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TRANSFERRED TO
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LIFE

OF

DR. JAMES USHER,

LATE

Lord Archbishop of Armagh,

AND

PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.



COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES.

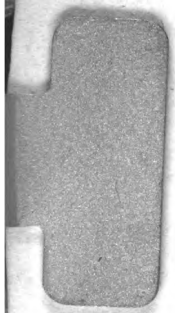


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LIFE
OF
DR. JAMES USHER,
ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

"WHEN first," says Plutarch, "I applied myself to the writing of these lives, it was for the sake of others; but I pursue that study for my own advantage, availing myself of History, as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust, and regulate my own conduct; for it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite and receive them, as it were, one after another, under my own roof; when I consider how great and illustrious they were, and select from their lives the most glorious and memorable circumstances; a greater pleasure than which," continues he, "the Gods can scarce grant us, or a more effectual method for the regulation of our morals."—If a Heathen could find such powerful incentives to morality in the lives of illustrious Pagans, how much stronger inducements must the examples of departed Christians afford to their surviving brethren, to walk worthy of their high vocation. The dangers they escaped, the opposition they met with, the difficulties they encountered, the numbers, if ministers, they were the means of rescuing from eternal woe, the city of habitation, whither, free from all care and toil, and trouble, they have been at length safely conducted by the Spirit of the Most High, and the witnesses they thence are to the truth, and faithfulness of Jehovah, are so many motives to make us *lay aside every weight, and the sin which so easily besets us*, and to induce us to *run with patience the race set before us, looking unto Jesus who is the author and the finisher of our faith*. 'Tis only he who has planted it in so unkind a soil, who can cause that faith to flourish. The followers

of the Lamb have so many principles in common, that those of one age appear closely connected, and intimately acquainted with those of each preceding, whose biography they have learned. They seem, while eating the same spiritual food at the banquet of everlasting love, and drawing the waters of refreshing grace, from the inexhaustible fountain of eternal life, to be living and conversing with one another though separated by centuries, and tongues, and nations. They will always find something to interest, to animate, to sympathize with; nay, to instruct, to edify, to encourage them in the lives of those especially who were eminent in the Church of God. The Poet finds every thing to interest him, in Homer, Virgil, and Milton; the Limner in Apelles, Raphael, and Reynolds; the Statesman in Pericles, Mæcenas, and Chatham: the Warrior in Alexander, Cæsar, and Wellington: and will it be too much to add that the Christian should be animated, encouraged, and improved by forming himself upon the model of the distinguished Prelate who is the subject of these memoirs; of the Doctors of the Reformation, and of the noble army of martyrs, none of whom "counted their lives dear unto themselves, that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry which they received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God."

To select then the most memorable circumstances of his life, we commence according to custom, with the birth of Archbishop Usher, which took place in the Parish of Saint Nicholas, in the City of Dublin, on the fourth day of January, A. D. 1580—a day much to be prized, as on it, Heaven gave to earth, one of the most valuable and useful characters that ever graced our orb, a day more worthy of grateful, and religious observance than many which have been appointed in our Calendars, to be kept holy.—His father, Arnold Usher, who was descended from an English family of the name of Neville, which had long since emigrated to Ireland, was one of the six clerks in the Irish Chancery, a man of talent also, and of learning. One of his ancestors had been Usier to King John, from which situation, as was customary then, he derived that name, which afterwards continued as the distinctive appellation of the family. His mother's father, James Stanilhurst, was three times Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland, Recorder of Dublin, and Master in Chancery; he was also the first who had the honor of moving in Parliament for the foundation of an University in Dublin. To this Bill Queen Elizabeth readily assented, and gave her royal patent to effect the execution of the design. From this University, while yet in its infancy, founded by the exertions of his Uncle, our Author shone forth as a star of the first magnitude, a brilliant omen of its subsequent renown in the annals of literature. He learned the rudiments of his native tongue, and how to read it, from two maiden aunts, who were blind from their youth. While they were thus engaged in instructing their nephew, in the principles of language, they did not omit to bring before his infant mind, those

subjects which were of the most momentous consequence to his imperishable soul. Being themselves, enabled by the grace of God, to behold wonderful things out of his law, they felt exceedingly desirous that he also should perceive them. Dr. Parr has recorded of these women, that they possessed such "incomparable readiness in the divine oracles, that they were either of them able on a sudden to repeat any part of the Bible"—so great was their love of that inestimable volume, altho' deprived of sight! Usher remained under the tuition of these excellent instructresses until he arrived at the age of eight years, at which period he was sent by his father to a school then opened by Mr. James Fullerton, and Mr. James Hamilton—These gentlemen having been sent over by King James, to secure his interest here among the Protestant Gentry, thought it necessary to assume the profession of School Masters, to conceal their real purposes. They were both in time knighted for their services, and Hamilton created Viscount Clandeboy. From these extraordinary teachers he obtained a much better education than what his countrymen were then accustomed to receive, as learning was so much neglected from the convulsed state of the country, during so long a period. He hence esteemed the arrival of these persons in Ireland as a circumstance most providential for him, and often referred to it as a signal instance of the loving kindness of the Lord. To them he truly owed all that extensive learning, which he afterwards found so effectual and powerful a weapon in his polemical contests. He made now a very rapid and uncommon progress in Latin, Rhetorick and Poetry, and was considered by his masters the best and most promising pupil under their care. So exceedingly captivated was he by the poetic muse in his youth, that it was then imagined he would have remained her constant votary. But he soon found it impracticable to remain in her service, and attain that proficiency in useful learning, which he deemed it necessary to acquire. Although he thus repressed his propensity for the refined flights of Poetry, "as not suitable to the great end of his more resolved, serious, and profitable studies, yet", continues Dr. Parr, "he always loved a good Poem that was well and chastly writ." In admiring those poems only, which were recommended by their chastity as well as by their talent, his example ought surely to be imitated. It is a sad reflection that so much talent has been perverted, so much time sacrificed, and so much wit exerted to adorn obscenity, lasciviousness, and immorality with all the bewitching graces of abused Poetry.

While we thus trace, in the intellectual firmament, the incipient dawnings of one, who afterwards completed his course with such splendor, we should not forget to mark the first promise of his no less brilliant appearance in the moral heavens. We are informed by Dr. Bernard, that his conversion to God took place at the age of ten years through the instrumentality of a Sermon, which he heard preached from the *first* verse of the *twelfth* chapter of the *Romans*; "I beseech you therefore brethren by the mercies of God, that

you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." It may appear strange to those, who are themselves strangers to the covenant of promise, to hear the conversion of a child spoken of; when, according to their apprehension, he was innocent; but when, according to Revelation, he in common with every other son of the fall "was shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin." They doubtless are ignorant of this important truth of revealed religion, that "unless a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of Heaven;" unless a new creation of the whole man take place within him, removing the natural enmity of his heart against the divine Being, correcting the evil propensities of his nature, and enabling him to accept the free, unmerited salvation propounded in the Gospel.

Some manuscript notes of Master Perkins, which have since been printed, on the sanctifying of the Lord's Day, made so powerful an impression on his mind, that during the remainder of his life it was his constant care to observe it as he ought. About this time he read in Latin Saint Augustine's meditations (those rather which are attributed to him,) which so exceedingly affected him that he often wept as he perused them. So great a loss as Satan had sustained in him, could not long be brooked without some attempt at rescue—he accordingly exerted every nerve to effect this diabolical purpose—every means was resorted to, to bring him back to his allegiance to the "Prince of the power of the air"—and every attempt made to suppress the growth of this tender plant, as well when the shades of night caused its head to droop, as when the returning sun again invigorated its suspended charms. Not only were various modes of terror invented to affright him in the course of his daily avocations, they were suggested even in dreams by night. The ardor, with which he had embraced the pursuit of godliness, it was thus hoped, would be early checked, and his timid mind be dissuaded from a course, which however pleasurable, appeared to them to be only encompassed with danger. Notwithstanding all these wiles, he remained steadfast and immovable. Persuaded, that he was unable of himself to overcome the adversary, he applied, by prayer, to that glorious being, from whom cometh every good and perfect gift; and he found grace, proportioned to his need. He who is mighty to save, delivered him in his distress—the attacks of his enemy were violent and frequent; but they were opposed by invincible power—they soon ceased—the storm subsided—a welcome calm succeeded, and an unusual degree of comfort and support was administered from on high. This circumstance continued indelibly impressed upon his mind, as might well be supposed, during his whole life.

When the Evil One found his machinations were unsuccessful, and that the young christian warrior could not be intimidated by the sudden terror, which cometh by night, as the Almighty One was his defence, his shield, and his strong tower round about him; he endeavoured once more to allure

him into his service, with the bait of pleasure. Some of his companions taught him to play cards, with which he found himself so delighted at first, that they interfered very considerably with his studies. But the spirit of Jehovah, which ever keepeth his own from falling, shewed him the sinful tendency of such a practice, and it was immediately discontinued.*

In 1693, having arrived at the age of thirteen years, he commenced his academical studies, being still under the direction of his former preceptor, Hamilton, who had since been elected a Fellow of the University. Under the tuition of this Gentleman he continued to make a remarkable proficiency in the various branches of academical learning. "In a survey of the human

* It may not be uninteresting to add here an anecdote of a celebrated Metaphysician, extracted from Mr C. Buck's anecdotes:—"Mr. Locke having been introduced by Lord Shaftsbury to the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Halifax, these three Noblemen, instead of conversing with the Philosopher, as might naturally have been expected, on literary subjects, in a very short time sat down to cards. Mr. Lock, after looking on for some time, pulled out his pocket-book, and began to write with great attention. One of the company observing this, took the liberty of asking him what he was writing. "My Lord," said Locke, "I am endeavouring as far as possible to profit by my present situation; for having waited with impatience for the honor of being in company with one of the greatest geniuses of the age, I thought I could do nothing better than to write down your conversation; and indeed I have set down what you have said for this hour or two." This well timed ridicule had the desired effect, and these Noblemen fully sensible of its force, immediately quitted their play, and entered into a conversation more rational, and better suited to the dignity of their character." To this quotation we may add the 75th Canon of the Church of England, as it refers to this matter, and as some of our Ministers are not very scrupulous in obeying its injunctions:—"No Ecclesiastical Person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any taverns, or alehouses, neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drink or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at dice, CARDS, or tables, or any other unlawful games; but at all times convenient they shall hear or read somewhat of the holy Scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doing the things which shall appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the Church of God; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly, under pain of Ecclesiastical censures, to be inflicted with severity, according to the qualities of their offences."

mind," says Doctor Aikin, "there is nothing more curious and instructive, than to trace the circumstances, which may have given the primary turn to those pursuits, by which an individual has rendered himself distinguished." We find the first incentive to Usher's future fame, as an Historian in that celebrated passage of Cicero, *nescire quid antea natus sis acciderit, id est, semper esse puerum*, (to be unacquainted with the occurrences of the world previous to your birth is to remain always a child.) His mind was so extremely impressed with the importance of this sentiment, that he immediately commenced Sleidan's work, *de quatuor imperiis*, on the four great monarchies of the world, and from that time he became continually engaged in historical and antiquarian researches. At fourteen years of age he began to collect materials, from the various historical books he was in the habit of consulting, for his celebrated work of annals. When he was but fifteen, he had drawn up a *Chronicle* of the Bible, as far as the Book of Kings, differing only from that he afterwards published, by some additions, and a parallel *Chronicle* of the Heathen World.

When he was in his fifteenth year he became a communicant at the table of the Lord. From this period to the close of his benevolent and active life, it was his usual habit to exercise himself in private meditation, strict examination, and penitential humiliation of soul before God for sin. "I have," says Dr. Bernard, "heard him speak of a certain place near the water side, where he often resorted to recount his sins, and with floods of tears to pour them out in the confession of them; the first of which he found so pleasant to his soul, that he thirsted for all occasions for such a sequestration, and so usually on Saturdays in the afternoon it was his custom."—It is much to be desired, that even older christians, than he then was, imitated him in this useful practise, and were as devoted to the service of their master. "It cost him," adds the same writer, "many a tear, that he could not be more heavenly minded at that age."

While yet an under graduate in College, he met, among the Romanists with "Stapleton's Fortress of Faith," in which antiquity is confidently claimed for the Roman tenets, and the Protestant sentiments on the contrary, charged with novelty. He was so persuaded of the truth of Tertullian's sentiment, *verum quod cunque primum, adulterum quodcunque posterius*, that what is first is true; and that what is subsequently introduced is needs impure; he resolved to peruse the works of the ancient fathers himself, conceiving, as was indeed the case, that Stapleton and his party had misquoted those venerable writers—not indeed that he regarded their opinions as decisive, when those opinions were incompatible with scripture, the only fountain of truth—but he considered them of importance in ascertaining the received notions, and uniform practise of elder times, when apostolic precept and apostolic example were yet fresh in the memory of many. Respecting the fathers we may reasonably adopt the sentiments of Mr. Middleton; "it is

now become," he observes, "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 on the other, they did not always *ορθοτομεῖν*, divide the word of 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 Christ, walked with him, and for his sake, "loved not their lives unto death." They knew much of the power of godliness, and dwelt less upon the form: and in this way, they understood religion much better than those, who considered it only as a machine for splitting of hairs, without having any real enjoyment of its life and sweetness."

When however he was seventeen years of age, he had read many of the fathers, and many writers upon practical and political divinity. He determined, if his health and life were spared, to read all the writings of the fathers; which task he commenced when he was twenty years old, and completed it at thirty-eight, allotting to himself a daily portion: with which he permitted no avocation to interfere.

In 1596 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in two years after he distinguished himself as respondent in a philosophy act which was given by the College in honor of the Earl of Essex, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. In the performance of this office he is reported to have manifested a remarkable degree of talent and genius.

While he was thus arduously engaged in theological studies, and devout preparation for the important calling of the Christian Ministry, his father very anxiously urged him to embrace the study of the common law, and pursue it as his professional employment; to this advice he appeared extremely averse, but he would notwithstanding have complied with it, from his sense of parental duty, had not the immediate death of his father rendered him his own master. Being eldest son, the family estate, which was of no inconsiderable value, descended to him. In the disposal of this property, that noble magnanimity, for which he was distinguished, and that zeal in his master's cause, which never left him, were very remarkably manifested. As his estate was involved in much litigation, burdened with the fortunes of seven sisters; and as so much care, he thought, would interfere with his literary labours and theological studies, he resigned it to his brother, reserving for himself only so much, as was necessary for his maintenance in College, and the purchase of books. Being thus divested of all worldly cares, he entirely devoted himself to the acquirement of learning, and of such general knowledge as would render him most useful to the Church

of God, in promoting the salvation of men, and putting to flight the armies of aliens.

When only eighteen or nineteen years of age he was considered the most proper person to contend with Henry Fitz-Symmonds, a learned and daring Jesuit, who was at that time a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and who had challenged *the greatest and most learned champion in the controversies between the Romish and Reformed Churches*, to contend with him. This challenge Usher alone was found competent to accept. He accordingly came forward to oppose this mighty boaster. A public disputation ensued between them on the subject of Bellarmine's controversies, which was to be continued one day in every week; but the wily Jesuit soon found Usher's wit too strong, his arguments too forcible, his skill in disputation greater than he imagined; and therefore after the second conference he declined the combat, left the field of battle to the vanquisher, and fled ingloriously. When Mr. Usher found Fitz-Symmonds resolved to renew the contest he wrote him the following letter:

"I was not purposed, Mr. Fitz-Symmonds, to write unto you, before you had first written unto me concerning the 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. 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 one, who pretended so great love and affection for 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 show 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 hold, 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 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 ordated, as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his son JESUS CHRIST.

Tunc ad aras usque,

JAMES USHER.

The humility so apparent in this letter; and at the same time the strong confidence manifested toward God, that he would assist him in defence of the truth against Jesuitical subtily, is a noble testimony of his character, as of one zealous toward God, and experimentally acquainted with that knowledge of God, which is eternal life, and without the possession of which, zeal is vain. No answer has been found to this letter, no subsequent conference took place; nor is there any mention made of it, unless we except a vain, false, and pompous description by Fitz-Symmonds in the preface to his *Britanomachia*. "No one" says he, "would behold me standing boldly above them, neither would any regard me challenging them, with a voice loud as Stentor's, in their very entrenchments and strongest holds. Once indeed a lad of eighteen years of age came to me, with a trembling voice and timid aspect—a youth of wisdom riper than his years, but of a disposition not yet corrupted, as his appearance indicated. I am uncertain whether he was very desirous of popular applause or not, he certainly evidenced a great avidity to dispute on the most abstruse subjects of divinity, although he had not yet completed his course of philosophy, or arrived at manhood, however I bade him bring me an appointment from his own party, whereby he would be declared a fit and proper combatant, and that then I would commence a disputation with him. But as they by no means considered him worthy of so great an honor: so, in like manner, he did not again deem me worthy of his presence."—Dr. Parr observes that Fitz-Symmonds living to know our author better, terms him *acatholicorum doctissimus*, the most learned, not of Heretics, but of Non-Catholics, "a tender expression truly he adds from a Jesuit."

