes without being a doctor of divinity, he took that degree in November, with the usual ceremonies. In 1616, he had a troublesome office conferred upon him, which was the direction of the *collegium sapientiæ* of Heidelberg. In 1618, he was offered the second professorship of divinity, vacant by the death of Coppenius, which he refused, but obtained it for Scultetus.

He greatly distinguished himself for his learning at the Synod of Dort, when he was sent there with two other deputies of the palatinate. It was at this time that the University of Leyden had the power of conferring the degree of doctor restored to them, which they had suffered to be extinguished. John Polyander, professor in Leyden, was first created licentiate in divinity by Alting, and afterwards doctor by Scultetus; by which means he became invested with the power of conferring the degree of doctor upon his colleagues. Alting entertained great expectations upon his return to Heidelberg, the elector palatine having gained a crown by the troubles of Bohemia; but this successful beginning was soon followed by a dreadful change; Count Tili took Heidelberg by storm, in September 1622, and allowed his soldiers to commit all manner of devastations. Alting had a miraculous escape; for being met by a soldier, he was stopped by him in this manner: ‘ I have killed with these hands ten men to-day; and doctor Alting should make the eleventh, if I could find him: Who are you?’ Doctor Alting answered, “ that he was schoolmaster at the *collegium sapientiæ*.” The soldier did not understand this, and so let him escape. He retired to his family, which he had removed some time before to Heilbron, and met them at Schorndoff, but he was

was allowed to stay there only a few months. He went with his family to Embden, in 1623, and from thence to wait upon the King of Bohemia at the Hague, who retained him to instruct his eldest son, and would not allow him to accept of the church of Embden, the parish of which solicited him to be their minister; nor of the professorship of divinity, which the University of Franeker offered him, upon the death of Sibrant Lubbert. This prince, however, gave him leave, the year following, to accept of a professorship of divinity at Groningen, which he entered upon the sixteenth of June 1627, and kept it till his death. He did indeed intend, in 1633, to quit Groningen for Leyden, but it was upon condition, that the States of Groningen gave their consent, which they refused to do. It is certain, likewise, that he listened to the proposals which Prince Lewis Philip offered him in 1634, of going to re-establish the University of Heidelberg, and the churches of the palatinate; he went as far as Francfort, amidst a thousand dangers, but the battle of Norlingen, gained by the imperialists, having rendered this undertaking abortive, he was obliged to return through many bye-roads to Groningen; and it does not appear that he had afterwards any thoughts of removing to any other place.

The last years of his life proved very painful, being afflicted with grief and bodily distempers. He was so affected with the death of his eldest daughter in 1639, that he fell into a deep melancholy, which threw him into a quartan ague; of this he was cured with great difficulty, but not perfectly, for the remains of it turned to a dangerous lethargy in 1641. The physicians had scarce removed this distemper by their utmost skill and art, when meeting with a fresh domestic affliction, it threw him into a worse state of health than ever; for he lost his wife in 1643, and never after could get the better of his melancholy. From this time to the day of his death, his infirmities continued to increase.

In his last sickness, the excellent Dr. Maresius visiting him, Alting, in the most friendly manner, congratulated him as his designed successor. “ It much rejoices me, (said he) that I shall leave to the church and university one, who is studious of peace, orthodox in judgment, and averse to novelties: And I require you, that, as you have ever maintained friendship with myself, you would do the like with mine, whom I shall leave behind ”

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The day before his death, he sang the hundred and thirtieth Psalm, with great sense of God's presence and love, and passed the rest of his time in meditation and prayer. In the evening, he blessed his children; and the next morning, finding within himself that his departure was at hand, he told those about him, that before sun-set he should depart, and be with the Lord. Grounding his faith on the blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ, with the promises of his Gospel, and strengthened and comforted by the gracious influence of the Holy Ghost, he waited for death without any apparent fear; but bade those about him farewell, expressing his readiness and desire to be dissolved and to be with his Master. At length, in the presence of many learned and pious friends and relations, he yielded up his spirit without the least struggling, and quietly departed, August the twenty-fifth, 1644.

He was a man of great worth. The books he wrote shew his learning and the application he gave to the discharge of his academical duties; and we have many proofs of his public spirit and benevolence to mankind. Whilst he lived, he went yearly to wait upon the King of Bohemia, and to inspect the studies of the royal family. He was extremely active in raising the collections which were made throughout all the protestant countries for the churches of Germany, and chiefly of the palatinate: He acted also as one of the three distributors of the collections from England; and was almoner to Lewis de Geer. He was also employed in two other important commissions; one was in the revisal made at Leyden of the New Dutch translation of the Bible, and the visitation of the county of Steinfurt: In the first office he had colleagues, but he was sole general inspector in the second, the Count of Bentheim having sent for him to make inquisition against Socinianism, which the country was threatened with, and to establish good order in the churches. Alting, as we are told in his elogy, was no quarrelsome divine: He did not spend his time in trifling insignificant scruples; he was not fond of novelty, but zealous for the ancient doctrine; an enemy to the subtilties of the schools, and one who kept close to the Scriptures.

The Books which he published are these: I. *Notæ in decadem problematum Johannis Behm de glorioso Dei et beatorum celo.* Heidelbergæ, 1688. II. *Loci communes cum didactici, tum elentici.* III. *Problemata, tam theoretica quam practica.* IV. *Explicatio catecheseos Palatinæ cum vindiciis ab Arminianis et Socinianis.* Amst. 1646. 3 vols. V. *Exegesis*

V. *Exegesis Augustanæ confessionis, una cum syllabo controversiarum Lutheranarum.* Amst. 1647. VI. *Methodus theologiæ didacticæ et catechetica.* Amst. 1650. They were published together in three tomes, with this title: *Scripta Theologica Heidelbergensia.* VII. *Theologia Historica.* 1664, 4to.

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## WILLIAM TWISSE, D.D.

THIS learned and very laborious divine was born at Speenham-Land, near Newbury, in Berkshire; his father was a substantial clothier in that town, and educated his son at Winchester school, from whence, at the age of eighteen, he was translated to New college in Oxford, of which he was fellow. Here he employed himself in the study of logic, then of philosophy, and afterwards of divinity, with the closest application, for sixteen years together.

In the year 1604, he proceeded master of arts; about the same time he entered into holy orders, and became a diligent and frequent preacher: He was admired by the university for his subtle wit, exact judgment, exemplary life and conversation, and for many other valuable qualities, which became a man of his function.

In the year 1614, he proceeded doctor of divinity, after having given abundant proof both of his learning and industry, in his lectures and disputations, as well as in transcribing and judiciously correcting the writings of the famous Dr. Thomas Bradwardine, Archbishop of Canterbury, which were to be published by Sir Henry Saville. He was esteemed a popular preacher in the university; and though some thought his discourses a little too scholastic, yet they were accompanied with power, and followed with success.

He was called upon at this time to preach a sermon on a day appointed, for the baptizing a Jew, who taught many of the students Hebrew, and deceived many of the doctors in the university, especially Dr. Lake, provost of New college, by pretending to be converted to Christianity; but the day before he was to have been baptized, having filled his purse, he ran away: However, being pursued and brought back, Dr. Twisse, the next day, laid aside the sermon he had studied, upon a supposition that the Jew

was



*Trout sculp.*

*Engraved as the Act directs, March 19<sup>th</sup> 1755.*

*From the original Picture in the Church of Newbury, Berks.*



was to be baptized, and preached a most excellent discourse upon his revolt, in which he shewed God's just judgment upon that rebellious backsliding nation and people, whom he had given up to a reprobate mind, even to this very day. He acquitted himself on this occasion in so learned and masterly a manner, that he was applauded and admired by the whole university. His celebrated lectures, read every Thursday in the parish church of St. Olave's, were so much frequented by the gownsmen as well as by the town's people, that his fame reached the court, and King James made choice of him to be chaplain to his daughter Elizabeth, the Princess Palatine, and to accompany her into Germany.

The doctor, previous to his entering upon his travels, disposed of his patrimony, being about thirty pounds a-year, and commended it to his brother, requiring him, that, out of the rents of it, he should raise portions for his sisters. In order to elude the tediousness of the journey, he expounded some part of the Scriptures every day, by which means, accompanied with many wise seasonable admonitions, this amiable Princess was enabled to moderate her grief, (on leaving her dear country, remembering *that here we have no abiding city, but are to seek a better in the world to come*) and to encounter all those adverse dispensations of the Divine Providence, with which she was afterwards so severely tried. For not long after she was crowned Queen of Bohemia, she was forced to fly out of that country, then pregnant, and excluded out of the palatinate, (her husband's paternal inheritance) and driven to live in exile the remainder of her days; all which she bore with the patience, magnanimity, and fortitude of a true Christian: Believing and experiencing, what the Doctor had so often inculcated, "That God's gracious  
 " providence doth order the estates and conditions of  
 " men, whether prosperous or adverse, according to his  
 " own good pleasure, and for the everlasting good of those  
 " that belong to him, agreeable to that promise, Rom.  
 " viii. 28. *We know that all things work together for good,*  
 " *to them that love God, to them who are the called accord-*  
 " *ing to his purpose.*"

It was probably on account of the Doctor's great services, this way to this illustrious Queen, that Prince Rupert, one of her sons, in the time of the civil war, coming to Newbury, where the Doctor was minister, behaved to him with the greatest courtesy and familiarity; making him large promises, if he would be of the court

party, and write in their defence, and live among them; but the Doctor would by no means live among courtiers. He had not been quite two months in this honourable employment at the court of the elector palatine, before he was recalled, to the great grief of the Queen, and also to the prince, who shewed his great concern at the Doctor's departure, in a Latin speech which he made to him.

Upon his return to England, he did not betake himself to a court life, but wholly applied himself for the good of the church; and, in a country village, by close study, laid the foundation of those works which all the reformed have admired. Afterwards, he was made vicar of Newbury, where he gained a vast reputation by his useful preaching and exemplary living. His most able adversaries have confessed, that there was nothing then extant more accurate and full, touching the Arminian controversy, than what he published: And there have been scarce any, who have written upon this argument since the publishing Dr. Twisse's works, but who have made an honourable mention of him.

He did not seek after riches, nor ecclesiastical dignities and preferments, but modestly refused them when they were offered him. He often congratulated himself on his low retired condition, as being liable to fewer temptations and dangers than in the episcopal dignity he might have been exposed to. He declined being warden of the college at Winchester, after being chosen and earnestly requested to accept it: As he did afterwards a prebend at Winchester; returning thanks to Dr. Moore, his father-in-law, and other friends, but intreating them to give him leave to abide at Newbury to attend that flock over which God had placed him; saying, "He thought himself unfit for a cathedral employment, especially among such eminent men as were the prebendaries of Winchester." The States of Friesland invited him to the professorship of divinity in their university of Franeker, but he refused it. Robert, Earl of Warwick, also offered him a rectory; which, because it was a smaller parish than Newbury, and old age was creeping upon him, and his strength began to fail, he thankfully accepted, provided the the Earl would take care to send a pious faithful pastor to Newbury. The Doctor waited on the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he had been familiarly acquainted while students together at Oxford, and begged his Grace's favour in the business. The Archbishop entertained him courteously, and promised

promised to grant all that he requested; adding, that he would represent him to the king for a pious and learned man, and no puritan. But the Doctor perceiving the Archbishop's design, and being determined to accept of no other preferment than the Earl of Warwick's small rectory, he returned to Newbury, and entertained no more thoughts of leaving it, but spent his time there in reading, meditating, preaching, and writing, with much pleasure and satisfaction to himself, and to the great comfort and edification of his people.

Dr. Twisse refused to read the proclamation, (commonly called the Book of Sports) wherein the people were allowed to use certain sports on the Lord's day, and which was commanded to be read in all churches, on pain of suspension both from office and benefice; yea, he modestly declared against it. King James being informed of it, secretly commanded the bishops not to meddle with him. The truth is, (says Clark) the king knew very well, that though Dr. Twisse had but a small estate, and lived meanly at home, yet his fame was great abroad in all the reformed churches, and that nothing could be done hardly against him, but it would redound greatly to the disgrace of those who did it. However, Neale says, that in the beginning of the civil war, he was forced from his living at Newbury by the cavaliers, and died in very necessitous circumstances, having lost all his substance by the king's soldiers; insomuch that when some of the assembly were deputed to visit him in his sickness, they reported, that 'he was very sick, and in great straits.'

In the beginning of the year 1643, the parliament, designing to reform ecclesiastical affairs, called an assembly of learned divines to advise and assist them therein; who, when convened, unanimously chose Dr. Twisse to be the prolocutor, and placed him in the chair, though much against his will. In his sermon, at the meeting of the assembly, after exhorting them faithfully to discharge their high calling to the glory of God and the honour of his church, he lamented very much that 'one thing was wanting,' namely, the royal assent to give comfort and encouragement to them. Yet he hoped that, by the efficacy of their fervent prayers, it might be obtained, and that a happy union might be procured between the king and the parliament. He had long seen, with great grief, the discord and divisions between the king and parliament, concluding they would prove fatal to both parties; and often

often wished heartily that the fire might be quenched, though it were with his own blood.

As prolocutor, in which station he continued to his death, he was a witness to the grievous contentions that prevailed among many good men; some insisting that nothing should be reformed, while others would have every thing to be altered. In short, the troubles of the times both in church and state so afflicted this good man, who abated nothing of his private studies or public employment, that his health was much impaired; and, at length, ‘ while (says Clark) he spake unto God in the ‘ name of the people, and to the people in the name of ‘ God, and raised up the hearts of his hearers into ‘ heaven, he fell down in the pulpit.’ He was carried home and lingered about a year; during which he was visited by people of all ranks, who loved either religion or learning, to whom he gave comfortable evidences of his faith, and was himself a remarkable example of patience, till it had its perfect work, and faith was changed into the beatific vision of God: And so sensible was he of the approach of this change, that he said, with almost his last words, in great peace and comfort, “ Now at length I shall have leisure to follow studies to all eternity.” This happened about the twentieth of July 1646, in the seventy-first year of his age.

He was buried, at the request of the assembly, in the collegiate church of St. Peter’s, Westminster, near the upper end of the poor folks’ table, next the vestry, July twenty-fourth, and was attended by the whole assembly of divines; before whom Dr. Harris preached his funeral sermon from Josh. i. 2. *Moses my servant is dead.* There his body rested till the restoration of King Charles II. when his bones were dug up by order of council, September 14, 1661, and thrown with several others into a hole in the church-yard of St. Margaret’s, before the back-door of the lodgings of one of the prebendaries.

The day after his burial, the parliament voted a thousand pounds to be given to his children out of the public treasury; but they were cheated out of that, and whatever their father left them: Nevertheless it pleased God, in his kind providence, so to provide for them, that they obtained a decent support.

The Doctor was allowed to be a person of extensive knowledge in school-divinity; a subtle disputant, and withal, a modest, humble, and religious man. He lived  
under

under an abiding sense of the depravity of his nature, and in a frequent confession of sins; offering up unfeigned thanks to God, who, of his mere grace and love, had kept him from such honours as might have exposed him to temptations and snares. He revered and esteemed all good men, and only thought meanly of himself; he admired the gifts and graces of God in others, and highly prized and commended them, though they were far inferior to his own. He constantly kept a monthly fast in his own family, whereby he endeavoured to quicken his prayers, by which, with great importunity, he pleaded with God in the behalf of the afflicted church of Christ, that God would be gracious unto it, and restore it to peace in his own due time. Every day he applied himself with great zeal and fervency of spirit to the throne of grace by prayer; and always before dinner and supper he read a portion of the sacred Scriptures, expounding the more obscure and difficult passages for the edification of his family. And out of the Scriptures he gathered arguments, by which he might the more abase himself and his, and with the greater importunity wrestle with God, for the obtaining such mercies as he craved of him.

The elder Spanheim styles him *subtillissimus Theologus simul et Philosophus*, ‘a most acute Philosopher as well as ‘Divine.’ He was particularly celebrated for his able defence of the writings of the excellent Mr. Perkins against the Arminians.

His Works. I. *Vindiciæ Gratiæ, Potestatis ac Providentiæ Dei*. II. *Dissertatio de Scientiâ mediâ contra Suarez, &c.* III. *Animadversio ad Arminii collationem cum Junio, &c.* IV. *Arminianæ contra Tilenum*.

He wrote, besides the above in Latin, many English tracts upon these subjects.

## DANIEL FEATLY.

ACUTENESS in disputation with the papists, added to a complete knowledge of the controversy, introduced this learned divine to eminence. His name was properly Fairclough, and he was ordained under it; but by corrupt pronunciation, it was sounded *Faircley*, *Fateley*, and finally *Featley*, which at length our author adopted. He was descended from a Lancashire family, seated at Fair-cliff, (whence the name; *clough* and *cliff* being alike) though he himself was born at Charlton upon Otmore, in the county of Oxford, in March 1582.

He was educated in the grammar-school joining to Magdalen college, admitted scholar of Corpus Christi in 1594, and probationer fellow in 1602, being then bachelor of arts. He became now a severe student in divinity: He read fathers, councils, and schoolmen, and was deeply learned in every thing relating to them. His admirable way of preaching, his skill in disputation, and his other rare accomplishments, distinguished him so much, that Sir Thomas Edmunds, being dispatched by King James to be lieger-ambassador in France, made choice of Featly for his chaplain. He lived three years there, and did great honour to the English nation, and the protestant religion, by disputing successfully against the most learned papists; insomuch, that his antagonists could not forbear giving him the titles of *acutissimus* and *accerrimus*.

Upon his return to England, he repaired to his college, took a bachelor of divinity's degree in 1613, and soon after became rector of Northill, in Cornwall. But before he was settled there, he was called to be chaplain to Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him was preferred soon after to the rectory of Lambeth in Surry. In 1617, he proceeded doctor in divinity, and puzzled Prideaux, the king's professor, so much with his arguments, that a quarrel commenced thereupon, which the archbishop himself was forced to compose. The famous Archbishop of Spalato, Anthony de Dominis, being also present at the disputation, was so mightily taken with our author's manner, that he immediately gave him a brother's place in the Savoy hospital,

hospital, of which he was then master. About that time Archbishop Abbot gave him the rectory of All-hallows, Bread-street, in London, which soon after he changed for the rectory of Acton, in Middlesex, and at length became the third and last provost of Chelsea college.

In 1625, being then married, he retired from the service of his Grace of Canterbury, to Kennington, near Lambeth, where his wife had a house. In 1626, he published his *Ancilla Pietatis*, or, ‘The Handmaid to Private Devotion,’ of which eight editions were printed off before the year 1676. With this was afterwards printed “The Practice of Extraordinary Devotion:” And Mr. Wood relates, that ‘in one of these two, he makes the story of St. George, the tutelary saint of England, a mere figment; for which he was forced to cry *peccavi*, and to fall upon his knees before Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury.’ From the year 1626, to the beginning of the civil war, he was chiefly employed in writing books, and in disputing against Fisher and the jesuits, and with other persons of a different way of thinking in matters of religion.

In 1642, after the king had encountered the parliament army at Brentford, some of the soldiers took up their quarters at Acton. There they made search for our author Featly, whom they took to be a papist, at least to have, as it is said, a pope in his belly: But not finding him, they did him vast damage in destroying his house, stables, granaries, barns, &c. They then sought him at Lambeth; and on the nineteenth of February, being Sunday, some of them rushed into the church of that parish, where he was to preach, in the time of divine service, with pistols and drawn swords to murder him. But missing the doctor, who had just received warning to get out of the way, they furiously attacked some of the congregation, shot one dead, and mortally wounded another, threatening ‘to chop the doctor himself as small as herbs for the pot, for suffering the Common Prayer (which they called ‘Esau’s mess of pottage’) to be read in the church.” Excellent protestants, to vow destruction to one of the first protestant ministers of the age!

In 1643, he was appointed a member of the assembly of divines, and was afterwards a witness against Archbishop Laud. He had discovered more Calvinism, than he was ever supposed to have; but Dr. Heylin has said, that he was always a Calvinist in his heart, though he never shewed it openly till then. He was, however, a great opposer

opposer of the covenant, and wrote a letter to Archbishop Usher, then at Oxford, containing his reasons: Which letter being intercepted, and carried first to the close committee, and then to the House of Commons, he was judged to be a spy and betrayer of the parliament's cause. He was seized on, and committed prisoner to Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate-street, on the thirtieth of September 1643, his rectories being taken from him; and in this prison he continued till March 1644.

In the height of these his sufferings, it happened, that a papist sent a bold challenge abroad, in contempt and defamation of the protestant church. The parliament recommended the answering it to our Doctor, whom they knew to be well versed in the matters in question. Had they first restored him to his liberty and estate, this had been a just and noble encouragement. But he was a poor Israelite under the Egyptian yoke, and must be content to abate the straw, yet make the brick: Only they voted him the use of his books, three of them at one time; and, by this vote, his library was a while preserved, and himself diverted the irksomeness of his sad imprisonment. To work he went, and at length finished and published his answer to the challenge, August 1, 1644, in a book entitled "*Roma Ruens.*"

He perfected and published the same year another book against the baptists, entitled, "The Dipper dipt." They, to be revenged of him, (as it was said) reported, That Dr. Featly was turned papist. To vindicate himself, he published his manifesto, and therein saith, "I have thought fit to make known to you all, whom it may concern, that being chosen provost of Chelsea college, I have, under the broad seal of England, a warrant to buy, have, and keep all manner of popish books, and that I never bought and kept any of them, but to the end and purpose, the better to inform myself to refute them, &c." To which vindication, in the same manifesto, he adds this challenge: "Whereas I am certainly informed, that divers lecturers and preachers in London and the suburbs (who have entered upon the labours of many worthy divines, and reaped their harvests) do in their pulpits after a most insolent manner insult upon them, demanding, Where are they now that dare stand up in defence of church-hierarchy, or book of Common Prayer; or any way oppose or impugn the new intended reformation, both in doctrine and discipline of the Church of England? I do here  
" protest,

“ protest, that I do and will maintain, by disputation or  
 “ writing, against any of them, these three conclusions,  
 “ viz.

I. “ That the articles of religion, agreed upon in the  
 “ year of our Lord 1562, by both houses of convocation,  
 “ and ratified by Queen Elizabeth, need no alteration  
 “ at all, but only an orthodox explication in some am-  
 “ biguous phrases, and a vindication against false asper-  
 “ sions.

II. “ That the discipline of the Church of England,  
 “ established by many laws and acts of parliament, that  
 “ is, the government by bishops (removing all innova-  
 “ tions and abuses in the execution thereof) is agreeable  
 “ to God’s word, and a truly ancient and apostolical  
 “ institution.

III. “ That there ought to be a set form of public  
 “ prayer, and that the book of Common Prayer (the  
 “ calendar being reformed in point of apocryphal saints  
 “ and chapters, some rubricks explained, and some ex-  
 “ pressions revised, and the whole correctly printed,  
 “ with all the psalms, chapters, and allegations out of  
 “ the Old and New Testament, according to the last  
 “ translation) is the most complete, perfect, and exact  
 “ liturgy, now extant in the Christian world.”

Notwithstanding the great service which the Doctor had done for the church of England, at the request of the parliament, by his answer to the popish challenge in his *Roma Ruens*, yet they suffered him to continue in his old prison. But when, through bad air, and bad diet, and ill lodging, and other inconveniencies, he fell into a dropsy and other diseases, (upon his humble petition, and his physician’s certificate) after sixteen weeks’ attendance of his friends, the house granted him an order to remove to the fresh air of Chelsea college, for six weeks. Thither he came about the beginning of March 1644. But neither physic, nor air, nor diet, nor better lodging, nor company, nor cordials, nor any thing else, could remove his diseases, or give him hope of recovery. There he spun out a short time in much piety and holy exercises, although wearied with pains, and worn out with afflictions, whereof none were so grievous to him, as the present distractions in the church and state. April 14, 1645, he set his house in order, and made his will, beginning thus: “ First, for my soul, I commend it to him, “ whose due it is by a three-fold right: My Creator, “ who infused it into me: My Redeemer, who freely  
 “ ransomed

“ransomed it with his dearest blood: My Sanctifier,  
 “who assisteth me now in my greatest and latest assaults  
 “of temptations,” &c. The next day he made a confession of his faith to Dr. Leo, and others. April 17, (which was the last day of those six weeks his enemies had allotted him, as well as the rest of his life) his spirit waxed faint, and drawing near to death, he prayed thus: “Lord, strike through the reins of them that rise against  
 “the church and king, and let them be as chaff before  
 “the wind, &c. But, upon our gracious sovereign and  
 “his posterity, let the crown flourish. This (said he)  
 “is the hearty and earnest prayer of a poor sick creature.” With which words, and many heavenly ejaculations, commending his soul into the hands of his faithful Creator, he fell asleep. But his nephew coming in, caused a small dose of cordial spirits to be administered to him, which made him once more to open his eyes, and seeing the tears of his mourning kinsman, he said, “Ah, cousin, the poor church of GOD is torn in  
 “pieces!” He said no more, but sweetly and gently groaned out his wearied and fainting spirit, and resigned his soul into the arms of his merciful Redeemer, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

‘He was esteemed (says Mr. Wood) by the generality, ‘to be one of the most resolute and victorious champions ‘of the reformed protestant religion in his time; a most ‘smart scourge of the church of Rome, a compendium of ‘the learned tongues, and of all the liberal arts and ‘sciences: And though of small stature, yet he had a ‘great soul, and learning of all kinds compacted in him.’ Mr. Leigh calls him ‘a learned divine, and a most acute ‘disputant.’

He was the author of near forty different Works, chiefly of the polemic kind, against the papists. He also published, in 1629, King JAMES’s *Cygnea Cantio*; in which may be seen a scholastic duel between that King and our Author.

## JOHN DOD.

THIS justly famous and reverend man was born in Cheshire, at a town called Shotlidge, bordering on Wales, not far from Malpas. His parents had a small estate, worth a hundred marks a-year, which went to the eldest brother. This John was the youngest of seventeen, and much beloved by his parents. He was sent to school to Chester; and, when he was about fourteen years old, he was removed to Jesus college in Cambridge, where he was chosen first scholar, and afterwards fellow. In that college he remained near sixteen years.

The manner of his conversion was thus: The steward of the college accused him to the master, for the non-payment of a considerable sum of money due for one of his pupils, which Mr. Dod had truly paid, but had forgot to set down. Hereupon there was a vehement contest betwixt them; and the vexation of mind, that he should be accounted a defrauder, so troubled Mr. Dod, that he fell into a fever, and was dangerously sick; yet all this while he was but in a natural state; for, though he had some good skill in the theoretic part of divinity, yet it was nothing but theory; and his affliction was this, that he should be blamed for that which he, from the law and light of nature, hated. All his sorrow, as yet, was but worldly sorrow, and, as himself says, "He neither did nor could tell how to pray." At length the Lord applied to his heart that scripture, Rom. vii. 14. *The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, and sold under sin;* and presently his sins came upon him like armed men, the tide of his thoughts was turned, and he left musing upon the error of his heart and life. He began seriously to consider how he had offended God, betook himself to great humiliation, and earnestly besought the Lord for pardon and peace in Jesus Christ, yet for some time he could find no comfort; but at length the salvation of Christ was opened to his mind, and his heart was enabled to rejoice in it.

Soon

Soon after this, he desired his accuser to come to him, and told him, that though he had accounted him to be his great enemy, yet now he acknowledged him to be his good friend, for that he was a mean to bring him unto God; and afterwards (by God's good providence) it came to this man's remembrance, that Mr. Dod had paid him the money, was very sorrowful for the wrong which he had done him, and did him all the right he could for the healing of his name. Mr. Dod afterwards said, that he had not a more faithful friend in all the college, during his abode there, than this man proved to him.

When he was of some years standing a master of arts, he was appointed to oppose in the philosophy-act at the commencement, which he did with great approbation, insomuch it was desired that he should dispute again at the next commencement, but that he declined. When he preached his first sermon in the university, he had bestowed much pains about it, binding himself to words and phrases; but he found himself confined, and resolved afterwards never to pen his sermon *verbatim*. His usual manner was, to write only the analysis of his text, the proofs of Scripture for the doctrines, with the reasons and uses, and so leaving the rest to meditation, in which course he never found defect. About this time Dr. Fulke, Dr. Chaderton, Dr. Whitaker, and some others, had their frequent meetings to expound the Scriptures, and had chose the Epistle to the Hebrews; in which meetings they were pleased, from their respect to Mr. Dod, to invite him among them.

While he continued fellow of Jesus college, by the importunity of some good people of Ely, he went weekly and preached amongst them in that city, where the Lord gave a great blessing to his ministry. His removal from Cambridge to Hanwell, in Oxfordshire, was thus occasioned: Mr. Cope, (afterwards Sir Anthony Cope) a man of eminent note, who was much wrought upon by Mr. Dod's ministry, sent a letter to Dr. Chaderton, to provide him a minister for Hanwell, which cure was then vacant. Dr. Chaderton moved Mr. Dod to go to the place; and after he had been a while, and preached several sermons, by the desire and consent of the people, and by the approbation of the neighbour ministers who had heard him, he was settled as their pastor. While he was at Hanwell, he preached twice every Sabbath, catechizing also in the afternoon, and kept a lecture every Wednesday constantly; and besides this, he was one of the five ministers who held  
up

up the lecture at Banbury. He gave himself much to fasting and prayer, and spiritual conferences, to the great comfort and benefit of the people, and the conversion of many souls unto God. He was given to hospitality, delighting therein, keeping a constant table on Sundays, and on the Wednesdays when he held a lecture; upon which days he had not under eight or twelve persons commonly dining with him, and he spent the time amongst them in spiritual exhortation and conference.

He was about thirty years old when he came to Hanwell, and continued there above twenty years, where he had twelve children by his wife Anne, the daughter of Doctor Bound, and daughter-in-law to that eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Greenham of Draughton, near Cambridge; she was one that truly feared God. After her decease (by the persuasion of some friends) he took to wife Mrs. Cleiton, who then lived at Stratford Bow; she also was a godly woman, and he was contracted to her by Mr. Egerton of Black-Friars, and married by his ancient and affectionate friend Dr. Gouge, rector of that parish.

But to return back again to Hanwell: It pleased the Lord to give a great blessing to his ministry in that place; yet he had much trouble from the envy of some ministers that lived about him, who, though they seldom preached themselves, would not suffer their people to go from them; and hence he was frequently questioned in the bishop's courts. And besides this, (though some of Hanwell were very courteous and kind) there were some others who were glad to get from him what they could, and to keep from him what they could, thinking that what he had was too much. Upon a time Mr. Dod took a journey to Draughton, to bemoan himself to his father-in-law Mr. Greenham, on account of his crosses and hard usage; from whom he received this answer: 'Son, son, when affliction lieth heavy, sin lieth light.' This deserves the rather to be remembered, because Mr. Dod used often to bless God for it, saying, that if Mr. Greenham had bemoaned him, which he expected, he had done him hurt: And he forgot not this speech in his old age, but made excellent use of it for himself and others.

He was suspended from his ministry at Hanwell by Dr. Bridges, Bishop of Oxford. And (suspecting what would follow) the Sabbath before he went to the visitation, he gave his hearers a farewell sermon out of that text. *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered; the*  
people

people attending to him with sad countenances and weeping eyes. Being thus driven from Hanwell, he preached at Fenny Compton in Warwickshire, where he had but small means; but he was desirous to be doing good. From thence he had a fair call to Cannons Ashby in Northamptonshire, where he lived quietly several years, preached over the whole prophecy of Daniel, with some other Scriptures; having much kindness from Sir Erasmus Dryden, (in whom there was a rare mixture of piety and learning) and good affection from Mr. Cope. He was silenced from preaching at Ashby, upon a complaint made against him by Bishop Neale to King James, who commanded Archbishop Abbot to silence him.

Then he ceased for some time to preach publicly; yet in regard of his heavenly gift in conference, he might have been said daily to preach privately; he was in his element when he was discoursing of heavenly things. And God in goodness so ordered it, that, when he was restrained from public preaching, he conceived that at that time his life was no less profitable than it had been in former times.

He had much employment in comforting such as were wounded in their spirits, being sent for, not only nigh at hand, but also into remote countries. There was a gentlewoman who had a great worldly estate, and an affectionate husband, but she was so severely assaulted with temptations, that she often attempted to make away with herself. Mr. Dod was sent for to come to her; and the Lord so blessed his counsels, exhortations, and prayers, that she did not only recover from her anguish of spirit, but was afterwards taken notice of for her singular piety; and this affliction was not only the means of her conversion, but of her husband's, so that both of them were a great mercy in the country where they lived, promoting religion according to their power, and entertaining and cherishing godly people. She lived several years, quieted in her heart, and rich in good works; and when she lay on her death-bed, Mr. Dod was sent for to her again, who spake much of the glory that would shortly be revealed to her. She told him, that she felt the comforts of God, and that she could as hardly at that time forbear singing, as formerly in child-bearing she could forbear crying; and shortly after she died.

There was a gentleman, related to a noble family, so perplexed in his mind, that he had been known in hard frosts to go barefooted, that the pain of his feet might divert

divert his thoughts. Mr. Dod was sent for to him, who was made his spiritual physician to heal him. It would be long to insist on all particulars of this nature, the Lord having made him a happy instrument for the good of many.

When he had spent some years in this kind of service, by the care and industry of Mr. Richard Knightly of Preston, after the death of King James, his liberty was procured for preaching again publicly, and then he was settled at Fausley, where he preached twice every Lord's day. There he went over the gospel of St. John, the epistle to the Colossians, and other Scriptures.

He was much given to hospitality at Fausley, as he had formerly been at Hanwell; so that there was scarce any Sabbath in the year, in which he did not dine both poor and rich, commonly three or four poor persons, besides those that came from other places to hear him. He had so large an heart, that upon occasion, he hath given to some three shillings, to some ten shillings, to some twenty shillings; and when the poor came to buy butter or cheese, he would command his maid to take no money of them. At Fausley he had quietness from the courts, as also at Ashby; for in neither of those places were there any church-wardens.

He used to bear crosses with much patience and meekness, being wont to say, that sanctified afflictions were great promotions, quoting that of the Apostle Peter, 1 Pet. i. 7. He always expected troubles, and prepared himself for them; and put this difference between the afflictions for which we are provided, and others; that the first are but blows on the harness, but the others are blows on the flesh. Upon a time, when an affliction was upon him, which went to his very heart, and in the expectation of which he wept; yet when he saw it was the will of God that it should be so, he said to one whom he loved, "I will go and bless God, for I believe this shall be for my good."

He gave himself much to fasting and prayer; and when he fasted, his custom was, to abstain from the dinner of the day before to the supper of the day after. His diseases, till he was above threescore, were only fevers, and these for the most part high and violent. In the sixty-third year of his age he had a fever, in which there was small hope of life. Dr. Oxenbridge was his physician, who, waiting for the breathing out of the disease by sweating, (in which at last he had his desire) came to Mr.

Dod,

Dod, and, in the presence of several people, said unto him, ‘ Now I have hope of your recovery ;’ to which Mr. Dod answered, “ You think to comfort me by this, “ but you make my heart sad ; it is as if you should “ tell one, who had been sore weather-beaten on the “ sea, and conceiving he was arrived at the haven where “ his soul longed to be, that he must come back again “ to be tossed with new winds and waves.” In his greatest health and prosperity he would speak how he desired to be dissolved. Upon a time a gentleman blamed him for it, saying, he liked not servants who would have their wages before they had done their work ; but he seemed to be constant in this desire, alleging these reasons among others, that God had given him a settled assurance of heaven, and a sight of the excellency of heaven, and that the earth was but a prison, and heaven the palace, where was perfect holiness and happiness.

He took all occasions to do good, when he was in company, by godly speeches, seasoning those which came to him, that unless it were their own fault they might be the better for him. Being invited to a great feast, where there were many gentlemen, and some of them began to swear, he stopped them by discoursing of the greatness of that sin ; and that he might not burden their memories, he quoted three chapters ; every one was the first, as the first of Zachariah, the first of Matthew, and the first of James ; and he opened those Scriptures in such sort, that they were all hushed, and did not again offend in that kind while he was present among them.

The word of God was his great delight, his meditation was of it in the night, and his discourse in the day ; when those that were with him were speaking of earthly things, he would find out some way to bring in heavenly : when he could not sleep in the night, he would say, “ That the meditation of the word was sweeter to him “ than sleep.” When he had preached twice on the Sabbath, and was weary, yet to those that came to him he would go on afresh in holy discourses ; and the comforts, which he found in his soul, made him sometimes forget his body, and speak till he was ready to faint.

His eminence was in frequency, aptness, freeness, and largeness of godly discourse ; in which respect it may be said of him, that, in the country where he lived, none were known who were equal to him. He was *micans*  
*inter*

*inter omnes, velut inter ignes luna minores*, ‘ shining among the rest, like the moon among inferior lights.’

He was very merciful himself; and to move parents that were rich to mercy, he would say thus: “ You are caring and contriving to lay up for your children, but lay up for yourselves a good foundation against the time to come, being rich in good works; you will lay up treasure in the earth, which is an unsafe place; lay up treasures in heaven, *that is the sure and safe place.*”

He loved and honoured those that feared God, though in point of subscription and ceremonies they were not of his judgment; and as he sowed, so he reaped: He was full of love himself, and greatly beloved of others. Dr. Preston, whom good men loved for his excellent piety and learning, was a faithful friend of Mr. Dod’s, often entertained him at his chamber, and esteemed him much for his spirituality in conference and conversation, and for his ability to open Scripture, and to comfort troubled spirits. When the Doctor’s consumption was upon him, which put an end to his life, he came to Mr. Richard Knightley’s, at Preston in Northamptonshire, which was but a mile from Fausley, where Mr. Dod was minister, and desired him to speak to him of death and heaven, and heard him with patience and thankfulness. Mr. Dod prayed by him when he lay dying, and preached his funeral sermon. See Vol. II. p. 477.

Also Mr. Throgmorton, a pious and painful preacher of the word, a good man, dying the same year of a consumption, came to Ashby, not far from Fausley, to have the help of Mr. Dod’s comforts and counsels. He was oppressed with melancholy; and a little before he gave up his soul to Christ, he asked Mr. Dod, ‘ What will ye say of him that is going out of the world, and can find no comfort?’ To whom he answered, “ What will you say of our Saviour, Christ, who when he was going out of the world found no comfort, but cried out, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*” This speech refreshed Mr. Throgmorton; and within a little space of time after this, he went to his heavenly inheritance.

Mr. Dod, as he was of a weaned disposition from the world himself, so he laboured to wean others. He put this difference between rich Christians and poor, that for poor Christians their father kept the purse, but the rich Christians kept the purse in their own hands. But it

might oftener fall out, and did; and therefore the purse was better in the Father's hand than in the children's. He used to compare wicked men to waves of the sea; those who were of great estate, were great waves; those who were of small estate, were small waves; but all were restless as waves.

To a friend of his, that was raised from a mean estate to worldly greatness, he sent word, that this was but as if he should go out of a boat into a barge or ship; but there ought to be a serious and godly remembrance, that, while we are in this world, we are upon the sea.

He often repeated this, that nothing could hurt us but our own sins; and they should not hurt us, if we truly repented of them: And nothing could do us good but GOD's favour; and that we should be sure of, if we unfeignedly sought it. Speaking of David's penning the fifty-first Psalm, after his murder and adultery, he put this gloss upon it, "That hearty and true penitents shall have cause to praise the Lord for his pardoning mercy."

He said, "Afflictions were GOD's portions, which we might sweeten by faith and faithful prayer; but we for the most part make them bitter, putting into GOD's cup the ill ingredients of our own impatience and unbelief." He gave this reason why many of GOD's people lived uncomfortably, for "They shut their ear against what GOD said, where they should open it; and they opened their ear to what their carnal reason, and Satan, and the world said, where they should shut it; but (said he) the psalmist was wiser, Psalm lxxxv. 8. He would hear none of them all: *I will hear what the Lord GOD will speak.*"

His preaching was searching; and when some supposed that he had informers and spies, because he came so close to them, he answered, "That the word of GOD was searching; and that if he was shut up in a dark vault, where none could come at him, yet allow him a Bible and a candle, he should preach as he did."

He had an excellent gift in similitudes, which flowed freely and frequently from him; as all those knew, who either heard him preach publicly or discourse privately. He called death the friend of grace, though it were the enemy of nature; and whereas the word, and sacraments, and prayer do but weaken sin, death kills it. Speaking of prayer, he said, "A man was never in a  
"hard

“ hard condition, unless he had a hard heart, and could  
“ not pray.”

Having preached out of that text, *O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt*, he invited some women to dinner, and told them that it was a common saying, “ Let a woman have her will, and then she  
“ would be quiet. Now the way for a woman to have  
“ her will, is to have a strong faith, and to pray as that  
“ woman in the Gospel did.”

Upon a time when he had preached long, and it was later than usual before he went to dinner, he said, “ You  
“ shall have some gentlemen follow hounds from seven  
“ in the morning till four or five in the afternoon, be-  
“ cause they love the cry of dogs, which to me is un-  
“ pleasant hearing; so if we love the word, we should  
“ be content though the minister stood above his hour:”  
And he added, “ Methinks it is much better to hear a  
“ minister preach, than a kennel of hounds to bark.”  
Speaking of recreation, he said, “ He marvelled what  
“ the vocation of many was, who were so eager for re-  
“ creation; and if we should come into a house, and see  
“ many physic-boxes and glasses, we should conclude  
“ somebody is sick; so when we see hounds, and hawks,  
“ and cards, and dice, we may fear that there is some  
“ sick soul in that family.”

He told some friends, “ That if he were to pass sen-  
“ tence who was a rich man, he would not look into his  
“ purse or chest, how much gold he had laid up, but  
“ look into his heart for what promises were treasured  
“ up there; for we count him rich that is rich in bonds;  
“ but they have the best bonds that lay hold on the pro-  
“ mises of God.”

Speaking to a minister, who was to go to a place where there was but small means, he told him, “ That  
“ his care was to preach and do God service, and then  
“ God would provide for him.” When he preached at Fausley, and was much resorted to, as it was with him in other places, he told a godly man of his acquaintance, “ That if the country knew as much by him as he  
“ knew by himself, they would not have him in such  
“ admiration.”

Speaking about going to law, his opinion was, “ That  
“ it was better to buy love than law; for one might  
“ have a great deal of love for a little, whereas he could  
“ have but a little law for a great deal.” He would fre-  
quently

quently say, "That was well which ended everlastingly well, and that was ill which ended everlastingly ill; and that a man was never undone till he was in hell."

This was a speech which he often used: "That if it were lawful to envy any, he would envy those that turned to God in youth, whereby they escaped much sin and sorrow, and were like unto Jacob, that gained the blessing betimes."

This was a remarkable passage of Providence, that upon a time, when it was late at night, it came into his mind that he must see a friend of his about two miles off. He had business, and would have put it off, but his thoughts were restless, whereupon he went; and when he came to the place all the family were in bed, but only his friend, who was esteemed truly godly, but at that time was overwhelmed with temptations, the occasion whereof was some cruelty offered to his children. Mr. Dod knew nothing either of the temptation or occasion of it; but knocking at the door, his friend opened the door to him, to whom he said, "I am come to you, I know not why myself, but I was restless in my spirit until I had done it." To whom his friend answered, 'You know not why you came, but God knew why he sent you;' and then pulled out a halter, with which he had intended self-murder at that time, which by God's goodness was thus prevented.

Speaking of losing for Christ, he testified from his own experience, that for the loss of one carnal brother he had two hundred spiritual brethren. Before he was married, he could not maintain himself, and therefore thought how he should maintain a wife and children, his income not being great; but looking out of his study window, he saw a hen and chickens scratching for their living, and he considered thus with himself: The hen did but live before, and had nothing to spare, and now she has as much with that great family.

When he saw a Christian look sad, he would use that speech which Jonadab did to Amnon, "*Art not thou a king's son?*" He would say to those that complained of losses and crosses, what Eliphaz did to Job, "*Do the consolations of God seem small to you? God hath taken away your children, your goods, but he hath not taken away himself, nor Christ, nor his spirit, nor heaven, nor eternal life.*" He used to instruct Christians how they should never have a great affliction,

nor long, and that was by looking upon things which were not seen, which are eternal, 2 Cor. iv. 17, 18. "What can be great to him that counts the world nothing? and what can be long to him that thinks his life but a span long?" In order to persuade Christians not to return railing for railing, he would say, that "if a dog bark at a sheep, a sheep will not bark at a dog."

In the great civil war, at the first beginning of it, when many people came to him, being affrighted at the outrages which were committed; he encouraged them, using this speech, "That if a house were full of rods, what need the child fear, when none of them could move without their father's hand, and the Lord was a loving father; state and life and ail were in his disposing." When afterwards some soldiers came to his house, and threatened to knock him on the head, he answered with confidence, that "If they did, they should send him to heaven, where he longed to be, but they could do nothing except God gave leave." They broke open his chests and cupboards, and plundered him of his goods; but he said to a friend of his, "That he would not do them that honour to say they had taken aught from him, but it was the Lord, alleging that Job when he was spoiled by the Chaldeans and Sabeans, did not so much as name the instruments, but *The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.*"

At length they came to him, when through weakness he was unable not only to stir out of his chamber, but also out of his bed: they cut the curtains off his bed, and pulled away the pillowbeers from under his head, asking him, 'Whether he could speak Latin?' In all which losses, which were great, he never uttered one word of impatience. In his sickness, when extreme pain was upon him, as soon as the fit was over, he would say to his maid-servant that attended him, "O think well of God for it, for it is most justly and wisely done, whatsoever he sendeth or doeth." When his servants came to visit him in the morning, he would say, "Have ye been with God to bless him for your sleep this night? He might have made your bed your grave."

He would often say in his sickness, "I am not afraid to look death in the face; I can say, Death, where is thy sting? Death cannot hurt me." He spake how death was a sweet sleep to a Christian; adding, that if  
parents

parents should tell little children who had played all the day, that they must go to bed, they would be ready to cry: But a labouring man is glad when night comes, that he might go to rest: So wicked men, death is unwelcome unto them; but a child of God, who hath laboured and suffered, is glad when death cometh, that he may rest from his labours.

When he had been long speaking to those who came to him, and used to ask him questions, and had been persuaded to spare himself, he would say, "Hear but this one thing more: It may be I shall never speak to you again, but if it should be so, *Blessed is the servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.* Hearken to a few words more. God hath heard all the words we have spoken, and considered with what hearts and affections we have spoken them."

He used to compare rebukes uttered in passion to scalding potions, which the patient could not take down; and his opinion was, that if we would do good unto others, we should labour for meekness of wisdom, whereby we shall be enabled to use soft words and hard arguments.

He allowed to husbands and wives only one contention; which was this, who should love one another best; and advised them, that when either of them were in a passion, they should not answer passions with passions, but with compassions.

He was very plain and familiar both in preaching and conference, yet very spiritual, and performed all with much gravity.

The chief things he sought God for, in his frequent secret fastings and prayers (as himself said) were, the knowledge of the Scriptures, and a blessing upon his ministry, in both which God answered him abundantly.

As for the Scriptures, God had so enlightened him, that he was able to give account of the drift and scope of the Spirit of God in the greatest part of them, with great clearness, and to open them in such sort and manner as proved very effectual for the bringing of Scripture-light into simple men's understandings, who were not able to reach the obscure and scholastic interpretations of many. His manner was, to compare Scripture with Scripture, seldom naming the dissenters, and but sparingly

ingly different readings, but making out the truth positively, or by necessary consequence.

In preaching, he usually took some portion of Scripture in order before him, opening a verse or two or more at a time, first clearing the drift and connection, then giving the sense and interpretation briefly, but very plainly, not leaving the text till he had made it plain to the meanest capacity; then raising those doctrines that were most agreeable to the mind and meaning of the Spirit of God in that text, clearing and exemplifying his points excellently out of the word, opening his proofs, but not multiplying particulars, which oppress the memory, nor dwelling so long as to make all truth run through a few texts. He spake most largely and very home in application, mightily convincing and diving into men's hearts and consciences, and leaving them little or nothing to object against it.

He took great care to speak to the meanest capacity, and to feed the lambs, saying, "He must stoop to the lowest capacity; and if he could reach *them*, others might help themselves." He could not endure that ministers should use hard and unusual English; he said, that "most ministers in England usually shoot over the heads of their hearers."

He did not strive to speak all that might be said to a point, nor to shew variety, or please curiosity, but to speak to the heart; he would say that there were many tricks and devices that some men used in preaching, but they seldom did good; the pure gospel, and that preaching which the world calls foolishness, was that which works most kindly.\*

He was very evangelical, striving first to make men see their lost condition clearly, and to be convinced of it, saying, "Sense of misery was a good step to the remedy;" and then largely and excellently opening the promises, and the grace of God in Christ, according to the Gospel, looking at that as the most effectual preaching. "Some (says he) labour still to keep men under terrors, and load them with threatenings, &c. lest they should not be humbled enough; but the Gospel works true humiliation, not the law; it arises  
" from

\* Of the same mind was the late excellent Mr. Bostwick; witness his invaluable sermon upon 'Self disclaimed, and Christ exalted,' which is perhaps the most searching and evangelical *Concio ad clerum* now extant. Printed for Mathews in the Straud.

“ from sense of sin and misery, joined with hope of  
 “ mercy. The damned have terror and sense of misery  
 “ enough, but that doth not humble them.”

He desired to speak distinctly, not giving the children's bread to dogs, but to discover hypocrisy and sincerity by living characters and signs; but yet with tenderness to babes in Christ, striving to discover a babe from an hypocrite. He was excellent for practical divinity, for living by faith as to spirituals and temporals, and for self-denial; he was also very consolatory, rendering religion the most sweet and comfortable life, notwithstanding sufferings. He used to press much after the seeking of spiritual illumination, in hearing and reading, &c. and divine assistance in religious duties; not contenting ourselves with the use of parts and accomplishments, or grace received, but to look higher, saying, “ David that could preach excellently, and had  
 “ Nathan and Gad the prophets also to preach, yet cries  
 “ out for teaching; thereby shewing, that all teaching  
 “ would not do, unless GOD teacheth also. And  
 “ David cries, *Open mine eyes*; he had the light without,  
 “ but he must have light within, viz. sight, else he  
 “ could not see the wonders of the law, though he had  
 “ the law.”

He used to press much to meekness, and a sweet disposition to affability, charity, and cheerfulness; not to be rigid, sour, tart, nor sad, lest the world should think that we served an hard master.

Being above eighty years old, his pains were very great, yet not over-painful to him; though he preached almost all day long on the Lord's day, he said, “ It was  
 “ no great matter to pay money when one had it; all  
 “ the labour was to get it.” He opened a chapter, and prayed in his family, afterwards preached twice in public, and in the interim discoursed all dinner time, but eat very little; he brought in many with him to dinner, besides his four or six constant widows. If his wife began to doubt of her provision at sight of so many, he would say, “ Better want meat than good company;  
 “ there is something in the house, though cold; this  
 “ is not a day to feast the bodies but souls.” At first sitting down, he would bid them help themselves and one another, and see that none want; “ Let me  
 “ (said he) bid you but once, for I would not speak a  
 “ vain word to-day.” After both sermons the house would be filled, and he being sat in his chair, used to  
 say,

say, "If any have a good question or a hard place of Scripture to open, let them say on;" and, when he was faint, he would call for a small glass of wine and beer mixed, and then would go to it again till night.

He was excellent in preaching occasionally upon the works of creation, as he walked or rode.

His ministry was so spiritual, and yet so plain, that poor simple people, who never knew what religion meant, when they had gone to hear him, could not chuse but talk of his sermon; it mightily affected poor creatures to hear the mysteries of God (by his excellent skill that way) brought down to their own language and dialect.

He was so holy and spiritual both in life and doctrine, that he silenced even desperate and devilish opposers of religion; it was a discredit for any to speak evil of him, because it must needs express much malice, and all men most generally (in his latter time at least) honoured him.

He was very successful in making peace, though between desperate and almost implacable adversaries, and some of them wicked; mightily convincing them with gospel-arguments, to the overcoming and quieting of their spirits.

He would answer any questions propounded, that were but fit for a divine to speak to; yet shewing his approbation or dislike of the question according to the worth and spirituality, or curiosity and lightness of it.

When mean inferior people came to speak with him, if he was walking in the church, where he used most to study, that he might have room to walk in, (being troubled with the stone) or elsewhere; if he thought them bashful, he would meet them, and say, "Would you speak with me?" and when he found them unable to state their question, he would help them out with it, taking care to find the sore; but would answer and deal so compassionately and tenderly, as not to discourage the poorest soul from coming again to him.

If any questioned him about ceremonies, concerning which there were many disputes at that time, he was very wary in dealing, (not shy in speaking his judgment) but careful of advising them according to their strength; he would bid them take heed of being led merely by the imitation of any body, or other men's arguments, but look to their Scripture light, and see what arguments they had to bear them out; and whether they

they could suffer alone in that case if they should survive their patterns; he would not have them make a business about less things, and then fall off from what they began to profess.

Being to advise a young man in his choice of a yoke-fellow, he bade him look principally after godliness: "Men talk of a portion, grace is the best portion: *The wise woman buildeth up the house*, viz. the godly, &c. not the rich. Some use to say there is a portion and civility, and we will hope for grace; but, saith he, rather make sure of grace, and hope for riches: There is far greater reason for it; for godliness hath the promises, riches have none; a son or daughter of God shall be provided for."

He would say, he that could answer two questions well, might have comfort in any place or condition, viz "Who am I? and What do I here? Am I a child of God? and, Am I in my calling or way? *He hath given his angels charge to keep thee in all thy ways.* And that the knowledge of two things would make one willing to suffer or die, viz. What heaven is? And that is mine." Ay, (said one) if a man were sure. To whom he answered, "Truly, assurance is to be had; and what have we been doing all this while?"

He used to say, "They that hope to go to heaven (as most do) and had not good evidence for it, were like a man, that, passing by a great house and estate, would say, This is mine; but being bid to shew his title, would say, Somebody must have it, and why not I?—Such is most men's title for heaven."

During the time of his last sickness, it pleased the Lord to try him by grievous pains, most bitter and sharp, of the strangury: But, when he had any intermission, he was breathing out such speeches as tended to the praise of God, and to the edification of those that attended him. He slept little all the night or day before his death, in which time he employed his attendants who were about him to read the Scriptures, which he expounded to them; and when his strength was spent with speaking, he retired himself to prayer and meditation. When he felt his pains returning, he would intreat those that were about him to pray to God for him, either to give him deliverance or patience. His temptations a little before his death, and his wrestlings with Satan, were great; and so were  
his

his victories. He spake to one that watched with him all night, about two o'clock in the morning, that he had been wrestling with Satan all that night; who accused him that he neither preached, nor prayed, nor performed any duty as he should have done, for manner or for end; but he said, "I have answered him from the examples of the "prodigal and the publican."

His faith and patience were increased and perfected by his sufferings. "He longed and thirsted to be with "Christ," which words he often uttered; and often said, "I am not afraid to look death in the face: I can say, "Death, where is thy sting? death cannot hurt me." One of his last speeches was this; with his eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, he sighed and said, "I desire to be "dissolved, and to be with Christ." His pains left him not an hour before his death; his speech also then leaving him, he quietly and patiently ended his life, at Fausley in Northamptonshire, being ninety-six years old; and in the year of our Lord, 1645.

His Sayings are well known, and as well deserve remembrance. We cannot learn, that he published any thing himself. "Ten Sermons on the *Lord's Supper*," were published after his death.

The pious reader may not be displeased with the following anecdotes of this excellent man, as they are given us by Dr. Fuller in his church history.

' At a disputation at one commencement, Mr. John Dod was so facetiously solid, (wild, yet sweet fruits which the stock brought forth before grafted with grace) that Oxford men, there present, courted him home with them, and would have planted him in their university, save that he declined it.

' He was a passive non-conformist, not loving any one the worse for difference in judgment about ceremonies, but all the better for their unity of affections in grace and goodness. He used to retrench some hot spirits, when inveighing against bishops, telling them how God under that government had given a marvellous increase to the gospel, and that godly men might comfortably comport there with; under which learning and religion had so manifest an improvement. He was a good decalogist, and is conceived to his dying day (how roughly soever used by the opposite party) to stick to his own judgment to what he had written on the fifth commandment, "Of Obedience to lawful Authority."

‘ At Hanwel, some riotous gentlemen casually coming into the table of Sir Anthony Cope, were half starved in the midst of a feast, because refraining from swearing (meat and drink to them) in the presence of Mr. Dod. Of these, one after dinner ingenuously professed, that he thought it had been impossible for himself to forbear oaths so long a time. Hereat Mr. Dod, the flame of whose zeal turned all accidents into fuel, fell into a pertinent and seasonable discourse, of what power men have, more than they know of themselves, to refrain from sin; and how active God’s restraining grace would be in us to bridle us from wickedness, were we not wanting to ourselves.

‘ Mr. Dod being at Holdenby, and invited by an honourable person to see that stately house, built by Sir Christopher Hatton, (the master-piece of English architecture in that age) he desired to be excused, and to sit still looking on a flower, which he had in his hand. In this flower (said he) I can see more of God, than in all the beautiful buildings in the world. And at this day, as his flower is long since withered, that magnificent pile (that fair flower of art) is altogether blasted and destroyed.

‘ It is reported that he was but roughly used by the cavaliers, who (they say) plundered him of his linen and household stuff, though as some tell me, if so disposed, he might have redeemed all for a very small matter. However the good man still remembered his old maxim, “ Sanctified afflictions are good promotions.” And I have been credibly informed, that when the soldiers brought down his sheets out of the chamber into the room where Mr. Dod sat by the fire-side, he, in their absence to search after more, took one pair, and clapt them under his cushion whereon he sat, much pleasing himself after their departure, that he had (as he said) plundered the plunderers, and by a lawful felony saved so much of his own to himself.

‘ Being stricken in years, he used to compare himself to Sampson when his hair was cut off. “ I rise (saith he) in a morning as Sampson did, and think I will go out as at other times, go forth, watch, work, study, ride, as when a young man: But, alas, he quickly found an alteration, and so do I, who must stoop to age, which hath clipt my hair, and taken my strength away.”

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‘ He was an excellent scholar, and was as causelessly accused as another John, (I mean Mr. John Fox) for lacking of Latin. He was also an excellent Hebrician, and with his society and directions, in one vacation, taught that tongue unto Mr. John Gregory, that rare linguist, chaplain of Christ-church, who survived him but one year. And now they both together praise God in that language which glorified saints and angels use in heaven.’

Mr. W. Lee gives this testimony of Mr. Dod: ‘ He lived in the several reigns of three princes, under monarchy, to which he was a friend: And we may well believe, that some part of those blessings we enjoyed in those flourishing times, was procured by exemplary piety and fervent preaching; which last had mighty force in subduing the lips of men, the great enemies of the public peace, and disturbers of society. By his contentedness, he taught men to confine their desires within the limits of what is necessary, and, by his heavenly mind, search for those pleasures which come from above. That he was a friend to the peace of the church, the testimony of Archbishop Usher will put out of doubt; whom I have heard say, Whatsoever some affirm of Mr. Dod’s strictness, and scrupling some ceremonies, I desire, when I die, that my soul may rest where his doth.’

## HERBERT PALMER, B.D.

**T**HIS pious Divine, the son of Sir Thomas Palmer, was descended of an ancient family, and born at Wingham in East-Kent, in 1601. The impressions of grace had so early an appearance in him, that he was, not without good ground, esteemed one sanctified from the womb. When but four years old, he would cry to go to his mother, to hear her read or speak something of God: And his religious desires grew up with his age. He was early acquainted with the Book of God, which he much delighted in, and read with great affection. He had excellent natural parts, which were soon exercised; he learned French when so young, that he has been often heard to say, he could not remember learning it. In 1615, he was admitted fellow-commoner of St. John's college in Cambridge, where he continued his former diligence, in the exercises of religion, and the improvement of himself in learning. In 1622, he took his master of arts degree; and in the year following was constituted fellow of Queen's college, in the same university: And in the year 1624, he entered into holy orders; to which, agreeable to his own inclinations, he had been devoted from a child.

In the year 1626, he was chosen lecturer in the city of Canterbury; where, notwithstanding the great oppositions he met with, he laboured, in word and doctrine, with much diligence and success, for several years, till he removed to Ashwel in Hertfordshire, in 1632; where he continued the same zeal, diligence, and care, that he had shewn at Canterbury, in seeking the good of those souls committed to his charge. Besides his constant preaching twice every Lord's day, and on every occasion on the week-day, studying plainness of speech that he might profit all that heard him, he was remarkably careful by catechizing to instruct in the principles of religion not only the children and youth, but even aged people  
privately;

privately, whom he found ignorant. And in order to render as extensively useful as possible this most important part of pastoral duty, he prevailed upon the greater part of his parish and the most considerable persons in it, to send their children and servants constantly to be catechized before the afternoon sermon at church; and when they grew so very numerous, that they took up too much time at church, he divided them, and catechized the rest at his own house in the evening. After studying several forms of catechism, and finding, by experience in teaching, they were defective in point of easy and ready instruction, he drew up a very excellent one, entitled, "An Endeavour of making the Principles of the Christian Religion plain and easy;" which was so well approved of, that several thousands were printed every year.

As he was careful in the instruction of his flock, so was he also vigilant to prevent disorders amongst them in point of practice; in which, not content with his own personal endeavours, he engaged many of his parishioners, who joined heartily with him in putting a stop to the reigning profaneness and immorality of the times.

In the religious ordering of his own family, he took the greatest care and pains, that, as much as possible, it might be a garden without weeds; and that those under his roof might either not perish, or at least that he might be free from their blood. Throughout the whole economy of his family he was a strict observer of the Lord's day; ordering all about him to leave off their ordinary employments sooner on the Saturday evening than on other days, that they might not be indisposed for the duties of the following day: And if he knew of any dish that had detained any of his servants from attending on any of the ordinances of God, he would reprove them by not so much as tasting it. Indeed his house was a perfect school of religion; for, besides his care of his family jointly, he gave them continually personal counsel and direction in the ways of God; exhorting them to a daily constancy in the performance of private duties between God and their own souls: So that scarce any family enjoyed so many helps and encouragements in the ways of faith and holiness, as Mr. Palmer's.

In 1632, he was by the University of Cambridge made one of the university preachers, (having proceeded bachelor in divinity two years before); which, after the nature  
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of a general licence, authorized him to preach, as he might have occasion, in any part of England. In the beginning of the parliament, he with Dr. Tuckney was chosen clerk of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln. In 1643, he was called to be a member of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster: And, after some time, was chosen one of the assessors, and appointed to assist the prolocutor, in case of absence or infirmity. He was in that assembly an eminent and very useful member, exceeding diligent and industrious, being very rarely absent; for as he esteemed it an honour to be employed so publicly in the service of God and his church, so he conscientiously attended upon it. And having provided Ashwel with a pious able divine, to whom he gave the whole stipend, he continued to preach occasionally in and about London, till he was invited by the inhabitants of Duke's Place to be their minister: Which call he accepted, and laboured amongst them with much faithfulness and diligence, preaching twice every Lord's day, duly administering the sacraments, publicly catechizing, and expounding the Scriptures: And, as his custom was, wherever he had a cure of souls, he conversed with them privately in their families, which he looked upon to be his peculiar duty, and the best means of affording personal directions and other ministerial helps, as their several conditions might require. All which he performed with so much meekness, wisdom, and piety, and was accompanied with such a blessing from God, that it made a very great impression on them for their good, and rendered his labours so acceptable to them, that they became ambitious who should enjoy most of his heavenly conversation and Christian counsel. He was very successful, while there, in preserving them from those errors and divisions, which naturally grow up in all times of confusion and discord.

When his friends used to advise him to favour himself, seeing him labour beyond his strength; his answer was, "My strength will spend of itself, though I do nothing; and it cannot be better spent than in the service of God." Indeed, so far was he from favouring himself in this way, that it was a rule, which he constantly observed, never to decline any ministerial exercise that he was requested to perform, if he could possibly do it.

The New church at Westminster being finished, at the earnest solicitation of the people, and by the advice of the assembly of divines, he consented to take that charge upon himself, upon condition that the assembly would provide

provide a faithful pastor to be his successor at Duke's Place: Which being complied with, and Dr. Young, afterwards master of Jesus college, Cambridge, appointed to succeed him, he entered upon this large and important cure with his usual fidelity, labour, and zeal, in all the parts of the pastoral charge; with the additional labour of being one of the seven daily morning lecturers at the Abbey-church, by the appointment of the then Parliament.

One particular instance of his conscientious discharge of the ministerial function ought to be particularly mentioned, and especially at this time, when the same abuse, which he applied himself to correct, is perhaps a greater subject of lamentation. We will recite the circumstance in the words of Mr. Clarke: ' In that great ordinance of the Lord's Supper, which in these broken and distracted times hath been in many places wholly laid aside, and in many more too much neglected, he took much care and pains how to manage that great business, so as might be neither displeasing to God, nor justly offensive to good men.

' The difficulty herein hath been, not concerning the manner of administration, which hath afforded less matter of contest, but concerning the persons that might be judged fit to be admitted thereunto; which to many men hath been attended with so much perplexity, that they have apprehended a necessity of a total intermission, and almost an impossibility of administering it in any tolerable manner; while, on the one hand, they durst not promiscuously admit all, (by reason of the great ignorance of many, and the profaneness or looseness of others); and yet, on the other hand, saw not how they might be able (for want of authority) to debar any: Waiting still for the settling of a government in the church, whereby this great difficulty might in some measure be removed: Till at length, through the long intermission of this ordinance, those that are profane and carnal begin to slight and scorn it, and those of better principles do too much abate in their affections to it. And that remedy, which, though late, began at length to be applied, in beginning to establish the Presbyterian government, hath been yet so much defective in want of power, and so much exposed to scorn and reproach, which men of profane or turbulent spirits cast upon it, either from principles of profaneness, or of separation, or from some other bitter root, which renders men unwilling to have their

lusts, errors, unlawful liberties, or licentious courses in any kind whatsoever, to be checked or contradicted; that the matter is now almost grown desperate, unless God will be pleased in special favour, to afford some unexpected remedy.

‘ Herein this holy man did manifest a great measure of singular prudence and piety, wisely avoiding both rocks; neither totally omitting the celebration of the sacrament, nor yet promiscuously admitting all unto it, but those only of whose sufficient knowledge he was assured, and whose lives, so far as he could discern, were unblameable and free from scandal. And this he did, not only of late years, but even formerly, from his first undertaking a pastoral charge; at what time it may well be supposed to have been a thing both of greater difficulty and danger than of late years, to keep off unworthy receivers from profaning that holy ordinance.

‘ In order hereunto, his first work was to abate, as much as might be, the number of ignorant people, by persuading them to be willing to receive instruction, which with much care and diligence he was ready to afford unto them, in such ways as is before expressed: Which, though a difficult work, was yet carried on with so great success, through God’s blessing on his endeavours, that in his parish of Ashwel, where was no small number of people, he had in a short time brought them to so great a measure of knowledge, that there was either none or very few, either old or young, who were not able to give a good account of the principles of religion.

‘ When he had once prevailed with them to be so far sensible of their own ignorance, as to be willing and desirous to learn, it was then no hard matter to persuade such of their own accord to forbear a while, till they had attained so much knowledge as that they might come with comfort; which would be so much the sooner, according as they were more diligent in labouring to attain knowledge.

‘ When they had attained a competent measure of knowledge, if their lives were answerable, and not obnoxious to just exception; or at least, they were willing to redress what was amiss, and ready to follow such good advice and directions, as were given them for the ordering their conversations aright towards God and man; there was then no reason why they should be longer

longer debarred, but rather such good beginnings cherished and encouraged, yet with cautions frequently inculcated to beware of hypocrisy and formality, and not to rest in these beginnings, but to press forward to perfection.

‘ But in case they did either obstinately refuse instruction, or notwithstanding their knowledge, were scandalous and incorrigible, or such as in point of conversation he could not judge fit to be admitted to that ordinance: Then probably they would either be found such as were obnoxious to such scandals as might endanger a more public prosecution, and so durst not be refractory; or else by the conviction of their own consciences, when the danger of unworthy receiving should be laid open to them; or by friendly persuasions from himself or others; or by the reverence and awe of his holy and grave carriage, and ministerial authority, backed with the concurrence of others amongst them, eminent for worth and piety; or for fear of being shamed in case they should be openly reprovèd or refused in the face of the congregation, or upon some other the like consideration, would be persuaded to forbear, in case he judged them as yet unfit to be admitted to that ordinance. So that scarce any, whom he judged utterly unfit, have ever peremptorily pressed upon him to partake of it. And by these means, even in times of greatest danger, was he able to avoid the mixture of profane and unworthy persons at the Lord’s table.’

April 11, 1644, he was constituted President of Queen’s college in Cambridge. Here his first care and chief study was, to promote the study of true religion, and the advancement of practical piety, knowing that where these took place, a conscientious improvement of time in other things would necessarily follow. This made him solicitous that the whole society should constantly attend public worship, and this he himself took the greatest care of when in college; for usually it was one of the last things he gave in charge to all the students, when the business of the assembly called him away; and he made particular inquiries about it in his absence. He provided also for the instruction, not only of the young scholars, but likewise of all the college servants, in the principles of religion. And the exercises of common places or sermons in the chapel, which had formerly been in use in term time only, he caused to be continued weekly

weekly all the year; always performing them himself, when in college. He paid great attention to the life and conversation of every individual, and frequently gave them personal counsel and private directions. His next care was for the advancement of learning, which he endeavoured to promote, by frequent exhortations and encouragements to diligence in their studies, and a due improvement of every opportunity, and also by requiring the constant performance of public exercises by persons of all ranks, exciting the fellows to a diligent inspection, as well jointly over the college in general, as severally over their own pupils in particular. He also furnished the college library with all proper books, which he did partly by the assistance of some subscribing friends of his own, and by converting some college-dues to that purpose, which used to be spent in feasting, but chiefly at his own expence; resolving, that in the support of poor scholars, and whatever he judged most for the good of the college, to spend all his college income.

He had the greatest regard to equity in the elections to places of preferment in the college, that they might be bestowed on the most deserving; and to that end, with the unanimous consent of the fellows, he made a decree, that in all future elections, none should be admitted to a scholarship or fellowship in the college, till they had given full proof of their learning by two or three days trial before the whole college. So that when any one solicited him for preferment for a friend, his constant answer was, "If he be found to deserve it better than others, he shall have it; but if not, he must expect to go without it."

And there was always the most perfect harmony between his words and actions. He took particular care in his converse with the fellows of his college to preserve unanimity; therefore, whatever was proposed by himself or others, was not determined by a majority, but left open till it met with universal consent: himself setting the example, either fully to answer the arguments of others, or to yield to the reason and force of them. From this harmony with his fellows, he had constantly faithful intelligence, when absent, of all college affairs, to whom in return he as constantly and faithfully communicated his counsel and advice, making the good of the college (as he used to call it) his *magna cura*. Indeed, such was his care and labour for the prosperity of his college, that it was said, without any disparagement to  
other

other colleges, that scarce any society in either of the universities, since the reformation, both for the general improvement of religion and learning, and perfect harmony amongst themselves, could be compared with it; nor was ever the head of any society taken away with more general regret, than was Mr. Palmer, when called by death to leave the communion of saints on earth to join the spirits of just men made perfect in heaven.

Our Author wrote a treatise "Of making Religion one's Business," with an Appendix "Applied to the calling of a Minister," which, with other small tracts, were printed together under the title of "Memorials of Godliness and Christianity;" wherein (says his biographer) 'You may read a true character both of his thoughts and actions, of which I shall only add this, that his constant practice was so exactly consonant to the strict principles therein expressed, as can scarcely be credited by those that have not seen it.'

He was a man of a very public spirit, and wholly laid himself out in the service of God; and therefore, though he was condescending and self-denied where his own interest was only concerned, yet was he always most zealously affected in the things which concerned God's glory; so that, notwithstanding his eminent meekness, he acted in the cause of God with great courage and resolution. In preaching at the cathedral church of Canterbury, before the dean and prebends, he plainly set before them such things as were notoriously amiss; but, what more immediately concerned them, he expressed in Latin, that they might take notice of it, and not the people. This caused him some opposition and trouble, but did not prevent him going to the Bishop of Lincoln's visitation at Hitchin, and there speaking fully and freely against the corrupt innovations then in practice, though sensible of his great danger in so doing. He likewise took a decided part, with much zeal, in defence of the perpetuity of the Sabbath, and the moral obligation of the fourth commandment; and looking upon such an opposition, which was at that time very great, to be an act of the highest indignity to the majesty and authority of God, he mentioned it in almost all his prayers, discourses, counsels, and conversations; and, in conjunction with that learned divine Daniel Cawdrey, published an excellent discourse entitled *Vindiciæ Sabbathi*. And when, in the former part of his time, the book for sports on the Lord's day, bowing to the altar, and some other

other silly ceremonies imposed by Archbishop Laud, were urged, he determined to resign all, and suffer any thing rather than comply; and, with that resolution, went to the Archbishop's visitation at Welling, held by Sir John Lambe; but, contrary to his expectations, he found them inclined to connive at him.

And in the same manner he conducted himself concerning the convocation-oath in the new book of canons, in the year 1640, which he vigorously opposed, and took much pains to evince the unlawfulness of it. And in his ordinary course of preaching at the New Church, the Abbey, and St. Margaret's in Westminster, where the greatest number of parliament men did usually resort, and also in those discourses preached by special order before one or both houses of parliament, he faithfully and plainly declared what he belived God expected from them, and freely reprov'd them for whatever he saw amiss; frequently saying, he did not in that place preach BEFORE them, (*ut coram iudice*) but TO them, (*authoritative*) as by commission from God; and that how much soever they might be superior to him in other respects, yet he was in that place superior to them, as acting in God's name; and therefore would not be afraid to speak whatever he thought to be the will of God, nor regard any displeasure or danger that might follow upon a faithful discharge of his duty.

In his conversation he was a man of great temperance and sobriety; in his diet he abstained from strong drink altogether, and drank very sparingly of wine; and seldom eat more than of one dish at a meal, and that none of the daintiest, though there might be more before him. In his apparel he neither affected to be gay nor costly, but studied decency and frugality. He used very little recreation, and made the conversation of his friends his principal relaxation from study; esteeming time so precious, that he would not only redeem it from innocent exercise, but even from sleep, as far as, and perhaps farther than, was consistent with his health.

He was neither wasteful nor covetous, but very liberal; doing many acts of charity (beside what have been mentioned before) to such as stood in need; bestowing plentiful relief, according as he was able, both by his own hands and the hands of others, so that those who received it knew not oft-times whence it came. And when that eminent work of charity was on foot in Cambridge, while he was fellow of Queen's college,

college, whereby many young scholars, who were forced by reason of the wars to fly out of Germany, especially of the palatinate, were sent for hither, and educated partly in the university, and partly under able and godly divines in the country, whereby they might be fitted to do God and their country service, (when God should give them opportunity to return) having here been educated in the knowledge of our language, and the way of practical preaching, which hath been no where more eminent than in England, (which work succeeded beyond expectation) he was one of the great actors therein, and did contribute liberally thereto. The like assistance also he afforded to several Hungarians, Transilvanians, and other strangers, who came over into England for the same reason.

The time of his sickness was not long; for having spent much of his natural strength in his constant labours in the service of God, there was the less work for sickness to do; his deportment therein was holy and heavenly; his humility, faith, patience, and submission to God's will, eminently appearing from time to time, and his discourse full of heavenly expressions til the time of his death.

Not long before his death, when one had read to him the thirty-eighth chapter of Isaiah, (having then some little hopes of his recovery) and ready to go to prayer, he desired him to stay awhile that he might pray first, which he did briefly, (as his weakness would permit) but very fully, both for himself, the kingdom, the church of God, and all to whom he stood in any relation; the heads whereof were soon after written, as near as might be, in his own words; so far as the memory of those, that were then present, could call them to mind.

First, blessing God for his goodness the night past:

“Blessed be God, who hath been so good to us this  
“night.”

Then praying in behalf of himself:

“Great God, heal the sinfulness of my nature.—  
“Pardon all my transgressions.—Take from me a  
“heart of unbelief, that I may not depart from thee  
“the living God.—Deliver me from temptation.—  
“Accept of Jesus Christ for me.—Teach me to im-  
“prove all providences.—To live upon the promises.—  
“Let

“ Let Christ be my life.—O Lord, let me never shrink from thee.”

For the good of the public :

“ Lord, turn the heart of this nation, and all our hearts.—Turn the heart of the king.—Sanctify the parliament, and make them faithful.—Bless the assembly, and make them faithful and upright with thee.—Bless all the ministers.”

For other nations :

“ Lord, do good to Scotland, and the churches in France.—Bless New England and foreign plantations.”

For the places to which he was related :

“ Lord, provide a faithful man for Queen’s college.—A faithful man for this place, [New Church in Westminster.] A faithful pastor for those in the country.”

For friends, and those about him :

“ Lord, remember all those that have shewed kindness to me, and have taken pains with me, and recompense them. Thou hast promised that he which giveth a cup of water in the name of a disciple, and he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall have a prophet’s reward.”

Afterwards, (having forgotten to crave a blessing upon somewhat given him to take) he prayed, “ Lord, pardon my neglect and forgetfulness of thee ; and deliver from temptation, and the evil of temptation. Thou art holy, if thou shouldst forsake us ; our fathers trusted in thee and were delivered. Lord, glorify thy name in my poor spirit, and let none of thy people ever see me shrink from thee, for Jesus Christ his sake.”

Being spoken to, to cast the burden of his sickness and pain upon God, he answered, “ I should do very unworthily, if when I have preached to others, that they should cast their burdens upon God, I should not do so myself.”

In these and many other the like Christian expressions, he manifested the same savour of holiness even to the time of his death, which had been constantly discovered in the time of his life. He departed this life in the year of our Lord 1647, and in the forty-sixth year  
of

of his age; having served God faithfully and painfully in his generation, being a very great instrument of much good, and an excellent pattern for imitation. His body was interred in the New Church at Westminster, and his memory is blessed.

His Works, besides those mentioned above, so far as we can learn, are only some Sermons preached before the parliament.

## JOHN PRIDEAUX, D.D.

BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

**T**HIS learned Bishop was born at Stowford in Devonshire, on the seventeenth of September 1578. His father being in mean circumstances, and having a numerous family, our prelate, after he had learned to write and read, stood candidate for the parish clerkship of Ugborow, near Harford: But being disappointed, a gentlewoman of the parish maintained him at school, till he had gained some knowledge of the Latin tongue. Then he travelled on foot to Oxford, and at first lived in a very mean station in Exeter college, doing servile offices in the kitchen, and prosecuting his studies at leisure hours, till at last he was taken notice of in the college, and admitted a member of it in 1596. He took the degrees in arts and divinity, was greatly distinguished by his abilities and learning, and after having been some years fellow, was in 1612 chosen rector of his college. In 1615, he was made regius professor of divinity, by virtue of which place he became canon of Christ Church, and rector of Ewelme in Oxfordshire; and afterwards discharged the office of vice-chancellor for several years.

‘ In the rectorship of his college (says Wood) he carried himself so winning and pleasing, by his gentle government and fatherly instruction, that it flourished more than any house in the university with scholars, as well of great as of mean birth; as also with many foreigners, that came purposely to sit at his feet to gain instruction.

instruction. So zealous was he also in appointing industrious and careful tutors, that in a short time many were fitted to do service in the church and state.

‘ In his professorship he behaved himself very plausible to the generality, especially for this reason, that in his lectures, disputes, and moderatings, (which were always frequented by many auditors) he shewed himself a stout champion against *Socinus* and *Arminius*. Which being disrelished by some, who were then rising, and in authority at court, a faction thereupon grew up in the university between those called Puritans or Calvinists on the one side, and the Remonstrants, commonly called Arminians, on the other: Which with other matters of the like nature, being not only fomented in the university, but throughout the nation, all things thereupon were brought into confusion.’

After he had been twenty-six years professor, he was one of those persons of an unblemished reputation, that his majesty, though late, made a bishop, by the means of the marquis of Hamilton, once his pupil.

He was elected bishop of Worcester the twenty-second of November, and was consecrated at Westminster the nineteenth of December following, 1641, but received little or no profit from it. So that upon that account, and for his adhering to his Majesty in the time of the grand rebellion, (wherein he pronounced all those of his diocese that took up arms against him, excommunicated) he became at length so impoverished, as to be obliged to sell his excellent library for the subsistence of himself and family. He died of a fever at Bredan in Worcestershire, at the house of his son-in-law, Dr. Henry Sutton, on the thirtieth of July 1650; leaving to his children no legacy, but Pious poverty, God’s blessing, and a “father’s prayers,” as the words of his will expressed it.

Cleveland, the poet, wrote an elegy upon his death.

He was an humble man, of plain and downright behaviour, careless of money, and imprudent in worldly matters. He often used to say, after his advancement, “ If I could have been clerk of Ugborow, I had never been Bishop of Worcester.” All that knew him esteemed him as an excellent linguist, a person of a prodigious memory, and so profound a divine, that some had been pleased to entitle him, *Columna fidei orthodoxæ, et Malleus Hereticorum, Patrum Pater, and ingens Schola et Academia*

*et Academiæ oraculum.* ‘ In him (to use the words of Mr. Nath. Carpenter, in his *Geography Delineated*) the heroical wits of Jewel, Rainolds, and Hooker, as united into one, seemed to triumph anew, and to have threatened a fatal blow to the Babylonish hierarchy: Insomuch that he might have justly challenged to himself that glory, which sometimes Ovid did, speaking of his own country,

*Mantua Virgilium laudet, Verona Catullum:  
Romanæ gentis gloria dicar ego.’*

As his learning was admired by foreigners, Sext. Amama, Rivet, and others, so were his Books, especially those written in Latin; a catalogue of which, and of the English, follow.

I. *Tabulæ ad Grammaticam Græcam introductoriæ, &c.* Oxon. 1608, 1629-39, &c. qu. II. *Tyrocinium ad Syllogismum legitimum contextendum.* III. *Heptades Logicæ: Sive monita ad ampliores tractatus introductoria.* These two last are printed, and go with the *Tabulæ, &c.* IV. *Castigatio cujusdem circulatoris, qui R. P. Andream Eudæmon — Johannem Cydonium E. Soc. Jesu seipsum nuncupat. Opposita ipsius calumniis in Epistolam Isaaci Casauboni ad Frontonem Eucæum.* Oxon. 1626, qu. V. *Allogium sereniss. Reg. Jacobo, Woodstochiæ habitum, 24 Aug. 1624, printed in one sheet, in quarto.* VI. *Orationes novem inaugurales, de totidem Theologiæ apicibus, prout in promotione Doctorum, Oxoniæ publicè proponebantur in Comitibus.* Oxon. 1626, qu. VII. *Lectiones decem de totidem religionis capitibus, præcipuè hoc tempore controversis, prout publicè habebantur Oxoniæ in vesperis.* Oxon. 1625, qu. VIII. Several Sermons: as, 1. Sermon at the consecration of Exeter College chapel, on Luke xix. 46. Oxon. 1665, qu. 2. Perez Uzzah, Sermon before the King at Woodstock, on 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. Oxon. 1625, qu. 3. *Concio ad art. Baccalureos pro more habitâ in ecclesiâ B. Mariæ Oxon. in die cinerum, in Acts ii. 22. ann. 1616.* Oxon. 1626. IX. Twenty-seven Sermons. Oxon. 1636, qu. The two first of which are entitled “Christ’s Counsel for ending Law Cases.” Among them are the Consecration Sermon, and Perez Uzzah before mentioned. X. Nine Sermons on several Occasions. Oxon. 1641, qu. XI. *Lectiones xxii, Orationes xiii. Consciones vi. et Oratio ad Jacobum Regem.* Oxon. 1648, fol. Among which are contained the former Lections, Orations, and Speech to King James at Woodstock. XII. *Fasciculus controversiarum*

*siarum ad Juniorum aut occupatorum captum collegatus, &c.* Oxon. 1649, 51, 52, qu. XIII. *Theologia Scholastica Syntagme Mnemonicum.* Oxon. 1651. XIV. *Conciliorum Synopsis.* Printed with the *Syntagma* before-mentioned. Published in English at the end of "An easy and com-  
pendious Introduction for reading all sorts of Histories." XV. *History of Successions in States, Countries, or Families, &c.* Oxon. 1653, &c. XVI. *Epistola de Episcopatu,* fol. A fragment of which I have seen in one folio sheet. XVII. *Euchologia: Or, the Doctrine of practical Praying, being a legacy left to his daughters in private, and dedicated to them.* Lond. 1655-6, oct. XVIII. *The Doctrine of Conscience, framed according to the Form in the Common-Prayer, left as a legacy to his wife—printed in tw.* XIX. *Manuductio ad Theologiam polemicam.* Oxon. 1657, oct. Published by Mr. Thomas Barlow, with an Epistle before it, in the name of the printer. XX. *Hypomnemata Logica, Rhetorica Phys. Metaphys. &c.* Oxon. in oct. XXI. *Sacred Eloquence: Or, the Art of Rhetoric, as it is laid down in Scripture.* Lond. 1659, oct. A Comment on the Church Catechism is also said to be printed in his name, 1656, in oct.

He was accompanied to his grave, in the chancel of Braddon church, by many persons of quality in the neighbourhood of that place. Over his grave was a plain stone soon after laid, with an epitaph composed by himself, (the day and year of his death excepted) engraven on a brass plate, fixed thereto, the copy of which is already printed: (*In Hist. et Antiq. Univers. Oxon. lib. 2. p. 99.*) Wherein it is recorded, that he was some time chaplain to Prince Henry, and afterwards to King James and King Charles I.

