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THE
L I V E S
O F

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

Lord Chief Justice of ENGLAND;

WILMOT, Earl of Rochester;

A N D

Queen M A R Y.

Written by Bishop BURNETT.

To this EDITION are added,

RICHARD BAXTER'S Additional NOTES to
the Life of Sir MATTHEW HALE.

A N D

A SERMON Preached at the Funeral of the Earl
of Rochester, by the Rev. Mr. PARSONS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. DAVIES, in Ruffel-Street, Covent-Garden.

M.DCC.LXXIV.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

*N*O part of history is more instructive and delighting, than the lives of great and worthy men : the shortness of them invites many readers, and there are such little and yet remarkable passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general history of the age in which they lived, that all people are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's lives to be more generally read than any of all the books which the ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the lives of heroes and princes are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular history ; and do rather amuse the readers fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself : and indeed the lives of princes are
either

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either writ with so much flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them; or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them have revenged themselves on their memory, that there is not much to be built on them; and though the ill nature of many makes what is satyrically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the flattery is visible and coarse, yet certainly resentment may make the writer corrupt the truth of history, as much as interest; and since all men have their blind sides, and commit errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly touching, what should be set against them to balance them, may make a very good man appear in very bad colours: so upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much truth, or great instruction, from what is written concerning heroes or princes; for few have been able to imitate the patterns Suetonius set the world in writing the lives of the Roman emperors, with the same freedom that they had led them: but the lives of private men, though they seldom entertain the reader with such a variety of passages as the other do; yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present

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sent wisdom and virtue to him, not only in a fair idea, which is often look'd on as a piece of the invention or fancy of the writer, but in such plain and familiar instances, as do both direct him better, and persuade him more; and there are not such temptations to bias those who writ them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the age in which we live, religion and virtue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of reason, and those persuasions, that they can hardly be match'd in former times; yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them, which perhaps flows from this, among other reasons, that there are not so many excellent patterns set out, as might both in a shorter and more effectual manner recommend that to the world, which discourses do but coldly; the wit and stile of the writer being more considered than the argument which they handle, and therefore the proposing virtue and religion in such a model, may perhaps operate more than the perspective of it can do; and for the history of learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it, as the writing the lives of those who have been eminent in it.

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There is no book the ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius his lives of the philosophers, if he had had the art of writing equal to that great subject which he undertook, for if he had given the world such account of them, as Gassendus has done of Peiresk, how great a stock of knowledge might we have had, which by his unskilfulness is in a great measure lost; since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other, or better author, that has written on that argument.

For many ages there were no lives writ but by monks, through whose writings there runs such an incurable humour of telling incredible and inimitable passages, that little in them can be believed or proposed as a pattern. Sulpitius Severus and Jerom shewed too much credulity in the lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion beyond what can be reasonable believed: after them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth stories of the monks of Thebais, and Nitra; and those who came after them, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their saints above those of former ages; so that one would have thought that undecent way of writing could raise no higher;
and

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and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good sense of things, and a just apprehension of mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris, who though he was a writer of great judgment and fidelity, yet he has corrupted his history with much of that alloy: but when emulation and envy rose among the several orders or houses, then they improved in that art of making romances, instead of writing lives, to that pitch, that the world became generally much scandalized with them. The Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the founders, or other saints of their orders, and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possessors of the belief of the world, as well as of its wealth, endeavoured all that was possible still to keep up the dignity of their order, by out-lying the others all they could; and whereas here or there, a miracle, a vision, or trance, might have occurred in the lives of former saints, now every page was full of those wonderful things.

Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this age, though more awakened and better enlightened, as appears in the life of Philip Neri, and a great many more: and the jesuits at Antwerp, are

now

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now taking care to load the world with a vast and voluminous collection of all those lives that has already swelled to eleven volumes in folio, in a small print, and yet being digested according to the calender, they have yet but ended the month of April. The life of monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest patterns that France has afforded in this age.

But while some have nourished infidelity, and a scorn of all sacred things, by writing of those good men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the authentical writings of our most holy faith; others have fallen into another extream, in writing lives too jejune, swelling them up with trifling accounts of the childhood and education, and the domestick and private affairs of those persons of whom they writ, in which the world is little concerned; by these they become so flat, that few care to read them; for certainly those transactions are only fit to be delivered to posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to after-times.

I have

The PREFACE.