A. D. 1600, he was appointed Proctor, was chosen Catechetical Lecturer in the University, took the degree of Master of Arts, on the Ash-Wednesday of the same year, and answered the Philosophy Act with much credit to himself. It was on this memorable day the Earl of Essex was beheaded; the Reader will remember that only two years had now elapsed since that ill-fated Nobleman was present at the performance of a Philosophy Act, on his arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, in which Usher sustained the part of Respondent, *Sic transit gloria mundi!* Such is the transitory nature of worldly honor! and such the uncertain tenure by which prosperity is guaranteed to man!

About this time he, and two other young men were selected from among the Students of the University, to deliver weekly Lectures on Divinity at Christ Church, which was then regularly attended by the Viceroy and his Household. The reason why this measure was resorted to was, that Preachers were then very few in number, and the famine of the word was very great. Mr. Richardson a native of Cheshire, and of the same year with Usher, who was afterwards D. D. and was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh, A. D. 1633, on the preferment of Bedell to Kilmore, was appointed to expound the prophecies of Isaiah on Friday: Mr. Walsh, afterwards D. D. was to go through a Body of Divinity on the morning of Sunday; and it was allotted to Mr. Usher on the evening of the same day, to explain the nature of the controversy existing between the Protestants and Papists, for the satisfaction of the latter more especially. He performed this task "so perspicuously," observes Dr. Burnard, "always concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the edification of Protestants, which the elder sort of persons, living in my time, I have heard often acknowledging." He was not long however engaged in this manner, for considering himself only a Probationer he refused to continue these prælections any longer, as he was yet unordained. But the remarkable ability with which he discharged this duty, made his friends and superiors extremely anxious that he should enter into the ministry immediately, for they all hence thought *the Lord had need of him*. He was accordingly ordained, although under canonical age, by his Uncle Henry Usher, then Archbishop of Armagh, on the Sunday before Christmas, A. D. 1601. On the following Friday, which was a day particularly appointed to implore the blessing of heaven on the operation of our forces against the Spaniards, and happened also to be the day on which we were so signally victorious, he preached publicly for the first time after his ordination, before the Court, from Rev. iii. "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." He was soon afterwards appointed afternoon preacher to the State, at Christ Church, Dublin. At this time the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, gave directions to the Protestant Ministers of Dublin, to disperse themselves through the different Churches, and by their Sermons to endeavour to communicate all necessary information upon the subject of Religion to the Papists, who had begun since the defeat of the Spaniards at Kinsale, to conform to the statute, which required their attendance at Church during divine service. Saint Catherine's Church was allotted to Usher, as the scene of his first labours among the Romanists. It was his custom to draw up the Sermon which he preached on one Sunday in the form of questions, and answers for the succeeding Sabbath, when many persons of respectability used voluntarily to repeat the responses, before the whole Congregation. This plan was found to be very beneficial, its useful results in this instance caused it to be universally adopted throughout the country, and the Papists flocked every where in

great numbers to attend to this novel medium of instruction, which was resorted to for their benefit. But suddenly the operations of the Statute were suspended, the power of the High Commission was no longer exerted to enforce its observance, and Popery with all its evils, was again permitted to return and destroy the fair hopes, which were entertained of an early and abundant harvest in the Lord's Vineyard. This circumstance could not fail to excite the attention of Usher, and accordingly, in the course of his duty at Christ Church, he preached a Sermon against toleration to Papists from the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, and the sixth verse, "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days, I have appointed thee each day for a year." He made a particular application of this denunciation of the prophet to Ireland; "from this year, said he, will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." After the lapse of forty years, the Rebellion of 1641 broke out, the country was deluged with civil war, and many thousand Protestants were murdered. Several people, who had heard him preach the sermon above mentioned, and were alive at this memorable time, when Ireland was thus convulsed by internal struggles, regarded him as no mean prophet.* This circumstance and others of a similar nature, which merely indicated the discernment of a wise and

* It is a remarkable circumstance, that George Browne, who was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin in 1535, and was the first of the Irish Clergy, who renounced the errors of Popery, preached a sermon also in Christ Church, Dublin, before the then Lord Deputy, in which he made some observations respecting the Jesuits of a similar prophetic nature with that mentioned above, which Usher made respecting the Papists. On the first Sunday after Easter 1551, when the Liturgy of the Church of England was first publicly read in Ireland, Browne preached from Psal. cxix. 18. "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law." In the course of this sermon he observed that the order of Jesuits which had lately sprung up, would deceive many—would assume the various forms of Heathen, Atheist, and Jew to ascertain, and thus overturn the intentions, and minds of each,—would spread over the whole world,—would be admitted to the councils of Princes, and gain their confidence—but that God in the end to justify his law, would cast them off suddenly,—by means of those who most succoured them, and made most use of them, would cause them to be odious to all nations,—and would make them a greater by-word than the Jews, being more slighted and having no resting place. The sermon will be found at full length in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol 5, Page 566, and also in Sir James Ware's Annals, vid. p. 159, of English translation, printed Dublin, A. D. 1765.

judicious mind, soon gave rise to a work containing a collection of his prophecies and entitled *de predictionibus Usserii*. Dr. Smith has censured these surmises of our author; but Middleton in his *Biographia Evangelica* has well observed, "that 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." Great cause indeed would Ireland have had to rejoice, if the Government then, and since, had adopted the line of conduct, which Usher recommended.

A circumstance which occurred at this period, and to which perhaps we can find no precedent in the annals of military transactions, furnished him with a species of employment most suitable to his feelings, studies, and taste. The English army, which defeated the Spaniards at Kinsale, anxious to render the country a literary, as well as military service, generously subscribed the sum of *Eighteen Hundred Pounds* to purchase a library, for the University in Dublin. Dr. Challoner and Mr. Usher were selected to effect the worthy purposes of these literary warriors. This appointment afforded him an opportunity of visiting the sister Island, of consulting many books, and manuscripts, which in Ireland were beyond his reach, and which were requisite for the prosecution of those researches, in which he was so industriously engaged. On his way to the metropolis of the British Empire, he stopped at Chester, and visited Mr. Christopher Goodman, who was Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in the reign of Edward VI. who had rendered some useful services to Sir Henry Sidney, when he was Lord Deputy of Ireland, against the Papists,* and was at this time lying on his death-bed. Bernard says he often heard Usher repeating the *grave wise sayings*, which this venerable sage used on this occasion, and Wood, that he was much delighted with his entertaining stories. On their arrival in London they became acquainted with the indefatigable Sir Thomas Bodley; this gentleman having laid aside his diplomatic character, was now assiduously engaged in procuring for the University of Oxford, that magnificent Library, which has since so deservedly perpetuated his name. Usher, Challoner, and he, being engaged in the same pursuit, were mutually useful to each other; and the libraries respectively collected by each indisputably attest their uncommon knowledge of general literature, and their remarkable zeal and industry in effecting the purposes for which they were deputed.

* Vid. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

A. D. 1606, Archbishop Loftus,* who was Chancellor of Ireland, and who was the first Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, probably from a real value for his character, and esteem for his worth, as Usher having been the first Student, he was from this circumstance able to appreciate his value, presented him with the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. This was the only benefice conferred on him, until he was advanced to the dignity of Bishop. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the manner in which he filled the one situation was not different from the conduct he pursued after he had been promoted to the other. His clerical duties were commenced by diligence in preaching, and activity in his other ministerial functions, they were continued also, and ended in a similar manner. His situation did not oblige him to preach, but a sense of the high obligation he was under, as, by appointment, the ostensible spiritual guide of so many souls, constrained him constantly to direct the flock, over which Christ had made him overseer, to the great Shepherd of the sheep, the Saviour of sinners, the only refuge from impending ruin, or the wrath to come. It was his uniform practise to preach every Sunday at Finglass, the living from which he received his profits, as Chancellor of St. Patrick's, unless sickness, or some extraordinary occasion occurred to prevent him. He also endowed that Church with a Vicarage.

In the same year also, he again visited the metropolis of the British Empire, for the purpose of examining, and purchasing such manuscripts, and works as were necessary for him to consult in reference to English History, in the investigation of which he was then engaged. During his stay in England at this time he formed a very intimate friendship with Sir Robert Cotton and Mr. Camden, the two celebrated antiquarians of that age. The latter was at this time employed in publishing a new edition of his "Brittania;" to which he was enabled to make many important additions from the information he received from Usher respecting the ancient state of Ireland, and the history of Dublin in particular. The assistance he thus obtained from the venerable subject of this narrative he respectfully acknowledged, accompanied with this tribute of esteem for his many useful acquirements, that "in variety of judgment and learning he far surpassed his years."

He proceeded Bachelor of Divinity in 1607, and was chosen professor of Theology the same year to the University where he received his education. He continued to fill the chair of divinity, to which he was now appointed, thirteen years, and delivered there many courses of polemical lectures, which were afterwards collected into three manuscript volumes, but which are now unfortunately

* Isabella, daughter of Archbishop Loftus, was married to Sir William Usher, third cousin to the subject of this memoir.

lost. They chiefly had reference to the Romish controversy, toward which, in that age, the eyes of the religious world were almost wholly directed. The intensity of their attention to this object was too great to be of long duration. Too calous a disposition began to prevail respecting the evil, and Popery though decidedly hostile to the dearest interests of Christianity, and the State, has since been permitted, with the countenance of many who bear the name of Protestants, to acquire strength for, and direct that strength when acquired in offensive operations against the vital energies of our Church and Constitution. Its enmity indeed to the latter has never ceased, to attract observation. But as men are uniformly disposed to be more tenacious of what appears valuable on earth, than of those matters which being inseparably combined with our future destiny, are of most importance, the exertions of the Romanists against the State have much more jealously been regarded, than their exertions against religion. Occasional attempts were indeed made to deprive the Hydra of its heads, but the strong hand of power always deemed it too Herculean a labour to suppress the growth of others in their room. In the intrepid Usher this dread had no place. It was accordingly his unwearied endeavour to induce *the powers that be* to exercise the authority with which they are invested for the execution of wrath upon evil doers.

In 1609 he wrote his treatise on Herenagh and Termon or Church lands, which were formerly appropriated to the Chorepiscopi, (Ecclesiastical Officers who were subordinate to Deacons) which though free from secular imposts were yet subject to Episcopal levies, and were then a matter of much litigation. This was considered a very learned disquisition, and was fraught with much critical research. As it referred to the Corban lands of England, as well as Ireland, it was sent by him in manuscript, to Bancroft then Archbishop of Canterbury, and was by him presented to King James. Sir Henry Spelman was indebted for his information on this subject, to what he extracted from this treatise, he published it in the first part of his glossary, and mentions the source from whence he derived it in the following words, "thus copiously," says he, "have I obscured a light, which that renowned Pharus of the learned world, James, Bishop of Meath, kindled for me" In his preface also he makes a general acknowledgment to Usher, Cotton, Selden, and Dr. John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, for the communications he received from them, and styles them "the eminent luminaries and patrons of literature." General Vallancey published this tract of Usher's in Vol. 1. of his *Collectanea Hibernica*, A. D. 1787, from Usher's own MSS, which is still preserved in the College Library, Dublin.

He again visited England in 1609, was considerably noticed at Court, and once preached before the household. He also at this time formed many literary friendships, especially with Sir Henry Bourghier, afterwards Earl of Bath, Sir Henry Saville, Henry Briggs, the first who was appointed

professor of Geometry at Gresham College, and who afterwards was the first Savilian Professor of the same science at Oxford, John Selden the celebrated Barrister, John Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Samuel Ward, his most constant and intimate correspondent, and who was afterwards President of Sidney College, and Thomas Lydiat the Chronologer on whom he prevailed to reside in Dublin, who was afterwards married to his Grace's sister, and for whom he procured apartments in the University. From this time it became his constant practise to pay a triennial visit to England in order to prosecute his literary pursuits with the greater facility. He generally divided his time between Cambridge, Oxford, and London; occupying himself chiefly at the principal libraries of those places, and mostly remaining a month at each.

The Fellows of Dublin University unanimously elected him their Provost in 1610, when he had attained the thirtieth year of his age. This arduous but highly honourable office he thought proper to decline, as the arrangement of Collegiate property, then involved in much difficulty, and the undivided attention which other collegiate duties demanded, would have considerably interfered with the diligent prosecution of personal learning, by engaging him almost exclusively in directing the studies of others. He was principally employed, at this time in collecting from the Fathers, Councils, and Church History, such extracts as were requisite for the completion of his *Theologica Bibliotheca*, a work which the Irish Rebellion at first, his annals next, and death afterwards prevented him from finishing. This work was to have contained an exact account of the various writers on Theology in former times, the precise periods at which they severally flourished, the character their works deserved, what works attributed to them were genuine, what spurious, as also an ample statement of the doctrines and rites of the ancient Church. The collections he had made for this purpose, he committed on his death bed to Dr. Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, "his dear friend," as he then called him, "and the only man," he then declared, "on whose learning as well as friendship he could rely to cast them into such a form as might render them fit for the press." But while Dr. Langbaine was engaged in fulfilling these last injunctions of his revered friend, he was himself summoned by "the High and Lofty One who inhabiteth eternity," to appear in an eternal world. He had transcribed the Primate's manuscript, in order to complete the marginal quotations, which had suffered considerably by the inroads of muscicular foes, whom we may consider as confederate with his popish adversaries. The mice endeavoured to destroy what the Romanists would, with equal willingness, were it in their power, have annihilated too. Truth was never friendly to their cause, and it has ever been their study to conceal it. In the performance of this arduous task, Dr. Langbaine was employed, during a very severe season, in the public Library at Oxford, and thus contracted a cold, which ultimately proved the occasion of his death in February A. D. 1657, "to the

grief," says Dr. Parr "of all good men." Dr. Fell, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, endeavoured to complete those breaches, which Langhaine had so unfortunately been prevented from accomplishing; but they still remain imperfect, and the unpublished transcript is yet in the Bodleian Library. The original manuscript in Usher's own writing was, when Parr wrote, in the possession of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

When he was in the thirty-second year of his age, he was admitted to the degree of D. D. by Dr. Hampton, then Archbishop of Armagh and Chancellor of the University of Dublin. He selected for the subjects of the sermons he preached on this occasion Dan. ix. 24, on the seventy weeks, and Rev. xx. 4, "I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them: and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands: and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years."

In 1613, being in London he published his first treatise at the royal press, entitled *Gravissima Quæstio de Christianarum Ecclesiarum, in Occidentis præsertim partibus, ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio*. This work was dedicated to King James, by whom it was regarded as a very excellent performance. The design of it was to prove, that Christ always had a Church on earth uncorrupted with Popish errors, and that the reformed and primitive Churches exactly corresponded with each other in their sentiments respecting divine truth, and their opposition to the unscriptural dogmas of the Romish Hierarchy. The first part of this work comprised all the intervening period between the sixth century, and the accession of Gregory VII. to the Pontificate in the tenth century. The second part was brought down to the year 1270. He also had resolved to publish another part embracing the ages between this Æra and the Reformation, but his papers relating to it were unfortunately lost, at the time he was pillaged of his books and manuscripts in Wales, as will hereafter be related. It was Usher's intention to have published the whole in a perfect form, after the publication of his Uncle Stanihurst's* answer to the first part. This he mentions in the

* Richard Stanihurst after the death of his wife settled in the Low Countries, and was ordained there. He was appointed domestic Chaplain to the Arch-Duke Albert, and the Infanta Clara Isabella Eugenia, After the appearance of his nephew's work he published an epistolary premonition at Paris, announcing a future controversy with Usher. His death, which happened at Brussels in 1618, prevented the contest. Usher in a letter, which he

following passage extracted from a letter of his to his Brother-in-law Lydiat, which may be found in the 68th page of Parr's collection." There is wanting for the accomplishment of the second part, an hundred years story : which defect 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 is since his death sent to Paris to be printed. I am advertised also, that even now there is come out at Antwerp, a treatise of my countryman Christopher de Sacro-Bosco, *De reſæ Eccleſiæ Investigatione*, wherein he hath some plain dealing with me. Both these I would willingly see before I set out my Book anew : that if they have justly found fault with any thing, I may amend it ; if unjustly, I may defend it : " an excellent rule, says Dr. Aikin, for a controverſialist, but one, it may be added, which is seldom adopted ; for men mostly defend themselves, as well when their positions are proved to be erroneous, as when candor must admit them to be correct. In this year too he entered into a matrimonial alliance with Phœbe, the daughter of his early and valued friend Dr. Luke Challoner. This Lady was an heiress of considerable fortune, and her father on his dying bed, implored her, never to connect herself with any other person, if Dr. Usher should propose for her. This last parental injunction was not disregarded. She and Usher enjoyed a very considerable portion of conjugal felicity during the protracted period of forty years, at the conclusion of which she left the aged champion of religion, and literature, to finish his course alone, without the comfort or support of his long loved companion. He soon followed her however to the blissful abodes of the blessed. Only eighteen months elapsed between the death of each. They had only one child, and that child a daughter, Elizabeth, who was afterwards married to Sir Timothy Tyrrel, Kt.*

wrote him when he was at Louvain, and which is the first in Parr's collection, expresses much affection toward him, and intreats him to procure several rare MSS. and Books for him, and to send him some writings, which Stanihurst himself wrote, and published.