A great number of foreigners, who have been eminent in their respective countries, as well as several of our own country, men of the first rank, resorted to Exeter college for his sake, and have had chambers and diet there, purposely to improve themselves by his company, his instruction, and direction for their course of studies. Some of them have been divines of note, and others lay-men of great eminence.

## ANDREW RIVET, D. D.

WE cannot present our readers a more edifying and satisfactory account of this wonderful man, than what hath been formerly published by Mr. Nehemiah Coxe, under the title of “A Believer’s Triumph over Death, exemplified in a Relation of the LAST HOURS of Dr. Andrew Rivet.” Mr. Coxe appears to have translated the narrative from the Latin one, which was annexed to an edition of Dr. Rivet’s works, and which itself is a translation of the French original. We will only premise, that Dr. Rivet was a Frenchman, and left his country upon the score of religion, retiring to and spending the remainder of his days in Holland.

‘The multitude and variety of memorable things which occur in this narrative (says the pious Author of it) doth so much amaze us, that through fear of our own insufficiency either to remember, or express them in a due manner, and according to their dignity and worth, we cannot but wish this task had been undertaken by abler hands. But seeing it is matter of fact, and words heard, which we are to give an account of, we had rather (so we may but serve the profit of our friends) expose our prudence unto censure, than be defective in our care and good endeavours in this matter; wherein, that we might be sure to write nothing but most certain truth, we have chosen to bury many things in oblivion, by a silent passing over what we have but an imperfect remembrance of; and shall content ourselves to make a rehearsal, with simplicity and truth, of those grave and almost divine speeches; which, as they were poured forth by this holy man, were faithfully preserved, partly in the memory, and partly in the written notes of those who constantly attended on him. And yet though we employ our utmost diligence

gence herein, we shall never be able to give them their just weight and emphasis; for who can imitate that flowing stream of words which with equal wisdom and piety proceeded from him, in an (almost) continued discourse, for the space of twelve days and as many nights? Or who can represent to the life the motions of a mind boiling with meditations, when the Spirit of God administered such an extemporary effort of sayings, proceeding from his fruitful breast, and gravely uttered when his senses were no ways impaired, as he was diversely acted either by grief and fear, or hope and joy?

‘ It will be but necessary, before we enter upon the relation of other things, briefly to mention something concerning the temper and disposition of this holy person, and his circumstances before his last sickness, that the grace of God towards his servant may appear the more illustrious; when we see with what care and providence he disposed his affairs in the whole course of his life, but especially in this last act thereof.

‘ Besides those excellent gifts, wherewith he was adorned (which cannot here be reckoned up particularly), through the goodness of God he had been favoured with the enjoyment of a sound mind in a sound and healthy body; he was of a cheerful and sedate spirit, holding on in an even course of life, neither lifted up with prosperity, nor cast down by adversity. So that by the habit of a comely and moderate deliberation, he was ever blessed with an inward joy, and possessed all things with delight and gratitude; being no less ready to part with them without regret and trouble, pursuing his own profit and advantage in a serious contemplation of the vanity of all worldly things; often repeating that of the apostle, *The things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal*, 2 Cor. iv. 18. He was never moved with sorrowful events that fell out suddenly, whether in public, or in his private concerns, as a man surprized by an unexpected evil; neither was the tranquillity of his mind shaken by them: He was wont to say, “ Nothing is impossible; I wonder at nothing.” Neither, on the contrary, did he at any time break forth into a loose and immoderate joy; as being one set in an higher place, and looking down upon all things here be-  
low

low as uncertain and perishing. He never found himself, on any other account, under such perturbation, nor shewed the like, as upon the decease of the young Prince of Orange, who, from a child, had been committed to his instruction and tuition; and whose death (as he often affirmed) he bewailed out of pure charity, and not for any private loss that himself might sustain thereby: Because the confidence he had of his excellent disposition, and expectation of his longer life, had raised him to the hope that he would prove a useful instrument for the good both of the state and the church. From that time he seemed to be more than ever drawn off from worldly things, and used to speak of them with a certain loathing and disdain. The frame of his mind was also discovered, by a frequent interrupting of his accustomed course of reading the Scriptures in order in his family, and turning to some select chapters, such as Job xiv. Eccles. iii. and iv. Psalm xlix. and cxliv. From whence he took the occasion of such discourses, as shewed what meditations he was customarily taken up with.

‘ In the last week wherein he lived in health, being in his garden accompanied by a friend, and walking up and down therein, as he was wont, with great pleasure, he gave order what he would have done in the dressing of some trees, and then added, “ If I  
 “ live till the spring time, they will afford me a  
 “ pleasant sight; but if not I shall be in a garden far  
 “ more pleasant.” When his friend interposed and said,  
 ‘ There was no cause why he should presage such a  
 ‘ thing to himself, seeing he was sound and lively,’  
 he received a rebuke from Dr. Rivet to this purpose:  
 “ The time is now come that I am to be treated after  
 “ another manner; my age is so far declined and hast-  
 “ ing to an end, as plainly to declare that death (which  
 “ none can be exempted from) stands at my door:  
 “ And truly death is the principal matter that I  
 “ meditate on; God is my witness, that I desire not  
 “ its delay, but am ready with a cheerful mind to  
 “ embrace it, yea even this day, if the will of God  
 “ were so.”

‘ On the same day he was entreated by Mr. Hulsius, the pastor of the French church at Breda, that on the next day, being December 25, he would preach a thanksgiving sermon after the celebration of the Lord’s Supper; which he consenting to do, chose for his text  
 Psalm

Psalm cxliv. 3, 4. *Lord, what is man that thou takest knowledge of him, or the son of man, that thou makest account of him? Man is like to vanity; his days are as a shadow, that passeth away.* In his sermon he had an eminent assistance from God, and delivered his matter with a strong and a clear voice, and great liberty of speech; and chiefly applied his discourse, to shew what favour and honour God had vouchsafed unto man, as well in causing that the Son of God should be a man, as in giving him for our nourishment unto eternal life; from thence teaching the notice God took of mortal men, and how it had pleased him to embrace them in his favour, and to magnify them.

‘ And in speaking to the answer of the Psalmist, *Man is like to vanity*, he touched upon the loss of the prince, whose instructor he had been, which was then fresh in memory; but with words no way inclined to flattery, but becoming the matter and person that he spoke of, and which breathed forth nothing but pure affection: Withal taking notice of the goodness of God, who in the midst of his judgments had shewed mercy to the house of Orange, to which he had granted a new offspring, (a son being then born) that the dying hope of that noble family might be revived before him. At length he closed with a meditation of death, an example of which, (said he) seeing young men that are strong, have before them in a young man snatched from the earth in the flower of his age and strength, it ought to be often revolved in their minds, and deep thoughts of approaching death to be entertained, which admits of no return to life: “ What is man? (said he) nothing “ but flesh, obnoxious to putrefaction: A flower that “ springs up to-day, and to-morrow is cut down: “ Even a vapour that appeareth for a little time, and “ then vanisheth away, like the breath that proceedeth “ out of my mouth.” For the cold being great that day, did so condense his breath, that it might be seen of all to whom he was preaching.

‘ When the sermon was finished, he returned home as lively and well as he had been seen for some years past; nor did he the next day feel any decay of his former strength. But on Thursday, which was the twenty-seventh of December 1650, he began to complain of a pain below his navel; and refusing to eat

Tuesday.-

eat any supper, desired that a clyster might be given him; but it was to no purpose, the liquor being driven back again with greater force than it was injected. That night was passed over, partly in bearing of his sharp pains, and partly in serious discourses. On Wednesday morning, the complaint of his pain was increased, and he desired that the use of a clyster might be repeated; which was done accordingly, but with no better success than the former. Then were two physicians sent for, and they suspecting that the former clysters either had not been skilfully injected, or else were not strong enough, made trial of the like means once and again, but with the same success as before: For a glutinous humour had already fast locked up the passage against all remedies.

‘ On the next day, which was Tuesday, they prescribed pills of aloes washed, and on Friday the infusion of rhubarb, either of which did sufficiently agitate his body, but effected nothing, neither was any way opened for their passage, the expulsive faculty being weakened and dulled, so that it could give nature no assistance. The wind shut up in his bowels tormented the sick man, his belly was swollen, and he was afraid to touch either meat or drink, lest thereby his grievance should be increased. There were no proper means unattempted, nor any kind of help by clysters, fomentations, or baths, but which were made trial of, until by the stubborn disease, that resisted all remedy, he was brought unto death, the twelfth day of his sickness; the history of which we shall now prosecute more at large.

‘ On the second day after his disease had seized him, he, well understanding the nature of it, declared what the event would be: “ Not (saith he) that I would neglect remedies; that I may please my friends, I will do whatsoever is thought meet to be done, being secure as to the issue, which I commit to the providence of God:” Then he asked his niece, Mrs. Mary Moline, what she conceived of his disease, which he thought would prove mortal: And when she answered, that her opinion was the same, yet that he had no reason to fear any thing, having been long prepared to follow God when he should call; that the time of his life hitherto had been long, if it were crowned with an happy and glorious end.

“ Thou

“ ‘Thou speakest right, (said he) and I pray thee al-  
 “ ways address thyself to me with like speeches; and  
 “ while my sickness continues, depart not from me day  
 “ nor night: Promise me now that thou wilt keep a  
 “ cheerful countenance, and that thou wilt speak no-  
 “ thing to me but what may administer joy and support  
 “ to me; although I fear not death, yet I fear the trial  
 “ of those pains, which I have always had a very sharp  
 “ feeling of.”

‘ Then suddenly turning his speech unto God, he  
 said: “ Great God! thou art my Father, thou hast  
 “ given me both life, and a new life; thou hast taught  
 “ me from my youth, and I have declared thy won-  
 “ derful works, forsake me not now in my old age.  
 “ Hitherto through thy peculiar favour thou hast pre-  
 “ served me sound in my body, and my faculties and  
 “ the functions of my mind have not been impaired;  
 “ so that a little before I was oppressed by this disease,  
 “ I found myself as apt and ready for the exercise of  
 “ my vocation, as in my flourishing youth: O Lord  
 “ God! if it be thy will that I should longer attend  
 “ upon thy service, thou canst assuage my disease in  
 “ one moment: But if thou hast decreed otherwise,  
 “ lo, here is thy servant; *thy will be done.* This one  
 “ thing I beg with most inward affections, that thou  
 “ wilt make me conformable to thy good will: Let  
 “ not thy good spirit depart from me, that in this  
 “ conflict thy strength may make me a conqueror.  
 “ Accomplish this, O Lord, for thine own sake: And  
 “ seeing thou hast employed me in thy work, grant  
 “ that I may die an honourable death, and such as may  
 “ be an example unto others: That I may stand fast  
 “ in that sound doctrine which I have taught, and  
 “ may make a good confession thereof before wit-  
 “ nesses, that thereby thy church may be both in-  
 “ structed and edified. Let me apply to myself by a  
 “ lively faith all the promises of the Gospel, and let  
 “ them put forth their efficacy in me, unto my joy  
 “ and eternal consolation, that nothing in the world,  
 “ neither affliction nor distress, may separate me from  
 “ thee, or cause me to doubt of thy love and favour.  
 “ Thou knowest my weaknesses and infirmities; per-  
 “ mit not the grievousness of my pain to cast me  
 “ into impatience or murmuring: Either make my  
 “ pains tolerable, or furnish me with fortitude and  
 “ constancy sufficient to bear them: That I may not

“ offend

“ offend with my tongue, keep thou the door of my  
“ lips.”

‘ The remainder of the day was taken up with pains, the use of remedies, and the visits of friends: When the night came on, he earnestly intreated Mrs. Rivet, his wife, that she would retire herself into the next chamber, not only because she was afflicted with a vehement cough, but also that he might remove her from the grievous sight of himself when tormented with his pains, and because he found his tender affections more moved at the sight of her than any other person. So none remained with him but his niece, Mrs. Mary Moline, and two of the household servants. But who can particularly relate the speeches which he uttered, and in a manner poured forth, that night and the day following, (which was Thursday, December 29,) with an affection and ardour inexpressible, breathing from his heart nothing but repentance, faith, charity, and holy zeal! In a word, he implored the mercy of God, with the greatest self-denial and abasement of soul, confessing himself to be a miserable sinner, and casting away all confidence in any good thing which he had done in his life; yea, speaking of that with very great contempt, he accused his own defects, and ascribed unto God the glory of his good works; often repeating such expressions as these:

“ It is God that hath wrought the work for me:  
“ Shall I allege or plead my own righteousness before  
“ him? Far be that from me: If I should justify  
“ myself, my own mouth would condemn me; I will  
“ rather open my sin before him, in a most humble  
“ confession of it, and pray that he will increase in  
“ me the grace of true repentance; yea, let him wear  
“ out this body with sorrow, it matters not, so he give  
“ to me a broken and a contrite heart, which is a sa-  
“ crifice acceptable to himself; as for my part, I do  
“ most willingly offer up myself. Accept, O Lord,  
“ this imperfect sacrifice, and supply the defects there-  
“ of by the perfect righteousness of that great high-  
“ priest, who, through the eternal Spirit, offered him-  
“ self unto God without spot. Let me be accepted  
“ as a living sacrifice, holy, and well-pleasing unto  
“ God, which is our reasonable service. Crucify, O  
“ Lord, this old man, that the body of sin may be  
“ utterly destroyed, and I may rise again unto a  
“ new life: *The wages of sin is death, but the gift*  
“ of

“ of God is eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.”  
Rom. vi. ult.

‘ Then repeating the word *gift*, he added, “ It is  
“ mere grace; not of works, but of him that calleth:  
“ *Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God’s elect?*  
“ *It is God that justifieth: Who is he that condemneth?*  
“ *It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again,*  
“ *who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh*  
“ *intercession for us.*” Rom. viii. 33.

‘ Then, after a little interruption of his discourse by a short sleep, he thus proceeded:

“ I am God’s, and he will save me; he hath honour-  
“ ed me with an holy calling, and hath not suffered  
“ his gift to be altogether useless in me, as to the edi-  
“ fication of his church: As to myself, I can most  
“ truly affirm, that I have not served him for filthy  
“ lucre, but with a sincere heart; and that I was my-  
“ self first persuaded of the truth of the Gospel, and  
“ experienced the efficacy thereof, before I preached it  
“ to others.

“ I tasted the good word of God, which by its  
“ power pierceth even to the dividing asunder of soul  
“ and spirit, and is a discerner of the thoughts and  
“ intents of the heart. Thou hast known my heart.  
“ O eternal God! thou knowest that I am not ashamed  
“ of the Gospel of Christ, but have esteemed it  
“ my only honour to serve thee; and that I have  
“ delighted myself in the pleasure of obeying thy will!  
“ Such was thy goodness unto me! I truly and hum-  
“ bly acknowledge, that whatsoever good was in me,  
“ flowed from thy grace; but my defects ought to  
“ be ascribed to my inbred corruption: Alas! I ac-  
“ knowledge this with humble and serious repentance;  
“ how often have I sinned in so holy a charge, not  
“ only by omitting many things which I ought to  
“ have done, but also by doing many things amiss!  
“ How often have I offended through negligence and  
“ slackness! Long since had I been cast off, were  
“ it not that I had to do with so good a Lord, who  
“ hath borne with me, and hath been so gracious to  
“ me as not to exact a severe account of my words  
“ and works! Alas! O Lord my God! Enter not  
“ into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight  
“ shall no man living be justified. Let me be found  
“ not having mine own righteousness, but the righ-  
“ teousness of thy Son, for the sake of which, I beg  
“ thy

“ thy favour. Pardon, O my God, pardon the ini-  
 “ quity of thy servant, who is devoted to thy fear:  
 “ I refuse not thy discipline, I know it is necessary:  
 “ Only this I earnestly beg, that it may turn to my  
 “ salvation. Chasten me, O Lord, but in measure, lest  
 “ thou bring me to nothing. Let not my trial exceed  
 “ my strength, lest I sin through impatience, and be-  
 “ come a scandal to those I should edify. O let me  
 “ never break out into a murmuring complaint: O  
 “ how light is this chastisement, if compared with my  
 “ fault! What are these temporal pains, in comparison  
 “ with those eternal torments from which I am re-  
 “ deemed by him, that poured out his soul upon the  
 “ cross for me! For me! This is the language of  
 “ faith, which makes a particular application of ge-  
 “ neral promises. *This is a faithful saying, and worthy*  
 “ *of all acceptation: That Jesus Christ came into the*  
 “ *world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.* 1 Tim.  
 “ i. 15. Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief: Turn  
 “ thou me, and I shall be turned indeed: Seal all thy  
 “ promises in my soul: Cause in the inmost of my  
 “ heart a lively perception of those sweet words, *My*  
 “ *son, be of good comfort, thy sins are forgiven thee.*”  
 With such holy meditations and speeches as these, was  
 the Thursday night passed over.

‘ On Friday morning Mrs. Rivet, his wife, put him  
 in mind of sending one to the Hague for his son:  
 “ By all means, (said he) that ought to have been  
 “ done sooner;” and then gave orders himself con-  
 cerning it. About nine o’clock he was visited by Re-  
 nessius, a doctor of divinity, and pastor of a Dutch  
 church; who in the Latin tongue saluted him after  
 this manner: Most excellent man, how do you? To  
 whom he answered in the same language: “ I am yet  
 “ strong, neither doth my speech fail me; but that  
 “ passage in my bowels is not yet opened, and unless  
 “ that be opened, I see I must make my passage ano-  
 “ ther way, even that which the eternal God hath  
 “ set before me from my infancy. I should be the most  
 “ ungrateful of men, if I should not acknowledge the  
 “ mercy of God towards me, who hath so wonderfully  
 “ preserved me even from my cradle:” Then rehears-  
 ing his deliverance from a very dangerous\* accident that  
 befel

\* A fall, whereby his life was in great hazard.

befel him in his infancy, through the negligence of the maid; he added,

“ From that time my mother consecrated me unto  
 “ God, and he abundantly blessed me all my life-  
 “ time, and the whole family: And therefore I place  
 “ all my hope in the goodness of God, being ready  
 “ either to live or to die. I have always thought,  
 “ that either this disease would be my death, or else  
 “ the stone, for I have scarce ever been afflicted with  
 “ any other distemper. I pray you to testify unto all  
 “ men, that I die in that faith and doctrine which  
 “ I have always delivered both in preaching and writ-  
 “ ing: And if, perhaps, in some things I have erred,  
 “ I pray God that he will make perfect all my im-  
 “ perfections.”

‘ The rest of the day was filled up with the visits of friends; for he would have none hindered from coming to him.

“ Let all that will (saith he) have access to visit  
 “ me; I ought to give an example of dying to other  
 “ men.”

‘ With such sayings as these he filled the by-standers both with consolation and with wonder; while he thus proceeded: “ Come, see a man, who is an ex-  
 “ ample of the great mercy of God: What shall I ren-  
 “ der unto him? All his benefits overwhelm me: He  
 “ hath so disposed my life, that in my whole course I  
 “ have had an healthful body; he hath heaped upon me  
 “ both temporal and spiritual blessings: And now be-  
 “ fore I am rendered feeble or morose through old age, he  
 “ comes unto me, and prevents me; he both called me,  
 “ and causeth me willingly to follow him at his call:  
 “ And now the end of my life is within my view, he still  
 “ affords me the perfect use of my reason, that I may  
 “ praise the holy name of God in the land of the liv-  
 “ ing, and instruct my neighbours by my example.  
 “ Pray for me, my friends, that this grace may be con-  
 “ tinued unto me till I draw my last breath; that he  
 “ will strengthen my faith, confirm my patience, and  
 “ raise my hope; he hath already captivated all my af-  
 “ fections to his will; I have cast the care of me, of  
 “ mine, of life, and all my affairs upon him; let him  
 “ do with my body as it pleaseth him, so it may but  
 “ be well with my soul. There is no going hence  
 “ without pains; this flesh must suffer, and fall: It  
 “ matters

“ matters not, provided the soul obtains new strength ;  
 “ and I arrive at a better mansion than that made  
 “ with hands ; it is that I aspire to, I lament not  
 “ the world. I have lived long enough, and have had  
 “ leisure to make trial of all things, and to know that  
 “ they are *vanity and vexation of spirit*. One thing is  
 “ necessary ; to fear God and keep his command-  
 “ ments, for that is the whole duty of man. And  
 “ now there is nothing that I am concerned about,  
 “ neither is my life dear unto me, so that I may  
 “ finish my course with joy, and fulfil the ministry  
 “ which I have received of the Lord ; which is best  
 “ done at the last. This is the end, and this the  
 “ mark, which a Christian ought to aim at : The end  
 “ of this frail life is the beginning of eternal life : O  
 “ happy change ! Truly I fear nothing ; Christ is gain  
 “ both in life and death ; he forsakes me not : If he  
 “ make heavy my bodily pains, yet he increaseth  
 “ the joy of my soul. Come, and I will tell you  
 “ what he hath done for my soul : I called upon him,  
 “ and he inclined his ear and heard me ; he hath  
 “ blotted out my sins as a cloud ; *and as a father*  
 “ *pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear*  
 “ *him.*”

‘ His manner was to let no minister part from him be-  
 fore he had prayed with him ; “ Pray unto God, (would  
 “ he say) now is the acceptable time.”

‘ Towards evening, when his wife could not be pre-  
 vailed upon to withdraw, and betake herself to some  
 rest ; “ It troubles me (said he) to see so dear a person,  
 “ and one that I honour so much, so far in years, and  
 “ of so weak a body, to wear out herself at this rate.”  
 But then giving way to her desire, “ Seeing thou wilt  
 “ have it so, (said he) tarry ; it is a pleasure to me to see  
 “ thee : The Lord strengthen thee.”

‘ The night before Saturday was spent in grievous  
 pains, and in most ardent prayers for the church of  
 God, for the princes that were defenders of it, for  
 the people that lived under their jurisdiction, and for  
 the pastors to whom the care of souls was committed :  
 Speaking particularly of the States, (viz. of the United  
 Provinces) he said,

“ O God, withdraw not thy protection from these  
 “ provinces, neither remove thy candlestick away ;  
 “ let not thine anger burn against them, because of  
 “ that impiety and profaneness which hath made too  
 “ great

“ great a progress; rather bow their hearts unto re-  
 “ pentance, and convert men, that they may prevent  
 “ thy judgments. Let them coalesce in one body:  
 “ Especially let them be joined unto thee, without  
 “ whom all union is but conspiracy. Do thou preside  
 “ in that assembly: Bend their hearts so, that all their  
 “ decrees may turn to the good of the common-  
 “ wealth, and especially of the church. Grant unto  
 “ them, that with due equity, nobleness, and grati-  
 “ tude, they may remember that prince who only  
 “ remains of the stock of his noble progenitors, whom  
 “ thou hast made use of to accomplish thy work in  
 “ the midst of them. Endue this child with the spirit  
 “ of thy fear, of prudence, fortitude, and magnani-  
 “ mity; and deliver him from profane men, base flat-  
 “ terers, and such servants as are enticers unto, and  
 “ the instruments of vices and infamous pleasures; and  
 “ grant to him such as are faithful, uncorrupt lovers  
 “ of truth and equity, that by their means he may  
 “ learn to distinguish virtue from vice, to shun the  
 “ one and embrace the other. It is time, O Lord, for  
 “ thee to help.”

‘ When the night was spent, he was exceedingly  
 wearied and tired out, both with overmuch speaking,  
 and especially by means of abstinence from drink, with  
 which he was wont to be refreshed: For when through  
 the extremity of his thirst he was forced to take down  
 a little, immediately his stomach cast it back again,  
 being like a vessel filled to the top, that could receive  
 no more. The physicians afflicted his body with the  
 use of various remedies, but he bore all with an even  
 temper of mind; often saying, “ I have told you be-  
 “ fore, that the use of these things will be to no  
 “ purpose: But it is no matter, I must comply with  
 “ you, do what you please for your own satisfac-  
 “ tion.”

‘ That Saturday, December 31, he was mightily  
 enfeebled, and sometimes very drowsy: He spake but  
 little that forenoon. Afternoon, when divers friends  
 visited him, and were discoursing among themselves of  
 the nature of his disease, he heard all that passed  
 between them in the chamber, (for he was very quick  
 of hearing) and gathered both from their discourses,  
 and also from his own knowledge of the disease he  
 laboured under, that his distemper was that which  
 physicians call *miserere mei*, which he was not likely

to pass through without very grievous symptoms: Such as a burning fever, delirium, and vomiting of his excrements: And thereupon he began to be afflicted with much solicitude, while his mind was intent upon the thoughts of the grievousness of these symptoms: And in frequent ejaculations he sent up short and ardent prayers to God about it.

“ My God, (said he) have mercy upon me; deliver me from the opprobrium which I fear: For thou art gracious.”

‘ And smiting his belly, he said, “ This is a bag of filth, a sink, and collection of griefs: But thanks be to my God, that he hath afflicted me in this more ignoble part; my heart in the mean time remaining strong, and my brain free and clear, so that I might have liberty to meditate upon thy power and goodness. This favour, O Lord God (which is invaluable), reserve for me, that my mouth may utter nothing but what breathes forth charity, praises, and thanksgivings: O that it may not be defiled with this filthiness: (namely, the casting up of excrements.) Let this building be brought down where its ruin began, which let me behold as one set on high with a constant and peaceful mind, even a mind elevated to spiritual things, which with all earnestness I follow after; knowing that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither can corruption inherit in corruption.”

‘ And in the ensuing night he did often inculcate, “ Who is mortal man, that thou shouldest so magnify him, and think upon him? He is like to vanity: Flesh, and a wind that passeth away. With how small a thing are the strongest among men cast down? By a vile excrement, by a little obstruction, which no remedies can open! Thou hast done this, O thou eternal One; thus it pleaseth thee, and I would have it so too: Let it be done to me according to thy word: I am in thy fatherly and gracious hands, I fear nothing; thou art my safeguard, and my exceeding great reward.” Then he repeated in the Hebrew tongue that sentence out of Lament. iii. 24. *Thou art my portion, saith my soul.*

‘ And seeing those that stood by him, were always speaking to him of good things, “ Well done, (said he) cease not to strengthen me, unto that end God  
“ will

“ will supply you with matter for discourse, for he  
 “ is not only present with the sick himself for his  
 “ aid, but also with them that are called to succour  
 “ him; for he is nigh unto all that call upon him  
 “ in truth.”

‘ Then he again poured forth his prayers for the church of God, saying, “ O Lord, it is thy possession, which thou hast purchased with thine own blood: Forsake not thine own work; let an holy jealousy be kindled in thee, lift up on high the arm of thy power, and bring down the audacious ones, which tyrannize over thy flock; rebuke thou the negligent, that heal her wounds slightly: reduce into the way those that wander; and strengthen that which is ready to fall through division. Gather both the one and the other to thyself into one body, building them upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord.” And then making a little pause, he added, “ I have been one of those builders; I have brought what I received from the Lord, that I might put to my helping hand with others towards the building of this temple; and I myself shall be a living stone in this spiritual house.”

‘ He suffered no day nor night to pass over without his prayers for the House of Orange. “ Thou hast afflicted it, O Lord, (said he) but we beseech thee let it not be destroyed: Let this\* branch grow up, which if it be thy good pleasure, may come to be a fruitful tree in its time: Let all acknowledge that good to come from thee; and that thou alone canst give both being and well-being. How great folly is it to put confidence in man, and in the son of man, who is nothing! His breath goeth forth, and then his best contrived thoughts perish.”

‘ On the next day, which was the first of the year 1651, and the Lord’s day, when he first beheld the light, he said, “ O Lord, thou hast granted unto me to see the beginning of the year: Thou hast measured out my time unto the middle of this age:” Then he asked what hour of the day it was, and what weather?

\* The young prince, [our King William the third] born but a little before.

weather? When it was answered, that the weather was very sharp and severe, he was afraid it might hinder his son's journey to him: Whereupon he addressed himself to God after this manner:

“O my God, bring my son unto me, that I may see him, embrace him, and bless him before I die.” Then turning to his wife, he said, “Dost thou think this earnest desire to see him proceeds from some carnal affection? Nothing less! Truly I love no man any more according to the flesh: I earnestly desire his eternal salvation; and I hope to have those discourses with him, which may increase his zeal in adorning his spiritual vocation: (His son was a minister.) I have yet spirit and utterance sufficient for that work. Let none be hindered from coming to me: It is usual for a man in my station, by admonishing others, publicly to make confession of his own faith. Not for the sake of a little vain glory, O Lord, thou knowest: For it little concerns me to be approved unto men, provided I may approve myself unto God: But I desire the salvation of many, and to give testimony to the truth of those things which I have publicly taught.”

‘This day also was taken up with the visits of friends; and amongst others that came, there was Colonel Verneuil, and some more officers in the garrison, of which two or three were of Poictou; unto whom he said, “I rejoice that I have opportunity to make a confession of my faith before you that are my countrymen; and I pray you to keep it in memory, and give testimony of it where it shall be necessary: For you see before your eyes a man (weak indeed, but) without guile, who solemnly protesteth, That he hath never published in his writings, nor taught with his lips, any thing that did not agree with the sense of his heart, and the doctrine which hath been delivered to us by the prophets and apostles; which is the same with that which is found in the confession of faith of our churches, in which I have lived, and in which I purpose to die. The Lord God Almighty confirm you in that faith, so that nothing move you from it: For what will it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and then all other things shall be added to you. Learn to number your days: And  
“get

“ get a wise heart. Look upon me, and let me be an  
 “ example unto you: It is but eight days since I  
 “ preached to you of man’s frailty, being myself in  
 “ health, and lively at that time, and now you see  
 “ the truth of what I said, in myself: Certainly  
 “ what is visible to us, and set before our eyes, hath  
 “ a more persuasive power, than words which only  
 “ beat the ears.” And then taking his leave of them,  
 he added, “ The Lord deliver you from the allure-  
 “ ments of the world, and give you an increase of  
 “ his fear, and of all spiritual and temporal gifts.”  
 A while after there came to him the worthy Snellen,  
 burgomaster of Breda, unto whom he cheerfully gave  
 an account of the nature of his disease, with the  
 causes and consequence thereof; and then said, “ Praise  
 “ be to God who hath given me to know the end  
 “ of my life: I should be the most ungrateful of all  
 “ men, if I were not contented with that measure  
 “ and term of life, which he hath afforded me; and  
 “ if I should not acknowledge his great goodness, and  
 “ provident care of me in the whole course of my  
 “ life. Especially I give him thanks for laying out  
 “ this place for me to pass my old age in, amongst  
 “ good men, with whose kindness I have been re-  
 “ freshed, and to whom, for their multiplied favours  
 “ towards me, I can never make a sufficient return  
 “ of thanks. Of your sincere affection (most worthy  
 “ Sir) in a special manner I have had experience, for  
 “ which I give you my hearty thanks, and in your  
 “ person to your whole corporation, which I beseech  
 “ you to signify to them; and to intreat for me,  
 “ that they will give me a place of burial large  
 “ enough for me and my wife, who will quickly  
 “ follow me.” When he had thus expressed himself,  
 he dismissed him with prayers for the welfare of him  
 and his family.

‘ About evening he desired to be helped out of  
 his bed, and to sit in a chair; where he perceived  
 the swelling of his belly to reach to the pit of his  
 stomach; which gave him apprehensions that his end  
 drew near; wherefore sending for Mr. Dauber an  
 eminent civilian, he imparted to him his purpose of  
 adding a codicil to his will: And in order thereto he  
 sent for the town-clerk and the two consuls, and having  
 fully declared his mind to them, the business being  
 done and sealed, he began to discourse of another  
 settlement

settlement, by the resignation of himself and his into the hands and unto the care of God, expressing his assurance of the blessing of God upon his: And then added, "That he did exceedingly rejoice, that he should leave behind him a wife excelling in virtue, and motherly affection to the children of her husband; and also a son that was a good man, and studious of peace, who would be a father to the three little ones, whose guardian he was appointed by that codicil."

' And for this last office he rendered unto them his thanks, and to the council of the city in general; and in particular blessed each of them and their families. And when they were departed, he went to his bed again; and seeing nobody stand about him but his little family, he said to his niece, "My daughter, do not depart from me, but persist with me in the duty of prayer. Do not fear to rehearse all those words to me which God shall suggest unto thy heart or mouth; this sweet and pleasing communication shall help to pass over this night with the more ease. And God will be with us, and assist our good intentions: He will help our weaknesses, and afford us matter of supplications, and thanksgivings. Such discourses are pleasing unto him; he attends unto them that fear him, when they talk together of those things that belong to the salvation of their souls."

' And then, as one in a rapture, he said, "My God! thou hast drawn me, and I was drawn! Thou hast known me from my mother's womb, with a merciful and efficacious knowledge: Thou hast called me by name: Thou hast bored mine ears, and I was attentive: I have declared thy message in the congregation, and thy word was sweeter than honey in my mouth. Who am I, O God! but dust and ashes, an earthen and a frail vessel, into which notwithstanding thou hast been pleased to pour an holy liquor, and seed of immortality. Thou livest, and thou makest me to live; I shall not die, but live for ever, with that *life which is hid with Christ in God. Blessed and holy is he which hath a part in the first resurrection: Over him the second death shall have no power.* Behold I am dead, and also raised from the dead: I live  
" not

“ not in myself, but in the life of the Son of God,  
 “ who loved me, and gave himself for me. What  
 “ should I mention more? I can make no return of  
 “ thy faithfulness to me, or of the benefits thou hast  
 “ bestowed on me. Thou hadst chosen me, before  
 “ thou gavest me a being; and it pleased thee that I  
 “ should be born of believing parents, and especially  
 “ of a mother eminent in holiness, who dedicated me  
 “ to thy service from my tender years. With how  
 “ many prayers did she stir me up to that holy  
 “ purpose! With what care and affection did she  
 “ instil the seeds of piety into me! And the Almighty  
 “ God, who worketh all in all, gave his blessing to  
 “ this diligent nurture, and heard her ardent prayers;  
 “ and my ministry hath been accepted of him. I  
 “ am thy servant, O my God, thou hast taught  
 “ me from my youth, and I have taught thy won-  
 “ derful works, and thy grace unto this day; for  
 “ thy gifts have not been without fruit in me.  
 “ Thou usest weak instruments for the accomplishing  
 “ of thy work: Thou hast pardoned, thou hast helped  
 “ me; thou hast accepted the truth and sincerity of  
 “ my heart: And now, O my God, seeing it is  
 “ evident thou wilt have me retire from this valley  
 “ of miseries, do not thou forsake me in this last  
 “ and important act. If it be thy will that I die,  
 “ that also is my will: I am ready, my heart is  
 “ prepared: I give thee my heart, for that is it which  
 “ thou requirest; let this gift be approved by thee,  
 “ receive this gift, which is thine own, from him to  
 “ whom thou hast given all things, who gives him-  
 “ self to thee. O Lord, I give thee thanks; thou  
 “ instructest me, thou enlightenest me, thou talkest  
 “ with my soul: O Lord, thou embracest me in the  
 “ arms of thy mercy! Grant also that I may em-  
 “ brace thee by a lively faith, and that I may apply  
 “ unto myself the promises of the Gospel, which I  
 “ have proposed unto others. Let them be effectual  
 “ in me, that by them I may be supported against all  
 “ pains, yea death itself.”

‘ Then turning his speech to his niece, he said:  
 “ That I may not tire thee with long discourses,  
 “ admire thou the grace of God towards me, and  
 “ bless him who fortifies me with patience. Observe  
 “ my words unto my last breath, and commit them

“ to

" to writing as fully as thou canst, that thereby my  
 " dearest brother, with others of my near kindred  
 " and affinity, as also of my friends, may be com-  
 " forted and refreshed:" To which when she returned  
 answer, that she was unable to retain, and commit  
 to writing, such an abundance of holy speeches as  
 flowed from him, he replied, " Fear not; only do  
 " thine endeavour, and God will help thee. If God  
 " give me strength, I will write a short epistle,  
 " which shall be for a testimony that credit is to be  
 " given to thy relation." (And he was always wont  
 upon the mention of any thing of this nature, to  
 add,) " Not that I would hereby procure praise to  
 " myself; but I would have it known unto all, that  
 " the religion which I have professed, and taught in  
 " the name of God, is the true religion, and that  
 " alone which leads men unto salvation: And parti-  
 " cularly, I would have my brother informed of that  
 " inestimable grace which I have received of God,  
 " that he may be abundantly comforted and strength-  
 " ened in his expectation of a better life, which I  
 " already enjoy. O with how great love have I loved  
 " him, and esteemed him! Yea I have loved [the gifts  
 " of God in him, and shall love them to the last.  
 " I pray God, who is the giver of every good gift,  
 " that he will fulfil, strengthen, and make perfect his  
 " own work in him; that he will guide him with his  
 " counsel, and at length save and receive him to his  
 " rest. The same prayers I make for my nephew his  
 " son Stephen, that he may be an useful instrument  
 " for the promoting of God's glory, a diligent work-  
 " man that needs not to be ashamed, rightly dividing  
 " the word of truth. O Lord my God, I pray not  
 " only for my brother, but for all those in France to  
 " whom thou hast committed the conduct and rule of  
 " the churches: Bless their persons; pardon their de-  
 " fects; sanctify their gifts: Grant unto them, that they  
 " may seriously return unto the simplicity which is in  
 " Christ; and that they detract not from the glory of  
 " God, to ascribe unto man what belongs to his salva-  
 " tion; he is strong and jealous.

" If in my writings I have seemed to deal a little  
 " warmly with some of my brethren about their  
 " new notions, I protest before God, I was never  
 " moved by envy or wrath against any one in par-  
 " ticular, but on the contrary always accounted the

" men

“ men that favoured those novelties, among my friends ;  
 “ and the more I loved both their persons and gifts,  
 “ the more it grieved me that I could not reconcile  
 “ their maxims with the word of God. I do most  
 “ earnestly beseech God, that he will give them the  
 “ spirit of peace, that they may be of the same  
 “ judgment, and speak the same things ; and that  
 “ the love of God may constrain them, and gather  
 “ them into one in Christ, till we all come unto  
 “ the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son  
 “ of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the  
 “ stature of the fulness of Christ ; that following the  
 “ truth in love, we may grow up into him in all things,  
 “ who is the head, even Christ.

“ I would have thee without delay write unto thy  
 “ father ; he is my brother in a double bond, I have  
 “ always esteemed, and loved him ; he hath been an  
 “ useful instrument for the glory of God, and I  
 “ doubt not but he will thoroughly accomplish his  
 “ work in him, to the glory of his own name, and  
 “ his eternal salvation. I go before him : in a little  
 “ time he will follow after me : He is almost come  
 “ to the end of his course, and there remains but a lit-  
 “ tle time, before God will crown his labours with an  
 “ eternal reward.”

‘ And here again in an extraordinary transport, he  
 brake out into these expressions : “ O great and im-  
 “ mense mercy ! who can but be rapt into admira-  
 “ tion ! He gives both being and well-being ; he  
 “ bestows his gifts, he supporteth, he pardoneth, he  
 “ worketh in us both to will and to do according to  
 “ his good pleasure : And when himself hath given and  
 “ wrought all this, yet he gives to us an eternal reward !  
 “ Amen, amen. Be it unto me according to thy word,  
 “ even according to the faithfulness and stability of thy  
 “ promises.”

‘ Then turning his discourse to his niece again :  
 “ Write also (said he) to thy brethren, that I love  
 “ them, and that I pray for their salvation. And thou,  
 “ my dear niece ! I love thee, not because of that  
 “ near affinity which thou hast to me, but rather  
 “ because we both have one God, and one hope.  
 “ Thou knowest the love and affection which I have  
 “ had for thee, which hath been a paternal love in-  
 “ deed, for a token of which, take thou the Bible  
 “ which thou shalt find in my study. In special, I  
 “ recommend

“ recommend to thee my wife, thy very good aunt :  
 “ To thy power comfort and assist her : Be unto her  
 “ instead of a daughter, and help her to digest the  
 “ sorrow she will have for my absence.”

‘ On Monday morning, January 2, he desired to arise out of his bed; that he might write those letters which he had made mention of in the night : And also that he might add something to the codicil, which was annexed to his will the evening before. His strength was sufficient to admit the putting on of his clothes, and also his walking into his study ; where he took the Bible designed for his niece, and gave it to her himself : And to Mr. Dauber, who was then with him, he gave an Arabic New Testament, and laid by another book for Mr. Hulsius, and one for his brother Rivet, to be immediately sent unto him to Champuernon in France ; unto whom (being returned into his chamber) he wrote this letter :

“ My dear Brother !

“ I now write my last to you, with a trembling  
 “ and dying hand. After the preaching of a sermon  
 “ on Christmas-day in perfect health, it is now eight  
 “ days since I have been afflicted with a stubborn  
 “ constipation ; and the expulsive faculty is wholly  
 “ extinct in me. Wherefore I am determined by the  
 “ grace of God to die with courage and constancy :  
 “ By the obstinate continuance, and pains of my  
 “ distemper, I am quite worn out ; and the day of  
 “ my dissolution draws near. My niece, Mary Moline,  
 “ shall write unto you an account of my last hours,  
 “ and of that tranquillity of mind which God affords  
 “ to me. I expect the coming of my son, to whom  
 “ I may commit my nephews and affairs ; he shall  
 “ give you an account of all. Farewell my dearest  
 “ brother ! But keep me in remembrance the residue  
 “ of thy life, who have loved thee and thine with a  
 “ great charity ; love mine again, as thou doest : I  
 “ pray God to bless thee, and all thine. Once again,  
 “ farewell !

“ Dated at Breda, Jan. 2, 1651.”

‘ He wrote also to Mr. Moline, his brother by affinity, in these words :

“ My dearest Brother,

“ IT so pleaseth God, that you should remain alive  
 “ after me : I now write, being upon the borders between  
 “ life and death, after a sermon preached on Christmas  
 “ day, which was followed with a pertinacious retention  
 “ *facium in alro induratarum*, and of the retaining of  
 “ that load, the dissolution of the body with grievous  
 “ pains is the necessary consequent. Your daughter  
 “ which ministereth to me in this agony, hath under-  
 “ dertaken to write to you of my constancy, and the  
 “ grace which God affordeth to me. Live unto the  
 “ glory of his name, remembering me and mine, who die

“ Your most affectionate,” &c.

‘ When he had written these letters, he found himself exceedingly wearied, and desired to be had to bed again. All this day was spent in receiving his friends, especially the pastors who were of divers nations ; unto whom he discoursed largely of surrendering up himself into the hands of God, and recited to them a confession of his faith, and exhorted them to proceed cheerfully in that work which the Lord had committed to them. He gladly received those consolations whereby they endeavoured to assuage his pains, and heard their prayers for him with like joy, always adding, that he was much refreshed by them. All this day the time seemed very long to him, while he expected the coming of his son.

“ How afraid am I (said he) that I shall not see my  
 “ son ! It is the only thing I desire in this life.”

‘ When he was wholly given up by the physicians, and now for many days had neither received nor voided any thing, a little after noon, a good man, that was touched with our affliction said unto us, that it seemed a very wonderful and strange thing to him, that we would suffer a man of so great merit, who was yet strong and hearty, to go out of the world without trying of any remedies : Adding, that he knew a person that was held with the same disease, that was helped by baths prescribed by a surgeon in the city, who was indeed very skilful in his art. This person therefore was immediately sent for, who when he came, finding the sick man strong enough to abide the use  
 of

of that remedy, without delay prepares a bath, by which he found himself much eased, and his pains assuaged; and that Monday night, he had a better night of it than ordinary.

‘ The next day in the morning they repeated the bath, after which a clyster was injected, which seemed to have begun its work: All that were about the sick man rejoiced, and bade him be of good courage, promising his recovery from his distemper; and, to say the truth, himself began, if not to hope, yet at least to think, it might be so. In the following evening the bath was repeated again, after which, being had to bed, he began to sleep sweetly: But had scarcely rested half an hour, before he was awakened by the pain of his side, and a greater tension of his belly than before, and the access of a fever. Nothing was left unattempted for his relief, by fomentations and unctions; but all was to no purpose: The complaint of the sick man was increased, and he was tired out and afflicted with extraordinary restlessness. And then his niece perceived that there was something else troubled him more than the pain of his body; for he, remaining silent, groaned forth most bitter sighs, whereas before the more he was tormented with pain, the more ardently did he use to pour out his prayers to God. It was supper-time when she was left with him alone, and then with a mournful voice he asked, “ Who is there? is any stranger present?” And when his niece had told him, no; she asked him, Whence doth this unusual disquietude proceed? You seem to me to suffer something extraordinary; what is become of that cheerfulness through which you were wont to pass through your pains with the greatest joy?

“ Alas! (said he) he is departed from me that made  
 “ glad my heart: I have grieved that Holy Spirit  
 “ the Comforter, who had filled my soul with peace  
 “ and joy; I have been so wretched and unhappy  
 “ as to give ear to those who spake unto me of  
 “ my returning into this world: I have been tickled  
 “ with the desire of living: And how could such a  
 “ thing possibly be, after the fruits of the heavenly  
 “ Canaan had been tasted by me, and I had by faith  
 “ taken hold of supernatural good things? What is  
 “ now necessary to be done? Whither shall I go?  
 “ If

“ If I speak, he answers not ; yea he hath taken  
 “ from me the power of speaking : Ah, sad change !  
 “ An holy fire had kindled my meditation, but now vain  
 “ thoughts hurry me : I cannot get out of my mind an  
 “ old satire, and such like trifles. Thus while I am at  
 “ death’s door, I go backwards.”

‘ And here, casting his arms about her neck, he thus  
 proceeded : “ My dear niece, help me, continue to dis-  
 “ course of good things with me : Call upon the Com-  
 “ forter to return, and renew that excellent work which  
 “ he had advanced in me. O return ! return ! Confirm  
 “ me with thy strength, before I go hence, and be seen  
 “ no more.”

‘ Then she suggested to him those places of Scrip-  
 ture, which, by the divine aid, were brought to her  
 mind ; in answer to which, every moment he inter-  
 posed those words, as made it evident that his soul which  
 before was sinking under its burden, began to gather  
 strength and comfort again. He had scarce been a quar-  
 ter of an hour in that conflict, before he fell into a  
 swoon, which occasioned the hasty calling in of his  
 son, who was come to him but that morning ; and when  
 this sinking fit was over, there appeared in him again  
 the same tranquillity and cheerfulness of countenance  
 as formerly : And seeing those of his own household,  
 with some friends that used to assist him, and watch  
 with him by turns, in the next room, he attentively  
 fixed his eyes upon each of them ; and first addressing  
 himself to his wife :

“ Farewell (said he) my dearest yoke-fellow ! We  
 “ have lived together in peace for thirty years ; and I  
 “ thank thee for thy help, which hath been a great com-  
 “ fort unto me ; for I did cast all domestic cares upon  
 “ thee : Continue I beseech thee to \* love my children  
 “ with that pious affection, which hitherto thou hast had  
 “ for them.”

‘ Then turning his speech to his son, he said, “ And  
 “ thou my son ! love and honour this dearest com-  
 “ panion of my life, the partner of all my joys and  
 “ sorrows, which hath done the duty of a mother  
 “ towards thee ; this I desire of thee, and this I  
 “ command thee, as thou expectest a blessing from  
 “ God upon what I have gotten by my labour ;  
 “ divide

\* They were his children by a former wife, for he had none by her.

“ divide it between you without quarrelling or contention, according to what is just and right; manage all thy affairs with all lenity and Christian prudence; especially pursue peace, O Frederick! (for that was his son’s name, to which he alluded,) be rich in peace.”

‘ Then taking hold of both their hands, and joining them together: “ Promise me (saith he) that you will maintain an holy and mutual friendship with each other.” Which when they had both most solemnly promised to do, he said, “ I believe you, for I have no cause to doubt of your sincerity; I know that you fear God, and that my last commands will be of great weight with you, even as I pray God that he will make my blessing effectual upon you.”

‘ Then turning to his wife, he said: “ The Lord bless thee, my dear love, and strengthen thee; he is an husband to the widow, and a father of the fatherless.”

‘ And to his son: “ The Almighty Father bless thee, my son, guide thee in all thy ways, enrich thee with all Christian virtues, and plentifully make thee to abound in all spiritual and temporal blessings; regard not the world nor its deceitful hopes; for the world passeth away, and the lusts thereof; place all thy felicity in the blessing of God: Be strong in faith, and prepared unto every good work. Let the peace of God dwell in thee, and make thee peaceable and kind. Those infants, which I commend unto thee, and commit to thy trust, will be proper subjects for thee to exercise thy charity upon. I appoint and set thee over not only that little portion which I leave them, but especially their persons, that thou mayest take care of their instruction and education in piety and virtue, that they may be fitted for that service of God, which their nature and genius renders them capable of, and especially may apply themselves to the worship of God.”

‘ And then taking hold of the hand of the eldest of the children, he said, “ Farewell dear child; the Lord make thee a good and a pious man, that thou mayest fill up the place of thy father and grandfather: He bless thee abundantly, and make thy studies prosperous unto his glory; which he will do

“ if

“ if thou diligently call upon him, and if thou study  
 “ to be diligent, sober, modest, and humbly obedient  
 “ unto God and thy superiors, thy uncle in particu-  
 “ lar, who will be instead of a father to thee. Give  
 “ due obedience and honour unto thy mother; love  
 “ thy brother and sister, and withdraw thyself from  
 “ the company of young persons who would entice thee  
 “ unto vice.”

‘ And unto his niece he thus spake: “ Farewell my  
 “ dear niece, the Lord bless thee! We have a kindred  
 “ in the heavens which shall endure for ever.”

‘ Now, when he thought this night would be his  
 last, the principal of his friends were called to him, and  
 amongst them Mr. Hulsius; and as they stood about his  
 bed, he attentively beheld them, and discoursed of his  
 departure as at hand, and his disposition to give up him-  
 self to the will of God, with a joyful and free soul.  
 He exhorted each of them, according to their respective  
 condition in regard of age, sex, or quality, and blessed  
 each of them and their families. Then again speaking  
 to his son, he said, “ My friend! Thou lovest at the  
 “ same time both a master and a father; but if the  
 “ fear of God bear rule in thee, God will supply the  
 “ place of both. Far be it from me to distrust his  
 “ grace for the future: I cast all my cares upon him,  
 “ and give up myself and mine, my life and affairs into  
 “ his hands.”

‘ Then he uttered in French metre the words of the  
 Psalmist to this sense: “ Unto whom shall I go for  
 “ help, O Lord, and in whom is my hope? Truly in  
 “ thee. I am full of days: I desire to be dissolved,  
 “ and to be with Christ. It is enough, O Lord! Re-  
 “ ceive now my soul: I commit this body to the earth,  
 “ but I commit my spirit into the hands of God, who  
 “ gave it.”

‘ And in a paroxysm of pain he said, “ My God, I  
 “ know this tabernacle cannot be dissolved without pain,  
 “ yet my heart is lively, and I have still strength to  
 “ bear my pains. O Lord, help mine infirmities; de-  
 “ part not far from me in the day of my sorrow: Say  
 “ unto my soul, I am become thy salvation.”

‘ This last he rehearsed in the French metre, and  
 then repeated in Hebrew, from Psalm xvi. 5. *The Lord  
 is the portion of my inheritance.*

‘ From

‘ From that night forward it was observed, when any one discoursed to him of repentance, and of the grace of God in forgiving sins, he was wont to answer: “ As  
 “ to this point, I am assured that I am reconciled, and  
 “ cleansed from my sin, by the precious blood of my  
 “ Redeemer; God hath spoken, and made known to  
 “ me already, that my sins are blotted out; I now taste  
 “ this blessedness: *Blessed is the man to whom the Lord*  
 “ *imputeth not sin, Psalm xxxii. 1. There is no condem-*  
 “ *nation to them that are in Christ Jesus, Rom. viii. 1.*  
 “ He is come unto me according to his great mer-  
 “ cies, and draweth me, and I willingly follow him:  
 “ *He lessens my bodily pains, by increasing the joy of my*  
 “ *soul; he satisfies my thirst for him with the dew of*  
 “ *his grace: Behold I am satiated, I am enriched.*  
 “ *Man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that*  
 “ *proceedeth out of the mouth of God: The kingdom of*  
 “ *God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace,*  
 “ *and joy through the Holy Ghost. I am fed by my*  
 “ *Saviour, whose flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is*  
 “ *drink indeed; and, as he is the true quickening bread*  
 “ *which came down from heaven, so he that eateth*  
 “ *him, shall live by him: And therefore I live. It*  
 “ *is now two days since I have lived not an animal life,*  
 “ *but I live that life which I shall eternally live in the*  
 “ *heavens.*”

‘ That night he made a long and ardent prayer, the greatest part of which is slipped out of our memory: In general he prayed for all men, and bewailed the corruption of mankind.

“ Alas! O Lord, (said he) this is the last time;  
 “ there is scarce any faith in the earth; men of ve-  
 “ racity are scarcely to be found: One speaks to an-  
 “ other, yea to his friend, fraudulently, and with a  
 “ double heart. Alas! woe is me, that I dwell in the  
 “ tents of Kedar, with those that hate peace. Thou  
 “ hast made peace in thy high places; thou givest  
 “ peace, but not such as the world giveth, wherefore  
 “ my heart is not afraid: The spirit which thou hast  
 “ given me is the spirit of power, of love, and a sound  
 “ mind.”

‘ On the Wednesday morning he found himself much wearied and enfeebled, partly by the pains he had endured, and partly by his much and earnest speaking. Both we that were about him, and himself, were all of  
 the

the mind that his last hour was approaching; for which reason he spake as follows:

“ Again I bid you farewell, my friends; observe me,  
 “ and continue to strengthen me with your prayers and  
 “ exhortations; when my speech shall fail, I will en-  
 “ deavour by signs to let you know my faith and perse-  
 “ verance; my mind cannot be shaken; he that pre-  
 “ serves me is in the heavens.”

‘ When he had again blessed his family and all that stood by him, his speech wholly failed him for a time, so that we expected nothing less than to see him draw his last breath; but being recovered out of this sinking fit, he began to speak again; and when he saw the chamber full of people, he said, “ How am I tired out! “ Will they allow me no time of repose? Wherefore “ is there such a company about me? Have not I spo- “ ken enough? Why am I not allowed a little relaxa- “ tion, and one moment of solitude, that I may converse “ with my God?”

‘ Therefore, every one withdrew according to his desire, and we were afraid to come near to him, lest we should molest him; but when we heard his groans, his niece went in softly to him, and said, ‘ Reverend ‘ Sir, would you be without my company? Doth it ‘ not please you that I should any longer attend upon ‘ you?’

“ Alas! (said he) I desire nothing more; do not go  
 “ from me, but be thou a witness of my last hours:  
 “ Continue with me even to the end. It is a great  
 “ comfort to me to enjoy quietness; I cannot bear  
 “ the sight of so great a company, especially of those  
 “ that come out of mere curiosity. I have omitted  
 “ nothing of what was incumbent on me to say or  
 “ do: I leave nothing behind me that is matter of  
 “ regret to me; I have prayed for the peace of mine  
 “ after my departure, and I believe peace shall dwell  
 “ among them, and that thou wilt do thy endeavour  
 “ that it may, for I know thou art of a peaceable  
 “ spirit. I am satisfied and at rest: I have no more  
 “ to do here below. I have waited for thy salvation,  
 “ O Lord.”

‘ She asked, If it would please him to have his son come to him? “ Yea, (said he) I bless God, and re-  
 “ joice that I have seen him and blessed him before  
 “ I die.” When he came near to him, he stretched out

out his hand and received him kindly, and then repeated to him what he had before said concerning his brother, affirming, “ That he was a very good man, “ and one furnished with gifts that are rather solid “ and useful, than conspicuous and ornamental; now “ shall he be the crown of my father’s family: I “ bless God that there remains a man therein to praise “ him both in word and work. The blessing of the “ God of our father hath been eminently on that “ branch of our family from whence we are sprung; “ there have been found therein many good men who “ feared God: As for these little Nazarenes, I recom- “ mend them to God.”

‘ And, after a little stop, he continued his speech unto his son: “ My son, I now know thee no longer, “ according to the flesh; my carnal affections are “ mortified and swallowed up in the love of God: “ My love towards my wife and children is now “ wholly spiritual; I have prayed unto God that “ he will sanctify, make thee perfect, and glorify thee. “ My son! Is not my happy departure joyful unto “ thee? What couldest thou with more earnestness “ have desired for me, than a glorious and happy end “ after a long and prosperous life? Bless God, “ through whose bounty I am now filled with joy “ and peace. Fear God, my son, for this is the “ whole duty of man. In all thy actions love righ- “ teousness, sincerity, peace, and truth, that my “ blessing may remain effectually upon thee and thy “ nephews.”

‘ This whole day was passed over much to his ease and quiet, none being admitted to disturb him with their visits: He lay still, and was inclined to sleep; and when he observed us to look upon him as if he had been asleep; “ *I sleep, (said he) but my heart “ waketh.*” And when we asked him sometimes how he did, “ Very well, (said he) I feel no pain; I am “ filled with the grace of God; I am not sensible “ of cold or heat; I fear no more the inconveni- “ encies of temporal life; the Spirit of God strengthens “ me, and affords me abundant consolations. I have “ no doubt of my salvation; he hath set me on “ high: He hath hid me in his hiding-place: He “ hath fenced me round about, and hath perfected “ whatsoever concerns me. I cannot be troubled any “ more; I am like a vessel filled with pure water, “ which

“ which no agitation troubles. *It is God that justifieth, who shall condemn? It is Christ that died, yea rather, who is risen again:* The moments of my time are in his power. I am wholly taken up in the expectation of the decreed hour, when he will say, *Come thou good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord!* O my God, I thank thee that thou hast given me the spirit of humility, sincerity, and truth! I have not been as a tinkling cymbal: O Lord, thou hast known the secrets of my soul, and my inmost thoughts! Thou hast taught me in the school of true doctrine, and I have above all sought the glory of thy name. I have not thought any virtue or knowledge to be of myself, knowing that all my sufficiency is from thee alone: I have slighted that mystical theology which is nothing but canting, and have adhered to that clear, pure, and saving truth which is contained in the Holy Scriptures. One word of the Son of God, who requires the heart, is of more worth than all those human vanities, which are good for nothing else but to trouble the purity of the divine fountains. Suffer not, O Lord, the improbity of men to obscure the clearness of thy word, which hath been a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path; yea, it still affords a light unto me, and guideth me in the dark paths of the shadow of death.

“ O Lord, I have been jealous for thee, and have mourned in secret for the wickedness of some, and the audacious hypocrisy of others, who have assembled themselves to pull down what thou hadst built up by thy mercies. There yet remain pious souls who love the peace of Zion, and mourn under these confusions; hear their prayers. In particular, have mercy on those most flourishing islands where so much of the blood of thy martyrs have been shed; turn the people in them to thyself, and to their king; give thy judgments unto that poor prince, and make him worthy to have his just prayers heard; give the spirit of moderation and wisdom to his own nation, who have sent for him, that they may require nothing of him, but what is weighed in the balance of justice.”

‘ These discourses, being begun towards evening, were continued till it was night; which he perceiving, and wondering

wondering at himself, said, “ And am I yet alive,  
 “ and thus able to speak? God hath done it, he  
 “ endues me with new strength, that I may glorify  
 “ him, and extol his holy name. O Lord, I wait for  
 “ the moment which thou hast determined, I believe,  
 “ I persevere; I am not troubled. The spirit of  
 “ God witnesseth with my spirit that I am a child of  
 “ God. O Lord, thou hast known me thoroughly;  
 “ I am thy servant; help all mine infirmities; perfect  
 “ thy work in me: Patience and hope make not  
 “ ashamed; the love of God is in me, even that love  
 “ whereby I earnestly desire the salvation of all, yea, of  
 “ those which have offended me without a cause: I for-  
 “ give them, and pray for them; there is no bitter gall  
 “ in me, for God hath caused all bitterness to pass from  
 “ me, and hath given true peace in me; for I roll my-  
 “ self upon him.”

“ On Thursday morning, January 5, turning his eyes  
 towards the light, he said, “ It is day-light: Shortly  
 “ I shall no more know the difference of day and  
 “ night; I am come to the eve of that great and  
 “ eternal day, and am going unto that place where  
 “ the sun shall no more give light: God will be an  
 “ everlasting light unto me: And already, O Lord,  
 “ thou sendest the rays of that light into my soul,  
 “ and openest mine eyes that I may perceive them.  
 “ O how powerfully dost thou work in me! While  
 “ this old man dies and decays, thou puttest on me the  
 “ new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the  
 “ image of him who createth it; that is lively, seeth,  
 “ heareth, and walketh, with enlarged steps: It desires  
 “ nothing more than an outlet into perfect liberty.  
 “ Deliver me from this prison, that I may celebrate  
 “ thy name; yet neither do I so contemn this body,  
 “ as not to think of its restoration; for I know thy  
 “ dead shall live, yea, my dead body: It is sown in  
 “ corruption, it shall be raised in incorruption; it is  
 “ sown a vile body, but it shall rise again in glory;  
 “ it is sown in weakness, but it shall be raised again  
 “ in power: In a word, it shall be conformed to the  
 “ glorious body of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is be-  
 “ come the first-fruits of them that sleep; I shall  
 “ see him in my flesh: My own eyes shall see him;  
 “ I shall behold his face in righteousness, and shall  
 “ be satisfied with his likeness when I awake. He  
 “ loveth me with an entire affection; he kisseth me  
 “ with

“ with the kisses of his mouth : He hath removed all  
 “ fear far from me, and hath filled me with peace and  
 “ joy in believing.”

‘ He often repeated that sentence, *Amor meus crucifixus est* ; that is, my love is crucified ; adding, “ O love  
 “ incomprehensible ! what I conceive of him is beyond  
 “ all expression. Blessed be the Lord, who hath direct-  
 “ ed my heart into the love of God, and the patient  
 “ waiting for Christ.”

‘ This whole day was spent in like holy discourses, and the prayers of ministers that came to him, with the visits of other friends. Towards evening he found himself very weak, and had two or three fainting-fits, but his speech did not wholly fail in them ; sometimes he would say, “ My strength is quite spent : I am  
 “ going hence, Lord, meet me ; do not tarry ; take thy  
 “ creature.”

‘ Towards the middle of the night, his strength being a little recovered, he reached forth his hand to Mrs. Rivet, his wife, and said, “ Embrace me once  
 “ more, my dear love ! I love thee no more after the  
 “ flesh, but after the spirit ; as I have always loved  
 “ thy better part : I have lived with thee in holy  
 “ concord these thirty years. Thou hast borne my  
 “ infirmities, and hast been an help to me ; and God  
 “ hath blessed us together : I have taken notice of  
 “ thy good infirmities, conjoined with great piety ;  
 “ and thy faith, which is not perfect, but sincere and  
 “ true. Thou knowest (my love) that God is not  
 “ a severe Judge, but merciful and gracious ; he  
 “ chiefly requires from us a recumbence on his  
 “ mercy : He is kind and full of love. Behold in  
 “ me an example of mercy and kindness, and from  
 “ thence gather confidence that he will follow thee  
 “ with the same grace ; we have an alliance in hea-  
 “ ven ; thither the Lord takes me, and he will take  
 “ thee thither also, and so we shall be together with  
 “ the Lord for ever. While thou art waiting for  
 “ that blessed hour, he will be thy husband, father,  
 “ comforter, and defender ; and finally, will make  
 “ thee to experience the sovereign effects of his love.  
 “ Rejoice therefore, (my dearest love) : I have prayed  
 “ for thee. Thy faith shall not fail ; God will  
 “ succour thy infirmities, which savour of nothing  
 “ but goodness. It is that I love in the children of  
 “ God, that they acknowledge themselves to be  
 “ imperfect

“ imperfect before him : God will completely perfect thee, doubt not.”

‘ Then turning to his son : “ My son (said he) keep for thyself what is thine ; call upon God as thy father, for he is the father of eternity : Let his fear wholly possess thee, for that is the principal thing : Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all other things shall be given in over and above unto thee. Take care of my little children ; see to their pious education and instruction in their tender years ; let them not frequent evil company. My son, I put confidence in thee, and assure myself thou wilt observe my commands with all thy power. Let truth be in thy heart, equity and sincerity in all thy actions, and cherish peace and friendship among friends.”

‘ Then taking many friends by the hand that stood by him, he said, “ I pray you love my son :” And then turning to his niece, “ Farewell (said he) my dearest niece ! God will bless thee ; yea he hath blessed thee already ; thou hast ministered to thy afflicted and sick parent, and in so doing thou hast served the public : Let my blessing remain upon thee : I know and am sure that thou shalt be with me in the heavenly paradise, where God hath prepared places for us, before the foundation of the world was laid. Thou hast helped me, and God will help thee : Fear not, persevere with me in the close of my last hours.”

‘ Then seeing Mr. Fayan le Coq. : “ Are you there, (saith he) my dear cousin ? The Lord bless you abundantly, and grant that in the whole course of your life, you may walk in his fear ; you belong to an honourable family, which have laid many obligations upon me ; I pray you write to your honoured mother an account of my happy departure ; and also to your brethren, whom I pray to God abundantly to bless, and give them peace, and that they may not trust in the perishing good things of this world. As for myself, it is long since I have turned from corruptible things, and adhered to those that are prepared and laid up in heaven. Every good and perfect gift comes down from the Father of Lights, with whom there is no variableness nor shadow of turning. My God, my desire is to thee ; my soul thirsteth for thee as  
“ the

“ the parched ground: When shall I enter in, and  
 “ present myself before the face of God! Come,  
 “ Lord Jesus; come! I am in thy bosom; I am ready  
 “ when it pleaseth thee; my heart is prepared, my  
 “ soul is ready: All delay seems long to me till Christ  
 “ come, for whom notwithstanding I wait without im-  
 “ patience.

“ You see through the grace of God I am not  
 “ tired; I wait, I believe, I persevere. Patience is  
 “ much better than knowledge; though it delay my  
 “ joy, yet it sets me in the way to it. The sense  
 “ of divine favour increaseth in me every moment:  
 “ My pains are tolerable, but my joy is inestimable;  
 “ I am no more vexed with earthly cares: I have  
 “ now no desires but after heavenly things. I remem-  
 “ ber when any new book came out, how earnestly  
 “ I have longed after it, till it came to my hands,  
 “ being always desirous of learning something new:  
 “ But now all that is but as dust: Thou art my  
 “ all, O Lord! My good is to approach unto thee.  
 “ O what a library have I in God! in whom is hid  
 “ all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge! I shall  
 “ no more behold things afar off and darkly: I shall  
 “ no more know in part; but I shall be filled with  
 “ the knowledge of God as the sea is covered  
 “ with waters. Thou art the teacher of spirits; I  
 “ have learned more divinity in these ten days that  
 “ thou art come to visit me, than I did in fifty  
 “ years before. Thou hast brought me to my myself:  
 “ Before I went astray, and was in the world; but  
 “ now I am conversant in the school of my God,  
 “ and he teacheth me after another manner than all  
 “ those doctors, in reading whom I spent so much  
 “ time. What obscurity is there, and what con-  
 “ jectures? Yea, what vanity in all those things that  
 “ proceed from an human spirit! What vast spaces  
 “ must a man pass over before he find any fruit in  
 “ them? But thy doctrine, O my God, is perfect,  
 “ and full of good fruits: My soul is filled as with  
 “ marrow and fatness. With my whole heart I re-  
 “ nounce all other knowledge, and cleave to this  
 “ alone—Jesus Christ and him crucified. I give thee  
 “ thanks, O Lord, that thou hast hid these things from  
 “ the haughty wise, and hast revealed them to the  
 “ humble. This body is feeble, but the spirit is strong  
 “ and enriched.”

‘ Then

“ Then turning again to his son, he said, “ My  
 “ son! GOD bless thee more and more; how greatly  
 “ do I rejoice when I behold in thee the grace of  
 “ GOD! It was my great desire to see thee from the  
 “ first day of my sickness. Thou art the youngest  
 “ of my sons, and thou only art left alive to me  
 “ upon the earth: Thou shalt be my Benjamin, and  
 “ GOD will bless the charge I have committed to  
 “ thee, and will be present with thee for thy help  
 “ therein. The Almighty GOD give unto thee and  
 “ thy nephews blessings in Israel, and especially spi-  
 “ ritual blessings, for temporal blessings follow upon  
 “ spiritual. Praised be GOD that hath made thee a  
 “ spectator of my last conflict: It is a conflict, but  
 “ yet sweet, because of the consolations of the Spirit  
 “ of GOD, which abound in me. Thou hast striven  
 “ enough, O my soul! rest in GOD, who is thy  
 “ Saviour.”

“ Then hearing the clock strike, he asked what  
 hour it was? Which when he knew, he said, “ The  
 “ time passeth away, and we pass away with the time;  
 “ howbeit we are confirmed and strengthened by the  
 “ grace of GOD every hour.”

Then smiting upon his breast, he said, “ There is joy  
 “ within by the habitation of the Spirit of GOD in me.  
 “ O good GOD! who am I, that thou should vouchsafe  
 “ to come and dwell under my poor roof! So it hath  
 “ pleased thee, O Lord, that thy Spirit should dwell in  
 “ me to the end, and therefore I have cause of rejoicing  
 “ in earnest.”

“ Thus was the Thursday night passed over: The  
 poor sick man was wearied, and exceeding thirsty,  
 yet durst not drink: He seemed to be breathing out  
 his soul every moment, and panted for deliverance;  
 but the end of his conflict was not yet come; there  
 remained still above twenty-four hours to be under-  
 gone, and those very sharp. His son had betaken  
 himself to some rest in the morning; and after a  
 while coming into the chamber again, his father said  
 to him, “ A good day to you, son! I am glad  
 “ you have taken some rest: Help me a little.”  
 Which being done, he added, “ My son, this duty  
 “ will be pleasing to GOD. I should have reckoned  
 “ myself happy, if in any thing I could have helped  
 “ my father; he was a good and a pious man: I  
 “ had also an holy mother, which deserved very well  
 “ of

“ of the whole family ; there was in her an holy  
 “ ambition and ardent charity. My son, how do I  
 “ rejoice to see thee ! I have yet many things to  
 “ say to thee : remember that thou speakest to the  
 “ illustrious princesses dowagers, and tell them that  
 “ I die devoted to them in all dutiful affection, and  
 “ that I recommend unto them the utmost I can the  
 “ institution of the illustrious college in this town,  
 “ which is indeed the honour of the house of Orange,  
 “ and of his memory who founded it, unto whom  
 “ in my own particular I am laid under very great  
 “ obligations.

“ That great prince, who first called me to his  
 “ service in his house, heaped his benefits upon me,  
 “ and (without vanity I speak it) honoured me with  
 “ his friendship, of which he could give no greater  
 “ testimony than by committing to me the first edu-  
 “ cation of his only son, who indeed was snatched  
 “ away from us in the flower of his age, when both  
 “ his father’s house and the commonwealth had most  
 “ need of him. Truly he was a Prince adorned  
 “ with many gifts, and disposed to receive good  
 “ things, and to piety ; I believe that God was mer-  
 “ ciful to him ; and that his goodness is not wholly  
 “ withdrawn from this noble house, to which he hath  
 “ raised up a son that may supply his father’s place.  
 “ The Almighty God bless and preserve that branch,  
 “ and bless his education, and make him to grow in age,  
 “ and in gifts and graces, that he may be an instrument  
 “ of promoting his glory, and an instance of his grace  
 “ and favour. I beseech him also to bless the princesses,  
 “ his mother and grandmother, that their concord may  
 “ turn to the good of the child and of the State : The  
 “ Lord guide them in all things with the spirit of his  
 “ fear, strengthen them in the faith, and encourage  
 “ them unto every good work : I hope they will keep  
 “ in mind my service and zealous affection for the  
 “ good of their noble family ; but if not, my trust is in  
 “ God.”

“ After half an hour’s silence or thereabouts, he thus  
 continued his discourse ; “ Hear the prayers which thy  
 “ servant offers unto thee (O God) for that child, let  
 “ him be blessed and sanctified from his tender years,  
 “ that the corruption of the age may not pervert him ;  
 “ let him live before thee. Let integrity and righteous-  
 “ ness preserve him.”

“ He

‘ He also prayed for the Lady Electress of Brandenburg and her sisters, that God would adorn them with all Christian and moral virtues, and be with them to the end of their lives.

‘ But now his oppression was so much increased, that we could not take the texture of his meditations; only by his countenance and gesture we might see that he prayed continually; and sometimes he uttered some words, whereby we understood that others had preceded in his meditation; as, for instance, “ Yea, Lord: I believe: This is my joy: God will perfect his work above all: I have no more part in those things that are done under the sun, but I desire the peace of the church every where.”

‘ Then he repeated in French metre the eighteenth verse of Psalm li. which is in English metre,

“ Lord, unto Zion turn thy face;  
 “ Pour out thy mercies on thy hill,  
 “ And on Jerusalem thy grace:  
 “ Build up the walls, and love it still.”

“ I am of that Zion: Have pity on me, and deal graciously with me. I am suffocated, I can hardly breathe: The Lord brings me down, but he calls my spirit to himself: The greatest thing by far is, I have no doubt of my salvation; the Lord upholds me miraculously, to the end that I may edify others by my example in this last close of my life: I am well pleased, O my God: Far be it from me that I should murmur. How small are these pains, in comparison of that grace, through which I bear with a quiet mind whatsoever it pleaseth God to lay upon me; thou allayest these short bitternesses with inexpressible consolations; thou speakest unto my soul with that sweet voice which I understand, because I am of thy sheep. My sheep, saith the chief shepherd, hear my voice: I know them, and they follow me:” To this purpose he began to recite the twenty-third Psalm in Hebrew, *The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want*; and desired one that stood by him to rehearse the rest of the psalm; and the last clause he pronounced himself from the original, viz. *I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.*

‘ And when he saw many attending him, he said, “ You have no cause to wonder: I am able to do  
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“ nothing of myself. The Lord worketh all in all,  
 “ that we may be humbled. This is the School of  
 “ Humility; look upon me, and remember the grace of  
 “ God in me; consider how he brings me down by  
 “ his mighty hand, that he may exalt and glorify me  
 “ in due time. The sufferings of this present time are  
 “ not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall  
 “ be revealed in us: This is my joy, to glorify God  
 “ in my death; sweet death! that is a passage unto  
 “ life eternal. O God, strengthen the soul of thy ser-  
 “ vant, that he may abide constant and invincible un-  
 “ to death. I hope the combat will not continue long;  
 “ bring to pass, O Lord, that the end may crown the  
 “ work.”

‘ Amongst the many physicians that had attended  
 on him, there was one Dr. Crucius, a Roman catholic,  
 who came this morning to visit him, and asked him,  
 if he still continued to be of good courage. “ Yea  
 “ verily, (said he) for I am in God, and God is in  
 “ me. The cross which God hath sent is small; every  
 “ one must bear his cross, that he may follow Christ,  
 “ who hath suffered so great things for me, though  
 “ he deserved no such suffering. This cross increas-  
 “ eth my hope. The Lord is gracious, who entereth  
 “ not into judgment with his poor servant: Christ  
 “ hath died for my sins, and is risen again for my jus-  
 “ tification.”

‘ A while after Mr. Wickelmans, a Dutch minister,  
 came and spake to him in the Latin tongue, to whom he  
 answered in the same language, “ God strengthens  
 “ me, and he will preserve me from all evil: I give  
 “ thanks unto my God for that unspeakable goodness  
 “ which he hath poured upon me: He succours me  
 “ in this work; he hath been always present with me,  
 “ even to this extremity.”

‘ Then the minister repeated to him the words of the  
 apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8. *I have fought a good fight, I  
 have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth  
 there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness:* At  
 which words he cried out, “ O welcome crown! there  
 “ is nothing else that I wait for: God dwells in me  
 “ by his holy Spirit, which shall never be taken away  
 “ from me: Grant, O Lord, that I may keep thy  
 “ commands!”

‘ Again, when beholding his pains, he exhorted him  
 to patience, he answered, “ We cannot, we ought not  
 “ to

“ to resist the will of God. O Eternal Father of our  
 “ Lord Jesus Christ, I give thee thanks for thy exceed-  
 “ ing great benefits, that it hath pleased thee that I  
 “ should declare thy praise even unto very old age; and  
 “ that thou makest me able to persist therein unto the  
 “ last breath of my life.”

‘ At another hour, when the same minister visited  
 him again, and said, ‘ You are still fighting the good  
 ‘ fight,’ he answered, “ In hope and patience, I am  
 “ wholly God’s and Jesus Christ’s, my Saviour: I  
 “ believe that he will keep what I have committed  
 “ to him against that day: Even so come, Lord  
 “ Jesus!”

‘ And when this minister had prayed with him, he  
 returned him thanks in these words: “ I give you  
 “ thanks for your holy prayers; I doubt not but  
 “ God will hear them. God bless you; I beseech  
 “ him to make you a very powerful instrument of his  
 “ glory.”

‘ He also added, “ God hath fulfilled all his promi-  
 “ ses in me; I have seen them afar off, I have believed  
 “ them, I have embraced them. I wait for nothing  
 “ more but to breathe forth my last breath; God pos-  
 “ sesseth me already, I feel that: There is nothing  
 “ wanting, but that he will give me the wings of an  
 “ eagle that I may fly to the carcase.”

‘ Immediately he subjoined a verse or two out of one  
 of Beza’s French Poems, to this sense :

“ O holy word !  
 “ With all my heart  
 “ To thee I fly.”

‘ Towards evening the pangs of death increased upon  
 him; the extreme pains of his bowels, his sudden faint-  
 ing, and other grievous symptoms, were the indications  
 of approaching death: But in this state, and utter de-  
 cay of the strength of nature, his exercise of faith was  
 strengthened so much the more, and his patience con-  
 firmed. “ Mourn not for me, (said he) these last hours  
 “ have nothing terrible in them: The body indeed  
 “ suffers, but the soul is comforted and filled abun-  
 “ dantly. The Lord is my shepherd, I shall want no-  
 “ thing: His rod and his staff shall lead me safely  
 “ through this short valley of the shadow of death.  
 “ This

“ This little cloud hinders me not from beholding that  
 “ heavenly light, which already enlightens my soul.  
 “ O Lord, thou givest me light, thou warnest me, thou  
 “ liftest me on high, and I gladly follow thee, being  
 “ carried aloft upon the wings of faith: The sharper  
 “ my pains are, the nearer I am to my deliverance.  
 “ My wound was grievous, but I was silent because  
 “ thou didst it. Have mercy on me, O Lord! O my  
 “ God, deliver me! I am impatient of delay. I know  
 “ that God is faithful, and with the temptation he  
 “ will give a way of escape, that I may be able to  
 “ bear it.”

‘ When he looked towards his wife, she thus ad-  
 dressed herself to him: ‘ My dear! I bless God, and  
 ‘ rejoice for thee, that I have seen so much of the grace  
 ‘ of God in thee.’ To which he replied, “ Thou doest  
 “ well, (my dear love :) the Lord confirm and strength-  
 “ en thy joy; mine is solid: I rejoice that thou seest  
 “ the end of my conversation. Thou hast known me,  
 “ and thou knowest that I hate ostentation; and that  
 “ more hath been attributed to me by others, than  
 “ I have believed of myself: For I have been con-  
 “ scious of mine own infirmities, and that whatsoever  
 “ good might be in me, was not of myself. The glory  
 “ is to be ascribed to God alone; he hath done the  
 “ work. Perfect, O Lord, and crown thine own work!  
 “ I complain not of my pains; I have not flattered  
 “ myself in my disease; for when I was first seized  
 “ by it, I was aware that God called for me. Is  
 “ it not time, my dearest love? Afflict not thyself:  
 “ I go before; thou shalt follow ere long: Thou hast  
 “ afforded me help, and hast kindly succoured me;  
 “ God will bless thee, and save thee, doubt it not.  
 “ It hath been grateful to me, and I most kindly ac-  
 “ cept it, that thou hast had so great a love for this  
 “ little boy: (pointing to his grandson) make proof of  
 “ thy love to me by loving him; it is a child void of  
 “ malice, and I have good hope of him, if he be well  
 “ guided.”

‘ Then calling the child, he said, “ Give me thy  
 “ hand, my son! See thy grandfather upon his death-  
 “ bed: Thou hast already lost thy grandfather by  
 “ mother’s side, who was a pious and upright man;  
 “ now thou lovest thy grandfather by father’s side; but  
 “ thou hast a grandfather in heaven on both sides,  
 “ that

“ that will never be wanting to thee; I hope my blessing will redound upon thee.”

‘ Then taking him between his hands; “ My little child, (said he) pray to GOD! If thou do this diligently, thou shalt be like a tall and beautiful tree, planted by the rivers of waters: Have thou fair branches, and be fruitful; that is, fear GOD: Then shalt thou bring forth wisdom, prudence, and understanding. Be thou good and beneficent, shunning evil company, and GOD will bless thee, thou shalt not be forsaken: Behold thy uncle, which shall be to thee instead of a father; be obedient to him, and also to thy grandmother, and mother, whom I pray GOD abundantly to bless with her other children; that her little posthumous son that bears my name may in time represent me, yea exceed me.”

‘ These holy speeches were sometimes interrupted by a short sleep, and sometimes on occasion of the prayers or exhortations of the ministers that came to him; he received them all most cordially, and most willingly heard the consolations that were suggested by them; and he would also return consolations to them. He heard their prayers with attention, and when they had done, was wont always to say, that he found himself much relieved: And then dismissed them with thanks, giving his blessing to each of them, as was proper to their condition. Towards supper-time, he remembered the noble virgin, Anna Maria à Schurman, and said, “ She is a person to whom I have always devoted my affection and sincere love: She hath honoured me with her holy friendship. and hath called me father; in testimony of my paternal love, I give her my little Bible without points, of Plantine’s edition, which you shall find in such a place in my study (directing to the place): If I had any strength left, I would have written a letter to her with my own hand, whereby I would have testified to her how much I honour her, and esteem those admirable gifts of GOD, wherewith he hath adorned her. But you (my son) shall supply this defect, and inform her of my happy departure; and that I have prayed to GOD that he will strengthen her in her supernatural calling, and bestow upon her the blessings of a long and prosperous life.

“ What

“ What remains? Have I not said all? I have no  
 “ more to do, but to give up my soul into the  
 “ hands of God: Is it not time? O my God,  
 “ let it suffice! Receive my soul unto thyself, O  
 “ Lord! I yield it into thy hands; thou hast redeemed  
 “ it, O God of truth! Thou art my hope, and  
 “ my confidence from my youth: No care afflicts me;  
 “ God hath removed from me the opprobry which  
 “ I feared, (meaning the vomiting of his excrements,  
 “ a symptom usual in his distemper;) he will perfect  
 “ (and that quickly) whatsoever belongs to his glory,  
 “ and my eternal salvation. If he make any stay,  
 “ if he defer my deliverance, he doth it for your  
 “ edification and salvation; let not my sorrows be  
 “ grievous to you, but rather bless God, who gives  
 “ me a desirable plume, and makes my heart joyful in  
 “ the midst of my pains: Rejoice, therefore, and pray  
 “ with me.”

‘ When he had asked what o’clock it was, he said to  
 his wife and his son, “ I pray you take some food; I am  
 “ not yet fully come to the end of my work: I want  
 “ nothing, and my niece shall tarry with me, and take  
 “ something here to refresh her.”

‘ They withdrew therefore into the next room,  
 and one brought an egg to his niece, which he de-  
 sired her to take. “ As for me (said he) my meat is to do  
 “ the will of God, and happily to run out the course  
 “ of my life: I am refreshed with holy and heavenly  
 “ food. My father feeds me with that food which he  
 “ lately offered to me at his holy table; I did eat, and was  
 “ filled: The true feeding is the feeding of the soul,  
 “ that which sustains the true life: As for corporal meats  
 “ they are for the belly, but God will destroy both it  
 “ and them.”

‘ Then reaching out his hand to his niece, “ I  
 “ love thee (said he) with a love wholly spiritual, a  
 “ love of true charity and affection. We will pass  
 “ this night together in holy meditations, and speaking  
 “ to one another in Psalms and Hymns, and spiri-  
 “ tual Songs, singing and making melody in our  
 “ hearts unto the Lord. I feel my swelling to ascend:  
 “ I fear that in a little time I shall be able to speak  
 “ no more: Do not depart from me; but continue  
 “ speaking to me whatsoever God shall bring to  
 “ thy heart and lips, lest in my utmost weakness  
 “ my

“ my memory should fail me; and I assure thee,  
 “ God will suggest those things to thee which shall  
 “ be for my help and comfort in the time of need:  
 “ For, out of the abundance of the heart the mouth  
 “ speaketh.”

‘ His wife and son being returned into the chamber ;  
 “ Pray ye (said he) for me ; what a joy is it to see these  
 “ holy souls with me !”

‘ Oft times through the bitterness of his pains he  
 brake forth into cries, or rather ardent prayers unto  
 God ; and that frequently, in the words of the Psalms in  
 the French metre : As Psalm cxli. 1.

“ Jehovah, upon thee I call,  
 “ O hasten unto me !  
 “ Lend to my voice thy gracious ear,  
 “ When I do cry to thee.”

‘ Then adding from Psalm xxv. 18. “ Look upon mine  
 “ affliction, and pardon all my sins.”

‘ And upon the mention of any text that speaks of the  
 remission of sins, he would subjoin, “ It is done; he hath  
 “ caused mine iniquity to pass away from me : O Lord,  
 “ abate and shorten my miseries ; now is thy time.”  
 And then repeated from Psalm cxviii. 24.

“ This is a joyful day indeed,  
 “ Which God himself hath wrought :  
 “ We will be glad and joy therein,  
 “ With all our heart and thought.

“ How great is my anguish ! but how much greater is  
 “ my refreshment !

“ An high place and a refuge sure  
 “ I find the Lord to me ;  
 “ In day of my distress he me  
 “ Relieves with rich bounty.”

‘ They continually suggested to him places of Scrip-  
 ture, unto which he would return such answers as  
 did abundantly manifest his godly ardour, faith, and  
 patience; as for instance, when it was said to him,  
 God is nigh to all that call upon him in truth, smit-  
 ing upon his breast, he replied, “ Here he is ; here he  
 “ dwells

“ dwells in me, and worketh powerfully, according to his  
“ good pleasure.”

‘ Then that place was alleged, 1 Cor. xv. *Death is swallowed up in victory*: And he added the following words, “ *Thanks be to God, who hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.*”

‘ Again from Rom. viii. 30. *Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified*: “ Even so it is! (said he) grace upon grace! O lovely chain! This is a golden chain indeed: there wants but the last link to complete the whole in me. O Lord, make perfect, and crown thy work; that I may die the death of the righteous, and see those good things, which eye hath not seen, neither have they entered into the mind of man: thou givest me a foretaste of these sweetnesss and refreshings, which no words can express.”

‘ Then Mr. Hulsius being present, asked if it would be acceptable to him that he should go to prayer? “ Yea. (said he) pray; the time requires it.”

‘ When he had ended his prayer, he gave him thanks, saying, “ You have helped me; while you called upon God, I found some ease of my infirmity: En courage me! the race is short: I even touch the bound of my race; I go on: I gather new strength: I touch the prize: I take hold of eternal life. This body fainteth: This tabernacle is destroyed; but there is reserved for me an house in the heavens, not made with hands: There is reserved for me in the heavens an incorruptible inheritance, that can neither be defiled, nor fade away.”

‘ About midnight his pains increased exceedingly, which caused him to break forth into bitter cries, calling upon God for his help. “ Come Lord Jesus! Come! I can bear no more; yet is not my patience lost, but the desire of my soul towards thee is like that of the dry and thirsty ground. As the hart panteth for the brooks of water, so panteth my soul for thee, O God! O when shall I come and appear before God! My strength fails me more and more, but my soul is strong and joyful.”

‘ Presently upon this he fell into a great fainting, (which physicians call *lipothymia*) on which occasion Mr. Martin Lydius, a Dutch minister, was instantly called

called in. He was one that Dr. Rivet had a great affection for, and he was daily with him during his sickness; and therefore what passed between them two, we will set down in Lydius's own words, which are as follow:

“ This reverend father in Christ required that I should be often called to him in the time of his sickness, having formerly been his scholar at Leyden. When I came first to him, he exhorted me with sweet words to proceed as I had begun: Saying, that it greatly rejoiced him to understand the affection which the church at Breda had for me; wherefore, “ I pray thee (said he) “ give me thy hand; go on to adorn the service “ thou hast undertaken.” Then he uttered an excellent confession of his faith with a strong voice: In which he shewed on what stays the protestant religion, which he had hitherto propagated both by preaching and writing, leaned, for the obtaining of that consolation both in life and death, which the miserable papists cannot have.

“ And when I recited some select places of Scripture to him out of the Old or New Testament, he would rehearse them again either in Hebrew or Greek. I said, that I doubted not but with Stephen the protomartyr he did already see heaven opened, &c. To which he replied with a cheerful countenance and voice, “ O, I have seen “ that a good while.”

“ I excused myself, that I could not pray to God with him, because I was a stranger to the French tongue, and the bye-standers understood not the Latin tongue; but he said, pray in that tongue which both thou and I understand; which when I had done, and prayers were ended, he gave me thanks, saying, “ The “ spirit of God hath spoken by thy mouth, and thou “ hast exceedingly strengthened me: I desire thou wilt “ always remember me in public prayers in the “ church.” The next day, being exceedingly ill, he commanded that none should be admitted to him; but when Mrs. Moline heard my voice, she brought me to the bed-side, and he received me with a cheerful countenance; I am glad (said he) that thou art come. I told him, the present time required that he should cast all his cares upon God, and be no more solicitous about any thing: He answered, “ Yea truly: There is “ nothing that I am any more solicitous about; I only “ desire the coming of my Saviour, yea his speedy com-  
“ ing,

“ing, that I may be loosed from this body of sin,  
 “and be with Christ, who is gain unto me both in life  
 “and death; I embrace Christ by faith: I am even  
 “pressed down, but I am in the hand of my shepherd:  
 “I embrace my Saviour Jesus Christ, and do now  
 “wholly pant after my God.”

“When he had spoken these, and other things of like nature, I bade him farewell: But he again desired me to pray with him: Which being done, with a sigh he said, “O how sweet is this!”

“When the fatal day was come, about two o'clock in the morning, he would have me called, and when I drew near to his bed, he took hold of my hand, to whom I said, ‘Yet a little while, and he that shall come, will come.’ He answered, “And why doth he not come?” And immediately added, “Yea he is come already.”

“This I testify, Martinus Lydius, preacher at Breda.”

‘About three o'clock in the morning of Saturday, January 7th, his wife came near to him, and beholding in his countenance the image of death, she cheerfully said, ‘Farewell, my dear! Go rejoicing into eternal life.’

“Thou sayest true (said he), I go unto my God and your God: We are all gainers: Amen! Amen! Farewell my son! Farewell my dear niece! Fear not, I have prayed for you: Ye shall be happy. Persevere to the end, that none get away your crown: I go before you, and ye shall follow me; you have no cause to doubt of it: We shall be caught up together to meet the Lord in the air, and so we shall for ever be with the Lord: I have no more to say or do: I am ready, I am prepared; come Lord Jesus, come! receive thy creature; I aspire, I hope, I knock at the gate; open O Lord! Open unto thy poor servant.”

‘His oppression was manifestly discerned to increase upon him, and also a mortal stupor or drowsiness, and rattling came upon him: The chamber was filled with company; but most were of the mind it was not meet to weary him any longer with discourse, seeing nothing could be added to that abundant testimony of his faith which they had received already: Therefore about five in the morning they all departed, except Mr. Lydius, who silently waited the last season of praying to God for him, when he should be drawing his

his last breath. But when it was past eight o'clock, and he discerned but little change, and found his pulse much the same, he thought he might abide in that agony until evening; therefore he departed, promising to return as soon as they should send for him. Only those of his own house remained with him, who feared to molest him by speaking, and were also uncertain whether he could speak or not, because of his extreme oppression, and his lying with his mouth open. Friends at length prevailed with his wife to withdraw from the sight of his last agony; and only his son and niece stood by the bed, expecting his last breath; yet neither did they think that this had been so near, as it was.

About half an hour after eight the colour of his face was wholly changed, and convulsive motions came on: Then his niece asked him, if he yet had his understanding. "Alas! (said he) speak," (as complaining of their silence:) Then said she, I pray you do you still feel the sense of inward joy? To which he replied intelligibly enough, "Yea: My confidence is firm in "me." Then making a sign, that he would be raised a little, his son and his niece on each side enfolding their arms about him, lifted him higher: Then fixing his eyes a while upon them, he said, "Help me; I "am going." Accordingly, the Lord bringing to their mind many choice Scriptures apt for the occasion, they by turns proposed them to him; and he received them with great joy; adding, "So it is:" and "Amen." Often also he would pronounce himself the last words of that portion of Scripture, which they were rehearsing to him; as in Psalm xxxvi. "*How excellent is thy loving kindness, O God! Therefore do the sons of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings: Thou wilt abundantly satisfy them with the fatness of thy house, and make them to drink of the rivers of thy pleasures;*" which last sentence he rehearsed himself in the French metre. And the same he did from Psalm lxxv. 4. "*Blessed is the man whom thou chooseth, and causeth to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts: We shall be abundantly satisfied with the goodness of thy house, even of thy holy temple.*"

Then his son said, 'I am sorry that we are alone.' "I am not alone, (said he) God is with me." Be you then an evangelist to yourself, (said his son) forasmuch as you have received the ministry of reconciliation, deliver the tidings of peace to your own soul.

"That

“ That I do, (saith he) my soul believes.” Then fear nothing: He that believes in Jesus Christ shall never perish: He added, “ But shall have eternal life.” While prayers were making for him in this last combat with the pains of death, at the end of almost every sentence he would interpose some word or words, expressing the sense of his mind with respect to those petitions. As thus: O great God, send thy spirit of consolation: “ He is already come:” And give unto thy servant the sense of thy love: “ That he hath done;” give unto him the garment of salvation: “ He hath given it;” all is well, enter therefore thou good servant into the joy of thy Lord, he calleth thee. (At which words he raised up himself, and stretched forth his arms:) Also: O Lord, strengthen more and more the faith of thy servant in this last agony, let him see, let him hear thy voice, let him raise up himself, and take hold on eternal life; “ Yea! I am of good comfort.” Let us go to the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy: “ It is done:” Leave therefore with a joyful mind this body to the earth, and yield up thy spirit into the hands of God, “ who hath given it:” Take hold of the shield of faith; yea put on the whole armour of God: “ I have it.”

‘ Then he began himself to recite those words, “ I have fought a good fight,” &c. And when one had repeated what follows, and came to those words, which God the righteous Judge will give, he added, “ He will do it.” And when one said, ‘ Behold the last moment of deliverance! O God, give wings unto thy servant; open thy paradise unto him; let him be received unto the beholding of thy face!’ He added, “ With the spirits of just men made perfect.” ‘ Let him receive the white stone, and the hidden manna; and let him bear his part in that new song which none understands but he that sings it.’ To which he said, “ Amen!”

‘ In these last moments there came in some of his friends who were witnesses of his happy departure: But the ministers above named, viz. Lydius and Hulsius, came too late to hear him speak any thing. Howbeit a short prayer was made for him; after which, when he had abode a while with his eyes fixed, and his hands lifted up towards heaven, one of the standers by said, ‘ I am persuaded this man doth already enjoy the vision of God,’ whereupon he earnestly endeavoured

to utter the word yea! And almost in the same moment sweetly breathed forth his soul, about half an hour after nine o'clock on Saturday morning, being January 7, 1651, after he had lived seventy-eight years six months and five days.'

Mr. Leigh calls him 'a learned and godly French divine,' and says of him, 'that he hath very well expounded Genesis, Exodus, the prophetic Psalms, and Hosea, and wrote learnedly against the papists in his *Catholicus Orthodoxus*, and against Grötius. *Criticus sacer seu censura Patrum, Isagoge in S. Scripturam, Synopsis doctrinæ de naturâ et gratiâ*: With other learned Treatises in Latin and French.' Another great Divine used to call him 'A man beyond all praise, and the most burning and shining light of the French and Dutch churches.' Doubtless he now shines, as the stars in the firmament, and shall shine for ever and ever!

## JOHN SMITH,

FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

IN the 'short account of his life and death,' annexed to his works, his biographer, in the peculiar style of his time, says of him: 'I shall speak nothing of his earthly parentage save only this, that herein he was like to John the Baptist, the last Elias, in that he was born after his parents had been long childless, and were grown aged. Some have observed that such have proved very famous; for they seem to be sent on purpose by God into the world to do good, and to be scarce begotten by their parents. Such are something like Isaac, who had a great blessing in him, and seemed to be intended by God for some great service and work in the world. But let us look only at his heavenly descent, and see how he was allied to God himself; for as the poet says of Eneas—*Contingit sanguine Cælum*; I may say of him as Nazianzen says of his sister, 'His country was heaven, his town or city was the Jerusalem which is above, his fellow-citizens were the  
saints,

saints, his nobility was the retaining of the divine impressions and stamps upon his soul, and being like to God, the Archetype and first Pattern of all goodness.' And indeed the preserving of the heavenly symbols that are in our souls, and especially the purging and scouring of them from the corruption of nature, he often spake of; and his endeavour was that the divine image might be fairly reflected in him, and that it might shine brightly in the face of others.

' If I should speak much of the vastness of his learning, (a thing not to be passed by,) it would seem to say that I knew all he was; which I am not so arrogant as to assume unto myself: This I will say, that he could do what he would. He had such a huge wide capacity of soul, such a sharp and piercing understanding, such a deep reaching mind, that he set himself about nothing but he soon grasped it, and made himself a full possessor of it. And if we consider his great industry and indefatigable pains, his Herculean labours day and night from his first coming to the university, which was on the fifth of April 1636, till the time of his long sickness, joined with his large parts, and his frequent meditation, contemplation, and abstraction of his mind from sensible things, it must needs be concluded that he was a comprehenser of more than I can say or think of; and if I could, it would be too tedious to give you an account of all.

' There is a discourse which Charidemus, (in Dion Chrysostom) makes to his friends a little before his death, ' How that this world is God's house, wherein a ' gallant sumptuous feast is prepared, and all men are ' his guests; and how that there are two waiters at the ' table, which fill out the wine to them that call for it; ' the one a man, the other a woman; the one called Νεϋς, ' or Mind, from whose hand all wise men drink; the ' other Ακρατεια, or Intemperance, who fills the cups of ' the lovers of this world.' In this house our beloved friend, deceased, staid between four and five-and-thirty years, and I am sure drank most large draughts from the hand of the former; for he was a man, he was a mind, he had nothing of that woman in him, and never in the least was known to sip of her cups. He was a most laborious searcher after wisdom, and never gave his flesh leisure to please itself in those entertainments: And therefore we may be confident with that Charidemus, that God had taken him to be his friend and companion,

panion, to drink of the rivers of his pleasure. In a word, he was, as Eunapius speaks of Longinus, a living library, better than that which he hath given to our college, and a walking study, that carried his learning about with him. I never got so much good among all my books by a whole day's plodding in a study, as by an hour's discourse I have got with him. For he was not a library locked up, nor a book clasped, but stood open for any to converse with that had a mind to learn. Yea, he was a fountain running over, labouring to do good to those who, perhaps, had no mind to receive it. None more free and communicative than he was to such as desired to discourse with him; nor would he grudge to be taken off from his studies upon such an occasion. It may be truly said of him, that a man might always come better from him; and his mouth could drop sentences as easily as an ordinary man's could speak sense. And he was no less happy in expressing his mind than in conceiving; wherein he seems to have excelled the famous philosopher Plotinus, of whom Porphyry tells us, that 'He was something careless of his words, but was wholly taken up into his mind.' He, of whom we now speak, had such a *copia verborum*, a plenty of words, and those so full, pregnant, and significant, joined with such an active fancy, as is very rarely to be found in the company of such a deep understanding and judgment as dwelt in him.

'I have done with his learning, when I have told you, that as he looked upon honours, riches, and the eagerly-pursued things of this world, as vanities; so did he look upon this also as a piece, though a more excellent piece of vanity, (as he was wont to phrase it,) if compared with the higher and more divine accomplishments of the soul. For he did not care to value himself by any of those things which were of a perishing nature, which should fail and cease, and vanish away, but only by those things which were more solid and substantial, of a divine and immortal nature, which he might carry out of the world with him, to which my discourse shall not be long before it descend.

'He was of very singular wisdom and great prudence, of admirable skill and readiness in the management of affairs. His learning was so concocted, that it lay not as an idle notion in his head, but made him fit for any employment. He was very full and clear in all his resolutions at any debates, a most wise counsellor

seller in any difficulties and straits, dexterous in untying any knot, of great judgment in satisfying any scruple or doubt, even in matters of religion. He was one that soon saw into the depth of any business that was before him, and looked it quite through; that would presently turn it over and over in his mind, and see it on all sides; and he understood things so well at the first sight, that he did not often need any second thoughts, but usually stood to the present resolution and determination of his mind.

‘And add to this his known integrity, uprightness, and faithfulness; his strong and lively, his waking and truly tender conscience, which, joined with the former things I spoke of, made him (as one of the ancients speaks) ‘An exemplar of true Christian philosophy and virtue, and (as it were) the spiritual rule, line, and square thereof.’

‘He had incorporated, shall I say, or insouled all principles of justice and righteousness, and made them one with himself. So that I may say of him in Antonius’s phrase, ‘He was plunged into the very depths of righteousness.’ They who knew him, very well knew the truth of all this. And I am persuaded he did as heartily and cordially, as eagerly and earnestly, do what appeared to be just and right, without any self-respect or particular reflections, as any man living.

‘Methinks I see how earnest he would be in a good matter which appeared to be reasonable and just, as though justice herself had been in him, looking out at his eyes, and speaking at his mouth. It was a virtue indeed that he had a great affection unto, and which he was very zealous to maintain; in whose quarrel he was in danger to be angry, and sometimes to break forth into a short passion.

‘But he was always very urgent upon us, that by the grace of God, and the help of the mighty spirit of Jesus Christ working in us, we would endeavour to purge out the corruption of our natures, and to crucify the flesh with all the affections and lusts thereof: Yea, to subdue, as much as it is possible, even the first deviations in our souls, those first motions that are without our consent, and to labour after purity of heart, that so we might see God. For his endeavour was not only to be out of the pollutions of the world through lust, but, as Plotin speaks, ‘To come to the true likeness of God and his Son;’ or, in the apostle’s language.

language, *to be a partaker of the divine nature.* And hear now what words shall I use?

‘ What shall I say of his love? None that knew him well, but might see in him love springing up in his soul, and flowing out to all; and that love unfeigned, without guile, hypocrisy, or dissimulation. I cannot tell you how his soul was universalized, how tenderly he embraced all God’s creatures in his arms, more especially men, and principally those in whom he beheld the image of his heavenly Father.

‘ His patience was no less admirable than his love; under a lingering and tedious disease; wherein he never murmured nor complained, but rested quietly satisfied in the infinite unbounded goodness and tenderness of his Father, and the commiserations of Jesus Christ our merciful High-priest, who can be touched with a feeling of our infirmities. He still resolved with Job, *Though he kill me, yet will I trust in him.* And he told me in his sickness, “ That he hoped he had learnt that, for “ which God sent it, and that he thought God kept “ him so long in such a case, under such burdens and “ pressures, that patience might have its perfect work “ in him.” His sickness undoubtedly was *φιλοσοφος νοσος*, (as Nazianzen speaks) a learned disease, and full of true philosophy, which taught him more of real Christianity, and made his soul of a more strong, able, athletic habit and temper. For, as St. James saith, *If patience have its perfect work, then is a soul perfect and entire, wanting nothing.* And really in his sickness he shewed what Christianity and true religion is able to do; what might, power, and virtue there is in it to bear up a soul under the greatest loads; and that he could, *through Christ strengthening him*, do all that, which he so admirably discoursed of in his life.

‘ But for his humility, it was that, which was most apparent and conspicuous. You might have beheld in him (as the same father speaks) true humility in a most eminent degree, and the more eminent, considering how much there was within him which would have swelled and puffed up another. But from his first admission into the university, (as I am informed by those that knew him) he sought not great things for himself, but was contented in the condition wherein he was. He made not haste to rise and climb, as youths are apt to do, (which we in these late times too much experience, wherein youths scarce fledged have soared to

the highest preferments) but proceeded leisurely by orderly steps not to what he could get, but to what he was fit to undertake. He staid God's time of advancement, with all industry and pains following his studies, as if he rather desired to deserve honour, than to be honoured. He shook off all idleness and sloth, the bane of youth, and so had the blessing of God upon his endeavours, who gave him great encouragement from several persons of worth, and at last brought him unto this place. And I challenge any one that is impartial to say, if since he came hither, they ever beheld in him any pride, vain-glory, boasting, self-conceit, desire of honour and being famous in the world. No, there is not the man living that had the eyes ever to discern any thing of this swollen nature: But on the contrary it was easy to take notice of most profound humility and lowliness of mind, which shewed him to be a true disciple of Jesus Christ, *who took upon him the form of a servant, and made himself of no reputation.* And I dare say our dear friend was as true, as humble a servant (without any compliment) to the good of mankind, as any person that this day lives. This was his design in his studies, and if it had pleased the Lord of life to have prolonged his days, it would have been for more of his work: For he was resolved (as he once told me) very much to lay aside other studies, and travel in the salvation of men's souls, after whose good he most ardently thirsted.

‘ Shall I add, (as the apostle speaks) above, or unto all these, his faith, I say his true working and lively faith, his simple, plain-hearted, naked faith in Christ? It is likely that it did not busy itself about many fine notions, subtilties, and curiosities, or believing whole volumes; but be sure it was that, which was firmly set and fixed in the mercy and goodness of God through Christ; that also which brought down Christ into his soul; which drew down heaven into his heart; which sucked in life and strength continually from our Saviour; which made him hearty, serious, and constant in all those fore-named Christian virtues. His faith was not without a soul; but what Isidore saith of faith and works, held true of him, ‘ His *faith* was animated, quickened, and actuated by *these*.’ He lived by faith in the Son of God; by it he came to be truly partaker of the righteousness of Christ, and had it wrought and formed in his very soul. For this indeed was the end  
of

of his life, the main design which he carried on, that he might become like to God. So that if one should have asked him that question in Antoninus, ‘What is thy art and profession, thy business and employment?’ He would not have answered, “To be a great philosopher, mathematician, historian, or hebrician, (all which he was in great eminency) to be a physician, lawyer, general linguist; which names and many more his general skill deserved: But he would have answered, “My art is to be good;” To be a true divine is my care and business, or, in the Christian phrase, To be holy as God is holy, to be perfect as my heavenly Father is perfect. All that remember the serious behaviour and weighty expressions he used in his prayers, cannot but call to mind how much his heart was set upon the attainment of this true goodness.

‘He was far from that spirit of devouring zeal that hath too often and too much raged in the world. He would rather have been consumed in the service of men, than have called for fire down from heaven to consume them. But as for benignity of mind and Christian kindness, every body that knew him will remember that he ever had their names in his mouth; and I assure them they were no less in his heart and life, as knowing that, without these, truth itself is in a *faction*, and Christ is drawn into a *party*. And this graciousness of spirit was the more remarkable in him, because he was of a temper naturally hot and choleric, as the greatest minds most commonly are. He was wiser than to let any anger rest in his bosom, much less did he suffer it to burn and boil till it was turned into gall and bitterness; and least of all would he endure that any passion should lodge in him, till it was become a cankered malice and black hatred, which the generality of men scarce hide, but let it appear in their countenance and in their carriage towards others.

‘If he was at any time moved into anger, it was but a sudden flushing in his face, and it did as soon vanish as arise; and it used to arise upon no such occasion as I now speak of. No, whensoever he looked upon the fierce and consuming fires that were in men’s souls, it made him sad, not angry; and it was his constant endeavour to inspire men’s souls with more benign and kindly heats, that they might *warm* but not *scorch* their brethren.

‘And

‘ And from this spirit, together with the rest of Christian graces that were in him, there did result a great serenity, quiet, and tranquillity in his soul, which dwelt so much above, that it was not shaken with any of those tempests and storms which used to unsettle more low and abject minds. He lived in a continued sweet enjoyment of God, and so was not disquieted with scruples or doubts of his salvation. There was always discernable in him a cheerful sense of God’s goodness, which ceased not in the time of his sickness. But we most longed to see the motions of his soul, when he drew near the centre of his rest. He that had such a constant feeling of God within him, we might conclude would have the most strong and powerful sense, when he came nearer to a close conjunction with him. But God was pleased to deny this to us, and by a lethargic distemper which seized on his spirits, he passed the six last days of his life (if I may call it a life) in a kind of sleep, and, without much taking notice of any thing, he slept in the Lord.

‘ I have almost prevented myself already in the two latter particulars, his singular care, and his great usefulness; both which must needs be concluded from the former: His care I say of others as a tutor, his usefulness as a fellow of this now mournful society.

‘ All his pupils began to know in his sickness what it was to have and to want a loving father, a faithful tutor. He was one that did constantly mind their good, that instilled excellent pious notions into their minds, and gave light in every thing a man could desire to know. His life taught them continual lessons of justice, temperance, prudence, fortitude, and masculine virtue; and above all, he taught them true dependence upon God, and reference of themselves, and all their studies unto him, with true faith in, and imitation of, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: For which end he often expounded to them out of the Holy Scriptures. And for human learning, the many good scholars that came from under his hand, do witness how dexterous he was at the training up of youth in all good literature. Porphyry tells us of Plotin, that he was such a careful person, that sundry noble men and women, with divers others, when they died, committed both their sons and daughters to his tuition, as unto some tutelar angel, or a sacred and divine guardian. Truly those that come to the university, are in a manner without  
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father and mother; but they could not be committed to a more loving tutor, a more holy and faithful guardian, that would bring them up in all true learning and piety. If any think that he was too severe, let me tell them, that they are such as find fault with the lion, because he looks not like an ape: He both looked and spake like a man, that had drunk into his soul such solid, high, and generous principles, as few men are acquainted with, which made him very zealous not only for righteousness, integrity, and holiness, but for a decorum in all things. He had a great regard for all those things which are mentioned by the Apostle, Philip. iv. 8. For *whatsoever things were true, honest, (or rather comely and grave, seemly and venerable, as σεμνα doth signify,) for all that was just, pure, lovely, of good fame and report; if there was any praise. or any virtue,* he was most earnest and forward in its behalf.

‘ His name is more worthy to be had in especial remembrance, and highly deserves to be ranked among our benefactors, he having endowed our library with all the books that he had, and we wanted; and I have reason to believe, that if he had not been so suddenly surprized by those forgetful lethargic fits, he intended to bestow more upon us than his books, which yet were both many and choice ones, being above six hundred for number, and many of them large and costly; and for the matter of them, many Hebrew books, (besides some Arabic) many mathematical books, many books of history both ancient and modern, as also of philosophy and philology, both sacred and profane.

‘ And whensoever we commemorate his love unto us, let it be with some encomium; let us mourn *quod talem amiserimus*, that we are deprived of such a person; but let us rejoice and give thanks to God *quod talem habuerimus*, that we ever had such an one, who hath done us so much good. They are the words of St. Jerom to Nepotian, with a little alteration.

‘ But let me tell you in conclusion of all, that herein would be shewn our greatest love and affection which we bear to him, this would be the greatest honour of him, if we would but express his life in ours, that others might say when they behold us, there walks at least a shadow of Mr. Smith. And O that I might beg with Elisha a double portion among those that I desire should share in the gifts and graces of this Elijah! This is the highest of my ambition, that many might but possess the

the riches that lodged in this one. Let me seriously, therefore, exhort every one of us to imitate this master in Israel: Imitate him in his industry, if not in his learning: Imitate his temperance, his patience, his fortitude, his candour and ingenuity, his holiness and righteousness, his faith and love, his charity and humility, his self-denial and true self-resignation to the will of GOD: In a word, all those Christian virtues which lived in him, let them live in us for ever.

‘ Let us die to the world, as he did, before we die: Let us separate our souls from our bodies and all bodily things, before the time of our departure and separation come. Let us take an especial heed lest we do, as most men do, suffer this lower and earthly world; lest we be drawn forcibly into its embraces, and so held from rising aloft: But let us turn up our minds continually to heaven, and earnestly desire *patri Deum*, to suffer GOD; to be mightily and strongly attracted by him, from all earthly and sensible delights, to an admiration and love of his everlasting beauty and goodness. Let us labour to be so well acquainted with him, and all things of the higher world, and so much disengaged in our affections from this and all that is in it, that when we come to go out of this world, we may never look back and say, O what goodly things do I leave! what a brave world am I snatched from! would I might live a little longer there! Let us get our hearts so crucified to the world, that it may be an easy thing to us to shake hands with, and bid a farewell to our friends, (the dearest things we have) our lands, houses, goods, and whatsoever is valuable in our eyes. Let us use the world as though we used it not: Let us die daily, as our dear friend did; and so it was easy for him to die at last. Die did I say? Shall I use that word, or rather *αφιπταται*, he is flown away, (as Nazianzen speaks) his soul hath got loose, and now feels her wings? or *μετοικιζεται*, he hath changed his habitation, he is gone into the other world, as Abraham went out of Ur into Canaan? or, as the same father says, *μικρον προαποδρμει τε θοματος*, he hath taken his journey into another country a little before his body? He hath left his body behind him awhile to take a sleep in the dust, and when it awakes at the resurrection, it shall follow also to the same place. Then shall it be made a spiritual body, then shall it have wings given to it also, and be lovingly married again to the soul, never any more to suffer any

any separation. And at that time we shall all meet with our dear father and friend again, who now are here remaining, crying out, *O my father, my father, &c.* Then shall all tears be wiped away from our eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: Then we shall not need such a light as he was; for there is no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever.

Thus far his pious encomiast: To whom we will subjoin the witness of another excellent contemporary, namely, Dr. John Worthington of Cambridge, in his Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to Mr. Smith's Select Discourses, which Dr. Worthington published Ann. Dom. 1660.

‘ I considered Mr. Smith as a friend, one whom I knew for many years, not only when he was fellow of Queen's college, but when a student in Emanuel college, where his early piety, and the remembering his Creator in those days of his youth, as also his excellent improvements in the choicest parts of learning, endeared him to many, particularly to his careful tutor, then fellow of Emanuel college, afterwards provost of King's college, Dr. Whichcote; to whom, for his directions and encouragements of him in his studies, his seasonable provision for his support and maintenance when he was a young scholar, as also upon other obliging considerations, Mr. Smith did ever express a great and singular regard.

‘ But besides I considered him (which was more) as a true *servant* and *friend* of God: And to such a one, and what relates to such, I thought I owed no less care and diligence. And how fitly and properly both these titles were verified concerning him, who was a faithful, hearty, and industrious *servant of God*, counting it his duty and dignity, his meat and drink, to do the will of his Master in heaven, and that from his very soul, and with good will, (the characters of a good servant) and who was dearly affected towards God, and treated by God as a *friend*, may appear from that account of him represented in the sermon at his funeral. I might easily fill much paper, if I should particularly recount those many excellencies that shined forth in him: But I would study to be short. I might truly say, that he was not only *δικαιος* but *αγαθος*, both a  
*righteous*

*righteous* and truly honest man, and also a *good* man. He was a follower and imitator of God in purity and holiness, in benignity, goodness, and love, a love enlarged as God's love is, whose goodness overflows and spreads itself to all, and *his tender mercies are over all his works*. He was a *lover of our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity*, a lover of his spirit and of his life, a lover of his excellent laws and rules of holy life, a serious practiser of his sermon on the mount, the best sermon that ever was preached, and yet none more generally neglected by those that call themselves Christians, though the observance of it be for the true interest both of men's souls and of Christian states and commonwealths; and accordingly (as being the surest way to their true settlement and establishment) it is compared to *the building upon a rock*, Matth. vii. 24. To be short, he was a Christian not only *εν ολιγω* but *εν πολλω*, more than a little, even wholly and altogether such; a Christian *εν καρπω*, inwardly and in good earnest: Religious he was, but without any vain-gloriousness and ostentation; not so much a talking or a disputing, as a living, a doing, and an obeying Christian; one inwardly acquainted with the simplicity and *power of godliness*, but no admirer of the Pharisaic forms and sanctimonious shews, (though never so good and specious) which cannot and do not affect the adult and strong Christians, though they may, and do, those that are unskilful and weak. For, in this weak and low state of the divided churches in Christendom, weak and slight things (especially if they make a fair shew in the flesh, as the apostle speaks) are most esteemed: whereas in the mean time *the weightier matters of the law*, the most concerning and substantial parts of religion are passed over and disregarded by them, as being grievous to them, and no way for their turns, no way for their corrupt interests, fleshly ease, and worldly advantages. But God's thoughts are not as their thoughts: *The circumcision which is of the heart, and in the spirit, is that whose praise is of God, though not of men; and that which is highly esteemed amongst men, is an abomination in the sight of God.*

‘ He was eminent as well in those perfections, which have most of divine worth and excellency in them, and rendering him a truly God-like man; as in those other perfections and accomplishments of the mind, which rendered him a very rational and learned man:

And

And withal, in the midst of all these great accomplishments, as eminent and exemplary in unaffected humility and true lowliness of mind. And herein he was like to Moses, that servant and friend of God, who was most weak and lowly in heart, (as our Lord is also said to be, Matth. xi. in this, as in all other respects, greater than Moses, who was *vir mitissimus*) *above all the men which were upon the face of the earth*, Numb. xii. And thus he excelled others as much in humility as he did in knowledge, in that thing which, though in a less degree in some than in others, is apt to puff up and swell them with pride and self-conceit. But Moses was humble, though he was a person of brave parts, *φρονιματι γενναιος*, as Josephus speaks of him, and having had the advantages of a most ingenuous education, was most admirably accomplished in the choicest parts of knowledge, and learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; whereby some of the ancients understood the mysterious hieroglyphical learning, natural philosophy, music, physie, and mathematics. And for this last (to omit the rest) how excellent this humble man, the Author, was therein, did appear to those that heard him read a mathematical lecture in the schools for some years, and may appear hereafter to the reader, if those lectures can be recovered.

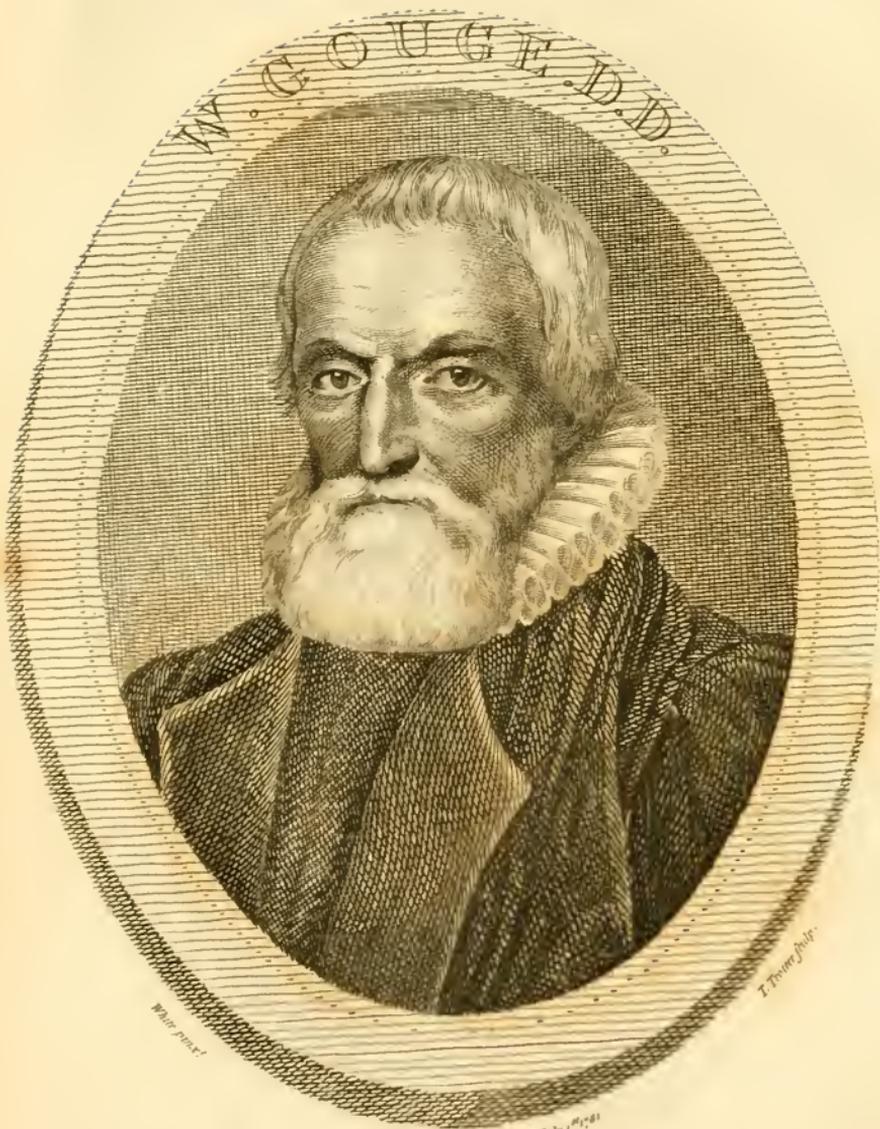
‘To conclude, he was a plain-hearted friend and Christian, one in whose spirit and mouth there was no guile; a profitable companion; nothing of vanity and triflingness in him, as there was nothing of sourness and stoicism. I can very well remember, when I have had private converse with him, how pertinently and freely he would speak to any matter proposed, how weightily, substantially, and clearly expressive of his sense his private discourses would be, and both for matter and language, much of the same importance and value with such exercises as he studied for, and performed in public.

‘I have intimated some things concerning the Author; much more might be added: But it needs not, there being (as I before insinuated) already drawn a fair and lively character of him by a worthy friend of his in the sermon preached at his funeral; for the publishing whereof and annexing it (as now it is) to those discourses, he was importuned by letters from several hands, and prevailed with: Wherein if some part of the character should seem to have in it any thing of hyper-

hyperbole and strangeness, it must seem so to such only who either were unacquainted with him, and strangers to his worth, or else find it an hard thing not to be envious, and a difficulty to be humble. But those that had a more inward converse with him, knew him to be one of those *of whom the world was not worthy*, one of the excellent ones in the earth; a person truly exemplary in the temper and constitution of his spirit, and in the well ordered course of his life; a life *unius quasi coloris, sine actionum dissentione* (as I remember Seneca doth express it somewhere in his epistles,) ‘all of one colour, every where like itself.’ And eminent in those things that are worthy of praise and imitation. And certainly a just representation of those excellencies that shined in him, (as also a faithful celebration of the like accomplishments in others) is a doing honour to God, who is wonderful in his saints, (if I may with some apply to this sense that in Psalm lx.) and it may be also of great use to others, particularly for the awakening and obliging them to an earnest endeavouring after those heights and eminent degrees in grace and virtue and every worthy accomplishment, which by such examples they see to be possible and attainable through the assistances which the Divine Goodness is ready to afford those souls which press toward the mark, and reach forth to those things that are before.

‘The lives and examples of men eminently holy and useful in their generation, such as were patterns of good works, *τυπων καλων εργαων*, are ever to be valued by us as great blessings and favours from heaven, and to be considered as excellent helps to the advancement of religion in the world: And therefore there being before us these *εικονες εμψυχοι*, ‘living pictures’, (as Basil speaks in his epistle, and a little afterwards in the same epistle) *αγαλματα κινημενα και εμπρακτα*, ‘such moving and active statues,’ fair ideas and lively patterns of what is most praise-worthy, lovely and excellent; it should be our serious care that we be not, through an unworthy and lazy self-neglect, *ingentium exemplorum parvi imitatores*, (small imitators of vast examples) to use Salvian’s expression; it should be our holy ambition to transcribe their virtues and excellencies, to make their noblest and best accomplishments our own, by a constant endeavour after the greatest resemblance of them, and by being followers of them as they were also of Christ, who is the fair and bright exemplar of all purity and holiness,





*In Medal as the Act directs July 1<sup>st</sup> 1661*

*From the Original picture*

*J. Young del.*

holiness, the highest and most absolute pattern of whatsoever is lovely and excellent, and makes most for the accomplishing and perfecting of human nature.'

His Works published are but few, but truly excellent; which makes us wish, that no part of his labours left in manuscript, had been withheld from the public. Dr. Worthington published a short quarto volume in 1660, entitled "SELECT DISCOURSES, treating, 1. Of the true Way or Method of attaining to Divine Knowledge. 2. Of Superstition. 3. Of Atheism. 4. Of the Immortality of the Soul. 5. Of the Existence and Nature of God. 6. Of Prophecy. 7. Of the Difference between the legal and the evangelical Righteousness, the old and the new Covenant, &c. 8. Of the shortness and vanity of a Pharisaic Righteousness. 9. Of the excellency and nobleness of true Religion. 10. Of a Christian's Conflicts with, and Conquests over, Satan."

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## WILLIAM GOUGE, D.D.

**T**HIS excellent divine was born in Stratford, Bow, in the county of Middlesex, Nov. 1, 1575. His father was Mr. Thomas Gouge, a pious gentleman. His mother was the religious daughter of one Mr. Nicholas Culverel, a merchant in London; and sister of those two famous preachers, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Ezekiel Culverel. Her two sisters were married to those two famous divines, Dr. Chadderton, master of Emanuel college, and Dr. Whitaker, the learned and devout professor of divinity in Cambridge. In his younger years he was first trained up in St. Paul's school, London, and afterwards was sent to the free school at Felstead, in Essex, where he was led on for three years under the public ministry of his uncle, Mr. Ezekiel Culverel, and thereby much wrought upon, and if not first begotten, yet much built up in his holy faith, as himself often expressed. From thence he was sent to Eton, where he was instructed for six years, during which time he was more than ordinarily studious and industrious; for, when other scholars upon play-days took their liberty for their sports and pastimes, he would be at his study, in which he took more delight than they could do at their recreations. At this time, when he was a scholar  
of

of Eton, he was possessed with an holy fear of God, conscionable in secret prayer and sanctifying the Sabbath, and much grieved at the ordinary profanation thereof by public sports and recreations, then too much allowed; as often in his life-time, with much thankfulness unto God, he took occasion to express.

From Eton he was chosen to King's college, in Cambridge, whither he went, Anno 1595; where he first addicted himself to Ramus's logic, and therein grew so expert, as in the schools he publicly maintained him; inso-much as once upon a time, when several sophisters set themselves to vilify Ramus, to which end the respondent put up this question, *Nunquam erit magnus, cui Ramus est magnus*; and knowing our William Gouge to be an acute disputant and a stiff defender of Ramus, they came to the divinity schools, where he was hearing an act, and told him how they were abusing Ramus.\* He there-upon went into the sophisters' schools, and upon the moderator's calling for another opponent, he stepped up, and brought such an argument as stumbled the respondent; whereupon the moderator took upon him to answer, but could not satisfy the doubt. A sophister standing by, said with a loud voice, 'Do ye come to vilify Ramus, and cannot answer a Ramist's argument?' Where-upon the moderator rose up and gave him a box on the ear; then the school was all in an uproar, but our Author was safely conveyed out from among them. In the time of his scholarship, he was moderator of the sophisters' acts in the public schools, and began every act with a solemn speech of his own in Latin, whereby much grace was added to the act, which was not usual in those days.

He took his degrees in order, performing for every one of them all the acts publicly in the public schools, which the statute required. He continued for three years together so close in the college, as not to lye one night

\* Ramus was a Frenchman, who, in the year 1543, set the philosophical world in an uproar, by his opposition to the Aristotelian method and dogmas. He particularly opposed Aristotle's Logic, which at that time was held almost sacred in the schools. The controversy was carried to a prodigious height at Paris, and at length became the subject of discussion before the parliament, and also before the council of Francis I. In short, the tide ran so strong against Ramus, that his books were prohibited, and himself enjoined to teach philosophy no longer in the kingdom. The joy of the Aristotelians upon this occasion was equal to that which could be shewn upon the safety of a nation, and was as much celebrated throughout France.

night out of the walls thereof. At three years' end he was made fellow, and then went to visit his friends. He was a very close student, for he was a lover of learning, very laborious in his studies, sitting up late at night, and rising up early in the morning. He lived in the college nine years, and in all that time (except when he went out of town to his friends) he was never absent from morning prayers in the chapel, which used to be half an hour before six. He used to rise so long before he went to the chapel, as to gain time for his secret devotions, and for reading his morning task of Scripture; for he tied himself to read every day fifteen chapters in English of the Scriptures, five in the morning, five after dinner, before he fell upon his ordinary studies, and five before he went to bed. He hath been often heard to say, that when he could not sleep in the night time, he would in his mind run through distinct chapters of Scripture in their order, as if he had heard them read, so deceiving the tediousness of his waking, and depriving himself also sometimes of the sweetness of his sleeping hours, though by a better and greater sweetness; for he found the meditation of the word to be sweeter to him than sleep.

This also he would do in the day time when he was alone, either within doors or without doors. For this end he wrote in a little book, which he always carried about him, the distinct heads of every particular passage in every chapter of the Bible; that when, in any place, he meditated on the Scripture, and stuck, he presently helped himself by that little book. Whereby he made himself so expert in the text, that if he heard but a phrase of Scripture, he could tell the place where it was. Besides, he had his particular times to study the difficult places of Scripture, that he might find out the true meaning of them; and, by this means, through the divine blessing, he attained to a great exactness in the knowledge of them. He was not only close to his own studies, but would also send for others, whom he observed to be ingenuous and willing, in order to instruct them in scholastical exercises, whereby he was a great help to many, and brought them to be better students.

While he was a scholar in King's college, there was a Jew in Cambridge, who was entertained in several colleges to teach the Hebrew tongue, and, among others, in King's college. William Gouge took the opportunity to

to be instructed by him, which many others of that college likewise did: But many of them soon grew weary, and left him; only Mr. Gouge held close to him, as long as he tarried. But when he was gone, they that had left him, discerning their folly, came to Mr. Gouge, and intreated him to instruct them in the grounds of Hebrew; which accordingly he did, whereby he became himself very expert therein. His mind was so addicted to the university, that he was resolved to have spent many more years than he did there, if not his whole future time. But his father, after he had been two or three years master of arts, much against his mind, took him from the university, upon a marriage which he had prepared for him. God, by his providence, turned this to the good of his church; for by this means, though it was late before he entered upon his ministry, it is very probable that he entered upon and exercised that function many years sooner than otherwise he would. He was in the thirty-second year of his age, when he commenced public preacher, and had received both knowledge and experience for himself, before he ventured to treat of them for others.

His wife was the daughter of Mr. Henry Caulton, a citizen and mercer of London, but an orphan when he married her. To her care he committed the providing for his family; himself only minding his studies, and the weighty affairs of his heavenly calling. He lived with her twenty-two years, in much love and peace, and had by her thirteen children, seven sons and six daughters, whereof eight lived to men's and women's estate, and were all well trained up, and sufficiently provided for. It was his earnest desire and daily prayer to God, that his six sons, that lived to men's estates, might have been all preachers of the gospel; for he himself found such comfort and content in that calling, that he thought there could be no greater found in any other; having often professed, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world, was in the employment of his calling; insomuch as he was wont to say to many honourable persons, and particularly to Lord Coventry, then Keeper of the Great Seal, that he envied neither his place nor employment.

The government of his family was exemplary, another Bethel, for he not only made conscience of morning and evening prayer, and reading the word in his family, but also of catechizing his children and  
servants:

servants; wherein God gave him a singular gift, for he did not teach them by any set form, but so as to bring those that were instructed to express the principles taught them in their own words. His children (as Gregory Nazianzen saith of his father) found him as well a spiritual as a bodily father. Yea, never any servant came to his house, but gained a great deal of knowledge. So likewise did many others, whose parents desired the benefit of his instructing them. He was in a special manner conscionable of the Lord's day, and that not only in the observation of the public duties, but also in continuing the sanctification thereof by private duties of piety in his family, and secret in his closet. As he forbore providing suppers on the eve before the Sabbath, that servants might not be kept up too late, so he would never suffer any servant to tarry at home for dressing any meat on the Lord's day for any friends, were they mean or great, few or many.

After his public sermons were ended, several neighbours (not having means in their own families) assembled in his house, where after such a familiar manner he repeated the public sermons, that some have professed, they were much more benefited by them in that repetition than in the first hearing; for he did not use, word by word, to read out of notes what was preached, but would by questions and answers draw from those that were under his charge such points as were delivered. After which, his constant course was to visit such of his parish as were sick, or by pain and weakness disabled to go to the public ordinances. With each of these he would discourse of some heavenly and spiritual subject, suitable to their condition, and after that pray by them; wherein he had a more than ordinary gift, being able in apt words and expressions to commend their several cases to God, and to put up petitions suitable to their several needs. His usual course was to pray eight times in the public congregation on a Lord's day; for, as he prayed before and after each sermon, so before and after his reading and expounding the Scripture, which he performed both in the forenoon and afternoon. And in his family his constant course was to pray thrice every Lord's day, and that in a solemn manner, viz. in the morning and evening, and after his repetition of the sermons.

In the thirty-second year of his age (as we have observed) he was ordained minister, and, about a-year after, which was June, 1608, he was admitted minister of the church of Blackfriars, London, where he continued to his dying day, which was forty-five years and six months, never having any other ministerial employment, though he was offered many great ones. His manner of coming to Blackfriars was thus: The parish being destitute of a preaching minister, one Mr. Hildersham, (possibly the excellent Mr. Arthur Hildersham, whose life we have already given) a pious and powerful preacher, being in company with some of the better sort of Blackfriars' parish, told them, that there was one who lived in Stratford, Bow, and had no charge, that might be fit for them: Hereupon some of them went to Stratford upon the Lord's day, where he frequently preached gratis, to help the minister that was there at that time; and they liked him so well, that upon their report, with an unanimous consent, he was chosen their minister. He succeeded a truly excellent pastor, Mr. Stephen Egerton.

He here manifested a great respect to the inhabitants of that place. Before his coming thither, they had not so much as a church of their own to hear the word of God in, nor any place to bury their dead; but by means that he used, the church, the church-porch, the minister's house and church-yard, (all which they had before upon courtesy) were purchased; so that now, they all, as a proper inheritance, belong to the parish of Blackfriars. Five years after his coming thither, the old church being found too little for the multitudes that thronged from all parts of the city to hear him, he was a means of purchasing certain rooms, whereby the church was enlarged almost as big again as it was before. The sum of purchasing, new building, and finishing the said church, amounted to above fifteen hundred pounds, which was procured partly at his lectures, partly by his letters written to his friends, and by the contribution of the parishioners, without any brief for public collections in other places. We might say much upon this subject at the present time, respecting this highly favoured church and parish, did not the delicacy of speaking what truth would enjoin of the living forbid our saying more, than that the goodness of God and his particular providence have been as remarkably extended to this spot now as ever.

May

May the same mercies be received with equal thankfulness and gratitude by the numerous people who enjoy them!

After this, there being several rooms under the said church belonging to other landlords, he used means to purchase them also to the benefit of the parish; the rather, to prevent all dangers, that by evil minded persons might have befallen God's people in that church, by any contrivances in the rooms under the church. Thus they, who had nothing of their own at his coming, had now the whole church, the church-porch, the church-yard, a vault to bury their dead, a very fair vestry house, and other rooms adjacent, the house wherein he himself dwelt as long as he lived. All these they held as a perpetual inheritance. They had also a considerable lease of certain tenements for three hundred years; all which were procured by his means. All these buildings, with the church itself, fell in the great conflagration of 1666.

Such was his respect to his parish, that though he was often offered places of far greater profit, he refused them all; often saying, "That the height of his ambition was to go from Blackfriars to heaven." At his first coming to Blackfriars, being in the thirty-third year of his age, he constantly preached twice on the Lord's day, and once weekly, on Wednesday forenoon, which was for about thirty-five years very much frequented, and that by many city ministers, and by sundry pious and judicious gentlemen of the inns of court, besides many citizens from other parishes, who in multitudes flocked to his church. Yea, such was the fame of Dr. Gouge's ministry, that, when the godly Christians of those times came out of the country to London, they thought not their business done, unless they had been at Blackfriars' lecture. In this particular, we are happy to say, that the present time may be mentioned with the past.

And such was the fruit of his ministry, that very many of his auditors, though living in other parishes, have confessed, that the first seed of grace was sown in their souls by his ministry. And herein God wonderfully honoured his ministry, in making him an aged father in Christ, and to beget many sons and daughters unto righteousness; for thousands have been converted and built up by his ministry. He used also monthly to preach a preparation sermon before the communion, on the eve before every monthly communion.

He was indeed eminently faithful and laborious in the work of the ministry to his dying day, preaching as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. As a tree planted in the house of the Lord, he was fruitful even in old age. He was often wont to say in his latter days, that he could preach with more ease than he could get into the pulpit; the reason of which was doubtless from the increase of his asthma, which disenabled him to go, and from the increase of his intellectuals, which enabled him to preach with more ease than in his younger days. His preaching was always very distinct, first opening the true literal sense of the text, then giving the logical analysis thereof, then gathering such proper observations as thence arose, and lastly, profitably and pertinently applying the same; so that his ministry proved very profitable to his hearers. Many have acknowledged, that, in a logical resolution of his text, he went beyond all that ever they heard, as also in clearing of difficult and doubtful places, as they came in his way. As his method was clear, so his expressions were plain; always delivering the solid points of divinity in a familiar style, equal to the capacity of the meanest.

With respect to his life and conversation, it was most exemplary, practising what he preached unto others, and living over his sermons: His doctrine and his practice concurred, and went hand in hand. For his age and abilities he was esteemed the father of the London ministers, and as such honoured and beloved by them. Before the times of examination for admission to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he used to go to the houses of the better sort, and appoint a time for them and their whole families to meet together, when he might make trial of their fitness to the Holy Sacrament. He also appointed other small families to meet together on a certain day, then to make trial of them also. In the former time of his ministry, he never admitted any of the younger sort to the Sacrament, till he found them in his judgment fit for it. Ordinarily in the summer vacation he was with his family in the country, but not for his own ease, but rather for the good of God's church: For, besides his preaching every Lord's day where he was, he got time to publish those treatises which are now in print, namely, "The Whole Armour of God; Domestical Duties; An Explanation of the Lord's Prayer; God's Three Arrows, viz. Plague, Famine, and Sword," on occasion of the judgments then raging; "The Saint's Sacrifice of  
Thanks-

“Thanksgiving,” upon his recovery from a dangerous sickness. To which may be added, his “Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the Hebrews,” which was the subject of his Wednesday lectures for many years.

While he was settled at Blackfriars, he took his bachelor of divinity’s degree in the year 1611, which was the eighth year of his master of arts’ degree. And in the year 1628 he took his doctor of divinity’s degree. In which year eight ministers of London proceeded doctors; which was the occasion that Dr. Collins, the then regius professor, put up his degree, and procured it to pass in the regent-house before he had any notice thereof, or consent of his; wherby he did in a manner force him to take his degree, yet so as, when he heard that it was passed, he readily went to Cambridge, and there kept all his acts, which the statute requireth, as he had done in all his former degrees.

In the year 1643, he was by authority of parliament called to be a member of the assembly of divines, wherein his attendance was assiduous, not being observed during the whole time of that session to be one day absent, unless it were in case of more than ordinary weakness, ever preferring that public employment before all private business whatsoever. When he could not go, through infirmity of body, he would be carried to his duty. “I can study my sermon, I can preach my sermon, (said he) and shall I forbear preaching because I am too weak to go? I will rather be carried.”

He sat as one of the assessors, and very frequently filled the chair in the moderator’s absence. And such was his constant care and conscience of spending his time, and improving it to the best advantage, that he would fill up the void spaces of his assembly affairs with his own private studies. To which end it was his constant practice to bring his Bible and some other books in his pocket, which upon every occasion he would be reading, as was observed by many. He was likewise chosen by a committee of parliament, among others, to make annotations upon the Bible, being well known to be a judicious interpreter of Scripture. How well he hath performed this trust, is evident to all that read the annotations from the beginning of the first book of Kings to Job, which was his part. In which the intelligent reader will observe such skill in the original, such acquaintance with the sacred story, such judgment in giving the sense of the text, and such quickness and pertinency in raising observa-

observations, that, without the help of any other comment, a man may accommodate himself with the sense, doctrines, and uses of most of those Scriptures which came under his hand in those cursory annotations.

When the book of sports and recreations on the Lord's day was appointed by public authority to be read in several churches throughout the nation, with several other faithful ministers, he utterly refused to read the same, resolving to suffer the utmost, rather than manifest the least approbation of such a wicked and ungodly thing, so contrary to the express letter of the Scripture. By reason of his ability and dexterity in resolving cases of conscience, he was much sought to for resolving many doubts and scruples of conscience; and that not only by ordinary Christians, but also by several ministers in city and country, and that by word of mouth and writing, being accounted (as was before said) the father of London divines, and spiritual oracle of his time. He was likewise a great comforter of troubled consciences, wherein he was exceeding skilful and dexterous, as many hundreds in the city have found time after time, being sought unto far and near by such as groaned under afflictions and temptations; many of whom, through God's blessing on his labours, were restored to joy and comfort, out of unspeakable terrors and torments of conscience.

He was of a most sweet and meek disposition; yea, such was his meekness of spirit, that it seemed unparalleled; for though he had lived with his wife above twenty years together, yet neither child nor servant could ever say, that they observed an angry countenance, or heard an angry word proceed from him towards her, all her life. Some have observed, that in his visage, towards his latter end, he did much resemble the picture which usually passeth for Moses's effigy. Certainly he was the exact effigy of Moses's spirit; and in this resembled him to the life, that he was one of the meekest men which his generation knew.

He was a great peace-keeper, and a great peace-maker, having an excellent dexterity in composing differences; far he was from doing others wrong, and far from revenging wrong done by others. He suffered much both by the speeches, and also by the actions of evil and envious persons; yet he would pray for them, rather than in any harsh way requite them. He accounted revilers and wrong doers to do more hurt to themselves than to him.

He was ever charitable, especially to the godly poor, according to the direction of the apostle Paul, in Gal. vi. 10. where he exhorteth us, *To do good unto all, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.* He maintained some poor scholars at the university wholly at his own charge, and contributed liberally towards the maintenance of others. He was of such a charitable and bountiful disposition, that though his father left him a competent estate, yet such were his disbursements yearly for his kindred and others who stood in need of relief, that from the death of his father, till his children came to be of years. and to call for their portions, he laid up nothing of all his comings in, so that they who out of envy cried up his estate to be greater than it was, could not but cry up his bounty and charity: because whatsoever his estate was, it was wholly laid out for the relief of such as stood in need, (necessary expences for his family only excepted) which, as it appeared from his own papers, so in his life-time he expressed as much to some of his children. And truly, as in other things he excelled others, so in this even himself. He did not grow rich by the church, nor seek to do so, as many have done; but lived content with his own patrimonial inheritance, and the stipend of his own benefice, which he never would exchange for a greater.

He was very conscionable in spending his time, from his youth to his very death. He used to rise very early, both winter and summer. In the winter he constantly rose so long before day, that he performed all the exercises of his private devotions before day-light; and in the summer-time about four o'clock in the morning, by which means he had done half a day's work before others had begun their studies. If he heard any at their work before he had got to his study, he would say, (as Demosthenes did concerning the smith,) "That he was much troubled that any should be at *their* calling before he was at *his*."

He was a man of much temperance and sobriety, as well in his eating and drinking, as in his apparel. As for recreations, howsoever many pious persons have allowed time therein, he spent none. He hath been often heard to say, "That he took not any journey merely for pleasure in all his life-time;" study and pains having been always, both in youth and age, his chiefest pleasure and delight: Yea, it was *his meat and his drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father*, wherein  
he

he took as much pleasure and delight, as natural men do in their eating and in their drinking, or in their sports and pastimes. Such was his carriage and conversation, that there was scarce a Lord or Lady, or citizen of eminence, in or about the metropolis, that were piously affected, but they sought his acquaintance, and were ambitious of his company, wherein they took much content, and found much benefit to their souls' welfare. And whereas many persons of quality came out of their good respect to visit him, he would endeavour so to order their conference, as that it might be profitable to edification; for if their visits were merely complimentary, he accounted it a great burden to him. He was always of a very friendly and courteous disposition, whom the meanest, not only of his parish, but of the city, found easy of access, and easy to be intreated, yea, ready to do what he could to all. He had what he used to call a SACRED STOCK for the poor, which he set apart in an exact proportion to his income.

Among other graces humility was eminent in him, for he was not observed to be puffed up either with the flocks of multitudes unto his ministry, (which were many and great) nor with any applauses of men, but would still say, "He knew more of himself to abase him, than any could know to extol him." What was said of Gregory Nazianzen, might with equal truth be said of him, 'That he was high in employments and abilities, but low and lowly in his own opinion of himself.' He used often to say, "When I look upon myself, I see nothing but emptiness and weakness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency." He was much in communion with God, and did not content himself only with daily, constant, ordinary holy exercises, but was also frequent in extraordinary duties. In the bishop's time, when it might not be permitted to keep a fast openly in the church, he was one of those ministers who frequently helped pious Christians in their private fasts. In times of fear and danger, he and others had sometimes weekly, sometimes monthly fasts, whereof many were in his own house and vestry; which he was eminently observed to perform with extraordinary reverence and awfulness of spirit. His confessions were accompanied with much sense of sin, brokenness of heart, self-abhorrency, judging of the creature, and justifying of God. In petition very pertinent, judicious, spiritual, reasonable, accompanied with faith and fervour, like a  
true

true son of Jacob, wrestling with tears and supplications, as resolving not to let God go without a blessing.

But none like him in thanksgiving! after a man would think he had spent the last drop of his spirit in confession and prayer, O! how he would revive and gather up his spirit, when he came to the work of thanksgiving; wherein he would be so large, particular, warm, and vigorous, that, in the end of the day, he would quicken the auditory, as if then the work had been but newly to begin, and that only had been the work of the day. Wherein he may be a pattern to all his surviving brethren in the ministry.

He was very inquisitive after the good and welfare of the church of God both at home and abroad, that accordingly he might order his prayers in their behalf, being ever mindful of them in his prayers. And when he heard it went ill with the church of God in any place, like another Nehemiah he sat him down and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed unto the God of heaven in their behalf. He was not like some, of whom it has been said, That they preach so well, that it is a pity they should ever be out of the pulpit, but live so ill, that it is a pity they should ever come into it. Though he was not a Justice of Peace, he was a Minister of Peace; and if he could not (says Mr. Jenkyns, who preached his funeral sermon) hinder dissensions from being born in his parish, he usually hindered them from being long-lived.

Great was his patience under the visiting hand of God, especially in his old age, when God visited him with painful maladies. Though by reason of the bitterness of his pains by the stone, and sharpness of urine, and that *lethalis arundo*, (as he often called it) that deadly arrow in his side, (which he knew could never be plucked out of it but by death) I mean his asthma, which he got by an excessive cold in attending upon public employment; notwithstanding I say, by reason of these, he hath been often heard to groan, yet was he never heard once to grumble. He was never heard to call himself *Great Sufferer!* but *Great Siuner!* and he would not stop there, but would always add, *Great Saviour!* for his comfort. He would often say, "Soul, be silent; soul, be patient; " it is thy God and father that thus ordereth thy estate; " thou art his clay, he may tread and trample on thee as " it pleaseth him; thou hast deserved much more, it is " enough that thou art kept out of hell; though thy pain " be grievous, yet it is tolerable; thy God affords some  
" intermissions;

“ intermissions: he will turn it to thy good, and at length  
 “ put an end to all; none of these can be expected in  
 “ hell.” In the greatest agonies, he would say, “ Well,  
 “ yet in all these there is nothing of hell, or GOD’s wrath.”  
 He would often make mention of the extent of obedience,  
 which, he said, “ Was not only to endeavour to *do* what  
 “ GOD requireth, but also patiently to *bear* what GOD’s  
 “ will is to lay upon his creature; as Christ himself,  
 “ *though he were the Son, yet learned obedience by the things*  
 “ *which he suffered.*” In his greatest pangs he often used  
 this speech of Job, “ Shall we receive good from the hands  
 of GOD, and not evil?” He often commended his soul un-  
 to Christ, and would say, “ I am persuaded that he is  
 “ able to keep that which I have committed to him against  
 “ that day.” When any of his friends went about to com-  
 fort him in those gifts which GOD had bestowed on him,  
 and those works which he had wrought by him, he would  
 answer, “ I dare not think of any such thing for comfort;  
 “ Jesus Christ, and what he hath done and endured, is  
 “ the only ground of my sure comfort.” Many that  
 came to visit him in his weakness, professed that they  
 went away better than they came, by reason of those sa-  
 voury and gracious expressions that proceeded from him.

Though, towards his latter end, his fits of the stone  
 were frequent and sharp, having sometimes four or five in  
 an hour, yet such was his desire to finish that so much de-  
 sired commentary of his upon the Epistle to the Hebrews,  
 that, so soon as the bitterness of the pain of a fit was over  
 he returned to his work, and made some progress therein:  
 And thus he continued labouring at his work, through  
 much pain, till Tuesday the sixth of December 1653:  
 About which time, as his natural strength was exceed-  
 ingly decayed, so his intellectuals began to fail; and for  
 the three following days drowsiness seized upon him, in-  
 somuch that he could not hold up his head to look into  
 a book, but slumbered away his time in his chair; and,  
 upon the Friday, being the third day after he had given  
 over his studies, inquiring what day it was, he cried out,  
 “ Alas! I have lost three days.” The day following,  
 being Saturday, he had no desire to arise out of his bed,  
 neither indeed could, in regard of his weakness, which  
 was such, as he said, “ Now I have not long to live in  
 “ this world, the time of my departure is at hand; I am  
 “ going to my desired haven:” the apprehension whereof  
 was no little joy unto him; for he had often said to such  
 of his friends as came to visit him in his sickness, “ I  
 “ am

“ am most willing to die, having, I bless God, nothing “ to do but to die.” Indeed, he seemed sometimes to be in St. Paul’s state, between life and death, having a desire to depart, that he might be with Christ, which was far better; but yet very desirous to finish his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he knew would be useful to the church of God, and in that respect was willing to live; and God so far answered his desire in that particular, that he lived to finish it within half a chapter. But when he perceived that his time in this world would not be long, O! how sweet and joyful was the apprehension of death unto him, which he often termed, his best friend, next unto Jesus Christ. And that Saturday, though he kept his bed through weakness, yet was he more wakeful, and his spirit more lively and cheerful, than for several days before; which no doubt was from his joyful apprehension of his approaching departure. His speeches that day were more than ordinarily heavenly, speaking much in admiration of the freeness of God’s grace, and riches of his mercy in Jesus Christ

As while he lived, he led an heavenly life, so, about the time of his death, by those comforts and joys that he found in his soul, he seemed to be in heaven while he was upon earth; and thus continued full of sweet comfort and heavenly expressions to the last of his understanding and speech, which continued till Monday morning, when both failed him; from which time he lay breathing, but shorter and shorter, till eight o’clock that night; about which time, in the presence of all his children and friends, he quietly slept in the Lord, making an happy change from earth to heaven, December 12, 1653, being seventy-nine years old, having served God faithfully and painfully in his generation.

In the laborious life of this faithful minister, ‘ Who (as Mr. Jenkyns said of him) was not worn out with rust, but with whetting,’ we see the love and care of Jesus, the Bishop of souls, to his church, in fulfilling his own promise, “ I will give you pastors according to mine heart, “ who shall feed you with knowledge and understanding.” O! how ought we to love and praise our heavenly shepherd for this! May the parish of Blackfriars see their present mercy, in having the sound of the gospel continued among them! May they love and pray for him who is set over them in the Lord! and while they praise the Lord for this distinguishing mercy, may they be deeply concerned

concerned to receive the truth as it is in Jesus, in the love of it, and to walk worthy of it in their lives and conversations!

As a specimen of his style and spirit, we will subjoin the Epistle Dedicatory of his book, entitled, "The Whole Armour of God."

"To the right honourable S. Sebastian Harvey, Knt. Lord Mayor of the honourable City of London, and to the right worshipful Aldermen and Sheriffs, his brethren, and to the right worshipful Mr. Recorder, together with the whole estate of the said City, all true happiness.

"Right Honourable, Right Worshipful;

"Your honour and worships being, (by the good guiding providence of God) the general, captains, and lieutenants of this metropolis, this chief city and castle of the kingdom, wherein (by the same providence) I am, though one of the meanest, yet one of the watchmen: To whom ought I rather to present these fruits of my watchman's function, than unto your honour and worships? As duty, in regard of your places, so gratitude also in regard of your kindnesses, require as much. My father, grandfather, and other predecessors, have of old, from time to time, been beholden to this honourable city: The kindness which they formerly received is still continued to me: Which, as I do, with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge, so from my heart I desire the Almighty to remember your honour and worships, together with the whole estate of this honourable city, in goodness; and not to wipe out the kindness which is shewed to the ministers of his word, and to poor distressed people.

"Long hath the gospel been purely, powerfully, plentifully preached in this honourable city, and great countenance and maintenance hath, by many therein, been given thereunto. Good orders have, in these later years, been taken for the better sanctifying of the Lord's Sabbath. Much relief is from time to time given to the poor. These, and such like works of piety and charity, are the beauty, honour, strength, and wealth of this city.

"I deny not, but that in the outward politic government of this great corporation, and the many different companies therein, London may be accounted the glory of the earth. But the things which make it exceed in glory, are, the fair houses of prayer and preaching the word; the great assemblies of God's people frequenting the same to worship God; the spacious hospitals and places of charity, together with the liberal  
provision

provision therein made for relief of poor children and orphans, of aged and impotent men and women, of lame and maimed soldiers, and of many other like succourless persons; and the thrones of justice and judgment, with the like, wherein London may be compared to Zion, the city of God, of which great and excellent things are spoken. Right honourable and right worshipful, go on this way, which is the only right way, to procure the peace and prosperity of your city. Let the ministry of God's word be more and more promoted: Let the Lord's Sabbaths be duly observed: Let the poor be relieved, and the oppressed be succoured: Let profane persons, and all evil doers (the enemies of Christian policies) be punished: In a word, let God's ordinances be advanced, and right judgment executed, and so shall London be accounted the "city of the great King," where he will delight to dwell, and bestow his blessing. For in these things is God highly honoured. Now God, who can and will perform it, hath said it, *Them that honour me will I honour.*

"It lieth much in the power of magistrates to procure or hinder the blessing of God, in those cities and places over which they preside. For they being public persons, their good deeds are by the wise God publicly rewarded, and their evil deeds publicly revenged.

"Right honourable and right worshipful, accept, I pray you, the duty, and pardon the boldness of your watchman. And, O Lord of lords, do good to this city of thine; continue the peace and prosperity thereof: So prayeth

"Your honours', and worships',

"*Church-court,*  
*in Blackfriars, London,*  
*December 31st, 1618.*

"in all duty for ever bounden,

"WILLIAM GOUGE."

Mr. Leigh calls him 'a learned and pious divine,' and says he was a good textuary, and often honourably mentioned by Voetius, and other eminent foreign divines. He also adds, That 'he would begin his prayer very audibly and distinctly, which was the more commendable, because of his great congregation at Blackfriars.' See his *Treatise of Religion and Learning*, p. 211.

HIS WORKS. I. "Of Domestical Duties, on Eph. v. and vi. II. The Whole Armour of God, on Eph. vi. III. Of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, on Matth. xii. 31, 32. Mark' iii. 28, 29. IV. Upon the Lord's Prayer; or, A Guide to go to God. V. God's Three Arrows, Plague, Famine, and Sword, on Numb. xvi. 44, &c.

2 Sam.

2 Sam. xxi. 1. Exod. xvii. 8. VII. The Extent of God's Providence, November 5, on Matth. x. 29, 30, 31. VIII. The Dignity of Chivalry, on 2 Chron. viii. 9. IX. The Saints' Sacrifice, or a Comment on Psalm cxvi. X. Two Treatises; 1. The Sabbath's Sanctification; 2. Of Apostacy, on Luke xv. 31. XI. The Saint's Support: A Sermon before the Commons in Parliament, on Nehem. v. 19. XII. Mercies' Memorial, November 17, on Exod. xiii. 3. XIII. The Progress of Divine Providence: A Sermon before the House of Lords, on Exod. xxxvi. 11. XIV. A Funeral Sermon, on Ezek. xxiv. 16. XV. The Right Way: A Sermon before the Lords, on Ezra viii. 21. XVI. Two Catechisms. XVII. A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews," in two volumes folio; 'which (says Mr. Jenkins) after many years preaching, he went through in his sermons at Blackfriars, and which he fully prepared for the press before his death, excepting one half chapter; a work of excellent worth, both considering the subject (noble and difficult) and the great pains and dexterity of the commentator; and which, I am confident, when published, will be useful.'

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## JEREMIAH WHITAKER.

**J**EREMIAH WHITAKER was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, in the year 1599. At the age of sixteen he was entered a sizer in Sydney college, Cambridge, where he was much admired for his pregnant parts and learning. At twenty years of age he took his bachelor of arts' degree, and then went to Okeham in Rutlandshire, as master of the free-school there. About four years after this event, he married the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Peachy, rector of Okeham, a pious man, an eminent linguist, and a laborious preacher of the Gospel, who dearly loved and highly valued Mr. Whitaker, from his first acquaintance with him to the end of his life. He began very early to seek God, and very early discovered a lively disposition and promising talents for the ministry; often saying, "He had rather be a preacher of the Gospel than an emperor." And when a motion was once made to him for his acceptance of the mastership of a college; he gave this answer: "My heart doth more desire to be a constant preacher, than to be master of any college in the

the world." In 1626, having taken holy orders, he went to a pastoral charge at Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years; and from thence, after the consultation and advice of several pious divines, he accepted of a call to St. Mary Magdalen's, Bermondsey, in Southwark. He was an universal scholar, was chosen of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and was so laborious in the work of the gospel, that his excessive application was thought to have brought on him the painful disorder under which he laboured in his last sickness. Often when he laboured under bodily infirmities, which prevented him from public duty, he would commonly say, "If I could but preach, I should be much better." As he was once riding with an intimate friend by Tyburn, which he had never seen, or never distinguished before, he asked,—“What that was?” And being told it was Tyburn, where so many malefactors had been put to death, he stopped his horse, and said, with great emotion,—“Oh, what a shame is it, that so many thousands should die for the satisfaction of their lusts, and so few be found willing to lay down their lives for Christ! Why should not we, in so good a cause, and upon a good call, be ready to be hanged for Jesus Christ? It would be our everlasting honour. It is a thousand times better to be hanged or burnt for Christ, than to die in our beds.”

He was remarkable for meekness and tenderness of heart; and his patience was so eminent, that he might be celebrated as a second Job; since many who saw him in the racking pains of his last sickness, were confident that God had put and kept him in that furnace to be a pattern of patience to posterity. When he was asked how he did, he frequently answered in the following manner:—“The bush always burning, but not consumed. Though my pains be too great for the strength of nature, they are not too great for the supports of grace.”

It may not be unprofitable to give a specimen of the effusions of his heart in expostulation and prayer, in the midst of this affliction.—“O, my God, said he, help. Father of mercies, pity. Do not contend for ever. Consider my frame, that I am but dust. My God, that made heaven and earth, help me. Oh, give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt. If my patience was more, my pain would be less. Dear Saviour, where are thy bowels? Why dost thou make me an astonishment to myself and others? Why hast thou covered thyself with a thick cloud, that our prayers should not pass through?

*Blessed*

*Blessed is the man that endureth temptation.* Lord, this is a sad temptation: Stand by me, and say, It is enough. Am I not thy servant? Consider, Lord, that I am thy servant. O, these waters of Marah! Lord, drop sweet comfort into these bitter waters! O the blood of sprinkling! Lord, the blood of sprinkling! Lord, that blood which extinguisheth the fire of thine anger! O that it may allay my burning pains! I am in a fiery furnace. Lord, be with me as thou wert with the three children, and bring me out refined from sin! When, while sailing through the ocean of these pains, I look back, I see that none of them can be wanting. I flee to thee, O God: Hide me under the shadow of thy wings, till these terrible storms be overpast."

God added humility as a crown to all his other graces. He was indeed *clothed with humility*. And hence it was, that he would converse so familiarly with the poorest Christians, and with those of the lowest parts for knowledge, even with babes in Christ. The ordinary terms in which he addressed the throne of grace for himself were,—“ I am a poor worm, a sinful wretch. O pardon my transgressions, for they are very great.” And in his will he has these words: “ I desire that at my funeral there may be no pomp, but that so poor and worthless a worm may be privately laid in the ground.” He was confident that mercies were mingled with the fiercest paroxysms of his distemper; and did not doubt but every thing he suffered would be sanctified to him.—“ Consider, said he, and save me; for I am thine. How long, how long, Lord, shall I not be remembered? But I am remembered, blessed be thy name. This is a fiery chariot, but it will carry me to heaven. Blessed be God, who hath supported me hitherto. And he who hath delivered will yet deliver. Thou, Lord, never forgettest them who put their trust in thee.” Whenever the extremity of a paroxysm was passed, smiles returned on his countenance, and he spake of the mercies of God. Though he trembled when his pains began, he said with confidence,—“ Now, in the strength of the mighty God, I will undergo them. O, my God, underneath put everlasting arms, and strengthen me!”

As he drew nearer his dissolution, his pains became more violent; but to the praise of that grace which continually succoured him, they never abated either his faith or his patience.—“ O my God, said he, break open the prison doors, and let my poor captive soul go free: But enable me willingly to wait thy time. I desire

to be dissolved. Never was any man more desirous of life, than I am of death. When will that time come, when I shall neither sin nor sorrow any more? When shall mortality put on immortality? When shall this earthly tabernacle be dissolved, that I may be clothed upon with that house which is from heaven? *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.* Good Lord, keep me from dishonouring thy name by impatience. Oh, who that knows God, would not even in the fires have honourable thoughts of him? Who that knows thee would not fear thee, O Lord; and love and honour thee continually? Lord, thou givest me no occasion to entertain hard thoughts of thee. Blessed be God, there is nothing of hell in all this. Blessed be his name for Jesus Christ, and the revelation of the everlasting Gospel. Who knoweth the power of thine anger? If it be so heavy on thy servants here, how heavy will thy wrath be on all those who shall endure it without mixture hereafter? Blessed be God for the peace of my inward man, while my outward man is full of trouble. This is a bitter cup, but it is of my Father's mixing, and shall I not drink it? Yes, Lord, through thy strength I will. This is my burden, and I will bear it. O, what a mercy it is, that there is any mitigation, any intermission! Lord, make me thankful!" And in this gracious spirit he often called to those who were about him, saying,—“O help me to be thankful! O lift up a prayer for me, that I may be thankful! O what a mercy is this! How much worse might this affliction have been! I might have been distracted, or laid roaring under anguish of spirit” And he often said to a bosom friend,—“Brother, through mercy, I have not one repining thought against God.”

Several ministers having met in order to spend a day in prayer for him, one of them, his friend Mr. Ashe, desired him to say what in particular he would have them lay before the throne of grace? To which he replied,—“Do not complain, but bless God for me, and intreat him to open the prison door.” Hereupon (says Mr. Ashe) laying my hand upon his cold hand, covered with a clammy sweat, I took my last farewell with an aching heart; and, upon my departure from him, these were his last words unto me: “Brother, I thank you; I pray God bless you, and I bless God for you.” That day was spent in addresses to God for him at St. Peter's, Cornhill, where Mr. Newcomen quickened and guided our prayers  
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in his sermon from John xi. wherein he insisted especially upon these words : *Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick,* ver. 4. And Mr. Jenkyns endeavoured to moderate and regulate our sorrows from Luke xxiii. 28. *Weep not for me.*

‘ Thus his friends having by prayers, with praises (on his behalf) given him up to God, and having prepared their hearts for their loss of him, the Lord was pleased, that evening, to take him unto himself, being the first day of June 1654, and in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried in Bermondsey church, June the sixth, with expressions of much love from a very great multitude of godly persons, both ministers and others of several ranks and conditions, who attended his corpse to the grave. By reason of much study, and manifold employments in his calling, he was filled with various bodily distempers from his youth. In the latter part of his time, he was for sundry years exercised frequently with the painful diseases of the gout and the stone. Notwithstanding the reiteration of these tormenting pains, he attended upon his ministry both at home and abroad, while he was able to creep into the pulpit, or to crawl unto the congregation. As for his abilities, he was an universal scholar, both in the arts and original languages; by much study he had digested the whole body of divinity, he was well acquainted both with the schoolmen and the fathers, a good disputant, judicious in cases of conscience, and second unto none in acquaintance with the holy Scripture.

‘ He had much interest in the hearts of persons of chiefest places and power in the nation; for the plainness of his spirit, together with the power of godliness, (which did shine in his conversation) gained him much authority in the consciences of all sorts with whom he conversed, whether in the city or country. And his opportunities of service were many, not only in Southwark, but also in London, Westminster, and Stepney, where he had much employment. We read when Dorcas was dead, that the *widows stood weeping, and shewing the coats which she had made,* Acts ix. 39. and that upon Paul’s departure the people wept, *because they should see his face no more,* Acts xx. 38. And is there not reason that we should be in like manner affected, remembering how truth hath been defended, error confuted, holiness cherished, wickedness checked, the cause of the poor pleaded, and the violence of some passionate spirits allayed by Mr. Whitaker? But now this able, public-spirited man must be serviceable on earth no more; now we shall not be edified by his ministry  
any

any more, nor warmed by his prayers any more, nor cheered by his company and conference any more. But let us moderate our sorrow by this following consideration: That our friend Whitaker is not dead, but sleepeth. For this assureth us both of his present ease, and future resurrection. Now being asleep he is well; he resteth (as in a bed) and we shall not see his pale face, his weeping eyes, his trembling hands, any more; we shall no more hear his deep groans and doleful lamentations. He is fallen asleep *in the Lord*, and he and we shall have a better meeting at the general resurrection than ever heretofore, and then shall we ever *be with the Lord*; therefore *let us comfort one another with these words*, 1 Thess. iv. 15, 18.' Thus far Mr. Ashe, who preached his funeral sermon, and wrote the narrative of his life. It is but justice to the memory of this excellent person, to add some testimonies of him by other excellent men, who knew him.

Mr. Leigh says of him, He was my worthy friend, a learned and pious divine of the assembly, lately dead, who was a man mighty in the Scriptures, of a humble melting spirit, laborious in his ministerial function, zealous for God's glory, and wonderfully patient in all the time of his heavy affliction. Mr. Gataker, in his letter to Mr. Baxter, says, 'My next neighbour, Mr. Whitaker, not coming short of that other, [Dr. Hill] either for piety or sedulity in the work of the Lord:—A mirror of patience amidst those extremities of pains that the Lord, for a long time, exercised him with:—A precious man, and the loss of him much lamented by all the pious in these parts. Ah! how many such useful instruments, far younger persons than myself, hath the Lord taken away in the midst of their days, in the prime of their strength, when they might further have been very serviceable to his people, having much need of such in these loose unsettled times.' Mr. Samuel Fisher, in his Love-token for Mourners, teaching spiritual dumbness and submission under God's smarting rod, p. 25, 26. 'It is a glorious sight, and the name of God is exalted by it, to see a child of God keep his ground, and stand unshaken when the winds are high, and the rough billows beat upon him. I had the happiness to see such a sight (and I bless God I saw it with wonder and thankfulness) in the blessed and renowned rock and pillar of the church Mr. Whitaker, in whom patience had the conquest over the most racking torments that I have known lying upon any saint in this

age. As of Job, (Jam. v. 26.) so it may well be said of him in after-times, *Have you not heard of the patience of Whitaker?* How illustrious did the grace of God make this saint of God! How glorious was God himself in the grace which was given to this saint, by which he stood so invincibly in his sharp encounters!

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## THOMAS GATAKER, B. D.

THOMAS GATAKER, properly GATACRE, was descended of the ancient family of Gatacre, of Gatacre-hall, in Shropshire, which enjoyed the same estate and mansion, in an uninterrupted succession, from the time of King Edward the Confessor. His father, Mr. Thomas Gataker, being a younger son of his father William Gatacre, was bred to the law; and, while a student in the Temple, he frequently visited some relations then in high place and power, by which means he was sometimes present at the examinations and severe treatment of those who *suffered persecution for righteousness' sake*; and observing their meekness and patience, and with what evidence of truth and resolution of mind they maintained faith and a good conscience, he was led to seek their GOD and their happiness. His parents perceiving the change, sent him to Louvain in Flanders, and, in order effectually to win him back to the popish persuasion, settled upon him an estate in lease of an hundred pounds a-year; but, like St. Paul, he counted all outward advantages nothing in comparison of *the knowledge of Jesus Christ*: Which, when his father understood, he recalled him, and in great anger revoked his own voluntary grant; and although the son had it in his power to retain it, yet having learned that excellent lesson of self-denial, and forsaking all to follow Christ, he readily gave up that which had only been the bait for his apostacy. GOD, who hath said, *When father and mother forsake thee, I will take thee up*, (Psalm xxvii. 10.) raised him friends, by whose advice and support he pursued his studies at Oxford till he was of a proper age, and judged duly qualified to enter into holy orders. He was then appointed domestic chaplain to Robert, Earl of Leicester, and soon after inducted into the benefice of St. Edmund's,

Edmund's, in Lombard Street, London: Where, having married Margaret Piget, a young lady of a worthy family in Hertfordshire, he had, besides other children, Thomas, the subject of the following memoirs, who was born the fourth of September, in the year 1574.

Both in childhood and youth, he shewed great eagerness for learning, and through all the exercises of the grammar schools, he overcame the difficulties which that age, destitute of many helps enjoyed in later times, had to struggle with, and outstripped many that ran in the same course; so that what Gregory Nazianzen said of the great Basil, might be averred of him, that 'he held forth learning beyond his age, and sedateness of manners more considerable than his learning.' At sixteen years of age, his father entered him into St. John's college, in Cambridge, and about three years afterwards deceased, (in 1593) who, though he left him not wholly destitute, yet not sufficiently provided long to continue his studies there. But God (who hath engaged his truth and mercy to the upright, and also to their seed, Psalm cxii. 1, 2.) provided means for him, having, in his purpose and grace, designed him to be an instrument of great service to his church. Thus the fruit was not nipped in its promising bud, by the frost of want. He was soon chosen scholar of St. John's, not merely from favour, but merit, upon proof of his genius and learning; and here he continued his studies with unwearied diligence and happy success, till, with a proficiency answerable to his degree, he proceeded master of arts with uncommon applause. His constantly attending upon the Greek lectures of the very learned Mr. J. Bois, who delivered them in bed to certain young students, who preferred *antelucana studia* to their rest and ease, is a specimen of his industry at college. The notes of these prelections he kept as a treasure, and being visited by Mr. Bois many years after, he produced them, to the no small joy of the old man, who professed himself to be made some years younger by that entertainment. About this time commenced that close friendship between our Author and that faithful minister Mr. Stock, which continued till the death of the latter, as appears by the testimony given him at his funeral. The foundation of Sydney college being laid about this time, our Author's learning and piety received a particular attestation from the trustees of the foundress's will, Archbishop Whitgift and Dr. Goodman, Dean

of Westminster, who, in virtue of their trust, appointed Mr. Gataker a fellow of that society, before the building was finished. This college was founded by Frances, Countess of Sussex, and sister to Sir Henry Sydney, Deputy of Ireland, whence it is called Sydney-Sussex College. The first stone was laid May 20, 1596, and the whole fabric was finished in three years. Fuller's History of Cambridge.