* Dr. John Milner in his tour through Ireland, asserts that an " immediate decendant" of Archbishop Usher's, the Rev. James Usher, "betaking himself to the controversy, carried on between his ancestor, and Fitz-Symmonds, was so overpowered and convinced by the arguments of the latter, that he abandoned the religion in which he had been educated, and embraced that of the ancient Church." He cannot have been Usher's immediate descendant, as Usher had no son, neither is it possible he could have studied the controversy carried on between his ancestor and Fitz-Symmonds as

A. D. 1615, a convocation of the Clergy was assembled to arrange matters relative to the Irish Church. At this convention the Irish articles of Religion were drawn up by Usher, according to an order of the Synod, of which he was a member. It has been asserted that these articles did not accord with those which were adopted by the English Church; but it is by no means probable, that the then Lord Deputy Chichester would have been ordered by King James to sign them in his name, if they really were considered heterodox, or contrary to the sentiments of the English Reformers. James was too good a theologian to be thus imposed on. Their agreement may appear fully from a just and impartial comparison of each with each, and from this circumstance that the Synod of 1635, at the same time that they adopted the articles of the Church of England to prove their conformity with them, still publicly retained the articles, 104 in number, which were promulgated by the Synod of 1615. As these articles decidedly inculcated those doctrines, which are usually called calvinistical, but which were in fact embraced by all the reformed Churches,* his enemies, for enemies he had in common with all those who living godly in Christ Jesus, profess the truth in its unadulterated simplicity, represented him as a Puritan to King James.† But the blessed God, who causeth "all

is no where extant. This account, if true, would only prove the decided enmity of the human heart against God, which, as in this instance, so obstinately rejects truth, and embraces falsehood, although the one is portrayed in all its loveliness, and the other depicted in its native and repulsive deformity.

* In proof of this assertion consult Mathias's "Inquiry into the Doctrines of the Reformation, &c."

† Dr. Parr has published a letter dated 24th October, 1620, addressed to Dr. Usher, from Emanuel Downing, an Irish Clergyman, to prove that the term Puritan was at that time indifferently applied to all pious and orthodox ministers, to injure them in the estimation of King James, by whom the Puritans were not regarded with any emotions of love. In this letter we are informed, that the Priests finding they could "no longer prevail with their juggling tricks" adopted a new device: "They have now," says he, "stirred up some crafty Priests, who very boldly rail both at ministers and people, saying, they seek to sow this damnable heresy of Puritanism among them; which word though not understood but only known to be most odious to his Majesty makes many afraid to join themselves unto the Gospel." To prevent a greater mischief "he recommends a petition to be presented to his Majesty, to define a Puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would be stopped, and if his Majesty be not at leisure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him." Definition of terms has been much recommended by Mr. Locke, to controversialists.

things to work together for good to them who love him," caused considerable advantages to accrue to him from the impotent malice of his accusers. For Usher having occasion to visit England about the latter end of the year 1619, the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, being fully sensible of the scandal, gave him the following recommendatory letter to the Privy Council of England :

May it please your Lordships,

The extraordinary merit of this bearer, Mr. Dr. Usher, prevaieth with us, to offer him 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 seems 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 boldly recommend him to your Lordships, as a man orthodox, 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 has been his Majesty's Professor of Divinity in the University these 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 them. And for such an one we beseech your Lordships to understand him; and accordingly to speak to his Majesty; and thus with the remembrance of our humble duties we take leave.

Your Lordships most humble at command,

AD. LOFTUS, Chanc.	JOHN KING,
OLIVER ST. JOHN,	HENRY DOCWRA,
WILLIAM TUAMENSIS,	WILLIAM METHWOLF,
DUD. NORTON,	FRA. AUNGIER.

*From Dublin, the
last of Sept. 1619.*

When this character of Usher had been read, King James sent for him, and after a long interview, in which he conversed with him on several learned and religious subjects, he was so remarkably satisfied with him, he ended by exclaiming, "The Knave Puritan is a bad man; but the Knave's Puritan is an honest man." The Bishoprick of Meath was at this time vacant, and King James to express his high opinion of him, without any application from any quarter, voluntarily nominated him to it; and was afterwards in the constant habit of boasting that Dr. Usher was a Bishop of his own making. His *Comge d'Estire* was sent over immediately, and he was elected to the See by the Dean and

Chapter. On this occasion he received the following letter from the Lord Deputy, addressed to Dr. James Usher, Bishop Elect of Meath.

My Lord,

I thank God for your preferment to the Bishoprick of Meath: His Majesty therein hath done a gracious favour to his poor Church here: There is none but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto; even some Papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it. Your grant is, and other necessary things shall be sealed this day, or to-morrow: I pray God bless you, and whatever you undertake, so I rest

Your Lordship's most affectionate friend,

OL. GRANDISON.

While he was yet delayed in England, and before he was yet consecrated, a Parliament was convened at Westminster, on the first day of February, 1620. The following passage, extracted by Dr. Parr from his diary, relates some circumstances which occurred at this time. "I was appointed by the House of Parliament, to Preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Feb. 7. The Prebends claimed the privilege of the Church, and their exemption from Episcopal Jurisdiction for many hundred years, and offered their own service: whereupon the House being displeas'd, appointed the place to be at the temple. I was chosen a second time; and Secretary Calvert, by the appointment of the House, spoke to the King that the appointment of the House might stand: The King said, it was very well done. February 13, being Shrove Tuesday, I dined at Court: and betwixt four and five I kissed the King's hand, and had conference with him touching my Sermon. He said, I had charge of an unruly flock, to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied, upon so short warning, to receive the Communion upon a day, all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the House: many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: That himself required all his Household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bad me tell them, I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better. To exhort them to unity, and concord: To love God first, and then their King and Country: To look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *Bis dat, qui cito dat*, (He doubly gives, who gives with speed.) Feb. 18, the first Sunday in Lent, I preached at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to them; and February 27, the House sent Sir James Perrot, and Mr. Drake to give me thanks, and to desire me to print the Sermon, which was done accordingly; the Text being upon the first of the Cor. x. 17. "For we being many, are one Bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that

one Bread." *The communion of Saints* here spoken of, he considered in two points of view, the fellowship they have with the *Body* laid down in the beginning, and the fellowship which they have with the *Head* laid down in the end of the verse. In explanation he quotes the following passage of 1 John i. 3, "That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ." Let them therefore, he adds, that walk in darkness, brag as much as they list of their good fellowship: this blessed Apostle assures us, that such only as do walk in the light, have fellowship one with another; even as they have fellowship with God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whose blood shall cleanse them from all sin, and to what better company can a man come, than "to the general assembly and Church of the first born, &c. Heb. xii. 23, 14." No fellowship, doubtless, is comparable to this Communion of Saints. After these observations he enlarges on believers partaking of one Bread, as a proof of their being one Body in Christ, and every one members one of another, and declares the use which we are to make of this wonderful conjunction, to be two fold: 1, "That there should be no scism in the body. 2, That the members should have the same care one for another." Having considered the union of the Members of the Body with each other, he next considers their union "with the Head, even Christ, who is the main foundation of this heavenly union. Out of him," says he, "there is nothing but confusion: without him we are nothing but disordered heaps of rubbish, by him it is that we being many are one Bread and one Body, being all partakers of that bread spoken of in the preceding verse; the Bread which we break is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" He next examines the meaning of the word Bread, as comprehending not only the Bread of the Lord, but also the Lord himself, the living Bread which came down from Heaven; and then regards the Sacrament in the first place, as symbolical and relative. Under which head he considers it as having a twofold relation to the thing signified, the one of a sign, the other of a seal. When speaking of it as a seal he makes the following admirable observations: "He that hath in his chamber the picture of the French King, hath but a bare sign, which may possibly make him think of that King when he looketh on it; but showeth not that he hath any manner of interest in him. It is otherwise with him, that hath the King's great seal for the confirmation of the title, that he hath unto all the lands and livelihood, which he doth enjoy. And as here the wax that is affixed to those letters patent, however for substance it be the very same with that which is to be found every where, yet being applied to this use, is of more worth to the Patentee, than all the wax in the country beside: so standeth it with the outward element in the matter of the Sacrament. He proceeds next to consider the inward thing signified: first, what it is we receive; not only the benefits which flow from Christ, but Christ himself; we are partakers of Christ, and members of his body; secondly how, and in what manner we receive it, it is spiritually,

"the quickening spirit descending downward from the Head, to be in us a Fountain of supernatural life; and a lively faith wrought by the same spirit, ascending from us upward, to lay fast hold upon him, who having by himself purged our sins, sitteth on the right hand of the Majesty on high." Having insisted on the union of the Members in the Body and to the Head, he next very copiously enlarges on the members being disunited from those who were not of the same body, the necessity of their being dis severed, especially from Idolators, which he proves the Papists to be, and enters minutely into the idolatry of the Romish Church; after which he concludes.

The Lord Bishop Elect returning the succeeding year into Ireland, was then consecrated there, by the Lord Primate Hampton; and entered on the execution of the episcopal office, with the justest conception of its importance, a conscientious resolve to fulfil its duties, and a determination never to relinquish that constancy of preaching, with which the course of his ministry had previously been marked. He knew no reason why a plant, which grew, flourished, and exhaled its odours in the gardens of humble life, should wither, withhold its fragrancy, and die, when transplanted to the parterres of the great. He saw no cause why a person, who endeavoured to be faithful in a situation of minor trust, should consider himself absolved from all obligation, when advanced to one of more responsibility. Accordingly being conscious that his duty as a Bishop did not merely consist in the appointment of Pastors over the several congregations within his jurisdiction, or the decision of ecclesiastical causes, he still bound himself, to the faithful discharge of his ministerial functions, by the motto to his Episcopal seal, "*Vt mihi, si non evangelizero,*" woe be unto me if I preach not the Gospel. "Being thus advanced," says Dr. Parr, "his province and employment might be altered, but not his mind, nor humble temper of spirit; neither did he cease to turn as many as he could from darkness to light; from sin, and Satan to Christ; by his preaching, writing, and exemplary life." Would to God that such characters more abounded, and that more were to be found, who with Usher adopted for their model that character, which Augustine gave of the admirable Ambrose, "that he heard him every Lord's Day, rightly dividing the word of truth unto the people," *Et cum quidem in populo verbum veritatis recte tractantem omni die Dominica audiebam!* Man may preach Sunday after Sunday, but if the word of truth be not faithfully taught, and rightly divided, such preaching will not only be in vain, but will redound to the eternal confusion of such preachers. It may truly be observed by Ministers, with him, in the words he used at Wanstead when preaching before the King, "let us preach never so many Sermons unto the people, our labour is lost, as long as the foundation is unlaid, and the first principles untaught, upon which all other doctrines must be builded."

In October, 1622, our Prelate preached a sermon before Lord Falkland, on his arrival in Ireland, as Lord Deputy, which excited considerable offence

Among the Romanists, as they represented it to be an exhortation to the new Governor, to draw the sword against the enemies of the established Church, It must be granted he was "too good and peaceable a man" to desire "sanguinary measures," but he was also too wise not to know, that a free and unguarded toleration of Popery would be alike dangerous to religion, and the state. While he abhorred persecution, he knew restraint to be imperative. He was persuaded of what Dean Milner has since observed, that "the Government has a right to restrain men, and oblige them to keep their idolatry to themselves, the same right as to oblige vessels to perform quarantine, when there is reason to suspect the plague." Had this mode been ever since continued, the Idols, and pernicious superstitions of Papal invention would have long since expired in Ireland, as they did in England, and the feuds of this poor distracted Country, would with them, have long since been buried in their common grave. The account of this matter is thus related by himself in a letter to Lord Grandison :

My very good Lord,

I had purposed with myself long ere now to have seen your Honor in England; which was one reason, among others, why I did forbear to trouble you hitherto with any letters. But seeing I think it will now fall out, that I shall remain here this winter, I thought it my duty, both to tender my thankfulness unto your Lordship for all the honourable favours which I have received at your hands, and withal to acquaint you with a certain particular, which partly doth concern myself, and in some sort also the state of the Church in this poor nation. The day that my Lord of Falkland received the sword, I preached at *Christ Church*: and fitting myself to the present occasion, took for my Text those words in the 13th of Romans, "He beareth not the sword in vain." It here showed, 1. what was meant by this sword. 2. The subject wherein that power rested. 3. The matters wherein it was exercised. 4. Thereupon what it was to bear the sword in vain. Whereupon falling upon the duty of the Magistrate in seeing those laws executed that were made for the furtherance of God's service, I first declared, that no more was to be expected herein for the subordinate Magistrate than he had received in commission from the supreme; in whose power it lay to limit the other at his pleasure. Secondly, I wished, that if his Majesty (who is, under God, our Supreme Governor) were pleased to extend his clemency toward his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not

* Milner's History of the Church of Christ, 2 Edition, Vol. 2, p. 215.

give us public affronts, and take possession of our Churches before our faces. And that it might appear, that it was not without cause that I made this motion, I instanced in two particulars that had lately fallen out in mine own Diocese: The one certified unto me by Mr. John Ankers, Preacher of Athlone, (a man well known unto your Lordship) who wrote unto me, that going to read prayers at Kilkenny, in Westmeath, he found an old Priest, (and about forty with him,) in the Church; who was so bold as to require him (the said Ankers) to depart, until he had done his business. The other concerning the Friars, was not content to possess the house of Multiferna alone (whence your Lordship had dislodged them) but went about to make collections for the re-edifying of another Abbey Molengarre. for the entertaining of another swarm of Locusts. These things I touched only in general, not mentioning any circumstances of persons or places. Thirdly; I did entreat, that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, that we might at leastwise keep our own, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly I made a public protestation, that it was far from my mind, to excite the Magistrates unto any violent courses against them, as one that did naturally abhor all cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the *Whore of Babylon*, than of the *Church of God*. These points, however they were delivered by me with such limitations, as in moderate men's judgments might seem rather to intimate an allowance of a Toleration in respect of the general, than to exasperate the state unto any extraordinary severity: yet did the Popish Priests persuade their followers, that I had said, the sword had rusted too long in the sheath, whereas in my whole Sermon, I never made mention either of rust or sheath; yea some also did not stick to give out, that I did thereby closely tax yourself for being too remiss in prosecuting of the Papists in the time of your Government. I have not such diffidence in your Lordship's good opinion of me, neither will I wrong myself so much, as to spend time in refelling so lewd a calumination. Only I thought good to mention these things unto your Lordship, that if any occasion should be offered hereafter to speak of them, you might be informed in the truth of matters: Wherein, if I have been too troublesome unto you, I humbly crave pardon, and rest,

Your honor's in all duty,

Ever ready to be commanded,

JAC. MIDENSIS.

Dublin, Oct. 16,
1622.

About this time some Magistrates who were violent Romanists, obstinately refused to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. It was resolved to pass the sentence of *premunire* against them, but before this dernier resort.

should be resorted to, the Privy Council determined, fully to apprize them of the dangers to which they were exposed, and the legality of the oath which they were called upon to take. The Bishop of Meath was accordingly appointed to convey, to these misguided Papists, the merciful resolves of Government. In the fulfilment of this duty, his Lordship delivered a discourse, in which he established the supremacy of all Princes within their own dominions, and proved that the Bishop of Rome had no lawful claim to any Ecclesiastical or Spiritual Supremacy within these Realms. This speech had the desired effect, the scruples of several offenders were removed, the oath was taken, and all the consequences of disobedience avoided. So well pleased was his Majesty with Usher's defence of his authority, that he appointed him a Privy Counsellor not long after, and wrote him the following letter expressive of his approbation:

JAMES REX.

Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Trusty and Welbeloved Counsellor, We greet you well. You have not deceived our expectation, nor the gracious opinion We ever conceived both of your abilities in learning, and your faithfulness to Us and our Service. Whereof, as we have received sundry testimonies both from our precedent Deputies, as likewise from Our Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousin, and Counsellor, the Viscount Falkland, our present Deputy of that Realm; so have we now of late, in one particular, had a further evidence of your Duty and Affection, well expressed by your late carriage in Our Castle Chamber there, at the censure of those disobedient Magistrates, who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Wherein your zeal for the maintenance of our Just and Lawful Power, defended with so much Learning and Reason deserves our Princely and gracious thanks; which We do by this our letter unto you, and so bid you farewell.—Given under our Signet, at our Court at Whitehall, the eleventh of January, 1622. In the Twentieth Year of Our Reign, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

*To the Right Reverend Father in God,
and Our Right Trusty and Welbeloved Counsellor, the Bishop of Meath.*

This year he published his treatise on *the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and Britons*. This work chiefly consists of extracts from the various writings of our ancient Saints, and Monks, at that proud period of Erin's and of Albion's glory, when Religion and Learning sought their shores, and took refuge in their venerable woods; at what time they fled from the intolerant and persecuting reign of Superstition and Ignorance. The passages adduced in this work, indisputably prove that the Clergy then not only permitted, but strenuously enjoined the reading of the *Holy Scriptures*: That the Doctrines they

preached, agreed with those the Reformers taught, respecting *Predestination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, and Works, Justification, and Sanctification*; That the notions of *Purgatory and prayers for the dead*, were not entertained by them; and that in fact none of the distinguishing sentiments of *Papery* were embraced by them. In this view of national divinity he evidenced considerable research, and deprived the Romanists of one of their favourite appeals, in defence of their ungodly superstitions, the supposed antiquity of their tenets. He dedicated it to his esteemed friend Sir Christopher Sibthorpe, Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and afterwards republished it in London, A. D. 1631.

Two years after his appointment to the Bishopric of Meath, the Privy Council of Ireland received a letter from King James to give him permission to repair to England, to complete his work on the antiquities of the British Churches. The commencement of this letter is thus quoted by Parr:

JAMES REX,

Right Trusty and Welbeloved Cousin, &c. We greet you well. Whereas We have heretofore in our Princely judgment made choice of the Right Rev. Father in God, Dr. James Usher, Lord Bishop of Meath, to employ him in collecting the antiquities of the British Church, before, and since the Christian Faith was received by the English nation, and whereas We are also given to understand, that the said Bishop hath already taken pains in divers things in that kind, which being published, might tend to the furtherance of Religion, and good Learning: Our pleasure therefore is, that so soon as the said Bishop hath settled the necessary affairs of his Bishopric there, he should repair into England, and to one of the Universities here, to enable himself, by the helps to be had there, to proceed the better to the finishing of the said work. Requiring you hereby to cause our Licence to be passed unto him the said Lord Bishop of Meath, under our Great Seal, or otherwise, as he shall desire it; and unto you as shall be thought fit for his repairing unto this kingdom for Our Service, and for his continuance here, so long time as he shall have occasion to stay about the perfecting of those works undertaken by him, by Our Commandment; and for the good of the Church, &c." Such and so great was the estimation in which he was deservedly held! such and so great was the opinion then entertained of his extensive researches! It is to this work I presume that Sir Robert Cotton refers, in a letter which he wrote to Usher, dated March 26, 1622, and of which the following is an extract:—"My honourable Lord, the opportunity I had by the going over of this honourable gentleman, Sir Henry Bouchier, I could not pass over without doing my service to your Lordship in these few lines. We are all glad here you are so well settled to your own content and merit, yet sorry that you must have so important a cause of stay; that all hopes we had to have seen your

Lordship in these parts is almost taken away; yet I doubt not but the *worthy work* you gave in England the first life to, and have so far happily proceeded in, will be again a just motive to draw you over into England to see it perfected, for without your direction in the sequel I am afraid it will be hopeless and impossible. Let me, I pray you, intreat from your Honor, the copy of as much as you have finished, to show his Majesty, that he may be the more earnest to urge on other labourers to work up, with your Lordship's advice the rest." *Other Labourers*, we may hence conclude were not considered competent, and therefore Usher, as we have already seen, received the Royal Command to perfect the work in England, in the execution of which he had *so far happily proceeded*. He accordingly obeyed the mandate, remained a year in England, procured all the information, and consulted all the manuscripts, whether in public or private libraries, which he deemed necessary for the completion of his design. During the time he now abode in England, he was invited by the King to his royal hunting seat at Wanstead in Essex, where he preached a sermon before his Majesty, from Ephes. iv. 13, "Till we all come in 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." In this sermon he observed, "as well the matter of this Building, *We all as the structure of it*; and further also considered in the structure, first, the laying of the foundation, *In the unity of the Faith, and of the Knowledge of the Son of God*: secondly, the bringing of the work to perfection, and the raising of it to its just height, *unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*." Under the first head, he particularly combated the presuming arrogance of Rome, and Rome's Bishop in assuming to themselves the title of Universal Church, and Universal Bishop; and shows that "the Church reformed in our days is none other Church than that which was *deformed* in the days of our Forefathers; though it hath no agreement, for all that, with Popery, which is the pestilence that walked in those times of Darkness, and the destruction that walked at noon-day." This sermon he published afterwards by the royal command, and entitled it, *A brief declaration of the Universality of the Church of Christ, and the Unity of the Catholic Faith professed therein*.

On his return to Ireland in 1624, he was occupied for some time, in answering the challenge of Malone an Irish Jesuit, of the College of Louvain. In collecting materials for which purpose, we find he was engaged in the March of 1622, as he mentions in a letter of that date to Dr. Ward. The matters which he discussed in this book, relate to the opinions entertained by the Fathers concerning Tradition, Real Presence, Auricular Confession, Priest's power to forgive sins, Purgatory, Prayer for the Dead, *Litibus Patrum*, Prayer to Saints, Images, Free-will, and Merits. About

three years after the publication of this treatise, Malone wrote a tedious, scurrilous, and abusive answer to it, of which Parr thus speaks: "It was full of quotations, either falsely cited out of the Fathers, or else out of divers supposititious authors; as also forged miracles, and lying Legends, made use of merely to blind the eyes of ordinary readers, who are not able to distinguish gold from dross: all which," he continues, "gave the Bishop so great a disgust, that he disdained to answer a fool according to his folly, and made no reply to him." But some of Usher's friends, Dr. Hoyl, Dr. Sing, and Mr. Puttock, were too jealous of his honor to permit him thus to be maligned, they therefore undertook the task of discovering the absurdity of the Jesuit, and the emptiness of his boasting—and they accordingly very amply and learnedly effected their design.

In the same year he again returned to England, and concluded his work, on the Antiquities of the British Churches, already mentioned. While he was detained in completing this treatise, the Primacy of Ireland became vacant, and King James again took this opportunity of expressing his regard for him, and the opinion he entertained of his worth by appointing him Archbishop of Armagh, although many persons of distinction presented themselves as competitors; and in a short time the appointment was confirmed by the elective voice of the Dean and Chapter of that See. Soon afterwards his Majesty gave him further proof of his royal favour by writing to the Nobleman, who had lately been appointed guardian over the temporalities of Armagh, "forbidding him to meddle with, or receive any of the rents or profits of the same, but immediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present Archbishop, since he was employed in England about his Majesty's special service, &c." It is by no means surprising that a man of Usher's erudition, piety, and talents, should so signally have commanded the admiration and love of Kings, Nobles, and Dignitaries. Nor is it by any means strange that a man of his character and integrity should so remarkably have overcome the prejudices of party, silenced the clamours of opposition, and ingratiated himself with men whose principles were avowedly hostile to those he held, and for which he ever professed so conscientious and rigorous a regard. At the very moment when James conceded all that was demanded by France in favour of an Idolatrous Church, at what time he was negotiating an alliance for his Son with that Court, he promoted him to the Primacy of Ireland, although he was decided in his opposition to Popery, and equally averse also to those theological sentiments which James had now found it convenient to espouse, as adopted by men, who had recently engaged themselves in upholding and extending his Prerogative. When this Monarch terminated his peaceful, and, in many respects, useful reign, which occurred at the period of which we are now writing, his Son Charles, on his accession to the throne, evidenced the same kindness to Usher, by writing a letter under his Privy

Signet, to the Lord Deputy and Treasurer of Ireland, signifying that, "Whereas the present Archbishop of Armagh had for many years together, on several occasions, performed many painful, and acceptable services to his dear Father deceased, and upon his special directions, That therefore he was pleased as a gracious acceptation thereof, and in consideration of his said services done, or to be done hereafter, to bestow upon the said Primate, out of his Princely bounty four hundred pounds, English, out of the Révenues of that Kingdom." Of what services was this princely bounty an acceptation? It was an acceptation of services professedly rendered against the influence and wide spread of Popery, and for the suppression of its antichristian and idolatrous worship; and yet Charles was solemnly engaged to tolerate the Romanists and their Creed, and was no doubt at home assailed by all the arguments of female allurements to fulfil the compact into which he entered. It is highly probable too, that in the Cabinet also his Arminian advisers were not silent in dissuading him from conferring any mark of favour on a man; whom they certainly regarded as too nearly corresponding, in his system of faith, with the first Reformers. Nor was Royalty alone enamoured of his worth, even the bigotted, and persecuting Laud found it in his heart to tolerate him, although he corresponded in religious sentiment with those, against whom this Minister had caused some very severe enactments to be instituted, against whom he uniformly proceeded with the utmost rigour, and for whom he evidenced the most cordial hatred. Nay, not only did Laud tolerate Usher, he even very warmly professed himself his friend, mostly subscribing himself, *Your Grace's very loving friend, and brother*, at the conclusion of the numerous letters he addressed to him. It was thus this noble Cedar of Lebanon, whose beauties we have been considering, having taken deep root in the Lord's Vineyard, spread its branches wide and upward, defied the storms of faction, and adversity, and remained unmoveable, amid all the assaults of Satan, having as it were

"Cast anchor in the rifted rock,"

denying all its comeliness and vigour from Heaven, and commanding even the admiration of enemies.

The Lord Primate Elect was detained for a long time in England by a quartan ague, with which he was extremely afflicted. While yet a convalescent, and suffering from the effects of his indisposition, he was invited by Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, and his Lady, to his Lordship's seat at Drayton, in Northamptonshire. His Lordship was a zealous Romanist, and was hence very desirous to proselyte his Lady, who was a zealous Protestant. She selected Usher as the defender of her cause. He appointed, as the supporter of his question, his own confessor, a Jesuit, who had changed his real name of Rookwood for that of Beaumont, as his Brother Ambrose had been executed for being an accomplice in the

Gun-Powder Treason. Usher being still the same active individual, anxious for the conversion of sinners, and the glory of the Supreme Being, very willingly accepted the challenge. Accordingly, being arrived at the place appointed for the disputation, where he found a very copious Library of the ancient Fathers, it was resolved, that the conference should relate to the chief points in dispute between the Church of Rome, and ours, and particularly that the Religion maintained by public authority in the Church of England, was no new Religion, but the same that was taught by our Saviour, and his Apostles, and ever continued in the Primitive Church during the purest times. For the space of five hours on each of three successive days had Usher sustained the part of Respondent, when on the fourth, the day on which according to his own regulation, the Jesuit had agreed to undertake that office, no Jesuit appeared. The Primate was considered by him too skilful a disputant, to be admitted as his examiner, in matters where he must fully have been aware either of his own ignorance or error; and therefore he addressed a formal apology to Lord Mordaunt, declaring, that all the arguments he had formed for his defence, had escaped his memory, and imputing the cause of his misfortune to a just judgment of God upon him, for undertaking of his own accord, without the license of his superiors, to engage in a disputation with a person of so great learning and eminence. If it was a *just judgment* of God upon him, it was no less a *just exposure* of his errors. This conduct was justly regarded by the Baron as a disgraceful subterfuge to avoid the odium of defeat. He accordingly awarded to Usher the palm of victory. After some further conversation with the Archbishop he was persuaded that the principles he had hitherto espoused were erroneous and pernicious, he thence ingenuously renounced them, and not only embraced those publicly professed in the Protestant Churches, but became vitally influenced by the *Word of the Truth of the Gospel*. So sensibly did Lady Mordaunt regard the obligations under which she was now placed by Usher, as being the medium of her husband's conversion, that she afterwards paid him the kindest and most affectionate attentions, in the season of his distress, the circumstances of which are yet to be related. The lying Beaumont, we must not forget to mention, was so signally discomfited, that Challoner, a secular Priest, in an attack which he had some occasion to make against him, admonished him to beware of Drayton House, lest he should happen to encounter another Usher, and be again put to flight, to the great disgrace both of himself, and his profession. *Magna est veritas, et præcælebit.* Truth is too mighty to be vanquished! Error too feeble to conquer! The latter indeed may at times bear rule, but the approach of truth must ever cause the termination of her sway. Although fascinating delusions fostered by habit, and strengthened by prejudice, are seldom detected with willingness, yet yield they must, in most cases, to the bright shining of truth, whose piercing rays seldom fail of penetrating the thin and gaudy dress they wear.

The Lord Primate having dispatched all his affairs in England, and being fully re-established in health, returned to his native country early in January 1626. Being now Head of the Irish Church, he omitted nothing which might either encrease the purity of its doctrines, or its discipline, reform the abuses which existed, correct the predominant evils of the time, promote the welfare of Society in general, or of the Monarch in particular. His disinterested conduct in promoting the service of his King, to whom he was ever loyal, and the benefit of his country, to which he was ever attached, is fully evidenced by Lord Falkland's acknowledgment, contained in the following extract of a letter addressed to him by that Nobleman, and dated March 15, 1626:—"Your judicious apprehension of the perils which threaten the Peace of this Kingdom, by which your dutiful consideration of the King's wants through his other manifold occasions of expense, together with your zeal to his service, is clearly manifested, by conforming your Tenants to the good example of others, to join with the rest of the inhabitants, in contributing to the relief of the new supplies, and other souldiers sent hither for the public defence, notwithstanding your privileges of exemption, by Patent, from such Taxes; which I will take a fitting occasion to make known to his Majesty, for your Honour." 'Tis seldom we find any one inclined to forego the privileges annexed to office, for men generally are anxious to enforce the exemptions attached to their particular callings, as they imagine they are thus rendered superior to their neighbours. His Grace's first attention, after he was invested with his new dignity, was directed to the actual state of his Clergy, their conduct and their preaching, admonishing the faulty, encouraging the active, and advising all. He was chiefly anxious to enforce the perusal, and study of the sacred volume, and to induce them to adopt its holy precepts as the rule of their lives, its divine system of Religion as the matter of their faith, and its message of gratuitous mercy through a crucified Saviour, as the subject of their sermons. He was aware, that in the public visitations of the Clergy, his whole duty to them was by no means discharged, and as according to the apostolic injunction he was *given to hospitality*, it was his constant practice to bring them frequently within the operation of his own chastened judgment and informed mind, at his own table. Here his conversation was eminently instructive. The learned owned him more learned than themselves, and the unlearned culled, in this their occasional intercourse with him, some of the most luxuriant and profitable produce of his laborious researches. But while he might have amused them with the blaze of mere literary knowledge, he remembered that their souls as well as their intellects required to be informed. In endeavouring therefore to effect the improvement of both, it was usual with him to direct their attention chiefly to the consideration of those subjects which most nearly related to their eternal interests. He hence always endeavoured to unfold the meaning of such passages of Holy Writ as most clearly enforced some important doctrine, enjoined some

practical duty, or appeared difficult in their import. He also put into requisition the assistance of the clerical friends who visited him, for two hours every evening, in examining and collating the different versions of the Bible Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, while he himself carefully committed to writing all the *curia lectiones*, which occurred in the course of their reading. Such was the manner in which this excellent Prelate occupied his own, and taught others to employ their time. Bernard, in considering the peculiar advantages which they possessed, who were thus admitted to participate in the benefit of his social hours, says, that he often thought with what propriety Sheba's address to Solomon might be applied to him, "Happy are these thy servants, which stand continually before thee, and that hear thy wisdom."*

This worthy Primate we must not omit mentioning, always evidenced a very laudable anxiety for the spiritual improvement of his own Household. He was fully aware that he had a most important duty to discharge toward them. He accordingly assembled his family to engage with him in devotional exercises at six every morning, at eight every evening, before dinner also, and before supper. He moreover delivered, every Friday evening, a regular lecture for their fuller instruction in the divine principles of the Gospel, in his private chapel; and on the evening of Sunday, he obliged his Chaplains to expatiate on the principal features of the Sermon, which he himself preached in the morning, in order to impress it the more strongly on the minds of those who were inmates in his house. This opportunity may be taken to mention, that he made the Ministers of the Church at Drogheda, where he himself preached every Sunday morning, enlarge for half an hour in the evening, after each lesson, on the principles advanced in the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Catechism. Dr. Bernard informs us that this practice was found very beneficial, and that its utility was particularly manifested in the deportment and preparation of the Communicants, who were at that time obliged to give in their names, previous to the celebration of the Sacrament. By this means those, who were insensible to the admonitions of their respective Pastors, who were bold enough to expect future happiness on account of their moral worth, or were grossly iniquitous in their lives, were prevented from presumptuously presenting themselves at the Table of the Lord. It were well if this useful practice were now adhered to, and that so many immortal spirits were not taught to consider the mere partaking of the outward elements, a periodical absolution for guilt, to believe it a plenary indulgence for the omission of duty, and commission of crime, until the return of another festival, or to rely on it as a viaticum to Heaven. It is dreadful to think, that such fearful error should be so prevalent, upon a subject of so much importance; and that men should so delude themselves

* 1. Kings, x. 8

at the very moment they are taking the Sacramental oath of allegiance to the great Captain of Salvation, and solemnizing the memorials of his death, a death which was undergone that he might be the alone Saviour of his believing people, to the exclusion of all merit in them, as the cause of their justification. Besides his care for the Reformation of the Clergy, he was engaged also very strenuously in correcting the exactions, abuses and evils, which existed in the ecclesiastical courts: insomuch so, that one of his first acts as Bishop, was the censure, and consequent removal of the Chancellor of Meath, when he himself had the immediate care of that Diocese. Respecting his conduct in this particular we shall hereafter have occasion to say more.