In the interim he went into Essex, as tutor to the eldest son of Mr. afterwards Sir William Ayloff of Berksted, who himself learned Hebrew of him at the same time. During his residence here, at the request of Mrs. Ayloff, he usually expounded a portion of Scripture to the family every morning, wherein, after rendering the text into English from the original language, he explained the sense of it, and concluded with some useful observations. This exercise was a very suitable preparation for holy orders, and it was not long before he became, by that qualification, an authorised teacher: Dr. Stern, then suffragan Bishop of Colchester, being nearly related to the mistress of the family, happened in a visit to be present at one of these performances, and being struck with admiration, instantly exhorted the expounder to enter into the priesthood, and offered him his assistance to that end. This advice being seconded by the Rev. Mr. Alvey, formerly his tutor, and pushed by the reiterated solicitations of the bishop, at length prevailed, and Mr. Gataker was ordained by that suffragan. It may be added, that in the space of two years he went through all the prophets in the Old Testament, and all the apostolical epistles in the New; and when the bishop heard him, he was upon the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. This step was conformable to the statutes of his new college, and as soon as the building was finished, about the year 1599, he betook himself, as his duty required, to the station assigned him there, and became an eminent tutor. At the same time, he engaged in a design then set on foot, of preaching in such places adjacent to the university as were destitute of able ministers. In performing this engagement, he preached every Sunday at Everton, a village upon the borders of Cambridgeshire, Bedford, and Huntingdon, the vicar of which parish was said to be one hundred and thirty years old. He had not executed this charitable office above six months, when he grew uneasy in the university, and following the advice of  
Mr.

Mr. Ashton, formerly another of his tutors, he went to London, and resided as chaplain in the family of Sir William Cook, at Charing-cross, to whose lady he was nearly related in blood. This situation made him known to several persons of rank and fortune, and among others, to some principal members of Lincoln's Inn; where the preacher's place becoming vacant, those gentlemen offered him their assistance to obtain it, alleging it might be easily compassed by the interest of Lord Chief Justice Popham, who they knew had a great respect for Mr. Gataker, as well on his own account as that of his father, who had been his Lordship's intimate friend and contemporary in the study of the law. But all importunities availed nothing, till Dr. Montague, master of Sydney college, going on some occasion to London, became acquainted with the proposal, and was so much pleased at hearing it, that he laid aside the thoughts he had of inviting Mr. Gataker back to college to read an Hebrew lecture, which had a salary annexed to it by Lord Harrington; pressed him with arguments and authority; encouraged him against his own diffidence; and gained him at last to consent that Lord Popham should recommend him to the society, without any suit made by himself. He was then about twenty-six years of age, young indeed, and younger in appearance, insomuch that, a little before, preaching in Sir William Cook's parish church of St. Martin's in the fields, it happened that Mr. Ley, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer, being present with his lady, she, on their return home, asked an old servant who attended them to church, How he liked the preacher? 'Why, truly (says the fellow) he's a pretty pert boy, but he made a reasonable good sermon.' Not many weeks after, Mr. Ley returning from Lincoln's Inn, says to his wife, 'I will tell you some news, that young man whom you heard at St. Martin's, is chosen lecturer at Lincoln's Inn.' This being heard by the old servant who stood by, 'what, (says he) will the benchers be taught by such a boy as he?'

Thus he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn about the year 1601, where he thought it his duty to reside during term time, when he was obliged to attend the chapel; but in the vacations he went down to Sir William Cook's seat at Northamptonshire, and constantly preached there, either in their private chapel or the parish church. This kindness did not pass unrewarded by that religious pair, who afterwards, in consideration of these pains freely taken,

taken, settled upon Mr. Gataker an annuity of twenty pounds a-year; which, however, after some years he remitted to the heir of that family, forbearing to insist upon the right he had, and forbidding his executors to claim any arrears thereof.

In 1603, he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was afterwards often solicited to proceed to that of doctor of divinity; but he declined it. He did not at all approve of pluralities, and upon that principle, refused a considerable benefice in Kent, which was offered him by Sir William Sedley, while he held this place at Lincoln's Inn. But having entered into matrimony in 1611, he quitted that place for the rectory of Rotherhithe in Surrey. Yet he yielded to the acceptance of this living only in the view of keeping it out of the hands of a very unworthy person. Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-general, and Sir Randolph Crew, then King's Serjeant, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, were his friends on this occasion, both of Lincoln's Inn: But the report of his removal was no welcome news to that society, some of whom, in order to keep him there, offered an enlargement of his maintenance; and others represented the consistence of holding both places, by the help of an assistant. These were motives to become a pluralist, which, therefore, had no weight with him; and though he was afflicted with almost perpetual head-ache, yet he constantly discharged the duties of this parish. This was the more extraordinary, as the salary of Lincoln's Inn was at first but forty pounds a-year, and never exceeded sixty. It is worth notice, that the change of the lecture for Sundays from seven o'clock in the morning to the usual hour of morning service, was occasioned by one of Mr. Gataker's sermons, wherein he observed, that it was as lawful for the husbandman to follow his tillage, as for counsellors to confer with their clients, and give advice upon that day; and the Wednesday's lecture was also transferred, at the same time, to Sunday in the afternoon. He had been troubled with the head-ache from his youth, so that it was become habitual to him, and thence perhaps less inconveniently felt. It is certain it did not hinder him from reaping the fruits of his genius; which, by a continual application from his youth, was not less habitual to him. Of this he gave a specimen in two letters to Archbishop Usher, from Rotherhithe, in 1616 and 1617, concerning some curious manuscripts of the famous  
Robert

Robert Grosthead, Bishop of Lincoln, and others.\* It is true, some mistakes therein are corrected by his correspondent,

\* “ Good Sir, Health in Christ,

“ PRESUMING on your kindness shewn me at your being in these parts, together with your ingenuous disposition otherwise, I am bold to request a further courtesy from you. I have in my hands a manuscript, containing, among others, certain treatises, which I cannot yet learn to have been printed; to wit, *Gulielmi de Sancto Amore; de periculis novissimorum temporum*; as also divers things of Robert Grosted, some time of Lincoln; viz. An Oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons; (whereof I find a piece recorded in *Catalogus Testium*) *excerpta quædam ex ejusdem Epistolis; tractatus de oculo morali; de modo confitendi; et sermones quidam*. Some of these, peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to see the light: Nor should I be unwilling, if they should be so esteemed, to bend my poor and weak endeavours that way; but of that oration to the Pope, certain lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, though so as the sense of them may be guessed, and gathered from the context: And in the other treatises there are many faults, that cannot easily or possibly, some of them, without help of other copies, be amended. My desire is to understand from you, whether at your being here in England (for I wot well how careful you was to make inquiry after such monuments) you lighted upon any of these, and where, or in whose hands they were. There are, besides, in this manuscript a Commentary on *Augustine de Civitate Dei*; and a Postil on Ecclesiastes, with a Treatise *De Modo Prædicandi*; but these two imperfect, of nameless authors: Besides, *Gulielm. Paris. de Prebendis, et Malachie Minorith. de veneno spirituali*: Which two last I understand to have been published.

“ I should be glad to hear, as many others desire, that the second part of your painful and profitable task, so generally applauded, and no less greedily expected, were preparing, or fully prepared for the press, and much more to see it abroad. Works of that kind are in these times very seasonable; nor deserve any better of God’s church than those that deal soundly and learnedly in them, among whom yourself, as not a few acknowledge, may well claim a prime place: Your labours both in that kind, and others, the Lord bless, and continue unto you life and strength, to be long an instrument to his glory, and of his church’s good.

Rotherhith, }  
Martii 18, 1616. }

“ Yours assured in the Lord,

“ THOMAS GATAKER.”

“ Right Reverend,

“ My duty to your Lordship remembered. This messenger so fitly offering himself unto me, albeit it were the Sabbath Even, and I cast behind hand in my studies by absence from home, yet I could not but in a line or two salute your Lordship, and thereby signify my continued and deserved remembrance of you, and hearty desire of your welfare. By this time, I presume, your Lordship is settled in your weighty charge of oversight, wherein I beseech the Lord in mercy to bless your labours and endeavours, to the glory of his own name, and the good of his church, never more than in our times repugned and opposed by mighty and malicious adversaries both at home and abroad: Never in foreign parts more distracted and distressed than at the present. Out of France daily news of murders and massacres, cities and towns taken, and all sorts put to the sword.

pondent, who, however, thought the whole very worthy of his notice; and they are mentioned here, chiefly as they shew at once both his own modesty and erudition, as well as the esteem which that learned Archbishop had for him. All this however passed in private, his modesty being yet unconquerable by any solicitations to publish any thing from the press; but this backwardness was at length subdued in 1619.

He had, it seems, in some of his discourses at Lincoln's Inn, delivered his opinion concerning lots and lotteries, and shewn the lawfulness of the luserious, and the unlawfulness of divinatory lots; this being misrepresented by some of his auditors or others, who by request had seen the MS. and the Author, moreover, abused and traduced on this account, forced him out into the public in his own defence, as the best, if not the only way to clear himself from those unjust and undeserved aspersions. In this principle he published his "Discourse of the nature and use of Lots, a treatise historical and theological, in 1619," 4to. This piece made a great noise in the world,

sword. Nor are those few that stand out yet likely to hold long against the power of so great a prince, having no succours from without.

"In the Palatinate likewise all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the Hollanders sit, for ought I see, any surer, the rather for that the coals that have here been heretofore kindled against them, about transportation of coin, and the fine imposed for it, the quarrels of the East Indies, the command of the Narrow Seas, the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily more and more blown upon, and fire beginneth to break out, which I pray God do not burn up both them and us too. I doubt not, worthy Sir, but you see as well, yea. much better, I suppose, than myself, and many others, as being able further to pierce into the state of the times, and the consequence of these things; what need the forlorn flock of Christ hath of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins, and to fence that part of the fold that as yet is not so openly broken in upon, against the incursions of such ravenous wolves, as having prevailed so freely against the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it also unassaulted: As also what need she hath, if ever, of prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto him, who hath the hearts and hands of all men in his hand, and whose help (our only hope, as things now stand) is oft-times then most present, when all human helps and hopes do fail. But these lamentable occurrents carry me further than I purposed when I put pen to paper. I shall be right glad to hear of your Lordship's health and welfare, which the Lord vouchsafe to continue; gladder to see the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bless and protect you: And thus ready to do your Lordship any service I may in these parts, I rest

Rotherhith,  
September 29, 1621. }

"Your Lordship's to be commanded in the Lord,

"THOMAS GATAKER."

world, and drew him afterwards into a controversy. But before that happened, he made a tour through the Low Country in company with two friends, and a nephew of his, then a young student. They set out July 13, 1620, and arriving at Middleburgh in Zealand, Mr. Gataker preached in the English church there, to their great satisfaction, and in his travels confuted the English papists in Flanders. His mother, who was then alive, was apprehensive of some mischief befalling him, as he was a known adversary to the Popish cause, but he returned with his companions safe on the 14th of August following, having viewed the most considerable places in the Low Countries. During this short stay he had an opportunity of seeing the distressed state of the Protestants in Holland, with which he was so much affected, that he even thought it behoved the English to give up some national interests then disputed by them, for fear of ruining the Protestant cause; which shews him to be not so much of a politician as of a pious divine. \*

Some time after his arrival at Rotherhithe, several objections being made to his vindication of luserious lots, he published, in 1623, a defence, &c. of it against Mr. Balmford. This defence was owing, in some measure, to the behaviour of Mr. Balmford and his friends, who had spread a report that the doctor, by whom Mr. Gataker's book was licensed, was sensible of the wrong done to Mr. Balmford, and had declared, that if the treatise on lots was to be licensed again, he would not do it. These speeches seem indeed to be made for Dr. Featly, who was the licenser, as archbishop's chaplain. However, it is certain that gentleman, though he agreed with our Author's opinion, and allowed him to have proved it beyond exception, yet did not approve the prudence of his conduct in publishing it to the world, and advised him not to carry it any further, but rather employ his pen against popery. † This advice had its due effect, and

\* See the English translation of Selden's *Mare Clausum*, by order of the Long Parliament, and the appendix.

† Dr Featly's words are worth remembering. 'To deliver you my judgment and advice in a word, says he, *satis factum est*, you have sifted this point of lots to the bran. Let me advise you hereafter, *non reciprocare terram contentionis de ludis sortiaris*, but rather employ your able pen against the sorcerers of Egypt, now abounding in every place, and making advantage of the least difference among us, who hold the like precious faith, purged from the dross of their superstitions.' Mr. Balmford

and the following year our Author printed a piece against transubstantiation; and his short catechism came out the same year. In 1640, and the following years, he engaged in the controversy concerning justification; and being appointed one of the assembly of divines who met at Westminster, he gave his attendance there, and among other conferences offered the reasons for his opinion about the last-mentioned article; but the point being determined by the majority against his sense, he submitted and subscribed the covenant also, though he had declared his opinion in favour of episcopacy, that is, for what is called moderate episcopacy, denying the distinction of that order from that of Presbyters, and divesting the prelates of their baronies and seats in the House of Lords, and abolishing the rest of the hierarchy. Apolog. Discourse. Where he professes that he was never an advocate for the power and splendour of the prelate, but on the other hand, had ever inclined to moderate episcopacy: That as for the sake of doing good in his generation, he had submitted to the bishops, so when they were taken away by the supreme power, he had submitted to that likewise, but never sought any, on the contrary, had refused preferment from both sides. He engaged likewise with the assembly in writing annotations upon the Bible, wherein those upon Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Lamentations, fell to his share, which, in the opinion of Mr. Calamy, are exceeded by no commentator, ancient or modern, on those books. In the mean time, upon the removal of Dr. Comber, he was offered the mastership of Trinity college in Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester, but he declined it on account of his health.

However the ill state thereof did not hinder him from prosecuting his studies. Though confined to his chamber, he drew up his treatise, "*De Nomine Tetragrammato*," in defence of the common way of pronouncing the word *Jehovah* in England. \* This was printed at London, 1645,

Balmford too, in his preface, had exclaimed in these terms: 'How will gamblers insult the scrupulous, now they have so learned a patron of their gaming.' Several objections were also made to the treatise of lots by foreigners, in answer to whom our Author published, *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis partem Gulielmi Amesii, partem Gisberti Voetii de sorte thesibus reposita.* Lond. 1637, 4to.

\* It was reprinted in his *Opera Critica* in 1698, and again with several dissertations by different authors, upon the same subject in 1707, by Adrian Reland, under the following title, *Decas exercitationum philosophicarum*

1645, and was followed the ensuing year by another discourse, “*de diphthongis sive bivocalibus*,” wherein he endeavours to shew that there are no diphthongs, and that two vowels can never unite in such a manner as to form one syllable. \* Mr. John Saltmarsh having published a treatise, the preceding year, in defence of the Antinomian doctrine, concerning ‘free grace,’ our Author this year, 1646, wrote an answer to it, entitled, “A mistake or misconstruction removed, &c.” wherein he ridicules that affectation of quaint witticisms then in vogue, in treating theological subjects, observing, to use his own words, “That it seemed a thing much to be feared, that the course affected by some, and much delighted in by others, of extracting divinity in a kind of chymical way, into quaint and curious, but groundless and useless speculations, and (as he ventures to call them) even chimerical conceits, would, if it held on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the gospel and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks and quillets of the old schoolmen did.”

In 1647, he recovered in strength so far as to be able to go to church, and he ventured into the pulpit, where in preaching he burst a vein in his lungs, the mischief of which was however prevented for the present by letting blood, and he soon after resumed his preaching; but this threw him into a relapse of spitting blood, which, though relieved again by opening a vein, made the pulpit duty too dangerous. Yet he continued to administer the sacraments, and to give his usual short discourses at funerals, suitable to the occasion. Being thus disabled to preach, he supplied that defect as far as possible, by publishing several learned works, most of which, besides others already mentioned, were printed among his *Opera Critica*, at Utrecht, in 1668, fol.

He was the first of the forty-seven ministers who, in 1648, subscribed the remonstrance to the army and the general, against the design of trying and executing the king. He was not at all pleased with the principles and proceedings of the independent faction, which prevailed then, and afterwards; and declared his opinion in defence of the doctrine and discipline of the Presbyterian polity,

*carum de vera pronuntiatione nominis Jehovah, quarum quinque priores Joh. Drusii, Sextini Amamae, Lud. Capelli, Joh. Buxtorfii, et Jac. Altingii, lectionem nominis Jehovah impugnant, posteriores quinque, Nic. Fuller, Tho. Gatakeri, et ternæ Joh. Leusdeni tuentur.*

\* This also was reprinted in his *Opera Critica*.

polity, both in private conferences, and openly from the pulpit. Among these he had some friends still in power, that maintained him in the possession of his legal rights. But as soon as it appeared that he was rather suspected than countenanced by the State, some of his parishioners refused payment of their share of the composition for the tythes of their houses, which, upon an amicable lawsuit, had been decreed him in the court of Exchequer, and in satisfaction for which, he consented to accept of £40 *per annum*. This refusal he bore with patience, and, diverting himself in his study, produced several other learned works, among which his edition of “ Marcus Antoninus’s Meditations, with his preliminary discourse of the philosophy of the Stoics, and commentary \*,” is most esteemed.

Before this time, being unable to perform the duties of his living, he was very willing to resign, and pressed it for several years together; and what aggravated his misfortunes, in 1653 he was drawn into a dispute with William Lilly, the famous astrologer, about the certainty of his art, which he had maintained was revealed to mankind by the good angels. Our Author in his annotations upon Jeremiah, taking notice of this profaneness, had used the astrologer a little roughly, calling him “ blind buzzard,” &c. In return to this, Mr. Lilly, in his ‘ *Annus tenebrosus*,’ reflected upon the divine; to which our Author replied, in “ A Vindication of the “ Annotations,” &c. Lond. 1653, 4to. It seems he had thought proper, before he published this piece, to consult Mr. Henry Briggs (with whom he had been acquainted while that gentleman was mathematical lecturer in St. John’s college, Cambridge, and afterwards at Gresham) for his opinion in the point, whereupon the professor returned a very round and ready answer, that he conceived it to be a mere system of groundless conceits. To this Mr. Lilly printed an answer, wherein he charged his antagonist with covetousness and prostituting his function to worldly views: our Author wrote a “ discourse apologetical,” vindicating himself from those calumnies. This led him to give an account of several transactions of his life, and how he came by his preferments.

\* The preliminary discourse was reprinted in his *Opera Critica*, and again in the edition of Marcus in 1697, by Stanhope, who observes, that they are an excellent repertory of the morality of the Stoics, which, says he, Mr. Gataker collected with prodigious labour out of the ancients, and compared with that of the other Pagan philosophers.

ferments. He was very temperate in his diet and way of living, which was all the reason Lilly had for charging him with avarice. Yet the astrologer in defence of his craft, persecuted him after his death. This last mentioned piece was published in 1654, 4to. and the same year being seized with a fainting-fit on Friday night, July the seventh, as Mr. Ashe says, or rather the ninth, as his son assures us, about day-break he was brought to himself by proper assistance, but continued very weak and feeble, and sensible of his approaching end. We cannot afford the reader a better account of his departure, than in the words of his biographer. ‘The first stage to his disease (for *morbis est via ad mortem*) was a fainting-fit that surprised him on Friday night, July seventh, or rather on Saturday morning, July eighth. This he made no great account of, (for he disturbed not the rest of a servant by calling for assistance) because he had at sundry times such *deliquia* or faintings, wherein he gave nature leave to work out the victory over those vapours or viscous humours that oppressed her. Yet thus far he made use of it, that he compared his infirmity to that of Seneca, which according to his relation, the physicians of that age called *meditationem mortis*, and wished it might prove to him a preparation for his dissolution. The indisposition not ceasing with that fit, discovered itself within a short time to be tertian, which how gentle soever, yet falling upon a person of his age and crazy temper, (that had long supported a weak frame with a very regular course of diet) made his condition doubtful to his physician, one of learning and worth, that employed his best care and skill about that patient, that he looked on as a considerable person to the whole church.

‘July the seventeenth, having published his will, and taken such order as he thought fit for the settlement of his outward estate, he composed himself to God. His tertian growing too strong for nature and art both, resolved itself into an almost continued fever, the extreme heat whereof was very painful: Yet during those conflicts he shewed a sweet calmness of mind, a heart weaned from the world, to which he had no affection, though he had a remembrance exactly serving for ordering his charity even to the last: and in one word, he represented a soul wholly submitting to God’s good pleasure. He professed more than once, that no outward thing troubled him so much as the condition of the reverend minister Mr. Sainthill, who had but lately undertaken M

Gataker's charge, upon the uncertain title of life, which now failing so early, besides the expectations of his friends, that minister he foresaw was likely to be unsettled, and to suffer some inconvenience.

‘ Though friends and physicians gave him encouraging words at visits, yet he, sensible of his inward decays, could not be flattered into vain hopes of long continuance, earnestly contending that he was not to expect miracles. His expectation of God's dismissal was so fixed, that being consulted whether he would appoint any one person to perform the last office for him, he, not startled at the question, appointed Mr. Ashe to be intrusted to undertake that work, because he had done the same at his last wife's funeral. And one opportunity casually offered itself to set forward that design: For July the eighteenth, Mr. Ashe out of a kind respect to Mr. Gataker, sent him two funeral sermons preached by him, one at Mr. Whitaker's, the other at Dr. Spurstow's child's interment. This gave occasion to Mr. Gataker (in the return for that favour) to request the last that he could be capable of. Upon the receipt of a letter to that purpose, Mr. Ashe on the Saturday following, visited his dear and dying friend, who then told him, “ I am now conflicting with my last adversary, though I believe the sting is taken out. Nature will struggle, but I humbly submit unto the good pleasure of God. I heartily beg the pardon of my many sins, especially of my want of sedulity and fidelity in my public and private charge, hoping to be washed with Christ's blood, and desiring to be translated out of this restless condition. I expect daily, yea hourly, to be translated into that everlasting rest, which God hath prepared for them who are interested in his Christ. And I pray God to bless you, and his whole ministry every where.” These and other expressions Mr. Ashe wrote down, and related at the end of his sermon. That day being the twenty-second of July in the afternoon, he called for some papers of Mr. Baxter's, sent to him by the author, with a desire of his judgment concerning them: He wished some short notes (for the perusal of them had been his last work) to be read over to him, in which something he altered; and having dictated a letter to that his learned and much reverend friend, appointed it with the animadversions enclosed, to be sent unto him: So vigorous was his mind, in a body drooping and dropping into the dust. He had now given over the use of physic, as to any prolongation of life, for

he said he would struggle no more, because he found, that what was prescribed for the refreshing of nature oppressed it rather, therefore he would wait the Lord's leisure. An ancient servant that attended on him, desiring leave to rectify the bed-clothes, and saying withal, 'Sir, your head doth not lie right,' he answered, "It will lie right in my coffin." July the twenty-fifth, at nine in the morning, death began to seize on his left foot, from which the spirit retiring, he felt the deadness of that part, and a very sharp pain in the part of the leg adjoining to it. He called for his son, and told him he feared he should have a difficult death. He then commanded two surgeons to be sent for to look upon his leg, whom he required to tell him, whether or no his foot were any whit discoloured. It seems he had conceived some fear of a gangrene, but being satisfied that there could not be any ground for such an apprehension, he rested with patience. In the evening of that day, being visited by Mr. Sainthill, and lying in great anguish with violence of heat, he prayed for pity and patience, support here, and a comfortable issue.

'July the twenty-sixth, early in the morning, full of pain, gasping and panting, he cried out, "How long, Lord, how long, come speedily." But though death had made an encroachment upon his outward perishing part, yet his inward man felt no decay: For with a full use of reason, he that morning ordered the continuation of a weekly relief to certain poor, and also of some small monthly pensions to some widows for a season, caused his physician to be consulted about taking something that might procure rest, was erected to a more cheerful disposition; inquired after news, and discoursed freely, yet confessed himself to be in pain. About three o'clock that afternoon, feeling some great change after that putting forth of nature, he called for his sister, son, and daughter, to receive his last charge: thus he spake unto them: "My heart fails, and my strength fails, but God is my fortress, and the strong rock of my salvation: Into thy hands therefore I commend my soul; for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth!" To his son he turned his discourse thus: Son, you have a great charge, look to it, instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your ministry conscientiously." To his sister, a gentlewoman two years older than himself, he said, "Sister, I thought you might have gone before me, but God calls for me first; I hope  
we

we shall meet in heaven. I pray God bless you." His daughter he admonished to mind the world less and God more, for that all things without piety and the true fear of God are worth nothing. He advised that his son Draper (being a man of means) would entertain some godly minister in his house, to teach his children and instruct his family. He exhorted them all to concord; which he hoped the rather, because he had clearly settled his estate, so as to prevent differences. He enlarged himself in each a little, wishing all to lay to heart the words of a dying man. After this he desired that all should withdraw, and leave him to his rest, which he hoped was at hand: But all his conflicts were not yet accomplished.

' July the twenty-seventh, his voice began to be less intelligible, the putrid preternatural heat having furred up his mouth, as is usual in fevers: Yet his understanding and senses also were very quick and active. About six o'clock in the evening he called for his son to recommend his soul unto God by prayer, and endeavoured to express what he desired, but not so clearly as to be well understood: Yet by his gestures he gave assurance, that he understood perfectly, and concurred fervently with the devotions used on his behalf. Within an hour after, nature being quite spent, he gave up the ghost, and was translated into that rest which he so often and earnestly had desired to find in another world, because he could obtain none in this. Thus after the forty-three years inspection of this pious and diligent pastor of Rotherhithe, he left his flock, returning to the Great and Chief Shepherd of our souls, from his gracious hands to receive an incorruptible crown of glory: And of his flock I may take up the words of Nazianzen to Basil, concerning the condition of that church whereof Gregory's father had been bishop: ' You see how full of sadness and trouble this destitute flock appears—making question whether ever it shall enjoy another discreet shepherd, but very confident it shall not receive an equal to their deceased pastor, and resolved to acquiesce satisfied in their lot, if they can obtain one that shall be not much worse.' For his person, the express whereof (though often importuned by dear friends) he would never allow to be taken either by pencil or sculpture: He was of a middle stature, of a thin body, and of a lively countenance, fresh complexion, and looked young when he came to teach at Lincoln's Inn, and yet was grey betimes, that made him be thought older than he was, because he had

had long appeared ancient in the eye of the world; of a choicely temperate diet; of a free and cheerful conversation, addicted to study, but not secluding himself from fit company; of a quick apprehension, sharp reason, solid judgment, vast memory, which by God's mercy continued fresh to the last of his days: He was *helluo librorum*, one that did not vainly increase his library for shew, but chose books for use, which he made of them so happily, that he had conquered a vast portion of learning, and made it serve him upon all occasions. He was not so great a treasurer, as a free dispenser of those riches of the mind, which he did communicate readily, expeditely, clearly. He was an ornament of the university, and of that society designed for the study of law; a light of the church, the salt of the place where he abode: A loving husband, a discreet parent, a faithful friend, a kind neighbour, a courteous entertainer of strangers, a candid encourager of students, a stout champion for the truth, yet a lover of peace, preserving the unity of charity where there was a difference of judgment; an adversary to novel fancies, as well as to antiquated superstitions in religion: Of a Christian magnanimity to despise the world, and therefore resolute through bad report, as well as good to maintain a clear conscience. Briefly, he was a faithful shepherd, and a fit mirror for pastors, as well as an exact pattern for people; who having almost completed eighty years, departed full of life, but being dead yet speaks in his living monuments of sound learning.

His piety and charity were very exemplary, and his modesty so great, that he declined not only large offers in the country, but also ecclesiastical dignities and court preferments, and studiously waved the counsel of some that had given notice of him to Prince Henry, son to King James I. and had it in design to make way for his admission to a chaplain's place to his highness. He was a man so moderate and conscientious, that he would not go the length of any party, which was the true reason of his not accepting preferments. Mr. Gataker's house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at his house for advice and direction in their studies. In the reigns of James and Charles I. he disliked the high notions that were regarded then by churchmen, as the maxims of government, which, he rightly foresaw, would be fatal both to them and the church. This kept

him at a distance from those that were in highest authority; and though his patrons at Lincoln's Inn would have procured him a prebend at least, yet he refused it, and when it appeared he was not to be gained, it was natural to hold him suspected, in which state he continued for many years. When he came to sit in the assembly of divines at Westminster, for which he never received any thing, he drew upon himself the dislike at least, if not the hatred, of such as were zealous for the hierarchy. But when he declared himself in that assembly in favour of episcopacy, and excepted against the solemn league and covenant till the words were so altered as to be understood only of ecclesiastical courts, and what he and those of his opinion took to be the exorbitant power of bishops, he lost the affections of the other party, who were for destroying episcopacy, root and branch.

His open declaration against the subsequent proceedings of those who resolved all power and authority into that of the sword, heightened the aversion of the predominant faction, and exposed him to that ill treatment which he met with from their tools, who charged him with inconstancy, changing sides, and squaring his doctrine to the times: Whereas he was always consistent in his principles, and instead of shifting from party to party, was never the instrument of any party, but lived contented upon a very small provision, at most a hundred pounds a-year, and was reviled for keeping that. His extensive learning was admired by the great men abroad, as Salmasius and others, with whom he held a correspondence. Axenius styles him a man of infinite reading and exact judgment; and Colomies tells us, that of all the critics of that age, who have written for the advancement of polite learning, there is none superior to him in the talent of explaining authors, and that he was a man of extraordinary application and exactness: This character was forced from him by the power of truth itself, for he has not spared such passages as he judged worthy of censure. Morhoff speaks of all our Author's Latin works with high commendation. And Baillet has a chapter concerning his writings, in which he acknowledges his profound skill in the learned languages, his great accuracy, and his admirable sagacity, but adds, that he was too bold in his conjectures. Our Author left several manuscripts, some of which were published by his son, Charles.

In the course of his long life he had four wives successively. His first marriage already taken notice of, was to the widow of Mr. William Capper, to whose daughters he was so providentially kind in their education, and disposing in marriage to two divines of note, and continuing such a fatherly love to them and theirs, that the world mistook them for his own children, especially as he had bred them up with two children, sons of his own. This wife died in childbed of a son, who bore his father's name, and after he had seen the most remote parts of the world, returned home to his father, at whose house he died. His next wife was daughter to the Rev. Mr. Charles Pinner, who died in childbed of a son, Charles, afterwards an eminent divine. Many years were passed in widowhood, before he took for his third wife a gentlewoman of a considerable family, being sister to Sir George and Sir John Farewel, by whom he had three children, whereof a son and daughter died before their mother, but the third, a daughter, survived her father. His last wife was the widow of a citizen, with whom he lived twenty-four years, but without issue by her, and survived her two years within a few days.

His Works. " I. Of the Nature and use of Lots, 4to. first edit. 1619; second edit. reviewed, corrected, and enlarged, 1627. II. A Just Defence of the same against Mr. Balmford, 4to. 1623. III. *Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis, partim Gulielmi Amesii, partim Gisberti Vætti de Sorti Thesisibus reposita*, 4to. 1638. IV. A Discourse on Transubstantiation, with a Defence thereof, 4to. 1624. V. David's Instructor. VI. The Christian Man's Care. VII. The Spiritual Watch. VIII. The Gain of Godliness, with Self-sufficiency. IX. The Just Man's Joy, with Signs of Sincerity. X. Jacob's Thankfulness. XI. David's Remembrancer. XII. Noah's Obedience. XIII. An Anniversary Memorial of England's Delivery in 1588. XIV. Sorrow for Zion. XV. God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to him. XVI. Eleazar's Prayer, a Marriage Sermon. XVII. A Good Wife God's Gift. XVIII. A Wife indeed. XIX. Marriage Duties. XX. Death's Advantage. XXI. The Benefit of a good Name, and a good End. XXII. Abraham's Decease. XXIII. Jeroboam's Sonnes Decease. XXIV. Christian Constancy crowned by Christ. These were published first severally in 4to. and were afterwards collected into one volume, in folio. XXV. The Decease of Lazarus, in 4to. XXVI. St. Stephen's Last Will and Testament, 4to. XXVII. A Defence

Defence of Mr. Bradshaw against J. Canne, 4to. XXVIII. God's Eye on his Israel, 4to. XXIX. A Mistake removed, and Free Grace, &c. in Answer to J. Saltmarsh, 4to. 1646. XXX. Shadows without Substance, a Rejoinder *adversus eundem*, 4to. 1646. XXXI. Mysterious Clouds and Mists, &c. an Answer to J. Simpson, 4to. 1648. XXXII. Mr. Anthony Wotton's Defence, 8vo. 1641. XXXIII. A true Relation of Passages between Mr. Wotton and Mr. Walker, 4to. 1642. XXXIV. An Answer to Mr. G. Walker's Vindication, 4to. 1642. XXXV. A Vindication of the Annotations on Jer. x. 2. 4to. 1653. XXXVI. A Discourse Apologetical, 4to. 1654. XXXVII. *Marcus Antoninus Imp. cum Commentario*, 4to. 1652. XXXVIII. *De Novi Instrumenti Stylo Dissertatio adversus Pfochenii diatribam*, 4to. 1648. XXXIX. *Cinnus, sive Adversaria Miscellanea*, Lib. vi. 4to. 1651. XL. *De Baptismatis Infantium vi et efficacii disceptatio inter D. S. Wardum et Th. Gatakerum*, 8vo. 1652. XLI. *T. G. Stricturae in Davenantii Epistolam*, 8vo. 1654. XLII. *De Tetragrammato*, 8vo. XLIII. *Ejusdem Vindicatio adversus Capellum*, 8vo. XLIV. *De Bivocalibus dissertatio Philologica*, 8vo. XLV. *Aniadvertiones in J. Piscatoris et L. Lucij scripta adversaria de causa meritoria Justificationis, cum responsione ad L. Lucij vindicias*, 12mo. 1641. XLVI. *Francisci Gomari disputationis Elencticae, de Justificationis materia et forma, Elenchus*, 8vo. 1640. XLVII. *Stricturae in Barth. Wegelini Sangallensis de Obcdientia Christi disputationem Theologicam*, 8vo. 1653. XLVIII. The Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, with the Lamentations, which were the portion assigned him in the great work of notes upon the Bible."

We will subjoin an epigrammatic composition, supposed to be Mr. Gataker's, found among his papers :

- “ I THIRST for thirstiness, I weep for tears ;  
 “ Well pleas'd am I to be displeas'd thus :  
 “ The only thing I fear is want of fears ;  
 “ Suspecting I am not suspicious.  
 “ I cannot choose but live, because I die ;  
 “ And, when I am not dead, how glad am I !  
 “ Yet, when I am thus glad for sense of pain,  
 “ And careful am, lest I should careless be,  
 “ Then do I grieve for being glad again,  
 “ And fear lest carelessness take care from me.  
 “ Amidst these restless thoughts this rest I find,  
 “ For those that rest not here, there's rest behind.”





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From an Original Picture in the British Museum

## JAMES USHER, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

VERY few men have been more the subject of universal admiration, and perhaps as few have deserved it more, than the excellent Man of whom we are now writing. His immense erudition, acknowledged by all the world, and his large measure of divine grace which employed that erudition to the most wise and beneficial purposes, rendered him, as a public man, the brightest example of his time. His character, as a private Christian, though not so conspicuous, was no less extraordinary, and made him at once the edification and delight of all who enjoyed his acquaintance.

His father, Arnold Usher, was one of the six clerks of the chancery in Ireland, and a man of parts and learning. His uncle, Henry Usher, was highly celebrated for wisdom and knowledge, and was raised to the archepiscopal see of Armagh. His mother's father, James Stanihurst, was three times Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, recorder of Dublin, and a master in chancery. He was much esteemed for his wisdom, abilities, and integrity, and had the honour to make the first motion for founding the University of Dublin, in which he was seconded by all the credit and influence of Dr. Henry Usher above mentioned. Queen Elizabeth acceded to the proposal, and our Author, James Usher, was the first student in that foundation. His mother's brother, Richard Stanihurst, was a philosopher, historian, and poet, and became a considerable correspondent with his nephew upon various subjects of learning. His own brother, Ambrose Usher, who died in the prime of life, was a very extraordinary man, and had made great proficiency in the oriental tongues. Dr. Parr says, that 'He left behind him, under his own hand, an elaborate translation of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into English, from the beginning to the book of Job, which might have been finished, had not the appearance of the new translation in King James's time withdrawn his hand.'

The subject of our present article, JAMES USHER, who was born at Dublin, January the fourth, 1580, discovered great parts, and an uncommon attachment to books from

from his very childhood. It is a most remarkable circumstance, that his two aunts, who were born blind, taught him to read. They were persons of great piety, and 'Of such incomparable readiness in the divine oracles, that they were either of them able on a sudden to repeat any part of the Bible.' They seem to have possessed the answer to Milton's celebrated prayer :

' So much the rather THOU, celestial LIGHT,  
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
Irradiate; their plant eyes; all mist from thence  
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
Of things invisible to mortal sight.'

PAR. LOST, BOOK III.

Usher seems to have been under the tuition of these excellent women till he was eight years old, when he was sent to a school opened by Mr. James Fullerton and Mr. James Hamilton, two learned young gentlemen of Scotland, who were placed at Dublin by King James the First, then only King of Scotland, in order to maintain a correspondence with the protestant nobility and gentry there, for the security of his interest in that kingdom, when Queen Elizabeth should die. That great Queen, like most other great politicians, being very suspicious, and not at all attached to King James, it was thought expedient for them to assume some disguise: And, for this reason, they took up the profession of schoolmasters, who were then very much wanted in Ireland. Fullerton was afterwards knighted, then sent upon an embassy to France, and finally, (as is usual for those who have served well abroad) was appointed to a considerable office at home. Hamilton was also knighted, and afterwards created Viscount Clandebois. Under these extraordinary masters he continued five years, and was thoroughly grounded in the elements of learning, to which he applied himself with all that zeal and spirit which are usually the characteristics of genius, and which are commonly crowned with success, even where there is no genius. He ever after mentioned these preceptors with honour, and used, to the end of his life, to mention this occurrence, as a signal and gracious providence of God for his education, which, as Ireland then stood, must otherwise have been very defective.

At the expiration of these five years, viz. in 1593, and in the thirteenth year of his age, he was admitted into the college of Dublin, which was then finished. He

was

was one of the three first students who were admitted; and his name stands to this day in the first line of the roll. Here Mr. Hamilton again became his tutor, under whom he studied logic and the Aristotelian philosophy, and by whom he was celebrated as the most extraordinary youth of his time. He had so much acuteness and proficiency, that he soon came up with his instructors. Here also he first began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongues, in both of which he afterwards excelled, and made excursions into the other walks of science. Though his love of poetry and cards retarded his studies for some time, he soon broke through these juvenile attachments, and applied to his severer studies with the closer application. He is said to have been wonderfully affected with that passage in Cicero, *Nescire quid antea natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum*; 'To know nothing of what happened before you were born, is to be always a boy.' Sleidan's book, *De quatuor imperiis*, inspired him with a strong passion for the study of history, in which he afterwards became superlatively excellent. At fourteen years of age he began to make extracts from all the historical books he could meet with, in order to fix the facts more firmly in his memory; and between fifteen and sixteen he had made such a proficiency in chronology, that he had drawn up in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of Kings, not much differing from his Annals, which have since been published, and received with the highest esteem. The difference chiefly consists in the addition of observations and the parallel chronology of the heathens. Before he was sixteen, he had entered upon theological studies, and perused the most able writers on both sides, upon the Romish controversy.

Among the Romanists, he read Stapleton's 'Fortress of Faith;' and finding that author confident in asserting antiquity for the tenets of popery, and in taxing our church with novelty in what it dissented from the church of Rome, he kept his mind in suspense, till he could examine how the truth stood in that particular. He was persuaded, that the ancient doctrines bade fairest for the right, being nearer the fountain-head, concluding with Tertulian, that *Verum quodcumque primum, adulterum quodcumque posterius*: 'Truth first appeared, and afterwards error.' But he might have spared himself the trouble in following the windings of the stream, when God's providence had put

put it in his power to recur to the fountain itself. The BIBLE is the only authority; and the fathers or any other writers, are valuable in proportion as they approach this rule, and are conducted by it. Not that there need no formularies and tests; for the corruptions of language and human chicane have made these of importance to the safety and being of any ecclesiastical establishment; and those persons are justly to be suspected who wish to throw them aside under pretence of the Bible being the only rule of faith: But these formularies are to be received alone, as they stand confirmed by, and agreeable to the Scriptures; and no man's conscience is forced in the subscribing to them. It is now become a fashion to treat the fathers with contempt, and to cry out upon all tests in religion. But it may be said with Dr. Cave, in his *Life of Clemens Alexandrinus*, that though 'The good and pious men of (ancient) times, were continually engaged in fierce disputes, with Heathens on the one side, and Jews and Heretics on the other, did not always *ορδοδομεν*, *divide the truth aright*, in some nicer lines and strokes of it;' yet their piety as much transcended the profession of this age, as this age can possibly go beyond them in learning. They did not consider religion as a set of notions, nor live upon it to feed their speculations; but they put on Christ, lived in Christ, walked with him, and, for his sake, *loved not their lives unto death*. They knew much of the power of godliness, and dwelt the less upon the form: And, in this way, they understood religion in fact much better than those, who consider it only as a machine for the splitting of hairs, without having any real enjoyment of its life and sweetness. Such men as these, growing too wise for the simplicity of the Gospel, are the persons who have made tests necessary for the keeping errors and heterodox opinions out of Christian churches. They would pretend to adopt the Bible, as some venture to do the articles of the Church of England, by imposing their own sense upon the words, which sense shall contradict the very terms, and strain them to a set of opinions, which the very terms directly condemn.

However, about the seventeenth year of his age, Usher had turned over several of the fathers, with other authors, both practical and polemical, upon the subject of divinity, and even at this early age became critically acquainted with the whole Romish controversy. He resolved to go through all the fathers by himself, and to trust no eyes but his own, if God spared his life and strength.

strength. Accordingly, he began this task, in a regular manner, about the twentieth year of his age, and finished it when about thirty-eight years old; strictly confining himself to read so much in a day, and suffering no occasions whatever to divert him from it.

In 1598, he held the part of respondent with great applause in the philosophy act, that was performed in compliment to the Earl of Essex, upon his first coming over Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Chancellor of the University of Dublin. Our student, the same year, upon the death of his father, who had designed him for his own profession, the common law, discovered an uncommon degree of resolution and firmness of mind. The paternal estate, which descended to him as eldest son and heir, he resigned, though of considerable value, to his younger brother: And reserving only so much of it as was necessary to support him in a studious life at the college, he followed his own inclination in devoting himself to the profession of divinity, and being thereby qualified by the statutes, he was admitted fellow of the society. The proficiency he made in this study, was answerable to his resolution. At the age of eighteen, our stripling entered the lists with Henry Fitz-Symonds, a learned jesuit, then prisoner in the castle of Dublin, who had given a general challenge to defend Bellarmin's principles against any opposer. This challenge by Fitz-Symonds is in the dedication of a piece written by him, where he declares he offered to maintain such particulars as were thought by the protestants to be the weakest in the Romish doctrine, and to attack all those points which they thought to be the strongest in their doctrine. 'But nobody would hear me, (says he) though I called with a voice as loud as Stentor to the contest. Only there once came to me a youth of about eighteen, very forward in his understanding, who shewed a very strong desire of disputing upon the most obstruse points of divinity, though he had not yet completed his course of philosophy, nor arrived to manhood. But when I asked him if he had leave from his superiors, promising in that case to enter the lists with him, the young man, not being honoured with any such commission, had nothing to shew, and returned no more.' Thus the jesuit; but the matter is related by another author as follows: 'Henry Fitz-Symonds, the jesuit, challenging his adversaries to meet him in the castle of Dublin, this beardless youth combated so bravely and frequently that veteran in the main article of his cause, viz. antichrist,

tichrist, that he repented his having challenged him, and met with opponents sufficient in this one youth, who was but eighteen years old.' However, Dr. Thomas Smith has made it sufficiently evident, that there was a dispute between them: And Dr. Parr informs us, that the subject was Bellarmin's controversies; and because the several matters in debate could not be disputed in one or two meetings, they appointed to meet once a-week; and besides gives us the following letter of Mr. Usher to Fitz-Symonds, which shews that, after a few meetings, the jesuit declined the combat.

“ I was not purposed, Mr. Fitz-Symonds, to write unto you, before you had first written unto me, concerning some chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But, seeing you have deferred {the same, (for reasons best known to yourself) I thought it not amiss to enquire further of your mind concerning the continuation of the conference begun betwixt us. And to this I am the rather moved, because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I could hardly be persuaded should proceed from him, who in my presence pretended so great love and affection to me. If I am a boy, (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me) I give thanks to the Lord, that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear belike is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam, and your abilities such, that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel; and therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you know, that I neither came then, nor do come now unto you, in any confidence of any learning that is in me, (in which respect notwithstanding, I thank God, I am what I am) but I come in the name of the Lord of hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded, that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he was able to shew forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you, that, setting aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truth which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus intreating you in a few  
lines

lines to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end; praying the Lord that both this and all other enterprizes that we take in hand may be so ordered, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory and the kingdom of his son, Jesus Christ.

“ *Tuus ad aras usque,*

“ JAMES USHER.”

Dr. Parr observes, with the author of *Collectio Batesiana*, that the same jesuit living to understand our Author better, styles him *A catholicorum Doctissimus*. And to form a judgment of the value of this testimony of our Author's literary merit, it will be necessary to enquire into the worth and credit of the witness. Henry Fitz-Symonds was the most noted jesuit in his time, if we may believe the Oxford antiquary, who informs us, that he was an Irishman born, and the son of a merchant in Dublin, that he was matriculated at Oxford as a member of Hart-hall, (now Hertford college) April 26, 1583, and in that of his age, fourteen. That in December following it seems probable that he was elected student of Christ-church: But that he did not stay long at the University, which he left without taking any degree, being come to a resolution to change the church of England for that of Rome. In which disposition he crossed the sea, and entered himself in the society of Jesus at Louvain, where putting himself under the instructions of the famous Leonard Lessius, he made such a quick proficiency, that he became eminent enough, in a short time, to be himself a teacher, especially in philosophy, which he taught publicly for several years.

At length, returning to his native country of Ireland, he made it his business, as a missionary, to gain proselytes to his religion. To which end he had both private conferences and public disputes with protestant ministers. In this work he persisted for two years without disturbance, being esteemed the chief disputant among those of his party, and so ready and quick, that few or none would undertake to deal with him. In fine, being apprehended for a dangerous person, he was committed to safe custody in Dublin castle in 1599, where he continued about five years. Though confinement hindered him from proceeding to spread his principles, yet did it not break his resolution, or damp his courage and good-will for the cause. On the contrary, he was no sooner fixed in a prison, than he said, that, ‘ Being a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him; which expression being looked on as  
a chal-

a challenge, was taken up by our Author, Mr. James Usher. Afterwards, at the end of the five years, being set at liberty, on his promise to behave quietly, and give no disturbance to the King and kingdom, he went forth-into voluntary exile into the Low-countries, where he spent his time in performing offices requisite to his function, and in writing books, particularly ‘A Catholic Confutation of Mr. John Rider’s Claim of Antiquities, and a Calming Comfort against his Caveat, with a Reply to Mr. Rider’s Postscripts, and a Discovery of Puritan Partiality in his behalf.’ To which is annexed, ‘An Answer to certain Complaintive Letters of afflicted Catholics for Religion.’ All printed together at Roban, 1608; in which year he went, according to summons, to Rome, where being appointed by a mission of Ireland, he published his profession of the four vows; and then, being sent back to the Low-countries, he went again into Ireland, where he spent many years in confirming the Roman catholics in their religion, and in making new proselytes. At length, having been a great encourager and abetter of the rebellion which broke out there in 1641, he was, after the rebels began to be subdued, forced to fly for shelter into woods and on mountains, and to creep and skulk into every place, for fear of being taken and hanged by the English soldiers.

In the beginning of the year 1643 he was forced to change his place, and retire for safety into a moorish and boggy ground, where sheltering himself under a shepherd’s cot, no better than a hovel, which did not keep out the wind and rain, he lived there in a very sorry condition, and had for his bedding a pad of straw, which would be often wet by the rising and coming in of the water. Notwithstanding all this misery he seemed to be very cheerful, and was ready to instruct the young ones about him, and comfort others. But being in a manner spent, and his age not able to bear such misery long, he was with great difficulty taken away, and being conveyed by some of the brethren into a better place, he expired among them on the calends of February the same year 1643-4. By his death, concludes this writer, the Roman catholics lost a pillar of their church, being esteemed, in the better part of his life, a great ornament among them, and the greatest defender of their religion in his time. Besides the pieces already mentioned, he wrote ‘A Justification and Exposition of the Sacrifice of the Mass,’ in two books, or more, printed in 1611, 4to. And ‘*Bri-tannomachia*

*tannomachia ministrorum in plerisque et fidei fundamentis et fidei articulis dissidentium.* Duac. 1614. 4to. As also a third piece, which was 'A Catalogue of the Irish Saints.'

The next year, 1600, Mr. Usher proceeded A. M. was appointed proctor, and chosen catechetical lecturer of the university. In 1601, he entered into holy orders, and was in a little time appointed afternoon preacher on Sundays before the state at Christ church in Dublin. In the course of this duty, he preached a remarkable sermon against granting a toleration to the papists. The text was from Ezekiel iv. 6: *And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year*, which he applied to Ireland. "From this year (says he) I reckon forty years, and them whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." This conjecture at that time seemed to be the present thought of a young man who was no friend to popery; but when the Irish rebellion broke out in 1641, and so many thousand protestants were killed, and the whole nation harassed by a bloody war, some persons then alive, who heard this sermon, began to think the preacher a young prophet. Our Author was remarkable in some other such predictions, insomuch that there is a treatise extant, *de prædictionibus Usserii*. Dr. Smith has thought proper (how judiciously I refer to others) to censure these surmises of our Author as proceeding from a vain humour to dive into the mystical sense of Scripture, and an idle pretence of being endued with a prophetic spirit. But such kind of predictions being only a judicious conjecture and foresight, it seems more to the purpose of his character, that, in this passage of his sermon, he put the non-toleration of popery upon the intolerant persecuting spirit of that religion, dissuading a toleration thereof upon reasons of danger to the state, and not solely upon its idolatry. The use of this will appear presently.

In 1603, a collection of eighteen hundred pounds being made to buy books for his college library, he was pitched upon, with Dr. Chaloner, to execute that trust. The money was raised by the English army, after having defeated the Spaniards that had come to the assistance of the Irish at Kingsale: And it was resolved by the benefactors that these two should be employed to buy the books. They discharged the trust to the satisfaction of the donors and the whole college. Our Author always testified the greatest regard for the benefit of the college in every point, as is evident from many of his letters.

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He was vice-chancellor several years, and frequently corresponded with Abbot and Laud, the two succeeding chancellors. Mr. Usher's diligence in buying books for his college library brought him into England, where he became acquainted with Sir Thomas Bodley, who being then upon the like employ for his new-erected library at Oxford, they mutually assisted each other. But it seems to have been during his absence upon this occasion that his mother was reconciled to the Romish religion, a misfortune which gave him the most afflicting concern, and the more as she continued obstinate therein to the last, dying at Drogheda in the communion of that church. The same writer observes, that her father, the recorder, though outwardly a conformist to the new religion after its establishment by Queen Elizabeth, yet still retained his old affection for popery, as appears from his supporting first in his own house Edmund Campian, afterwards the famous jesuit, then a refugee from England, and in the next place recommending him to a friend in the country, where he might be secure from the danger of being seized and brought to justice for treasonable practices, in drawing her majesty's subjects from their allegiance. The recorder took care however to manage so prudently, as to give no umbrage to the government, and by that means continued unmolested in his post.

In 1606, the like business of purchasing books and manuscripts relating to the English history (in which study our Author was then engaged) brought him again into England. He now contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with several learned men, and among others, Sir Robert Cotton, Thomas Allen of Oxford, and Mr. Camden, which last designing a new edition of his *Britannia*, consulted with him about publishing *Ninias*, *St. Patrick*, and *Congal*, and other things relating to the ancient state of Ireland and the city of Dublin, a great part of the answers to which were inserted in the edition of the *Britannia* published in 1607, with this elogy of our Author: "For many of these things concerning Dublin, I acknowledge myself indebted to the diligence and labour of James Usher, chancellor of the church of *St. Patrick*, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years." The following year, 1607, he proceeded bachelor of divinity, and was chosen professor of that faculty in his college. He was also promoted to the chancellorship of the cathedral of *St. Patrick* the same year. This place was conferred upon him by Dr. Adam

Loftus,

Loftus, then Archbishop of Dublin. It was his first ecclesiastical preferment; he had no other till his promotion to the bishopric of Meath. Dr. Parr observes, that though he had no particular obligation by this post to preach; yet he would not omit it in the place whence he received the profits, viz. Finlass, not far from Dublin, which he endowed with a vicarage, and preached there every Sunday, unless hindered by very extraordinary occasions. In 1609, he wrote his treatise about "Hermage and Corban Lands," not only in Ireland, but in England, whither he came a third time this year to buy books, and consult manuscripts upon the subject of history and antiquities. In which search he visited among others, the libraries in both the universities, and contracted an acquaintance with most of the literati in that way here. Among these were Henry Bouchier, afterwards Earl of Bath, Sir Henry Saville, Henry Briggs, John Selden, John Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, afterwards master of Sidney college in Cambridge, and lastly, Thomas Lydiat, famous for his chronological writings against Joseph Scaliger, and being now much reduced in his fortune, the archbishop carried him to Ireland, where he afterwards married his Grace's sister.

In the same manner he continued ever after to make once in three or four years a visit to London, passing one month of his stay in the summer at Oxford, and another at Cambridge. Thus eager in the pursuit of knowledge, he declined the provostship of his college, to which he was elected in 1610. Two years afterwards he commenced D. D. and the next year, 1613, being at London, he published his first treatise, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu*; it was presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James, as the eminent first-fruits of Dublin university. This piece is a continuation of Bishop Jewel's Apology, written in answer to that captious question of the papists, *Where was your [protestant] religion before Luther?* The design therefore is to prove, that the Protestant tenets are the same with those of the primitive church, in executing which Jewel shews, that there also were some visible members of this church down to the sixth century, which is here extended to the thirteenth by our Author, who farther proves that there were some persons in the western churches, during the darkest times of ignorance, not tainted with the errors of the Romish faith. It is divided into three parts: The first reaches to the tenth century, when Gregory VII. was raised to the pope-  
dom.

dom. The second was to have reached from that period to the year 1370. And the third was planned to bring it to the reformation. How far he had brought it in this edition, is seen in the following extract of a letter written to his brother-in-law, Thomas Lydiat, dated at Dublin, August 16, 1619. "You have rightly observed, says he, that in my discourse, *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum Successione et Statu*, there is wanting, for the accomplishment of the second part, a hundred years, [from 1240 to 1370, viz. the last chapter of this part] which default in the continuation of the work is by me supplied. I purpose to publish the whole work together, much augmented, but do first expect the publication of my uncle Stanihurst's answer to the former, which, I hear, since his death, is sent to Paris to be there printed. I am advertised also, that even now there is one at Antwerp who hath printed a treatise of my countryman, *De sacro Bosco, De veræ Ecclesiæ investigatione*, wherein he hath some dealing with me: Both these I would willingly see, before I set about reprinting my book, meaning, that if they have justly found fault with any thing, I may amend it; if unjustly, I may defend it." We have already shewn what reason he had to expect the answer here mentioned from his uncle; but that was never published, nor did our Author publish any other edition of his work, as he here purposed; probably prevented by the distraction of the times. It was reprinted at Hanover in 1658, 8vo. without any amendments. In the last edition of 1687, containing likewise his *Antiquity of the British Churches*, are these words in the title page: *Opus integrum ab Auctore auctum et recognitum*, which Dr. Smith observes was a mere puff of the bookseller.

Returning home a little before Midsummer, he married Phœbe, the only daughter of Dr. Luke Chaloner above-mentioned. This gentleman was descended from the ancient family of the Chaloners in Yorkshire. He was one of the four first fellows of the college of Dublin, and had been a great assister and benefactor to it, having been appointed overseer of the building, and treasurer for the money raised for that purpose, and was both a learned and pious man. In all these respects Dr. Usher must needs be very agreeable to him; and we are assured that he courted this alliance, intending, had he lived, to have given this friend his only daughter, with a considerable estate in land and money; but dying before it was concluded, he charged her upon his death-bed, that, if Dr.

Usher

Usher would marry her, she should think of no other person for a husband; which command of her dying father she punctually obeyed, and continued his wife forty years, and was always treated by him with great tenderness to her death, which preceded his about a year and a half. In 1615, he drew up articles of religion for the church of Ireland; which being ENTIRELY CALVINISTICAL\*, in respect to the doctrine of absolute predestination and reprobation, a handle was made of this step to endeavour the ruin of his interest with King James, by representing him as inclined to puritanism; but the impotent malice turned (as is not unusual in such cases) greatly to his advantage †. For coming, as his custom  
was,

\* Moranez, in his *Anti-Jansenius*, calls him *insignem Calvinistam*, and affirms, that *Jansenius* (the head of a sect in France) was obliged to him for his arguments, word for word, and yet was so unjust as to mention neither him nor his book *Gotteschalci historia*, out of which he framed his opinions.

† Among those articles which amount to the number of one hundred and four, besides asserting the doctrine of predestination and reprobation in the strongest terms, one of them professes that there is but one catholic church, out of which there is no salvation; and another maintains that the Sabbath day ought to be kept holy. Upon these accounts, Dr. Heylin called the passing of these articles an absolute plot of the Sabbatarians and Calvinists in England, to make themselves so strong a party in Ireland as to obtain what they pleased in this convocation. Our Author was well known to be a strong assertor of the predestinarian principles, and being besides of opinion, that episcopacy was not a distinct order, but only a different degree from that of presbyters, he lay obnoxious enough to the charge of puritanism. However, as he always warmly asserted the king's supremacy, and the episcopal form of church-government established, and all the discipline of it, it is evident that all the objections to him, as inclined to puritanism, were the effect of party, the church beginning about this time to be divided between the Calvinistic and Arminian principles, upon the quinquarticular controversy. Dr. Parr tells us, his enemies were of no great repute for learning and worth; and that our Author, hearing of their attempts to rivet him out of his majesty's favour, procured the following letter from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland to the privy-council in England:

‘ May it please your Lordships,

‘ THE extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr. Doctor Usher, prevailed with us to offer that favour (which we deny to many that move us) to be recommended to your Lordships; and we do it the rather, because we are desirous to set him right in his majesty's opinion, who, it seemeth, hath been informed, that he is somewhat transported with singularities, and unaptness to be conformable to the rules and orders of the church. We are so far from suspecting him in that kind, that we may be bold to recommend him to your Lordships as a man orthodox.

was, to England, in the latter end of the year 1619, he brought a letter to the privy-council to clear him of that charge; and he afterwards gave the king, in discourse, such entire satisfaction in the point, that the bishopric of Meath being then vacant, his majesty of his own accord nominated him thereto in 1620; soon after which, he preached before the House of Commons \*, on February 20, that year, and printed his sermon at their request. He was consecrated to his see on his return home the following year. In 1622, he published, at Dublin, his treatise concerning 'The Religion of the ancient Irish and Britons. And in October the same year, upon Lord Falkland's receiving the sword as Lord Deputy of Ireland, our prelate preached

and worthy to govern in the church, when occasion shall be presented, and his majesty may be pleased to advance him, he being one that hath preached before the state here for eighteen years, and hath been his majesty's professor of divinity, in the university, thirteen years; and a man who has given himself over to his profession. An excellent and painful preacher, a modest man, abounding in goodness; and his life and doctrine so agreeable, as those who agree not with him are yet constrained to love and admire him. And for such a one we beseech your Lordships to understand him, and accordingly to speak to his majesty. And thus, with remembrance of our humble duties, we take leave of your Lordships, most humbly at command. From Dublin, the last of September, 1619. Adam Loftus, Chancellor; Henry Docwra; William Metherwold; John King; Dudley Norton; Oliver St. John; William Tuamensis; Francis Axingiers.'

Upon this letter the king sent for him; and, after much conversation upon the subject, declared his satisfaction in the Doctor, by saying, that the 'Knave Puritan was a bad man, but the knave's puritan was an honest man.'

\* Upon his appointment to preach on the seventh of February, the prebendaries of Westminster Abbey claimed the privilege of their church, and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for many years, and offered their service; whereupon the House being displeased, appointed the place to be at the Temple, and he was ordered a second time to preach before them. And secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the house, spoke to the king that the choice of their preacher might stand. The king said it was well done. February 13th, the bishop was at court, kissed the king's hand, and had a conference with him upon his sermon: When his majesty told him he had an unruly flock to look after next Sunday, observed that the house were in no proper temper for receiving the sacrament; that after the late contentions many might eat their own condemnation. He bid the bishop tell them he hoped they were prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and country, to look to the urgent necessity of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom; concluding with *bis dat qui cito dat*. February 27th, the House sent Sir James Perrot and Mr. Drake to give him thanks, and desire him to publish his sermon, which was done accordingly.

preached a sermon before him, which gave great offence.\* But at the censuring some officers, on the twenty-second of November, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, he made a speech in the castle of Dublin in defence of that supremacy, for which he received a letter of thanks from his majesty †. In June 1623, he was constituted a privy-

\* We have an account of this by himself in a letter to Lord Grandison from Dublin, October 16, 1622, wherein he acquaints that nobleman (late Lord Deputy) that, taking his text in Rom xiii. *He beareth not the sword in vain*, he expressed his wishes, that if his majesty were pleased to extend his clemency towards his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not give us public affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. "I also intreated, continues he, that, whatever connivance were used to others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as had revolted from us." Upon this a report was raised that he had said, "The sword had rested too long in the sheath." But the reason of this address to Lord Grandison was what some gave out, that he had taxed his Lordship with being too remiss in prosecuting the papists during his government, which he here expressly denies. However that be, it is certain he fell under the displeasure of his metropolitan, Dr. Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, who wrote him the following letter:

‘ My Lord,

‘ In the exceptions taken by the recusants against your sermon, I cannot be affected, as Gallio was at the beating of Sosthenes, to take nothing for them. I am sensible of that which my brethren suffer: And, if my advice had been required, I should have counselled your Lordship to give lenitives, of your own accord, for all which was conceived over-harsh or sharp. The inquisition, whether an offence were given or taken, may add to the flame already kindled, and provoke further displeasure; it is not like to pacify an ear. But let your case be as good as Peter’s was, when the brethren charged him injuriously with preaching to the uncircumcised, the great apostle was content to give them a public satisfaction, Acts ii. and it wrought good effects; for the text says, *his auditors, quieverunt et glorificaverunt Deum*, it brought peace to the congregation, and glory to God. My noble Lord Deputy hath propounded a way of pacification, that your Lordship should satisfy such of the Lords as could be present, wherein my poor endeavours shall not be wanting. Howbeit (to say ingenuously as I think) that is not likely to have success; for my Lord of Kilkenny and your other friends, trying their strength in that kind at Trim, prevailed not, but can tell your Lordship what is expected. And if my wishes can take place, seeing so many men having something against you, tarry not till they complain, but prevent it by a voluntary retraction, and milder interpretation of the points offensive, especially of drawing the sword, of which spirit we are not, nor ought to be; our weapons are not carnal, but spiritual. Withal, it will not be amiss, in mine opinion, for your Lordship to withdraw yourself from these parts, and to spend more time in your own diocese, that such as will not hear your doctrine may be drawn to love and reverence your Lordship for your hospitality and conversation.’

† This speech is too long to be inserted here, and contains nothing more than the common arguments. However, it had so good an effect, that

privy-counsellor of Ireland, and went not long after to England, by his majesty's special command, in order to carry on a work, which he had begun some time before, concerning the antiquity of the British churches. This business keeping him there till the death of Dr. Cristopher Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, in January 1624, made way for his advancement to that see, upon which occasion he prepared to return to Ireland; but being seized with a quartan ague, which held him nine months, it was August 1626, when he arrived there. Before he left England, he had a disputation with a popish priest at Drayton in Northamptonshire, the seat of Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, who thereby became a convert to the protestant religion. He was scarce recovered from his ague, when Lord Mordaunt, a zealous Roman catholic, being greatly desirous to bring his lady into the pale of that church, concluded, that there could be no better or more certain way of bringing it about, than to procure a disputation to be held between two learned and principal persons, one of each side, at which his lady should be present. In that resolution he chose, for the champion of his own cause, the jesuit Beaumont, whose true name was Rookwood, being brother to that Rookwood who was executed for the gunpowder treason. Against this antagonist Lady Peterborough chose our Primate, who, notwithstanding his health was not sufficiently confirmed to engage in such a task, yet from the ardent zeal for the reformed doctrine, with which he was constantly animated, and to save a soul from falling into the wiles of an artful jesuit, he did not refuse to comply with her ladyship's request. The place appointed for holding the disputation was my Lord's seat at Drayton in Northamptonshire, a place very proper for the business, as being furnished with a most copious library of the writings of all the ancient fathers of the church, which were ready at hand, if it should happen (which is ordinarily the case) that any of them should be referred to in the engagement. The heads of the dispute were agreed to be upon transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, of images, and the perpetual

that several of the offenders being satisfied they might lawfully take the oath of supremacy, did thereby avoid the sentence of *Pæmunire*, then ready to be pronounced against them. It must be observed, that there had been a synodical meeting (as it is called) of the popish clergy, together with some common lawyers, and monks of the Cistercian, Franciscan, and Jesuit orders, wherein a decree was made, declaring the absolute unlawfulness of taking this oath of supremacy.

perpetual visibility of the church. After it had been held for three days, five hours each day, in which our Primate sustained the part of respondent, that office for the fourth day lay upon Beaumont, according to the regulation settled by himself. But no jesuit then appeared. On the contrary, he sent a letter to the baron, with an excuse for the default, alleging, ‘ That all the arguments which he had formed had slipt out of his memory, nor was he able by any effort to recollect them, imputing the cause of the misfortune to a just judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of his own accord, without the licence of his superiors, to engage in a dispute with a person of so great eminence and learning as the Primate.’ Such a shameful tergiversation sunk deeply into the mind of Lord Mordaunt, so that, after some conferences with the Primate, he renounced popery, and continued in the profession of the protestant faith to the end of his life.

This account is given in the life of our Archbishop by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, who says he had it from an eye and ear-witness. And it is in a great measure confirmed by the reproach thrown upon Beaumont by Chaloner, a secular priest, who in a piece wrote against the jesuit, ‘ admonishes him to beware of Drayton House, lest he should there chance to light upon another Usher, and be again put to flight, to the great disgrace both of himself and his profession.’ As to the Primate, the eminent service done by this disputation to Lady Peterborough could not but be very sensibly felt by her; and that it was so, she gave his Grace sufficient proofs in that extraordinary kindness and respect which she shewed to him all his life after. King James granted him the temporalities of the archbishopric, notwithstanding his absence, and he was ordered four hundred pounds sterling out of the revenues of Ireland, by King Charles I. not long after his accession to the throne. Being now at the head of the Irish church, he omitted nothing which might either reform the abuses, or relieve the wants of it, both in regard to doctrine and discipline. For that purpose he made frequent personal visitations, admonishing those of the clergy whom he found faulty, and giving excellent advice and directions to the rest, charging them to use the liturgy of the church in all public administrations, and to preach and catechize diligently in their respective cures, and to make the holy Scriptures the rule as well as the subject of their doctrine and sermons. He also endeavoured

voured to reform the proctors, apparitors, and other officers of the ecclesiastical courts, where there were many great complaints of abuses and exactions in his predecessor's time, keeping a watchful eye to defeat the restless endeavours of its nearest and most dangerous enemies, the papists. In this spirit, he opposed vigorously a design which was set on foot by them in the winter after his arrival, for granting a more full toleration to them.\* At the

\* The propositions to which the papists offered to consent, in case of a more full toleration, were, to pay their quota towards maintaining five hundred horse and five thousand foot soldiers: Upon which occasion a general assembly of the nation, both protestants and papists, was called, by the then Lord Deputy Falkland, in the hall of the Castle of Dublin. The bishops, by the Lord Primate's invitation, met first at his house, where a protestation was drawn up in form, importing, that the popish religion being superstitious and idolatrous, a full toleration of it would be sinful, and moreover a matter of most dangerous consequence. This paper was signed by our Archbishop at the head of eleven prelates, one of whom (the Bishop of Derry) at the next meeting of the assembly, April 23, 1627, published it at Christ Church before the Lord Deputy and Council in the middle of his sermon, wherein he declared warmly against the toleration; in which he was seconded by the Primate, in a sermon preached the Sunday following, before the same auditory. Hereupon other resolutions were taken. Mr. Bayle having transcribed Bates's account of this proceeding of the bishops, makes the following remark: 'I am to observe, that our Archbishop and his suffragans acted according to the principles of those who are the most rigid enemies to toleration, they not grounding their declaration upon political reasons, like moderate men of that party, but only on the nature of the worship in the popish communion, without once mentioning its persecuting spirit, which is the only reason why even such as favour toleration suppose that it ought not to be tolerated.' To pass by this critic's rash assertion, that the favourers of toleration ground their opinion of exempting popery only upon account of its persecuting spirit, the contrary of which is notoriously evident in our famous poet, Milton, who gives the very same reason for denying a toleration to popery with our Archbishop, viz. *its idolatry*. It will be sufficient to represent the true state of the case with respect to the Primate's conduct, which probably was unknown to Bayle. The papists, here understood by the Irish bishops' protestation, were such as either descended of the race of the ancient English, or such as held their estates from the crown, who being generally loyal subjects to his majesty, thereupon took this occasion to propose the suspension of the laws against recusants. This raised a murmur among several of the protestants, for whose satisfaction it might be very necessary for the bishops to make the afore-mentioned declaration. But that the Primate had no such spirit of intolercancy as is here intimated by his accuser, is evident from what followed, which was, That the protestants, refusing to contribute their quota to the support of a standing army, were assured that the laws against recusants should remain in full force; and that if the papists, on the other hand, would give nothing without such a suspension, they might perhaps agree that the condition of the kingdom required some standing forces. It was resolved therefore, by the Lord Deputy and Council, that the Primate should, in regard of his great esteem with all parties, declare, in a  
speech

the same time observing the daily growth and increase of Arminianism, which was looked on by him as a very dangerous doctrine, he employed some time in searching into the original of the predestinarian controversy, and meeting with a curiosity upon that subject, he published it in 1631, at Dublin, in 4to. it is entitled, *Goteschalci et predestinarianæ Controversiæ ab Eo motæ historia*. Our Author had begun twelve years before to make collections for a history of predestinarianism; but, upon the coming out of that history by Vossius, he dropped his design of publishing any thing of it except these written by Goteschale himself, which were not mentioned by Vossius, and had never been printed. He had procured them out of Corbey Abbey in France. Thus he writes to Dr. Ward, who had assisted him about the same time with some observations touching the nickname of the predes-

speech to the whole assembly, the true state of the kingdom, and the necessity of a standing army for the defence thereof against any foreign invasions or intestine commotions; and consequently, that a competent supply was needful for that purpose, and to be raised, without any condition whatsoever, as well by the Roman catholic as protestant subjects. The speech is too long to be inserted here, though it is an exquisite proof of his Lordship's abilities in matters of state; and being transmitted by the desire of the Lord Deputy to the King, was well approved by him. The following passage in it is apparently a full vindication of the Archbishop against Bayle's accusation of a persecuting spirit. 'Where the burden is borne, says he, in common, and the aid required to be given to the prince by his subjects of different judgments in religion, it stands not with the ground of common reason, that such a condition should be annexed unto the gift, as must of necessity deter the one party from giving at all upon such terms as are repugnant to their consciences: As therefore, on the one hand, if we desire that the recusants should join with us in granting a common aid, we should not put in the condition of executing the statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto: so, on the other hand, if they would have us to join with them in the same contribution, they should not require the condition of suspending the statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his majesty, without all manner of conditions that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own sacred breast how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his favour; of whose lenity, in forbearing to execute the statute, our recusants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy.' The inference from this argument is obvious: That though it could not consist with a conscientious regard for the safety of the true religion, to consent that popery, as being idolatrous, should have the sanction of a law to warrant the exercise of it, yet he expressly approves his majesty's lenity in forbearing to restrain that exercise, except where the safety of the public, and thence of the established religion therewith, makes it necessary. In short, he is for keeping the rod in his hands, but to use it sparingly against them. Is not this the principle which is universally maintained at this day by the discreetest favourers of toleration?

predestinarians, imposed by the semi-pelagians on the followers of St. Austin. He published also another in 1632. concerning the ancient Irish church. The title of this piece is, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge*, containing a choice collection of letters out of severl ancient manuscripts, and other authors, to and from Irish bishops and monks, from anno 592 to 1180, concerning the affairs of the Irish church; which shew the great esteem, as well for learning as piety, in which the bishops and clergy of that church were held both at Rome, France, England, and elsewhere: With several matters relating to the great controversies of those times about the keeping of Easter, and also every thing relating to the ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction of the church of that kingdom.

This year he was likewise employed in recovering several lands belonging to his own diocese, in which he was assisted by Archbishop Laud. From the time that Lord Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, held the post of Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Archbishop left no means untried to improve the revenues of that church in general,\* having for the

\* A remarkable instance of this appears in the warmth with which he opposed a patent granted to Sir John Bathe of three hundred pounds *per annum*, at this time to be paid out of the impropriations. The Primate having given orders to stop his patent, received a letter from the Lords Justices, desiring him to declare his motives for it. In answer to which he expresses himself in these very warm terms:—"I can not nor need not produce any other reason than that which I have done, and for the maintainance of the sufficiency whereof I will adventure all I am worth, namely, that, for the particular grant now in question, Sir John Bathe's letter hath been gotten from his majesty by mere surreption, and therefore no patent ought to be passed thereupon. For though I easily grant, that my Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer might certify unto his Majesty, that there was no other thing to be passed here but impropriations, though Sir John Bathe, I think, hath found already somewhat else to be passed in his books, and may do more, if he will not be too hasty, but take time to enquire: yet how does it appear, that either of these two noble gentlemen did as much as know that his Majesty had taken a former order for the settlement of these things upon the church, to which resolution had they been privy, I do so presume of their nobleness and care of the public good, that the remittal of a matter of two thousand pounds, would not induce them to divert his Majesty from making good that precious donation, which, by the example of his father of never-dying memory, he had solemnly devoted to God and his church: such an eximious act of piety as is not to be countervailed with two thousand pounds or twenty thousand pounds of any earthly treasure. But whatsoever they knew, or knew not, of his majesty's own pious resolution, and constant purpose never to revoke that which he hath once given unto God, I rest so confident, as I dare pawn my life upon

the use of it some years before obtained a grant from his Majesty of such impropriations belonging to the Crown as were then leased out, as soon as they should fall. In 1634, a little before the meeting of the Parliament, he preserved the right of his see to the primacy against the attempts of the Archbishop of Dublin, who challenged it, in consequence of which his precedency to the Lord Chancellor was obtained at the same time. The convocation meeting, together with the parliament, he had the principal hand in composing and establishing the Irish canons, in which the liberties of that church were maintained by him against Dr. Bramhall, then Bishop of Londonderry. Bishop Bramhall proposed to have the canons of the Church of England established for that of Ireland, without any alteration whatsoever. This was thought something prejudicial to the liberties of the Irish church; whereupon it was concluded that the church of Ireland should not be tied to that book, but that such canons should be selected out of the same, and such others added, as the present convocation should think fit, which was accordingly done, as appears from the view of each. It is more than probable that Bishop Bramhall was influenced by Archbishop Laud, who, upon passing these canons, wrote thus to Usher: ‘ For your canons, to speak truth, and with liberty and freedom, though I cannot but think  
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upon it, that, when he did sign those letters of Sir John Bathe's, he had not the least intimation given unto him, that this did any way cross that former gift, which he made unto the church upon so great and mature deliberation; as being grounded upon the advice first of the Commissioners sent into Ireland, then of the Lords of the Council upon their report in England; thirdly, of King James, that ever blessed father of the church; and lastly, of the Commissioners for Irish affairs, unto whom, for the last conclusion and debating of this business, I was by his now Majesty referred myself at my being in England ”

But it appears, by Bishop Laud's answer, that the seal was put to Sir John Bathe's grant in April before, of which doctrine, says that Prelate, you may make this use, what close conveyance and carriage there may be when the church is to be spoiled. Sir John Bathe, to procure this grant, had represented that the clergy had a third part of Ireland in their hands: To set that matter right, our Author had been at the pains of procuring a rental of all the revenues of the bishoprics and deaneries, which he sent to Bishop Laud. It appears also by a letter of Usher to Laud, that the former was made by His Majesty guardian of spiritualities for the Irish church; and in the same letter, recommending his nephew Mr. Usher to the provostship of Trinity college, he has this expression: “ I would rather lose my life than not to answer the trust reposed in me by my Sovereign.” Upon the whole, it appears by these letters, that he perfectly concurred with Laud in promoting the honour, power, wealth, and revenues of the hierarchy; so far was he from giving way to a spirit of puritanism.

the English canons entire, (especially with some amendments) would have done better, yet since you and that church have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it.' His Grace afterwards writes thus: 'As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that very well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely; and God forbid you should upon any occasion roll back upon your former controversy about the articles.' To explain his Lordship's meaning, it must be observed, that those canons of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England were received, and declared to be the confession of the faith of the Church of Ireland, to which every clergyman was obliged to subscribe. Upon which Dr. Heylin asserted, that the Irish articles of 1615 above-mentioned were now repealed. But he recalled this error when he found (the truth) that the Irish articles were still retained and confirmed in these very canons. The doctor, indeed, observed, that the inconsistency of the several articles proved the virtual repeal of the Irish ones: yet it is plain that this was not so understood at that time, nor for several years after, since both the Primate and all the rest of the Irish Bishops, at all ordinations, took the subscription of the party ordained to both sets of articles, till the Irish rebellion put a stop to all ordinations. However, since the restoration of King Charles II. a subscription only to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England is required.

All this while he kept a correspondence in all countries for the advancement of learning, whereby, among other things, he had procured in 1634 a very good copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the East, besides one of the Old Testament in Syriac, and other valuable manuscripts. It was one of the first of those Pentateuchs that ever were brought into these western parts of Europe, as Mr. Selden and Dr. Walton acknowledge; and the Syriac Testament was much more perfect than had hitherto been seen in these parts. The other manuscripts were procured by the means of one Mr. Davies, then a merchant at Aleppo. The Archbishop collated the Samaritan with the Hebrew, and marked the differences, after which he intended it for the library of Sir Robert Cotton. But this, as well as the other manuscripts, being borrowed of him by Dr. Walton, and made use of by him in the edition of the Polyglot Bible, were not recovered out of the hands of that Bishop's executors till the year 1686, and are now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. And notwithstanding the

the aforementioned necessary avocations in the discharge of his episcopal office, he prosecuted his studies with indefatigable diligence, the fruits of which appeared in 1638, when he published at Dublin, in 4to. his Emmanuel, or a Treatise on the Incarnation of the Son of God; which was followed by his *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* in the ensuing year. This history contains a most exact account of the British church: From the first planting of Christianity in twenty years after our Saviour's crucifixion, he brings it down both in Britain and Ireland, to the end of the seventh century. The piece was of great service, particularly to Dr. Lloyd and Bishop Stillingfleet, his followers upon the same subject.

In the beginning of 1640, he came into England with his family, intending (as before) to return in a year or two at farthest. Soon after his arrival he went to Oxford for the more convenience of pursuing his studies: But these were unhappily interrupted by the urgent necessity of the times, which put him upon writing some pieces, that were published at Oxford in 1641, on the subject of episcopacy: These were, "1. The Judgment of Dr. Reynolds concerning the original of Episcopacy, defended. 2. The Original of Bishops, or a Chorographical and Historical Disquisition touching the Lydian and Proconsular Asia, and the Seven Metropolitan Churches contained therein." The design of this treatise is to prove, from Acts xix. 17. supported by Rev. ii. 1. and confirmed by ecclesiastical history, that bishops and metropolitans were instituted by the Apostles; meaning only with regard to their superiority in degree; for he did not hold episcopacy to be a superior order to presbytery. He also endeavours to prove, that the Bishop of Ephesus was not only the metropolitan of the Proconsular Asia, but the Primate or Exarch of all the provinces that were comprehended within the compass of the whole Asian diocese; and that he acted suitably to the patriarchal jurisdiction, which was in effect conferred upon him. In the prosecution of the argument, he shews, 1. That the Stars described in the Revelations are the angels of the seven churches. 2. That these angels were the several bishops of those churches, and not the whole college of presbyters. 3. That each of these seven churches was at that time a metropolis. 4. That these bishops were ordained by the Apostles, as constant permanent officers in the church, and so in a sort *jure divino*, not to be dispens-

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ed with except in cases of necessity. These tracts were printed, with others upon the same subject, under the following title: "Certain briefe Treatises, written by diverse learned Men, concerning the ancient and modern Government of the Church, wherein both the primitive Institution of Episcopacy is maintained, and the lawfulness of the Ordination of Protestant Ministers beyond the Seas likewise defended. Oxford, 1641, 4to."

It was about this time also, that he drew up his remarkable treatise concerning the "Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject;"\* and the same year being consulted

\* This tract was not printed till after the Restoration, when it came out with a remarkable preface by Bishop Sanderson. It is too well known to need any comment here. We shall only take notice, that Dr. Parr seems to have had this book in his eye, where he tells us, "That, after the sitting of the Long Parliament, the Primate made it his business, as well by preaching as writing, to exhort them to loyalty and obedience to their prince, endeavouring to the utmost of his power to heal up those breaches, and reconcile those differences that were ready to break out both in church and state. The book was wrote by the King's command, but forborne then to be published, because of the increasing violence of the times." And if we may believe the before-mentioned writer of the Archbishop's life, the reason of his not doing it during the time of the Usurper, was, an apprehension that either his adherents or others might interpret it to his advantage. It was published by his Grace's grandson, James Tyrrel, Esq. in 1661. Bishop Sanderson observes, that in it every thing may be found which can be met with either in the Holy Scriptures, fathers, philosophers, common reason, and the laws and statutes of the realm, to prove it altogether unlawful for a subject to take up arms against his Sovereign Prince, and is also there made use of to the greatest advantage. Dr. Parr has given his Grace's answers to several queries proposed to him while he was at Oxford concerning this matter, in one of which he gives the following rule for obeying extrajudicial precepts of His Majesty: "If they be such (says he) as command me to be active in doing that which is unjust by the known law of the land, he yields true obedience that denies to fulfill such a command: Only this must not be generally pronounced as a rule in time of war, where necessity will be in many things a stronger law than that which is fixed for a peaceful government. But if they be any of such commands as make me only passive in requiring some of my estate by a loan or tax, I may not hastily square with my Sovereign by denial and standing out: For any man, as he may recede from his right, and that which is his own, so ought he not to contest with his Sovereign upon matters of no very great moment. As for the infringing the liberties of the subject, such taxes or loans, or any other extrajudicial commands, must be general, extending to all or most subjects, and customary, being often imposed before they can be judged so immediately to infringe the subject's liberties, as to make a subject think he is bound to deny." Hence it appears, that the Archbishop knew how to distinguish between unlimited passive obedience and legal resistance. He held every means for defending and maintaining the liberties of the subject lawful, except that of taking up arms against him: But all attempts of that kind, either by  
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consulted by the king in the Earl of Strafford's affair, he gave his opinion against his majesty's signing the bill

open violence or secret machinations, he absolutely condemned, as built apparently upon popish principles, which he took all proper occasions to expose. In that spirit we find him preaching a remarkable sermon in St. Mary's church at Oxford, before the university, on the fifth of November this same year, 1641. One Ralph Buckland, a popish priest, had published two tracts in 12mo. entitled, 1. Seven Sparks of the enkindled Soul. 2. Four Lamentations, which, composed in the hard times of Queen Elizabeth, may be used at all times when the church happeneth to be extremely persecuted: Drawn out of the Holy Scriptures after the form of Psalms. To these was subjoined a Jesus Psalter. Where or when these were printed is not mentioned in the title page. However, that it was after the accession of King James I. to the crown of England, appears in the first psalm, p. 12. thus: 'By the hand of thy great servant, James, shake off our yoke, that we may find him an honourable comforter.—Beautify him with a name more precious than his crown; by the true name of a good king, &c.' Our Primate having procured a copy of these pious pieces, took occasion in the sermon just mentioned, to observe, that the said tracts having been printed at Rome in 1603, or thereabouts, the gunpowder-treason, which was not discovered till 1605 in England, was known two years before at Rome, where these two tracts were printed in 1603, or thereabouts; and that prayers were sent up there at the same time for the prosperous success of the said treasonable plot, which was evident from several passages in these tracts, which he read before his audience, as follows: Psal. ii. p. 25. 'Confirm their hearts in hope, for the redemption is not far off. The year of visitation draweth to an end: And jubilation is at hand.' Psal. ii. p. 32. 'But the memory of novelties shall perish with a crack: As a ruinous house falling to the ground.' Ibid. p. 33. 'He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond the furnace, &c. His fury shall fly forth as thunder.' Psal. iv. p. 54. 'The crack was heard into all lands; and made nations quake for fear.' Ibid. p. 66. 'In a moment caust thou crush her bones, &c.' But we must not omit the remarks made hereupon by Mr. Wood, who having informed us, that all these passages delivered from the pulpit by our learned and godly Archbishop were then generally believed, proceeds thus: 'I must make bold to tell the reader, being an eager pursuer of truth, that by the several copies of the said books which I have seen, it doth not appear at all that they were printed at Rome, or where else: And if it may really be guessed by the make or mould of the letter wherewith they were printed, I should rather take them (as one or more doctors of the university do the like) to have been printed either at Rheims or Doway, or not unlikely at Antwerp: For at Rome there were seldom before that time, then, or since, such fine or clear letters used, as by multitudes of books which I have seen, that were printed at that place, appears; nor indeed ever were, or are, any English books printed there.' This most diligently inquisitive writer furnishes us, pursuant to the plan of his work, with an account of the author, Ralph Buckland, who, he says, was an esquire's son, born and descended from an ancient genteel family of his name at West Harptree in Somersetshire, became a commoner of Magdalen college, Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1579, aged fifteen or thereabouts; but, before he took a degree, went to London, and studied the common law. At length,

bill \* for attainting that nobleman. In the rebellion which broke out this year in Ireland, the popish party  
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length, being inflamed with a love to the Roman catholic religion, he left his parents, country, and the prospect of a fair inheritance (for he was the first heir to his father) and went forthwith (by the instigation, without doubt, of some priest) to the English college at Rheims; in which place and at Rome, he spent about seven years, in the eager obtaining of knowledge in philosophy and divinity. Afterwards being made priest, and sent into the mission of England, lived chiefly, I presume, in his own country, and spent above twenty years in doing offices belonging to his profession.' Then follows an account of his writings, beginning with the two tracts above-mentioned, which he calls, 'Two little things that contain ejaculations very full of most fervent devotion, for the reconciliation of England and Scotland to the Romish church.' The next piece is, 'An embassy from heaven, wherein our Lord Christ giveth to understand his indignation against all such as, being catholicly minded, dare yield their presence to the rites and public prayers of the malignant church,' in 8vo. without date of time or place. He also translated from Latin into English, a book, entitled, '*De Persecutione Vandelica*, lib. iii.' written in Latin by Victor, Bishop of Biserte or Benserte, in Africa. Also the six tomes of Laur. Surius, *De vitis Sanctorum*. After this the conclusion follows in these terms: 'What else our zealous Author hath written and translated I find not as yet, nor any thing else of him, only that he, dying in 1611, was buried, I presume, in his own country, near to the graves of his ancestors, who were all zealous Roman catholics, but since not. He left behind him, among the brethren, the character of a most pious and seraphical person, a person who went beyond all of his time for fervent devotion.' We have transcribed this article of Buckland, in Mr. Wood's own words, because it is a remarkable instance of the truth of Bishop Burnet's charge against the antiquary for his partiality to the Roman catholics.