As the military strength of Ireland was at this time considered insufficient for its protection, against any intended effort of the united Spanish and French foe, it was thought necessary to increase it by an additional army of 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse. The Popish party being unfriendly to this measure, as they imagined it was a political stroke to bring them into greater subjection, by the maintenance of a standing force in the Kingdom, to be used as an *argumentum ad terrorem* against them, Lord Falkland in order to reconcile them to its enactment, summoned a general meeting of Protestants and Papists, to take into consideration the propriety of granting to the latter a more extended toleration. This proposal of the Lord Deputy was regarded by our excellent Primate as one, most fatally tending to the subversion of the national religion, and endangering the safety of the realm. To stem the torrent of evil, which he apprehended the adoption of such a system would probably produce, he assembled the Bishops at his own house, and they unanimously agreed with him in subscribing the following protestation, Nov. 26, 1626:

The Religion of the Papists is Superstitious and Idolatrous: Their Faith and Doctrine Erroneous and Heretical: Their Church, in respect of both, Apostatical; To give them therefore a Toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their Religion and profess their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects: For,

1. It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their Superstitions, Idolatries, and Heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of Popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic Apostacy.
2. To grant them Toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it the Souls of the People, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood; and as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence; the consideration whereof, we commend to the

wise and judicious. Beseeching the God of Truth, to make them, who are in authority, zealous of God's Glory, and of the advancement of true Religion: Zealous, Resolute, and Courageous against all Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry, Amen.

JAMES, ARMACHANUS,	RICHARD, CORK, CLOYNE, ROSSING,
MAL. CASALLEN,	ANDR. ALACHADENS,
ANTH. MIDENSIS,	THOS. KILMORE ET ARDAGH,
THOS. FERNES, ET LEGHLIN,	THOS. DROMORE,
RO. DUNENSIS, &C.	MICHAEL, WATERFORD, ET LYSMORE,
GEO. DERENS,	FRAN. LYMERICK.

At the time when the assembly was convened, Dr. Downham, Bishop of Derry, took occasion, in a sermon, which he preached before the Lord Deputy and Council, April 23, 1627, to give publicity to the protestation of the Bishops, which we have just cited; and also to reprobate very strenuously the conduct of those who subordinated religion from worldly motives, and set their souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters. We are informed by Prynne in his trial of Land, that after he had recited the protestation, "he boldly said, let all the people say Amen, and suddenly all the whole Church almost shook with the sound that their loud AMEN made." Usher on the succeeding Sunday took up the same argument, before the same auditory, and enlarging on his text which was taken from 1. John v. 15, "Love not the world, nor the things which are in the world," very sharply rebuked all, who like Judas would sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver, or who, following the error of Balaam, would like him accept the wages of unrighteousness. The declaration of the Bishops made the Protestants very jealous of granting any concession to the Papists, the proposals were accordingly withdrawn, and the Lord Primate, by the command of the Lord Deputy and Council, addressed the assembly at some length, proved the need under which the Kingdom lay of an enlarged military force, as it was threatened from without by a foreign enemy, and from within was exposed to the danger of domestic insurgents; he warned the Noblemen and Gentry, who differed with him in point of Religion, that they had no mercy to expect either from Invaders, or from Rebels, for the language of the one would doubtless be similar to that of the Duke of Medina Sidonia on a former occasion, his sword, he said, knew no difference between a Catholic and a Heretick, he came only to make way for his Master; and the language and intentions of the other evidently signified that they sought only their own aggrandisement, and even the estates of their fellow Romanists, whom they regarded as enemies, because descended from English settlers; he next called on all to assist in the defence of the Country, as the danger was common; defended his own conduct, and that of the Bishops in their late proceeding, as the Statute

called on them, to see it duly executed against the Recusants; advised them to leave it to the royal clemency to grant the desired toleration and in conclusion enforced the obligation of all to render tribute to whom tribute was due. This speech failed notwithstanding in producing the desired effect. No money was granted, no army levied. The event proved that neither were required against a foreign enemy, for no invasion was attempted; but the event also proved that both were requisite to provide against domestic insurgents. Had the intended army been levied and maintained, it is more than probable that the dreadful rebellion of 1641, with all its sanguinary consequences would never have occurred. So well pleased however was the Lord Deputy with the political talents of this harangue, that he requested a copy of it, which he afterwards presented to his Majesty, to whom it was very agreeable, as it urged so strongly the adoption of measures, which certainly would have been conducive to his own, and the public safety.

Usher seems to have taken a very active part, as a Privy Councillor A. D. 1629, in advising the suppression of Nunneries, Friaries, Mass Houses, &c.; for Lord Falkland, in a letter which he wrote to him, dated April 14, 1629, refers to a Proclamation of this nature which was issued on the first of that month,* reminds him that he had assisted in the consultations respecting it, and requests him to enquire into some particulars of its operation. Usher, in reply, returned a list of the Popish Conventual Houses, at Raphoe; and May 15, 1629, the Privy Council addressed a letter to him on the same subject, making some further enquiries, and stating that they had given directions, to his Majesty's Attorney-General, to proceed against the proprietors of the houses, mentioned by his Grace in his communication to them. The immediate cause of this proclamation appears to have been the riotous behaviour of some Dublin Priests, thus alluded to in a letter from the Privy Council of England to that of Ireland, which was written some time in this year, † "By your letters we understand how the seditious riot, moved by the Friars, and their adherents at Dublin, hath by your good order and resolution been happily suppressed; and we doubt not but by this occasion, you will consider how much it concerneth the good Government of that Kingdom, to prevent in time the first growing of such evils." In this letter his Majesty gave directions, "That the House where so many Friars appeared in their Habits, and wherein the Reverend Archbishop, and Mayor of Dublin, received the first public affront, be speedily demolished; and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority: and

* It may be found at full length in Rushworth's Collections, part the second, page 21.

† Vide Rushworth's Collections, part the second, p. 33.

“ that the rest of the Houses erected or employed there, or else where in Ireland, to the use of Superstitious Societies, be converted to Houses of Correction, and to set idle people on work, or to other public uses, for the advancement of Justice, good Art, or Trade.” If these vigorous measures had always been adopted, designing Papists would never since have been clamorous against the State, or raised their rebel hosts against their Sovereign, they would not, as of late years, have lighted the firebrand of sedition, in their public assemblies, nor would a colony of mischievous Jesuits be suffered in this our day, to colonize our land, or infest it with their poison.

Soon after these measures were adopted, Lord Falkland was recalled to England, and Usher attended him to the place of his embarkation. His Lordship reserved the Primate as the last of his friends, of whom he was to take his leave, and when he approached to bid him farewell, he first prostrated himself upon the earth, and implored his blessing. A scene so affecting could not fail to produce a general sympathy, while the humility of the worthy Nobleman must necessarily have raised him in the estimation of all. Wherever Usher's name is known this circumstance ought surely to be recorded, as well in proof of the respect which he commanded, as in honour of the truly noble personage, who paid him this distinguished mark of admiration.

In the prosecution of his literary researches, the Primate found it necessary to appropriate a certain portion of his annual income for the purchase of Books and Manuscripts. To procure the most valuable of both in the Eastern languages, he maintained a constant correspondence with Mr. Thomas Davies, a Merchant of Aleppo, and a man of piety, as appears from his letters. By the means of this gentleman, he obtained in 1677 the first Samaritan Pentateuch, which was ever brought into the Western parts of Europe. This importation was the more valuable as it mainly corroborated the verity of the Hebrew Pentateuch. Usher himself collated the differences which existed between the two versions, he presented them so collated to his friend Selden, and also transcribed some passages for him, which he required for his *Majama Arundeliana*. This celebrated Barrister, in the commencement of the work already named, described the version, of which we have been speaking, as written in the Samaritan character, as being perhaps the most ancient, as having been in use before the time of Ezra, and as having been obtained from the East, at great expense, by James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, whom he characterises as a man of *most exalted piety, most singular judgment, and most ridiculous learning*. Thus publicly did Selden profess his admiration of the man, to whom at the conclusion of one of his letters he declared, “ that no man more admired his worth, truly admired his worth, or professed himself to do so,” than what

he did. Professions of regard to the individual when present, are not always attended by similar declarations of esteem when absent. Bishop Walton, when he was preparing his Polyglot Bible for the press, obtained the perusal of all Usher's oriental papers, from which he derived very considerable profit. These papers have since been deposited in the Bodleian Library.

Among many other blessings conferred on Ireland, by our excellent Primate, Bedell was not the least. Advanced to the Provostship of Dublin College, by means of Usher, and being like him, actively engaged in the advancement of national piety, they became mutually attached. When Bedell however was promoted to the Bishoprick of Kilmore and Ardagh, many malignant reports were circulated to the disadvantage of each. Usher was said to have exacted considerable sums of money from the Clergy, in one of his triennial visitations at Ardagh and Kilmore, and to have permitted the existence of many corruptions in his ecclesiastical courts. These aspersions were doubtless gross, when we consider that the amount of what he received was really insufficient to defray the expense of his journey, that he had defended the Clergy of Ardagh from actual poverty, and that he had drawn up at that time a table of the tythes and duties belonging to the Clergy of Kilmore, in order to have them confirmed to them by the regal authority, as they then only held them by the courtesy of the State. Respecting his Court he remarks to Bedell, "complaints I know will be made against my Court, and your Court, and every Court wherein vice shall be punished, and that not by the Delinquents alone, but also by their Landlords, be they Protestants or others, who in this country care not how their tenants live, so they pay them their rents." The ecclesiastical courts were at this time subject to much abuse and extortion, and seem particularly to have been so in the diocese of Kilmore. To reform them therefore immediately became the object of Bedell's benevolent solicitude. He found his Chancellor in the accustomed receipt of exorbitant fees, and considering his patent to have been granted illegally, he declared it to be void. Usher in adverting to this transaction wrote to him that, "to pronounce in a judicial manner of the validity or invalidity of a Patent, is no office of the Ecclesiastical, but of the Civil Magistrate;" observing also, that it was better "not to take away the jurisdiction from the Chancellor, and put it into the Bishops hands alone." For says he, "all Bishops are not like my Lord of Kilmore. I know," he continues, "a Bishop in this land, who exerciseth the jurisdiction himself; and I dare boldly say there is more injustice and oppression to be found in him alone, than in all the Chancellors in the whole Kingdom put together; and though I do not justify the taking of Fees without good ground, yet I may truly say of a great part of mine own, and of many other Bishop's Diocesses, that if men stood not more in fear of the Fees of the Court, than of standing in a white sheet, we should have here among us another

"Sodom and Gomorrah." Burnet in his life of Bedell reproaches Usher's conduct in this instance, but as he seems not to have had access to the documents just quoted, as what he says respecting it he says unwillingly, and as he thus described our Primate's character admirably well, he deserves to be acquitted. "No man," says he, "had a better soul, and a more apostolic mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian; for Passion, Pride, Self-Will, or the Love of the World, seemed not so much as to be in his nature. So that he had all the innocence of the Dove in him. He had a way of gaining people's hearts, and of touching their consciences, that looked like somewhat of the Apostolical Age revived; he spent much of his time in these two best exercises, secret prayer, and dealing with other people's consciences, either in his Sermons, or private discourses; and what remained he dedicated to his studies, in which those many Volumes that came from him, showed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that age, or perhaps the world has produced."

A. D. 1630, King Charles announced, by express, to the Lord Deputy, and Council of Ireland, the circumstance of his Son's birth. These tidings were received with peculiar joy, a day of thanksgiving for so great a blessing was appointed, and the Primate was selected by the Lords Justices, Cork and Loftus, to preach on the occasion, which he accordingly did.

Sometime in the year following he published his History of the Benedictine Monk Gottescalus, of the Abbey of Orbais in France, who flourished in the beginning of the ninth Century, and who, though his opinions were condemned, and though he was himself imprisoned, and suffered the most cruel chastisements, by the decree of two Councils, was nobly constant, never for a moment retracted his principles, but publicly avowed them in two confessions of faith, which are published in the work before us, and which were obtained MSS. from Corbey Abbey, by the Rev. Biographer of Gottescalc. Usher had originally intended to have introduced the account of this excellent, but persecuted Monk, and of the predestinarian controversy which he excited, in a detailed view of the sentiments entertained on that subject in the early ages. He began to collect materials for this purpose, when he was only twelve years old, but he afterwards gave up the design, when he found his friend Vossius was preparing a work of a similar nature for the press. The Primate derived most of his information respecting Gottescalc from Flodoardus, and other writers of that age; he dedicated the treatise to Vossius, offered it to him to incorporate in a future edition of his work, and entitled it *Gottescalci et predestinatarum Controversiarum ab eo notæ, Historia*. This was the first Latin work ever printed in Ireland.

About six months prior to the publication of *Gottescalcus*, Mr. George Downham, Bishop of Derry, sent into the world a treatise on the final perseverance of believers in their contest against sin, and their progress in the way of holiness. Usher furnished him with some materials which were introduced into the thirteenth chapter of the *Work*, according to Downham's acknowledgment to him in a letter, dated April 24, 1630. As our Primate had contributed some of the matter he was no doubt favourable to the contents of the book, and anxious for its circulation, it must therefore have been very gratifying to his feelings to have received the Royal Mandate to suppress it. Laud had previous to this obtained the King's Signature to instructions which he himself had drawn up, and which were addressed to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of England and Ireland, in which orders were given for the suppression of all writings wherein any reference was made to the controverted theological subjects of the day, and the silencing of those Ministers who recurred to them in their discourses. Laud always alive to the advancement of his own party, rigorously enforced the execution of these mandates against every Preacher who even slightly hinted against, and every writing that even obscurely, and in an isolated passage, appeared unfavourable to his own sentiments; while on the contrary he not only permitted, but even sanctioned every person, who in his preaching inveighed against the principles to which he himself was hostile, or in his writings defended the opinions which he himself espoused. Such was Laud in the plenitude of his arbitrary power, such the tyranny he exercised over the Church. The Bishop of Derry's work was too skillfully directed against this bigot's views to be allowed free course. He therefore induced the King to write to the Arch-Bishops of Canterbury and Armagh, to issue their warrants for the suppression of every copy which remained of it. They of course obeyed. Usher however informed him that the greater part of the edition had been sold, and expressed his assent in a letter quoted by Brynne in his *Canterbury's Doom*, to an observation of Laud's remarking, "in the History of *Gottescalcus*, your Lordship may see your own observation fully verified, that after Prelates had written against Prelates, and Synods against Synods, these things would have no end until both sides became weary of contending." In endeavouring to extenuate his own procedure, it is probable that Laud thus excused himself by representing it as his wish to prevent the rise of controversy, as never being productive of good, and as being then only concluded when the combatants were fatigued by protracted hostilities. Had this been his real object it might perhaps have been well to have effected it, but this was not his purpose, for if it were, no controversial writing whatever, either against or in favour of the predestinarian doctrines, or any other subject, would have been suffered to issue from the Press.