\* His Grace having been misrepresented in this matter, we shall give a just account of it; and first from Dr. Nicholas Bernard's funeral sermon, in the preface to which he declares he had the account from the Primate himself in writing, as follows: "That Sunday morning wherein the king consulted the four bishops (of London, Durham, Lincoln. and Carlisle) the Archbishop of Armagh was not present, being then preaching (as he then accustomed every Sunday to do) in the church of Covent-garden; where a message coming unto him from his majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was then, as he saw, employed about God's business, which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the king to understand his pleasure. But the king spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the Lord Strafford's case with the Lords of the Council and the Judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted into his majesty's presence. There the question was again agitated, whether the king in justice might pass the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford; for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all, no man doubting but that the king, without any scruple of conscience, might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of state, in which the bishops were made neither judges nor advisers, did not hinder him.  
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made spoil of all the effects of the Primate, except some furniture in his house at Drogheda, and his library there, which

The whole result therefore of the determination of the bishops was to this effect, that therein the matter of fact and matter of law were to be distinguished. That of matter of fact he himself might make a judgment, having been present at all the proceedings against the Earl, where, if, upon hearing the allegations on the other side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him. But for matter of law, what was treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the judges, whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently between him and his subjects, which gave his majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the judges with him not long before; that, having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular, what point of the Lord Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable, (forasmuch as, upon hearing of the proofs produced, he might in his conscience perhaps find him guiltless of the fact) he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that, upon the whole matter, treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting it was observed, that the Bishop of London spake nothing at all; but the Bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing also into the king's hand, wherein what was contained the rest of his brethren knew not." This account is certainly sufficient to any candid enquirer. But it having been laid to the Primate's charge, that he persuaded the king to sign this bill out of revenge, because the Earl, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, had outwitted him, and made him the instrument, before he was aware, of abrogating the Irish articles of religion, that pretence has been invalidated, as we have already seen, by Dr. Parr, who exposes it smartly enough, observing, 'That if the Primate had any private grudge against the Earl upon this score, he carried it very slyly, insomuch that neither the Earl himself, nor any of his friends, were sensible of it. For (says he) whilst the Earl continued in Ireland, there never was any dispute or unkindness between them, but they parted good friends. The Earl wrote to him after this business, and not long before his going for England, full of kindness and respect. And after the Earl's commitment to the black rod, as also when he was a prisoner in the tower, the Primate frequently visited him, and the Earl was pleased to consult with him in divers matters relating to his defence at his trial. Now, certainly, had the Earl believed that the Primate bore any malice towards him, much more had advised the king to put him to death, (which could not have been well concealed from him) though we may suppose the Earl had so much Christian charity as to forgive so great an injury, yet it is not very likely that he should exercise such a piece of mortification as to chuse him, whom he believed to be the promoter of his death, to prepare him for it, and to be the man to whom he addressed his speech from the scaffold, and whose assistance he desired in that his last extremity.' Dr. Parr likewise assures us, that, in the Primate's extreme illness at St. Donat's Castle in Wales, he asked his Grace, whether he had advised the king to pass the bill against the Earl of Strafford? To which the Primate answered, "I know there is such a thing most wrongfully laid to my charge; for I neither gave nor approved of any such advice, as that the king should assent to the bill against the Earl; but, on the contrary,

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which were conveyed thence to Chester. Thus deprived and plundered, he never more saw his native country, and had the bishopric of Carlisle, lately vacant by the death of Dr. Potter, given him by the king to hold in *commendam*; but the revenues of it were much impaired by the quartering of the Scotch and English armies upon it: Neither did he above once or twice receive the annual pension

told his majesty, that, if he was satisfied, by what he had heard at his trial, that the Earl was not guilty of treason, his majesty ought not in conscience to consent to his condemnation. And thus the king knows well enough, and can clear me, if he pleases." 'Nor was the primate (continues Dr. Parr) mistaken in this: For when, not long after, it was told his majesty at Oxford, that the Archbishop of Arinagh was dead, he spoke to Colonel William Legg and Mr. Kirk, then of the bedchamber, to this effect: 'That he was very sorry for his death,' together with high expressions of his piety and merits. And when one there present replied, 'That he believed he might be so, were it not for his persuading your majesty to consent to the Earl of Strafford's execution.' To which the king in a great passion returned, that it was false; 'For (said he) after the bill was past, the Archbishop came to me, saying, with tears in his eyes, "O Sir! What have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience, and pray God that your majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill;" or words to that effect. Moreover it is certain, that his majesty, the next day after he had signed the bill, and the day before the Earl's execution, pitched upon the Primate as the fittest person to be entrusted with a message of the most interesting nature, to be delivered privately to the Earl. We have a letter written by Mr. Radcliffe to William, Earl of Strafford, (son to the former earl) the contents of which are as follows:

' My Lord,

' SINCE I wrote last to your Lordship, my Lord Primate hath shewed me my Lord Primate Usher's almanack. In the beginning whereof I find written what is contained in the note I here send your Lordship; the contents whereof being the only occasion of this letter, I rest,

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant,

Dublin, Nov. 17, 1666.

' THOMAS RADCLIFFE.'

P. S.

The Lord Primate's note:

" May 11, 1641.

" THE king wisheth me to deliver unto my Lord Stafforde to-morrow, 1. That if the king's life only were hazarded thereby, he would never have given passage unto his death. 2. That the execution, without extreme danger could not be deferred. 3. That he was moved by the Lords for his wife and children, and intended to dispose his whole estate upon them. 4. That if his son be capable, he will take special notice of him for his employment and preferment (which I must tell none but him.) 5. That for Lord Chancellor Lowther and Derry, he stops their proceedings, until they give good reason for their authority. 6. Lord Dillon's ability above all the natives. 7. Earl of Ormond will be Knight of the Garter in his place. 8. Carpenter to be at liberty to look to his estate, or any one he shall appoint to have the care of his children."

pension of four hundred pounds voted to be given him by the parliament, upon their seizing the bishop's land.\*

In 1642, he returned to Oxford, where, besides his close application to study, he preached every Sunday at some of the churches. † The following year he was nominated

\* Dr. Bernard, in his funeral sermon, tells us, that about this time Cardinal Richelieu invited him into France, with the promise of a very noble pension, besides freedom of his religion: And Dr. Parr observes this is not unlikely, (though he never heard his Lordship speak of it) from an instance of the honour that cardinal shewed him, upon receiving a present of his treatise of the "Antiquity of the British churches," by a letter full of kindness and respect, accompanied with a gold medal of considerable value, with his own effigy stamp'd upon it, which, says Dr. Bernard, is still preserved. The same writer also says, that the University of Leyden offered at this time to chuse him their honorary professor; with an increase of the stipend. It is true these facts are somewhat questioned by Dr. Smith, who however does not omit mentioning, that the Primate was invited ten years afterwards by Anne of Austria to that kingdom, but upon what terms he could not tell.

† He had generally a crowded audience, and as he preached frequently at the church of All-hallows, joining to Lincoln college, Thomas Marshall, then a young student of that college, constantly attended his Grace's sermons there, which so exceedingly wrought upon his affections, that he resolv'd from thenceforth to make him the pattern of all the religious and learned studies and conduct of his life, and therefore could never after endure those that should, in their common discourse and writings, reflect in the least on our sacred Prelate. This Dr. Marshall became afterwards an exemplary divine, and an eminent critic in the Gothic and Saxon languages, and on that account challenges some further notice to be taken of him in these memoirs. He was the son of a father of both his names, was born at Barkeby in Leicestershire, educated there in grammar-learning under Francis Foe, vicar of that town, entered a bachelor in Lincoln college in Michaelmas term, 1640, aged nineteen years; and on the thirty first of July, the following year, he was elected one of Robert Trapp's scholars in that house, about which time it was that he became a constant auditor of Archbishop Usher at All-hallows church, the advowson whereof is in that college. Soon after Oxford being garrisoned upon the breaking out of the rebellion, he bore arms therein for his majesty in the regiment of Henry, Earl of Dover, at his own proper costs and charges; and therefore in 1645, when he stood candidate for the degree of bachelor of arts, he was admitted thereto without paying fees. But, upon the approach of the parliamentary visitation, he left the University, crossed the seas, and became preacher to the English merchants at Rotterdam and Dort, in the place of Henry Tozer, deceased. In 1661 he was admitted bachelor of divinity; and four years after, publishing Observations on the Evangelists, did thereby revive the memory of himself so much in his college, that the society chose him fellow thereof without his knowledge or seeking, December 17, 1668. In the year following he proceeded doctor in his faculty, and upon the promotion of Dr. Crew to the see of Oxford, he succeeded that munificent benefactor in the rectory of his college, and was afterwards appointed chaplain in ordinary to his majesty. In the month of May, 1680, he be-

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minated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, but was so far from complying to it, that he even spoke against their authority in some of his sermons; upon which he was not only voted out again, but his library seized by the parliament; yet he met with some friends who redeemed it.\* In 1644, he published, at Oxford, *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ, &c. Quibus præfixa est non de*

came rector of Bladon near Woodflock, in Oxfordshire; and, upon the promotion of Doctor Frampton to the see of Gloucester, he was nominated Dean of that church in January 1680, in which deanery being instaled on the 30th of April 1681, he resigned the rectory of Bladon in February 1682. Neither did he live to enjoy the deanery many years, his death happening suddenly at his lodgings at Lincoln college, early in the morning of the 19th of April, 1685. He was buried in that chancel, commonly called the college chancel, of the church of All-hallows, or All-saints afore-mentioned. By his last will and testament he gave to the public library of the University of Oxford all such of his books, whether manuscripts or printed, that were not then in the said library, except only such as were in his said will otherwise disposed of: and the remaining part to Lincoln college library, that is, such as were not already there at that time. Also he gave to the said college the money that should be raised by the sale of his estate: This amounted to the sum of six hundred pounds and upwards, with which was purchased fourteen pounds *per annum*, a fee-farm rent issuing out of the manor of Little Dean in Gloucestershire, and twelve pounds *per annum*, a rent-charge out of some lands in Brill, in Bucks: Which benefaction is now enjoyed by three scholars of the society. Upon the whole, the Oxford Antiquary does him no more than strict justice, when he records him as a person very well versed in books, a noted critic, especially in the Gothic and English Saxon tongues, a painful preacher, a good man, and a good governor, and one every way worthy of his station in the church. He hath written: 1. *Observationes in Evangeliorum versiones perantiquas duas Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica, &c.* Dordrecht, 1665, in a thick large 4to. 2. The Catechism set forth in the book of Common Prayer, briefly explained by short notes, grounded upon Holy Scripture. Oxford, 1679, 8vo. The short notes were drawn up and composed by our author at the desire and motion of Dr. Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to be used by the ministers of his diocese in catechizing the children of their respective parishes. In other editions, that followed soon after, was added, An Essay of Questions and Answers framed out of the same notes, for the exercise of youth, by the same hand: Which catechism, with the notes and essay, was translated into Welsh by John Williams, a Cambridge scholar, but tutor to a nobleman of Jesus college in Oxford, printed at Oxford, 1682, 8vo. 3. An Epistle for the English reader, prefixed to Dr. Thomas Hyde's translation, into the Malayan language, Of the four Gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Acts of the Apostles. Oxford, 1677, 4to. in a sheet and a half. Dr. Marshall did also take a great deal of pains in completing the life of Primate Usher, published by Dr. Richard Parr, but died before it saw the light.

\* It was seized by the committee of delinquents' estates, and would have been sold by them, had not Dr. Featly, who was then in some fa-

*de Ignatii solum et Polycarpi Scriptis sed etiam de Apostolicis Constitutionibus et Canonibus Clementi Romano attributis* *Dissertatio*: Upon the decline of the King's affairs, Oxford being threatened with a siege, he left that city, and retired to Caerdiff in Wales, to the house of Sir Timothy Tyrrel, who had married his only daughter, and was then Governor of that garrison, and General of the ordnance. Having brought many chests of books with him, he prosecuted his studies here undisturbed for six months, and made a good progress in the first part of his Annals: Till this garrison was unfurnished for the King's service, and his son-in-law obliged to give up his post, and quit the place. In this exigence, he very gladly accepted of an invitation from Lady Dowager Stradling to come to the castle of St. Donate. But in passing thither he unluckily fell into the hands of the mountaineers, who stript him of all his books and papers, which yet were afterwards, in a great measure, recovered by the kindness of the clergy and gentlemen of that country; \* and he met with an excellent

your with them, made interest, by the means of Mr. Selden, to obtain them for his own use, either as a gift or by laying down some money for them, and so got them into his hands, and secured them for the Primate. But several were either embezzled or stolen whilst in their custody. Among others, several papers and collections of his own writing, with all his letters, either to or from his learned friends, which he had left behind him, were then plundered.

\* The mountaineers, just as he was ready to go, got up, to the number of ten thousand, in arms, in a tumultuous manner, and chusing officers, formed themselves into a body, as was pretended, for the King: But they would neither be governed by English commanders, nor suffer any English garrisons in the country. To avoid these men, who lay between Caerdiff and Donate, some persons in Caerdiff, at the request of the governor, undertook to convey him through by-ways; but they unluckily fell into the hands of a straggling party that was scouting thereabouts, who, carrying them to the main body, immediately broke open the Primate's chest of books, &c. and ransacking his manuscripts, and papers of his own writing, these were quickly dispersed into a thousand hands; nor so content, they pulled the Primate and his daughter, and other ladies, from their horses; all which he bore with his usual patience and a seeming unconcernedness; when some of their officers (who were gentlemen of the country) coming in, seemed very much ashamed of this barbarous treatment, and caused their horses and other things to be restored: But the books and papers could not then be retrieved. They afterwards conducted him back to Sir John Aubury's house, not far off, where he was very civilly received, and lodged that night. When he came thither, and had retired himself, 'I must confess,' says Dr. Parr, 'that I never saw him so much troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself said, that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter, and those that endeavoured

cellent library at St. Donate, which he did not neglect to make use of while he was able; but within a month after his arrival he was siezed with a fit of sickness, which reduced him to the last extremity. After his recovery, he went to London by the invitation of the Countess of Peterborough,\* at whose house he arrived in June 1646; and, in the beginning of the next year, was chosen preacher to the society of Lincoln's Inn.† This year he published

voured to comfort him,' " I know that it is God's hand, and that I must endeavour to bear it patiently; though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned; for I am touched in a very tender place; and he has thought fit to take from me, at once, all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, for the advancement of learning and the good of the church." Divers of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to visit him next day; and condoling his loss, promised to do their utmost to retrieve his books and papers, if not torn and burnt, and civilly attended him to St. Donate; and by publishing in the churches every where in those parts, that all who had any such books or papers should bring them to their masters or landlords, there was brought, within two or three months, almost all his books and papers so that we found not many wanting.

\* Before he left Wales, his finances being much reduced by an expensive sickness, as well as by removals, the year past, several gentlemen of the country sent him, unknown to each other, divers considerable sums; so that in a few weeks he had enough to supply all his present occasions, and also to defray the expences of his journey to England. This was considered by him as a particular providence, for which he was very thankful. It is certain the supply was very seasonable; For it now began not to be safe for him to stay at St. Donate. Wherefore Oxford being like to be taken, and not caring willingly to trust himself at London, he re-assumed his former thoughts of passing beyond sea; and, having provided a vessel, had procured a pass for that purpose from the Earl of Warwick, then admiral. But, as they were preparing to go, there came into the road before Caerdiff a squadron of ships under the command of one Moulton, vice-admiral for the parliament. Whereupon the Primate sent his chaplain to him, then on shore at Caerdiff, to know if he would suffer him to go, shewing the pass; which Moulton not only refused to comply with, but said if he could get the Primate into his hands, he would carry him to the parliament, and threatened to send the chaplain immediately to his ship. So that this invitation from Lady Peterborough was exceedingly welcome to the Primate; and having procured passes, he left St. Donate's after almost a year's residence there.

† The society ordered him handsome lodgings, ready furnished; and several rooms for his library, which was about this time brought up from Chester, being almost all the remains of his substance that had escaped the rebels. Mr. (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) Hale was then a bencher of the society, and probably had the chief hand in procuring him this place; and it happened that the society was well rewarded for it by that treasure, lodged in this library by the Lord Chief Justice, in four volumes, which were extracted from the Primate's manuscripts; of which Dr. Parr has subjoined to his life of the Primate a catalogue, consisting of thirty-

published his treatise *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo*, which he followed by his *Dissertatio de Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari*, in the beginning of 1648, 8vo. In this tract, besides fixing the exact time of St. Polycarp's martyrdom, he hath compared the Grecian and Macedonian months with the Julian and other nations; and, having laid down the method and disposition of the Macedonian and Asiatic year, he adds rules for finding out the cycles of the sun and moon, and Easter for ever, with several curious accounts of the celestial motions, according to the ancient Greek astronomers, Melon, Calippus, Eudoxus, and others. To which is annexed an Ephemeris, or entire Greek and Roman calendar for the whole year, with the rising and setting of the stars in that climate.

About this time he was sent for to the Isle of Wight by his Majesty, to assist him in treating with the parliament upon the point of episcopacy; when he proposed an expedient, which he called Presbyterian and Episcopal Government conjoined, which the King approved as the likeliest means of reconciling the then differences. But no proposals, how moderate soever, were able to satisfy the presbyterians, till his Majesty was taken out of their hands by the army, and brought to the scaffold, the sight of which struck our Primate with the utmost horror. The Countess of Peterborough's house, where the Primate then lived, being exactly opposite to Charing Cross, several of the family, at the time of the King's execution, went up to the leads of the house, which commanded a full view of Whitehall; and, as soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of them went down and told the Primate, asking him if he would not see the King once more before he was put to death. Though unwilling at first, yet he was persuaded at length to go up, as well out of a desire to see the King once again as a curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads his Majesty was in his speech: The Primate stood still, and said nothing, but sighed; and lifting his hands and eyes full of tears towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly. But when the King had done speaking, and had taken off his cloaths and doublet, and stood stript in his waistcoat, and the executioners

thirty-three very curious books. Here the Primate constantly preached all the term time for almost eight years, till at last his eye-sight and teeth beginning to fail him, he could not well be heard in so large a congregation, and was forced to quit this place about a year and a half before his death, to the great regret of that society.

tioners in vizards began to put up his hair, the Primate grew pale, and began to faint; so that, if he had not been observed by his own servant, and some others who stood near, and thereupon supported him, he had swooned away. Upon this, they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he made use both of tears and prayers; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his Prince patience and constancy to undergo those cruel sufferings; and that he would not, for the vindication of his honour, permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished. And he kept the thirtieth of January a private fast as long as he lived.

In 1650, he published the first part of his *Annals of the Old Testament*. In 1652 came out his *Epistola ad Ludovicum Capellum de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus*, at London, 4to. In 1654, Cromwell, now raised to the supreme dignity, with more than kingly power, under the title of Protector, thought it would become that character to put on the air and manner of a gracious sovereign, equally regarding all his subjects with a paternal care, without distinction of parties or professions. In this disposition he began to shew favour to some of the orthodox clergy of the Church of England: Among these was Dr. Nicholas Bernard, who had been the Lord Primate's chaplain in Ireland, and was afterwards Dean of Kilmore. Cromwell having saved his life at the taking of Drogheda, had now made him his chaplain, when his highness, in the same humour, sending for the Primate, received him with great kindness and civility,\* and the following

\* The conversation might not improbably (as Dr. Parr was informed) turn chiefly about advancing the protestant interest, as well at home as abroad, to which Cromwell made great pretences. And it was said that, either now or some other time, he gave the Primate a pension for life, the truth of which is much questioned by Dr. Parr, who, however, tells us he remembered the Primate's saying that Oliver had promised to make him a lease of the lands belonging to the archbishopric of Armagh, for twenty-one years, which he thought it no harm to accept, considering it was but his own, and which he had been deprived of above half that time, especially in consideration of his daughter, and many grandchildren, for whom he had as yet been able to do nothing. And if the church should happen to be restored before that time, it could lose nothing by this grant; and if not, he thought his children might as well reap the benefit of it as others. But though Dr. Bernard, in his epistle to the reader, prefixed to the life of the Primate, was made (by Cromwell's secretary, who then had the copy in his power) to publish as if this grant had been really passed, yet the Usurper was craftier than so; and as he delayed passing it as long as the  
Primate

following year gave him a promise to grant liberty of conscience to the episcopal clergy,\* which being evaded by the Usurper, occasioned the Primate thereupon to predict the King's restoration.† The same year, 1655, his

Primate lived, so, after his death, he made a pretence (by imputing malignancy to the Primate's son-in-law and daughter) to free himself from that promise.

\* It was by the particular desire of the episcopal clergy in and about London, that the application had been made for this favour to Cromwell, who promised him they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government. But when he went again, to get this promise ratified and put in writing, he found the Protector under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a great boil that he had then upon his breast. So he begged the Primate to sit down, saying he would speak with him when the dressing was over. Whilst it was doing, he said to the Primate, 'If this core (pointing to the boil) were once out, I should quickly be well.' To which the Primate replied, "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart that must be taken out, or else it will not be well." 'Ah!' replied Cromwell, (seemingly unconcerned) 'so there is indeed,' and sighed. But, when the Primate began to speak of the business he came about, he answered to this effect, 'That he had since better considered it, having advised with his council, who thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government.' And so took his leave with good words and outward civility.

† We have already observed, that such kind of predictions were usual with the Primate in expressing his resentment of any great and violent wickedness. Upon the present occasion, when he found it in vain to urge the matter any further, he returned to his lodgings very much troubled and concerned, and, when he was in his chamber, said to some of his relations and Dr Parr, that came to visit him, "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised. Well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness; for he will not continue long. The King will return: Though I shall not live to see it, you may. The government, both in church and state, is in confusion. The papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantazes as will hardly be prevented." With regard to his predicting the restoration from the wickedness of the times and the prevalence of popery, we shall present the reader with the following particular account from a manuscript in the *Museum Thoresbianum*, entitled, The Predictions of that learned and holy man, Bishop Usher. That year wherein he died, being asked by a gentleman, 'what his present apprehensions were of a very great persecution that would fall upon the church of Christ in these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, (concerning which he had ever confidently spoken many years past, when we were in the fullest peace and settlement) whether he did not believe these sad times to be passed, or whether yet to come?' He told me "They were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect them as ever he had done. That they would fall upon ourselves and the protestant churches in Europe." I answered, 'I hoped they might have been past, as to this nation, since that I thought, though we in them had been punished less than our sins deserved, and that the wars had

his Grace published his last piece, *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum verum Septagma*, to which was subjoined, *De Cainane*

had left much less devastation than by that means had been brought upon other countries, yet many a house, fair and great, had been left without inhabitants, many a family had been impoverished, and many thousand lives lost in that war; that Ireland and Scotland had drunk deep of the cup of God's anger, to the overthrow of government, and almost utter destruction of a great part of those nations. He, turning to me, and fixing his eyes with that ireful look which he used to have when he spake God's words, and not his own, and the power of God upon him to constrain him so to do, "Fool not yourself with such hopes; for I tell you all that you have yet seen have been but the beginning of sorrows to what is yet to come upon the protestant churches of Christ; which shall, ere long, fall under sharper persecutions than ever yet hath been upon them. And therefore, said he to me, look you be not found in the outer court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all that profess his name and call themselves his people, and the outward worshippers he will leave to be trodden down by the Gentiles. The outward court (said he) is the formal Christians, whose religion stands in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love uniting them to Christ; these God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple and before the altar, are those who worship God in spirit and truth, whose souls are made his temples, where he is honoured and adored in the most inward thoughts they have, and who sacrifice their lusts and foul affections in their own wills to him. God will hide them in the hollow of his hand, and under the shadow of his wings. And that will be one great difference between these last and all other preceding persecutions: In them the most eminent and spiritual ministers were, first or last, violently fallen upon; but, in this last, these will be preserved by God, as a seed of that glory that shall immediately fall to the church as soon as these storms are over; for as they will be the sharpest, so they will be but short, and shall take away but the gross hypocrites and formalists, while the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be past." I then asked him by what instruments this great trial would be brought on. He answered, "By the papists." I replied, that seemed to me very improbable, since they were less countenanced, and less in number in these nations, and the hearts of the people were more set against them than ever, since the Reformation. He answered, "That it would be by their hands, and in the way of a sudden massacre, and that the now Pope would be the instrument of it." And these things he spoke with the assurance and ireful look that I have observed him to speak with, when I have heard him myself predict things very unlikely, in human appearance, to come, which I myself had then lived to see happen according to his predictions; which made me give the more attention to what he uttered. And he then added, "That the papists were, in his opinion, the Gentiles spoken of in Rev. ii. to whom the outward court should be left, that they may tread it under foot, they having received the Gentile worship in their adoring images and saints departed, and taken to themselves many mediators. And this (said he) is now designing among them, and therefore look you be ready."

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*Cainane in vulgata LXX. editione superaddita ex ejusdem Chronologia Sacra nondum edita Dissertatio, una cum ejusdem edita ad Lud. Capellum de variantibus Textus Hebraici Lectionibus,*

This was the substance, and, for the greatest part, (I think) the words themselves, which that holy man spake to me at the time before-mentioned, which I set down, that so great a prediction may not be lost to myself or others. The same holy man repeated the same predictions to his only daughter, the Lady Tyrrel; and that, with many others, much about the same time he had explained himself to me, as she herself assured me with her own mouth. That, after she had been at the door of his chamber, she found him with his eyes lift up to heaven, and tears running down apace, in a kind of extacy, wherein he continued after she came into the room, without taking any notice of her, for about half an hour. And then he told her "His thoughts had been taken up about the miseries and persecutions that were coming upon the church of Christ, that would be so sharp and bitter, that they had forced those tears from his eyes; but he hoped he should not live to see it; but possibly she might, for they were even at the door: Therefore take heed you be not found sleeping." The same he after repeated to Mrs. Biss, the Chief Baron of Ireland's wife, that now is, with this difference in circumstances, "That if (said he) they bring back the King, they may be a little longer delayed; but they will surely come, and therefore look ye be not unprepared for it."

The Lady Tyrrel's answer to a friend's letter about the truth of these predictions:

' SIR,

' I CANNOT speak so punctually to the particulars of your paper, but much of it I have heard him speak with great assurance in the beginning of the summer, before the Rebellion in Ireland. Sir Thomas Barrington's lady was inquiring his opinion of the interpreters of the Revelations and of the prophecies of Daniel: She was desirous to know whether the last bitter dregs should be poured out upon the world. I can never forget with what trouble he expressed his answer, viz. "That he could not see but that God intended them on the northern parts. And, said he, I besought God, in mercy, to divert a share of the time from our dominions, and that they may not begin with poor Ireland: But we must all (said he) taste of them, I am certain." Mrs. Barrington, who is yet living, was present at this discourse as well as myself, when my father, among other admonitions, was pleased to give me his commands to be prepared for times of persecution; for he feared wicked people would for a time prevail, and that the persecution would be sharp, but should not last long. The last day that I saw my dear father he told me, "That I should see, in a short time, London burnt;" at which when I was troubled, "Yes, says he, it will be burnt to a cinder: (that was his expression.) How can we expect other than judgment upon the seat of rebellion and sin, and miseries that have proceeded from thence?" He was also confident of his majesty's restoration within five years, or less. He said, "It will be in a short time; you will live to see it, but I shall not:" And said, "My thoughts and dreams are often troubled by being carried by violence into a great church." These were his last discourses to her, who is

' Your faithful servant,

' E. TYRREL.'

*Lectonibus, anno 1652 et altera, a Gulielmo Eyrio, ad eundem Jacobum, anno 1607, data Epistola.* Our Author did not long survive this publication; for, going shortly after to the Lady Peterborough's house, at Ryegate in Surrey, he was taken on the 20th of March 1555-6, with an illness which carried him off the next day, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He first complained of his hip, thinking it was a touch of the *sciatica*, which he had been afflicted with many years before. But next morning he complained of a great pain in his side, which could not be removed by the physician, and he departed about one o'clock in the afternoon. His last words were, "O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission." Upon opening his body, there was observed a thick membrane lined with fat, supposed by the surgeons to be a continuation of the *omentum* or caul, which extended itself quite over the stomach, and was fastened above to the *peritonæum*, somewhat below the diaphragm. The Primate had been often heard to say, he never felt his heart beat in the most violent exercises. He used frequently to have evacuations of blood from the veins on one side of his tongue, but more usually in some lower parts of his body, which stopping for some time before his death, was thought to be the cause of it, as he had a quick digestion, and bred blood fast. His friends intended to bury him at Ryegate, in the vault of the Howard family; but they were forbid by Cromwell,\* at whose order the corpse being first removed to Somerset House in the Strand, was conveyod thence with great magnificence to Westminster Abbey, where it was interred in Erasmus's chapel, the funeral service being performed according to the liturgy of the church of England, by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, who

\* A more conspicuous instance of the Primate's great reputation among all orders and degrees of men could not be given, than in this action of the Protector, who was plainly led thereto from the popularity of it. His relations durst not disobey the command, though it was much against their wills, perceiving well enough, says Dr. Parr, the Usurper's design, that (as it was intended so) it would make more for his own honour than that of the deceased, and withal perceiving (what accordingly happened) that he would never defray half the expence of such a solemn funeral, which therefore would bring the greatest part upon them, though they were least able to bear it; and yet he would reap all the glory of it. I should not, proceeds the doctor, have said so much on this subject, had it not been to shew the world the intriguing subtlety of this Usurper even in this small affair; and that, for the expence of about two hundred pounds out of the deadands in his almoner's hands, (which was nothing at all to him) he was able to put those he counted his enemies to treble that charge.

who preached a sermon upon the occasion, which was afterwards printed. As to the archbishop's character: His genius, in every particular, has been sufficiently marked in the course of this memoir; we shall therefore only give some description of his person and temper. He was of the taller sort of middle-sized men, and well shaped. He walked upright to the last. His hair was naturally brown when young, and his complexion sanguine. His countenance expressed gravity and good-nature. He had a presence that commanded both respect and reverence. The air of his face was so difficult to hit, that though many pictures were drawn of him, yet, says Dr. Parr, I never saw any that was like him but one, which was done by Mr. (afterwards Sir Peter) Lely. His constitution was strong and healthy, nor was he ever troubled with the head-ache, gout, or stone, but bred blood so fast, that it often burst out of the veins on one side of his tongue; and this was something singular, that he never felt his heart beat in the greatest exercise. He was easy, affable, and cheerful in conversation, and extremely charitable. He was of so sweet a temper, continues Dr. Parr, that I never heard he did an ill office to any one man, or revenged any of those that had been done to him. He envied no man's happiness, or vilified their persons or parts, nor was he apt to censure or condemn any man upon bare reports. Though he could rebuke sharply in the cause of virtue and religion, yet he was not easily provoked to passion. He left his library, being the chief part of his substance, as a portion to his only daughter, who had been the mother of a numerous offspring. It was first bought by the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army in Ireland, and lodged in Dublin Castle, where it lay, though not without being much pillaged, till the Restoration, which bringing it into the possession of King Charles II. he gave it, according to the Primate's first intention, to Dublin College, where it now remains.

This was according to the Primate's first intention; but, upon the loss of every thing else except his books, it is no wonder he left these in the manner above-mentioned, his daughter having before had nothing from him except some pieces of gold presented to him by Mr. Selden's executors and other persons of quality. The library consisted of ten thousand volumes, printed and manuscript, and cost the Primate many thousand pounds. Both the King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarine offered a good price for it by their agents here; but the executors were forbidden,

forbidden, by an order from Oliver and his council, to sell it to any one without his consent; so it was at last bought by the soldiers and officers of the then army in Ireland, who, out of emulation to the former noble action of Queen Elizabeth's army, were incited by some men of public spirit to the like performance, and they had it for much less than the real worth, or what had been offered for it before by the agents above-mentioned. They had also with it all the manuscripts which were not of his own hand-writing; as also a choice, though not numerous, collection of ancient coins. But, when this library was carried over into Ireland, the Usurper and his son, who then commanded in chief there, would not bestow it upon the college, lest perhaps the gift should not appear so considerable there as it would do by itself; and therefore they gave out that they intended it for a new college or hall which, they said, they intended to build and endow. But it proved, that as these were not times, so they were not persons capable of any such noble or pious work; so that this library lay in the castle of Dublin, unbestowed and unemployed, till Cromwell's death; and, during that anarchy and confusion that followed, the rooms where this treasure was kept being left open, many of the books, and most of the best manuscripts, were stolen away, or else embezzled by those that were intrusted with them.

His Works. From the Primate's manuscripts we have several posthumous pieces in print, some of which have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this memoir. The titles of the rest are, "I. *Chronologia Sacra seu Annorum παροδοιων; Patriarcharum τεροποιων; Israelitarum in Egypto; Annorum etiam Judicum, Reum Judæ Israelis αποδειξις Chronologica.* Oxford, 1660, in 4to. published by Dr. Thomas Barlow, keeper of the Bodleian Library, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and was reprinted with the Annals of the Old and New Testament, at Geneva, 1722, in fol. But this chronology is imperfect, the Author dying while he was engaged in it. II. A collection of Pieces, under the title of *The Judgment of the late Archbishop, &c.* published by Dr. Nicholas Bernard, at London, 1658, 8vo. who also published, in 1659, III. *The Judgment and Sense of the present See of Rome, from Apocal. xviii. 4.* by the late Archbishop, &c. together with *Ordination a fundamental, &c.* as also, *Of the Use of a set Form of Prayer in the Church; The Extent of Christ's Satisfaction,*

&c. Of the Sabbath, and Observation of the Lord's Day ; his Judgment and Sense of John xxi. 22, 23, &c. IV. A Volume of Sermons preached at Oxford, before his Majesty and elsewhere. V. *Historia Dogmatica Controversiæ inter Orthodoxis et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis. Accessere ejusdem Dissertationes duæ de Pseudo-Dionisii scriptis et de Epistola ad Laodicenos. Descripsit, digessit, et notis atque auctario locupletavit, Henricus Wharton, London. 1690, 4to.* VI. A Collection of Three Hundred Letters, written to James Usher, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and most of the eminent persons for piety and learning in his time, both in England and beyond the seas. Collected and published from the original copies under their own hands, by Richard Parr, D. D. his Lordship's chaplain at the time of his death, with whom the care of all his papers were intrusted by his Lordship. London, 1686, folio. This collection is annexed to the Primate's life, written by the same gentleman.\*

\* This worthy divine, Dr. Parr, who had so great a share in the Primate's friendship, was the younger son of Richard Parr of Devonshire, who, being sent into Ireland by King James I to be minister there after Tyrone's rebellion, fixed himself in the town of Fermoy in the county of Cork, where this son, Richard, was born in 1617, his mother being then fifty-five years of age. Afterwards the father, removing to Castle-Lyons in the same county, put his son to school to an Irish Roman catholic priest, who, with others of the same church, were the only schoolmasters in Ireland at that time for the Latin tongue. In 1635 our Author was sent to England, and, in Michaelmas term the same year, was entered a poor scholar or servitor of Exeter college, at which time being recommended to the care of Dr. John Prideaux, the rector, for his towardliness and great ingenuity, he was, by the rector's interest, chosen, while bachelor of arts, chaplain-fellow of that college, anno 1641. In 1643, Primate Usher being driven, in the civil wars, to take sanctuary at Oxford, became a lodger in the same college, and taking notice of Mr Parr, then a junior master and a frequent preacher in Oxford, he made him his chaplain, and took him in his retinue that year to Caerdiff and St. Donat in Glamorganshire; at which places continuing in the Primate's service till the said wars were terminated, he attended him then to London, and soon after became vicar of Ryegate in Surrey, by the presentation of one Roger James, gent. whose sister he married, being a widow of a plentiful fortune. In a pamphlet that came out in 1647, containing the contents of the covenant, and the names of the ministers of Surrey that set their hands in testimony of the lawfulness of it. Mr. Parr's name appears among the rest: Yet his friends and intimate acquaintance averred that he never took the said covenant, though much pressed thereto by the committee of Goldsmiths-hall in London. In 1649 he resigned his fellowship of Exeter college, but continued chaplain to the Primate till his Grace's death. Afterwards he became vicar of Camberwell in the said county of Surrey, rector of St. Mary Magdalen in Southwark for a time, and after his Majesty's restoration he was created doctor of divinity, and was about the same time offered the deanery of Armagh, and soon after a bishopric in

## JOSEPH HALL, D. D.

BISHOP OF NORWICH.

THIS ingenious, learned, and pious Prelate, successively bishop of Exeter and Norwich, was born July the 1st, 1574, in Bristow-park, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire. His father was an officer to Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, then president of the North; and, under him, had the government of that market town, in which stands the chief seat of the earldom. His mother, Winifride, of the family of the Bambridges, was a woman of uncommon piety. His words concerning this excellent parent are truly memorable. "My mother Winifride (says he) of the house of the Bambridges, was a woman of that rare sanctity, that (were it

in Ireland; but, refusing both, he contented himself with only a canonry of Armagh. He was a constant and ready preacher, delivering himself *extempore*, and was much followed. We are happy to add, that his pulpit is now filled with the same effects, and that God hath raised up a successor to this cure, whose usefulness we trust will be crowned with everlasting remembrance in the salvation of souls. In this course of constant preaching at Camberwell he continued near thirty-eight years; during all which time he was esteemed a person of great piety, and of so regular and unblemished a conversation, that no party could pick up any thing to object against him on that account; but generally looked on him as a moderate person, chiefly, perhaps, because he was a Calvinist. He died at Camberwell, November 2, 1691, and, according to his desire, was buried together with his wife in that churchyard. Soon after a stone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph inscribed thereon, testifying that 'he was in preaching constant, in life exemplary, in piety and charity most eminent, a lover of peace and hospitality, and, in fine, a true disciple of Jesus Christ.' To which may be added, that he was a person of a generous, genteel temper, exceeding good-natured and charitable to all sorts of people, inso much that those of his own nation, though of a different profession in religion, were often relieved by him, &c.

Besides the Primate's life, he published: "I. Christian Reformation; being an earnest persuasion to the serious practice of it; proposed to all, but especially designed for the serious consideration of his dear kindred and countrymen of the county of Cork in Ireland, and the people of Ryegate and Camberwell in Surrey. London, 1665, 8vo. 11. Several sermons; as, first, The Judges' charge, preached before the judges of assize, at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark. London, 1658, 4to: Another, entitled, Christ's Gracious Intention to Sinners, &c. London, 1661, 8vo: And a third, preached February 20th, 1676, at the funeral of Dr. Robert Bretton, minister of Deptford in Kent. London, 1672, 4to."



T. Trotter sculp.

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From the original Picture in Emmanuel College Cambridge.



it not for my interest in nature) I durst say, that neither Aleth, the mother of that just honour of Clareval; nor Monica, nor any o'her of those pious matrons, anciently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison; she was continually exercised with the affliction of a weak body, and oft of a wounded spirit, the agonies whereof she would oft recount with much passion; professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but flea-bites to those scorpions, so from them all, at last she found an happy and comfortable deliverance, and that not without a more than ordinary hand of God; for on a time being in great distress of conscience, she thought in her dream, there stood by her a grave personage, in the gown and other habits of a physician, who inquiring of her state, and receiving a sad and querulous answer from her, took her by the hand, and bade her be of good comfort, for this should be the last, fit that ever she should feel of this kind, whereto she seemed to answer, that upon that condition, she could well be content for the time, with that, or any other torment: Reply was made to her, as she thought, with a redoubled assurance of that happy issue of this her last trial; wherewith she began to conceive an unspeakable joy; which yet upon her waking left her more disconsolate, as then conceiving her happiness imaginary, her misery real; when the very same day, she was visited by the reverend, and (in his time) famous divine, Mr. Anthony Gilby, under whose ministry she lived; who, upon the relation of this her pleasing vision, and the contrary effects it had in her, began to persuade her, that dream was no other than divine, and that she had good reason to think that gracious premonition was sent her from God himself, who, though ordinarily he keeps the common road of his proceedings, yet sometimes in the distresses of his servants, he goes unusual ways to their relief: Hereupon she began to take heart, and by good counsel and her fervent prayers, found that happy prediction verified to her, and upon all occasions in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance.

“What with the trial of both these hands of God, so had she profited in the school of Christ, that it was hard for any friend to come from her discourse no whit holier. How often have I blessed the memory of those divine passages of experimental divinity, which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass without  
a large

a large task of private devotion, whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification. Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety; neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them, than her own: Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts were her usual theme. Shortly, for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like." Having from his infancy been devoted by his parents to the ministry, he was, for that purpose, educated in the public school of his native place; and, at the age of fifteen, was admitted into Emmanuel college, in Cambridge, of which he was chosen scholar; and took the degree of bachelor of arts in the year 1592. He distinguished himself as a wit and poet in this early season of his life; for he published, in 1597, "*Virgidemiarum: Satires in six Books.*" See his Works subjoined. Our Author informs us, in his "SPECIALITIES," that instead of his being sent to the university, he was very near being placed, for education, under one Mr. Pelset, who was lately come from Cambridge, to be the public preacher of Leicester. But his elder brother having occasion to go to Cambridge, and waiting upon Mr. Nathaniel Gilby, fellow of Emmanuel college, the latter, on hearing of the diversion of his father's purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded him from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so good hopes. The elder brother, moved with these words, at his return home, fell upon his knees to his father, and besought him to alter so prejudicial a resolution, and not suffer the young man's hopes to be drowned in a shallow country channel, but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge; adding, in the zeal of his love, that, if the chargeableness of that course were the hindrance, he would be rather pleased to sell part of that land, which, in course of nature, he was to inherit, than to abridge his brother of that happy means to finish his education. A very uncommon instance of generosity!

After our Author had been two years at the university, he had like to have been called away from thence in an untimely and disagreeable manner; of which we shall give the account in his own words: "My two first years were necessarily chargeable above the proportion of my father's power, whose not very large cistern was to feed many pipes besides mine, for he had twelve children; his weariness of expence was wrought upon by the counsel of  
some

some unwise friends, who persuaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. Now was I fetched home with an heavy heart; and now, this second time, had my hopes been nipped in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhop'd benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh of Darly, (whose pious memory I have cause to love and reverence) out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt, pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged, and solicited my father for my return to the university, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of master of arts; which he no less freely and lovingly performed." [SPECIALTIES, p. 7.]

His scholarship being expired about three years after his arrival at college, taking his bachelor's degree, and the statutes of the college, which allow but one person of a county to be a fellow, cutting off all expectations of his settlement there, he purposed removing into the island of Guernsey, where a place was offered him. But here the Earl of Huntingdon interposed, and having prevailed upon Mr. Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr. Gilby, to resign his fellowship, by taking him for his domestic chaplain, and promising him preferment,—room was, by that means, made for our Author, and he was unanimously chosen fellow. In 1596 he took the degree of master of arts; and thenceforward acquitted himself with good success in the public disputations, which he was often called to. He read also the rhetoric lecture in the schools for two years, with considerable applause; but, thinking this diverted him from his favourite study of divinity, he gave it up; and, entering into holy orders, preached often, as occasion offered, both in country villages and before the university. After having continued about six or seven years in the college, he was recommended by the master, Dr. Chadderton, to the Lord Chief Justice Popham, for the mastership of Tiverton School in Devonshire, then newly founded, by Mr. Blundel. He had accepted of it, and was but just come out from the Chief Justice's when he met a messenger in the street, who delivered him a letter from the Lady Drury, of Suffolk, offered him the rectory of Halsted, near St. Edmundsbury, and very earnestly desiring him to accept of it; which he did, and relinquished the school. Being thus settled in that "sweet and civil" county of Suffolk, as he called it, his first work was to rebuild his parsonage-house,

which was extremely ruinous: two years after which he married a daughter of Mr. George Winniff of Bretenham, with whom he lived forty-nine years.

In 1605, he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa, where he composed his "second century of meditations." He had an opportunity in this journey to inform himself, with his own eyes, of the state and practices of the Romish church; and at Brussels entered into a conference with Coster the jesuit. About a year and a half after, his patron, Sir Robert Drury, refusing to restore to the living of Halsted about ten pounds a-year, which he unjustly detained, our Author went to London to solicit him upon that point: Where being invited by the Earl of Essex's tutor to preach before Prince Henry at Richmond, who much admired his meditations, the prince so well liked the two sermons he preached before him, that he made him one of his chaplains. In the mean time Sir Robert Drury, by his unjust detention above-named, refusing to make his living a competent maintenance, (though our Author alleged to him, among other arguments, that he was forced to write books in order to be able to buy some) he resolved therefore to embrace the first opportunity of removing from Halsted. While he was taken up with those anxious thoughts, Edward, Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, gave him the donative of Waltham Holy Cross, in Essex; and, about the same time, which was in the year 1612, he took the degree of doctor in divinity, having taken the degree of bachelor in 1603. Thus, as he says, he returned home, happy in a new master, and in a new patron, betwixt whom he divided himself and his labours, with much comfort, and no less acceptance.

In the second year of his monthly attendance on the prince, when he came for his dismissal, his highness ordered him to stay longer; and at last, when he allowed him to depart, offered him the honour of being continually resident at court, with promises of suitable preferments; but, being lothe to forsake his noble patron, who had placed much of his heart upon him, he waved that offer, and remained twenty-two years at Waltham, where he preached a long time thrice a-week, as he had done before at Halsted. In the mean while he was made prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, and was the chief instrument in recovering a considerable estate, which had been detained from that church by a fraudulent conveyance. In 1616, July 12, he attended the embassy of James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, into France. During his  
absence,

absence, the king conferred upon him the deanery of Worcester, which he had promised him before his departure; and he was presented to the same on December 9, in the same year. Before he could go to take possession of it, namely, on the 14th of March 1616-17, he attended his majesty into Scotland as one of his chaplains. In 1618 he was sent to the Synod of Dort, with other English divines; but by the time he had staid two months there, the inquietness of the nights in those garrison towns working upon his tender constitution, brought him to such a weakness, through want of rest, that he was obliged to return home. However, before his departure, he preached a Latin sermon before that famous assembly, who, by their president and assistants, took a solemn leave of him; and the deputies of the States dismissed him with an honourable retribution, and sent after him a rich golden medal, bearing the portraiture of the Synod. He was inclined to be moderate in the five points controverted in that Synod, as appears by the treatise which he soon after wrote upon the subject, and which is printed amongst his works, under the title of "*Via Media.*"

Having refused, in 1624, the bishopric of Gloucester, which was offered him, he accepted of that of Exeter in 1627, to which he was consecrated December the twenty-third, holding with it, in commendam, the rectory of St. Brook in Cornwall. At his first coming to this new dignity, he met with much vexation and uneasiness. "I entered upon that place, says he, [SPECIALITIES, p. 40.] not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some who sate at the stern of the church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour of puritanism. I soon had intelligence, who were set over me for spies: my ways were curiously observed and scanned.—Some persons of note in the clergy, finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscionably forward and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures, in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpits, and directly at the court, complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knees to his Majesty, to answer these great criminations; and what contest I had with some great Lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report: Only this, under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was so sensible,

sible, that I plainly told the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, [Laud] that rather than I would be obnoxious to these slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast off my rochet: [his episcopal garment]. I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicion." Notwithstanding our Author was thus reckoned a favourer of puritanism; yet, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, he wrote with great strength and elegance in defence of episcopacy. His pieces upon that subject were, I. "Episcopacy by divine right asserted." London, 1640, 4to. This treatise was occasioned by the then Bishop of Orkney's renouncing his episcopal function openly, before the whole body of the clergy assembled at Edinburgh, and craving pardon for having accepted it, as though he had thereby committed some heinous offence. II. He published "An humble remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament. By a dutiful son of the church." London, 1640, 4to. in behalf of the liturgy and episcopacy. To this Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, jointly wrote an answer, under the name of Smectymnus, composed of the initials of their own; which they called, 'An Answer to a book entitled, An humble Remonstrance. In which the original of liturgy and episcopacy is discussed, and queries propounded concerning both, &c.' London 1641, 4to. Whereupon Bishop Hall wrote, III. "A Defence of the humble Remonstrance, against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnus: Wherein the right of liturgy and episcopacy is clearly vindicated, &c." London, 1641. Smectymnus replying in 'A Vindication of the Answer to the humble Remonstrance, from the unjust imputations of frivolousness and falsehood: Wherein the cause of the liturgy and episcopacy is further debated.' London, 1641, 4to. Bishop Hall concluded the dispute with, IV. "A short Answer to the tedious Vindication of Smectymnus. By the author of the humble Remonstrance." London, 1641, 4to. These several pieces of our Author are written in a very handsome, lively, and witty manner: As his adversaries too much distinguished themselves by a peculiar fierceness of spirit, and asperity in language. In short, they wrote with confidence, like persons supported by the secular arm, and who could depend upon stronger and more irresistible arguments than those upon paper.

On the 15th of November 1641, he was translated to the see of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr. Richard Montague.

Montague. But, on the thirtieth of December following, having joined with the Archbishop of York and some other bishops, in the protestation against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from parliament, he was voted among the rest to the Tower, and committed thither the thirtieth of January, in all the extremity of a dark frosty evening, at eight o'clock. This their protestation is printed in Rushworth and Nalson's collections, and in Lord Clarendon's and Rapin's histories, and other places, which will excuse us from inserting it here; and to which we refer. But Bishop Hall having mentioned some curious particulars relating thereto, it will be proper to lay them before our readers. "Upon our resolved forbearance from the parliament, says he, the Archbishop of York [Williams] sent for us to his lodgings, laid before us the dangerous condition we were in, and advised us for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to desert our station in parliament) to petition both his majesty and the parliament, that, since we were legally called by his majesty's writ to give our attendance in parliament, we might be secured in the performance of our duty and service against those dangers which threatened us, and also to protest against any such acts as should be made during the time of our forced absence, for which he assured us there were many precedents in former parliaments, and which, if we did not, we should betray the trust committed to us by his majesty, and shamefully abdicate the due right both of ourselves and successors. To this purpose, in our presence, he drew up the said petition and protestation, avowing it to be legal, just, and agreeable to all former proceedings; and being fairly written, sent it to our several lodgings for our hands, which we accordingly subscribed, intending yet to have some farther consultation concerning the delivery and whole conduct of it. But ere we could suppose it to be in any hand but his own, the first news we heard was, that messengers were provided to fetch us into the parliament, upon an accusation of high-treason. For, whereas this paper was to have been delivered first to his majesty's secretary, and, after perusal by him, to his majesty, after which, from his majesty to the parliament; and, for that purpose, to the Lord Keeper, Littleton, who was the Speaker of the House of Peers;—all these professed not to have perused it at all: But the Lord Keeper, willing enough to take this advantage of ingratiating himself with the House of Commons and the faction, to which he knew himself

himself sufficiently obnoxious, and finding what use might be made of it by prejudiced minds, read the same openly in the House of Lords; and when he found some of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravated the matter, as highly offensive, and of dangerous consequence; and thereupon, not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was entertained heinously. Glynn, with a full mouth, crying it up for no less than high-treason, and some comparing, yea, preferring it to the powder-plot:—though, when it came to be debated, one of their oracles being asked his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them, that they might with as good reason accuse us of adultery.” See the Bishop’s “**HARD MEASURE,**” subjoined to his “**SPECIALITIES.**”

Shortly after the commitment of the bishops to the Tower they were impeached of high-treason by the Commons, and, when they should have made their defence, were told, that, it being then late, they should have another day; but that day never came. At length, about June 1642, they were released upon giving five thousand pounds bail; whereupon our Author withdrew to Norwich. Here he was received with more respect than he could have expected in such times, and frequently preached to numerous audiences, enjoying peace till the beginning of April 1643. But then the ordinance for sequestering notorious delinquents’ estates being passed, wherein he was included by name, all his rents were stopped, when he was in hopes of receiving the foregoing half year for the maintenance of his family; and, a very few days after, some of the sequestrators came to seize upon his palace, and all his estate, both real and personal. Of this transaction, and the severe usage he met with upon that occasion, he gives us the following account in his “**HARD MEASURE,**” p. 54. “The sequestrators sent certain men appointed by them (whereof one had been burned in the hand) to appraise all the goods that were in my house, which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children’s pictures out of their curious inventory: Yea, they would have appraised our very wearing apparel, had not some of them declared their opinion to the contrary. These goods, both library and household-stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to public sale: But in the mean time, Mrs. Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with  
compassion,

compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators the whole sum at which the goods were valued; and was pleased to leave them in our hands, for our use, till we might be able to re-purchase them. As for the books, several stationers looked on them, but were not forward to buy: At last Mr. Cooke, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay them the whole sum whereat they were set; which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance, which was allowed me for my maintenance."

Thus deprived of all support, he applied to the committee at Norwich, which allowed him four hundred pounds a-year out of the episcopal revenues. And yet this was ineffectual; for before he could receive one quarter, there came down an order from the superior committee for sequestration at London, under the hand of serjeant Wild, the chairman, and procured by Miles Corbet, forbidding any such allowance, and telling the Norwich committee, That neither they, nor any other, had power to allow him any thing; but, if his wife needed a maintenance, upon her application to the committee of Lords and Commons, she should have a fifth part. Accordingly, upon her petition, though after long delays, it was granted her: But so confused and imperfect an account was brought into the sequestrators by their solicitor and collector, of both the temporal and spiritual revenues, that the bishop could never get a knowledge what a fifth part meant, and therefore, it seems, was obliged to take what they thought fit to give him; and, which was still harder, while he received nothing, something was required from him. For they were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all his goods and personal estate, to come to him for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which they had seized, and took distresses from him upon his most just denial. Nay, they vehemently required him to find the arms usually furnished by his predecessors, when they had left him nothing; and, upon many occasions, offered him insolent affronts and indignities. Of this he himself gives us two instances: The first, That, one morning before his servants were up, there came to his gates a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, and threatening, if they were not admitted, to break open the gates. The pretence for their coming was, to search for arms and ammunition; and though the bishop told them he had only two muskets, yet, not resting upon his word, they searched round about  
the

the house, looked into the chests and trunks, and examined the vessels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, they took away one of the bishop's two horses, though he told them his age would not allow him to travel on foot. At another time, the mob beset his palace, at a very unseasonable hour, for having ordained some persons in his own chapel, and had the insolence to demand his appearance before the mayor. Still he remained in his palace, though with a poor retinue and maintenance: But at last he was forced to quit it at three weeks' warning, (though his wife offered to pay rent for it out of her fifths) and might have lain in the street; such was the inexorableness of his merciless enemies! had not a neighbour in the close quitted his own house, to make room for him and his family. This was his Hard Measure, as he expresses it in his essay on the subject, which we have before referred to. Shortly after his expulsion he retired to a little estate, which he rented at Bigham, near Norwich; where, notwithstanding the narrowness of his circumstances, he distributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life on the 8th of September 1656, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried in the church-yard of that parish, without any memorial: observing in his will, "I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints." And how humbly he thought respecting himself, appears from the title of his last will and testament, which begins thus: "In the name of God, Amen. I, Joseph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called Bishop of Norwich, &c."

He is universally allowed to have been a man of great wit and learning, and of as great meekness, modesty, and piety. He was so great a lover of study, that he earnestly wished his health would have allowed him to do it even to excess. His works 'are filled (says Mr. Bayle) with fine thoughts, excellent morality, and a great deal of piety,' and shew that he was very zealous against popery; neither was he more favourable to those who separated from the church of England without an extreme necessity. He lamented the divisions of protestants, and wrote something with a view of putting an end to them.

His Writings (besides those already specified, and the others mentioned by Mr. Bayle in his dictionary, under the Author's name) make in all five volumes in folio and 4to. The first volume, printed, or rather collected together, in 1617, and again in 1624, contains, I. "Meditations  
and

and Vows, Divine and Moral: in three Centuries. 2. Heaven upon Earth; or of true Peace and Tranquillity of Mind. 3. The Art of Divine Meditation: with a Meditation upon Death. 4. Holy Observations. 5. Some of David's Psalms metaphrased in Verse. 6. Characters of Virtues and Vices, in two Books. 7. Solomon's choicest Arts, of ethics, politics, economies; with an open and plain paraphrase upon the Canticles. 8. Epistles, in six decads. 9. Six Sermons. 10. A common Apology of the Church of England, against the unjust Challenges of the Brownists, [viz. Smith and Robinson.] 11. A Brief Sum of the Principles of Religion, by Way of Catechism. 12. Contemplations upon the principal Passages of the Sacred History, in eleven Books. To which, in the edition of 1624, eight more books were added, making in all nineteen. In that edition also is inserted, "The Honour of the Married Clergy maintained, &c. and three new Sermons." The second volume of his works consists of "A plain and familiar Explication (by way of paraphrase) of all the hard texts of the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament." Lond. 1633, folio. The third volume, printed in 1634, contains "Meditations on the New Testament; thirteen Sermons; Tracts against Popery," &c. The fourth volume, published in 1660, after his death, in 4to. is entitled, "The Shaking of the Olive-tree. The remaining Works of that incomparable prelate, Joseph Hall, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich; with some Specialties of Divine Providence in his Life. Together with his Hard Measure: written by himself." This volume consists chiefly of sermons, letters, speeches in parliament, &c. The fifth and last volume is entitled, "Divine Treatises, written upon several Occasions: now first collected into one volume." London, 1662, folio.

His moral works were reprinted at London in 1738, folio. Besides all which pieces he published, in 1597, "*Virgidemarum*; satires in six books:" And calls himself in the prologue, the first satirist in the English language:

"I first adventure, follow me who list,

"And be the second English satirist."

The three first books are called Toothless Satires: poetical, academical, moral. The three last, Biting Satires. They were reprinted at Oxford in 1573, 8vo. In his manner of writing he has imitated Seneca more than any other of our English authors; for which reason Sir Henry Wotton, in his letter to Dr. Collins, styles him

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‘The Christian Seneca.’ And indeed, though his style must be owned to be rather florid, it was more chaste and correct than most of his time. But we do not find that he published any book under that title, as Mr. Bayle seems to think; deceived, no doubt, by the translators, either of his letters or meditations, who so entitled them, on account of their resemblance to Seneca’s morals. Another writer observes of our Author, from the extensiveness of his works, that ‘He may be said to have died with the pen in his hand. He was commonly called our English Seneca, for his pure, plain, and full style. Not ill at *controversies*, more happy at *comments*, very good in his *characters*, better in his *sermons*, best of all in his *meditations*.’ A funeral sermon was preached upon the occasion of his death by Mr. John Whitefoote, rector of Higham, near Norwich. This is conceived in a high style of panegyric, as is too usual with writings of that kind.

We have been able to present the public with a portrait of this excellent bishop, by the favour of Dr. Farmer of Emmanuel college, Cambridge, who has a fine painting in his possession. The golden medal, pending at his breast, was the present of the Synod of Dort to the bishop, as a mark of their favour.

## JOHN JANEWAY.

THIS pious and very extraordinary person was born at Lylly, in the county of Hertford, October the twenty-seventh 1633, of religious parents, to whom he gave early hopes of much comfort, and the symptoms of something more than common quickly appeared in him. When he first set forward he soon surpassed his superiors for age, in learning. He was initiated in the Latin tongue by his father, and then sent to St. Paul’s school in London, where he made a considerable progress in the Latin and Greek languages; and when about eleven years old, he took a great fancy to the study of arithmetic and the Hebrew tongue. In 1646, he was by Mr. Francis Rous, a learned gentleman, and provost of Eton college, chosen for one of the foundation of that school. At about seventeen he was chosen in King’s college, Cambridge, and about eighteen God was pleased to shine upon his soul, and discover to him that the saving knowledge of God and a sense of an interest in his love, through  
Christ,

Christ, was vastly preferable to every thing else. His heart being now opened, God was pleased to make the exemplary life and sacred discourse of a young man in the college, together with the preaching of two eminent divines, and Mr. Baxter's *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, of great use and singular advantage to him. Now he knew that the contemplations in astronomy were of no consequence, in comparison of that which the religion of Jesus contemplates. He was now so filled with divine contemplations, and tasted so much sweetness in the knowledge of Christ, that it was discernable in his very appearance, for he now *counted every thing but as dross and dung, in comparison of the knowledge of Christ, and him crucified.* The account of his life tells us, that he looked upon human learning as useless, if not fixed below Christ, and not fixed for Christ; he looked upon wisdom as folly, and learning as madness, and that which would make men more like the devil, more fit for his service, and also put a greater accent upon their misery in another world. When he arrived at the age of twenty, he was admitted a fellow of King's college, which did not a little forward his schemes for promoting the interest of Christ, and the good of souls. He could and did speak in the language of St. Paul to all his brethren, whether related in a natural, civil, or religious sense. "*Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for you all is, that you may be saved.*" We may read the language of his heart to them in the few following extracts:

"Give me leave to deal plainly, and to come close to you; for I love your souls so well, that I cannot bear the thoughts of the loss of them. Know that there is such a thing as the new birth; and *except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.* This new birth hath its foundation laid in a sense of sin, and a godly sorrow for it, and a heart set against it; without these there can be no salvation. Upon repentance and believing comes justification; after this sanctification, by the Spirit's dwelling in us. By this we come to be the children of God, to be made partakers of a divine nature, to lead new lives, and to have a suitableness to God. It is unworthy of a Christian to have such a narrow spirit, as not to act for Christ with all our heart, and soul, and strength, and might. Be not ashamed of Christ. Be not afraid of the frowns and jeers of the wicked. Be sure to keep a conscience void of offence, and yield by no means to any known sin. Be much in prayer, in secret prayer, and in reading the  
Scriptures:

Scriptures: Therein are laid up the glorious mysteries which are hid from many eyes. My greatest desire is, that God would work his own great work in you. I desire to see you, not as formerly, but that the Lord would make me an instrument of your souls' good, for which I greatly long." His affection to his relations appeared in his tender concern for the good of their souls, in the success of his addresses to them for that purpose. He was mighty in prayer, and his spirit was oftentimes so transported in it, that he forgot the weakness of his body, and of others' spirits. Indeed the acquaintance he had with God was so sweet, and his converse with him so frequent, that he scarce knew how to leave that which was so delightful, and suited to his spirit. He used to wrestle with God, like one that was sure to prevail, for a blessing; and this was very evident in the many immediate answers of prayer which he received on his own and others' account. The author of his life mentions something of this kind very particular, respecting his honoured father, Mr. William Janeway, to which we refer. When his father died, he endeavoured to fill up that relation in the care of his mother and other relatives, in the most tender and affectionate manner.

His comforts came from the fountain-head, and he would willingly lead them there to drink with him.—“We, poor foolish creatures, (saith he) scarce know what is good for ourselves; but it is no small encouragement to the people of God, that wisdom itself takes care of them, and one who loves them better than they love themselves, looks after them; and he hath given his promise, that *all shall work together for their good*. And what better foundation of comfort can there be than this? Let not your souls sink under afflictions, for what reason have you to be discomforted under them? Can you gather from thence that the Lord does not love you? No, surely, but rather the contrary; *for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth*. Let this serve as a remedy against excessive grief. Get your love to God increased. Remember that Scripture, and let it impress your spirits: *He that loves father or mother, brother or sister, yea, or children, more than me, is not worthy of me*. Labour to have your affections more raised to him, who is most worthy of them.” After his father's death he returned to King's college, and became a member of a small society of Christians, who met chiefly to discourse of experimental religion, and that with happy success; this

this being a means of ripening him apace for the heavenly world.—Societies for the purposes of vital religion have been greatly blessed, and many Christians have arrived to eminence in religion in this way. Mr. Janeway left King's college, and went to live in Dr. Cox's family, being recommended by the provost of the college to be tutor to his son; where, it may be supposed, they received great advantages from his holy conversation and life. But it may be here observed, that his hard study, and application to the business he went into the family to perform, was by far an overmatch for him. His body grew weak, and great pain soon broke his constitution, so that he was obliged to retire into the country for the benefit of the air. And here his first dangerous sickness commenced. He was now in a decline, and could have but little hopes of life; yet he was so far from being affrighted, that he received the sentence of death in himself with great joy, in order to wean his friends from him, and his affections from them. He was ashamed to desire and pray for life. "O! (said he) is there any thing here more desirable than the enjoyment of Christ? Can I expect any thing below comparable to that blessed vision? O that crown! that rest which remains for the people of God; and, blessed be God, I can say, I know it is mine; *I know that when this tabernacle of clay shall be dissolved, that I have a house not made with hands; and therefore I groan, not to be unclothed, but to be clothed upon with Christ. To me to live is Christ, but to die is gain. I can, through infinite mercy, speak in the apostle's language: I have fought the good fight, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown incorruptible, that fadeth not away.*"

When he perceived one of his nearest relations greatly troubled at the thoughts of his death, he charged him not to pray for his life, except it were purely to the glory of God.—"I wish, (said he) I beg you to keep your minds in a submissive frame to the will of God concerning me. The Lord take you nearer to himself, that you may walk with him; to whom if I go before, I hope you will follow after." He recovered from this sickness in some good measure, and returned to his former practice of engaging in the secret and public duties of religion. He set apart an hour every day for secret retirement and solemn meditation, which was usually in the evening: Where one observing his constant practice, concealed himself, that he might be acquainted with that divine intercourse that was kept up between God and him. Yet, so  
gracious

gracious and so beloved of God as he was, he was not free from the assaults of the tempter. The writer of his life says, 'It would make a Christian's heart ache to hear and read what strange temptations he was exercised with: But he was well armed for such a conflict, having the shield of faith, whereby he quenched the fiery darts of the wicked one. He never preached publicly but twice, and we are told that then he came to it as if he had been used to that work forty years, delivering the word of God with that power and majesty, with that tenderness and compassion, with that readiness and freedom, that it made his hearers almost amazed. His first and last sermons were on communion with God, Job xxii. 21. *Acquaint now thyself with God, and be at peace: Thereby good shall come unto thee:* A subject that few Christians under heaven were better able to manage than himself.' In the close of life he seemed quite swallowed up with the thoughts of Christ, heaven, and eternity; and the nearer he came to it, the more swift his motion was, and the more earnest his desires for it. He was much concerned about ministers, that they should be careful not to be engaged in low and sordid designs. He judged that to take up the ministry, as a secular employ to get gain, and to aggrandize self, was absolutely inconsistent with the spirit of a true gospel-minister. He thought it necessary that they who were devoted to the ministry, should have first given themselves and their all to God, and be filled with a real disinterested affection to precious and immortal souls, that they might more ardently promote his glory. He was full of compassion to souls, and would greatly lament the barrenness of Christians in their converse with each other. And as the empty converse of Christians was matter of grief to him, so was their want of love, and their little concern for each other.

Near the close of his life he evidently lived like a man quite weary of the world, almost in the immediate view of a better. His temper, his language, his deportment, all spoke him one of another world. His meditations were so intense, long, and frequent, that they ripened him apace for heaven. He fell into a deep consumption. When he felt his body ready to faint, he called to his mother, and said, "Dear mother, I am dying, but I beseech you be not troubled, for I am, through mercy, quite above the fears of death. I have nothing that troubles me, but the apprehensions of your grief. I am going to him whom I love above life." His mother and his

his brethren standing by him, he said, "Dear mother, I beseech you earnestly, as ever I desired any thing of you in my life, that you would cheerfully give me up to Christ. I beseech you do not hinder me, now I am going to rest and glory. I am afraid of your prayers, lest they pull one way and mine another." And then turning to his brethren, he spake to them: "I charge you all, do not pray for my life any more. You do me wrong if you do O that glory, that unspeakable glory that I behold! My heart is full, my heart is full. Christ smiles, and I cannot choose but smile. Can you find in your heart to stop me, who am now going to the complete and everlasting enjoyment of Christ? Would you keep me from my crown? The arms of my blessed Saviour are open to embrace me. The angels stand ready to carry my soul into his bosom. O, did you but see what I see, you would all cry out with me, How long, dear Lord, how long! Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly! O, why are his chariot wheels so long a-coming." A reverend and holy minister came often to visit him, and discoursed with him of the excellency of Christ, and the glory of the invisible world. "Sir, (said he) I feel something of it. My heart is as full as it can hold in this lower state. I can hold no more here. O, that I could but let you know what I feel!" This holy minister praying with him, his soul was ravished with the abundant incomes of light, life, and love, so that he could scarce hear it, or the thoughts of staying any longer here. Though he was, towards his end, most commonly in a triumphant frame, yet sometimes he had some small intermissions. He would cry out, "Hold out, faith and patience; yet a little while, and your work is done." When he found not his heart wound up to the highest pitch of thankfulness, admiration, and love, he would with great sorrow bemoan himself, and cry out in this language: "And what is the matter now, O my soul? What wilt thou, canst thou thus unworthily slight this admirable and astonishing condescension of God to thee? Seems it a small matter, that the great Jehovah should deal thus familiarly with this worm? And wilt thou pass this over as a common mercy?"

And then he breaks out again into another extacy of joy and praise. "Stand astonished, O ye heavens. and wonder, O ye angels, at this infinite grace! Was ever any under heaven more beholden to free grace than I? O, bless the Lord with me! Come, let us shout for joy,  
and

and boast in the God of our salvation. O, help me to praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever!" An old experienced Christian and minister said again and again, that he never saw, nor read, nor heard the like. He talked as if he had been in the third heavens, and brake out into such words as these: "O, he is come! he is come! O, how sweet, how glorious is the blessed Jesus! How shall I do to speak the thousandth part of his praises! O, for words to set out a little of that excellency! But it is inexpressible. O, how excellent, glorious, and lovely is the precious Jesus! He is sweet. He is altogether lovely. And now I am sick of love, for he hath ravished my soul with his beauty. I shall die sick of love." About forty-eight hours before his death, his eyes were dim, and his sight much failed, and every part had the symptoms of death upon it; yet even then, if possible, his joys were greater still. He spake like one entering into the gates of the New Jerusalem. Not a word dropped from his mouth, but it breathed of Christ and heaven. Most of his work was praise: An hundred times admiring the boundless love of God to him. "O why me, Lord? Why me?" And then he would give instruction to them that came to see him: 'So that I believe (says the writer of his life) there was much work done for Christ in his last hours.' He took his leave of his friends every evening, expecting to see them no more till the morning of the resurrection. "Now, (says the dying saint) I want but one thing, and that is, a speedy lift to heaven."

"O help me, help me, to praise him, and admire him that hath done such astonishing wonders for my soul! Come help me with praise; all is too little: Come help me, all ye glorious and mighty angels, who are so well skilled in the heavenly work of praise. Praise is now my work, and I shall be engaged in that sweet employment for ever. Come, let us lift up our voice in praise. I shall presently behold Christ himself, who loved me and died for me, and washed me in his blood. I shall in a few hours be in eternity, singing the song of Moses, and the song of the Lamb. I shall presently stand upon Mount Sion with an innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect, and Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant. I shall hear the voice of much people, and be one among them who say, *Hallelujah; salvation, glory and honour, and power unto the Lord our God!* And again we say, *Hallelujah!* Methinks I stand

as it were one foot in heaven, and by faith I see the angels waiting to carry my soul to the bosom of Jesus, and I shall be for ever with the Lord in glory. And who can chuse but rejoice in all this?"

The day before his death he looked earnestly upon his brother James, and said, "I thank thee, dear brother, for thy love: Thou art praying for me, and I know thou lovest me dearly; but Christ loveth me ten thousand times more than thou dost. Come and kiss me, dear brother, before I die." And so with his cold dying lips he kissed him, and said, "I shall go before, and I hope thou shalt follow after to glory." A few hours before his death he called all his relations and brethren together, that he might bless them and pray for them, which he did with much affection, authority, and spirituality. Then the godly minister who had used to visit him, came to pay him his last visit, and to do the office of an angel, to help to convey his soul to glory. When he spake to him, his heart was in a mighty flame of love and joy, which drew tears from the holy man, being amazed to hear a dying man talk as if he had been with Jesus, and come from the immediate presence of God. Oh! the smiles that were then in his face, and the unspeakable joy that was in his heart! One might have read grace and glory in his countenance. O the praises, the triumphant praises, he put up! A little before he died, in prayer, or rather praises, he was so full of admiration, that he could scarce forbear shouting for joy. And at length, with abundance of faith and fervency, he said, "Amen, amen." And now his desires were soon satisfied. Death was coming apace to do his last office. And after a few moments he turned himself on one side, and immediately fell asleep in Jesus, June 1657, aged 24. He was buried in Kelshal church, Hertfordshire.

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## PETER DU MOULIN, D.D.

THIS very celebrated French protestant minister was born at Vixen, upon the eighteenth of October, in the year 1568. He first imbibed the rudiments of literature at Sedan; and when he arrived at twenty years of age, was sent to finish his education in England, where he became a member of Christ college in Cambridge. After

four years stay in England he went to Holland among the retinue of the Duke of Wittenberg, and had the providence to be shipwrecked in his passage, when he lost all his books and baggage. This gave occasion to his writing an elegant poem, entitled *Votiva Tabula*, which did him great credit, and procured him many friends. The French ambassador countenanced him greatly, (for Henry IV. at that time sent protestant ambassadors into protestant countries) and recommended him to the queen-mother, by whose interest he obtained the professorship of philosophy at Leyden, then vacant. This he held for five or six years, and had several disciples, who afterwards became famous; among the rest Hugo Grotius. He read lectures upon Aristotle, and disciplined his scholars in the art of disputing; of which he made himself so great a master, that he was always the scourge and terror of the papists. Scaliger was very much his patron; and when Du Moulin published his logic at Leyden in 1596, was so gracious as to say [what was very extraordinary of him to say concerning any thing modern] of the epistle prefatory, '*hæc epistola non est hujus ævi.*' He taught Greek also in the divinity schools, in which he was extremely well skilled, as appears from his book, entitled *Novitas Papismi*, where he exposes Cardinal Perron's ignorance of that language. In the year 1599, he went to Paris to be minister at Charenton, and chaplain to Catharine of Bourbon, the King's sister, who was then married to Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Bar. This lady continued a determined protestant, in spite of all attempts to pervert her. The pope applied to Henry IV. about the conversion of his sister, and Henry set his divines upon her; but Du Moulin preserved her sound and orthodox in the faith against all their artifices. Perron and Cotton were the men chiefly employed, with whom Du Moulin had frequent conflicts; and Henry begged of her himself, only to hear his chaplains preach. She consented to hear Father Cotton, who was immediately ordered to preach before the king and his sister in the very place where Du Moulin had preached just before. However, to secure herself the better against the wiles of this jesuit, she contrived to have Du Moulin so placed, that he might hear all that Cotton said. Cotton's discourse was upon the holy Spirit's inhabiting the hearts of men, and it began in this manner:

' I once had the curiosity to visit an hospital of mad persons; upon my entrance into which, a grave old gentleman

tleman very courteously received me, and leading me about, shewed me all the different kinds of them. That, pointing to one, fancies himself to be snow, and would not come near a fire, for fear he should be melted. This, says he, takes himself for an earthen vessel, and keeps carefully from walls, lest he should be broken into pieces. Those four are still madder, for they imagine themselves inspired with the spirit of prophecy. One calls himself Elias, another Jeremiah, another Daniel, and another St. Paul; but I, who am the Holy Ghost, know that they are all mad and impostors, for they never were sent by me. Thus the reverend old gentleman, after he had acquainted me with the different distempers of other madmen, discovered at last his own: For he talked so very soberly, and with so much gravity, that I did not perceive in him the least symptom of madness, till he declared himself to be the Holy Ghost. The same kind of madness may be seen among the pretended reformed: Wise and religious princesses, (meaning the king's sister) wise and faithful counsellors, (the Duke of Sully) wise and learned senators, (Philip de Mornay) all these you may see wise and prudent in every respect, except that they fancy they have the Holy Spirit, which they really have not.' So it is, that one part of the world continues to call the other foolish and mad, while in the mean time, perhaps, they themselves are not less so: For what is it, I pray, which is to hinder us from concluding, that the jesuit Cotton, like his reverend guide in the hospital, was not only mad himself, but even madder than those very protestants whom he takes upon him to reproach? Observe by the way, the pious use that was here made of the pulpit, and consider the great comfort that must needs spring up in the breasts of goodmen, upon seeing it dedicated to such holy purposes. Though Henry IV. was very angry at Du Moulin for baffling the jesuit, and defeating all his endeavours to convert his sister, yet the king had always a great regard for him, of which Du Moulin well knew, and of which he ever retained a very grateful remembrance. After the death of Henry IV. therefore, which happened in the year 1610, Du Moulin published a book, in which he charged the murder of that monarch upon Cotton, and the whole order of jesuits. It had been said that Ravillac was excited to that desperate act by some notions which he had picked up in the writings of the jesuits, of Mariana in particular, touching the persons and authority of kings: Upon which account  
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Father Cotton published an apologetical piece, to shew that the doctrine of the jesuits was exactly conformable to the decrees of the Council of Trent. This was answered by Du Moulin in a book, entitled "Anticotton, or a refutation of Father Cotton: wherein it is proved, that the jesuits were the real authors of that execrable parricide:" Though some indeed have doubted, whether he was the author of that book. In the year 1615 King James I. who had long corresponded with Du Moulin by letters, sent to invite him into England; which invitation his church at Paris would not suffer him to accept of, till he had given a solemn promise in the face of his congregation, that he would return to them at the end of three months.

The king received him with great affection; took him to Cambridge at the time of the commencement, where he was honoured with a doctor's degree; and at his departure from England, presented him with a prebend of the church of Canterbury. Du Moulin had afterwards innumerable disputes with the jesuits; and when they found that nothing was to be done with him this way, they made use of others. They tried to bring him over by the promise of great rewards; and they attempted more than once his life, so that he was obliged at length always to have a guard. In the year 1617, when the united provinces desired the reformed churches of England, France, and Germany, to send some of their ministers to the Synod of Dort, Du Moulin and three others were deputed by the Gallican church, but were forbidden to go by the king upon pain of death. In the year 1618, Du Moulin had an invitation from Leyden to fill their divinity chair, which was vacant, but refused to accept of it. In the year 1620, when he was preparing to go to the National Synod of the Gallican church, Baron Herbert of Cherbury, then ambassador from Britain at the court of France, asked him to write to King James, and to urge him, if possible, to undertake the defence of his son-in-law the King of Bohemia, who then stood in need of it. Du Moulin declined the office; but the ambassador, knowing his interest with King James, would not admit of any excuse. This brought Du Moulin into trouble; for it was soon after decreed by an order of parliament, that he should be seized and imprisoned, for having solicited a foreign prince to take up arms for the protestant churches. Du Moulin, apprized of this, secretly betook himself to the ambassador Herbert, who suspected that his letters to the king were intercepted, and advised him  
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to fly, as the only means of providing for his safety. He went to Sedan, where he accepted the divinity professorship and the ministry of the church, both which he held to the time of his death. He took a journey into England in the year 1623, when Cardinal Perron's book was published against King James, and, at that king's instigation, undertook to answer it. This answer was published at Sedan, after the death of King James, under the title of "*Novitas papismi sive Perronii confutatio, regisque Jacobi, sed magis sacræ veritatis defensio.*"

About three years and a half before his death he had a great hurt by a fall from his horse, after which he enjoyed no good health; yet he did not give over the works of his calling, either in the church or schools, rarely failing to preach once a-week, and to read two divinity lectures. Through his whole life he was much in prayer and meditation; but in his last sickness he was so much in them, that he minded in a manner nothing else. One day when he was expected in the pulpit, he awaked in the morning so weak, and with such oppression in his breast, that he thought he should be unable to preach that day, yet encouraging himself in God, he went supported to the church; but when he was with difficulty got into the pulpit, he fainted; on which occasion some wine being brought him, he refused it, chusing rather to expect God's help, than to do any thing that might seem to border on indecency. His text was, Psalm xvi. 9. *My flesh shall rest in hope:* And by God's assistance he spoke with more vigour than he had done of a long time before. He applied the doctrine to himself, and gave his hearers an account of his faith and hope, as foreseeing that this would be the last sermon he should preach them. Two days after, the oppression in his breast was become so great as to make it feared it would suddenly terminate in his death. Whereupon, being visited by his colleagues, he said to them, "Fare you well, gentlemen; I have good satisfaction in my mind, that I leave this church in the hands of persons whom God hath endowed with great gifts, and, above all, with exemplary piety. I make no doubt, but you will carefully look to the flock committed to you." To this one of them returned, 'The Lord grant, Sir, that we may imitate you: For you are that good servant, who not only have not buried your talent, but have very much improved it. You have done good service in your life, and your labours will live and do good when you are gone.' To which he answered, "Ah,

“ Ah, Sir, you know not how much you grieve me by such language. I have not done all the good I ought to have done; and that little benefit the church hath reaped by my labours, is not from me, but from the grace of God which is in me, as it is usual with him to produce a good effect by a weak instrument. I am conscious that I have neglected my duty in many things, and offended my God, but I have loved his holy truth, and hope in his mercy. He is my father and my God, and Jesus Christ is my Saviour; *Whosoever believes in him shall not perish, but have life everlasting.*” His friends told him, that he hurt himself by speaking so much. “ It is true, (he replied) but I will die glorifying God.” His prayers were fervent, and full of penitential sorrow. He said, “ He was the greatest of sinners, and the most unworthy of the graces which he had received from God.” He abhorred his unthankfulness, aggravated his faults, and distasted all that commended him.

“ Lord, (said he) I have deserved nothing but punishment. Thou hast heaped blessings upon me. Thou hast honoured me with an holy calling, but I have not laboured according to the worth of it. I have mingled my own glory with thine. I have often neglected thy service, in order to seek my particular interest. O, how much self-love! What perverseness hath opposed the kingdom of thy Son within me! How often have I grieved thy holy Spirit by idle thoughts and carnal affections! But though it had been but justice in thee to have crushed me in thy wrath, yet thou hast always shewed thyself a gracious and merciful father to me. *In very faithfulness thou hast afflicted me.* Indeed thou hast sometimes chastened me with thy most terrible rod. Thou hast hid thy face from me for a moment, but thou hast remembered me in thy great compassion. Lord, thou wilt do it. Thou art faithful in thy promises. I am thy creature. Thou hast led me and taught me from my youth; O forsake me not in this last period of my life. Have mercy upon me, my God; my father, have mercy upon me. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do. Defer not for thy own sake, O my God, even for thy Son’s sake, *who hath loved me, and given himself for me.*”

“ The mercy of God (said he) is infinite as himself is. There is no sin so great but it may be remitted. How great was Aaron’s sin, who made the golden calf? How grievous that of David in the business of Uriah? And that of Solomon, whom God had so highly honoured,

noured, whose heart was seduced by the love of strange women to the abominable worship of false gods? And yet God said of him, *That if he brake God's statutes, and kept not his commandments, he would visit his transgressions with the rod, and his iniquity with stripes: Nevertheless, he would not utterly take his loving-kindness from him.* And, (said he) thou wilt pardon me also, O my God. Thou wilt deliver me from every evil work, and preserve me to thy heavenly kingdom. Let me die the death of the righteous. Let me see thy face in righteousness. Let me enjoy those good things of which thou hast given me many foretastes. O how happy a thing is it to live in God's fear, and to die in his peace." His illness being violent, and his pain acute, a friend of his in the ministry, in order to comfort and strengthen him, said to him, 'Be of good cheer, for the time of your deliverance draws nigh.' "O how welcome (replied he) are you to me with that good news! Welcome, kind death! O how happy shall I be to see my God, to whom my heart hath been of a long time aspiring! He will be merciful to me. Pray that he will be pleased to perfect his work in me." Yet sometimes the violence of his pain forced a complaint from him. "O Lord, (said he once) lay not too heavy a hand upon thy poor servant. Thou hast sufficiently afflicted me, to make me sensible of my sin." But correcting himself he added, "Yet, Lord, I am far from murmuring against thee. I have kept myself from that in my long trials. I have deserved infinitely more than I suffer. Bruise this dust and these ashes. Bruise this body, and save my precious soul. Miserable as I am, I would not change my condition for that of a king, while I hope in the grace of my God."

When one of his friends put him in mind of the words of Jacob, *I have waited for thy salvation, O God*, he said, "Many of our doctors by that salvation understand the temporal deliverances which God promised his people: But I will apply it to myself in the sense you take it in." Another friend having mentioned the words of the hymn of Zacharias, *The tender mercy of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high hath visited us*, he added, "Yes, it is that *Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his wings.*" When he heard the words, Psalm cxxx. *I wait for the Lord, my soul doth wait, and in his word do I hope*, he said, "That word is the promise of the gospel, that *whosoever believeth in Jesus Christ hath everlasting life.* That is the word which my soul doth wait for."

He was much in the mention of passages from the fifty-first Psalm, particularly of that verse, *The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.* To which he usually added, "That sacrifice, O my God, I offer to thee." Being visited by a student, and by him asked, whether he thought the Hebrew was the language spoke in heaven? He answered, "This is not revealed: Neither do I think that the language of heaven is known here on earth; but I judge we shall learn it in a moment, when God shall be *all in all*. This is that tongue of angels, which St. Paul mentions: and is as other things which God hath prepared for those that love him; and they are all of them *such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard*, and which are not come into man's heart."

Having repeated those words, Psalm xxxii. 1, 2. *Blessed is he whose transgressions are forgiven, whose sin is covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity, and in whose spirit there is no guile*, he added, "Thou knowest, Lord, that in sincerity, and without guile, I humble myself before thy face. I am a miserable sinner, and could not dare to lift up my eyes towards thee, did I not trust both in thy commandment and promise. Such as labour under a sense of their miseries, are those whom thou callest; for thou sayest, *Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* O then, let me come to thee. Draw me, O Lord, that I may run after thee. I am tired; I am quite weary of being absent from my God. *My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God. When shall I come and appear before God?* Alas, I am unworthy of it; for I was conceived in sin, and my whole life hath been a continued transgression. Yet far be it from me to doubt of God's power and faithfulness. *Where sin aboundeth, his grace aboundeth much more.* It is not for the righteous, but for repenting sinners that he hath given his Son, that *whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.* Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief. Increase and strengthen my faith. It is now weak and small, but it is true and unfeigned, and resteth upon Jesus Christ only. There is no salvation in any other. He is *the way, the truth, and the life. None can come to the Father but by him.* Away with all other intercessors. Away with all merit of works. All our righteousnesses are but pollutions. Ah, my God, I have no righteousness but thine; for I was conceived in sin, and never did any work so good  
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but it needed pardon. Mercy, Lord; mercy. Pardon me my sins, pardon me my unrighteousness. Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sins. Purge me with hyssop, but let it be dipt in the blood of the Lamb *without blemish and without spot, which taketh away the sins of the world.* Thou knowest, O Lord, that I have loved thy holy truth, and that I have believed thy promises. They are the joy of my heart. They are the comforts which have kept up my heart from dejection. O God, perfect thy work in me. *Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation, and uphold me with thy free Spirit.*" He was so humble and so vile in his own eyes, that when any thing was spoken in his praise, he rejected it with a kind of indignation: saying, "Away with this flattery, and pray to God to have mercy on me." His sickness was an inflammation of the lungs, with a quotidian ague, which returned with double violence every day at the same hour. Coming out of a fit, he said, "My God, how weary am I! When shall I rest in thy bosom? When shall I be filled with the true riches? When shall I drink of the river of thy pleasures? I am unworthy of it, O my God; but thou art glorified by doing good to the unworthy. It is not for them who are whole, but for those that are sick, that thy Son, the great physician, was sent. Whosoever believeth on him is passed from death to life." Being asked whether he did not perfectly hope in the grace of God, he answered, "I hope, but not perfectly; yet, as much as I am able. I suffer now the pains of death, but God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for he shall receive me." When some comforting passage of Scripture was mentioned to him, by which he found himself strengthened, he took the hand of the person who uttered it, and kissing it, said, "The Spirit of God hath spoken by your mouth. The Lord bless you, and increase his graces in you." After an exhortation which had greatly affected him, he said, "These are excellent words. The Lord, by his grace, deeply imprinted them in my heart."

Sometimes when those about him spake of the excellency of that glory he was going to enjoy, he seemed to be in an extacy, and said but little, and what he said was with long pauses between his words; as, "O what is it to see God's face in righteousness! O when shall I be satisfied with his likeness!" He often repeated the words  
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of David, Psalm xxxvi. *How excellent is thy loving-kindness, O God: Therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings. They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house, and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see light.*" And Psalm lxxv. "*Blessed is the man whom thou chooseth, and causeth to approach unto thee, that he may dwell in thy courts. He shall be satisfied with the goodness of thy house, even of thy holy temple.*" He often repeated Psalm xxvii, lxxiii, and lxxi; dwelling on those words in the last, "*O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared thy wondrous works. Now also, when I am old and grey-headed, O God, forsake me not.*"

For the six last days of his illness, he was mostly in slumbers; against which he much strove, and said, "Rouse me, I should now watch. 'Tis now no time to sleep, but to die. *Watch and pray, said my Saviour, lest ye enter into temptation.* O Great God, abandon me not to my infirmities; but so preserve and keep my spirit, that I may glorify thee when I am dying." He often said, lifting up his eyes and hands, "Lord, be merciful to me: Be gracious to me." Even when he seemed to be fast asleep, it appeared that his heart waked; for he now and then, in that circumstance, whispered out a short sentence, as, *Death is swallowed up in victory! The Word was made flesh!* He was therefore once asked, after he awoke, after such heart-wakings, whether he lifted up his soul to God? "Yes, he replied, continually." He often felt his own pulse, and then usually said, "O what a grief is this! I cannot die. My God, have mercy on me, and set my soul free. I am weary of being absent from my God. *I desire to depart, and to be with Christ.* O my God, come fetch me. Shorten the days of my combat. Let me die, I beseech thee. *Into thy hands I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.* When many of his flock were got about him, and desired his blessing, he said, "The Lord bless you, and give you his fear, and the promised salvation." A little before his death, awaking about midnight, he said to a person attending him, "I shall now soon be eased. I am going to my Father and my God. He hath heard me indeed. I go to him with confidence, for he hath arrayed me with his robe." And then, in the greatest rapture, he said, "I see him. O how

how beautiful he is ! I renounce all earthly affections. I will no more love any thing in the world but thee, O God, who dost alone possess me." And then his eyes were bright and sparkling, his mouth open and panting after the living God ; his arms stretched out towards heaven ; and there was a visible and wonderful effort in him to rise, and with his whole body to welcome, as it were, and embrace the beautiful object of his love. After which one who attended him said, ' Sir, you will see your Redeemer with your own eyes.' He replied, " I believe it." And these were the last intelligible words he uttered. A few minutes after, he sweetly expired, and left on his countenance the features of joy. He died March 10, 1658, aged ninety.

As to his literary character, it was famous throughout all Europe, or (as De Vaux hath expressed it) throughout the Christian world. The learned reader may peruse, with much satisfaction, what the said De Vaux hath said of him in his prefatory epistle to the *Thesaurus Theologiæ Sedanensis*, Vol. I. Even Gerard Vossius mentions his old philosophic preceptor with due honour : And our own excellent Dr. Twisse writes concerning him : ' I do admire him upon the Eucharist and on Purgatory. He hath my heart, when I read in his Consolations to his Brethren of the Church of France, as also in treating of the love of God. I would willingly learn French to understand him only ; and have a long time desired, and still do, to get any thing that he hath written.'

## ROBERT HARRIS, D.D.

**R**OBERT HARRIS was born at Broad Cambden, in Gloucestershire, in the year 1578. At a proper age he was sent to the free-school at Chipping Cambden, where he met with much discouragement in his learning, partly through the frequent change of schoolmasters, the salary being small, and partly from the severe and cruel manner with which they treated the boys ; which, he used often to say, was the bane of many scholars. He was at length removed to the school at Worcester, where he heard Dr. Robert Abbot, afterwards Bishop Abbot, preach every Sunday ; and from thence to Magdalen Hall, in Oxford. But being neglected by his tutor, and having

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a great thirst for learning, he requested of his relation, the principal, to allow him to put himself under the tuition of a Mr. Goffe of Magdalen college, a good scholar, and a famous logician and disputant; but, as he was also reputed a puritan, his relation, who was a favourer of popery, endeavoured to dissuade him from it. However, the consideration of his progress in learning prevailed, and he was accordingly committed to Mr. Goffe's tuition. Mr. Goffe required Mr. Harris, with the rest of his pupils, to join in reading the Scriptures, repeating of sermons, and in using prayer; but this new and strange plan, as it appeared to Mr. Harris, gave him much uneasiness, observing that none of the seniors embraced that way; and yet it was such as he knew not how to oppose. This led him to pray to God, that he would discover to him the falsehood of his tutor, if he had any design of misleading or corrupting his mind; or, if it were the right way, God would make it plain to him, and confirm him in it. He likewise bought a Bible and some of the best books in divinity, which, being read with prayer and constancy, by the blessing of God and his tutor's instructions, brought about his thorough conversion. He then made such rapid progress in his studies, that, not long after, his tutor looked upon him not so much his pupil, as companion in his studies.

It hath been frequently observed, that grace not only informs and quickens the mind with respect to the things of God and the matters of eternal salvation, but often expands the natural faculties to the more acute and sensible observation of common affairs, insomuch that the Scripture is fulfilled in every sense, which declares that *the law of God is perfect, converting the soul: The testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple. The statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart. The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes.* Mr. Harris was now determined for the ministry, and purposing to take orders, he returned home, and preached his first sermon at Chipping-Cambden, from Rom. x. 1. which was much admired: "But (says he) I was a loser by it; for my heart swelled with pride, and my friends thought I need not go again to Oxford, because I had learning enough." His father, who had many more children to provide for, designed to breed him to the law, and had made some interest for his preferment; but he humbly intreated his father, that what he intended hereafter to bestow on him for his patrimony, he would at present allow to him for his

his maintenance at Oxford, till he had perfected his studies, to which his father at last agreed. But he had not been long again in Oxford before the plague broke out there; upon which the gownsmen were so dispersed abroad, that but few remained in the university. Mr. Harris was invited to the house of Mr. Doyly, five miles from Oxford, a gentleman of a very ancient and respectable family in that county, who, with his lady, were eminent for piety, and for love to the Gospel. Here he laboured very acceptably in the assistance of an aged and infirm clergyman, till Mr. Dod of Hanwell, and Mr. Cleaver of Drayton, and some others, were suspended; and Mr. Doyly, preferring public good to private interest, was prevailed upon by Sir Anthony Cope, his brother-in-law, to allow Mr. Harris to succeed Mr. Dod at Hanwell. For Sir Anthony Cope, who had placed Mr. Dod at Hanwell, and Mr. Cleaver at Drayton, expected the appointment of other two in their room; but Archbishop Bancroft finding the silenced clergy would not conform to his terms, presented two chaplains to Hanwell and Drayton, upon pretence of a lapse: But Sir Anthony, sitting then in parliament, took one or two of the house with him, and presented his two clerks to the Archbishop, who, after a long dispute, admitted his presentation. But Sir Anthony having spoken in that parliament against insufficient ministers, and reflected at the same time on some of the bishops, Archbishop Bancroft took this opportunity to resent it, by ordering Sir Anthony's two clerks to be strictly examined by the most able of his Grace's chaplains. The chaplain reported of the clerk designed for Hanwell, (which Mr. Harris had declined, not being willing to succeed so eminent a divine as Mr. Dod) 'That although a grave and discreet divine, he was altogether insufficient.' And of Mr. Harris, '*Mediocriter doctus*, that he was moderately learned.' The Archbishop not being satisfied with this last account, desired Bishop Barlow, who was then present, to make some further proof of Mr. Harris. Bishop Barlow, being a learned and sensible as well as pious man, readily complied, and examined Mr. Harris first in divinity, then in other parts of learning, especially Greek, in which the Bishop was esteemed a critic; and, as the story is related, 'they Greeked it together so long, that they were both run a-ground for words, upon which they both laughed, and so gave over.' The Bishop's report (says Mr. Harris) set me as much too high, as the chaplain had set my fellow-candidate too low. The Archbishop  
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accepted of Mr. Harris, provided he should go to Hanwell, which Sir Anthony the more easily agreed to, because it was originally his wish and design. Mr. Harris being now settled at Hanwell, and Mr. Scudder, a godly prudent man, at Drayton, and Mr. Whately at Banbury, they became a neighbouring family trio, united not only in judgment and affection, but also in affinity; Mr. Harris having married Mr. Whately's sister, and Mr. Scudder his wife's sister. These three met together weekly, when they translated a chapter of the Scriptures. But as temptations and trials are also necessary for the qualifying a man for usefulness in the ministry, so Mr. Harris was exercised with his wife's long and tedious illness from the birth of her first child: Which affliction (as Mr. Dod often told him) was but to season and fit him for his work; and, as he afterwards used to say himself, "He should have been spoiled had he not thus been taken down; for young ministers know not on what ground they tread till God makes them humble." He had, however, many encouragements; his people began to relish his ministry; and he had much comfort in the neighbourhood of many pious ministers. On one side he had Mr. Cleaver, a very solid text-man; on the other side Mr. Lancaster, a man as remarkable for humility, faith in the promises and providence of God, and self-denial, as for his profound learning. But he seemed to be most intimately attached to Mr. Dod, with whom he lived in the utmost cordiality and friendship. They conversed, studied, and daily read a chapter in the original together. And Mr. Dod rarely expounded a text, preached a sermon, or answered a case of conscience, without consulting Mr. Harris, so highly did that eminent divine prize him; and he would often blame him for being reserved and unwilling to put forth himself.

Mr. Harris continued at Hanwell about forty years, a constant, laborious, faithful pastor: preaching on the Lord's day, weekly lectures, and many occasional sermons; in all which he studied not airy notions and curious speculations, but suitable and profitable matter, which he delivered in sound words, and in plain method of doctrine, reason, and use, accommodating himself to every man's capacity: And God gave him a plentiful harvest in that country. And of Hanwell it is said, there was not a family in it where God's name was not in some measure called upon, nor a person that refused to be examined and instructed by him for a due partaking of  
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the Lord's Supper. At the same time God blessed him in his circumstances; for though his income was not great, and his children many, and the resort of friends to his house was very considerable, both on Sundays and lecture-days, yet was he in a thriving condition, which he gratefully acknowledged, saying, "That there was a secret blessing attended on house-keeping; for I am not able to give an account of my expences and of God's supplies." Here he remained, blessed in himself, and a blessing to his people, till the breaking out of the civil wars, when, in 1642, he was driven by the King's soldiers to London, where he was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In the year 1646, he was one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford, and the next year one of their visitors, when he was created doctor in divinity, and made president of Trinity college, and rector of Garlington, near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. He governed his college with great prudence, and gained the affections of all the fellows and students, who revered him as a father, though he has been stigmatized by some as a notorious pluralist: To which the writer of his life replies, that whatever benefices he might have been nominated to, he declared he did not receive the profits of them. And, in letters to his friends on this subject, he wrote, "That it was and should be matter of humiliation and caution to him, whilst he lived, that he had given the least advantage to such as sought it; for though he stood clear in his own and others' consciences, who best knew him, that he was far from allowing non-residency and plurality of livings, yet to such as were ignorant of all circumstances, there was some appearance of evil." He presided over his college ten years, though he was now seventy; and continued almost to the very last preaching once every Sunday at his parsonage, and a weekly lecture in Oxford, as well as in his turn before the university, both in English and Latin.

The Doctor being now of a great age, and finding his strength begin to fail, he freed himself of all worldly affairs, settled all his children, and gave up himself wholly to prepare for death and a better world. But in this also he was severely exercised; for, besides the infirmities of old age, Mrs. Harris, with whom he had lived and walked in the ways of God for about fifty years, was, by the permission of God, now so buffeted and assaulted by Satan, that she was under the greatest horror

of mind imaginable. Her temptations were so violent, horrid, and subtle, that the ablest and most experienced men could at times scarce answer them; which made the Doctor remark, "That the best man is no more than what the Lord makes him hourly." One day as she was complaining that she could find no comfort, "Oh, (said he) what an idol do some people make of comfort, as if their comfort were their Christ!" Under this heavy affliction the Lord supported him with many mercies and supports, for which he expressed great thankfulness; nevertheless it so hurt his health, that, in the summer of the year in which he died, he began to break and droop very much. He applied to physicians, but merely in obedience to God, who he thought would have us use the means which he afforded us; "Or else (said he) for my own part, I could live, and durst die." He was first seized with a pleuritic pain in his left side, attended with a fever, and a great defluxion of rheum, and oppression of his lungs with phlegm; afterwards with an empyema, under which he expectorated daily a large quantity for more than two months; which, with his old complaints, the stone and stranguary, brought him so low that he was not able to speak much to those that visited him: And so he verified what he had often said in the times of his best health, "That little was to be expected from him on his death-bed." And this judgment of himself induced him to write his advice to his family many years before he died. It is said, he forbore to speak, because he observed a design in some to make what he said public, which he was averse to; nor would he consent that any thing of his life or death should be written; neither could he ever be persuaded to sit for his picture, so desirous was he that all of him might be buried with him. However, his friends thought it would be an injury to the church of Christ, as well as injustice to his memory, to comply absolutely with his desire in this respect, and therefore they set down the few following particulars relative to his last sickness and death:

' In the beginning of his sickness, being desired to receive company, he said, "I am, when alone, in company. It is all one to me to be left alone or to have friends with me. My work is now to arm myself for death, which assaults me; and I apply myself, according to my ability, for that great encounter." He constantly exhorted every one who visited him, and all about him, above all things to get faith. "It is (said he) your victory,

lory, your peace, your life, your crown, and your chief piece of spiritual armour. Notwithstanding which, put on likewise all the other pieces; and then go forth in the Lord's might. Stand to the fight, and the issue shall be glorious. Only forget not to call in the aid of your General. Do all from him, and under him." When his friends came to see him, he used to say, "I cannot speak, but I can hear." And being asked, where his comfort lay? He answered, "In Christ, and in the free grace of God." 'Sir, (said one to him) you may take much comfort in your labours. You have done much good, &c.' He answered, "All is nothing without a Saviour. Without him my best works would condemn me. O, I am ashamed of them, as they were mixed with so much sin! O, I am an unprofitable servant! I have not done any thing for God, as I ought. Loss of time sits heavily on my spirit. Work, work apace, assuring yourselves, that nothing will more trouble you when you come to die, than that you have done no more for God, who hath done so much for you." Sometimes he expressed himself in the following manner: "I never in all my life saw the worth of a Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of God's love in that measure I do now." Being asked, what he would have done for him? he answered, "Do not only pray for me, but praise God for his unspeakable mercy to me, and in particular for keeping Satan from me in this my weakness. O how good is God! Always entertain good thoughts of him. However it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, or too badly of ourselves."

'And a sense of the goodness of God in Christ Jesus, was continually and so deeply imprinted on his heart, that in all his wills the following legacy always had a place: "Item, I bequeath to all my children, and to their children's children, to each of them a Bible with this inscription, None but Christ." Being once visited by two reverend divines, his choice friends; and they, before they prayed with him, desired him to tell them what he chiefly requested, he answered, "I praise God he supports me, and keeps off Satan; beg that I may hold out. I am now a good way homeward, but quite spent. I am now near the shore, and leave you tossing on the sea. O, it is a good time to die in!" Being asked from time to time how he did, he still answered to this effect: "In no great pain, I praise God; only weary of my unuseful life. If God hath no more service for me to

do here, I would be gladly in heaven, where I shall serve him better, freed from sin and distractions. I pass from one death to another, yet I fear none. I praise God I can live, and I dare die. If God hath more work for me to do here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary." Being once, particularly towards the close of the day, asked how he did; "O, (said he) this hath been a sweet day! I have had sweet communion with God in Jesus Christ." Having desired one to pray with him and for him, that God would hasten what concerned him, he was asked whether pain, &c. put him on that desire: He answered, "No. But I now do no good; and I hinder others, who might be better employed if I were not. Why should any desire to live, but to do God service? And as I now cease from that, I do not live." On Saturday evening, he began to set himself to die, forbidding any more cordials to be given him, whatever extremity he might be in. Taking his son by the hand, he said, "Pray with me: It is the last time, probably, that I shall ever join with you." His son answered, 'There remains a rest.' To whom he replied, "My Sabbath is not far off, and your's is at hand. Ere that, I shall be rid of all my trouble: and you will be eased of me." He then gave his son (the only child then with him) his dying blessing; enjoining him, when he had an opportunity, to inform the people where he had lived the longest, "That he lived and died in the faith which he had preached and printed; the comfort of which he now found." He would have added something more, but his disorders prevented him: He was only able to desire, that the eighth chapter of the epistle to the Romans might be read to him. During which the Lord was very gracious, and better to him than his own fears, and those of his relations and two clergymen, who, apprehending his death would be very painful, had prayed that the Lord would make his departure easy. His breathing became soft and easy, and continued till his eyes, which were lifted up to heaven, closed of themselves; and his soul, without the least motion or resistance of the body, entered into everlasting rest, early on Sunday morning, the twelfth of December 1658, in the eightieth year of his age.

## SAMUEL WINTER, D. D.

PROVOST OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

THIS gracious person was born in the year of our Lord 1603, at Balsal, in the wood-land part of Warwickshire, about seven miles from the city of Coventry, of religious parents.\* About the twelfth year of his age it pleased God, by the ministry of one Mr. Slader, then preacher at the chapel of Knowl, near unto Balsal, (the Doctor's father having a great hand in bringing him thither) to awaken his conscience, and to make him serious about the things that concerned his everlasting salvation, as also to stir up in him earnest desires of doing good to the souls of others. His father sent him to the free-school in Coventry, where, through his extraordinary diligence and industry, he made so good a progress in learning, that though, at near fourteen years of age, he understood nothing or very little of the first rudiments of grammar, yet within a few years he became fit for the university, and accordingly he was sent to Cambridge, and had for some time the famous Dr. Preston for his tutor. At the feet of this Gamaliel, those natural and gracious abilities, which he brought along with him, were much improved: And partly by the help and directions of so excellent a guide, and partly by God's blessing upon his unwearied labours, he attained to a great measure of knowledge, both in the tongues and in divinity. When he had commenced master of arts, being as yet unwilling to enter upon that great work of the ministry, he left Cambridge, and went to Boston in Lincolnshire, where he lived under the ministry of the learned Mr. John Cotton; out of whose family, after some time, he married Mrs. Ann Beeston, a gentlewoman of a good extraction, and one that had a considerable portion, the match being of Mr. Cotton's contrivance.

After his marriage, and some continuance with his wife, in Mr. Cotton's family, he fell into a very violent fever,

\* Christopher Winter (father of our Dr. Winter) was born in Oxfordshire, which said Thomas had nineteen sons and seven daughters. Many of the sons were dispersed into several counties, and the said Christopher was seated in Balsal in Warwickshire.

fever, which, in the judgment of his physicians, was desperate, and left no hopes of his recovery: His wife being much affected and afflicted, he would often comfort her, telling her that he was persuaded, he should not die at this time. And accordingly he recovered, and then resolved to apply himself to the work of the ministry: And being more ambitious to do God and his church service, than to advance himself in the world, he removed from Boston to a small living near Nottingham, called Woodborrow, where, by his painful and powerful preaching (many out of the neighbouring towns flocking to his ministry, *as the doves to their windows*) the seeds of grace, through God's blessing, were sown in the hearts of many. This place he always highly esteemed, and would often call it "His first-born." From Woodborrow he was removed to York, and in that great and populous city he continued a lecturer for some time; and as there he had great opportunities for service, so had he great success; receiving a manifest seal to his ministry, in the conversion and confirmation of many: But the civil wars coming on about that time, he could not stay long at York: Yet, though the door was shut up against him in that place, another large and effectual door was opened for him elsewhere. For Cottingham, a great town within three miles of Hull, being then destitute of a pastor, thither he was, by a more than ordinary Providence, brought: and in that place, for about the space of eight years he continued to be a burning and shining light, as it was said of John the Baptist, burning in his zeal and doctrine, and shining in his life and holy conversation.

He was exceedingly active and industrious for God; he thought no pains too great whereby the people's souls might be edified. He preached to them in public twice every Lord's day: He expounded the chapters which he read, and catechized the youth. In the evening he repeated his sermons to his own family, many of the neighbours also resorting to him. On the week-days he took occasion to go from house to house, instructing the ignorant, and endeavouring to build up his parishioners in their most holy faith. Scarce any part of a minister's duty has been more blessed of God, and more comfortable to himself, than the serious and private visitation of his people, by which he may come to the knowledge of their particular situations and accordingly be enabled to apply those suitable instructions, which, in his public ministry, for want of this particular knowledge, it is  
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perhaps impossible for him to do. The performance of this duty has also been the means of removing many prejudices, and obviating many objections: And all this may and has been done, without demeaning the sacred character, which can only be hurt by idle and impertinent discourses, the offspring of complimentary and fashionable visits. And God was pleased so to bless his labours, that he became instrumental to the conversion and confirmation of many, who attained (partly by his public ministry, and partly by his private pains) a great measure of grace and gifts, so that they made conscience of the strict observation of the Lord's day, of closet and family duties, and other spiritual services required by God as fruits of their faith.

So meek and affable he was in his carriage towards all men, that his company was pleasing and delightful, even to many of those who had no relish of his doctrine. At Cottingham he buried his loving and dearly beloved wife, who left him five sons: Which loss was yet (through God's providence) abundantly repaired in his second marriage, about three years after, with Mrs. Elizabeth Weaver, the daughter of Christopher Weaver, Esq. and she proved excellently qualified for the good and comfort both of him and his children; and God was pleased so to bless her prudent management of his outward affairs, that, when he died, he left a plentiful estate to his children, besides all those acts of more than ordinary bounty, by which both in his life, and at the time of his death, he testified his faith. In the year 1650, the powers that were then in being resolved to send over four commissioners into Ireland, for the settlement of that distracted and almost ruined kingdom. and judging it necessary to send along with them a godly, able, and orthodox divine, they ordered that Mr. Winter should attend these commissioners thither: Which order of theirs being sent to him to Cottingham, where he then lived, he looked upon it as a clear call from God. Yet for his better satisfaction, he advised with his friends, and begged direction from God in a business of so weighty concernment; after which he cheerfully embraced this call, hoping that God would bring some glory to his own name, by the labours of him, his unworthy servant, in that kingdom. And so, not consulting with flesh and blood, which might have suggested to him that it would be an unadvised act, and disadvantageous to him, to part with so tractable and loving a people, and with so good a rectory,  
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(it being above four hundred pounds a-year) and to cast himself upon strangers, neither knowing nor capitulating with them what his salary should be for the maintenance of himself and family. And so, resigning up his living, he prepared for his journey. At his coming over into Ireland, the commissioners allowed him but one hundred pounds for the first year, which yet he cheerfully accepted, though it did not defray the charges of their transportation, with such necessaries as he provided for the accommodation of himself and family: Much less did it repair the losses which he sustained shortly after his landing, when the Irish army took from him several horses of good value, which he carried over with him. In this his first year, he attended the commissioners in several journies which they made into the four provinces of Ireland, was their household chaplain, performed family duties, and preached in public every Lord's day, wheresoever they came. And in the city of Dublin, (where they continued the greatest part of their time) he preached sometimes twice every Lord's day in Christ Church, before the Commissioners, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of that city, many gentlemen and others resorting to his ministry.

Not long after, some other ministers coming thither from England, the commissioners (for the ease of Mr. Winter) used to request one or other of them to preach in the morning, reserving Mr. Winter for the afternoon, at which time was the greatest auditory: But he, not being willing to be out of employment, set up a lecture, which he preached every Sunday morning at seven o'clock, in the church of St. Nicholas, within the said city: And this lecture was frequented by the commissioners, city magistrates, and many others, so that he had a very full congregation; and to encourage poor people to come to church, he caused some white loaves to be distributed among them always, when the sermon was ended. About this time the commissioners, finding that Trinity College, by Dublin, through the iniquity of the times, and distractions of the kingdom, was left destitute by the fellows and students, and thereby brought almost to ruin, they thought it their duty, for the advancement of religion and learning, to endeavour its repair: And for that end they appointed Mr. Winter to be the provost or master of it, and where (after a time) he commenced doctor in divinity, having, with singular applause and approbation, performed all the requisite acts  
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and exercises. He also, out of his zeal and care to promote so pious a work, in a short time encouraged, and procured the return of several fellows and students to the college, as also the coming over from England of several hopeful young scholars, who by the college was suddenly replenished with many religious and hopeful young men: And by the great pains which he took with them, instructing them both in human and divine learning, preaching, and expounding the sacred Scriptures to them, and often praying with them, both in the college chapel, and sometimes in his own lodgings, he gave as great hopes of the flourishing of that seminary in learning and piety, as any college in Christendom. And they, to retaliate his care and pains, gave him an honourable testimonial under the college seal.

Whilst Dr. Winter continued provost of that college, he had occasion to go to a place called Monouth, a populous town about ten miles from Dublin, where (according to his custom in most places where he came) he preached, and found the people very attentive to his ministry, and desirous to be instructed in the way to heaven: Whereupon, at the earnest request both of the minister and many others of the inhabitants, he rode over to them every three weeks, and preached, which he continued for some years, and God was pleased to bless his labours for the conversion of many English and Irish, who flocked to hear him. When he quitted that university and kingdom, he came away to his great outward prejudice, the college being indebted to him in a considerable sum of money, which he had disbursed for the use thereof. some part of which, after his decease, they paid to his son. After his return into England, he, with his wife, sojourned with some friends, sometimes in and about West Chester; sometimes at Coventry; and other times with his wife's relations in Hertfordshire and Rutlandshire. In all which places he became (through God's blessing) an instrument of much good, not only in the families with whom he abode, but also to several neighbours with whom he conversed. Thus we have a brief account of the most considerable passages of this doctor's life; we are now come to the last scene, wherein we shall find that saying made good, *Vita qualis, finis talis*: His holy and humble life being concluded with a comfortable and glorious death. His sun did not set in a cloud, but shone out with a more bright and glorious lustre than is ordinarily seen. It was his work and business to glorify  
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God in his life; and God did highly honour him at his death, as will appear by what follows: Whilst he was in Rutlandshire, on Tuesday, October the thirteenth, in the year 1666, he rode to a neighbouring town, to assist in carrying on a day of humiliation; wherein, having wearied his body and spent his spirits, he was obliged to defer his return home till the next day. On the Lord's day following, he preached twice for the instruction of the family with which he then abode, and at his going to bed he found himself not well. On Monday he continued ill, yet arose, came down, and performed family duties. At dinner he could eat but little, and at night went ill to bed, yet slept pretty well; only in both those nights he complained of a pain in his right side, and he had frequent provocations to vomit, but without effect. Oft he found himself cold, yet when he came a little to the fire, he was too hot in his own sense: insomuch that his friends about him judged it would turn to an ague. Wednesday and Thursday his distemper continued: And on Friday, finding himself to grow weaker, he desired that his will might be fairly engrossed, which lay by him under his own hand-writing; and withal, he laboured to persuade his wife to be content to part with him, saying, "That it would not be long before they should meet again:" And then he put up earnest prayers to God for her, and some other of his relations.

Upon Friday he sat up all the day, but still continued under his bodily distempers, and finding his strength to decay, he would often repeat that of the psalmist, *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.* On Saturday he sealed and published his will, all the day complaining of the cramp that was in his left leg. In the evening he went to bed, and, to the apprehension of those about him, slept well that night. About six o'clock on the Sunday morning, he raised himself up in his bed, and with a cheerful and loud voice called to his wife, who lay in a bed by him, saying, "Sweetheart, I have been this night conversing with spirits:" And as in a rapture, he cried out, "O the glories that are prepared for the saints of God. The Lord hath been pleased to shew me this night the exceeding weight of glory which is laid up in heaven for his chosen" Adding farther, that he had studied, and thought that he knew as much what the glory of heaven was as any other man: But he now saw that all the divines on earth were but children in the knowledge of that great mystery of heavenly glory, which

which the Lord had that night given him a clearer sight of, than ever formerly he had: That it was such a mystery as could not be comprehended by the wit of man; with many other such like expressions, having his soul so wonderfully elevated, that he could not declare what he found, and felt therein. Then he desired that his relations and the rest of the family might be called up, that so he might make known unto them that immense weight of glory which that night had been discovered to him. When they were assembled, he did with vehemency and intenseness of spirit, endeavour to discover the same to them in expressions as aforesaid: But he was so swallowed up in the contemplations thereof, that he could not utter what he desired: And so he continued all that day, and even till he died, in very high raptures and great acclamations, by way of thankfulness unto God for the Lord Jesus Christ, the fountain of that glory, and for those evident discoveries of the same unto him. Towards the evening of that Lord's day, an honourable person, together with his lady and some other friends, came to visit him, with whom he discoursed about heaven and the things of God, as understandingly, fervently, and fluently, as if he had enjoyed his best health; his understanding and memory continuing as strong and vigorous as ever; in his discourse quoting several places of Scripture, citing the very chapter, verse, and words of the texts, and explaining the meaning from the Hebrew and Greek originals.

After this discourse, which continued about the space of two hours, finding himself weary, he betook himself to bed, all the company withdrawing into another chamber. After an hour's repose, he desired that the said honourable person with his lady, and other friends, might be called in again, that he might speak something more to them; and when they, with the rest of the family, were come into his chamber, he told them, that he thought he had but a short time to live; that he was going to Jesus Christ, with him to enjoy the fulness of joy, and those rivers of pleasure, which God had lately discovered to him, and which he had laid up in heaven for such as love him and keep his commandments. "O! (said he) if you had but a thorough sight thereof, it would make you all to love Jesus Christ and holiness, which is the only way prescribed by God to attain to this happiness." And then he went on to magnify the riches of free grace, through which alone the saints come

to enjoy that exceeding and eternal weight of glory, which neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor can enter into the heart of man to conceive. He exhorted them not to trouble themselves so much in labouring to get assurance of salvation, as to examine themselves carefully and diligently, whether they were in the way of sanctification: And, for this end, he commended two things for their serious meditations, about which he advised them daily to ask their souls these two questions: What am I? and, Where am I?—What am I? Am I *a new creature*? Am I *born again*? If so, then new thoughts, new words, new company, and a new conversation will appear. Old thoughts, words, and actions, will be done away. Secondly, Where am I? Am I in that narrow way that leads to life eternal? or in that broad way that leads to death and damnation? He told them, that if any there present continued in the broad way, it had been better that they had never been born. “ And (said he) if you will make this your continual meditation, you cannot miscarry: And if you find yourself to be in the narrow way, the way of sanctification, let God alone with the rest, to give you an assurance of your future happiness, which he will do in his own time.

He farther declared to them, that as, by all his preaching through the whole course of his ministry, he had discovered and published this way of holiness, through Christ to be the only way to heaven; so could he now at his death set forth no other way: And that, if he were now again to begin his ministry, he could hold forth no other way to attain unto glory. And so, with much earnestness of spirit, looking up towards heaven, he begged of God that the words of a dying man might make a deep impression upon the hearts of his hearers: And that, as God had made him an instrument of converting many souls unto him in his life, so he would bless what he had now spoken, that some one soul might be brought to Jesus Christ, by this his last sermon. Then he proceeded to further heavenly discourses and instructions, quoting several texts of Scripture for the proof of what he spake, naming the chapters, verses, and words of the texts, which he opened, and explained out of the originals, with such acuteness and strength of words, with such zeal and fervency of spirit as was admirable, so that he drew tears from the eyes of all that were present, whether young or old. And lest any there present should think that his understanding and memory were grown weak, or that he

was

was overcome through the abundance of divine communion which he had the night before; to let them know that he had spoken to them the words of truth and soberness, and that with a perfect understanding of what he spake, he made this narrative following: He told them the manner of his education in religion from his childhood, and of the vanity which attended his youthful days: And where and how God did appear to him for his conversion at twelve years of his age, and of the persuasion he had, that he should be an instrument of converting many souls to God: As also of his proficiency in learning from that very time.

He farther declared, (with tears trickling down his cheeks) that he had many and many a time, in private, before he went to preach, put God in mind of that holy impression made early upon his mind, and earnestly besought him to make good his promise, by giving a blessing to that word of his, which he was then going to deliver, that some glory might redound to his holy name thereby: To which his prayers God had often been pleased to give a gracious answer, and to let him know it, by the conversion of some, by those sermons. One of his relations then present, fearing that his spirits would be weakened and spent by his continual discourse, desired him to repose him for a while: To whom he replied, with much earnestness and strength of voice: "No: were I sure that this should be my last night (as indeed it proved) and the last sermon that I should preach, I would continue it two hours longer:" Adding, that he was not afraid of death: And turning his head backward, he said, "Death is a coward: He comes behind me; he dares not look me in the face." And farther he said, "The devil hath often assaulted me in my life-time: But God stood by me, and gave me strength to resist him, so that he could never hurt me."

All that day following he lay in heavenly contemplation and raptures, often breaking forth in praises unto God for Jesus Christ: "His wife told him that some friends present hoped that he might yet live: To which he answered, "Can a dead man live? Will God work miracles?" Shortly after he said, "God is doing great things in the world:" And he much bewailed the sad condition of the church of Christ, &c. In the afternoon, finding death to approach, he often cried out, "O the power of death!" Not that he feared it, for it shrunk from him: But he found such a power in death, as none could

could know but those that were under it. He wished that his sons had been present, that they might see what the power of death was, and what it was to die. He desired also that some neighbours of the town might be called in, that he might preach his last sermon to them. And indeed, to this very time, his spirits, speech, and memory, continued very active and strong. About four o'clock in the afternoon, his wife, and his wife's brother and sister, standing by his bedside asked him how he did? He answered, "Very weak:" Adding, That he was going to Jesus Christ: Bid them not be afraid of death; with which words he put forth his hand, and said, "Brother, sister, take death by the hand: Be not afraid; death is a coward: He flies from me." They found that his hands were cold and clammy, whereby they perceived that he grew near to his end. And himself, not long after, feeling that the dissolution of this earthly tabernacle was now approaching, lifting up his eyes towards heaven, cried out, "Come, Lord Jesus!" And presently, with a smiling countenance, he added, "Art thou come?" And so he breathed out his last, on December the 29th, 1666, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Some particulars out of a letter sent by Mr. J. Weaver to the Doctor's sister, Parry, and other relations in Warwickshire, are subjoined in the note below. His second wife was this Mr. Weaver's sister.\*

\* Dr. Winter kept his chamber but one week, his bed but one day, his disease the physicians could not well understand, not being very sick. His understanding and memory he retained to the last. On his death-bed he said he thought he knew as much of the estate of glory as another, yet he now saw that all the ministers in the world were but children in that glorious mystery. When he took his bed on the Lord's day, (from which he never rose) he desired to speak some words to those about him, being, as he said, "the words of a dying man." In which he went on with that strength of memory, understanding, and voice, as if he had been in a pulpit, throwing his hands out of bed: He quoted many places of Scripture, the book, chapter, verse, and the express words so exactly, as made all wonder. The room was filled with tears to see such a saint in heaven while on earth. He was desired to compose himself. "No: (saith he) were I sure this would be my last night, I would preach these two hours." The next day he grew weaker in body, but stronger in spirit, being much in heavenly raptures, admiring free grace, which had prepared such a weight of glory for sinners. He wished all the town were there, that he might preach to them his last sermon. He died on Christmas-eve, and was buried at South la Henham, (as he desired) in Rutlandshire.

## JOHN WILKINS, D. D.

BISHOP OF CHESTER.

THIS learned and ingenious Prelate was son of Mr. Walter Wilkins, citizen and goldsmith of Oxford; and was born in the year 1614, at Fawsley, near Daventry, in Northamptonshire, in the house of the reverend and well-known Mr. John Dod, he being his grandfather by the mother's side. He was taught his Latin and Greek by Edward Sylvester, a noted Grecian, who kept a private school in the parish of All-Saints, in Oxford: His proficiency was such, that at thirteen years of age he entered a student at New Inn, in Easter-term, 1627. He made no long stay there, but was removed to Magdalen Hall, under the tuition of Mr. John Tombes, and there he took his degree in arts. He afterwards entered into orders, and was first chaplain to William, Lord Say, and then to Charles, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Prince Elector of the Empire, with whom he continued some time. To this last patron his skill in the mathematics was a very great recommendation. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he joined with the parliament, and took the solemn league and covenant. He was afterwards made warden of Wadham college, by the committee of parliament appointed for reforming the university; and being created bachelor in divinity April 12, 1648, he was the day following put into possession of his wardenship. Next year he was created doctor in divinity, and about that time took the engagement then enjoined by the powers in being. It is proper in this place to say, that though he took the covenant, yet, (as Dr. Lloyd assures us in his funeral sermon) in the very height of Cromwell's power, he expressed his affection to the old constitution, and protected many by the influence he had obtained, and which he employed principally for such purposes.

In 1656, he married Robina, the widow of Peter French, formerly canon of Christ church, sister to Oliver, then Lord Protector. In 1659, he was, by Richard, the Protector, made master of Trinity college in Cambridge, the best preferment in that university. After King Charles the II.'s restoration he was ejected from thence, and became preacher to the honourable society of Gray's Inn, and

and rector of St. Lawrence-Jury, London, in the room of Dr. Seth Ward, who was promoted to the bishopric of Exeter. About this time he became a member of the Royal Society, was chosen one of their council, and proved one of their most eminent members and chief benefactors. Soon after this, he was made Dean of Rippon, and, by the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, he was created Bishop of Chester, and consecrated in the chapel of Ely House, in Holborn, the 15th of November 1668, by Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Laney, Bishop of Ely; and Dr. Ward, Bishop of Salisbury; on which occasion Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who had married his daughter-in-law, preached the sermon. The friendship which subsisted between our Author and Dr. Tillotson, is a proof of their mutual moderation, as it is evident there was no small difference in their theological principles. Tillotson was thought (how justly we will not determine) to be veering towards Socinianism; whereas Wilkins was in doctrine a strict and professed Calvinist. We need quote no more to prove this, than what has been already quoted by Dr. Edwards in his *Veritas Redux*, p. 553. "God might (says Dr. Wilkins) have designed us for vessels of wrath, and then we had been all utterly undone, without all possible remedy. There was nothing to move him in us, when we lay all together in the general heap of mankind. It was his own free grace and bounty that made him to take delight in us, to chuse us from the rest, and to sever us from those many thousands in the world who shall perish everlastingly." Gift of Prayer, c. 28. In his Ecclesiastes, section 2, he commends to a preacher for his best authors, Calvin, Junius, P. Martyr, Musculus, Paræus, Piscator, Rivet, Zanchius, &c. as "most eminent for their orthodox sound judgment."—A just testimony of their inestimable worth!

He was a person of great natural endowments, and by his indefatigable study attained to an universal insight into all, or at least most parts of useful learning. He was a great mathematician, and very much advanced the study of astronomy, both while he was warden of Wadham college in Oxford, and at London, when he was a member of the Royal Society. He was as well skilled in mechanics and experimental philosophy as any man in his time, and was a great promoter of them. This is Wood's character of him in Athen. Oxon. In divinity, which was his main business, he excelled, and was a very able critic; his

his talent of preaching was admirable, and more suited to profit than to please his hearers; he affected an apt and plain way of speech, and expressed his conceptions in a natural style. In his writings he was judicious and plain, and valued not circumstances so much as the substance. This appeared evident in whatever subject he undertook, which he always made easier for those that came after him. He treated sometimes on matters that did not properly belong to his profession, but always with a design to make men wiser and better; which was his chief end in promoting universal knowledge, and one of the main reasons for his entering into the Royal Society. His virtues and graces were very uncommon, at least as to that degree of them to which he attained: His prudence was very remarkable, and seldom failed him; but he was so open-hearted and sincere himself, that he was ready (except he knew some cause to the contrary) to think other men to be so too, by which he was sometimes imposed on. His greatness of mind was evident to all that knew any thing of him, nor was the depth of his judgment less discernable. He never was eager in pursuit of dignities, but was advanced to them by his worth. He contemned riches as much as others admired them; and spent his ecclesiastical revenues in the service of the church from which he received them; and being secured against want, he would often say, "That he would be no richer." And his conduct made it evident that he was as good as his word. He was a stranger to revenge, and yet not insensible of personal injuries, especially such as reflected on his good name, if they proceeded from such as had a good reputation of their own. The reproaches of others he despised, but frequently wished he had been better understood by the former. He bore it, however, patiently, as his misfortune; never requited them with the like measure, but always mentioned them with respect, and laid hold on all opportunities to oblige and do them good. His conversation was profitable and pleasant, and his discourse was commonly of useful things, without occasioning trouble or weariness in those that conversed with him. He cultivated that most necessary (but too much neglected) part of friendship, to give seasonable reproof and wholesome advice upon occasion. This he did with a great deal of freedom, but with so much calmness and prudence, that it seldom gave offence.

He was particularly careful of the reputation of his friends, and would suffer no blot to lie upon the good name

name or memory of any of them, if he could help it. Those of his enemies who were strangers to moderation themselves, made that virtue in which he excelled the chief subject of their reproaches, as if he had been a person of unsteady principles, and not fixed in matters of religion. This drew severe censures upon him from Archbishop Sheldon, Bishop Fell, and Archbishop Dolben, &c. without considering that he could not but have a great deal of charity for dissenters, by reason of his education under Mr. John Dod, his grandfather, a truly pious and learned man,\* who dissented in many things from the Church of England, long before the separation which afterwards followed upon Archbishop Laud's severities and new impositions. And as his grandfather never approved of the extremities on the other side, but continued loyal to the last, and advised others to continue in their allegiance; in like manner Dr. Wilkins, (though he had clearness when the government was dissolved, to submit to the powers then in being, by which he procured an interest and a share in the government of both universities;) was always a friend to those who were loyal, and continued well affected to the Church of England, and protected several of them by the interest he had in the then government. After the Restoration he conformed himself to the Church of England, and stood up for her government and liturgy, but disliked vehemence in little and unnecessary things, and freely censured it as fanaticism on both sides. Having thus conformed to the church himself, he was very willing to bring over others, in which he was not without success, especially in his own diocese, where the extremes on both sides were as remarkable as in most parts of the nation. Being a person of extensive character himself, he was for an indulgence and a comprehension, in order to have brought our divisions in matters of religion to a conclusion, which drew upon him the hatred and obloquy of those who were for contrary measures. It is the fate of moderate men to be hated by the bigots of all parties.

His indefatigable pains in study brought a suppression of urine (not the stone) upon him, which proved incurable. He had for many days a prospect of death, which he viewed in its approaches and gradual advances upon him: And a few days before his dissolution he frequently said, "That he found a sentence of death within himself." But, in the height of his pain and apprehensions

\* See Vol. III. p. 171.

sions of death, he shewed no dismay or surprize, nor was ever heard to utter a word unbecoming a wise man, or a true Christian. And thus he concluded his days with constancy of mind, contempt of the world, and cheerful hopes of a blessed eternity, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. He died in the house of his friend Dr. Tillotson, in Chancery-lane, London, on the nineteenth of November 1672, and was buried on the twelfth of December following, under the north wall of the chancel of the church of St. Lawrence-Jury, where he had formerly been minister. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. William Lloyd, then Dean of Bangor, (afterwards Bishop of Worcester) at Guildhall chapel in London; by which sermon those who are curious may be satisfied, that every part of the character here given him may be justified to advantage.

His Works. I. "The Discovery of a New World; or, a Discourse tending to prove, That (it is probable) there may be another Habitable World in the Moon. Printed at London, in 4to. 1638, and had four editions, the last in 1684. II. A Discourse concerning the Possibility of a Passage to the World in the Moon. Printed with the Discovery. III. A Discourse concerning a New Planet; tending to prove, That (it is probable) our Earth is one of the Planets. London, 1640, in 8vo.\* IV. Mercury; or, The Secret Messenger: Shewing how a Man may, with Privacy and Speed, communicate his Thoughts to his Friend at any Distance. London, 1641. † V. Mathematical Magic: or, The Wonders that may be performed by Mechanical Geometry: In two books. Printed at London, in 1648, and 1680, in 8vo." The above five are printed in an octavo volume, entitled, "The Mathematical and Philosophical Works of the right Reverend John Wilkins, late Lord Bishop of Chester, &c. The fifth impression. London, 1707." VI. Ecclesiastes: or, A Discourse of the Gift of Preaching, as it falls under the Rules of Art. ‡ London, 1646, 47, 51, 53, and

\* The Author's name is put to none of these three; but they were so well known to be his, that Langrenus, in the map of the moon, (dedicated to the King of Spain) calls one of the spots of his 'Selenographic Map' after his name.

† The publication of this was occasioned by the writing of a little thing, called 'Nuntius Inanimatus,' by Francis Goodwin.

‡ There is a remarkable passage in this treatise, which the Authors of the Biographia Britannica have copied, and which merits the attention

53, and 75, in 8vo. VII. A Discourse concerning the Beauty of Providence, in all the rugged passages of it. London, 1649, in duodecimo; and in 1677, the fifth edition, in 8vo. VIII. A Discourse concerning the Gift of Prayer; shewing what it is, and how far it is attainable by Industry, &c. London, 1653 and 1674, 8vo. IX. Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion. Two Books, London, 1675, in 8vo. Published by John Tillotson, D. D. X. Sermons preached upon several Occasions. London, 1682, in 8vo. They are in number fifteen, published by Dr. Tillotson. XI. An Essay towards a Real Character, and Philosophical Language. London, 1668, fol. "An Alphabetical Dictionary: Wherein all English Words, according to their various Significations, are either referred to their Places in the Philosophical Tables, or explained by such Words as are in those Tables." This is printed with the "Essay." This Book is mentioned in the last place, though it be not the last in order of time; because the design being extraordinary and very curious, and printed by order of the royal society, an Abstract of it is printed at the end of his "Mathematical and Philosophical works."

tion of preachers, especially the young. "As for the manner of composing sermons, it will not be convenient for one that is a constant preacher to pen all his discourses, or to tie himself unto phrases; when we have the matter and notion well digested, the expressions of it will easily follow; whereas to be confined unto particular words, besides the great oppression of the memory, much prejudices the operations of the understanding and affections; the judgment will be much weakened, and the affections dulled, when the memory is overmuch burthened and vexed. A man cannot ordinarily be so much affected himself, and consequently he cannot so easily affect others, with things that he speaks by rote, as when he takes some liberty to prosecute a matter according to his more immediate apprehensions of it, by which many particulars may be suggested, that were not before thought of, when he doth expatiate upon any subject, according to the workings of his own affections, and the various alterations that may appear in the auditory. And then, besides, this liberty will breed a *παρρησια*, such a fitting confidence as should be in that orator who is to have a power over the affections of others, which such an one is scarce capable of, who shall so servilely tie himself to particular words and expressions, from which he dares not vary for fear of being out. But a man cannot expect a good habit of preaching thus without much study and experience. Young beginners should use themselves to a more exact and elaborate way; when a good style and expression is first learned by penning, it will afterwards be more easily retained in discoursing, p. 202, 203, sixth edition. The seventh edition of this treatise, with many additions to it, by Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. John Williams, was printed in 1694, in 8vo. and there was also a ninth edition, corrected and much enlarged, published in 1718, 8vo.





*Published as the Act directs March 27<sup>th</sup> 1703.*

*From the original painting in Guildhall.*

## SIR MATTHEW HALE, KNIGHT,

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH.

THIS great Luminary of the law was born at Alderley in Gloucestershire, on the first of November 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton Under-edge, in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents. and had given lands for the use of the poor. He acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally among his five sons, besides portions he gave his daughters. His second son was Robert Hale, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn; he married Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderly, Esq. who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntz of Acton: Of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son of whom we are writing. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which, as he thought, was to tell a lye; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the inns of court to live on his estate in the country. His charity to his poor neighbours was large while he lived, and when he died, he left twenty pounds a-year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition; and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor house-keepers as did not receive alms of the parish. He was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruction, for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five; thus early was he cast on the providence of God. Great care was taken of his education by his guardian, Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, Esq. who intended him for a divine, and, being inclined to the way of those called puritans, put him to some schools that had masters of that side. In the seventeenth year of his age, he was sent to Magdalen Hall in Oxford, where Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford; but the stage-players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays,

plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his head was thereby filled with vain images of things ;\* and being afterwards sensible of the mischief of this, he resolved upon his coming to London, never to see a play again, to which he constantly adhered. The corruption of a young man's mind, in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it ; so he being now taken off from his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, which was formerly eminent in him, far beyond his years, set himself to many vanities incident to youth, but still preserved his outward purity, with great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company : And being of a robust body, he was a great master at all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence, and became so expert that he worsted many masters of those arts.†

He now was so taken with martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a scholar or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier : And his tutor, Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, going into the Low Countries chaplain to the renowned Lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the Prince of Orange's army ; but a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the useful services he afterwards did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law, and was forced to leave the university, after he had been there three years, and go to London. He was commended to serjeant Glanville for his counsellor, and he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains to persuade him to forsake the thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply to the study of the law. He

\* If nothing else were to be objected in plays, the false notions of human life which they are known to impress, form a very sufficient reason, why young persons should be restrained from them. But when their nonsense and immorality are considered, nothing further needs to be said about them to a truly Christian mind.

† Bishop Burnet relates, that a fencing master told Mr. Hale he could teach him no more, for he was now better at the trade than he was. Mr. Hale looked on this as flattery, and to know the truth, promised this master to give him the house he lived in, if he could hit him a blow on the head ; (he was his landlord) the fencing master, after a little engagement, hit him on the head, and Mr. Hale gave him the house freely ; and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He was prevailed on: and on the eighth of November 1629, in the twenty-first year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn: And being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had over-run and almost corrupted his mind, he resolved to redeem the time, and followed his studies with a diligence which could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain credit to it.\* He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a-day: He threw aside all fine clothes, and betook himself to a plain fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day. It is related, that passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, he was once taken when there was a press for the king's service, as a fit person for it. But some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the pressmen let him go, and he returned to more decency in his

\* Bishop Burnet relates the following history to the honour of serjeant Glanville, who was so instrumental in reclaiming Sir Matthew Hale from his bad course of life:—Serjeant Glanville's father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on the serjeant's elder brother, but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him, that was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son finding what he had before looked on as the threatenings of an angry father was now but too certain, became melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will, so that it was now too late for him to change, in hopes of an estate that was gone from him. But his brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: So he called him, with many of his friends, together to a feast, and after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was surprized to find it full of writings. So he told them, that he was now to do what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother: And therefore he freely restored to him the whole estate. Burnet's Life, &c. p. 11, 12.

It is observed, that Sir Matthew Hale, from the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind, used great caution to conceal it—for he said, he was afraid he should at some time or other do some enormous thing, which if he were looked on as a very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaspheme the name of God: But a tree is known by its fruits, and he lived not only free of blemishes or scandal, but shined in all the parts of his conversation: And perhaps the distrust he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him. Burnet's Life, &c. p. 141, &c.

his dress, but never to superfluity or vanity. Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain persons, till a sad accident drove him from it. He was invited, with other young students, to be merry out of town, and one of the company called for so much wine, that, notwithstanding all Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess, till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again: This particularly affected Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and shutting the door fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to life again, and that himself might be forgiven, for giving such countenance to so much excess: And he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived: His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow to his dying day; though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy. \*

Now

\* This conversion of Mr. Hale was occasioned by another's drunkenness: Our pious readers will not be displeas'd, if we relate a more extraordinary instance of a man's being converted by means of his own. This very singular fact is taken from Turner's 'Remarkable Providences;' and its authenticity (as the reader will see at the conclusion of the story) cannot reasonably be doubted.

In the early part of the last century, one, 'old Mr. Studly, was a lawyer in Kent, of about four hundred pounds a-year. He was a great enemy to the power of religion, and a hater of those that were then called puritans. His son, in his youth, seem'd to follow in the same steps, till the Lord, that had separated him from the womb, call'd him home, which was as followeth: The young man was at London, and being drunk in some company, and going in the night towards his lodging, fell into a cellar, and in the fall was seiz'd with horror, and thought he fell into hell at that time. It pleas'd God he took little harm by the fall, but lay there some hours in a drunken drowse, his body being heated with what he drank, and his soul awakened, he thought he was actually in hell. After that he was come to himself, and was got home into Kent, he fell into melancholy, betook himself to read and study the Scriptures, and to much prayer: Which at length his father perceiv'd, and fearing he would turn puritan, was troubled and dealt roughly with him, and made him dress his horses, which he humbly and willingly submitted to. And when, at that time, his father perceiv'd he sat up late at night, reading in his Bible, he deny'd him candle-light; but being allow'd a fire in his chamber, he told Mr. Knight, he was wont to lye along and read by the fire-light; and said, that while he was dressing his father's horses in his frock, and in that time of reading by the fire, he had those comforts from the Lord, and joys that he had scarce experienc'd since. His father seeing these means

ineffect,

Now was an entire change wrought on him; now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the

ineffectual, resolved to send him into France, that by the airiness of that country his melancholy temper might be cured. He went, and being at his own dispose, by the Lord's guiding him, he placed himself in the house of a godly protestant minister; and between them, after they were acquainted, (and such is the cognation of saving grace in divers subjects, that a little time will serve for Christians to be acquainted) there grew great endearment. Great progress he made in speaking the language; and his father expecting an account from the gentleman with whom he sojourned, of his proficiency in speaking French, he sent it to him; but soon after, he had orders to return home. And the father directing it, or he intreating it, the landlord, with whom he had sojourned, came into England with him, and both were made very welcome at his father's house, he not knowing that he was a minister. At length the father took the French gentleman and his son at prayers together, and was angry, paid him what was due to him, and sent him away. Then his father having an interest in a person of honour, a great lady at Whitehall, and his son by his now past education accomplished for such an employ, prevailed with that lady to take his son for her gentleman, to wait upon her in her coach. He thought by a court life to drive away his melancholy (as he called his son's seriousness in religion.) The lady had many servants, some given to swearing and rudeness, whom this young gentleman would take upon him to reprove, with that prudence and gravity, that sin fell down before him. And if any of the servants had been ill employed, and they had heard him coming, they would say, 'Let us cease, or begone, Mr. Study is coming.' After a year's time, his father waits upon the lady, to enquire of his son's carriage. She answered as it was, that she was glad she had seen his son's face, he had wrought a mighty reformation in her family. She, that had formerly been troubled with unruly servants, by his prudent carriage, was now as quiet in her house as if she had lived in a private family in the country. After this the father stormed, 'What, will he make puritans in Whitehall?' told the lady that was no place for him, he would take him with him, which to her trouble he did. When he had him at home in Kent, as his last refuge, he thought of marrying him; and to that end found out a match which he thought fit for his ends, to stifle that work of religion in his son. He bade him one night put on his clothes in the morning, and ordered his servants to make ready their horses in the morning, and himself to wait upon them. When they were riding on the way, he bade the man ride before, and spake to his son to this purpose. 'Son, you have been matter of great grief to me, and having used much means to reclaim you from this way you are in, to no purpose, I have one more remedy to apply in which if you comply with me I shall settle my estate upon you, else you shall never enjoy a groat of it; I am riding to such a gentleman's house, to whose daughter I intend to marry you.' The son said little, knowing that family to be profane; but went with his father, who before had made way there. They were entertained nobly; he had a sight of the young lady, a great beauty, and the young man fell much in love with her. When they had taken their leaves, on his way, his father asked him, 'What he thought of her?' He answered, "No man living, but must be taken with such a one; he feared she would not like him." The father was glad it had taken, bid him take no care for that. The wooing

the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession ; in the former he was so regular, that for six-and-thirty years,

wooing was not long : At three weeks' end they both came to London to buy things for the wedding. The father had charged, that in the time of wooing in that gentleman's house, there should be no swearing or debauchery, lest his son should be discouraged. Wedding clothes being bought, and the day come, the young couple were married. At the wedding dinner, at her father's house, the mask was taken off; they fell to drinking healths, and swearing among their cups; and, amongst others, the bride swore an oath. At which the bridegroom, as a man amazed, took occasion to rise from the table, stepped forth, and went to the stable, took an horse, none observing, all being busy within; he mounted, and rode away, not knowing what to do. He bewailed himself as he rode along, as undone, and deservedly; for that he had been so taken in love, and the business so hurried on in design; he said he had at that time restrained prayer, and slackened his communion with God, when, as in that grand affair of his life, he should have been doubly and trebly serious; and so might thank himself, that he was utterly undone. He sometimes thought of riding quite away. At last, being among the woods, he led his horse into a solitary place, tied him to a tree in his distress, and betook himself to his prayers and tears, in which he spent the afternoon. The providence of God had altered his argument of prayer; which was now for the conversion of his new married wife, or he was undone. This he pressed with prayers and tears a great part of the afternoon, and did not rise from prayer without good hope of being heard. At the bride-house was hurry enough; horse and man (after they missed the bridegroom) sent every way. No news of him. He was wrestling as Jacob once at Peniel. In the evening he returned home, and inquiring where his bride was, went up to her, and found her in her chamber pensive enough; she asked him, 'If he had done well to expose her to scorn and derision all the day?' He intreated her to sit down upon a couch there by him, and he would give her an account of his doing what he had then done, and tell her the story of his whole life, and what the Lord through grace had done for him. He went over the story here above-mentioned, with many beautiful particulars, (no doubt here omitted) not without great affection and tears, the flood-gates of which had been opened in the wood. And ever and anon in the discourse would say, through grace, God did so and so for me. When he had told her his story over, (and by the way, this was the apostle Paul's method by which many were converted, to tell over the story of his conversion) she asked him, what he meant by that word so often used in the relation of his life, 'through grace;' so ignorantly had she been educated: And she asked him, if he thought there were no grace in God for her, who was so wretched a stranger to God? "Yes, my dear, (saith he) there is grace for thee, and that I have been praying for this day in the wood; and God hath heard my prayer, and seen my tears, and let us now go together to him about it." Then did they kneel down by the couch side, and he prayed. and such weeping and supplication there was on both sides, that when they were called down to supper, they had hardly eyes to see with, so swelled were they with weeping. At supper, the bride's father (according to his custom) swore. The bride immediately said, 'Father, I beseech you swear not.' At which the bridegroom's father, in a great rage, rose from the table: 'What, (says he) is the devil in him? hath he made his wife a puritan

years, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's Day; this observation he made, when an ague first interrupted that constant course, and he reflected on it as an acknowledgment of GOD's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

Not being satisfied with the law-books then published, and firmly resolving to take things from the fountain-head, he was very diligent in searching records. And, with collections out of the books he read, mixed with his own learned observations, he made a most valuable common-place book. It was done with great industry and judgment. Insomuch, that an eminent judge of the King's

puritan already?" And swore bitterly, that he would rather set fire (with his own hands) to the four corners of his fair built house, than that ever he should enjoy it. And accordingly he acted, made his will, left his son (when he should die) ten pounds, to cut off his claim, and gave the estate to some others, of whom Dr. Reeves was one: And not long after died. Dr Reeves sent for the gentleman, paid him his ten pounds, told him he had been a rebellious son, and disobliged his father, and might thank himself. He received the ten pounds, and meekly departed.

' His wife (the match was so huddled up) had no portion promised, at least that he knew of, who relied on his father; so that she was also deserted by her friends: And having two hundred pounds in her own hand, that had been given her by a grandmother, with that they took and stocked a farm in Sussex, where Mr. Knight hath often been, and seen her who had been highly bred, in her red waistcoat, and milking her cows, and was now become the great comforter and encourager of her husband, exceeding cheerfully. ' God (saith she) hath had mercy on me, and my pains-taking is pleasant to me.' There they lived some years with much comfort, and had the blessing of marriage, divers children. After some three years, he was met in Kent, on the road, by one of the tenants of the estate, and saluted by the name of landlord: " Alas! (said he) I am none of your landlord:" ' Yes, you are; (said he) I know more than you do of the settlement: Your father, though a cunning lawyer, with all his wit, could not alienate the estate from you, whom he had made joint purchaser. Myself and some other tenants know it, and have refused to pay any money to Dr. Reeves: I have sixteen pounds ready for you in my hands, which I will pay to your acquittance, and that will serve you to wage law with them.' He was amazed at this wonderful providence, received the money, sued for his estate, and in a term or two recovered it: *He that loseth his life for my sake and the gospel's, shall find it.* His blessed wife, in the midst of blessings enjoying a loving husband, divers fine children, and a plentiful estate; in the midst of these outward blessings, fell into a way of questioning the truth of her grace, because of outward prosperity. This was her sin without doubt, for which Mr Knight rebuked her; but it was a severe rebuke that the Lord gave her for her unthankfulness: A fine boy, about three years old, fell into a kettle of scalding wort, and was taken out by his mother, and died. This she looked on as the Lord's discipline for her unthankfulness, and was instructed.' " This relation was sent me (says Mr. Turner) by the Rev. Mr. Singleton, now living in Hogsdon Square, near the city of London; and he received it from Mr. Knight, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Studly, as was hinted before."

King's Bench having borrowed it of him, (though he very unwillingly lent it, as thinking it too imperfect) the judge, after having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it. He was early taken notice of by a gentleman of the same inn with himself, William Noy, Esq. the attorney-general, who directed him in his studies, and grew to have such a friendship for him, that he came to be called young Noy. The great and learned Mr. Selden also soon found him out; and though much superior to him in years, took such a liking to him, that he not only lived in great friendship with him, but also left him at his death one of his executors. It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession. So that by his uncommon industry and good natural parts, he arrived at a considerable knowledge in the civil law, in arithmetic, algebra, and other mathematical sciences, as well as in physic, anatomy, and chirurgery. He was also very conversant in experimental philosophy, and other branches of philosophical learning, and in ancient history and chronology. Nor was he unacquainted with the ancient Greek philosophers, but want of use wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never studied Hebrew, yet, by his frequent conversations with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the rabbinical learning. But, above all, he seemed to have made divinity his chief study, to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that knowledge in it, that those who read what he wrote on those subjects, will think they must have taken most of his time and thoughts.\* Some time before the civil wars he was called

\* 'It may seem almost incredible, as Dr. Burnet observes, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge: And that in sciences, which require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehension lively, his memory great, and his judgment strong, so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning; was never idle; scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few, to whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning, and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: And in eating and drinking, he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal

ed to the bar, and began to make a figure in the world. But, upon their breaking out, observing how difficult it was to preserve his integrity and to live securely, he resolved to follow these two maxims of Pomponius Atticus, whom he proposed to himself as a pattern: Namely, "To engage in no faction, nor meddle in public business;" and, "constantly to favour and relieve those that were lowest." Accordingly he avoided all public employment, and the very talking of news; being strictly careful never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions. And he often relieved the royalists in their necessities. This he did in a way no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: For he often deposited considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the King's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it. This so ingratiated him with them, that he came generally to be employed by them in his practice. He was one of the counsel to the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and King Charles himself: As also to the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven.

When he was counsel for this Lord, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general, Edmund Prideaux, threatened him for appearing against the government: To whom he answered, He was "pleading in defence of those laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve; and he was doing his duty to his client, so that he was not to be daunted with threatenings." Being esteemed a plain honest man, and a person of great integrity and knowledge in the law, he was entertained by both parties, the presbyterians as well as loyalists. In 1643 he took the covenant, and appeared several times with other lay persons among the  
assembly

meal with an appetite; so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself,) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted. He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from his studies.

assembly of divines. He was then in great esteem with the parliament, and employed by them in several affairs for his counsel, particularly in the reduction of the garrison at Oxford, being, as a lawyer, added to the commissioners named by the parliament to treat with those appointed by the king. In that capacity he did good service, by advising them, especially the general, Fairfax, to preserve that famous seat of learning from ruin. Afterwards, though the barbarous death of King Charles I. was a great grief to him, yet he took the oath called the Engagement. And, on the twentieth of January 1651-2, was one of those appointed to consider of the reformation of the law.\* Oliver Cromwell, who affected the reputation of honouring and trusting persons of eminent virtues, and wanted such a man as Mr. Hale to give countenance to his courts, never left importuning him, till he accepted of the place of one of the justices of the common-bench, as it was then called. For which purpose he was by writ made serjeant at law, on the twenty-fifth of January 1653-4. In that station he acted with great integrity and suitable courage. He had

\* They were to take into consideration what inconveniencies there were in the law; how the mischiefs which grew from delays, the chargeableness and irregularities in the proceedings of the law, might be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same: And to present their opinions to the committee of parliament appointed for that purpose; and they, or any seven of them, had power to send for any persons to confer with them in this business, and for records. They met several times, and desired the judges in their several courts to return to them a list of their several officers, what fees they received, and what they did for the same. And none was more busy than Hugh Peters, who understood little of the law, and was very opinionative. On the twenty-first of February next ensuing, they passed the following resolutions: 'If the defendant in a personal action, before pleading, tender satisfaction to the plaintiff with costs of suit, and it appear afterwards at the trial to the jury sufficient and not accepted of, the plaintiff to lose his own and pay the other's cost in the suit. That summons be the first process in all personal actions, with the true date when sued forth and executed upon oath, and returnable within fifteen days after the service; the defendant to have a copy from the original, under seal, given or left at his house, and the cause of the suit set down in the body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, a further process be granted to arrest the party, till he appear or give warrant. And in case of non-appearance, the defendant's lands and goods to be distrained to a certain value, till he appear or give warrant.' The twenty-third of March, they presented to the committee of parliament the draughts of several acts: Two of which were, For 'taking away common recoveries, and the unnecessary charge of fines, and to pass and charge lands entailed, as lands in fee-simple. For ascertaining arbitrary fines upon descent, and alienation of copyholds of inheritance.'—Very necessary laws to restrain the oppressions of Lords of manors.

had at first great scruples concerning the authority under which he was to act. And, after having gone two or three circuits, he refused to sit any more on the crown side, that is, to judge criminals. He had indeed so carried himself in some trials, that the powers then in being were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which Dr. Burnet gives the following instances: Not long after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, 'That none who had been of the king's party should carry arms;' and so he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun, which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body, of which he presently died.

It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried: Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder: And though Colonel Whalley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, 'That the man was killed only for disobeying the Protector's orders, and that the soldier was but doing his duty,' yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.—Another occasion was given of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information he examined the sheriff about it,  
who

who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under sheriff; and having next asked the under sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer: And this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause. Upon which the Protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, ‘ He was not fit to be a judge;’ to which all the answer he made was, “ That it was very true.”—Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said, “ It was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others, especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side.” But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared he would meddle no more with the trials on the crown side.—When Penruddock’s trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country house at Alderly: He plainly refused to go, and said, “ The four terms and two circuits were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs;” and so he excused himself. But if he had been urged, he would not have been afraid of speaking more plainly.

The same year he was elected one of the five knights to represent the county of Gloucester, in the parliament which began at Westminster, September the third, 1654. He duly attended the house, on purpose to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then set on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends. One of those parties, who were downright brainsick enthusiasts, were resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in their room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called the kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or other Christ would come down and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the  
glorious

glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation. The others, taking advantage from the fears and apprehensions all the sober people of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of that distracted sort of people, (who to all their other principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age) intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle course; for, as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good: that is, to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the enthusiasts as well as the usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation; so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons, (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

When the Protector died, he not only excused himself from accepting of the mourning that was sent him, but also refused the new commission offered him by Richard; alleging, "He could act no longer under such authority." He did not sit in Oliver's second parliament, in 1656; but in Richard's, which met January twenty-seventh 1658-9, he was one of the burgesses for the university of Oxford. And in the Healing Parliament, anno 1660, which recalled King Charles II. he was elected one of the knights for the county of Gloucester, through the Lord Berkeley's interest, and without any charge to himself, though he had a competitor that had spent near a thousand pounds; a great sum to be employed that way in those days. In that parliament, he moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by King Charles I. during the late war; that from thence such propositions might be digested, as they should think fit to be sent over to the king at Breda. He was also very earnest and instrumental in getting the act of indemnity passed. The twenty-second of June, his majesty recalled him among others, by writ, to the degree of serjeant at law. And, upon settling the courts in Westminster Hall, constituted

stituted him, November the seventh the same year, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. When the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, delivered him his commission, he made a speech to him according to custom, wherein he expressed his great and just esteem for him in the following words: ‘ That if the king could have found out an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well.’ Some time after he was knighted. It is an honour usually conferred upon the chief judges, but Mr. Hale desired to avoid it; and therefore declined for a considerable time all opportunities of waiting on the king: Which the Lord Chancellor observing, he sent for him upon business one day, when the king was at his house, and told his majesty, ‘ There was his modest Chief Baron;’ upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, and very much raised the reputation and practice of the court, by his exact and impartial administration of justice, as also by his generosity, vast diligence, and great exactness in trials.\* According to his rule of favouring and relieving those

\* Of which we have the following instances: He would never receive any private addresses or recommendations from the greatest persons, in any matter in which justice was concerned. One of the first peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, ‘ That having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court.’ Upon which Sir Matthew interrupted him, and said, ‘ He did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs, for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike;’ so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace, (for he was a Duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his majesty bid him ‘ Content himself that he was no worse used,’ and said, ‘ He verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes.’ Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck to his table, that had a trial at the assizes; so when he heard his name, he asked, ‘ If he was not the same person that had sent him the venison?’ And finding he was the same, he told him, ‘ He could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck:’ To which the gentleman answered, ‘ That he never sold his venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit,’ which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: But all would not do, for the Lord Chief Baron had learned from Solomon, that *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment;* and therefore he would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had

those that were lowest, he was now very charitable to the Nonconformists, and took great care to cover them as much as possible from the severities of the law. He thought many of them had merited highly in the business of the King's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter than they were before the war. But as he lamented the too rigorous proceedings against them, so he declared himself always of the side of the church of England, and said, "Those of the separation were good men: but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the church about such inconsiderable matters as the points in difference were." After the fire of London, he was one of the principal judges that sat in Clifford's Inn to settle the differences between landlord and tenant, being the first that offered his service to the city in that affair: Wherein he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. He was heartily engaged (together with Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, &c.) in the attempt to bring a comprehension to pass in the year 1668, for the more moderate dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension; but so strong was the opposition, that the whole project was let fall; and, says Bishop Burnet, those who had set it on foot came to be looked upon with an ill eye, as secret favourers of the dissenters, underminers of the church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast upon them. On this occasion Judge Hale and Dr. Wilkins came to contract a firm and familiar friendship, and an intimacy and freedom in converse that the Judge used with no other. He held also great conversation with the reverend Mr. Richard Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very quick apprehension: Indeed, as he thought the Nonconformists were too hardly used, he bestowed his charity largely among them, and took great care to cover them all he could, from the severities some designed against them.

Let us view him now when broken in health, and growing weaker daily in body. He made a voluntary surrender of his office, which he had held about four years and a half, having sued to the King for a writ of ease, which

had paid for the present; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And, at Salisbury, the dean and chapter, according to custom, presented him with six sugar loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

which he was unwilling to grant, and deferred it till the Lord Chief Justice Hale, being wearied by application and delay, drew up a deed of surrender with his own hand, and delivered it to the Lord Chancellor. He had behaved in that high station with his usual strictness and diligence. One thing was much observed and commended in him, viz. that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counsellors that were to plead one against another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that; so he would enforce what the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes, but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him, that the counsel did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law. And even the parties interested were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against themselves.

The writer of his life inserts a paper, which shews that Sir Matthew Hale thought himself no longer bound in duty to hold his office, and was desirous to quit it, that he might wholly apply himself to better purposes. The close of that paper is as follows: "I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him; yet our Lord tells her, that though *she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.*" He had been wont to worship God in his family, performing it always himself if no clergyman was present: But as to private exercises of devotion, he used the greatest privacy, and indeed used the greatest caution to conceal the religious impressions which were in his mind, from fear, lest by some fall he should bring reproach on religion: But now in his weak state he retired often to his closet for devotion as long as he could go, and when his infirmities prevented, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. It was in February 1675-6 that he surrendered his office, and as the next winter came on, he saw with great joy his  
deliverance

deliverance coming on, together with longings for the blessedness of another state; his pains increased so on him that no human unassisted patience could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind. He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma. He was attended on in his sickness by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evans Griffith, minister of the parish; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, but, with hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotion. Not long before his death, the minister told him of an approaching sacrament, but that he believed he could not come and partake of it with others, and therefore he would give it to him in his own house: He replied, no; his heavenly father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his father's house to partake of it, and was carried in his chair. He continued to enjoy the free use of his reason to the last, which during his sickness he had often earnestly prayed for: And when his voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring towards that blessed state he longed for, and on Christmas day 1675-6, between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed out his pious soul without any struggling or visible pangs.

Mr. Baxter's character of Sir Matthew Hale is as follows: 'The last year of my abode at Acton, (1669) I had the happiness of a neighbour whom I cannot easily praise above his worth; which was Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, whom all the judges and lawyers in England admired for his skill in law. and for his justice; and scholars honoured for his learning, and I highly valued for his sincerity, mortification, self-denial, humility, conscientiousness, and his close fidelity in friendship. When he first came to town, I came not near him, lest, being a silenced and suspected person, (with his superiors) I should draw him also under suspicion, and do him wrong, till I had notice round about of his desire of my acquaintance, and I scarce ever conversed so profitably with any other person in my life. He was a man of no quick utterance, but often hesitant; but spake with great reason. He was most precisely just, insomuch, as I believe, he would have lost all he had in the world rather than do an unjust act; patient in hearing the most tedious speech which any man had to make for himself, the pillar of justice, the refuge of the subject who feared oppression,

pression, and one of the greatest honours of his Majesty's government: For, with some more upright judges, he upheld the honour of the English nation, that it fell not into the reproach of arbitrariness, cruelty, and utter confusion. Every man that had a just cause was almost past fear, if they could but bring it into the court or assize where he was judge, (for the other judges seldom contradicted him). He was the great instrument for rebuilding London: For when an act was made for deciding all controversies that hindered it, it was he that was the constant judge, who for nothing followed the work, and by his prudence and justice removed a multitude of great impediments. His great advantage for innocency was, that he was no lover of riches, or of grandeur. His garb was too plain; he studiously avoided all unnecessary familiarity with great persons, and all that manner of living which signifieth wealth and greatness. He kept no greater a family than myself. I lived in a small house, which for a pleasant backside he had a mind to: But caused a stranger (that he might not be suspected to be the man) to know of me, whether I were willing to part with it, before he would meddle with it: In that house he liveth contentedly, without any pomp, and without costly or troublesome retinue or visitors, but not without charity to the poor. He continueth the study of physic and mathematics still, as his great delight: He hath himself written four volumes in folio, (three of which I have read) against atheism, sadducism, and infidelity, to prove the Deity, and then the immortality of man's soul, and then the truth of Christianity and the Holy Scriptures, answering the infidels' objections against Scripture; it is strong and masculine, only too tedious for impatient readers: He saith, he wrote it only at vacant hours in his circuits, to regulate his meditations, finding at that time he wrote best what he thought on, his thoughts were the easier kept close to work, and kept in a method, and he could after try his former thoughts, and make further use of them if they were good. But I could not yet persuade him to hear of publishing it.

The conference which I had frequently with him (mostly about the immortality of the soul, and other foundation points, and philosophical) was so edifying, that his very questions and objections did help me to more light than other men's solutions. Those that take no men for religious who frequent not private meetings, &c. took him for an excellently righteous, moral man: But I that have

have heard, and read his serious expressions of the concernments of eternity, and seen his love to all good men, and the blamelessness of his life, &c. thought better of his piety than of mine own. When the people crouded in and out of my house to hear, he openly shewed me so great respect before them at the door, and never spake a word against it, as was no small encouragement to the common people to go on; though the other sort muttered, that a judge should seem so far to countenance that they took to be against the law. He was a great lamenter of the extremities of the times, and the violence and foolishness of the predominant clergy, and a great desirer of such abatements, as might restore us all to serviceableness and unity. He had got but a very small estate, (though he had long the greatest practice) because he would take but little money, and undertake no more business than he could well dispatch. He offered to the Lord Chancellor to resign his place, when he was blamed for doing that which he supposed was justice. He had been the learned Selden's intimate friend, and one of his executors: And because the Hobbians and other infidels would have persuaded the world that Selden was of their mind, I desired him to tell me truth therein; and he assured me that Selden was an earnest professor of the Christian faith, and so angry an adversary to Hobbs, that he hath rated him out of the room.' Mr. Baxter after this, relating the treatment himself met with at Acton from his enemies, who procured his commitment to new prison, Clerkenwell, for six months without bail or mainprize, adds: 'And so I finally left that place, being grieved most that Satan had prevailed to stop the poor people in such hopeful beginnings of a common reformation, and that I was to be deprived of the exceeding grateful neighbourhood of the Lord Chief Baron Hale, who could scarce refrain tears when he did but hear of the first warrant for my appearance.'

Mr. Samuel Clark, in his life of Sir Matthew Hale, observes, he was a chief observer of the Lord's Day, in which, besides his constant attendance upon the public service of God twice a-day, in the evening he called all his family together, and repeated to them the heads of the sermons, with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities, after which he constantly shut up himself for two or three hours, which he spent in his secret devotions, and profitable meditations. Of which contemplations two volumes in octavo were printed a little before

before his death. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age: his funeral sermon was preached from Isaiah lvii. 1. and on the fourth of January, he was buried in the church-yard of Alderly, with the following epitaph, composed by himself, on his monument:

*Hic inhumatur corpus  
Matthæi Hale, Militis;  
Roberti Hale, et Johannæ,  
Uxoris ejus, Filii unici:  
Nati in hac Parochia de  
Alderley, primo die Novem-  
bris, Anno Dom. 1609:  
Denati vero ibidem vicesimo  
quinto die Decembris,  
Anno Dom. 1676.  
Etatis suæ LXVII.*

His Works. *Published by himself.* “ I. An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof. Lond. 1674, 8vo. II. *Difficiles Nugæ*, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Lond. 1674, 8vo. Dr. Henry Moore wrote some remarks upon this, so far as it might concern any passages in his *Enchiridion Metaphys.* III. Observations touching the Principles of Natural Motion, and especially touching Rarefaction and Condensation, together with a Reply to certain Remarks touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Lond. 1677, 8vo. IV. *Contemplations Moral and Divine*: In two parts. The first printed at London in 1676, 8vo. and the second part in 1677, 8vo. To the first were added, Directions touching keeping the Lord’s Day: And, Poems on Christmas day. They were both reprinted together in 1679, 8vo. These *Contemplations* came abroad without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention. V. An English Translation of *The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus*, written by his contemporary and acquaintance Cornelius Nepos: together with Observations political and moral. Lond. 1677, 8vo. This translation is said to be badly done. VI. *The primitive Origination of Mankind considered and explained, according to the Light of Nature.* Lond. 1677, folio. VII. He also wrote the preface to, and published the *Abridgement of many Cases and Resolutions of the Common Law*, alphabetically digested under several titles, &c. by H. Rolle. Lond. 1668, folio. VIII. Likewise, he was partly the  
author

author of *London's Liberty: Or a learned Argument of Law and Reason*, anno 1650. Reprinted in 1682, folio, under this title, "London's Liberties: Or, The Opinions of those great Lawyers, Lord Chief Justice Hale, Mr. Justice Wild, and Mr. Serjeant Maynard, about the Election of Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, and concerning their Charter."

*Published after his decease.* "I. Pleas of the Crown: or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that Subject. London, 1678, 8vo. II. Discourse touching Provision for the Poor. Lond. 1683, 12mo. III. A Treatise touching Sheriffs' Accounts. Lond. 1683, 8vo. to which is joined his Trial of Witches, at the Assizes held at Bury St. Edmunds, on the first of March 1664. His condemnation of those poor crazy wretches was the worst and the most culpable action in his whole life: But not worse than the statute, which obliged him to condemn them. IV. His Judgment of the Nature of True Religion, the Causes of its Corruption, and the Church's Calamity by Men's Additions and Violences; with the desired cure. Lond. 1684, 4to. Published by R. Baxter. V. Several Tracts: as, A Discourse of Religion under three heads, &c. His Treatise concerning Provision for the Poor, already mentioned: A Letter to his Children, advising them how to behave in their speech: A Letter to one of his sons, after his recovery from the small-pox. Lond. 1684, 8vo. VI. Discourse of the Knowledge of God and of Ourselves, first by the Light of Nature, secondly, by the Sacred Scriptures. To which is added, Brief Abstract of the Christian Religion: And considerations seasonable at all times for the cleansing of the Heart and Life. Lond. 1688, 8vo. VII. The Original Institution, Power, and Jurisdiction of Parliaments. Lond. 1707, 8vo. VIII. *Historia Placitorum Coronæ*. The History of the Pleas of the Crown: first published, in 1736, from his original manuscript, and the several references to the Records examined by the Originals, with large notes, by Sollom Emlyn of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. 2 vols. folio. The House of Commons had made an order, the twenty-ninth of November 1660, that it should then be printed; but it was never printed till then. The Pleas of the Crown, &c. printed in 1678, 8vo. (as above) was only a plan of this work. He left several other pieces in manuscript: as, Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind, folio. Concerning Religion, 5 vols. folio, and many others."