About this time a circular letter was addressed to the Irish Arch-Bishops by Charles, desiring them to give a special charge to the Bishops within their jurisdiction to exhort the Clergy in their several Diocesses, "That all of them be careful to do their duty by Preaching and Catechising in the Parishes committed to their charge, and that they live answerable to the doctrines which they preach to the people." He mentioned in the beginning of the letter that he had taken into his special consideration the information he had received from the Privy Council of Ireland, respecting the increase and growth of the Romish Faction, and the neglect of the Clergy whom he said were "not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service, or the honour of themselves, and their profession, in removing all pretences of scandal in their lives and conversation." This communication was more grateful to our Primate's feelings, than that which he had lately received. It animated his zeal, and warmed all the feelings of his mind. He diligently endeavoured to reform the abuses which existed in his own Province, most of which were already rectified; and sought to reclaim his deluded countrymen, who had from infancy been wedded to the superstitions of Rome, frequently, and familiarly conversing with those he knew, and inviting all who lived near him to his house, when he always dwelt mildly on the errors they espoused, and often times was wonderfully successful in persuading them of the deceits which were practised for their delusion, and in leading them to an experimental knowledge of the truth of those doctrines which were taught in the Reformed Churches. This line of conduct he also recommended very warmly to the Bishops and Clergy of his Arch-Diocese, seeking if possible to induce them by their preaching and living to stay the torrents of superstition, and defend the bulwarks of the Church. "Nor was his care confined only," says Parr, "to the conversion of the ignorant Irish Papists, he also endeavoured the reduction of the Scotch and English Sectaries to the bosom of the Church, as it was by law established, conferring and arguing with divers of them, as well Ministers as Lay-men, and shewing them the weakness of those scruples and objections they had against joining with the public service of the Church, and submitting to its Government and Discipline; and indeed the Lord Primate was now taken up in conferences with all sort of persons, or in answering letters from learned men abroad, or else such as applied themselves to him for his judgment in different points in divinity, or resolutions in cases of conscience; that whoever shall consider this, as also his many civil, and Ecclesiastical Functions, together with the constant course of his studies, must acknowledge that none but one of his large capacity could be ever sufficient for so many, and so different employments."

A. D. 1632. The Lord Primate published his *Veterum Epistolarum Hybernicarum Sylloge*, a collection of Ancient Irish Letters; some in prose and others in verse, from and to the Bishops and Monks, who flourished

between the years 562 and 1180, most of them relating to the affairs of the Irish Church, many of them to the celebration of Easter, and all of them to some matter in religion. Few of them had previously been published: they were chiefly found among the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library, and added much to the literary character of the Editor, already greater than that of any of his contemporaries.

A. D. 1634. The truly Right Reverend Subject of this narrative was commanded by the Lord Deputy Wentworth to draw up a statement respecting the precedency of his See over that of Dublin, as the Arch-Bishop of the latter had denied its legality, and claimed it for his own. This task he at first declined as being too invidious, but being frequently urged to undertake it, he at length obeyed, and very satisfactorily, and learnedly established the Antiquity and Primacy of his See, which was accordingly confirmed by the King and Council. He also was allowed to take precedence of the Lord Chancellor, "which," says Parr, ("he being above such trifles) was not at all able to elate him." Heaven-born spirit, may thy mantle be transmitted to all thy successors, and all thy Brethren in the Episcopal Office!

At the opening of the Irish Parliament in 1635, he preached before the Lord Deputy, and assembled Legislature at St. Patrick's Cathedral. The subject which he selected for his Sermon was Genesis, xlix. 10, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." Synchronising with the opening of Parliament this year was the opening of a memorable convocation of the Irish Clergy. "At it," says Parr, (whose sources of information were doubtless more accurate than those of a modern Biographer,) "the Lord Primate at the instigation of the Lord Deputy, and Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, thought fit to propose, that to express the agreement of the Church of Ireland with that of England, both in doctrine and discipline, the thirty-nine articles should be received by the Church of Ireland, which proposal was thereupon consented to by both Houses of Convocation, and the said articles were declared to be the confession of Faith of the Church of Ireland, but without abrogating or excluding the former articles, made in 1615."—He also thus answers the assertion of a well known casuist that the reception of another set of articles, was as virtual an abrogation of the former, although they were not actually annulled, as the giving of the New Covenant was an abrogation of the Old, by observing, that "this were a good argument if the articles of the Church of England were as inconsistent with those of Ireland, as those two Covenants are with each other, but," he adds, "if they differ no more than the Nicene does from the Apostles' Creed, (which, though it contains more, yet does not annul the former,)

then without doubt the receiving of the Articles of the Church of England was no abrogation of those of Ireland.—It appears strange that after so satisfactory a statement of the matter, the old misrepresentations of a bigotted and calumniating individual should be revived. Are we to imagine, admit it as we must, that “Wentworth’s fundamental principle in his Government of Ireland was to render it in every respect a dependency on the Crown of England,” and that Laud “from his personal love of power,” “his notions of the necessity of uniformity in Religion,” and “his attachment to the Armenian tenets in opposition to the Calvinistic,” might have wished “for the abrogation of the Irish Articles of Faith,” as in them “Usher had given a decided bias towards the latter system,” are we to imagine that he could blindly have been drawn into a magic circle either by Laud’s or Wentworth’s wand, and thus have been induced to destroy the foundation, which he himself had laid for purity of Doctrine in the Irish Church, abjure his own creed, and embrace one which he knew to be erroneous? Such tergiversation was never chargeable on him. He never would have proposed the adoption of the English Articles, if their adoption would have cancelled those he wrote, or in any respect have introduced sentiments which he thought repugnant to the Scriptures. Nor, unless persuaded that the two systems of faith were generically identical, would he ever have drawn up the following preamble to the Irish Canons, “For the manifestation of our agreement with the English Church in the confession of the same Christian Faith, and in the doctrines of the Sacrament, we receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon between the Archbishops, Bishops, and body of Clergy in the Synod of London, 1562, for the removal of differences in opinion, and the establishment of consistence in true Religion. If therefore any one shall hereafter affirm, that any of the said articles are in any respect superstitious or erroneous, or such as cannot be subscribed with a good conscience let him be excommunicated, and not absolved till he shall publicly have retracted his errors.”—It was impossible to frame a more explicit adherence to the rule of faith adopted in the Sister Island, but how could it be deemed “submissive?” Such a censure was not merited by him. The fact is, the English Articles were adopted solely with a view of certifying the agreement of the two Churches in the same faith, and uniting them in every particular. Both sets of articles were therefore signed at all ordinations, until the unfortunate contests between the regal and republican parties involved all things in their own confusion. When these contests ceased however, the Irish Articles were not again required to be signed. The independence of the Irish Church had already been asserted, her agreement with the Church of England had already been admitted, and therefore the practise was no longer considered necessary.

* Aikin’s Life of Usher, p. 426.

Always actively engaged in endeavouring to extend the knowledge of divine truth, he published at Dublin, A. D. 1638, an invaluable treatise, entitled *Immanuel, or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God*. This tract contained the substance of several Sermons he had previously preached on the leading doctrines of the Gospel; and derives its subject from the text he prefixed to it, John, i 14, "The Word was made flesh." Having first mentioned the marvellous circumstance that the Father of Eternity was born in time, and the Mighty God became a child, he next adverts to the manner in which the union of the Divine Person, and the Human Nature was accomplished, dilates on the necessity of the human Nature, being assumed that satisfaction might be made in the nature of the offending party, and that it should be combined with the Divine Person in order to give merit to his atonement, and efficacy to his intercession. These important matters being fully established, he next enlarges on the manner in which the Redemption of the purchased possession is conveyed to the sons of men. As it could be of no value to one who was not related to the purchaser, he proves Christ to have been the nearest of kin to his believing people, not only as being the immediate agent of their birth, and the universal principle by which their nature is sustained, but also as the actual Creator of their new nature whereby they are begotten to a spiritual and everlasting life, and by which their resemblance to the first man Adam being removed, the *likeness* of the second man the Lord from Heaven is impressed upon their minds, thus receiving those two things, which every creature receives from him who begets it, *life* and *likeness*. He enlarges separately on those two subjects, and afterwards proves that the bond of union between Christ and Believers, is on his part *the quickening spirit*, which from him as the Head is diffused to their spiritual animation as his members, and on their part *Faith* the prime act of life wrought in them by the same Spirit. He then enlarges on his character as Prophet, Priest, and King, makes some admirable remarks on the ministerial office, throughout shews the necessity of his being both God and man, in several passages refers with much judgment to the Jewish ceremonies as types of Christ, and sums up all with the noble resolve of the Apostle, "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord."

The year following he published his long expected and learned work entitled *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, which contains a most ample and satisfactory account of the British Churches, from their first establishment, twenty years after the death of Christ, to the end of the seventh century. He introduced into this work an account of the succession of English and Irish Bishops as far as it could be ascertained, and has given in it a *substantiated view* of Pelagius, and his Heresy, a matter intimately connected with his subject.

* Phil. iii. 8.

Having spent sixteen years in the vigorous and faithful discharge of his Archbishopial Functions he was obliged to visit England, for the arrangement of some domestic concerns, early in A. D. 1640. He was accompanied by his wife and family, and intended only to be absent from his See a year, But His whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, intended otherwise. His departure on this occasion was a signal mark, says one of his Chaplains, "of God's special providence, as if, according to the Angel's speech to Lot nothing could be done till he escaped to Zoar." The holy man expected shortly to have visited his native country again, to have dwelt in his own land, and under his own fig tree; but the Irish Rebellion prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, and many were the afflicting circumstances with which his sojourn in England was attended. Many were the forebodings which he had for several years of unusual disasters occurring to the State and to the Country. He had ample opportunity of tracing the principles and feelings of popery, he knew the monster under every disguise it assumed, he perceived its hatred to every thing which was not of its own kind; he was convinced that, though fettered, it yet had power, that its energies unless wholly restrained, possessed too great a resilience, and he dreaded the consequences. Such were some of the last observations he made to his Chaplain Bernard; "I cannot forget," said that Clergyman, "the serious preparation he gave me, at my taking leave of him, for the many sorrows and miseries I should see before I saw him again, and with that confidence as if it had been within view;" and many were the sorrows and miseries Bernard was called upon to witness. He was entrusted with the care of the Primate's Library, and during four months he was besieged in Drogheda, A. D. 1641, the Priests and Friars without exulted in the idea of obtaining so valuable a collection, while the barbarous multitude ardently desired to satiate their fury by burning him, and his friend's books together!

"Dread was the day, and more dreadful the omen."

These desires however were frustrated, and the Primate's Library was forwarded to him early in the next spring to Chester.

On the Primate's arrival in London, whither he went immediately on leaving Ireland, he was appointed Preacher at Covent-Garden, being deprived of the temporalities of his See; but finding the heat of faction too great to be endured, he quitted the tumults of the Metropolis, for the literary retirement of Oxford. Dr. Morris, Canon, and Hebrew Professor at Christ Church, accommodated him with lodgings, in the same building with Dr. Parr, with whom his Grace became extremely intimate, and whom he appointed his Chaplain. On the 5th of November this year he preached a sermon at St. Mary's Church, Oxford, respecting which, Wood has related the following curious circumstance.—He mentioned in it that he had obtained

two pamphlets, written by Ralph Buckland, a Papist, the one entitled *Seven sparks of an enkindled soul*; the other *Four Lamentations drawn out of the Holy Scriptures*, both printed at Rome in 1603, two years previous to the discovery of the Gun-powder Treason in England, which he proved from many passages in those tracts, was known at the time of their publication at the place where the Whore of Babylon reigneth, and that prayers were there sent up for the prosperous success of it. Wood says however, that he could find no notice of when or where this Book was printed in any part of the volume; but though Wood was unable to do so, yet Usher might have received the intelligence from another quarter, and he assuredly would not have made the observation unless he had sufficient authority to warrant it. After he had resided some months at Oxford, where he enjoyed some very agreeable intercourse with many learned and wise men, he returned for a time to the Metropolis, endeavoured as much as possible to conciliate the King, the Church, and Parliament, and for this purpose even submitted to the Legislature, on one of their debates respecting Church Government, a proposal for reconciling the Puritan and Episcopalian parties. In this proposal he suggested the propriety of having occasional meetings of the Clergy of each Rural Deanery, with their Suffragan as Moderator, to take cognizance of all matters within their respective cures, whose acts might be all referable to monthly Diocesan Synods, with a Bishop or President at their head, or in his absence one of the Suffragans; he suggested likewise that their acts might be subject to the revision of a National-Synod, composed of the Archbishops and Bishops, with certain of the Clergy chosen out of each Diocese; that the Archbishop or some Bishop appointed by him might preside, and that these National Synods might again form themselves into National Councils where appeals might be received from inferior Synods, and where ecclesiastical constitutions might be established. This expedient was signed also by Richard Holsworth, and was readily acquiesced in by the Puritans, but rejected by the King, and to his rejection of it his downfall may in a great measure be ascribed. Finding himself therefore unable to mediate successfully between two parties, whose contentions had arisen to such a fearful magnitude, he again returned to the seat of the Muses in 1641, where he took up his abode at his friend Dr. Prideaux's, and published a *discourse on the Origin of Bishops and Metropolitans*; and also another tract entitled, a *Geographical and Historical Disquisition on the Lydian and Preconsular Asia*, in the former he proves that the Episcopal Office owed its rise to the Apostles, existed in the purest ages, was represented by the stars in the right hand of Christ, mentioned in Revelations; and also that the angels of the seven Churches there spoken of, were the Bishops of those cities; and in the latter he defends these opinions by proving that the seven cities were all metropolitan seats of civil and sacerdotal Government. His opinion in fact respecting Episcopacy, may very fairly

be summed up in his own words to Bernard, "that *Episcopus et Presbyter, gradu tantum differunt, non ordine*, and consequently that in places where Bishops cannot be had, the ordination of Presbyters standeth valid; yet on the other side," said he, "holding as I do that a Bishop hath superiority in degree above a Presbyter, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from those Bishops, unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical." An answer was attempted to his work on the origin of Bishops, by John Milton, whose controversial writings were very far from equaling, either in beauty, force, or truth, that *unpremeditated fire* which raised him to the loftiest pinnacle of poetic greatness, and rendered him the undisputed Prince of Poets. He had now returned from his Continental tour, embraced the profession of School-Master, become the defender of Regicides, the calumniator of Loyalists, and the advocate of social disorder. In fact he had now, as Johnson observes, "adopted the Puritanical savageness of manuers" and of course, "that generous Myalty to rank and sex, that fond submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself," according to the observation of Burke, "the spirit of an exalted freedom" had fled from the breast of our immortal Bard.—*Nemo mortalium omnium horis sapit.*

* We must not forget to relate the very interesting part he was called upon to take previous to his return from London, at the conclusion of one of the most execrable, and barbarous tragedies that ever was exhibited before a civilized audience. He was selected by the unfortunate Earl of Strafford to direct his devotions, confirm his faith, and attend him to the fatal block, where he terminated his earthly course—unfortunate did I say: as far as concerned time, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, was certainly *unfortunate*: faction, tyranny, and disloyalty conspired against his life, and were successful, but as far as man can judge with reference to eternity, he was doubtless fortunate, for he came off more than conqueror, through Him who loved him, and gave Himself for him. The following testimony borne to him by Whitelock, Chairman of the Committee, which conducted his impeachment, at once establishes the excellence of his character, and the aggravated guilt of his murderers, "certainly never any man acted such a part on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions than this great and excellent person: and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted to remorse, and pity" Such was this great man, whose last speech upon the scaffold, which he addressed to Usher, need only be consulted to prove him a Christian, and a Patriot. In it he declared his attachment to the Church of England.*

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. 4, p. 790.

“in that Church,” said he, “I was born and bred, in that religion I have lived, and now in it I die.” To Usher he then professed himself “reconciled to the mercies of Jesus Christ,” expressed his “confidence and assurance in the merits of Christ,” assured him that his presence was “a great comfort,” and beside him he knelt when he addressed his last prayer in this world to the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. But notwithstanding the regard which Lord Strafford thus evidenced toward Usher, consulting him moreover respecting many particulars of his defence, and notwithstanding the respect which Usher paid him visiting him daily during his imprisonment, his Grace was said to have instigated his murder, and to have advised Charles to pass the Bill for his attainder. But the Primate was very far from consenting to his death. The King indeed sent for him, when he was preaching in the Church of Covent Garden, to consult him on the business, but he told the messenger that he was then employed about God’s business, and that as soon as he had done he would attend upon his Majesty to understand his pleasure, which he did accordingly, and declared, as also the other Bishops, that if his Majesty did not conceive Lord Strafford guilty of the crimes alledged against him he could not in justice condemn him. But condemn him, however unwillingly, he did, and although the language addressed to him by the Parliament then, was indemnity for the past, and security for the future, the condemnation of his innocent Minister was visited on his own head.