By

By his Will he bequeathed to the Society of Lincoln's Inn his manuscript books. They are of inestimable value, as being close and patent rolls, and charter-rolls in the time of King John for the clergy: The principal matters in the close and patent rolls of Henry III. from the ninth to the fifty-sixth of his reign: Close rolls of King John: *Placita de tempore Reg. Johannis*, Edward I. Edward II. Edward III. Richard II. Henry IV. and V. *Placita de Banco*, Edward I. *ab anno 1, ad annum 21*. The Pleas in the Exchequer, styled *Communia*, from 1 to 46 Edward III. Close rolls of Edward II. and III. Close and patent rolls in the reign of Edward III. Leagues of the Kings, Edward I. II. and III. in many volumes. He desired they should be kept safe, and all together, bound in leather, and chained; not lent out or disposed of: Only, if any of his posterity of that society should desire to transcribe any book, and give good caution to restore it again at a prefixed time, they should be lent to him, and but one volume at a time. "They are, says he, a treasure that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them."

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## EDWARD REYNOLDS, D. D.

BISHOP OF NORWICH.

THIS reverend Prelate was the son of Austin Reynolds, one of the customers of Southampton, where he was born in November 1599, and being bred at the free-school there, became post-master of Merton college in 1615, as also probationer-fellow in 1620, in which place, (which he got by his skill in the Greek tongue) as also throughout his bachelorship, he shewed himself a good disputant and orator. After he had taken the degree of master of arts, he went into orders, and became a noted preacher, and was made preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and rector of Braynton in Northamptonshire. After the rebellion broke out in 1642, he sided with the presbyterian party, and in 1643, was one of the assembly of divines, a covenanter, a frequent preacher in London, and sometimes before the Long Parliament, by whom he was appointed in 1646, one of the six ministers to go to Oxford, and preach the scholars into obedience to them. After which he was one of their visitors in the University, was made Dean of Christ-church, in the room of Dr. Samuel Fell, ejected, and vice-chancellor in 1648, when he was created



Published as the Act directs March 27<sup>th</sup> 1783.

Truter sculp.

ori. in. pict. ex.



created doctor of divinity; he was also vice-chancellor in 1649. But being ejected from his deanery in 1650, for refusing to take the Independant Engagement, he retired to his former cure for a time. He lived afterwards mostly in London, and preached there, being then vicar of St. Lawrence-Jury. After this he struck in with General Monk, to bring in the king, using his interest thereto in London, where he was the pride and glory of the presbyterian party. Dr. Pierce, in the introduction to his *Divine Purity defended*, says he was a person of great authority as well as fame among the Calvinists.

When the secluded members were restored to parliament, they restored him to his deanery of Christchurch, on the eleventh of May 1659. And on the twenty-sixth of May following, 1660, he, together with Mr. Edmund Calamy, was made chaplain to his Majesty, then at Canterbury, in order to his restoration. After which he preached several times before the king and both houses of parliament; and in the latter end of June, being desired to quit his deanery, he was the next month elected, by virtue of the king's letter, warden of Merton college, and was consecrated Bishop of Norwich on the sixth of January, the same year. He was, concludes Mr. Wood, a person of excellent parts and endowments, of very good wit, fancy, and judgment, a great divine, and much esteemed by all parties, for his preaching and fluid style: And Sir Thomas Browne, who knew him well, gives him the character of a person of singular affability, meekness, and humility, of great learning, a frequent preacher, and constant resident. But a more full account of our Author is given in a funeral sermon preached at Norwich by the reverend Mr. Riveley, in July 1676, on 1 Sam. x. 13. 'Concerning this our deceased and justly to be commemorated Lord and father, (says the preacher) I shall dare to recommend thus much as true to succeeding generations, viz. That he was a person in whom all was generally good, (allowing for human frailties) and many things were excellent, and exceeding remarkable. I. *He was a good man.* Nature had before indued him much in his constitution: he was of a most sweet and obliging temper, of great candour, meekness and ingenuity; he had a comely countenance, a gentle disposition, a pleasantness of conversation; he neither eagerly sought any dignity, nor declined any capacity of doing good. II. *He was a good Christian.* Revelation was a great mistress with him, and he was a great adorer, as well

well as a practiser of the will of God. Religion sanctified his reason, and grace his nature; and of all accomplishments, he counted it his glory to be a disciple of Christ. The fear of the Lord was to him the top of his wisdom; to put on the Lord Jesus Christ in all his integral parts, and he endeavoured that his ways might be found perfect before God. III. *He was a good minister of the Gospel.* For this he had a great name all his undignified time, and when he came to his high place, he did not make an end of prophesying, as it is said Saul did. He was a true labourer in the word and doctrine. He was not only the light, but the salt of the places he came in. He did much good in that his office: And received the seal of his ministry, in the sober and grateful acknowledgments of a great many. He was built and framed on purpose, as it were, to be an instructor and curate of souls: for he was sober and wise, able to solve difficulties, to determine cases, to quiet consciences. He was an interpreter, one of a thousand. Another Apollos, mighty in the Scriptures. He always sought to find out acceptable words, and upright, even words of truth. He was of a sedate mind, of a tender compassionate spirit, heartily desirous of men's eternal good; and not only his industry, but his delights ran out that way, viz. how to bring it about. The throne of grace, his study, and the pulpit, had the most of his time divided among them. In all probability he contracted his fatal diseases of the stone and stranguary, by his sedentary studies, and vast labours in the priestly function: Yet to his dying day, preaching was his desirable work. *Præluendo peribat* might be his motto, for he wore out with use, and not with rust.

‘ IV. *He was a good Bishop.* And now I am come to that only part of his commendation, that ever was denied him. There are two sorts of people, and they differ among themselves *toto calo*, that can hardly allow him to have been a good Bishop; the one sort think him not good, because a Bishop at all, making those terms, *good* and *Bishop*, inconsistent; the other cannot afford to him to be good in his capacity, because he was not so much a Bishop as they would have had him: that is to say, because he would not drive their pace; he would not govern by their rules, not execute censures at their heights, not interpret canons in their sense. But I pass on from his goodness to his excellencies, which may be thus reckoned: his learning, writing, preaching, living. He was an excellent scholar, he had a great stock of natural parts and endowments,

dowments, to which he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction. What Melancthon was used to say, ‘ That himself was a logician, Pomeranus a grammarian, Justin Jonas an orator, but Luther was all,’ might also be applied to this person we are speaking of. There are few kinds of literature but he was a master in them. His skill in the Greek tongue got him his fellowship in Merton college, Oxford, in Sir Henry Saville’s time. Moreover, he was a great divine, and, in his time, a most celebrated preacher. For his divinity, I need only to say, he was a true continuer of the name of Reynolds, in the church of England; and for his sermons, they have run the gauntlet through the universities, inns of court, and city. They have met with the approbation both of the prince and his people, scholars, gentlemen, and citizens— all ranks of men have given their honourable testimony to them. In sum, I may reckon him among those happy men Caius Plinius speaks of, (*Quibus Deorum munere datum est aut facere scribentia aut scribere legenda,*) That either do things worthy of writing, or write things worthy of reading, for he has done both. He was a man of God, thoroughly furnished to every good word and work.

‘ As he was an extraordinary person in his life, he was no less so in his death. God was pleased to do him herein an extraordinary kindness, and make that which used to be to others a part of the punishment of their sin, to be to him a part of his excellent reward. The great Augustus’s wish was his enjoyment, and ἐπιθυμία, ‘ a civil and well-natured death.’ The last sand in the hour-glass falls not with less difficulty than he expired with. There were no noises, groans, convulsions, cramps, distortion of the looks, staring with eyes, gnashing with the teeth, in the last scene of his life. His passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and his active graces demonstrated, and therefore the less need of either now. His meek soul glided from him in an imperceptible vehicle, and he died much in the same way that the Rabbins speak concerning Moses, *osculo oris Dei*, as it were with the kiss of God’s mouth. In sum, the description of old Enoch’s life and death fits him well: *he walked with God, and he was not; for God took him.* I shall beseech you lastly to consider, this was the man that bore the heat of the day for us; this was the man that came to us in our gore and rubbish; this was he that entered our Augæan stable in its filth, and reduced it to that degree of cleanliness in which  
you

you now find it; this was he that carried us through the wilderness and has brought us to the brink of Jordan; Norwich was his Nebo: to this mount he came, and here he died.' Thus far Mr. Riveley. To this we add, that this blessed change happened on the twenty-eighth day of July 1676, and he was buried at the upper end of the chapel, (built by himself in 1662) joining to the Bishop's palace in Norwich. Over his grave, soon after his death, was fastened to the wall a marble table, on which his epitaph in Latin was engraven.

His Works. "The vanity of the Creature, on Eccles. i. 14. Sinfulness of Sin, on Rom. vii. 9. and on vi. 12. Use of the Law, on Rom. vii. 13. Life of Christ, on I John v. 12. An Explication of the cx. Psalm. Meditations on the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's last Supper. Explication of the 14 Chapter of Hosea, in Seven Humiliation Sermons. A Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soul of Man." All or most of which having been printed several times in 4to. were all printed in one large folio at London in 1658, with the Author's picture before them, and went by the name of "Bishop Reynolds's Works." They were much bought up, read and commended by men of several persuasions; and one (Mr. Wilde) wrote two short poems in commendation of them. "Thirty Sermons, preached on several solemn Occasions. — They were preached between the year 1634, and that of his death; some of them had been printed several times. At length they were reprinted in the second impression of his Works, at London, 1679, folio. Among them is his Latin Sermon, preached at Oxon, 1649, entitled, *Animalis Homo*, on I Cor. ii. 14. He also wrote the "Assembly of Divines' Annotations," which are on Ecclesiastes; which being admirably done, it was wished by many learned men of the Presbyterian persuasion, that the rest had been all wrote *pari filo, et eruditione*. He also was the author of the 'Epistolary Preface to William Barlee's Correpitory Correction, &c. of some Notes of Thomas Pierce concerning God's Decrees, especially of Reprobation:' Which book of Barlee with the said 'Epistolary Preface,' a second of Thomas Whitfield, and a third of Daniel Cawdrey sometime of Cambridge, were printed at London, 1656, 4to." He is also said to be the author of "The humble Proposals of sundry learned, pious Divines within this Kingdom, concerning the engagement intended to be imposed on them for their Subscriptions. London, 1650, 4to. One sheet was published in December 1649. John Ducey published

published an Answer, entitled, ‘Just Re-proposals to humble Proposals: or, an impartial Consideration of, &c.’ London, 1650, 4to. four sheets. And it is probable that he wrote several other things besides those above-mentioned, particularly his “Meditations on the Fall of Peter,” a short twelves, never inserted in any of the folio editions.”

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## THOMAS MANTON, D. D.

THIS laborious and zealous divine was born in the year 1620, at Laurence-Lydiard, in the county of Somerset. His father, and both his grandfathers, were ministers. He was educated at Tiverton free-school in Devonshire, and, at the age of fifteen, was entered at Wadham college, Oxford. Here, after preparatory studies, he applied himself to divinity, which was the work his heart was chiefly set upon, and which he designed to make the business of his life. By a course of unwearied diligence, joined with great intellectual endowments, he was early qualified for the work of the ministry; and took orders much sooner than was usual, and than he himself approved, upon maturer thoughts, and after he had more experience. “I have been in the ministry, says he, these ten years, and yet not fully completed the thirtieth year of my age: The Lord forgive my rash intrusion.” But the excellent Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, afterwards of Norwich, who ordained him, having taken particular notice of his gifts and qualifications, did not think him too young, but expressed his apprehensions, ‘That he would prove an extraordinary person.’

The times, when he first entered into the ministry, were full of trouble, the king and parliament being at variance, and hostilities breaking out on both sides. He was confined to Exeter, when it was besieged by the king’s forces. After its surrender he went to Lime. He preached his first sermon at Sowton near Exeter, from those words: *Judge not, that ye be not judged.* He entered first upon his ministerial labours at Culliton in Devonshire, where he preached a weekly lecture, and was much attended and respected. At his coming to London he was soon taken notice of, as a young man of excellent parts and growing hopes. Here he neither wanted work, nor will to perform

form it; but applied himself with great diligence and pleasure, for which he was remarkable all his life. About this time he married. He had not been above three years in the ministry before his first settlement, which was at Stoke-Newington near London. He was presented to this cur. by Colonel Popham, in whom he had a most worthy and kind patron, and was highly esteemed by his pious lady. It was here he began and finished his excellent exposition of the Epistle of St. James.—An exposition that has been thought by good judges, to be one of the best models of expounding Scripture; in which the Author has joined together, with the greatest judgment, the critical explication, and practical observations upon the several parts. Some time after, he went through the Epistle of Jude: This, though excellent in its kind, is not strictly expository, but more in the sermon way; which he says, was more in compliance with the desires of others, than with his own judgment. He continued seven years at Newington, and possessed the general respect of his parishioners, though there were many persons of different sentiments from himself. He was often invited to preach in London on the week-days: And other weighty affairs sometimes called for his attendance there. The custom of preaching to the sons of the clergy began in his time: Doctor Hall, son of the famous Bishop Hall of Norwich, preached the first sermon to them, as Mr. Manton did the second, from Psahn cii. 28. He was several times, though not so often as some others, called to preach before the parliament, and received their order, in course, for printing his sermons; in all which his wisdom and judgment, in the suitableness of the subject to the circumstances of the times, and the prudent management of it to the best advantage, are very visible. Particularly after he had given his testimony, among the London ministers, against the death of the king, he was appointed to preach before the parliament; his text was Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5. *Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob; and he was a king in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of Israel were gathered together.* When they were highly offended at his sermon, some of his friends advised him to withdraw; for some of the house talked of sending him to the tower; but he never flinched, and their heat abated. His generous constancy of mind in resisting the current of popular humour, declared his loyalty to his master.

Mr.

Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick of St. Paul's, Covent-Garden, being grown old, several worthy persons were proposed to succeed him, yet could he not be prevailed with to resign, till Mr. Manton was mentioned; and to that he readily yielded. The then Earl, afterwards Duke of Bedford, was Mr. Manton's patron, who greatly esteemed him to his dying day. Here he preached to a numerous congregation of persons of great note and rank, with great success; of which number was oftentimes the great Archbishop Usher, who used to say of him, 'That he was one of the best preachers in England—and that he was a voluminous preacher;' not that he was tedious for length, but he had the art of reducing the substance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compass. Mr. Charnock used to say of him, that he was 'the best collector of sense of the age.' About this time the Doctor was made one of the chaplains to the Protector, and appointed one of the committee to examine persons who were to be admitted to the ministry, or inducted into livings; as he was afterwards appointed one in 1659, by an act of that parliament, in which the secluded members were restored. And though this proved troublesome to him, considering his constant employment in preaching, yet he has been heard to say, "That he very seldom absented himself from that service, that he might, according to his power, keep matters from running into extremes;" for there were many in those days, as well as in these, who were forward to run into the ministry, and had more zeal than knowledge; and perhaps sometimes men of worth were liable to be discouraged. An instance of this kind happened respecting a grave and sober man, who appeared before them, (cap in hand, no doubt) and was little taken notice of but by himself: He seeing him stand, called for a chair, in respect to his age and appearance; at which some of the commissioners were displeased. This person appeared to be of a Christian and ingenuous temper; for, after the restoration, he was preferred to an Irish bishopric, perhaps an archbishopric; for he used to charge Bishop Worth, whose business often called him over to England, that on his first coming to London he should visit Doctor Manton, and give his service to him, and let him know, 'That if he was molested in his preaching in England, he should be welcome in Ireland, and have liberty to preach in any part of his diocese undisturbed.'

He was in great reputation at the time of the restoration, and was very forward, in the year 1660, to promote the

the king's restoration. He was one of the divines appointed to wait upon the king at Breda, and afterwards sworn one of the king's chaplains by the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain, who truly honoured him. He was one of the Savoy commissioners, and very earnest in his endeavours to get the King's Declaration passed into a law, which would have gone a great way towards uniting the principal parties in the nation, and laying the foundation of a lasting peace, and would have determined him in accepting the deanery of Rochester, that was then offered him.

He might have accepted the deanery, as, at that time, there was no assent or consent imposed, and have held it till the year 1662, with great pecuniary advantage; but he refused it upon principle, probably foreseeing how matters were likely to turn. When he saw the endeavours of mild and moderate men, through the violence and ambition of others of a different stamp, availed nothing to the peace of the church and the happiness of the nation, he sat down under the melancholy prospect of what he lived to see come to pass; namely, the decay of serious religion, with a flood of profaneness, and a violent spirit of persecution. The greatest worth, and the best pretensions, met with no regard, where there were any scruples in point of ceremony and subscription: And upon this the breach grew wider and wider. In the interval between the restoration and his ejection, he was greatly esteemed by persons of the first quality at court. Sir John Barber used to tell him, that the king had a singular respect for him. Lord Chancellor Hyde was always highly civil and obliging to him. He had free access to him upon all occasions, which he always improved, not for himself, but for the service of others. We shall only trouble the reader with a single instance: Mr. James of Berkshire, who was afterwards known by the name of Black James, a very worthy man, was at the point of being cast out of his living, which was a sequestration. He came to London to make friends to Lord Chancellor, but could find none proper for his purpose. He was at length advised to go to Dr. Manton, to whom he was as yet a stranger, as the most likely person to serve him in his distress. He came to him late in the evening, and when he was in bed. He told his case to Mrs. Manton, who advised him to come again in the morning, and did not doubt but the Doctor would go with him. He answered with great concern, that it would be too late; and that if he could not put a stop to it that night, he and his family  
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must be ruined. On so pressing a case the Doctor rose, and went with him to the chancellor at York House; who spying the Doctor in the croud, called to him to know what business he had there at that time of night. When he acquainted him with his errand, his Lordship bid him not trouble himself, his friend should not be molested; and immediately put a stop to the making out of the seals to pass away the living to another. Upon the Doctor refusing the deanery, he fell under Lord Clarendon's displeasure: so fickle is the favour of the great; and he once accused him to the king, for dropping some treasonable expressions in a sermon. The king sent for him, and ordered him to bring his notes; which when he read, the king asked, 'Whether, upon his word, that was all that was delivered?' And upon the Doctor's assurance that it was, the king said no more than, 'Doctor, I am satisfied, and you may be assured of my favour; but look to yourself, or else Hyde will be too hard for you.'

In the year 1662, he was deprived of his benefice, and imprisoned for his non-conformity, and was many ways a sufferer; yet kept up a considerable interest at court, and with men of note. The noble Earl (afterwards Duke) of Bedford, who had been his parishioner at Covent-Garden, was his cordial friend to his death; so also was Lord Wharton, and many other persons of considerable quality. Mr. Baxter gives this character of him: 'Doctor Manton, says he, who lately lay six months in prison, is a man of great learning, judgment, and integrity; and an excellent, most laborious, unwearied preacher, and of moderate principles.' He generally sat in the chair in the meetings of the dissenting ministers of the city, who found the want of his prudence, activity, and interest joined together, when the Lord was pleased to call him from the world. His discourses were clear and convincing, so as to be effectual through grace, not only to raise a short commotion in the affections, but to make a lasting change in the life. His doctrine was *the truth, according to godliness*. He did not entertain his hearers with impertinent subtilties, empty notions, intricate disputes, &c. but preached as one, who had always before his eyes the glory of God and the salvation of men, both in respect to his matter and his expression, in which he had a singular talent. Dr. William Harris relates the following anecdote of him while he was at Covent-Garden: 'Being to preach before the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and the Companies of the city, at St. Paul's, the Doctor

chose a subject, in which he had an opportunity of displaying his judgment and learning. He was heard with admiration and applause by the more intelligent part of the audience. But as he was returning from dinner with the Lord Mayor in the evening, a poor man following him, pulled him by the sleeve of his gown, and asked him if he were the gentleman that preached before the Lord Mayor. He answered, "he was." Sir, says he, I came with hopes of getting some good to my soul; but I was greatly disappointed, for I could not understand a great deal of what you said; you were quite above me. The Doctor replied, with tears, "Friend, if I did not give you a sermon, you have given me one; and by the grace of God I will never play the fool to preach before my Lord Mayor in such a manner again."

In the year 1670, some indulgence being granted to dissenters, the meetings were much attended. After the looseness and excess which followed the Restoration, the reproaches and persecutions of the non-conformists for several years, and the late terrible judgments of plague and fire; multitudes every where frequented the opened meetings. God remarkably owned their ministry at that time, and crowned it under all their disadvantages, with extraordinary success. Soon after this indulgence expired, the Doctor was taken prisoner on a Lord's Day in the afternoon, just after he had done his sermon, and committed to the Gate-house. This imprisonment, by the kind providence of God, was more favourable and commodious than could have been thought, or than his enemies designed, or than he expected. The keeper of the prison at that time was Lady Broughton, who was noted for her strictness and severity in her office; though she carried it quite otherwise towards the Doctor. Thus like Joseph; (Gen. xxxix. 21, &c.) *he found favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, &c.* In whatsoever company he was, he had courage, as became a faithful minister of Christ, to oppose sin, and upon proper occasion to reprove sinners. The Duke of Lauderdale, who pretended to carry it with great respect to him, in some company where the Doctor was present, behaved himself very indecently; the Doctor modestly reproved him. When the indulgence was more fully fixed in the year 1672, the merchants, and other citizens of London, set up a lecture at Pinner's Hall. Dr. Manton was one of the six first chosen, and opened the lecture. He was much concerned at the little bickerings, which began there in his time.

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And when Mr. Baxter was censured by some for a discourse preached there, upon these words: *And ye will not come unto me, that ye may have life*; the Doctor, on his next turn, pretty sharply rebuked them for their rash mistakes, and unbecoming reflections upon so worthy and useful a man. It was observed, that this reproof was managed with so much decency and wisdom, that (what is truly wonderful!) he was not by any reflected upon for his freedom in it. He has been heard to express his esteem of Mr. Baxter in the highest terms. He said, he thought him one of the most extraordinary men the Christian church had produced, since the apostle's days; and that he did not look upon himself as worthy to carry his books after him. This was the opinion of one who knew him with the greatest intimacy for many years, and was a great judge of true worth. The same opinion of Mr. Baxter had the two excellent Messrs. Henry, father and son.

When he first began to grow ill in his health, he was, after much persuasion, prevailed with to spend some time at Woburn with Lord Wharton, for the benefit of the air: But finding little good by it, he returned to town on the beginning of the week, with a design to administer the Lord's Supper the next Lord's Day; of which he gave notice to his people, but he did not live to accomplish it. The day before he took his bed, he was in his study; of which he took his solemn leave, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, blessing God for the many comfortable and serious hours he had spent there, and waiting in joyful hope of a state of clearer knowledge, and higher enjoyments of his God. At night he prayed with his family under great indisposition, desiring, "If the Lord had no further work for him to do in this world, he would take him to himself:" Which he expressed, with great serenity of mind, and an unreserved resignation to the divine good pleasure. At length finding his constitution breaking, he resigned himself to God's wise disposal; and, being seized with a kind of lethargy, by which he was deprived of his senses, to the great grief and loss of his friends who came to visit him, he died on the eighteenth of October 1677, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington; leaving behind him the reputation of as excellent a preacher, as this city or nation hath produced.

God had furnished him with a rare union of those parts that are requisite to form an excellent minister of his word. A clear judgment, rich fancy, strong memory,  
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and happy elocution met in him, and were excellently improved by his diligent study. He was endowed with extraordinary knowledge in the Scriptures, those holy oracles, from whence all spiritual light is derived: And in his preaching, he gave such a perspicuous account of the order and dependence of divine truths, and so happily applied the Scriptures to confirm them, that every subject by his management was cultivated and improved. His discourses were so clear and convincing, that none, without offering voluntary violence to conscience, could resist their evidence. His doctrine was uncorrupt and pure, *the truth according to godliness*. He was far from a guilty vile intention, to prostitute that sacred ordinance for the acquiring any private secular advantage. Neither did he entertain his hearers with impertinent subtilties, empty notions, intricate disputes, dry and barren without productive virtue: But as one that always had before his eyes the great end of the ministry, the glory of God, and the salvation of men, his sermons were directed to open their eyes, that they might see their wretched condition as sinners, to hasten their flight *from the wrath to come*, to make them humbly, thankfully, and entirely *receive Christ* as their prince and all-sufficient Saviour; and to build up the converted in their most holy faith and more excellent love. In short, to make them true Christians eminent in knowledge, and universal in obedience. As the matter of his sermons was designed for the good of souls, so his way of expression was proper to that end. His style was not exquisitely studied, not consisting of harmonious periods, yet far distant from vulgar meanness. His expression was natural and free, clear and eloquent, quick and powerful, without any spice of folly, and always suitable to the simplicity and majesty of divine truths. His sermons afforded substantial food with delight, so that a fastidious mind could not disrelish them. He abhorred a vain ostentation of wit in handling sacred things, so venerable and grave, and of such eternal consequence.

His fervour and earnestness in preaching was such, as might soften and make pliant the most stubborn obdurate spirits. His talent did not consist only in voice, like that of some, who labour in the pulpit as if the end of preaching were for the exercise of the body, and not for the profit of souls: But this man of God was inflamed with an holy zeal; and from thence such ardent expressions broke forth, as were capable of procuring attention and consent in his hearers. He spake, as one that had a living faith  
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within him of divine truths. From this union of zeal with his knowledge, he was excellently qualified to convince and convert souls. The sound of words only strike the ear; but the mind reasons with the mind, and the heart speaks to the heart. He was no fomentor of faction, but studious of the public tranquillity. He knew what a blessing peace is, and wisely foresaw the pernicious consequences that attend divisions. By peace, the bond of harmony, the weakest things are preserved and prosper; but where discord reigns, the strongest are near to ruin. The heavenly consent in the primitive church, was a principal cause of its miraculous increase and flourishing; but after dissensions prevailed among Christians, that was destroyed in a short time, which was built by the divine union and heroic patience of the primitive Christians. And the glorious beginnings, that promised the reformation of all Europe, were more obstructed by the dissensions of some employed in that blessed work, than by all the power and subtilty, the arms and artifice of Rome itself. May that Saviour, who did by his precious blood reconcile heaven and earth, send down his Spirit to inspire that wisdom which is pure and peaceable, that those who agree in the same principles of faith, in the same substantial parts of worship, in asserting the same indispensable necessity of holiness, may receive one another in love!

If we consider him as a Christian, his life was answerable to his doctrine. His resolute contempt of the world secured him from being wrought upon by those low motives, which tempt sordid spirits from their duty. He would not rashly throw himself into troubles, nor *spretâ conscientiâ* (at the expence of his conscience) avoid them. His charity was eminent in procuring supplies for others, when in mean circumstances himself. But he had great experience of God's fatherly provision, to which his filial confidence was correspondent. His conversation in his family was holy and exemplary, every day instructing them from the Scriptures in their duty. His humility was great. He was deeply affected with the sense of his frailties and unworthiness. He considered the infinite purity of God, the perfection of his law the rule of our duty, and by that humbling light discovered his manifold defects. He expressed his thoughts to an intimate friend a little before his death, to the following effect: "If the holy prophets were under strong impressions of fear, upon the extraordinary discovery of the di-  
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vine presence, how shall we poor creatures appear before the holy and dread Majesty? Isaiah, after his glorious vision of God, reflecting upon himself as not retired and purified from the commerce and corruption of the world, breaks forth, *Woe is me, for I am undone! because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts.* It is infinitely terrible to appear before God, the Judge of all, without the protection of the blood of sprinkling, that speaks better things than the blood of Abel, and without the spotless robe of the Lamb of God for our justification before the throne!" This alone relieved him, and supported his hopes. Though his labours were abundant, yet he knew that the work of God, passing through our hands, is so blemished, that, without an appeal to pardoning mercy and grace, in and through Christ Jesus, we cannot stand in judgment. This was the subject of his last public sermon.

The attestation of a fellow-labourer in the Lord's vineyard, is expressed in the following terms: 'He languished many months, but presuming he should be too strong for his infirmity, neglected it, till at last it became insuperable and mortal. Many pathetic aggravations heighten our great and sensible loss, that such a faithful minister of Christ should be taken away, whose preaching was so powerful to repair the woful ruins of true godliness and vital Christianity in a degenerate age; whose prudent pacific spirit rendered him so useful in these divided times, when, alas! professors of the same religion are alienated from one another, as if they had been baptized with the waters of strife: That before our tears were dried up for the loss of other worthy ministers, the fountain of sorrow should be opened again by this afflicting stroke. But it becomes us to receive the dispensations of Providence with humble and quiet submission: to reflect upon our sins with an holy grief, that provoke God to remove such an excellent instrument of his glory from us. *Let us pray to the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth more labourers into it.* He was of a middle stature as to his person, and of a fair and fresh complexion, with a mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance. In his younger years, he was very slender, but grew corpulent in his advanced age; not by idleness or excess, for he was remarkably temperate, and unweariedly diligent. He had naturally a little appetite, and generally declined all manner of feasts; but a sedentary life, and the long confinement



POOLE



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From the original Drawing.

finement of the five-mile act, which he used to complain of, first broke his constitution. Perhaps few men of the age in which he lived, had more virtues, and fewer failings, or were more remarkable for general knowledge, fearless integrity, great candour and wisdom, sound judgment, and natural eloquence; copious invention, and incredible industry, zeal for the glory of God, and good will to men, for acceptance and usefulness in the world, and a clear unspotted reputation, through a course of many years, among all parties of men.

His Works. "I. A practical Exposition on Isaiah liii. II. On the Epistle of James. III. On the Epistle of Jude. IV. *Smectymnuus Redivivus*; an Answer to an humble Remonstrance. V. The Saint's Triumph over Death; a Funeral Sermon for Mr. Christopher Love. VI. Four Sermons in the Morning Exercise against Popery. VII. Several before Parliament on public Occasions." After his Death. "VIII. Twenty Sermons on the Psalms, Acts, &c. IX. Eighteen on 2 Thess. ii. on the Growth and Fall of Antichrist. X. A practical Exposition on the Lord's Prayer, 8vo. XI. Several Discourses tending to promote Holiness, 8vo. XII. Five Volumes of Sermons, in folio, viz. Vol. I. on the whole cxixth Psalm. Vol. II. Twenty-seven Sermons on Matth. v. Forty-five on John xvii. Twenty-four on Rom. vi. Forty-five on Rom. viii. and Forty on 2 Cor. v. Vol. III. Sixty-six Sermons on Heb. xi. A Treatise on the Life of Faith. A Treatise on Self-denial. Several Sermons on the Lord's Supper. Vols. IV. and V. Select Sermons on several texts."

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## MATTHEW POOLE.

**MATTHEW POOLE**, an eminent nonconformist minister, was son of Francis Poole, Esq. of York, by his wife, daughter of Alderman Toppin, in that city, where he was born in 1624. Having laid a competent foundation of grammar learning, he was sent to Emanuel college in Cambridge, and put under the tuition of Dr. John Worthington. He afterwards took the degree of master of arts there; and falling in with the presbyterian opinions, concerning ecclesiastical polity, which then prevailed, he entered into the ministry, and about the year 1648, became rector of St. Michael le Querne in London. In 1654, he

he published a piece in 12mo. entitled, "The Blasphemer slain with the Sword of the Spirit: Or, a Plea for the Godhead of the Holy Ghost; wherein the Deity of the Spirit is proved, against the Cavils of John Biddle." In 1657, in that act at Oxford, when the Protector, Cromwell, resigned that chancellorship, and was succeeded therein by his son Richard, our Author was incorporated master of arts of that university, and on the first of April, the following year, he projected a plan for maintaining at those places some choice students designed for the ministry. In 1659, he wrote a letter, in one sheet 4to. to the Lord Charles Fleetwood, which was delivered to him on the thirteenth of December, in reference to the juncture of affairs at that time. In the same view of supporting the presbyterian power, he published also that year, in 4to. his "*Quo Warranto: A moderate Debate about the preaching of unordained persons: Election, Ordination, and the Extent of the Ministerial Relation, in vindication of the Jus Divinum Ministerii, from the Exceptions of a late piece, entitled, The Preacher sent.*" In the title-page of his *Quo Warranto*, it is said to be written by the appointment of the provincial assembly at London. In 1660 he took a share in the Morning Exercise,\* which was then set up by those of the London clergy, who were thus puritanically inclined. The same year he printed a sermon upon John iv. 23, 24. preached before the Lord Mayor of London, against re-establishing the liturgy of the church of England;† and refusing to comply with the act of uniformity,

\* Among the sermons published in the volumes of this Exercise, there is one of our Author's upon the satisfaction of Christ; another about the right method of application to the sick for their good, on the part of ministers and people; a third upon detraction; and a fourth against an external and infallible judge in the church of God, in that against popery.

† It was preached at St. Paul's on the twentieth of August this year, and printed with the title, "Evangelical Obedience." In the preface, he declares his printing it was occasioned by several calumnies cast on him about it; one of which was, says he, that I wished their fingers might rot that played upon the organs. In answer to this he alleges, that he only expressed his dislike of organs under the head, that carnal worship is a great obstruction to edification; and the salvation of souls, he says, was by other things. "Better all the organs in the world to be broken, than one soul lost." And again, in speaking to the distraction bred by this way to spiritual worship, which ought to be done without distraction, he writes thus: "The more inveiglements there are to sense, the more disadvantage to the spirit. To instance in one thing, I appeal to the experience of any ingenious person, whether curiosity of voice and musical sounds in churches does not tickle the fancy

formity, in 1662 he incurred an ejection from his rectory; upon which occasion he printed a piece in Latin, entitled, "*Vox clamantis in deserto.*" However, he submitted to the law with a commendable resignation. Being unmarried, he was free from the charge of a family; and enjoying a paternal estate of one hundred pounds *per annum*, he sat down to his studies, resolving to employ his pen in the service of religion in general, without regard to the particular disputes among protestants. In this view, meeting with suitable encouragement from all parties, he drew the design of a very laborious and useful work, and printed a specimen, which was approved particularly by Dr. Lightfoot, who also offered him assistance in the work. It was published by him in 1669, and the following years, under the title of "*Synopsis Criticorum Bibliorum.*"

In the midst of this employment he found leisure to testify his zeal against popery, in a treatise concerning the infallibility of the church, printed in 1666, 8vo. which was followed by another the next year, 8vo. entitled, "Dialogues between a Popish Priest and an English Protestant: wherein the principal Points and Arguments of both Religions are truly proposed, and fully examined." Besides these, he wrote A Seasonable Apology for Religion, on Matth. xi. 14. Lond. 1673, 4to. The first of

fancy with a carnal delight, and engage a man's ear and most diligent attention unto those sensible motions and audible sounds, and therefore must necessarily, in great measure, recal him from spiritual communion with God, seeing the mind of man cannot attend to two things at once with all its might [to each,] and when we serve God we must do it with all our might. And hence it is, that the ancients have, some of them, given this rule: that even vocal singing [in churches] should not be too curious, *sed legenti similiter quam canenti*: And Paul himself gives it a wiper, Eph. v. 19. *Speaking to yourselves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, making melody in your hearts to the Lord.*" We thought it not foreign to the design of these memoirs, to retail so much of our Author's discourse, as a specimen of his abilities in the way of argument, which is part of the character of his genius as a preacher; and in the same view the following instance is produced, to shew of what kind were his persuasive talents. In recounting the signs of a carnal heart, in the spiritual worship of God, he gives this for one: "When you come to a sermon, what is most pleasing to you? what do you like best, and hear with the greatest attention? Is it some florid and elegant expression, some high and unusual notion, some historical passage, some acute sentence, and the like? or is it a spiritual discourse? a sin-discovering, and soul-affecting, and heart-breaking passage?" He had just before complimented his brethren the dissenters, upon account of these concerns, as humble, close-walking Christians. This sermon was reprinted in 1698, in 4to. under the title of "A Reverse to Mr. Oliver's Sermon of Spiritual Worship."

of these pieces was reprinted in 1679. And the same year he observed his name in the list, among those that were to be cut off, printed in the depositions of Titus Oates concerning the popish plot; and an incident which befel him not long after, gave him so great an apprehension of his danger, that he thought proper to retire into Holland, where he died this year, about the middle of October, not without some suspicion of being poisoned. The incident was this: Having passed an evening at Alderman Ashurst's, he took one Mr. Chorley to bear him company home. When they came to the narrow passage which leads from Clerkenwell to St. John's Court, there were two men standing at the entrance; one of whom, as Mr. Poole came along, cried out to the other, 'Here he is;' upon which the other replied, 'Let him alone, for there is somebody with him.' As soon as they were passed, our Author asked his friend, if he heard what those men said? and upon his answering that he had, "Well, replied Mr. Poole, I had been murdered to-night, had you not been with me." It is said, that before this incident, he gave not the least credit to what was said in Oates's deposition. His body was interred in a vault which belongs to the English merchants at Amsterdam.

His Works. Besides what he published, he left behind him a manuscript of English annotations on the holy Scripture, which being carried on to the prophecy of Isaiah, the 59th and 60th chapters were afterwards added by Mr. Jackson of Moulsey; and several persons, who were friends to our Author's memory and religious sentiments, joined in undertaking to complete the whole according to his plan, of the following shares: Dr. Collings drew up the notes on the rest of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations; as also those on the four Evangelists, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians; those to Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and the Revelations; Ezekiel, and the minor prophets, were done by Mr. Hurst; Daniel by Mr. Cooper; the Acts by Mr. Vinke; the Epistle to the Romans by Mr. Mayo; to the Ephesians by Mr. Veale; to the Philippians and Colossians by Mr. Adams; to the Hebrews by Mr. Obadiah Hughes; the Epistle of St. James, the two of St. Peter, and that of St. Jude, by Mr. Veale; and the three Epistles of St. John by Mr. Howe. These annotations were printed at London in 1685, in two vols. folio. And by these authors, we are told in the preface, 'that they had taken out of Mr. Poole's Synopsis, as much as was proper



CHARNOCK



White print.

Printer Sculp.

Published as the Act directs Sept. 1711.

From an original Picture.

per for his design in this work, and made use of a great number of other authors: some of which he left out, or very little considered in his Synopsis, upon a design to make use of them in this English work; and to this purpose, it is observable, that he expressly declares he had not brought Calvin into his Synopsis. Dr. Calamy informs us, that 'while he was engaged in both these laborious works, his common rule was, to rise very early in the morning, about three or four o'clock, and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve, and then continued his studies till the afternoon was pretty far advanced, when he went abroad, and spent the evening at some friend's house in cheerful conversation. In which he observes he was very facetious, as well as very true to his friend.' And to crown his character, the same writer adds, that he was also very strict in his piety, and universal in his charity. As to his learning, Mr. Wood tells us he left behind him the character of *Clarissimus Criticus et Casuista*.

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## STEPHEN CHARNOCK, B. D.

STEPHEN CHARNOCK, one of the greatest men in the church of Christ, with respect to his depth, clearness, and accuracy in true divinity, was born in the year 1628. He was the Author of those unparalleled discourses on the Existence, Attributes, and Providence of God, with a course of excellent sermons on Regeneration. On these subjects, they have no equal in our language; and it is a striking evidence of the depraved and frivolous taste of the present age, that these admirable volumes are almost universally neglected. It is the honour of some few of our divines to know the worth of them, and to study them with attention and delight. The best account we can give of this great divine must be taken from Dr. Calamy, and Mr. Charnock's funeral sermon, preached by Mr. Johnson.

Dr. Calamy, in the second volume of his account of ejected ministers, page 57, speaks thus: 'Mr. Stephen Charnock, B. D. first of Emanuel college in Cambridge, and afterwards fellow of New college in Oxford. He was senior proctor of the university in 1652, and managed that office with great honour and reputation, and was much applauded for his exercises at the act. From thence

he went into Ireland, where he lived in the family of Henry Cromwell, and that with abundant respect; at which time he used to preach on Lord's days, in the afternoon, in the city of Dublin, and had all the gentry and persons of quality in the city for his auditors. This continued till King Charles's restoration; a little after which he returned into England, and spent fifteen years in and about London, following his studies without any fixed settled employment, taking now and then a turn beyond the seas into France or Holland. At length he became pastor of a congregation in London, and was much admired as a preacher by the more judicious part of mankind, but not popular nor much followed, because of his disadvantageous way of reading with the help of a glass. He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine. His natural parts were excellent; for he had a strong reason, a great judgment, and a curious fancy (which rarely meet) joined together. His improvements by diligence and industry were unusual. There was no part of learning of any moment which he had not an insight into. And his love was as large as his knowledge; for his benevolence was universal, and his love took in whatsoever person or thing had any thing lovely in it.

He published nothing while he lived, but a sermon of "The sinfulness and cure of thoughts, in the supplement to the morning exercise at Cripplegate." But various things of his were printed after his death, in two volumes in folio, which are valued by all that are judges of good sense or divinity. They are indeed no other than his ordinary performances, his usual sermons in his common course; and they were transcribed from his notes, and cannot therefore but want that perfection and beauty they would have had, if he had himself sent them to the press. And yet (to speak modestly) they are not equalled by many, but exceeded by few, if any. His preaching was mostly practical, yet rational and argumentative to his hearers' understandings as well as affections; and where controversies came in his way, he shewed great acuteness and judgment in discussing and determining them, and no less skill in applying them to practice. There is besides the two folios, an octavo, published by the same persons, containing some of his sermons on our natural enmity against God, and the sinner's salvation, which are of a piece with the others. He died at London, July the twenty-seventh 1680, aged fifty-two.

His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. John Johnson, who had been his fellow-collegiate at Cambridge, in 1644,

1644, when Mr. Charnock was only sixteen years of age. In Dr. Calamy's continuation, vol. iii. page 81, he gives this farther account of our Author: Mr. Johnson's funeral sermon for him was on Matth. xiii. 43. He (who had been acquainted with him thirty-six years) gave him an excellent character, and among other things said, that he never knew a man in all his life that had attained near unto that skill that Mr. Charnock had in the originals of the Old and New Testament, except Mr. Thomas Cawton. His library was burnt in the fire of London. It was only in his latter years, when his memory began to fail him, that he penned and read his sermons *verbatim*: But in his younger days he used no notes in the pulpit.'

In the preface to his funeral sermon, Mr. Johnson writes thus: 'He was, as to manners and deportment, venerable and grave, like an aged person from his youth: Then well trained up, and learned in all the wisdom couched under foreign languages: In his skill in both the originals of sacred writ, the wisdom taught by the holy languages, was he instructed, and so augmented and grew ripe as in years. He was the rational house of God, Christ's spiritual building, the temple of the Holy Ghost, framed and made up of orthodox doctrines and good works: A person really transformed into the very image of God himself. Always serving the only true and living God, as becomes such a God. All the work wherein he employed and exercised himself with diligence, skill, and constancy, was love to God and souls. His life he examined and squared, until it was exact according to the rule of God's word. His gravity not with affectation in the least: His very silence was more efficacious many times than his own, oftentimes than the speech of others. But all his ministerial service always such as brought down fire from heaven upon the spiritual sacrifices. The doctrines he set before his hearers for food and physic, were most divine, whom he never directed into any way of truth, wherein he had not walked before them. Christ's most fruitful vine overspread the walls of his auditory, well hung with lovely clusters, and flourishing with pleasant fruit of all the salutary doctrines of the Gospel, whence ministers and others carried home baskets full, to rejoice the hearts of new-born babes, which they were to bring up for Christ. Herein lay his eminency. He had resigned all into the hands of his Lord and Saviour, who had received him, viz. his estate, reputation, health, life, and whatever might be for his comfortable being here,

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even his learning and learned discourses, enjoying thus much of all these things, that he overlooked them, and had wherewith he might make it appear how much he esteemed Christ before them.

‘ In all his sermons, prayers, and conversation, gospel-light appeared to each that had any thing of the spirit of discerning, and love did abound more and more in knowledge, in all judgment and experience. How would he deeply search into, and prove things that differ, and allow only what he found pure and excellent, whereby he might make himself and others, sincere, without offence, and to be filled with the fruits of righteousness! For this I had him in my heart, at my first acquaintance with him in Cambridge, thirty-six years since, 1644. I found him one that, Josiah like, had turned to the Lord with all his heart, all his soul, and all his might, and none like him which did more endear him to me. How had he hid the word of God in a fertile soil, a good and honest heart, which made him flee youthful lusts, and antidoted him against the infection of youthful vanities. His study was his recreation: The law of God all his delight. Had he it not, think ye, engraven on his heart? He was as choice, circumspect, and prudent in his selection of society, as of books to converse with: all his delight being in such as excelled in the divine art of directing, furthering, and quickening him in the way to heaven, the love of Christ, and souls. Most choice he was of the ministers that he would hear. What he learnt from books, converse, or sermons, he prayed over till he was delivered into the form of it, and had Christ’s grace and the spirit formed in him. True, he had been in darkness, and then full of doubtings, fears, and grievously pestered with temptation. It is in the night the serpent crawls forth. Alas! he was to be trained up, as he might counsel and comfort others; but God vouchsafed to dart such rays into his heart, as gave the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of the person of Jesus Christ. So was he made light in the world, and, believing on Christ and God in him, filled with inward peace and comfort. He was a sound believer, and oft said, he esteemed his own righteousness as none at all, nor would he be found in it: it was impure, imperfect, defiled. All his desire was to be found in Christ, and arrayed with the fine linen, clean and shining, the righteousness of the saints.

‘ One excellency of this eminent divine lay in his knowledge, belief of, and the soundness of his judgment, to  
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clear unto the understanding of others, fundamental truths, viz. concerning the first covenant, the apostacy and defection of our first parents, by which time the fathers, in the primitive times, judiciously delighted to delineate the fall of Adam, and ours in him. The first promise concerning Christ, the seed of the woman, and that before the judiciary sentence past; the covenant of redemption; the new covenant of grace, which filled up the greatest room in his head, heart, meditations, prayers, and discourses; the nature of original sin, want of original righteousness, corruption of nature, impossibility of being justified by the law, by works, justification by Christ, by faith in him, the sufferings of Christ, regeneration, &c. and the love of God in all. How oft have we found him magnifying and adoring the mercy, love, and goodness of God, the freeness and the riches of his grace, in giving the promise before the sentence, giving Christ, righteousness, and faith in him? O! (said he oft to this effect) the grace of God! the freeness and exceeding riches of his grace, who is rich in mercy for his great love, wherewith he hath loved us! He was pleased to make us vessels of grace and mercy, when he might have made us vessels of wrath! That ever the Lord should have thoughts of mercy on such sinful creatures, such vile wretches, worse than worms or toads! they have poison in them, but no enmity against God. O that God should give his Christ for us, to us, and faith in Christ! both work it, and preserve it in us. Yea, he was one that lived by faith, and he is gone to receive the end of it, the salvation of his soul. He was no Solifidian, (*i. e.* one who is for faith alone without works, or one who pleads for a dead faith) but being sanctified in part, truly righteous.

‘ Having infused habits of grace and righteousness in him, light and love, faith and hope, inclining him to walk in new obedience, and worthy of the Lord, unto all pleasing. Knowledge, without which the heart is not good. He knew the grace of God in truth, and, through grace, had treasured up a large stock of saving, solid, practical, experimental knowledge, which furnished him with great abilities, not only to convince gainsayers, which crept in as new lights, of their broaching old errors, but to give knowledge and discretion to weaker Christians, and to illuminate and instruct the righteous. Many able ministers loved to sit at his feet, for they received by one sermon of his those instructions which

which they could not get by many books, or sermons of others. His heat and zeal for the honour of God, and the good of souls, was proportioned to his light; he was as much a burning as a shining light.

‘ In Southwark, where seven or eight, in that little time Providence continued him there, owned their conversion under God to his ministry, and wear the seals and letters testimonial thereof. Then in the university of Oxford, and adjacent parts. After in Dublin, where it might be said of his, as it was of the Lord’s preaching in the land of Zabulon, *The people which sat in darkness saw great light, and to them which sat in the region of the shadow of death, light sprang up.* And lastly, in this great city, where his sphere, being not spacious enough for so great a light, was enlarged. Here he intended to have given forth a complete body of divinity; but, alas! after he had demonstrated the being and existence of God, his sun set before he had gone over all his transcendent excellencies and perfections. The last subject he treated on and finished, was the Patience of God. He was looking what to say next of the mercy, grace, and goodness of God, which he is gone to see and to admire: for he found that which he most looked and longed for, the mercy of our Lord Jesus unto eternal life in heaven, where he shines now. Indeed, all the while he was upon the attributes of God, he moved with that extraordinary strength and celerity, it was an argument of his near approach unto his centre, his everlasting rest; and, if it be true, as some say, that the soul doth *prominere in morte*, his words were too true predictions, and from his soul, when he said, “ That concerning divine patience would be his last sermon, which the Lord grant might prove salvation to all that heard him !”

To this character, given by his old friend and colleague, may be subjoined another by the editors of some of his Posthumous Pieces, Mr. Richard Adams and Mr. Edward Veal, who appear to have been well acquainted with Mr. Charnock.

‘ He was (say they) a person of excellent parts, strong reason, great judgment, and (which do not often go together) curious fancy, of high improvements, and general learning, as having been all his days a most diligent and methodical student, and a great redeemer of time, rescuing not only his restless hours in the night, but his very walking time in the streets from those impertinences and fruitless vanities, which do so customarily fill up men’s minds, and  
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steal away their hearts from those better and more noble objects, which do so justly challenge their greatest regards: This he did by not only carefully watching, (as every good Christian should do) but constantly writing down his thoughts, whereby he both governed them better, and furnished himself with many materials for his most elaborate discourses. His chief talent was his preaching gift, in which, to speak modestly, he had few equals. To this therefore, as that for which his Lord and master had best fitted him, (neglecting the practice of physic, in which he had arrived at a considerable measure of knowledge) he did especially addict himself, and direct his studies, and even when Providence denied him opportunities, yet he was still laying in more stock, and preparing for work against he might be called to it. When he was in employment, none that heard him could justly blame his retiredness, he being even when most private, continually at work for the public; and had he been less in his study, he would have been less liked in the pulpit.

His library furnished (though not with a numerous, yet) a curious collection of books, was his workhouse, in which he laboured hard all the week, and on the Lord's Day made it appear he had not been idle, and that though he consulted his privacy, yet he did not indulge his sloth. He was somewhat reserved where he was not well acquainted; otherwise very free, affable, and communicative where he understood and liked his company. He affected not much acquaintance, because he would escape visitants, well knowing how much the ordinary sort of friends were apt to take up his time, which he could ill spare from his beloved studies, meeting with few that could give him better entertainment with their company, than he could give himself alone. They had need be very good, and very learned, by whose converse he could gain more than by his own thoughts and books. He was a true son of the church of England, in that sound doctrine laid down in the articles of religion, and taught by our most famous ancient divines and reformers; and a real follower of their piety, as well as a strenuous maintainer of the truth they professed. His preaching was mostly practical, yet rational and argumentative, to his hearers' understandings, as well as affections; and where controversies came in his way, he shewed great acuteness and judgment in discussing and determining them, and no less skill in applying them to practice: So that he was indeed *a workman that needed not to be ashamed*, being

*able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and convince gain-sayers.* Some have thought his preaching too high for vulgar hearers, and it cannot be denied but his gifts were suited to the more intelligent sort of Christians; yet it must withal be said, that if he were sometimes deep, he was never abstruse; he handled the great mysteries of the Gospel with much clearness and perspicuity; so that if in his preaching he were above most, it was only because most were below him. Several considerable treatises on some of the most important points of religion, he finished in his ordinary course, which he hath left behind him, in the same form he usually wrote them for the pulpit.

To this may be added the testimony of a more modern writer: 'I have met (says the late Mr. Toplady) with many Treatises on the Divine Perfections: but with none, which any way equals that of Mr. Charnock. Perspicuity, and depth; metaphysical sublimity, and evangelical simplicity; immense learning, and plain, but irrefragable, reasoning, conspire to render that performance one of the most inestimable productions, that ever did honour to the sanctified judgment and genius of an human being. If I thought myself at all adequate to the task, I would endeavour to circulate the outlines of so rich a treasure into more hands, by reducing the substance of it within the compass of an octavo volume. Was such a design properly executed, a more important service could hardly be rendered to the cause of religion, virtue, and knowledge. Many people are frightened at a folio of more than 800 pages, who might have both leisure and inclination to avail themselves of a well-digested compendium.'

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## THOMAS GOUGE.

THE following extraordinary character of this extraordinary man was drawn by the famous Dr. Tillotson, when Dean of Canterbury, and is taken from his funeral sermon, preached at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, November 4th 1681.

'I must confess (says Dr. Tillotson) that I am no friend to funeral panegyrics, where there is nothing of extraordinary worth and merit in the party commended, to give occasion and foundation for them: In such cases, as praises  
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are not due to the dead, so they may be of ill consequence to the living: Not only by bringing those of our profession, that make a practice of it, under the suspicion of officious and mercenary flattery; but likewise, by encouraging men to hope, that they also may be well spoken of, and even sainted when they are dead, though they should have done little or no good in their life: But yet on the other hand, to commend those excellent persons, the virtues of whose lives have been bright and exemplary, is not only a piece of justice due to the dead, but an act of great charity to the living; setting a pattern of well-doing before our eyes, very apt and powerful to incite and encourage us *to go and do likewise*. Upon both these considerations: first, to do right to the memory of so good a man, and then, in hopes that the example may prove fruitful, and have a considerable effect upon others, to beget the like goodness and charity in them, I shall endeavour, in as narrow a compass as may be, to give you the just character of this truly pious and charitable man; and by setting his life in a true light, to recommend with all the advantage I can, so excellent a pattern to your imitation.

‘ He was born at Bow, near Stratford, in the county of Middlesex, the nineteenth day of September 1605. He was bred at Eton school, and from thence chosen to King’s college, in Cambridge, being about twenty years of age, in the year 1626. After he had finished the course of his studies, and taken his degrees, he left the university and his fellowship, being presented to the living of Colsden, near Croydon in Surry, where he continued about two or three years; and from thence was removed to St. Sepulchre’s in London, in the year 1638; and the year after, thinking fit to change his condition, matched into a very worthy and ancient family, marrying one of the daughters of Sir Robert Darcy. Being thus settled in this large and populous parish, he did, with great solicitude and pains, discharge all the parts of a vigilant and faithful minister, for about the space of twenty-four years. For besides his constant and weekly labour of preaching, he was very diligent and charitable in visiting the sick, and ministering, not only spiritual counsel and comfort to them, but likewise liberal relief, to the wants and necessities of those that were poor and destitute of means to help themselves in that condition. He did also every morning throughout the year catechize in the church, especially the poorer sort, who were generally most ignorant; and to encourage

rage them to come thither, to be instructed by him, he did once a-week distribute money among them, not upon a certain day, but changing it on purpose as he thought good, that he might thereby oblige them to be constantly present: These were chiefly the more aged poor, who being past labour, had leisure enough to attend upon this exercise. As for the other sort of poor, who were able to work for their living, he set them at work upon his own charge, buying flax and hemp for them to spin; and what they spun, he took off their hands, paying them for their work, and then got it wrought into cloth, and sold it as he could, chiefly among his friends, himself bearing the whole loss. And this was a very wise and well-chosen way of charity, and in the good effect of it, a much greater charity, than if he had given these very persons freely, and for nothing, so much as they earned by their work; because by this means he took many off from begging, and thereby rescued them at once from two of the most dangerous temptations of this world, idleness and poverty; and by degrees reclaimed them to a virtuous and industrious course of life, which enabled them afterwards to live without being beholden to the charity of others.\*

‘I must content myself’ (says Archbishop Tillotson) to pass over many things worthy to be remembered of Mr. Gouge, and to speak only of those virtues of his which were more eminent and remarkable. Of his piety towards God, which is the necessary foundation of all other graces and virtues, I shall only say this, that it was great and exemplary, but yet very still and quiet, without stir and noise, and much more in substance and reality, than in shew and ostentation; and did not consist in censuring and finding fault with others, but in the due care and government of his own life and actions, and in *exercising himself continually to have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men*; in which he was such a proficient, that even after long acquaintance and familiar conversation with him, it was not easy to observe any thing that might deserve blame. He particularly excelled in the  
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\* It was this plan so happily devised, and in which Mr. Gouge was so successful in his own parish, that gave the first hint to the worthy Mr. Thomas Firmin in forming his famous work of the same nature, but upon a much larger scale. This plan was prosecuted for many years in London with such zeal and success, that many hundreds of poor children and others who lived idle before, and unprofitable both to themselves and the public, were maintained at work, and taught to earn their own livelihood.

more peculiar virtues of conversation, in *modesty, humility, meekness, cheerfulness*, and in *kindness and charity towards all men*. So great was his modesty, that it never appeared either by word or action, that he put any value upon himself. This I have often observed in him, that the charities which were procured chiefly by his application and industry, when he had occasion to give an account of them, he would rather impute to any one who had but the least hand and part in the obtaining of them, than assume any thing of it to himself. Another instance of his modesty was, that when he had quitted his living of St. Sepulchre's, upon some dissatisfaction about the terms of conformity, he willingly forbore preaching, saying, "There was no need of him here in London, where there were so many worthy ministers; and that he thought he might do as much, or more good, in another way, which could give no offence." Only in the latter years of his life, being better satisfied in some things he had doubted of before, he had licence from some of the bishops to preach in Wales in his progress; which he was the more willing to do, because in some places he saw great need of it; and he thought he might do it with greater advantage among the poor people, who were the more likely to regard his instructions, being recommended by his great charity, so well known to them, and of which they had so long had the experience and benefit. But where there was no such need, he was very well contented to hear others persuade men to goodness, and to practise it himself.

‘ He was *clothed with humility*, and had in a most eminent degree, that *ornament of a meek and quiet spirit*, which St. Peter says, *is in the sight of God of so great price*: So that there was not the least appearance either of pride or passion in any of his words or actions. He was not only free from anger and bitterness, but from all affected gravity and moroseness. His conversation was affable and pleasant; he had a wonderful serenity of mind, and evenness of temper, visible in his very countenance; he was hardly ever merry, but never melancholy and sad; and for any thing I could discern, after a long and intimate acquaintance with him, he was, upon all occasions and accidents, perpetually the same; always cheerful, and always kind; of a disposition ready to embrace and oblige all men; allowing others to differ from him, even in opinions that were very dear to him; and provided men did but *fear God and work righteousness*, he loved them heartily, how distant soever  
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from him in judgment about things less necessary: In all which, he is very worthy to be a pattern to men of all persuasions whatsoever. But that virtue, which of all others shone brightest in him, and was his most proper and peculiar character, was his cheerful and unwearied diligence in acts of pious charity. In this he left far behind him all that ever I knew. and, as I said before, had a singular sagacity and prudence, in devising the most effectual ways of doing good, and in managing and disposing his charity to the best purposes, and to the greatest extent; always, if it were possible, making it to serve some end of piety and religion: as the instruction of poor children in the principles of religion, and furnishing grown persons that were ignorant, with the Bible and other good books; strictly obliging those to whom he gave them, to a diligent reading of them, and when he had opportunity, exacting of them an account how they had profited by them.

‘ In his occasional aims to the poor, in which he was very free and bountiful, the relief he gave them was always mingled with good counsel, and as great a tenderness and compassion for their souls as bodies: which very often attained the good effect it was likely to have, the one making way for the other, with so much advantage, and men being very apt to follow the good advice of those who give them in hand so sensible a pledge and testimony of their good will to them. This kind of charity must needs be very expensive to him, but he had a plentiful estate settled upon him, and left him by his father; and he laid it out as liberally, in the most prudent and effectual ways of charity he could think of, and upon such persons as, all circumstances considered, he judged to be the fittest and most proper objects of it. For about nine or ten years last past, he did, as is well known to many here present, almost wholly apply his charity to Wales, because there he judged was most occasion for it: And because this was a very great work, he did not only lay out upon it whatever he could spare out of his own estate, but employed his whole time and pains, to excite and engage the charity of others for his assistance in it. And in this, he had two excellent designs: One, to have poor children brought up to read and write, and to be carefully instructed in the principles of religion: The other, to furnish persons of grown age, the poor especially, with the necessary helps and means of knowledge, as the Bible, and other books of piety and devotion, in  
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their own language ; to which end he procured the church-catechism, besides several other useful treatises, some of them to be translated into the Welch tongue, and great numbers of them to be printed, and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates, to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not.

‘ And in both these designs, through the blessing of God upon his unwearied endeavours, he found very great success. For by the large and bountiful contributions, which chiefly by his industry and prudent application, were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions ; from the nobility and gentry of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, and several of that quality in and about London ; from divers of the right reverend bishops, and of the clergy ; and from that perpetual fountain of charity, the city of London, led on and encouraged by the most bountiful example of the right honourable the Lord Mayor, and the Court of Aldermen ; to all which he constantly added two-thirds of his own estate, which, as I have been credibly informed, was two hundred pounds a-year : I say, by all these together, there were every year eight hundred, sometimes a thousand poor children educated, as I said before ; and by this example, several of the most considerable towns of Wales were excited to bring up, at their own charge, the like number of poor children, in the like manner, and under his inspection and care. He likewise gave very great numbers of the books above-mentioned, both in the Welch and English tongues, to the poorer sort ; so many as were unable to buy them, and willing to read them. But which was the greatest work of all, and amounted indeed to a mighty charge, he procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible and liturgy of the church of England in the Welch tongue, the former impression being spent, and hardly twenty of them to be had in all London, to the number of eight thousand ; one thousand whereof were freely given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal cities and towns in Wales, to be sold to the rich, at very reasonable and low rates, viz. at four shillings a-piece, well bound and clasped ; which was much cheaper than any English Bible was ever sold, that was of so fair a print and paper. A work of that charge, that it was not likely to have been done any other way ; and for which this age, and perhaps the next, will have great cause to thank God on his behalf.

‘ In these good works he employed all his time, and care, and pains, and his whole heart was in them ; so that he was very little affected with any thing else ; and seldom either minded, or knew any thing of the strange occurrences of this troublesome and busy age, such as I think are hardly to be paralleled in any other: Or if he did mind them, he scarce ever spoke any thing about them. For this was the business he laid to heart, and knowing it to be so much, and so certainly the will of his heavenly Father, it was his meat and drink to be doing of it: And the good success he had in it was a continual feast to him, and gave him a perpetual serenity, both of mind and countenance. His great love and zeal for this work, made all the pains and difficulties of it seem nothing to him: He would rise early, and sit up late, and continued the same diligence and industry to the last, though he was in the threescore and seventeenth year of his age. And that he might manage the distribution of this great charity with his own hands, and see the good effect of it with his own eyes, he always once, but usually twice a-year, at his own charge, travelled over a great part of Wales, none of the best countries to travel in: But for the love of God and men, he endured all that, together with the extremity of heat and cold, which, in their several seasons are both very great there, not only with patience, but with pleasure. So that all things considered, there have not, since the primitive times of Christianity, been many among the sons of men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that *he went about doing good.*

‘ For several years before he died, without any other consideration but that of charity, he employed his constant pains in catechising the poor children of the hospital of Christ Church in London ; wisely considering of how great consequence it was to this city, to have the foundations of religion well laid in the tender years of so many persons as were afterwards to be planted there in several professions ; and from a true humility of mind, being ready to stoop to the meanest office and service to do good. I have often heard (adds the Archbishop) from an intimate friend of his, that he would sometimes with great pleasure say, “ That he had two livings, which he would not exchange for two of the greatest in England,” meaning Wales and Christ’s hospital. Contrary to common account, he esteemed every advantage of being useful and serviceable to God and men a *rich benefice*, and those his best

best patrons and benefactors, not who did him good, but who gave him the opportunity and means of doing it. I will add but one thing more concerning our deceased brother, that though he meddled not at all in our present heats and differences as a party, having much better things to mind; yet, as a looker on, he did very sadly lament them, and for several of the last years of his life, he continued in the communion of our church, and, as he himself told me, thought himself obliged in conscience so to do. It so pleased God, that his death was very sudden, and so sudden, that, in all probability, he himself hardly perceived it when it happened, for he died in his sleep; so that we may say of him, as it is said of David, —*after he had served his generation, according to the will of God, he fell asleep.*'

He died October 29, 1681, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars; where at a little distance from the vault, by the school-house door, (founded by Mr. Joyce, and by his consent) is erected a large marble pilaster, on which is the following inscription; and which, but through mistake, should have been subjoined to the life of Dr. William Gouge.

“ Near this marble, in the place which before the fire of London was the porch of the church of St. Anne, Blackfriars, lie interred the bodies of

“ Dr. William Gouge, minister of this parish 46 years, who died December 12, 1653, aged 79.

“ Mr. Thomas Gouge, eldest son of the said Doctor, some time minister of St. Sepulchre's church, who died October 29, 1681, aged 77.

“ With Anne Gouge, his wife, who died December 3, 1671, aged 55.

“ William Gouge, Esq. eldest son of the said Mr. Thomas Gouge, who died October 13, 1706, aged 64.

“ This monument was erected by Mrs. Meliora Prestley, only child of the said William Gouge, Esq. and wife of William Prestley of Wild Hill, in the county of Hertford, Esq. in pious memory of her dear father and worthy ancestors.”

The reader will recollect, concerning this highly favoured parish, that not many years before Dr. William Gouge was its excellent pastor. The present time, through God's great goodness, will be no less memorable than any which hath passed over it, for both the ability and success with which the gospel hath been delivered in this place,

place, by its present most valuable and faithful incumbent and lecturer.

There hath been also another eminent minister of this name among the dissenters, who died in January 1700, and whom Dr. Watts hath honoured by an elegant poem in his *Horæ Lyricæ*.

Mr. Timothy Rogers, M. A. who collected our Author's works, before in separate treatises, and published them in one volume, says, in his preface, 'This excellent servant of Christ not only spake for his great and good Master whilst he was alive, but now he is dead he also speaks for him, though not from the pulpit, but the press; and hath sown the seed which shall arise to a glorious harvest. A mighty strain of seriousness runs through all the writings of this good man. A catholic spirit, and a zealous concern for moderation among PROTESTANTS of all persuasions, does every way shew itself; as he was in a remarkable degree very moderate, so would have his readers to be.—His design in his works is manifestly this, that the readers should not dispute much, but live well; as knowing that there is a greater amiableness in charity than in controversy: That quiet and heavenly grace will abide, when the noise and hurry of this disagreeing world is over.—Whilst I read his practical writings I am, as it were, in a house well furnished, where there is every thing for the convenience and delight of life; there wants nothing here to compose an entire body of religion in its beauty, power, and extent.'

The following are the titles of the several treatises contained in his Works: "I. A Word to Sinners: And a Word to Saints. II. The Principles of Christian Religion explained to the capacity of the meanest, with Prayers for Families, and on other occasions. III. The Surest and Safest Way of *Thriving*: Or, a Conviction of that grand Mistake in *many*, 'That what is given to the Poor, is a Loss to their Estate;' which is directly contrary as to the Experiences of the Charitable; so to the Testimony of God's Spirit in divers Places of Scripture: As Prov. xi. 2. Ib. xix. 17. Luke vi. 38. Psal. xxxvii. 26." There are several large Prefaces to this treatise; one by John Owen, one by Thomas Manton, a third by William Bates, and a fourth by Richard Baxter. "IV. Christian Directions: shewing how to walk with God all the Day long. With a Dedication to the Inhabitants of St. Sepulchre's, then his Parishioners, dated December 20th, 1660. V. The Christian Householder. Josh. xxiv. 15. *As for*  
*me*

*me and my house, we will serve the Lord.* VI. The Young Man's Guide through the Wilderness of this World, to the heavenly Canaan, &c. With a large Epistle Dedicatory to the Youth of England, especially to those who are in or about the city of London. VII. The Principles of the Christian Religion, with Practical Applications to each Head, in two Parts, designed as an Help to Family Catechizing; with Prayers for Families and particular Persons. With an Epistle Dedicatory to Parents and Governors of Families. The third of December 1678. VIII. A Sermon on Good Works, wherein several Cases of Conscience concerning Alms-giving are resolved. With an Epistle Dedicatory to Mrs. Parthenia Lowman."

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## MONSIEUR HOMEL.

**M.** HOMEL was pastor of the protestant church at Vivaretz, in the province of Cevennes in France; and was, with peculiar cruelty, broken upon the wheel at Tournon, a city in the same province, October 1683. The following account was written by an eye and ear-witness, who declared he had trembled, and his hair stood upright, at the remembrance of it.

"I count myself happy, said this saint at his execution, that I can die in my master's quarrel—What, would my gracious Redeemer descend from heaven to earth, that I might ascend from earth to heaven? Would he undergo an ignominious death, that I might be possessed of a most blessed life? Verily, if after all this, to prolong a frail and miserable life, I should lose that which is everlasting, should I not be a most ungrateful wretch to my God, and a most cruel opposer of my own happiness? No, no; the dye is cast, and I am immoveable in my resolution. I breathe after that hour. O when will that good hour come, that will put a period to my present miserable life, and give me the enjoyment of one which is infinitely blessed? Farewell, my dear wife: I know your tears, your continual sighs, hinder your bidding me adieu. Do not be troubled at this wheel, upon which I must expire: It is to me a triumphal chariot, which will carry me into heaven. I see heaven opened, and my sweet Jesus, with his outstretched arms ready to receive me; for he is the divine spouse of my soul.

"I am leaving the world, in which is nothing but adversity, in order to get into heaven, and enjoy everlasting felicity.

felicity. You shall come to me; I shall never come back to you. All that I recommend to you is, to educate our dear children in the fear of God, and to be careful that they swerve not from the way prescribed to them in the Holy Scriptures. I have bequeathed them a little formulary for their instruction, to the end that, if ever they be brought into the like condition with myself, they may undergo it courageously, and be confident in the goodness of our God, who will send the divine Comforter to strengthen them in all their straits and distresses. Prepare them for suffering betimes, to the end that in the great day, when we shall appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, we may be able to bespeak him, *Lord, here we are, and the children which thou hast graciously given us.* Ah! I shall never have done. Ah! why am I hindered from departing? Farewell, my dear people. It is the last farewell I shall ever give you. Be stedfast; be fixed; and know that I never preached to you any thing but the pure truth of the gospel, the true way which leads to heaven."

Somebody telling him, that he had spoke too much: "How! said he, have I spoke too much? I have spoken nothing but the very truth. I have neither spoken nor done any thing that is in the least injurious to the sacred majesty of our august monarch; but, on the contrary, I have always exhorted the people, committed by the Lord to my charge, to render those honours which are due to our king. I have taught them, that our lives and fortunes are at his disposal, and that we are bound to employ them in the defence of his estate and crown. But as for our consciences, we hold them of our God, and must keep them for him." Then his judges turning from him, ordered the executioner to do his office; which thereupon he did, by breaking his arms and his legs.

And being then demanded, whether he would die a Roman catholic? He answered, "How, my Lords! Had it been my design to have changed my religion, I would have done it before my bones had been thus broken to pieces. I wait only for the hour of my dissolution. Courage, courage, O my soul! Thou shalt presently enjoy the delights of heaven. And as for thee, O my poor body, thou shalt be reduced to dust; but it is for this end, that thou mayest be raised a spiritual body. Thou shalt see things that never entered into the heart of man, and which are in this life impossible to be conceived." Again addressing himself to his wife, he said, "Farewell once more, my well-beloved spouse; I am waiting for you.



OWEN. D. D.



*Wiley print.*

*Trotter, sculp.*

*Published as the Act directs March 27, 1783*

*From the original Picture*

you. But know, though you see my bones broken to shivers, my soul is replenished with inexpressible joys."

Every limb, member, and bone of his body were broken with the iron bar forty hours before the executioner was permitted to strike him upon the breast, with a stroke which they call *Le coup de grace*, the blow of mercy: that death-stroke which put an end to all his miseries.

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## JOHN OWEN, D.D.

THE following account is extracted from the Memoirs of his Life, prefixed to an edition of his works in folio, and appears to have been written by those who were intimately acquainted with our Author, and whose principles were similar to his own.

This very eminent Divine was second son of Henry Owen, Esq. originally of Dolgelly in Merionethshire, North Wales, and was born at Stadham in Oxfordshire, where his father was minister, in the year 1616. He had such an extraordinary genius, and made so quick a proficiency in his studies at school, that he was very early ripe for the university, being admitted into Queen's college at about twelve years of age, and when he was but nineteen commenced master of arts, 1635. He pursued his studies with incredible diligence, allowing himself for several years not above four hours' sleep in a night; so that he soon had made a considerable progress in learning. Sometimes he would, for the benefit of his health, use some recreations, but chiefly such as were violent and robust, as leaping, throwing the bar, ringing of bells, and such like exercises. While he continued in the college, his whole aim and ambition was to raise himself to some eminence in church or state, to either of which he was then indifferent. It was his own acknowledgment since, concerning himself, that being naturally of an aspiring mind, affecting popular applause, and very desirous of honour and preferment, he applied himself very close to his studies, to accomplish these ends he had so much in view; and he was ready to confess with shame and sorrow, that then the honour of God, or serving his country, otherwise than he might thereby serve himself, were most remote from his intentions. His father having a large family, could not afford him any considerable maintenance

at the university, but he was liberally supplied by an uncle, one of his father's brothers, a gentleman of a fair estate in Wales, who having no children of his own, designed to have made him his heir. He lived in the college till he was twenty-one years of age, from which time he met with extraordinary changes, which, through the unsearchable wisdom of God, turned to his great advantage, and made way for his future advancement, and eminent usefulness. About this time Dr. Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of Oxford, imposed several superstitious rites on the university, upon pain of expulsion. Mr. Owen had then received such light, that his conscience would not submit to those impositions; however temporal interest might plead for his compliance, yet other more weighty considerations of a religious nature prevailed; for now God was forming impressions of grace upon his soul, which inspired him with a zeal for the purity of his worship, and what he thought to be reformation in the church. This change of his judgment soon discovered itself upon this occasion, and was observed by his friends, who thereupon forsook him as one infected with puritanism; and upon the whole, he was become so much the object of resentment from the Laudensian party, that he was forced to leave the college.

We must remember that about this time he was also exercised with many perplexing thoughts about his spiritual state, which, joined with outward discouragements, threw him into a deep melancholy, that continued in its extremity for a quarter of a year, during which time he avoided almost all manner of converse, and very hardly could be induced to speak a word, and when he did speak, it was with such disorder as rendered him a wonder to many. Though his distress and melancholy did not abide in that violence, yet he was held under very great trouble of mind, and grievous temptations for a long time, and it was near five years before he attained to a settled peace; in which space the all-wise God, who designed him for such eminent service, was perfecting his conversion, and at last *brought forth judgment unto victory*. His very great troubles and distresses of soul were succeeded with a great degree of lasting serenity and joy, which more than recompensed his past sorrows and difficulties.

When the wars in England broke out, he owned the parliament's cause, which his uncle, who had maintained him at the college, being a zealous royalist, so vehemently resented, that he turned him at once out of his favour, settled

settled his estate upon another, and died without leaving him any thing. He lived then as chaplain with a person of honour, who, though he was for the king, used him with great civility; but he going at last to the king's army, Mr. Owen left his house, and came up to London: He took lodgings in Charter-house Yard, where he was a perfect stranger. At this place we must consider him as not yet freed from his melancholy and spiritual troubles; but now we may observe the wonderful method God took to work a perfect cure on his mind, and ease him of all his fears and sorrows. And it was thus: He went one Lord's Day with a Mr. Owen, a cousin of his, to Aldermanbury Church, with expectation of hearing Mr. Calamy. He waited for his coming up into the pulpit, but at length it was known that Mr. Calamy was prevented by some extraordinary occasion; upon which many went out of the church, but Mr. Owen resolved to abide there, though his cousin would fain have persuaded him to go and hear Mr. Jackson, then an eminent preacher in the city, it not being certain whether there would be any person to supply Mr. Calamy's place. Mr. Owen being well seated, and too much indisposed for any farther walk, he resolved after some stay, if no preacher came, to go to his lodgings. At last there came up a country minister to the pulpit, a stranger not only to Mr. Owen, but to the parish, who having prayed fervently, took for his text these words: *Why are ye fearful, O ye of little faith?* Matth. viii. 26. The very reading of the words surprized Mr. Owen, upon which he secretly put up a prayer, that God would please by him to speak to his condition; and his prayer was heard: for in that sermon the minister was directed to answer those very objections which Mr. Owen had commonly formed against himself: And though he had formerly given the same answers to himself without any effect, yet now the time was come when God designed to speak peace to his soul; and this sermon (though otherwise a plain and familiar discourse) was blessed for the removing of all his doubts, and laid the foundation of that solid peace and comfort, which he afterwards enjoyed as long as he lived.

It is very remarkable, that Mr. Owen could never come to the knowledge of this minister, though he made the most diligent inquiry. During his abode at the Charter House, he wrote his book, called "A Display of Arminianism," which met with such acceptance, as made way for his advancement. It came out in 1642, a very season -

seasonable time, when those errors had spread themselves very much in this nation; so that the book was the more taken notice of, and highly approved by many. There were some considerable persons who had a just sense of the value of this work, and did not fail to give real and particular marks of their respect to so learned an author. For soon after the publishing of it, the committee for purging the church of scandalous ministers paid such a regard to it, that Mr. White, chairman of that committee, sent a special messenger to Mr. Owen, to present him the living of Fordham in Essex; which offer he the more cheerfully embraced, as it gave him an opportunity for the stated exercise of his ministry: He went thither, to the great satisfaction not only of that parish, but of the country round about. He continued at this place about a year and a half, where his preaching was so acceptable, that people resorted to his ministry from other parishes; and great was the success of his labours, in the reformation and conversion of many, through the hand of the Lord that was with him. Soon after he came to Fordham, he married a gentlewoman, (whose name we know not) by whom he had several children, all which the Doctor outlived. In 1644, he published his discourse, "Of the Duty of Pastors and People."

Upon a report that the sequestered incumbent of Fordham was dead, the patron, who had no kindness for Mr. Owen, presented another to the living; whereupon the people at Coggeshall, a market town about five miles from thence, earnestly invited him to be their minister, and the Earl of Warwick, the patron, very readily gave him the living; which favour of opening a door for preaching the Gospel in that place, he thankfully acknowledged; for here he taught a more numerous and judicious congregation, seldom fewer than two thousand, where he found the people generally sober, religious, and discreet. A very fervent affection was cultivated between minister and people, to their mutual joy and satisfaction; and here also he met with great success in his ministry, and with the universal approbation of the inhabitants, and of the country round about. Hitherto Mr. Owen had followed the presbyterian way; but he was put upon a more diligent inquiry into the nature of church-government and discipline. After a due search and study upon this head, he was fully convinced that the congregational way was most agreeable to the rule of the New Testament. His judgment in this matter has been printed, with the  
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several reasons for it, in two quartos. Several ministers of the presbyterian denomination were dissatisfied with this charge of Mr. Owen's judgment, and particularly Mr. Cawdry reproached him very unhandsomely, to whom he gave a much more civil answer. He had formed a church at Coggeshall upon these congregational principles, according to his own light, which continued long. The worth of so great a man, so eminent a light, could no longer be concealed; his fame and reputation spread both through city and country. He was sent for to preach before the parliament: This sermon is entitled, "A Vision of Free Mercy, &c." on Acts xvi. 11. . April 29, 1646. He pleads for liberty of conscience and moderation towards men of different persuasions, &c. in an "Essay for the practice of Church-government in the Country," which he subjoins to that sermon. In the year 1643 he published his book, entitled *Salus electorum, sanguis Jesu*: Or, "The Death of Death in the Death of Christ." He dedicated this book to Robert, Earl of Warwick, where he pays his tribute of thanks to his Lordship for that privilege of opening the door for his preaching the gospel at Coggeshall; and in his Preface to the Reader he tells us, "That this performance was the result of more than seven years' serious inquiry into the mind of God about these things, with a perusal of all which he could attain, that the wit of men in former or later days hath published in opposition to the truth." It is a noble undertaking, carried on with all the vigour of argument and learning, of which he himself was so conscious, that though the most modest and humble of all writers, yet he scrupled not to declare, That "he did not believe he should live to see a solid answer given to it."

Colchester was about this time besieged, and Lord Fairfax, General of the parliament's forces, quartering at Coggeshall some days, he became acquainted there with Mr. Owen; and likewise four commissioners sent by the house down into Essex, to look after their affairs in that county, entered into a conversation with him. About this time also he became known to Cromwell, who happened to hear him preach, and solicited his friendship. He acquainted Mr. Owen with his intended expedition into Ireland, and desired his company to reside there in the college at Dublin; but he answered, the charge of the church at Coggeshall would not permit him to comply with his request: Cromwell was not satisfied with the objection, and would have no denial; but at last from desires he proceeded to

commands, and resolved he should go, at the same time telling him, that his younger brother (whom he dearly loved) was to go as standard-bearer in the same army: He not only engaged his brother to persuade him to a compliance, but also wrote to the church at Coggeshall to desire leave that he might go with him to Ireland, which letter was read publicly amongst them, yet they were utterly unwilling to part with him on this occasion; but at length Cromwell told them plainly, he must and should go. Mr. Owen consulted several ministers about it, and they all agreed in their advice for his going, upon which he prepared for his journey, not with the army, but more privately. He arrived at Dublin, and took up his lodgings in the college, preaching there, and overseeing the affairs of that eminent school of learning. Here he staid about half a year, and, with Cromwell's leave, returned into England, and went to Coggeshall, where he was joyfully received. He had scarce time to take breath there, being soon after called to preach at Whitehall, which order he obeyed.

In September 1650, Cromwell required Mr. Owen to go with him into Scotland, but he being averse to this journey also, the General procured an order of parliament, which left no room for any objections. He staid at Edinburgh about half a year, and then returning into England, he went once more to his people at Coggeshall. There are two sermons printed which he preached, the one at Berwick and the other at Edinburgh, entitled, "The Branch of the Lord, the Beauty of Zion," upon Isa. lvi. 7. *for mine house shall be called a house of prayer for all people.* He hoped upon his return to Coggeshall after this journey, to have spent the remainder of his days there; but he must now leave his private service of being overseer to a congregation in the country, to preside over a college in Oxford, and after that over the university there. The first intelligence he had of this matter was by one of the weekly newspapers at Coggeshall; where he read words to this effect: 'The House taking into consideration the worth and usefulness of Mr. John Owen, student of Queen's college, master of arts, has ordered that he be settled in the deanery of Christ's college, in Oxford, in the room of,' &c. and soon after he received a letter from the principal students of that college, signifying their desire of his coming, and their great satisfaction in the choice the House had made of him to be their dean. With the consent of his church he went to Oxford,

ford, and settled there, in the year 1651, and in the following year he was chosen vice-chancellor of that university, and admitted September 26, 1652, in which office he continued successively five years. About this time also he was diplomated doctor of divinity. He took care in managing this trust, to restrain the loose, to encourage the sober and pious, to prefer men of learning and industry; and under his administration it was visible that the whole body of that university was reduced into good order, and flourished with a number of excellent scholars, and persons of distinguished piety.

When men are advanced to places of power and authority, they often discover a magisterial air, and severity of temper towards inferiors, and generally incline to be partial in the distribution of their favours; but we find a very different temper and carriage in the Doctor while he sat in this chair of honour: Among the several instances of his moderation, sweetness of disposition, and, withal, of his wisdom and gravity, which adorned him in the discharge of his office, we may take these few. It is well known that then the presbyterian way was generally embraced and practised, and the persons with whom he most of all conversed in the university were of that judgment: The vice-chancellor has a power of disposing of several vacant livings, and at that time there were many such, and those that fell into his hands he generally gave to presbyterians: Nor was he ever wanting to oblige even the episcopal party, whom he suffered to meet quietly, about three hundred every Lord's Day, over-against his own door, where they celebrated divine service according to the liturgy of the church of England; and though he was often urged to it, yet he would never give them the least disturbance, and if at any time they met with opposition or trouble on that account, it was from other hands, and always against his mind. This moderation of temper in the exercise of power, gained him the love and respect of the most; yet we must observe also, that he would not suffer authority to be slighted, when there was occasion to assert it. But while he restrained the loose and disorderly, he failed not to shew kindness to the sober and ingenuous. He was hospitable in his house, generous in his favours, charitable to the poor, especially to poor scholars, some of whom he took into his family and maintained them at his own charge, giving them academical education.

The Doctor's government, as vice-chancellor, took up a great part of his time, together with other avocations

tions which daily attended him in that station; yet notwithstanding he redeemed time for his studies, preaching every other Lord's Day at St. Mary's, and often at Stadham and other places in the country, and moreover he wrote some excellent books, of which we shall take notice in their order. In the year 1654 he published his book of "The Saint's Perseverance," in answer to Mr. John Goodwin's book, *Redemption Redeemed*. It is a masterpiece of this kind, full of close and strong reasoning, whereby he has enervated all the subtile arguments, and answered all the objections of the adversary, confirming the truth by the force of Scripture evidence; and in the whole has given the world an example of a rare Christian temper in the management of controversy. His preface gives us an account of the entertainment this doctrine has had in all ages, what acceptance or opposition it has found among the professors of Christianity, down to the time when he wrote: There is a great variety in this preface very useful, but chiefly calculated for the learned world.