A. D. 1641, the Irish Rebels plundered his Country Houses, seized on his rents, destroyed his Tenements, and drove away all his cattle, which were very numerous, and very valuable, nothing having escaped their fury except his Library, as has been already related. So great was the exigence to which he was thus reduced, that he was compelled to sell his Plate, and Jewels, the only valuables remaining, to supply his present need. But these great trials, Parr says, were unable to make “any change in his natural temper, and heavenly disposition, still submitting to God’s providence, with Christian patience, and magnanimity, having long learned before to use the things of this world as if he used them not; and in whatsoever condition he was, therewith to be contented.” In the midst of these afflictions, the City and University of Leyden entreated him to become their Honorary Professor, and offered him a salary considerably more ample than what had formerly been annexed to that situation, Cardinal Richlieu also invited him to France, promising him a considerable pension, and liberty of conscience. He also wrote to him a letter on the publication of his work *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, full of kindness and respect, enclosing him at the same time, a gold medal of great value, which was embossed with his own likeness. Usher in return sent him a present of Irish grey-hounds “and other rarities,” says Parr, “which that country afforded.”—King Charles however thought it wiser to detain him in

England, and gave him to hold in *Commendam* the Bishoprick of Carlisle, vacated by the death of Dr. Potter. This however he did not enjoy long, for it was seized on by the long Parliament with all other Bishop's lands. They nominally granted him indeed in consideration of his losses in Ireland, and personal merits, compensation of £400 per annum, but mostly withheld the payment of their gratuity, thinking perhaps, like many others, that charity began at home.

At Oxford he still maintained the same habitual course of administering the Balm of Gilead in the name of the heavenly Physician to the diseased souls of his fellow-men. He preached mostly every Sunday, either at St. Olives, or All-Hallows, where he had very large auditories. The first Sunday too after King Charles had retired to Oxford with his shattered army from the dubious battle of Edge-Hill, the first he fought, and where he was nominally victor, Usher was called on to preach before him as also on many solemn occasions, which subsequently occurred. There is much reason to hope that the instruction which this well-intentioned, but weak and ill-advised Monarch, received from the Primate of Ireland was attended with very pleasing and useful consequences.

In the Summer of 1643, the Parliament, who had now assumed to themselves the exercise of the Royal Prerogative, outraged all the principles of the Constitution, and openly proclaimed war against their Monarch, called a meeting of Divines at Westminster to new model the service of the Church of England, and to reduce its discipline to their own notions of Church Government. The King previous to the meeting of their assembly, by Proclamation forbade the convocation, and threatened with severe punishment any person who would disobey his commands. But half his sceptre was now wrested from his hands, and London no longer submitted to his sway. Usher was appointed a member of the assembly, but he had too high and conscientious a regard for the religious establishment with which he was connected, to acquiesce in any measures which would subvert it, too firm an attachment for his King to persist in a measure affecting his Government, to which he refused his sanction, and too great a respect for his commands, knowing from whom he derived his authority, to persevere in an act of disobedience. He therefore never attended any of the deliberations of that august body, and they were too sensible of the affront, to permit him any longer to retain the privilege of being reckoned of their number, they complained of him to the Commons, and the Commons supplied his place with some candidate for republican honors, who better merited their favours. Not satisfied however with depriving him of his honorary situation, the Committee whom they appointed to deprive the Delinquents or Malignants, (the names indiscriminately applied to all Royalists,) of their estates, ordered his Library, which was deposited at Cl. in College,

etter was only prevented by the interference of Dr. Fealty and Mr. Selden, both of them Members of the Assembly, the latter of the Commons, and both of them friends of Usher, who obtained them as a favour for their own use. Many of his papers, manuscripts, and all the letters which he had left behind him were however stolen, and some of his books were lost.

Having now obtained much celebrity at Oxford, as a public instructor, as the vigorous defender of pure undefiled and primitive Christianity, as the supporter of his Monarch's rights, and the Nation's real interest, and the determined foe of Rebellion, Innovation, and Anarchy, the University, who had already incorporated him among their Doctors of Divinity; when they were assembled in Convocation, 10th March, 1644, ordered a certain number of their body to have "his Effigies engraven on a copper-plate with an eulogium under it to be prefixed" to his work then at press, on the Epistles of Ignatius.* The inscription agreed on for the copper-plate was, "James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the most skilful of primitive antiquity, the unanswerable defender of the Orthodox Religion, the maul of errors, in preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful, the rare example of an unblameable life." The work for which this engraving was intended, was a new edition of the Epistles of Ignatius collected, and revised, as also a version of them from two old MSS. he had recently found in England; prefixed to the whole was a learned dissertation on the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp, and on the Constitutions and Canons attributed to Clement of Rome. This work was regarded as a considerable augmentation to his literary renown. It was his purpose to have annexed the Epistles of Barnabas to those of Ignatius, but his design was frustrated, as the great fire at Oxford consumed his copy, with the exception of his initiatory remarks on the age, writer, and design of the epistle, which Bishop Fell, having procured from Dr. Bernard, his Grace's Chaplain, introduced, although the conclusion of it was destroyed, into his edition of that Epistle printed at Oxford, 1685.

He published also A. D. 1644, his work *De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum Versione Syntagma*. In this treatise he conjectures that the five Books of Moses were the only part of the sacred writings translated in the time of Ptolemy, and that they having perished in the general conflagration of his great Library, were again rendered into Greek, as also the whole of the Old Testament, by Dositheus the Jew. This version he imagined was generally received instead of the true Philadelphian; that the translator interpolated it as his wishes dictated; and that hence proceeded all the differences between the original and the Greek version, Except in his first

* Wood's Fasti.

position however, that the Pentateuch alone was translated by the Seventy, he seems not to have been followed by any other writer on the subject.* Besides his observations on the Septuagint he has also added some critical remarks on many other versions.

We learn from Hume, that a Fast on the last Wednesday of every month, had been ordered by the Parliament, at the beginning of those commotions, which rent the nation, and at length dethroned the King; and that "their Preachers on that day, were careful to keep alive, by their vehement declarations, the popular prejudices entertained against the King, against the Prelacy, and against Popery. The King that he might combat the Parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewise a monthly fast, when the people should be instructed in the duties of loyalty and submission to the higher powers. "On one of these occasions Usher preached before his Majesty, on 2 Chron. vii. 14, "If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from Heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land." It was to him a very pleasing office to expatiate on the obedience of the subject to the sovereign; but he was aware that the principle of loyalty was very far from embracing all the precepts of religion, and as many were then possessed of it, who were extremely immoral in their lives, he as boldly reprobated the prevailing licentiousness of the times, as he did the rebellious procedure of the reigning part of the Commons and their adherents. He also preached before the King on another fast day when his Commissioners for Peace, and the Parliamentary Commissioners for protracted warfare, and the annihilation of all constitutional principles were convened at Uxbridge. His text was James iii. 18, "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that love peace." He expatiated very largely on the blessings of peace, and on the horrors of war, praying at the same time that the gracious concessions of his Majesty might be accepted by the Rebel Foe. His prayer however, in the inscrutable wisdom of Heaven, was rejected, the concessions were slighted, demands too enormous and extravagant to grant were made; hostilities were renewed, and "the vessel of the state" was now expected to "fly forward in her course toward regeneration with more speed than ever," wafted prosperously on with the propitious gale of aggravated treason, and unprovoked disloyalty.

In this juncture of affairs, the siege of Oxford being meditated by the Parliament forces, and the immediate departure of the King being

* For a full account of the Septuagint, consult Hamilton's Introduction to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures, Chap. 6.

resolved on, the Lord Primate determined to leave the Academic Groves, whither he had resorted with so much pleasure to himself and profit to others, and to visit his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrel, then Governor of Caerdiff, and General of Ordnance in South Wales. Accordingly having taken leave of his Majesty, he proceeded in company with the Prince of Wales, to Bristol, and from thence continued his route to the place of his destination. Here he was received with the utmost joy and affection by his Son and Daughter, from whom he had been separated during a long interval of time. It is much to be lamented however, that we are not more fully informed respecting the endearing attentions, which they paid their venerable parent, or those interesting scenes of social intercourse in which he must here have found such pleasing relaxation from the severe labours of his study. In this secluded fortress, secure from the dangers and disasters of war, he nearly completed the first part of his annals, pursued with unabated vigor his learned undertakings, had once more the gratification of seeing his respected Monarch, and again had an opportunity of preaching before him, when he retreated to Caerdiff, in hopes of levying an army in the exhausted regions of Wales, after he had been vanquished in the fatal plains of Naseby, through the imprudent conduct of Prince Rupert. Charles no longer able to garrison so many towns, was compelled to remove Sir T. Tyrrel, and the troops he commanded; and Usher, no longer settled, was yet doubting whether he should return to Oxford, and brave the dangers of the embattled plains which intervened, or retreat to the Continent, when the Dowager Lady Stradling kindly inviting him to St. Donates, he resolved to comply with her request. On his way thither, accompanied by his Daughter, they were furiously attacked by a party of Welshmen, who were up in arms in that neighbourhood, to the number of ten thousand men, professing great attachment to the royal cause. He had with him several chests of Books and MSS which were immediately opened, as also all his other luggage, pillaged without scruple, and distributed into a thousand hands. They next proceeded to drag the Primate and those that were with him from their horses, but some officers, gentlemen of the country, coming up caused the horses and many articles of luggage to be restored, kindly sought, but in vain, to recover the books, which were now very widely dispersed, and brought him to Sir John Auberry's house, where he was very civilly received and entertained that night. "When he had retired himself," says Dr. Parr, "I never saw him so much troubled in my life: and those that were with him before myself, said that he seemed not more concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this, saying to his Daughter and those who endeavoured to comfort him; I know that it is God's hand; and I endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty, not

to be extremely concerned, for I am troubled in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me all that I have been gathering together, above these twenty years, and which I intended to publish for the advancement of learning, and the good of the Church." But next morning he was visited by several of the Clergy and Gentlemen of the Country, who kindly condoled with him on the loss he had sustained, and comforted him with the assurance that they would be able to recover for him such books and papers as had not suffered from fire or other accidents. They accordingly notified in all the Churches, that those who had any of them in their possession must immediately restore them to their respective Ministers and Landlords. The notice was obeyed, the books and manuscripts sent in parcels to St. Donat's, and in the course of two or three months the major part were again recovered by the rightful owner. The restoration of what he valued so highly must doubtless have afforded him the utmost delight—*Sit bona librorum* was his constant desire, and if provided with plenty of literary food, he was very far from being solicitous about Horace's second wish, *provise frugis in annum copia*, he permitted the morrow to take care of the things of the morrow, thought very little of time, and having his loins girt, was ever mindful of another scene. Would to God that all other literary characters gave the same heavenly tendency to their studies, that this holy patriarchal character gave his!

At St. Donat's he spent much time in consulting the books and manuscripts deposited in the Library of the Castle which had been collected by Sir Edward Stradling, the antiquary, where he procured many valuable matters relative to the antiquities of Wales and Britain. Shortly after his arrival he was afflicted with a very dangerous and severe illness, which ended in a very violent bleeding at the nose that continued for forty hours. The Physicians entertained no hopes of his recovery, he was apparently at the point of death, but suddenly the bleeding abated, and he became gradually restored to his accustomed health and vigour. In the course of his illness he evidenced much patience and submission to the divine will, solemnly warned all who were about him of the danger of deferring the consideration of their eternal interests to the hour of their last sickness, and declared his apprehension that "a death-bed repentance will avail us little if we have lived vainly and viciously, and neglected our conversion, till we can sin no longer." He exhorted them to believe on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to live in holiness of life, "and then," said he, "you will find the comfort of it at your death: and your change will be happy." While he was yet bleeding, a member of the then House of Commons came to visit him, whom he thus solemnly warned, "Sir, you see I am weak, and cannot expect to live many hours, you are returning to the Parliament, I am going to God, my blood and my life is almost spent; I charge you to tell

them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the King, and I am not mistaken in this matter." So seriously concerned was he at the vile conduct of those republican Demons! He also assured Dr. Parr on this occasion, in answer to an interrogatory from him, that he had most wrongfully been accused of consenting to the death of his friend-Strafford. The King too hearing it very currently reported that the Archbishop had terminated his mortal life, assured Colonel William Legge, and Mr. Kirk, Gentlemen of his Bedchamber, "that he was very sorry for his death, together with high expressions of his piety and merits: but 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 the King, after the Bill was past, the Archbishop came to me saying, with tears in his eyes, Oh! Sir, what have you done? I fear 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." How fully does this circumstance prove the amiable nature of the Primate's character, and the sensibility of his tender spirit.

During our Prelate's residence in Wales a surreptitious copy of his *Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion*, was published in London by Mr. Downhame. He had drawn up this work, in the form of question and answer, for his own private use when a young man, without any view towards its publication. He lent copies of it to some importunate friends, by which means it found its way to the press; and A. D. 1653, he published his *Principles of the Christian Religion*, an abridgement of the former, which he had originally extracted for the benefit of his family,

A. D. 1646, being fully re-established in health, fearing to visit London, and ignorant of any place of safety in the kingdom where he could retire, he resolved to visit the Continent, obtained a pass for that purpose from the Earl of Warwick, had prepared a vessel for his voyage, but Molton, the Parliamentary Vice-Admiral, entering the road of Caerdiff with his squadron, he was obliged to apply for a new pass from him, which was roughly refused, accompanied with a threat that he would take him into custody. Shortly after this disappointment he received a very friendly invitation from the excellent Countess of Peterborough, entreating him to reside with her, promising to secure him from molestation, and warmly expressing her affection and her gratitude to him as having been the means of her husband's conversion, who had now retired from a troublesome world to enjoy the blissful visions of his Saviour's glory, and realize the excellence of those divine principles he had imbibed here, through the instrumentality of our holy Prelate. To undertake this journey it became necessary to replenish his

purse, now entirely exhausted. Unable to provide the means himself, many of his benevolent neighbours, who sympathised with his misfortunes, were induced to remit him several sums of money to a considerable amount, without the privacy of each other. He was thus enabled to supply his present need, and to repair the June following to London, where Lady Peterborough then resided, and from this period he was usually an inmate in one or other of her houses. As he passed through Gloucester, his zeal for the cause of his Divine Master induced him to visit Biddle, the celebrated Socinian, who was then dangerously ill. Kipple has thus quoted the circumstance from T. Edwards, that "learned and Godly Divine," Usher "spoke with him and used him with all fairness and pity, as well as strength of arguments to convince him of his dangerous error; a Minister of the city of Gloucester told me the Bishop laboured to convince him that either he was in a damnable error, or else the whole Church of Christ, who had in all ages worshipped the Holy Ghost, had been guilty of Idolatry; but the man was no whit moved by the learning, gravity, piety, or zeal of the good Bishop, but continued obstinate." On his arrival in the Metropolis he gave the necessary information of it to the Parliamentary Committee, at Goldsmith's Hall; who immediately summoned him before them, enquired by whose authority he left London, where he had remained during his absence, and whether Sir Charles Coote or any other person ever asked him to use his influence with the King to grant a toleration of Religion in Ireland. He replied that he had a Parliamentary pass to Oxford, and declared that neither Sir C. Coote or any other person ever sought to make him exercise such a power over the King, and also that on the arrival of the Irish Agents at Oxford, he entreated his Majesty not to enter into any regulation respecting religion in Ireland without consulting him, that this request was acceded to, that the King and Council declared against a toleration, and that he himself always regarded such a measure as involving the danger of the Protestant Religion. The Chairman of the Committee then offered him the negative oath, which had purposely been formed for the adherents of the King, but he requested them to allow him time to consider it, which being granted he retired, and was never summoned to appear again, for which he was indebted to the kind interference of Selden, and his other friends in Parliament. He soon afterwards attended Lady Peterborough to her residence at Rygate in Surry, where he usually preached either in the Parish Church, or in her Chapel, and where he was visited by the most respectable Gentlemen and Clergy, that they might enjoy the advantage of his improving conversation, and derive benefit from his instructions in religion.

Early in the Year 1647, he was appointed Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, and was allowed very commodious, well furnished

apartments by the Benchers, one of whom was his friend Hales, afterwards Lord Chief Justice. He was here treated with every respect and honour by his new congregation, and preached regularly every term for eight years. At the expiration of that period, having lost many of his teeth, and being nearly deprived of his sight, he was compelled to retire from his charge, by whom his removal from among them was regarded as a very afflictive providence.

Unabated in his literary ardour he published in 1647 his *Appendix Ignatiana*, containing the genuine uninterpolated Epistles of Ignatius, with a new Latin version; an authentic History of the martyrdom of that Saint; the epistles of Tiberianus, Pliny, and Trajan respecting the constancy of the martyrs; and the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna concerning the martyrdom of Polycarp. This year also he published his *Diatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere, et aliis fidei formulis*. In this work he gave a learned account of the various copies of the Apostles Creed formerly used in the Roman Church, published several ancient formularies of faith, and some other similar monuments of antiquity.

In the beginning of the following year he published his very erudite chronological work on the introduction of the Macedonian Solar year into Greece. In this dissertation he instituted a comparison of the lunar and solar months with the Julian, and those of other nations; fixed the time of the Martyrdom of Polycarp; laid down the entire arrangement of the Asiatic and Macedonian year; and subjoined a Grecian and Roman Ephemeris, which was the first attempt made in this Country to frame a true Astronomical Calendar.

In the same year 1648, his Majesty, who was then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, sent for Usher to consult him respecting the Episcopal arrangements, which he was compelled to institute as his last hope of safety. Usher of course repaired immediately to Carrisbrook Castle, and once more submitted his expedient, for the amalgamation of Puritans and Churchmen, to the consideration of the King, who at length professed himself willing to accept it. But his concessions, alas, were now too late, the Scotch and English Presbyterians were now grown too extravagant in their demands, and nothing but the blood of their Monarch could afford them satiety. Immediately on his arrival at the port, he preached before his royal master, from Gen. xlix. 3, "Reuben, thou art my first born, my might, and the beginning of my strength, the excellency of my dignity, and the excellency of power." In this sermon he enlarged very amply on the just rights and prerogative of the King, and proved that hereditary monarchy was as well entitled to the excellency of power as to the excellency of dignity. The account of this discourse, with many additions, soon reached the Me-

tropolis, and the Preacher almost as soon was lampooned in all the ephemeral writings of the day. Previous to his leaving London he also preached at Lincoln's-Inn, from Isaiah viii. 12, 13, " Say ye not a confederacy to all them, to whom this people shall say a confederacy, neither fear you their fear, nor be afraid : Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your fear and let him be your dread," and very pointedly reprobated the covenants and confederacies, which were so generally entered into at that period against the Crown, and the real interests of the Country. Thus valiantly did this vigorous champion of every religious truth, every manly sentiment, and every constitutional principle, boldly proclaim the guilt of disobedience in a Subject, the heinous nature of Rebellion, and the authority with which the higher powers were entrusted by heaven, for the execution of heaven's purposes, at the very time when the advocacy of such opinions was regarded as constructive treason.

The Primate having failed in his attempt to reconcile the King, and his rebellious House of Commons, left the Isle of Wight, and stopping at Southampton was very kindly received by the chief Gentry of the Town, and was requested also to preach there on the succeeding Sunday. With this solicitation he complied, but was very soon waited on by the Governor of the Garrison to entreat he would decline preaching, as it might be of ill consequence to the place, and to intimate in fact that he would not be permitted to enter any Pulpit in that town. So great a dread did he entertain of Usher's inculcating too plainly the obedience owed by the Subject to the Sovereign, and of his exposing the guilt of that horrid villainy, which was then meditated. The King was very soon after brought into Southampton as a Prisoner, and if Rebellion was generally regarded as a crime, the Governor had very good reason to believe that an informed people would rise to vindicate a Monarch's injured rights.

The memorable *Thirtieth of January*, 1649, now speedily arrived, the infernal pageantry, yelped the trial of Charles Stewart, planned in Pandemonium was now speedily got up by Pandemonium's Potentates and Peers, with decorations suitable to the vitiated taste of a corrupted nation, and he who had once received the homage of a grateful people, was now condemned and pronounced a traitor by men who gloried in their breach of all constitutional principles, and were daily committing the most atrocious acts of treason ; he was conducted to the scaffold by men who had sworn allegiance to his government, fidelity to his person, and unqualified resistance to all opponents of his authority ; and he was executed in the sight of many, who though they once were among the number of his courtiers, had deserted him when fallen, and in the sight of others, who while they lamented his misfortunes, and commiserated in his sufferings, were unable to rescue him from the cowards who

trayed, the villains who imprisoned, or the assassins who slew him. Among those, who respected their monarch, but had no power to prevent his murder, and were witnesses of this horrid catastrophe, was that venerable Prelate, the circumstances of whose life we have been recording. He was at this time with Lady Peterborough at Charing-Cross, and some of the family, who had previously gone out on the leads of the house, from whence they had a full view of Whitehall, came down, when the King appeared upon the scaffold, to entreat him to return with them, and once more behold his venerated and unfortunate master. At first unwilling to comply, he at length consented; but when he saw the hereditary Governor of Britain engaged in the last mournful vindication of his conduct, he sighed deeply, and with hands and eyes upraised to heaven, suffused with tears, he prayed with perceptible earnestness; and when he saw the masked Executioners preparing to fulfil their dreadful office, no longer able to witness a scene so horrible and tremendous, or endure a spectacle so atrocious and diabolical, in which such foul indignities were offered to royalty, he swooned into the arms of his attendants, and was at length relieved, when laid upon his couch, by an abundant effusion of tears, and the most ardent supplications to the throne of mercy.

During the disasters, which followed, and the tyranny, which succeeded, our worthy Primate devoted himself to the labours of his study, and the exercise of his ministerial duty, openly reprobated the usurpation of Cromwell and his proceedings, and constantly endeavoured to administer consolation to the suffering adherents of the murdered King. Often did he observe, that the present order of things would be reversed, kingly government restored, and he himself retire from the troublous scene, before he hoped for consummation. He even remarked, not long before his death, that the disposition of Cromwell, resembled that of the Grecian Tyrants, which as it originated in a preponderance of military power, so did it usually terminate with the death of the Usurper. A. D. 1650, he published his profound and erudite performance, the *Annals of the Old Testament*; a work begun, as already has been recorded, at a very early age. It commences with the earliest notices of mundane transactions, concludes with the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, A. M. 3828, contains the succession of the Babylonish, Persian, and Macedonian Monarchs; the concurrent Olympiads, the synchronisms of sacred and profane History, and an account of the most remarkable Eclipses of the Sun, with reference to his Chronological statements. The second part of this work, which is carried on to the destruction of Jerusalem, by Vespasian, issued from the Press in 1654. He very fully detailed in this volume, the state of the Macedonian Empire, under the Asiatick and Egyptian Kings;

gave an exact account of the affairs of the Roman Empire in the East; and also added a narration of the New Testament History, as far as the year 73, and the parallel circumstances noticed by the Greek and Roman writers of that period.

On the fourteenth of December this Year, although he had discontinued his practise of preaching to large auditories, he preached the funeral sermon, on the death of his friend Selden, in compliance with the particular request of the Executors of that learned and celebrated Barrister, whom he had visited during his illness, and for whom he entertained the highest regard. He pronounced a very high and deserved encomium on the deceased; and with much humility, but very little truth, declared him to be "so great a scholar, that himself was scarce worthy to carry his books after him."

Cromwell, who evidenced great anxiety not to be considered as a persecutor of those, who disagreed with him in religious opinions, sent about this time for Usher. The Primate, at first unwilling to obey the mandate, resolved, upon consideration, to comply, fearing that his refusal would only enrage the Protector against him, and at the same time, hoping that he might be able to effect some good, or prevent some evil. The Despot received him with much civility, conversed with him, it is reported, on the most probable means of advancing the Protestant interests, and with some canting expressions dismissed him. A. D. 1655, Usher was entreated by some of the Orthodox Divines, to wait again on Cromwell, and request him to allow the Episcopal Clergy the free exercise of their religious services, as he had previously forbade them to instruct youth, or perform any part of their ministerial functions, under the severest penalties. Usher found a Surgeon engaged in dressing a large boil on the Protector's breast, who said to him, "if the core were once out, I should be quickly well." "I doubt," replied the Primate, "the core lies deeper; there is a core at the heart, that must be taken out, or else it will not be well." "Ah," said Oliver, with seeming unconcern, "so there is indeed," and sighed. He soon told the Primate, that his Council advised him not to grant any toleration to men so implacable to his government and person; and his Grace, finding persuasion needless, returned home, disappointed, chagrined, and surprised at the perfidy of the man, who had promised, at a previous interview, to yield to his entreaties, and now refused to ratify the concessions he had before made. "This false man," said he to Parr, "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, and though I shall not live to see it, you may."

In the February following, he left London for Ryegate, and took leave of his relations for the last time. His earthly course was nearly run, and

yet his mind and body were as vigorous as could be expected for his advanced period of life; but his sight had become so weak from an unwearyed application to study, that he was only able to write, in a strong light, and was, therefore, compelled to follow the sun from one window to another. Had his life been spared until the succeeding winter, it was his intention to have employed an amanuensis. He was now constantly engaged in the consideration of another world, and in the contemplation of his own dissolution, which was fast approaching. It had been his habit to make some remark in his almanack, opposite the day of his birth; his observation this year, 1655, was "now aged 75 years, *my days are full*;" and immediately after in large letters RESIGNATION; so fully was he aware, that the hour of his departure was at hand, and so entirely was he resigned to the will of his Divine Master. Not long before his death he heard Dr. Parr preach, and said afterwards, "I thank you for your sermon; I am going out of the world, and I now desire, according to your text, to *seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God*, and to be with him in heaven; of which said he, we ought not to doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our own conversion, true faith, and love, and live in the exercise of those christian graces, and virtues, with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, renouncing all ungodliness, and worldly lusts; and he, who is arrived at this habitual frame and holy course of life, is the blessed, and happy man, and may rejoice in hope of a glorious eternity in the kingdom of heaven, to receive that inheritance given by God, to those that are sanctified." Parr mentions, that his conversation at this period resembled more that of one freed from all the incumbrances of the flesh, than of one, who was yet a pilgrim and a sojourner here. "But since," says that Biographer, it had been usual with him to insist on things of this nature, when we were together, and he was at this time in health, I did not believe, that his change was so near, as he presaged: yet he himself had other thoughts, and it proved he was not mistaken." On March 20, in the evening, he first complained of a pain in his hip. That day he had remained in his study, as long as it was light, and then went to visit a lady in the same house, who was dangerously ill. He spent an hour in endeavouring to lead her to form conceptions of her situation, and seemed to explain the mysteries of the heavenly Canaan, as if, like Moses from Mount Pisgah, he had a full view of the glorious inheritance, which awaited him. He had now been fifty-five years an Herald of God's will to man, an ambassador of the glorious Gospel of Christ; and he concluded his embassy with the emphatic declaration of his important message. The next morning the pain in his hip, which he at first thought was the sciatica, was accompanied with a great pain in his side. A Physician was sent for, and the medicines supposed to be requisite were ordered; but so far from abating, they

only increased the violence of his complaint, which, after his decease, was ascertained to be a pcurisy. He now applied himself wholly to his devotions, and the Countess of Peterborough's Chaplain prayed with him. Receiving some intermission from pain, he addressed a solemn warning to all, who were around him, to prepare for death and judgment. He next took an affectionate farewell of her Ladyship, from whom he had received such repeated kindness, and gave her some most excellent advice; and then requested to be left alone. The last words he was heard to utter were, *O Lord forgive me, especially my sins of omission.* He had frequently expressed his desire, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, praying for mercy and forgiveness, confident that such language was most befitting the fallen sons of Adam. Even when redeemed from their lost estate, he knew them to be sinners still: and though grace might enable those, who were ransomed from the fall, to live consistently with their profession; he well knew that imperfection was stamped upon their best performances, and that their holiest services demanded the application of atoning blood. It was surely most ungenerous in Bishop Burnet to imagine, and still more ungenerous to publish his conjecture, without any document to warrant it, that, according to his opinion, Usher "did not bestir himself suitable to the obligations, that lay on him in carrying on" "the rough work of reforming abuses;" it "sat heavy on his thoughts, when he came to die;" and drew forth the humble and contrite expressions, which we have already noticed, as having then escaped him. This accusation rests entirely on the supposed culpability of the Primate's conduct with respect to Bedell, which we have already discussed, and, concerning which, we shall add but one or two observations. Usher knew, that Bedell had acted illegally in his eagerness to reform ecclesiastical abuses. It was therefore impossible for him to defend him. He would have been delighted to have effected the reform; but he was not possessed of the power. Bedell, to remedy the evil, sat as Judge in his own Court; but Usher, ignorant of the laws, pleaded *meum habeo, quam sit mihi curia sup. llex*; and declared, "my Chancellor is better skilled in the laws, than I am, and far better able to manage affairs of that kind." Besides he judged, that if the Bishops generally exercised such a jurisdiction, the evil, so far from being diminished, would be increased; and appealed to an instance of a Bishop, who sat in his own Courts, and in whom there was to be found "more injustice and oppression, than in all the Chancellors in the whole kingdom put together." It must be obvious, from this statement, that his conduct was in no wise reprehensible; and therefore could never have embittered his dying moments. The only reluctance he evidenced to assist Bedell in the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, was a reluctance in the first instance, to countenance any illegal measure; and, in the next, to permit a precedent to be formed, which, he thought, would be injurious in its consequences, and introduce still greater corruption. Of this charge he

therefore stands acquitted ; and his dying words are solely to be regarded as a confession of his just knowledge of the human heart, his own in particular, and of the forgiveness, which all need. Thus died, full of faith, in the fifty sixth year of his ministry, and the seventy-sixth year of his age, on the 27th of March, 1656, the venerable Usher; a name, which, as it has hitherto, so should it for ever be embalmed and enshrined in the grateful remembrance of the virtuous, the learned, and the wise. His translation from the Prelacy of Meath, to the Primacy of Armagh, preceded his translation to the royal priesthood in heaven, thirty-one years. Here he appeared for a little while, like some vast luminary, which, moving in an eccentric orbit, approached our sphere, and again returned to his perihelion station to enjoy the glories of the celestial world. The hundredth Bishop of Armagh, he nobly and illustriously closed the first centenary of Irish Bishops. Patrick, who was the first, introduced the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ into Ireland ; while our distinguished Prelate restored it in its purity ; taught it in its simplicity ; maintained it in its excellence against the efforts of all, who would either have deteriorated its doctrines, enervated its precepts, or weakened its authority ; exemplified its holy character in his life and conversation ; and proved its efficacy to administer consolation and support, in the days of his affliction, and at the hour of his death.

When his relations became acquainted with the melancholy tidings of his decease, they gave the necessary orders for his funeral ; but the fall of so mighty a man in Israel, was too sensibly deplored throughout the nation to permit his burial to be private ; and Cromwell, desirous of obtaining a character for liberality of sentiment, ordered his remains to be publicly interred, with all the honours due to so great a personage, at Westminster Abbey. His interment took place, April 17, 1656, according to the rites of the Church of England ; and Dr. Bernard, his Grace's Chaplain, preached a sermon on the occasion from 1 Sam xxv. 1. *And Samuel died, and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him.* This sermon was afterwards published, and has frequently been referred to in this narrative.

Usher was, in his person, of moderate stature, sanguine complexion, brown hair, and of a grave countenance, expressive of good nature, and commanding reverence and respect. Surely no man ever deserved to receive both more, than he did. Courteous, affable, and forgiving, he never committed, or returned an injury. Elevated in his situation in life, and endowed with the most capacious understanding, eminent in learning, and no less eminent in piety, humility was the most prominent feature in his character. Benevolent in his disposition, he was active in charity, and even when distressed,

himself, his beneficence was very widely felt by his fellow suffering countrymen. On one occasion, when deeply engaged in study, a poor Irishwoman came to him at Lady Peterborough's, and demanded alms: he simply told her he was unable to comply with so many requests of that kind, and she without any importunity retired, imploring divine blessings upon him.— Reflecting afterwards, that she might perhaps have been a fit object for his bounty, he sent some of the domestics after her, who returned without finding her. Being much distressed, that this search was ineffectual, he sent his own servant, who was not within at the time of the occurrence, to inquire for the woman the next morning, at those places where the Irish usually resorted to in London. The servant was unable to effect his errand, and the Primate was considerably concerned at being so hasty in his refusal.

In preaching he was eloquent and frequent, as has already been related. We have yet to mention, that his sermons were, so far, extemporaneous, that the heads only were committed to paper; and it is evident, from what we have before recorded, that they were always declaratory of the grand scheme of redemption through a crucified Saviour. He was very careful not to admit any persons into the ministerial office, who were unqualified to exercise its holy functions. "*Lay hands suddenly on no man,*" was a precept, which he most conscientiously regarded. He only ordained one person, who was not acquainted with the learned languages, an English mechanic in his own Diocese, a pious man, who read and knew much of the Bible, was well acquainted with works of practical divinity, and was extremely anxious to be actively engaged in the sacred calling. This person, when he applied to the Primate for ordination, was ignorant of Irish; but his Grace, remarking that his preaching would be of little use, unless it was understood by the people, the man promised to acquire the language of the natives, which being enabled to effect in a year, he was ordained, and was the means of converting many papists, and was a very eminent Minister.

We have now brought to a conclusion the life of this venerable Patriarch, who was alike distinguished for his piety, and his learning, his loyalty, and his patriotic virtues. It would be needless to dilate further on his character, it has already been described with sufficient accuracy. It is only necessary to add further, what was before remarked of Augustine, *O virum ad totius ecclesie publicam utilitatem, natum, factum, datumque divinitus!*

ERRATA.

Page vii, line 16, for *political* read *polemical*.

— xxiii, line 27, for *It* read *I*.

— xxvii, line 31, for *walketh* read *wasteth*.

— xlix, line 1, for *errer*, read *to be sold*. *The execution of the order.*

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