In 1655, he published his book, *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*; Or, "The Mystery of the Gospel vindicated, and Socinianism examined," which was chiefly designed against John Biddle, a Socinian, who had published two Socinian Catechisms of the same nature with the Racovian, written by Valentinus Smalcius, which also the Doctor takes into examination, being willing to give a full confutation of Socinian errors. He tells us in his Epistle Dedicatory to the heads and governors of the colleges and halls in the University of Oxford, that complaint being made to the honourable council, they sent for him, and required him to answer these Socinian Catechisms; that though fatigued with very great labours lately, particularly in writing against the Arminians, about the perseverance of the saints, he yet cheerfully pursued this performance: It is a work that may be justly esteemed very accurate and elaborate, wherein he has cut the sinews of the Socinian cause, and stabbed it to the heart.\* Hitherto the eminent learning, prudence, and piety of this great Man had displayed their lustre in a public and honourable station; but the time was now come when he must retire to a more private capacity, wherein he failed not to preserve and improve the same excellent qualifications, and spread his usefulness both from the pulpit and the press. About this time he published that excellent book, entitled,

"Communion

\* This hath also been since performed with great ability by Dr. Jonathan Edwards of Cambridge, in his 'Preservative against Socinianism,' &c.

“ Communion with God,” of which we need say the less, since it has for so many years recommended itself to the spiritual taste of serious and judicious Christians: And in it the Author has given sufficient evidence that he was himself very intimately acquainted with a life of communion with God. He was vice-chancellor of the university till 1657, when he gave place to Dr. Connant; and in the year 1659, Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, succeeded him in the deanery of Christ Church: Nor can we wonder at these changes that happened to a particular person, when so great alterations in the whole government were moving on, till they issued in the restoration of King Charles II.

It would be beyond the design of these memoirs to enter upon the disputes which arose between the Doctor and Mr. Baxter relative to certain political affairs: The purpose of these volumes is to present to view what was most valuable in good men of several denominations, burying in oblivion (if possible) all those altercations which, could we now know their minds, they would wish to be buried too. We may reflect with comfort, that they are all of one mind in their Father’s house above, and are now eternally superior to those little differences and distinctions, which, perhaps, too much occupied their infirmities below. The Doctor had now quitted his public station at Oxford, and retired to Stadham, the place of his birth in that county, where he was possessed of a good estate: Here he lived privately for some time, till the persecution grew so hot that he was obliged to remove from place to place, and at last came to London: All which time he was not idle, but employed his talents like a faithful servant of Christ, in preaching as he had opportunity, and in writing several valuable and useful books, to serve the common interest of religion and learning. In the year 1661, he published that elaborate and learned treatise, *Θεολογούμενα De naturá, ortu, progressu et studio veræ Theologiæ*, which was afterwards reprinted at Bremen in Germany. Concerning the nature and design of this book, we may take the account in his own words: “ *Præmissis quæ ad nomen—de ejus studio dissertation. Præfat. ad finem.* “ In the former books of this treatise our design (says he) is to set forth the first rise of true theology, the progress it made in several degrees of divine revelation, together with the defection of many from it, and their errors, and also the change of the worship of the church, that had been cultivated according to the rule  
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of that revelation, with the manifold apostacy of the same church, and its gracious reformation, even down to the last and final rejection of the Jewish church; and through the whole we have observed the series of the several events, which we have disposed into their fixed proper periods. In the pursuit of this design many things most worthy of our consideration did frequently occur, especially that famous reformation of the Jewish church after the captivity of Ezra; upon which occasion we found it necessary to discourse of many things relating to the antiquities and rites of that church. Lastly, we have attempted to explain the true evangelic theology; and there we have shewn from the Scriptures themselves what it is, and what is its distinct nature, who are fit and prepared for the study of it, who only may be supposed to attain to it, and by what means; what are the main obstacles against it; together with the nature, institution, and government of the church, which is founded upon it; and a dissertation about the study of this theology concludes the whole work." From this account we may easily perceive that this is a work of no small pains and time, containing a vast compass of reading, and variety of learning.

The next year came out a book, called *Fiat Lux*, written by John Vincent Laue, a Franciscan friar; wherein, under the pretence of recommending moderation and charity, he, with a great deal of subtilty, invites men over to the church of Rome as the only infallible cure of all church divisions; two impressions of this book were printed off before the Doctor had seen it: at length it was sent him by a person of honour, who desired him to write an answer to it, which he did in a very short time: This answer bears the title of "Animadversions on *Fiat Lux*, by a Protestant;" which being generally accepted, made the friar very angry, so that he published a sheet or two by way of reply, which produced the Doctor's answer, entitled, "A Vindication of Animadversions on *Fiat Lux*," to which never any reply was given. There was some difficulty in obtaining a licence for this last book, when the bishops who were appointed by act of parliament the principal licensers of divinity-books had examined it: They made two objections against it: (1.) That upon all occasions when he mentions the Evangelists and Apostles, even St. Peter himself, he left out the title of Saint. (2.) That he endeavours to prove, that it could not be determined that St. Peter was ever at Rome. To the

the first, the Doctor replied, that the title of Evangelist or Apostle, by which the Scripture names them, was much more glorious than that of Saint; for in that name all the people of God were alike honoured; yet to please them he yielded to that addition, but as to the other objections, he would by no means consent to any alteration, unless they could prove him to be mistaken in his assertion, and rather chose his book should never see the light than to expunge what he had written upon that subject; and in all probability it had never been printed, had not Sir Edward Nicholas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, who was informed of this matter, wrote to the Bishop of London to license it, notwithstanding this objection. This book recommended him to the esteem of the Lord Chancellor Hyde, who, by Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, sent for him, and acknowledged the service of his late books against *Fiat Lux*; assuring him that he had deserved the best of any English protestant of late years, and that for these performances the church was bound to own and advance him; and at the same time he offered him preferment if he would accept it: The Chancellor, moreover, told him, there was one thing he much wondered at, that he being so learned a man, and so well acquainted with church-history, should embrace that novel opinion of independency, for which, in his judgment, so little could be said. The Doctor replied, that indeed he had spent some part of his time in reading over the history of the church, and made this offer to his Lordship, if he pleased, to prove that this was that way of government which was practised in the church for several hundred years after Christ, against any bishop he should think fit to bring to a disputation with him upon this subject. Say you so; (said the Chancellor) then I am much mistaken. Other discourses passed between them, particularly about liberty of conscience: The Lord Chancellor asked him what he would desire with respect to liberty and forbearance in the matters of religion? To which the Doctor replied, "That the liberty he desired was for protestants, who assented to the doctrine of the church of England." How the Chancellor related this passage is not known, but in all probability from hence was that calumny raised on the Doctor, as if he would have no other persons permitted to live in England, which he never said nor thought; yea, upon all occasions he has constantly declared it as his judgment, that no peaceable persons holding the foundation of the Christian faith, ought, by the rule of the Scriptures,

Scriptures, or right reason, to have any violence offered to them for their profession of religion, in the exercise of their consciences towards God; and though he had sufficient reason at that time to make his proposal for such protestants, yet he did it not then, or at any time, with any design of severity on others, nor would give so much as any tacit consent to the persecuting of any peaceable persons for the profession of their faith, and their worshipping of God according to their consciences. But notwithstanding all the good service he had done the church of England in his answers to *Fiat Lux*, he was still persecuted from place to place, which perpetual trouble inclined him to think of leaving his native country, having received an invitation from his brethren in New England to come thither, and in 1665, he made preparations for that voyage: But the providence of God diverted him from that purpose: For now the dreadful plague was begun, which swept away above one hundred thousand, and the lamentable fire broke out in our metropolis, that consumed so great a part of it.

The inhabitants of this land were startled by these awakening judgments of God, so that there was a cessation for some time from the prosecution of the laws against the dissenters; and not long after his Majesty's declaration of indulgence to his protestant-dissenting subjects came out, and licences were granted to all that desired them, for public assemblies, all penal laws being suspended. The Doctor; who had lived privately in London for some years, went to visit his old friends at Oxford, and to attend some affairs of his own estate not far from thence; but, notwithstanding all his privacy, he was observed, and intelligence was given of the very house where he lay: Upon which some troopers came and knocked at the door; the mistress of the house came down and boldly opened the door, asking, What they would have? Who thereupon inquired of her, Whether she had any lodgers in her house? Instead of giving a direct answer to the question, she asked, Whether they were seeking for Doctor Owen? Yes, said they; she told them, He went from my house this morning betimes. Then they immediately rode away: In the meantime the Doctor, who she really thought had been gone, (as he told her he intended) arose and went into a field near the house, whither he ordered his horse to be brought, and so rode away presently to London. Fresh invitations were now given him to go to New England, but he had  
too

too great a love for his native country, to quit it so long as there was any opportunity of being serviceable here; whilst the liberty continued, he was assiduous in preaching; and it was no small encouragement that now the people who had been awakened by the several judgments that they had felt in so sensible a manner, and convinced of the peaceableness of the nonconformists, of enemies now became their friends and advocates, being ready to protect those whom they used to persecute. Now the Doctor had opportunity of preaching publicly, and setting up a lecture, to which many persons of quality and eminent citizens resorted; and his time was filled up with other useful studies, which produced several valuable books, both learned and practical. We have taken notice of some of the most considerable, and intend to give an account of several others in their order, which may deserve a more particular observation.

In the year 1668, he published his excellent Exposition of the cxxx. Psalm. It was calculated for the service of poor distressed souls in their depths of spiritual trouble; there he has treated largely of gospel forgiveness; and in the whole he has with all plainness, yet with a most penetrating spiritual judgment, consulted the relief of such souls, who of all persons in the world stand most in need of compassion; and we shall only add, that it is a book that has been blest for the advantage and comfort of many, and ever grateful to the spiritual taste of all good persons. In this year also he published the first volume of his exposition on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the three other followed in their order, the last coming out in 1684. It is not easy for us to give a full account of the value and usefulness of this work: it is filled with a great variety of learning, particularly rabbinical, which he has made serviceable to give light into the subject matter chiefly treated of in this Epistle; and withal he has taken care to adapt his exposition to the service of the faith and comfort of Christians, and to recommend the practice of the substantial duties of religion, so that it is hard to say, whether the scholar or the divine shine brightest, through this excellent work. He speaks of it himself in these words: "It is now sundry years since I purposed in myself, if God gave life and opportunity, to endeavour, according to the measure of the gift received, an Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in the whole course of my studies have not been without some regard thereunto: But now I must say, that after all  
searching

searching and reading, prayer and assiduous meditation on the text have been my only reserve; careful I have been as of my life and soul to bring no prejudicate sense to the words, to impose no meaning of my own, or other men's upon them, nor to be imposed on by the reasonings, pretences, or curiosities of any; but always went nakedly to the word itself, to learn humbly the mind of God in it, and to express it as he shall enable me." Besides the Exposition itself, there are very learned and accurate exertions, which serve to illustrate many difficult parts of Scripture, and to answer the design of the whole work; we shall only observe farther, that here the Doctor has enumerated all the arguments, and answered all the main objections of the Socinians, overthrown entirely their whole scheme, and driven them out of the field; so that whoever reads this work needs scarce any other for the assailing of their pernicious errors. About the sitting of the parliament, November 1669, Samuel Parker wrote his discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity, and the power of the civil magistrate in the matters of religion. To this Dr. Owen wrote an answer. Afterwards Andrew Marvell wrote against Parker's book in a very witty satirical way.

There was nothing done this session of parliament against the dissenters, but at their next meeting they drew up a severer bill than ever, which with some difficulty was at length past: When the bill was sent up to the Lords, and debates arose upon it, the Doctor was desired to draw up some reasons against it in the intended severity of it: He did so, and it was laid before the Lords by several eminent citizens and gentlemen of distinction: This paper is called, The State of the Kingdom, with respect to the present bill against conventicles; but it did not prevail: The bill was carried, and passed into an act; all the bishops were for it but two, viz. Doctor Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, and Doctor Rainbow, Bishop of Carlisle, whose names ought to be mentioned with honour for their great moderation. This was executed with severity to the utter ruin of many persons and families. His discourse concerning the Holy Spirit, which he published in 1678, comes next under our particular observation; "It is a subject very difficult to manage, being in itself abstruse and mysterious, (as he himself observes in the preface) and besides the opposition to it has been carried on with much scorn and public contempt." At that time the opposition to the Deity, and personality of the Holy Ghost, and all his operations with respect to the new crea-  
ation

ation rose to a very great height, and happy it was for the church of God, that this excellent person was raised up, who was so well fitted to explain and defend this doctrine. He has told us in the preface, that he knew not of any, that ever went before him in the design of representing the whole economy of the Holy Spirit, with all his adjuncts, operations, and effects: The necessity and importance of treating thus fully of that subject is evident from the nature of it; for in all the dispensations of God towards his people, there is no good communicated to them, nothing of worth or excellency wrought in them but by the Holy Spirit. It is the Doctor's own observation, "That though the contradictions of some in former ages had been fierce and clamorous, yet all that has fallen out of that kind has been exceeding short of what is come to pass in the days wherein we live. For not to mention the Socinians, who have gathered into one head, or rather ulcerous imposthume, all the virulent oppositions made to his Deity or grace by the Photinians, Macedonians, and Pelagians of old, there are others who profess no enmity to his divine person, yea admitting and owning the doctrine of the church concerning it, are yet ready on all occasions to despise and reproach the whole work, for which he is promised under the Old Testament, and which is expressly assigned to him in the New. Hence it is grown among many a matter of reproach and scorn for any one to make mention of his grace, or to profess that work of his *as his*, without which no man shall see God, if the Scripture be a faithful testimony." The Doctor adds, "To obviate those evils, to vindicate the truth and reality of divine spiritual operations in the church, to avow what is believed and thought by them concerning the Holy Spirit and his work, who are most charged and reflected on for their profession thereof, &c. and to manifest in all instances that what is ascribed to him is not only consistent with religion, but also that without which religion cannot consist, nor in the power of it be preserved, is the principal design of these discourses."

We cannot but observe farther concerning this work, that this learned and judicious person has not only fully vindicated the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and his operations from the cavils of adversaries, and the contempt of profane men, but he has suited his discourse (as he tells us) to the edification of them that believe, and directed it to their furtherance in spiritual obedience and true holiness;

ness; nor will it be improper or unseasonable to take notice of the same design, and the same sort of objections and cavils against the mysteries of the gospel, and the deep things of God now advanced in our days; for (as the Doctor there observes) “one great exception against the work of the Spirit in illumination, sanctification, and spiritual gifts, was, that those who plead for those operations of the Spirit are therein enemies to reason, and impugn the use of it in religion. Hence some of those who are otherwise minded affirm, that it is cast on them as a reproach that they are rational divines; although, as far as I can discern, (says he) if it be so, it is as Hierom was beaten by an angel for being a Ciceronian (in the judgment of some) very undeservedly.” Who knows not that the Anti-Trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, and others of the tribe, make the same objection against the doctrine of the trinity of persons in the unity of the God-head, and the person of Christ God and Man? Which objection and pretence the Doctor has so well answered in his preface, that it is worthy of a distinct perusal by all.

Thus we see with what faithfulness and diligence this great man employed his excellent talents for the service of the church; he was frequently writing some book or other that might contribute to that noble design: And though it might seem too tedious in the history of his life to take notice of every one of them, yet we judge it very necessary to illustrate his character in giving a particular account of those which have deservedly gained a great interest in the esteem of learned and good men. Among which we must reckon that incomparable treatise he published in 1677, entitled, “The Doctrine of Justification by Faith, through the Imputation of the Righteousness of Christ, explained, confirmed, and vindicated;” wherein he has pursued a method and design that required a more than ordinary judgment and skill. He tells us in the preface, “That though he has necessarily taken some pains in the explication of that doctrine, which has been involved in so many and very intricate disputes among men of different opinions, yet he has insisted chiefly on the interpretation of Scripture testimonies, with the application of them to the experience of them that believe, and the state of them who seek after salvation by Jesus Christ. To declare and vindicate the truth to the instruction and edification of such as love it in sincerity; to extricate their minds from those difficulties in that particular instance, which some endeavour to  
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east on all the mysteries of the Gospel ; to direct the consciences of them that inquire after abiding peace with God, and to establish the minds of them that do believe, are the things herein aimed at." In this performance he has avoided the unprofitable jangling of perverse disputation, wherewith this doctrine of justification has been generally perplexed, and all reflections on persons that differ from him. " He professes to have written nothing but what he believes to be true, and also that he has designed herein the practical direction of the consciences of men in their application to God by Jesus Christ, for deliverance from the curse due to the apostate state, and peace with him, with the influence that this way of justification has upon universal Gospel obedience." Whereby he has effectually removed the old scandalous objection against this doctrine, as if it were no friend to holiness, and did give encouragement to loose practices, which is as old as the delivery of it by the apostle Paul himself, and is by him fully refuted.

It was not possible the real worth of so excellent a person should be concealed ; and in many instances his reputation shone out with such lustre as drew the admiration and respects of several persons of honour and quality upon him, who very much delighted in his conversation ; particularly the Earl of Orrery, the Earl of Anglesea, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Wharton, the Lord Berkley, Sir John Trevor, one of the principal Secretaries of State ; and even King Charles himself and the Duke of York paid a particular respect to him. When the Doctor was drinking the waters at Tunbridge, the Duke of York being there, sent for him into his tent, and several discourses passed between them about the dissenters and conventicles ; and after he returned to London, the King himself sent for him, and discoursed with him about two hours together, assuring him of his favour and respect, and telling him, he might have access to him, as he would. At the same time the king was pleased to assure the Doctor how much he was for liberty of conscience, and how sensible of the wrong that had been done to the dissenters ; and as a testimony hereof gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among those who had suffered most by the late severities. The Doctor could do no less than thankfully accept his Majesty's generosity, and did faithfully apply it to that purpose. When this was known, a clamor arose among the churchmen, who reported he was in pension, to serve the papal interest ; but the Doctor, to wipe off this vile as-

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person, declares solemnly, in his preface to the first part of his "Enquiry in the Original of Evangelical Churches," "That never any one person in authority, dignity, or power in this nation, nor any one that had any relation to public affairs, nor any of the papists or protestants did ever speak one word to him, or advise with him about any indulgence or toleration to be granted unto papists, and challenges all the world to prove the contrary if they can." The Doctor had some friends also among the Bishops, particularly Doctor Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, who was very cordial in his respects to him, and Dr. Barlow, formerly his tutor, then Bishop of Lincoln.

It is not to be wondered that a life filled up with so many labours should decline under the weight of infirmities which now began to grow upon him. Some few years before he died he was often ill, and sometimes confined to his bed or chamber, whereby he was taken off in a great measure from his ministerial function, but not altogether disabled from serving the church of God; and whenever he was able to sit up, he would be continually writing, when not prevented by company, and several excellent books were composed by him, which might deserve a particular notice in this history; but we choose not to swell it with such accounts, and therefore refer the reader to the complete catalogue of all his works at the end of these Memoirs. There is one book which claims a distinct regard in this place, viz. *Χριστολογία*: Or, "A Declaration of the glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man," published 1679. The design of this treatise is declared in a large preface full of learning, wherein he shews what opposition has been in all ages made to the person of Christ, by Nestorians, Arians, Socinians, and others; that this doctrine is the rock on which the church is built, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, and through the whole book he pleads the cause of the glory of Christ, his deity as co-essential and co-eternal with the Father, and irrefragably proves, that divine honour and religious worship is due to him, against all the subtle evasions of that scheme which is in our days afresh advanced to the contempt of his glorious person: In one word, there is such a strain of piety, and zeal, and learning, running through the whole, as renders it worthy of the most serious perusal, and will endear his memory to all that love our Lord Jesus in sincerity. Before we close our account of his works, we cannot forbear taking notice of another excellent treatise,  
published

published by him 1681, entitled, *Φρονημα τῆς Πνευματος*: Or, "The grace and duty of being spiritually minded." It was composed out of his own deep and spiritual meditations, originally designed for his own use, not long before his death; and in it he breathes out the sentiments and devotion of a mind full of heaven, and the glories of that better world. "He wrote it (as he tells us) in a season wherein he was every way unable to do any thing for the edification of others, and far from expectation that he ever should be able any more in this world." And after he had communicated them to a private congregation, being convinced how necessary and seasonable these discourses were to the present state of professors, their temper and carriage, he was induced to send them forth to the benefit of the church. \*

He bewails the carnal frames and lives of professors, and was very sensible that if the prevalence of the world over the minds and affections of Christians be not prevented or cured, it would eat out the very heart and life of true religion. This discourse was designed as an antidote against this growing evil, and calculated to promote a spiritual and heavenly frame in the minds of professors; and we cannot but recommend it to the diligent perusal of all Christians at this day, wherein this dangerous disease of worldly-mindedness so evidently abounds. We might also mention with great esteem his meditations on the glory of Christ in two parts, which give us an ample testimony of that pious and heavenly frame, that clear and intimate knowledge of the glory of Christ, and that fervent love to Christ's person, which filled his soul; there he thinks and writes like one that was in a full and near view of that unveiled glory. Now the time drew near when he must die, and after all his labours and sufferings enter into the joy of his Lord. His infirmities of body grew on him apace, which obliged him to retire into the country for the benefit of the air. He went to Kensington, and lived there some time: One day as he was coming from thence to London, in the Strand two informers seized upon his coach and horses, upon which a mob gathered about him: The providence of God so ordered it, that Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey came by at that time, and seeing a mob, asked what the matter was? And being a justice of the

\* This admirable performance is most judiciously abridged by the Rev. Dr. Mayo. Printed for Dilly, in the Poultry.

the peace, he ordered the informers and Dr. Owen to meet him at a justice of the peace's house near Bloomsbury Square upon a day appointed, and he would get some other of his brethren to be there to hear the cause: They met accordingly, and Sir Edmund being in the chair, upon examining the whole matter they found the informers had acted so very illegally, that they discharged the Doctor, and severely reprimanded them; after which he was no more disturbed by them.

From Kensington he went to Ealing, where he had a house of his own; where he finished his course. During which time he employed his thoughts in the contemplation of the other world, as one that was drawing near to it every day; which produced his meditations on the glory of Christ before-mentioned; in which he breathed out the devotion of a soul that was growing continually into the temper of the heavenly state. He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, August 24, 1683. \*

As to his person his stature was tall, his visage grave, majestic, and comely: He had the aspect and deportment of a gentleman, suitable to his birth. He had a very large capacity of mind, a ready invention, and good judgment, a great natural wit, which being improved by education, rendered him a person of incomparable abilities: As to his temper he was very affable and courteous, familiar and sociable; the meanest persons found an easy access to his converse and friendship. He was facetious and pleasant in his common discourse, jesting with his acquaintance, but with sobriety and measure; a great master of his passions, especially that of anger: He was of a serene and even temper, neither elated with honour, credit, friends,

\* A Correspondent has favoured me with an anecdote of the Doctor, which transpired on the day of his death, and which (never having been before published) I shall give in his own words. E. M. 'Old Mr. Humphreys of Colchester, but originally from Saffron Walden, told me a little before his death, that Mr. Payne, who for several years kept an academy at Saffron Walden (at which several eminent dissenting ministers were educated) being intrusted by Dr. Owen to put his last performance to the press, came into see the Doctor the morning of that day on which he died, and told him, Doctor, I have been just putting your book "On the Glory of Christ" to the press; to which the Doctor answered, "I am glad to hear that that performance is put to the press;" and then lifting up both his hands and his eyes, as in a kind of rapture, he said, "But, O brother Payne, the long-looked for day is come at last, in which I shall see that Glory in another manner than I have ever done yet, or was capable of doing in this world."

friends, or estate, nor depressed with troubles and difficulties. His carriage was genteel, in nothing mean: He was generous in his favours. His great worth drew on him the respects of very considerable persons, some of the best quality at home, and of strangers from foreign parts who resorted to him, to whom he always carried himself in so obliging a manner, that he was greatly valued beyond sea; for foreign divines, having read his Latin discourses, learned English that they might have the benefit of his other works; and many travelled into England to see him and converse with him; many also were the letters between him and learned persons abroad, and particularly that famous gentlewoman, Anna Maria à Schurman.

It is a loss to the public much to be regretted, that none of these letters can now be found. He was a person of great moderation in his judgment, of a charitable spirit, willing to think the best of all men as far as he could; not censorious; a lover of piety in men of different professions, not confining Christianity within the narrow compass of any one party in the world; a studier of peace, and a promoter of it among professing Christians. As for his learning, he was one of the brightest ornaments of the university, a perfect master of the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues. He was a great philosopher, and also well read in the civil law. A great historian; having a perfect comprehension of church history in particular. He was thoroughly versed in all the Greek and Latin poets; well skilled in the rabbins, and made great use of them as there was occasion. He was an excellent divine, as appears by his writings; unwearied he was in his studies, and his proficiency was answerable; his labours both in writing and preaching, and other services peculiar to his function as a minister of the Gospel and pastor of a church, were incredible. He was well skilled in polemical divinity: As appears in his learned works against the Papists, Socinians, Arminians, &c. He had studied well the discipline and government of the church of Christ according to divine appointment; and though when he was a young man he was of the presbyterian judgment, yet his riper years and closer search determined his sentiments fully for the congregational order, and he has written excellently upon that subject in two volumes in quarto. His piety and devotion was very eminent, his experimental knowledge of spiritual things very great, as his discourses of mortification, temptation, indwelling sin, communion with God, his exposition on

the cxxxth Psalm, &c. do sufficiently evidence. In all relations he behaved himself as a great Christian, a faithful and loving husband, a tender father, a good master, and a prudent governor when he was in places of honour and service; and a very dutiful, peaceable subject. He was well acquainted with men and things, and would give a shrewd guess at a man's temper and designs upon the first acquaintance. He was an excellent preacher, having very good elocution, graceful and affectionate. He could on all occasions on a sudden, without any premeditation, express himself well and pertinently on any subject; yet were his sermons mostly well studied and digested, nor did he generally use notes in the pulpit.

He was indeed richly furnished with all the stores of learning, which admirably fitted him for the defence of the truth against the most subtile adversaries; and it plainly appears by his writings, that he was raised up by Divine Providence to be an instrument of diffusing a very clear knowledge of gospel truths, and of preserving them from the designs of corrupt and perverse men: And, with all this treasure of human learning, there was another almost singular qualification in him, that he was able and ready to apply himself to all practical cases of conscience, and had a rare faculty of speaking a word in season to those under temptation, desertion, and affliction. A most happy conjunction indeed of great learning and spiritual experience, which he had the wisdom and faithfulness to apply to the best purposes; and when he handled any polemical subject in divinity, he was always careful, where the case would admit, to consult the benefit and comfort of believers, and the advancement of the power of godliness: Nor can we pass over his admirable Christian temper in managing controversy; for though persons are generally apt to be warm in throwing out reflections and sarcasms against their adversaries, yet so grave and meek a disposition did he preserve throughout his writings, that there has scarce any thing dropped from his pen but what becomes the character of a solid divine, and an excellent Christian. We shall give one instance that may serve for all; which appears in his answer to Mr. J. Goodwin, a zealous Arminian, who had opposed that great doctrine of *the saint's perseverance*, which the church of God has always been tender of, as one chief argument of comfort. In his preface to the heads and governors of the colleges and halls in Oxford, after he had given his adversary a great character for his parts, learning, and eloquence, he  
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takes notice of his subtle evasions and sharp invectives. "For a man (says the Doctor) to warm himself by casting about his pen, until it be so filled with indignation and scorn as to blur every page, and almost every line, is a course that will never promote the praise, nor adorn the truth of God; for what remains concerning him, *Do illè ingenium, Do eloquentiam et industriam; fidem et veritatem utinam coluisset.*" Such was the character of his opponent. Now, see how the Doctor treats him in his answer, take the account in his own words, which immediately follow, viz. "The course and condition of my procedure with him, whether it be such as becomes Christian modesty and sobriety, with an allowance of those ingredients of zeal in contending for the truth, which in such cases the Holy Ghost gives a command for, is referred to the judgment of all who are concerned, and account themselves so in the things of God. As to bitterness of expression, personal reflections by application of satirical invectives, I know nothing by myself, yet I dare not account that I am hereby justified." This is the right Christian temper he has kept through all his writings: A very great attainment! And a vast advantage it was to the good design he was carrying on for the glory of God, and for the interest of truth, holiness, and peace.

There is something so pathetic in the Doctor's *last composition*, that the serious reader will certainly be glad to peruse it.

### TO CHARLES FLEETWOOD, Esq.

"DEAR SIR,

"ALTHOUGH I am not able to write one word myself, yet I am very desirous to speak one word more to you in this world, and do it by the hand of my wife. The continuance of your entire kindness, knowing what it is accompanied withal, is not only greatly valued by me, but will be a refreshment to me, as it is even in my dying hour. I am going to him whom my soul has loved, or rather who has loved me with an everlasting love, which is the whole ground of all my consolation. The passage is very irksome and wearisome, through strong pains of various sorts, which are all issued in an intermitting fever. All things were provided to carry me to London to-day, according to the advice of my physicians; but we are all disappointed by my utter disability to undertake the journey. I am leaving the ship of the church  
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in a storm; but whilst the great Pilot is in it, the loss of a poor under-rower will be inconsiderable. Live, and pray, and hope, and wait patiently, and do not despond; the promise stands invincible, that he will never leave us nor forsake us. I am greatly afflicted at the distempers of your dear lady; the good Lord stand by her, and support and deliver her. My affectionate respects to her, and the rest of your relations, who are so dear to me in the Lord. Remember your dying friend with all fervency: I rest upon it that you do so, and am

“Your’s entirely,

August 22, 1683.

“J. OWEN.”

N. B. The Doctor died August 24th, two days afterwards.

His Works. *Folio*. I. “Of the Saint’s Perseverance. Oxon, 1654. II. An Exposition on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in four vols. Lond. 1668, &c. III. A Discourse of the Holy Spirit. 1674. IV. A Complete Collection of his Sermons formerly published, with others never before printed: Also several Tracts, now first published from MSS. with others grown very scarce, viz. 1. Several practical Cases of Conscience resolved. 2. Of Marrying after Divorce, in case of Adultery. 3. Of Infant Baptism. 4. A Word of Advice to the Citizens of London. 5. The State of the Kingdom. 6. An Account of the Grounds and Reasons why Protestant Dissenters desire their liberty. 7. The Case of present Distresses on Nonconformity examined. 8. A Letter concerning the Matter of the present Excommunications. 9. An Answer to this Question: May a true Church err or mistake in administering Church-censures? 10. Some short Reflections on a slanderous Libel against the Doctor. 11. Five Latin Orations, when Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. To this volume are prefixed some Memoirs of the Doctor’s Life, with several of his Letters, and his Funeral Sermon, preached by Mr. Clarkson. London, 1721.” *Quarto*. I. A Display of Arminianism. 1643. II. The Duty of Pastors and People distinguished. 1644. III. *Salus Electorum, Sanguis Jesu*: Or, The Death of Death, in the Death of Christ. 1648. IV. Of the Death of Christ. V. *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*: Or, The Mystery of the Gospel vindicated, &c. in answer to J. Biddle. 1655. VI. Of Communion

Communion with God; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 1657. VII. Θεολογούμενα: *Sive de naturá, ortu, progressu, et studio Veræ Theologiæ.* 1661. VIII. An Exposition of the cxxxth Psalm. 1668. IX. The Doctrine of Justification by Faith through the imputed Righteousness of Christ, explained, &c. 1677. X. The Glorious Mystery of the Person of Christ, God and Man. 1679. XI. The Grace and Duty of being spiritually minded. 1681. XII. An Enquiry into the Original, Nature, Institution, Power, Order, and Communion of Evangelical Churches. 1681. XIII. The true Nature of a Gospel-Church, and its Government. 1689. XIV. A Review of the Annotations of Grotius. 1656. XV. A Discourse concerning Liturgies, and their Imposition. 1662. XVI. Indulgence and Toleration considered in a Letter. 1667. XVII. A Peace Offering, or Plea for Indulgence. 1667. XVIII. The Church of Rome no safe Guide. 1679. XIX. Some Considerations about Union among Protestants. 1680. XX. Vindication of the Nonconformists from the Charge of Schism. 1680. XXI. An Account of the Nature of the Protestant Religion. 1682.—*Octavo.* I. “Two Catechisms. 1645. II. *Eshcol: Or rules for Church-Fellowship.* 1648. III. *Diatriba de justitia divina.* 1653. IV. Of the Mortification of Sin in Believers. 1656. V. A Discovery of the true Nature of Schism. 1657. VI. A Review of the true Nature of Schism, with a Vindication of Congregational Churches. 1657. VII. Of the Nature and Power of Temptation. 1658. VIII. A Defence of Cotton against Cawdry. 1658. IX. *Exercitationes quatuor pro Sacris Scripturis.* 1658. X. The Divine Original and Authority of the Scriptures. 1659. XI. A Primer for Children. 1660. XII. Animadversions on *Fiat Lux.* 1662. XIII. Vindication of those Animadversions. 1664. XIV. A brief Instruction in the Worship of God. 1667. XV. The Nature of indwelling Sin. 1668. XVI. Truth and Innocence vindicated, in a Survey of a Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity. 1669. XVII. A brief Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity. 1669. XVIII. Of the Sabbath, and the Divine Institution of the Lord’s Day. 1671. XIX. Of Evangelical Love, Church-Peace and Unity. 1673. XX. A Vindication of his Book of Communion with God, from the Exceptions of Dr. Sherlock. 1674. XXI. The Nature of Apostacy from the Profession of the Gospel. 1676. XXII. The Reason of Faith in the Scriptures,

Scriptures. 1677. XXIII. The Ways and Means of understanding the Mind of God in the Scriptures. 1678. XXIV. An humble Testimony to the Goodness and Severity of God in his dealing with sinful Churches and Nations. 1681. XXV. The Work of the Holy Spirit in Prayer. 1682. XXVI. Meditations on the Glory of Christ in his Person and Offices. Part i. 1684. XXVII. Part ii. 1691. XXVIII. Of the Dominion of Sin and Grace. 1688. XXIX. Two Discourses of the Work of the Spirit. 1693. XXX. Evidences of the Faith of God's Elect. 1695."

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## ROBERT LEIGHTON, D. D.

ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW.

THIS truly good and great Man was the eldest son of Alexander Leighton, a Scotsman, D. D. who wrote two books for which he was called in question; the first was entitled, 'The Looking-glass of Holy War,' for which he was made to suffer. But the book that chiefly brought upon him the wrath of Bishop Laud, and the high commission court, was his 'Zion's Plea, or Appeal to the Parliament,' for which he was condemned in the Star-chamber, to have his ears cut and his nose slit, and suffered a cruel imprisonment for the space of eleven years

Robert, the subject of this memoir, had remarkable dispositions of seriousness from his youth. His father sent him to have his education in Scotland, where he made considerable proficiency in the learned languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, above his fellow students: For Burnet says, 'He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever he knew in any man.' His "*Prælectiones Theologicæ*" are a full confirmation of this testimony. He had so great a quickness of parts and vivacity of apprehension, that he made very great progress in his philosophical and theological works. 'But that which excelled all the rest was, says Burnet, he was possessed with the highest and noblest sense of divine things that could be seen in any man. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation, and seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, wishing that all others should think as meanly of him as he did himself. He bore all sorts of ill usage

usage and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it. He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that there was seldom seen in him any sign of passion; and he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that he was never or seldom guilty of speaking an idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said, to raise his own mind, and all he conversed with to serious reflections. He seemed to be in a perpetual meditation; and though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest from superstition, from censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said, there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner he could. His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way, and surprizing, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens, as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the aptest manner possible.

He was bred up in the greatest aversion to the whole frame of the church of England: His father was warm and violent in his opinions of church-government: But grace subdued, if not rooted up all undue bigotry to those outward circumstances in the son. When he had finished his academical studies in Scotland, his father sent him to travel in foreign parts; he spent some years in France, and spoke the French language like one born there. After his travels he returned to Scotland; and having acquitted himself in all the parts of his trials for the ministry, to the great approbation of his judges, he got presbyterian ordination. He was ordained minister at Newbattle, in the presbytery of Dalkeith, six miles from Edinburgh. His preaching had a sublimity of thought and expression. The grace and gravity of his pronounciation was such, that few heard him without a sensible emotion. Burnet says, 'I am sure I never did; 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.' He did not punctually attend the presbytery, but chused rather to live in great retirement, minding only the care  
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of his own parish. He preached up a more exact rule of life, than seemed to many consistent with human nature: 'But his own practice, says Burnet, did even out-shine his doctrine.'

In the year 1648 he declared himself for the engagement for the king, which brought him to no small trouble; but the Earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him, that he prevailed with the leading men not to meddle with him, though he gave occasion to great exception: For when some of his parish were ordered to make public profession of repentance, for it, he told them, they had been in an expedition, in which he believed they had neglected their duty to God, and had been guilty of injustice and violence, of drunkenness and other immoralities; and he charged them to repent of these very seriously, without meddling with the quarrel, or the grounds of that war. It was a question asked of the brethren, both in the classical and provincial meetings of ministers, twice in the year, if they preached the duties of the times? And when it was found that Mr. Leighton did not, he was censured for this omission, but said, "If all the brethren have preached to the *times*, may not one poor brother be suffered to preach on *eternity*?" At last, when he could not do the things imposed upon him any longer, and being unwilling to live in strife and contention, he chose in a silent manner to withdraw from his charge and the ecclesiastical courts, rather than engage in any disputes with them. The mastership of the College of Edinburgh some time after falling vacant, and it being in the gift of the magistrates and town-council, he was prevailed with to accept of it, because in it he was proposed to be entirely free from meddling with the public affairs of church judicatories: He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it; for he discoursed to all the youth of any capacity or distinction in such a taking manner, that it had great effect upon many of them: He prelected often to them; and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his harangue in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood him. 'Thus he had lived above twenty years in Scotland, in the highest reputation (says Burnet) that any man in my time ever did in that kingdom.' In the vacation-time, while he was principal of the College, he made excursions, and came often to London, where he observed all the eminent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city, but  
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never saw any thing among them that pleased him; they were of unquiet and meddling tempers, and their discourses were dry and unavowry, full of airy cant and bombast swellings. Mr. Wodrow gives the following character of him: 'By many he was judged void of any doctrinal principles, and his close correspondence with some of his relations at Doway in popish orders, made him suspected, as very much indifferent to all persuasions which bear the name of Christian, and was much taken with some of the popish mystic writers, and indeed a Latitudinarian, and of an over-extensive charity.' I doubt not but his opinion was, that the government of the church was ambulatory, and not fixed in the Holy Scriptures; which was also the opinion of some great divines in England, Hooker, Stillingfleet, and others: But as to the articles of the Christian faith, any who have read his *Prælectiones Theologicae*, his Commentary on the first Epistle of Peter, and his other books, will be persuaded that he was both sound in the faith, and strong in the faith.

Bishop Burnet opens up the correspondence which he had with Flanders, and which was the occasion of his being suspected. He says, 'That Leighton sometimes went over to Flanders, to see what he could find in the several orders of the church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages, on all which his thoughts were much fixed.' Shortly after the restoration of King Charles II. it was proposed to him, that an alteration of the government of the church of Scotland should be made. The Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Ormond of the English peers, and the Earls of Middleton and Glencairn of the Scottish peers, with Archbishop Sharp, were for the introduction of prelacy. Whereupon a letter was written to the privy council of Scotland, intimating the king's intentions for setting up episcopacy, and demanding their advice upon it. The council in their letter to the king, encouraged him to go on, assuring him that the change he intended would give general satisfaction. This was not true in fact. Then the next work was, to seek out proper persons to be made Bishops; for all the Scotch Bishops before the year 1638 were dead, except Sydeserf, who had been Bishop of Galloway. The English Bishops had an aversion to all that had been engaged in the covenant; however, Sharp, who had taken the covenant, nay, the tender also, abjuring the race of Stuarts,  
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and was so much confided in by the Church of Scotland as to be their agent for presbytery, he being sent by them to the king, first in Holland, and afterward at London, betrayed their cause, and prevailed so far, that the choice of fit persons should be left to him. Mess. Sharp, Fairfowl, and Hamilton were sent for, who went up to England, October 30th, 1661. Leighton came to London from Bath, having been there some time for his health. Sharp got the Archbishoprick of St Andrews secured for himself, Fairfowl was desired to be Archbishop of Glasgow, Hamilton (brother to the Lord Belhaven) for Galloway, for Sydscrie was to be removed to Orkney: And Leighton made choice of Dunblane, a small diocese, as well as a little revenue, not exceeding one hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*; but the deanery of the chapel royal was annexed to that see.

At the consecration of these persons there was great feasting; with this Leighton was struck, and said, "It had not such an appearance of seriousness or piety as became the new modelling of a church." Bishop Burnet proceeds in his narration: "I bear still, says he, the greatest veneration for the memory of that man, that I do for any person; and reckon my early knowledge of him, which happened the year after this, and my long and intimate conversation with him, that continued to his death, for twenty-three years, amongst the greatest blessings of my life, and for which I know I must give an account to God in the great day in a most particular manner. And yet, though I know this account of his promotion may seem a blemish upon him, I would not conceal it, being resolved to write of all persons and things with all possible candour. The papists had hopes of him at this time, having talked of some points of popery with the freedom of an abstracted and speculative man, not knowing any thing of the design of bringing in popery; yet he expressed another sense of the matter, when he came to see it was really intended to be brought in amongst us. He then spoke of popery in the complex at much another rate: And he seemed to have more zeal against it, than I thought was in his nature with relation to any points in controversy; for his abstraction made him seem cold in all these matters. But he gave all who conversed with him a very different view of popery, when he saw we were really in danger of coming under the power of a religion, "That had, as he used to say, much of the wisdom that was earthly, sensual and devilish, but  
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nothing in it of the wisdom that was from above, and was pure and peaceable." He did indeed think the corruptions and cruelties of popery were such gross and odious things, that nothing could have maintained that church under these just and visible prejudices, but the several orders among them, which had an appearance of mortification and contempt of the world, and with all the trash that was among them, maintained a face of piety and devotion. He also thought that the great and fatal error of the reformation was, that more of those houses, and of that course of life, free from the entanglements of vows, and other mixtures, was not preserved; so that the protestant churches had neither places of education, nor retreat for men of mortified tempers.

Leighton made some attempts to work up Sharp to two designs, which possessed him most: The one was, to try what could be done towards uniting the presbyterians and them; he offered 'Usher's Reduction,' as the plan upon which they ought to form their schemes. The other was, to try how they could raise men to a truer and higher sense of piety, and bring the worship of that church out of their *extempore* methods into more order, and so to prepare them to a more regular way of worship, which he thought was of much more importance than a form of government. But he was amazed, when he observed that Sharp had neither formed any scheme, nor seemed so much as willing to talk of any. Leighton came very quickly to lose all heart and hope of doing much good by this change, because there appeared in the whole progress of it such gross characters of an angry Providence, that how fully soever he was satisfied in his own mind, as to episcopacy itself, yet it seemed that God was against them, and that they were not like to be the men that should build up his church, so that the strugglings about it seemed to him like a fighting against God. He, who had the greatest hand in it, proceeded with so much dissimulation, and the rest of the order were so mean and selfish, and the Earl of Middleton, with the other secular men that conducted it, were so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach upon every thing relating to religion, to see it managed by such instruments.

Soon after their consecration, the Bishops came down to Scotland all in one coach; but Leighton being weary of them, and finding they intended to be received at Edinburgh with some pomp, left them at Morpeth, and came to Edinburgh a few days before them. He hated all the appearances

appearances of vanity; he would not have the title of Lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it upon him: This provoked the other Bishops, and looked like singularity and affectation, and furnished those that were prejudiced against him with a specious appearance, to represent him as a man of odd notions and practices. The Lord Chancellor, with all the nobility and privy-counsellors then at Edinburgh, went out, together with the magistracy of the city, and brought the Bishops in, as in triumph. Burnet says, ‘He looked on, and thought there was something in the pomp of that entry, that did not look like the humility that became their function.’

The session of parliament came on April 1662. A piece of respect was put on the Bishops, by sending some of every state to invite them to come and take their seats. They all came except Leighton: And indeed he never came to parliament, but when there was something before them, that related to religion, or to the church.

For a proof of the loyalty of presbyterian ministers, it was resolved to tender them the oath of allegiance and supremacy, that had been enacted in the former parliament: The ministers to whom it was tendered, agreed to take it, with an explication, which was presented to the house; but as soon as it was read, there were many hard speeches on it, as putting restriction on the oath framed by the parliament. At this meeting, which was the only time that Leighton appeared in parliament, he with much zeal pressed that their explication might be accepted: “For, said he, the words of the oath were certainly capable of a bad sense; that, in compassion to papists, a limited sense had been put upon them in England, and he thought that a like tenderness should be shewn to protestants, especially when the scruple was just, and there was an oath in the case, in which the matter certainly ought to be made clear. To act otherwise, looked like laying snares for people, and the making them offenders for a word.” Sharp, in answer to him, said, ‘It was below the dignity of a government, to make acts to satisfy the weak scruples of peevish men: It ill became them, who had imposed their covenants on all people, without any explication, and had forced all to take it, now to expect such extraordinary favours.’ Leighton insisted, “That for that very reason it ought to be done, that all people might see a difference between the mild proceedings of the government now, and their severity: And that it ill be-  
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came the very same persons who had complained of that rigour, now to practise it themselves; for thus it may be said, the world goes mad by turns." These ministers were committed to close prison, three in one chamber and three in another, and none permitted to have access to them for several weeks. Great pains were used with them to swear the oath absolutely, as it stood. Leighton was sent to them, who used all his eloquence, but without success: They charged and checked him with desertion, and laying stumbling-blocks before his brethren.

In the year 1665, the proceedings in Scotland by the ecclesiastical high commission were so violent against all that would not conform, that Leighton would have no hand in them, but had rather framed a resolution to leave his bishopric: He went to London to give the king an account of these proceedings, which, he said, were so violent, that he could not concur in the planting of the Christian religion itself in such a manner, much less a form of government; he therefore begged leave to quit his bishopric, and to retire, for he thought he was in some sort accessory to the violences that were done by others, since he was one of them, and all was pretended to be done to establish them and their order. The king seemed to be touched with the state the country was in; he spake very severely of Sharp, and assured Leighton he would quickly come to other measures, and put a stop to these violent methods; but he would by no means suffer him to quit his bishopric. So the king gave orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, and signified his pleasure, that another way of proceeding was necessary for his affairs. In the west and south of Scotland great severities were used, but no violences were committed in Leighton's diocese: He went round it continually every year, preaching and catechizing, from parish to parish: He continued in his private and ascetic course of life, and gave all his income, beyond the small expences of his own person, to the poor: He studied to raise in his clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls, and was in all respects a burning and shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese: Even the presbyterians were much mollified, if not overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life. Mr. Wodrow says, 'Every body knew, that while Leighton was Bishop of Dumblane, he had as scandalous and ignorant a clergy as any in Scotland, and yet there he never offered to turn one of them out: As  
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to turning them out by deposition, he might meet with difficulties from their friends, and likewise from the other bishops; but surely he cannot be blamed for their ignorance and negligence of their duty, since he gave them so good example.' Mr. Wodrow afterwards owns, that when Leighton was Archbishop of Glasgow, he found that country full of complaints of the scandals of his clergy there, and appointed a purging committee to take trial of such complaints.

While he was at Dunblane he visited once a-year all the churches of his diocese, preached and heard the minister preach, gave liberally to the poor; and if any of his churches were vacant, if he could, he supplied them himself. He connived at Mr. Pitcairn in Dron, heard him preach, but would not preach himself, lest he should have made Mr. Pitcairn's hearers take offence at him, they being all bigotted presbyterians; so that by his favour Mr. Pitcairn continued at Dron till the test.

In the west of Scotland there was a set of ignorant and scandalous clergy: Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, had ordained the most of them: They were so vicious that there was no supporting of them; many of them made bargains with their parishes, and left them, hoping to be provided in Ireland. Thus many parishes became vacant. Lord Tweeddale, whom the Earl of Lauderdale trusted most, laid out himself for redressing the many complaints that were brought against the clergy in those parts; and looking on Leighton as the greatest and best man among the bishops, recommended him to the king to be set at the head of all church affairs, that a set of men of another stamp might be sent to fill up these vacancies. At this time, anno 1667, Leighton was prevailed on to go to London, where he had two audiences of the king, and laid before him the madness of the former administration of church affairs, and the necessity of turning to more moderate counsels; he proposed a comprehension of the presbyterians, by altering the terms of law a little, and by such abatements as might preserve the whole for the future, by granting something for the present. Burnet writes, that in the year 1669 Leighton talked to him of the measures of moderation and comprehension, and says, that he was the only person among the bishops that declared for them, and proposed that a treaty should be set on foot for accommodating differences, and changing the laws, that carried episcopal authority much higher than any of the bishops themselves put in practice. He proposed

posed a scheme, as he thought might have taken in the soberest men of presbyterian principles; reckoning, that if once the schism could be healed, and order restored, it might be easy to bring things into such management, that the concessions then to be offered should do no great hurt at present, and should die with that generation. He observed the extraordinary concessions made by the African church to the Donatists, and this made him go very far in extenuating the episcopal authority. He proposed that the church should be governed by the bishops and their clergy, mixing together in their church judicatories, in which the bishop should act only as their president, and be determined by the majority of their presbyters, both in matters of jurisdiction and ordination, and that the presbyterians should be allowed, when they sat down first in these judicatories, to declare that their sitting under a bishop was submitted to by them only for peace's sake, with a reservation of their opinion with relation to any such precedency, and that no negative vote should be claimed by the bishop: That bishops should ordain persons with the concurrence of the presbytery: That provincial synods sit in course every third year, or oftener, if the king should summon them, in which complaints of the bishops should be received, and they should be censured as well as other people, and that in a fixed court, which was to consist of bishops and deans, and two chosen from every presbytery. As for the negative, it might be lodged in the king's name with some secular person, who should interpose as often as the bishop saw it was expedient to use it. He proposed farther, that a treaty might be set on foot for bringing the presbyterians to accept of these concessions. Burnet says, he was sent to propose the scheme to Hutchison, who was esteemed the most learned man among them, and to talk of it as a notion of his own; but he looked on it as a project that would never take, and being but one of many, he avoided to declare himself.

The next thing under consideration was, how to dispose of the many vacancies, and how to put a stop to conventicles. Leighton proposed, that they should still be vacant while the treaty was on foot, that the presbyterians might see that the government was in earnest to have them serve in the church, when so many places were kept open for them. The Earl of Tweeddale thought the treaty would run into too great a length, and therefore he proposed the granting some of the outed ministers leave

leave to go and serve in these parishes, by an act of indulgence. Leighton was against this, for he thought nothing would bring on the presbyterians to a treaty, so much as the hopes of being again suffered to return to their benefices. Burnet says, he was desired to go into the western parts, and to give a true account of matters as he found them there: Many of the more moderate of them came to him and talked with him, who thought, that if they were put in vacant churches, the people would be tamer. He having got the best information of the state of the country, writes a long account of all that he heard to Lord Tweeddale, and concluded it with an advice, to put some of the more moderate of the presbyterians into the vacant churches. The letter was so well liked, that it was read to the king; and it was said, that he was the man that went most entirely into Leighton's maxims.

The King wrote a letter to the privy-council, ordering them to indulge such of the presbyterians as were moderate and loyal, so far as to suffer them to serve in vacant churches, though they did not submit to the present establishment: And he required them to set them such rules as might preserve order and peace, and to look well to the execution of them. And as for such as could not be provided to churches at that time, he ordered a pension of twenty pounds sterling a-year to be paid every one of them, as long as they lived orderly. Nothing followed on the second article of this letter: The presbyterians looked on this as the king's hire to be silent, and not to do their duty; and none of them would accept of it. But as to the first part of the letter, on the first council-day after it was read, twelve of the ministers were indulged: They had parishes assigned them; and about thirty more were afterwards indulged in the same manner; and then a stop was put to it for some time. With the warrants that they had for their churches, there was a paper of rules likewise put in their hands. Hutchison, in all their names, made a speech to the council. He began with decent expressions of thanks to the King and their Lordships. He said, they should at all times give such obedience to laws and orders, as could stand with a good conscience: And so they werè dismissed. As for those of them that were allowed to go to the churches where they had served before, no difficulty could be made; but those of them that were named to other churches, would not enter on the serving them, till the church-sessions and the inhabitants  
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of the parish met, and made choice of them for their pastors, and gave them a call to serve among them.

When this indulgence came to be descanted upon, it appeared to be against law; for by the Act 'restoring episcopacy,' none were capable of benefices but such as should own the authority of bishops, and be instituted by them. And now the episcopal party, who were wont to put all authority in the king, as long as he was for them, began to talk, that the king's power was bounded by law, and that these proceedings were the trampling of law under foot. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, and his clergy were out of measure enraged at the indulgence. He held a synod at Glasgow, anno 1669, when it was moved, that an address might be drawn up, representing to the king the miseries they were under, occasioned by the indulgence. They complained of it as illegal, and as like to be fatal to the church. This was, according to the words in some of the acts of parliament, as misrepresenting the king's proceedings, in order to the alienating the hearts of his subjects from him, which had been made capital. Ross, who was afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, drew the address, a copy of this was procured by indirect methods, and sent up to court: And as soon as the king saw it, he said, it was 'a new Western Remonstrance;' and ordered, that Burnet should not be suffered to come to parliament, and that he should be proceeded against as far as law could carry the matter. Burnet being on other accounts obnoxious, they intended to frighten him to resign his bishopric.

When the parliament met, the supremacy was carried very high; for the Act declared the settling all things relating to the external government of the church, was a right of the crown. Leighton was against this Act, and got some words altered in it; yet though he was very averse to it, he gave his vote for it, not having sufficiently considered the extent of the words, and the consequences that might follow; many of the episcopal clergy, Nairn and Charters in particular, who thought it plainly made the king our pope, and the Presbyterians said, it put him in Christ's stead. Leighton told Burnet, that he was sure the words, 'Ecclesiastical Matters,' were put in after the draught and form of the Act was agreed on. It was generally charged on Lauderdale. By this Act of Supremacy he could turn out bishops at pleasure; and it had its first effect on Burnet, who was offered a pension if he would resign, but if he stood out, was severely threat-

ened; he complied, and returned to a private state, in which he lived four years. The Earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale pressed Leighton to accept of the see of Glasgow, but he declined it with great aversion; nothing moved him to hearken to it, but the hopes of bringing about the accommodation that was proposed, in which he had all assistance promised him from the court. The king ordered him to be sent for to court; upon his coming to London, Lauderdale's temper was much inflamed, he was become fierce and untractable, but Tweeddale made every thing as easy to him as possible. Having turned out Archbishop Burnet, it concerned them much to get an eminent man in his room, who should order matters with moderation.

In 1670, Leighton proposed to the king his scheme of accommodation. Leighton's paper was in some places corrected by Sir Robert Murray, and was turned into instructions, by which Lauderdale was authorized to pass the concessions that were to be offered, into laws. Leighton, though he undertook the administration of the see of Glasgow, yet it was a year after this before he was prevailed on to be translated thither. When he came there, he held a synod, in which nothing was to be heard but complaints of desertion and ill usage. In a sermon, and in several discourses both public and private, he exhorted them "To look up more to God, and to consider themselves as ministers of the cross of Christ, to bear the contempt and ill usage they met with as a cross laid on them for the exercise of their faith and patience, to lay aside all the appetites of revenge, to humble themselves before God, and to have many days for secret fasting and prayer, to meet often, that they might quicken one another in these holy exercises." This was a new strain to the clergy, to which they had not been accustomed. When this was over, he went round some parts of the country to the most eminent of the indulged ministers, and carried Burnet with him: His business was to persuade them to hearken to propositions of peace, and told them that some of them would be sent for to Edinburgh, where terms would be offered them to make up differences, and if they hearkened to them, they would be turned into laws, and all the vacancies would be filled by their brethren. This they received with indifference and neglect. Hutchison, who was an artful man, said, 'It was a thing of general concern, and they were but single men.' There were letters written to six of them to come to town: When

When they came, there was a long conference between Leighton and them, before Lauderdale, Rothes, Tweeddale and Kincardine. Sharp would not be present, but ordered Paterson, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow, to hear all and bring him an account of what passed. 'Leighton laid before them (says Bishop Burnet, who was intimately acquainted with the whole affair) the mischief of our divisions, and of the schism that they had occasioned. Many souls were lost; and many more were in danger by these means: So that every one ought to do all he could to heal this wide breach, that had already let in so many evils among us, which were like to make way to many more. For his own part, he was persuaded that episcopacy, as an order distinct from presbyters, had continued in the church ever since the days of the apostles; that the world had every where received the Christian religion from bishops; and that a parity among clergymen was never thought of in the church before the middle of the last century, and was then set up rather by accident than design. Yet, how much soever he was persuaded of this, since they were of another mind, he was now to offer a temper to them, by which both sides might still preserve their opinions, and yet unite in carrying on the ends of the gospel and their ministry. They had *moderators* among them, which was no divine institution, but only a matter of order: The king therefore might name these; and the making them constant could be no such encroachment on their function, as that the peace of the church must be broken on such an account. Nor could they say, that the blessings of the men named to this function, by an imposition of hands, did degrade them from their former office, to say no more of it: So they were still at least *ministers*. It is true, others thought, they had a new and special authority, more than a bare presidency: *That* did not concern them, who were not required to concur with them in any thing, but in submitting to this presidency: And, as to that, they should be allowed to declare their own opinion against it, in as full and public a manner as they pleased. He laid it to their consciences, to consider of the whole matter, as in the presence of God, without any regard to party or popularity. He spoke in all near half an hour, with a gravity and force that made a very great impression on those who heard it.'

Hutchison said, 'That their opinion for a parity among the clergy was well known, and that the presidency now spoken of had made way to a lordly dominion in the church;

church; and desired some time might be given them to consider well on the proposition now made, and that they might have the king's leave to meet.' This was granted. There was a second conference, in which matters were more fully opened and pressed home, but without effect. 'Lord Lauderdale (says Burnet) made us all dine together, and came to us after dinner, but could scarce restrain himself from flying out, for their behaviour was both rude and crafty. But Leighton had prepared him for it, and pressed him not to give them a handle to excuse their flying off, by any roughness in his deportment towards them.' The propositions offered them were now generally known: Sharp cried out, 'That episcopacy was to be undermined, since the negative vote was to be let go.'

'Leighton desired another meeting with them at Paisley, to which he carried me (says Burnet) and one or two more. They were about thirty. We had two long conferences with them. Leighton laid out before them the obligations that lay on them to seek for peace at all times, but more especially when we already saw the dismal effects of our contentions. There could be no agreement, unless on both sides there was a disposition to make some abatements and some steps towards one another. It appeared that we were ready to make even unreasonable ones on our side: And would they abate nothing on theirs? Was their opinion so mathematically certain, that they could not dispense with any part of it, for the peace of the church, and for the saving of souls?—Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man than he was, lose all patience. But he bore with all, and urged this question on them: Would they have held communion with the church of God at the time of the Council of Nice, or not? If they should say, not; he would be less desirous of entering into communion with them, since he must say of the church at that time—*Let my soul be with their's*: If they said, they would; he was sure they would not reject the offers now made them, which brought episcopacy much lower than it was at that time.'—However, this treaty, like all the rest, came to nothing, to the great grief of truly serious persons, and to the invidious satisfaction only of bigots on both sides. True it is, peace hath, like its author, but a still small voice, which is soon drowned by the strivings of the multitude and the uproar of the people. This account, however, may serve to shew

shew of how excellent and holy a life this good man was. He, in fact, was but of one party; and that was, and is, the spiritual church of God, elected and collected out of this wicked world.

In the year 1672, Leighton resolved to retire and leave his see, for Sharp and his instruments, from Leighton's moderation, did complain. He concluded, he could do no good on either side; he gained no ground with the Presbyterians, and was suspected, nay hated, by the episcopal party, and therefore resolved to retire from all public employments, and to spend the rest of his days in a corner, and to give himself wholly to prayer and meditation, since he could not carry on his great designs of healing and reforming the church, which he had so much at heart: He said, his work seemed to be at an end; he had no more to do, unless he had a mind to please himself with the lazy enjoying of a good revenue. He had gathered together many instances out of church history, of bishops that had left their sees and retired from the world, and was much pleased with these. He followed Lauderdale to court, and begged leave to resign his archbishopric; but when Lauderdale would by no means consent to this, he desired he might be allowed to do it within a year, who moved the King to promise, that if he did not change his mind, he would then accept of his resignation: He came back much pleased with what he had thus obtained.

At the end of the year 1673, the good man came up to London to lay down his archbishopric; and his resignation was, according to promise, accepted. Upon which he retired to a private house in Sussex, where he lived ten years in a most heavenly manner, and with a most exemplary conversation. In the year 1684, upon Dr. Burnet's writing earnestly to him for his presence upon a weighty occasion, Dr. Leighton left his recess in the country, and came to London. Upon his coming, his old acquaintance was amazed to see him at above seventy look so fresh and well, so that 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 life and temper of devotion which he had before discovered. When Dr. Burnet took notice upon his first seeing him how well he looked, he told him, "He was very near his end for all that, and that his work and journey were almost done." This at that moment made no great impression on his friend. But Dr. Leighton was the next day taken with an oppres-

sion,

sion, and, as it seemed, with a cold and stitches, which was indeed a pleurisy. The next day he sunk so fast that both his speech and sense went away on a sudden, and he continued panting about twelve hours, and then died without pangs or convulsions.

Dr. Burnet was by him all the time, and he adds: ' Thus I lost him who had been so many years the chief guide of my whole life. He had lived ten years in Sussex in great privacy, dividing his time wholly between study and retirement, and the doing of good; for in the parish where he lived, and in the parishes round about, he was always employed in preaching and reading prayers. He distributed all he had in charities, chusing rather to have it go through other people's hands than his own, for I was his almoner in London. He had gathered a well-chosen library of curious as well as useful books, which he left to the diocese of Dunblane, for the use of the clergy there, that country being ill provided with books. 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. He spoke of the corruptions of the secular spirit, and of the cruelty that appeared in the Romish church with an extraordinary concern, and lamented the shameful advances which we seemed to be making towards popery. He did this with a tenderness and an edge, which 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.' He thought it was truly such with relation to the doctrine, the worship, and the main part of our government: But as to the administration, both with relation to the ecclesiastical courts, and the pastoral care, he looked on it as one of the most corrupt he had ever seen. He thought we looked like a fair carcase of a body, without a spirit, and destitute of that zeal, that strictness of life, and that laboriousness in the clergy, which became us.' Doctor Burnet had such an opinion of the excellency of this eminent man, that he not only has written largely in his commendation in his history, but he speaks of him in the same exalted, if not superior strain, in his pastoral care. ' I have now laid together (says he) with great simplicity what has been the chief subject of my thoughts for above thirty years. I was forced to them by a bishop that had the greatest elevation of soul, the largest compass

pass of knowledge, the most mortified and most heavenly disposition that I ever saw in mortal; that had the greatest parts as well as virtues, with the perfectest humility that I ever saw in man, and had a sublime strain of preaching with so grave a gesture, and such a majesty of thought, of language, and pronunciation, that I never saw a wandering eye where he preached, and have seen whole assemblies often melt in tears before him; and of whom I can say with great truth, that in a free and frequent conversation with him for above two and twenty years, I never knew him speak an idle word that had not a direct tendency to edification; and I never once saw him in any other temper but that which I wished to be in the last minutes of my life. For that pattern which I saw in him, and for that conversation which I had with him, I know how much I have to answer to God; and though my reflecting on that which I knew in him gives me just cause of being deeply humbled in myself, and before God, yet I feel no more sensible pleasure in any thing than in going over in my thoughts all that I saw and observed in him.

There were two remarkable circumstances in Dr. Leighton's death. He used often to say, that if he were to chuse a place to die in, it should be an inn, it looking like a pilgrim's going home, to whom this world was all as an inn, and who was weary of the noise and confusion of it. He added, that the officiousness and care of friends was an entanglement to a dying man, and that the unconcerned attendance of those that could be procured in such a place would give less disturbance. He obtained what he desired, for he died at the Bell-inn in Warwick Lane. Another circumstance was, that while he was bishop in Scotland, he took what his tenants were pleased to pay him, so that there was a great arrear due, which was raised slowly by one whom he left in trust with his affairs there. The last payment which he could expect thence was sent up to him about six weeks before his death, so that his provision and his journey ended together.

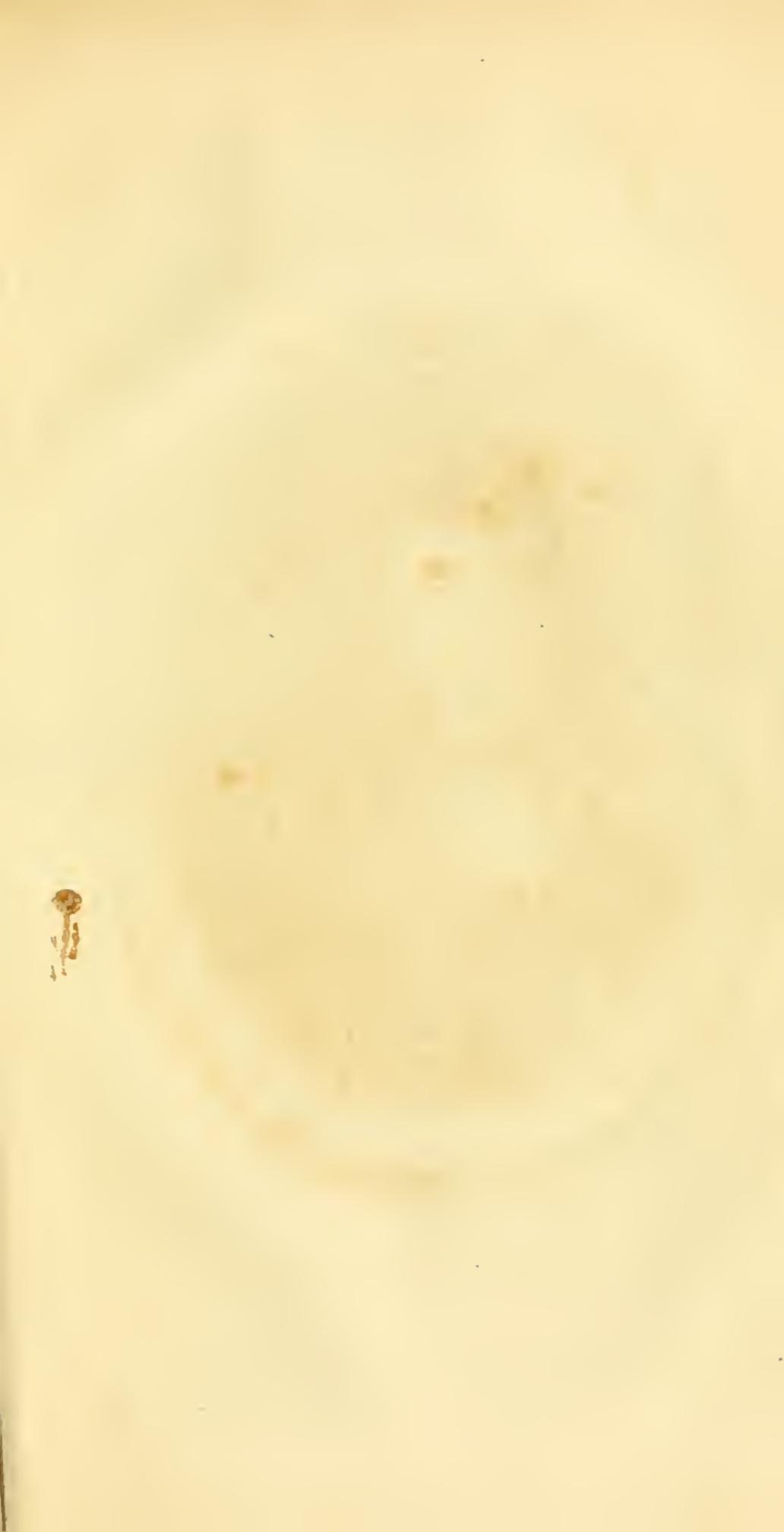
His Works, though not designed by him for the press, do indeed most justly *praise him in the gate*. 'The delight and edification (says the late Dr. Doddridge, in the preface to Leighton's Commentary on St. Peter) which I have found in the writings of this *wonderful man*, for such I must deliberately call him, would have been a full equivalent for my pains, separate from all prospect of that effect, which they might have upon others. For truly

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I know not that ever I have spent a quarter of an hour in reviewing any of them, but even amidst that interruption which a critical examination of the copy would naturally give, I have felt some impressions which I could always wish to retain. I can hardly forbear saying, as a considerable philosopher and eminent divine [Dr. Henry Miles, F. R. S.] said to me in a letter long ago, and when my acquaintance with our Author's works was but beginning: 'There is a spirit in Archbishop Leighton I never met with in any human writings, nor can I read many lines in them without being moved.' Indeed, continues Dr. Doddridge, it would be difficult for me to say where, but in the Sacred Oracles, I have ever found such heart-affecting lessons of simplicity and humility, candour and benevolence, exalted piety, without the least tincture of enthusiasm, and an entire mortification to every earthly interest, without any mixture of splenetic resentment. Nor can I ever sufficiently admire that artless manner in which he lays open, as it were, his whole breast to the reader, and shews, without seeming to be at all conscious of it himself, all the various graces that can adorn and enoble the Christian, running like so many veins of precious ore in the rich mine where they grew. And hence, if I mistake not, is that wonderful energy of his discourses, obvious as they seem, unadorned as they really are, which I have observed to be owned by persons of eminent piety in the most different ranks, and amidst all the variety of education and capacity that can be imagined. As every eye is struck by consummate beauty, though in the plainest dress, and the sight of such an object impresses much more than any laboured description of complexion, features, or air, or any harangue on the nicest rules of proportion which could come into consideration; so 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 as a living image of his divine Master, for such indeed his writings shew, I had almost said demonstrated, him to have been, by such internal characters as surely a bad man could not counterfeit, and no good man can so much as suspect.

We have seen only his "Exposition upon the first Epistle of St. Peter,"\* and his "Select Works and Letters;"

\* Dr. Doddridge having occasion to speak of this "Commentary on the 1 Ep. of St. Peter," in his *Family Expositor*, Vol. VI. p. 273. in a note, says, 'I esteem it to be among the most instructive and useful  
books



CLAUDE



Vaussemer pinxit :

Troter sculp :

Publ'hd as the Act directs March 27, 1763.

From an original Picture in the possession of the Rev<sup>d</sup>. M. Bourdillon .

ters;" all together consisting of three full octavo volumes. His "Exposition" has lately been republished by the reverend Mr. Foster; and it is much to be wished, that the volume of his "Select Works" had accompanied that edition. The truly pious soul can scarce find more profitable reading beside the Bible.

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## MONSIEUR CLAUDE.

THE good and great Mr. John Claude, a minister of the church of Paris, born at Sauvetat in the province of Angenois, in the year 1619, was one of the most eminent men of the ecclesiastical profession. He studied as far as philosophy under his father, who was also a minister; and afterwards, going through a course of divinity, was ordained at Montauban in the year 1645. He was made minister of a church of Fief, called *la Freine*, where he officiated a twelvemonth. Afterwards he became minister of a church of St. Africk in Rovergne; and eight years after, pastor of that of Mimes. As the protestants had an university in the city of Mimes, Mr. Claude had there an opportunity of displaying one of his chief talents, which was happily explaining a theological subject; and he used to read private lectures to such as were candidates for the ministry. He had undertaken to refute the piece, called 'The Method,' which was written by Cardinal Richelieu against the protestants; but hearing that Mr. Martel, the professor of divinity at Montablaui, had a synodical commission for that purpose, he laid aside that design. Having opposed, in the Synod of the Lower Languedoc, a man, whom the court had won over to attempt a re-union, he was punished for it by a decree of council, which forbad him the exercise of the functions of a minister in Languedoc, after he had exercised them eight years at Mimes. He went to Paris to get, if possible, this resolution taken off; and, after staying there

books our language affords, and cannot but consider it as a great honour conferred upon me by Providence, to have been an instrument of presenting it to the world in so correct a form; as well as of rescuing many other instructive pieces of that excellent and amiable Author, from the oblivion in which they had so long been buried.'

there six months to no purpose, he took a journey to Montauban, where he preached the day after his arrival, and accepted the offer which the people of that church made him.

During this journey, he wrote a little book, which gave rise to the most famous dispute that ever was carried on in France between the protestants and Roman catholics. The occasion of it was this: Messieurs de Port-Royal were at that time using their utmost endeavours to make a convert of Mr. de Turenne to the Romish religion; and for that purpose presented him with a little piece, in which they pretended to shew, that the protestant churches had always believed what is taught in that of the Romanists, concerning the real presence, and that a change of belief, such as the protestants suppose, is impossible. Mr. de Turenne's lady, who always dreaded what happened after her decease, namely, that her husband would turn Roman catholic, did all that lay in her power to confirm him in the protestant faith. For this reason she caused an answer to be made to the piece of Messieurs de Port-Royal, and Mr. Claude was appointed to write it. He acquitted himself so admirably well upon this occasion, that several copies were taken of his answer, which were spread every where, both in Paris and in the provinces; so that had it been printed, it could not have been made much more public. Messieurs de Port-Royal, hearing of this, thought themselves absolutely obliged to answer it; which they did, by publishing, in the year 1664, the famous work, entitled, '*La perpétuité de la foi de l'église catholique touchant l'euchariste,*' that is, 'The perpetuity of the catholic church in regard to its doctrine of the eucharist. It contains the first piece, and a reply to Mr. Claude's answer. This minister, who was then at Montauban, wrote a reply, which was printed with his first answer in the year 1666. This work is entitled, "*Response aux traites, intitulcz, La perpétuité,*" &c. that is, An answer to two treatises, entitled, "The perpetuity," &c. There is no doubt, but the merit of Mr. Claude's book contributed greatly to its fame; but nevertheless, the state in which Jansenism was at that time, was one chief cause of the mighty noise this work made. For the Jansenists considered Mr. Claude's triumph as nothing, provided it could but lessen the joy of Messieurs de Port-Royal; and therefore, for the sake of promoting their own cause, they spread in all places the name and merit of Mr. Claude. So necessary is it, as Bayle justly observes

observes upon this occasion, for some books to appear at certain seasons, and to be wrote against certain persons, rather than at other junctures. Mr. Arnauld undertook to refute Mr. Claude's book, and published a large volume in the year 1669. Father Nouet, a famous jesuit, engaged in the controversy, and published a book against Mr. Claude, who wrote an answer to it, which was printed in 1668. Some prefer this answer to his other pieces; and we are told, that it was his favourite piece. The author of the '*Journal des savans*,' discharged his artillery against Mr. Claude, by inserting an extract of that jesuit's book: And this occasioned Mr. Claude to publish a very witty provinciale against the author of the journal. It is an anonymous letter, and entitled, "*Lettre d'un provincial à un de ses amis sur le sujet du journal du 28 Juin 1667*:" that is, "A letter from a provincial to a friend, occasioned by the journal of the 28th of June 1667;" which letter was answered by the journalist some time after. This contest went no farther; but with regard to Mr. Arnauld, who had added two more volumes to the former, Mr. Claude was forced to engage in a very laborious study, in order to examine the tenets of the Greek church, and those of the Eastern schismatics: And he shewed great learning and abilities in the answer he made to him. The Jansenists only made a general reply to Mr. Claude's book. They published their *Prejuges legitimes contre le Calvinisme*: that is, Just prejudices against Calvinism: Which Mr. Claude refuted by one of the best works, says Bayle, that either himself or any other protestant clergyman ever composed. It is entitled, "*De-fense de la reformation*:" that is, "A defence of the reformation:" was first printed in 4to. at Rouen in 1673, and afterwards at the Hague in 1682, 12mo.

Mr. Claude, as we have observed, was elected minister of the church of Montauban: It was about the year 1662. Four years after, he was forbid by the court to exercise his functions there, which obliged him to go a second time to Paris. He continued there near nine months, without being able to remove the obstacles of his return to Montauban. During this interval, he was invited to the church of Bourdeaux; but the congregation of Charenton being unwilling to lose a person of Mr. Claude's abilities, gave him also an invitation in the year 1666. From that time to the revocation of the edict of Nantz, he did very great service to that church, and to the whole body, by his excellent works; and by the detail he descended

scended to, concerning the affairs which the deputies of provinces communicated to him. No man was ever better qualified to head either a consistory or a synod, or to dispute off-hand. He discovered this latter talent in the last conference, which Mademoiselle de Duras desired to hear. This lady, it seems, would not forsake her religion, till she had heard Mr. Claude and the Bishop of Meaux dispute in her presence: She accordingly had her wish; for these two illustrious champions disputed together at the Countess de Roie's, her sister's, the first of March 1678. Each disputant wrote the relation of his conference, and ascribed the victory to himself. These relations were at first only handed about in manuscript; but at last the Bishop of Meaux published his relation in the year 1682, and that of Mr. Claude followed soon after. Mr. Claude was distinguished from the rest of the ministers, by the manner in which the court ordered him to leave the kingdom. He, like them, had a fortnight allowed him to leave it: But the Romish clergy found means to shorten even that time. For on Monday the twenty-second of October 1685, the day on which the revocation of the edict of Nantz was registered at Paris, Mr. Claude at ten in the morning was ordered to leave France in twenty-four hours. He obeyed with the utmost submission, and set out, attended by one of the king's footmen, who was ordered to conduct him to the frontiers of France; and who, though he executed his orders faithfully, yet treated Mr. Claude with civility: so true it is, that exalted merit has a great influence even on the hearts of those who do not love the Protestant religion. He set out from Paris in the Brussels coach, and his fame flying before him, procured him several obliging offices from many persons in his journey. He passed through Cambray, where he lay, and was there presented with some refreshments by the jesuits. The father rector did Mr. Claude the honour to pay him a visit, which Mr. Claude returned; and the difference of religion did not interrupt this obliging correspondence and mark of reciprocal esteem.

Mr. Claude made Holland his place of refuge, where he met with a very kind reception, and was honoured with a considerable pension by the Prince of Orange. He used to preach from time to time at the Hague; and his last sermon was on Christmas day 1686: where he displayed his excellent talent so admirably, that the Princess of Orange was greatly affected and extremely pleased with him. The authors of the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary

ary have indeed said, that 'even the French protestants themselves never looked upon his sermons as excellent ones;' but Mr. Bayle has declared, in answer to such misrepresentation, that 'they contained all those things which the protestants could desire; such as, the greatest regularity and order, a deep search into divinity, much sublimity and majesty, a nervous masculine eloquence and a justness of argument. All that can be said on this subject, continues Mr. Bayle, is, that Mr. Claude had not a pleasing voice; which gave occasion to this smart saying of Mr. Morus, that all the voices will be for him except his own: But this did not lessen the great fame and esteem, in which his sermons were held.' His death was just matter of grief to the whole protestant party. Many judicious among them regretted it the more, as thinking, that, had he lived longer, so many scandalous quarrels would not have broke out among them, which have since given so much pleasure to the Roman catholics: Yet many others believed and asserted, that it would have been impossible for any man to have prevented them. We will add a few memorable circumstances which attended his death from another Biographer, who has written his life very much at large.

'Mr. Claude's course of life (says the writer above-mentioned) at the Hague was, in general, this: He rose early, worshipped God in private, and afterward with his family. The forenoon he spent in study, afternoons he devoted to visitors; for the people who sought to converse with him, were innumerable: He ate a light and early supper, and received after it his intimate friends. 'Here, says one of them, in those hours of freedom, in those easy conversations, we saw the very Mr. Claude. His serious openness of heart, his wise and affable conversation, his penetrating genius and sweet temper, afforded us the highest delight. These conversations always ended with the usual exercises of piety in his family. The company departed, and he retired to bed.'

'There was, at this time, no regular preaching in the Walloon church. Mr. Claude, however, preached there occasionally in his son's stead, and at other times elsewhere. Going to pay his respects to the Elector of Brandenburg at Cleve, the Duke desired him to preach in his palace at two in the afternoon. Mr. Claude did so from these words, 2 Cor. v. 17. *If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature,* and so on. His highness was extremely pleased with the sermon, and he expressed his satisfaction to

to Mr. Claude in the most ample manner. The Prince and Princess of Orange often required him to preach before them. Mr. Claude had not a fine voice: But his auditors were always charmed with his sermons; and it was a smart saying of a gentleman, who was asked after sermon, how he liked the preacher: 'Every voice will be for him,' said he, 'except his own.' It was on December the 24th, 1686, that Mr. Claude preached one of his greatest sermons before their royal highnesses, from Luke i. 30. &c. The auditors were all extremely affected with this discourse, and passed the highest encomiums on it. Al'thought the preacher excelled himself: But little did they think, that, while he uttered himself with great eagerness, and was heated in his work, he was catching that illness which would bring him to the grave. In the evening he found himself uncommonly weary. In the night he had a fever, with violent pains all over him. Each following day he became worse and worse, and all perceived his dissolution approaching. On Monday, January 6, 1687, he sent for the senior pastor of the church, to whom in the presence of all his family he expressed himself thus: "Sir, I was desirous to see you, and to make my dying declaration before you. I am a miserable sinner before God. I most heartily beseech him to shew me mercy for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. I hope he will hear my prayer. He has promised to hear the cries of repenting sinners. I adore him for blessing my ministry. It has not been fruitless in his church; it is an effect of God's grace, and I adore his providence for it." After pausing a while, he added, "I have carefully examined all religions. None appear to me worthy of the wisdom of God, and capable of leading man to happiness, but the Christian religion. I have diligently studied popery and the reformation. The protestant religion, I think, is the only good religion. It is all found in the holy Scriptures, the word of God. From this as from a fountain all religion must be drawn. Scripture is the root, the protestant religion is the trunk and branches of the tree. It becomes you all to keep steady to it." The pastor told him, he was not surprized to hear him express himself so, after what he had preached and printed in books, which had so greatly edified the church.— "Ah! break off, said he, interrupting him, let us not speak of praises at a time when moments are so precious, and when they ought to be employed to a better use." Here, being fatigued, he asked to be put to bed.

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‘ He frequently spoke of the happiness of those who had left France for religion, and besought his family and friends to prize liberty of conscience. Mrs. Claude asked him one day, whether he was not sorry to leave her? “ No, replied he, I am going to my God, and I leave you in his hands in a free country. What can I desire more either for you or myself?” Not being able to sit up, he desired a friend to write, as he dictated, a letter to the Prince of Orange. It was short, gratulatory, and pathetic. With some trouble he signed it. His highness received it with great condescension; and, all hero as he was, he perceived, as he perused it, that he was a man as well as the writer. He blessed, and wept for the departing Claude. A week before he died, with true patriarchal dignity, he sat up in his bed, and asked to speak with his son and family. “ Son, (said he, tenderly embracing him) I am leaving you. The time of my departure is at hand.” Silence, and sobs, and floods of tears followed, each clasped in the other’s arms. The family all came, and asked his blessing. “ Most willingly, replied he, will I give it you.” Mrs. Claude kneeled down by the bed-side. “ My wife, said he, I have always tenderly loved you. Be not afflicted at my death. The death of the saints is precious in the sight of God. In you I have seen a sincere piety. I bless God for it. Be constant in serving him with your whole heart. He will bless you. I recommend my son and his family to you, and I beseech the Lord to bless you.” To his son, who, with an old servant, was kneeling by his mother, he said, among other things, “ Son, you have chosen the good part. Perform your office as a good pastor, and God will bless you. Love and respect your mother. Be mindful of this domestic. Take care she want nothing as long as she lives. I give you all my blessing.” The afflicted family had not the power of making any answer: their tears and their silence spoke for them. The pastor being present, Mr. Claude desired him to pray, adding, “ Be short;— I am so oppressed, that I can only attend to two of the great truths of religion, the mercy of God, and the gracious aids of his holy Spirit.”

‘ After this a delirium seized him. He had, however, his senses at times, and always employed those moments in edifying his attendants. Mons. Du Vivie visiting him in a lucid interval, and asking him of the state of his mind, he said with a deliberate composure, “ I know  
whom

whom I have believed, and I am persuaded he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, against that day." Another time the senior pastor asked him, Do you know me, Sir? "Yes, replied he, you are my pastor—My whole recourse is to the mercy of God—I expect a better life than this—help to fortify my meditations by your prayers." Speaking at another time to his son, he said, "Son, our Lord Jesus Christ is my only righteousness; I need no other; he is all-sufficient."

When Monsieur Arbusse desired from the pulpit before prayer, the prayers of the congregation for one of their brethren extremely ill, who deserved to be lamented by all good people, the congregation looked and listened: But when he added the sick person was Mr. Claude, the whole assembly burst into a flood of tears. Public prayer was repeatedly offered for him: But the time of his departure was come, and on January the thirteenth, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, he resigned his soul into the hands of God, who gave it. Thus lived, and thus died the inestimable John Claude. Forty-two years he served the church of God with all humility of mind, and with many tears and temptations, which beset him by the lying in wait of men worse than Jews, though called Christians. In France he was in the highest reputation. His friends loved him, and his adversaries feared him. His banishment completed his credit abroad. His name has passed with lustre into other countries, and he yet lives and speaks among us by his excellent works.'

His Works, besides what have been already mentioned, are five posthumous volumes in octavo, published by Mr. Isaac Claude, after the decease of his father: "I. In the first volume is an Answer to a Treatise on the Sacrament; supposed to be written by Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble.—Four Letters occasioned by the foregoing Treatise; an Essay on the Composition of a Sermon. II. The second and third volumes contain a body of Christian Divinity. IV. The fourth consists of theses, expositions of passages of Scripture, and so on. V. The fifth contains letters on religion, and on various subjects."







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