I have now an argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short history, but will contain in it as great a character as perhaps can be given of any in this age; since there are few instances of more knowledge and greater virtues meeting in one person. I am upon one account (besides many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own observation; but upon second thoughts I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively, for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those who were much wrought on by the tenderness of their friendship for them, to raise their stile a little too high when they write concerning them: I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go abroad) to the chapel of the Rolls, where I then preached: in my life I never saw so much gravity, tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity, as appeared in his looks and behaviour, which disposed me to a veneration for him, which I never had for any, with whom I was not acquainted: I was seeking an opportunity
of

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of being admitted to his conversation; but I understood that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of business, which his employment brought upon him, he was master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume to rob him of any of it, and so he left the town before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My ignorance of the law of England, made me also unfit to write of a man, a great part of whose character, as to his learning, is to be taken from his skill in the Common Law, and his performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same robe; since if I engaged much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me, who having been much obliged by him, and holding his memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by writing his life; I was then engaged in the history of the reformation, so I promised that as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such informations and memorials as should be brought me.

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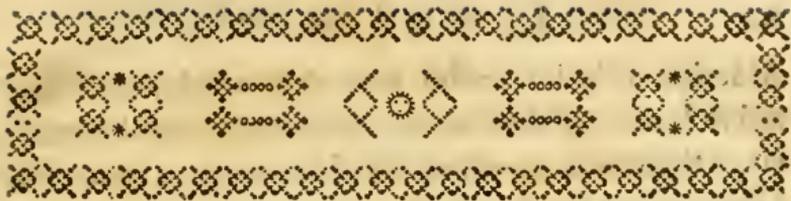
This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his life, or the branches of his character, which I could either gather from the informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his writings. I have not applied any of the false colours with which art, or some forced eloquence, might furnish me in writing concerning him; but have endeavoured to set him out in the same simplicity in which he lived. I have said little of his domestick concerns, since though in these he was a great example, yet it signifies nothing to the world, to know any particular exercises, that might be given to his patience; and therefore I shall draw a veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the reader some profitable instruction. I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am persuaded is exactly true, for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the reader against it, by the mixture of falsehoods with it.

In short, as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to posterity,

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urity, in his own true and native colours, may have its due influence on all persons, but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whether on the bench or at the bar.

THE



THE
LIFE AND DEATH

OF

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

L A T E

Lord Chief Justice of England.

MATTHEW HALE, was born at Alderly in Gloucestershire, Nov. 1, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-edge, in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they had given several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which were enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally amongst his five sons; besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung. His second son was Robert Hale, a Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn; he married Joan, the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of

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Alderly,

Alderly, Esquire, who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton : of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son. His Grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptism. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lye, and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his estate in the country. Of this I was informed by an ancient gentleman, that lived in a friendship with his son for fifty years, and he heard Judge Jones, that was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's-bench. But as the care he had to save his soul, made him abandon a profession in which he might have raised his family much higher, so his charity to his poor neighbours made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate which was but 100 l. a year) 20 l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them, with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor house-keepers, as did not receive the alms of the parish ; for to give it to those, was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish.

Thus

Thus he was descended rather from a good, than a noble family, and yet what was wanting in the insignificant titles of high birth, and noble blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruction, for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five; so early was he cast on the providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him: for after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his uncle by his mother, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, Esquire, who was his next kinsman, after his uncles, by his mother.

Great care was taken of his education, and his guardian intended to breed him to be a divine, and being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some schools that were taught by those of that party, and in the seventeenth year of his age, sent him to Magdalen-Hall in Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford. But the Stage-players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this he not only lost much time, but found that his head came to be thereby filled with such vain images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterwards sensible of the mischief of this, he resolved

upon his coming to London, (where he knew the opportunities of such fights would be more frequent and inviting) never to see a play again, to which he constantly adhered.

The corruption of a young man's mind, in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it, so he being now taken off from following his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, that was formerly eminent in him, far beyond his years, set himself to many of the vanities incident to youth, but still preserved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company: and being of a strong robust body, he was a great master of all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence, and handle his weapons, in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the masters of those arts: but as he was exercising himself in them, an instance appeared, that shewed a good judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his masters told him, he could teach him no more, for he was now better at his own trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale look'd on as flattery; so to make the master discover himself, he promised him the house he lived in, for he was his tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the head: and bad him do his best, for he would be as good as his word. So after a little engagement, his master being really superiour to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promise; for he gave him the house freely: and
was,

was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early, to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He was now so taken up with martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a scholar, or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier: and his tutor Sedgwick going into the Low-countries, chaplain to the renowned Lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the prince of Orange's army; but a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the useful services he afterwards did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate, and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for business, he was forced to leave the university, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to solicit his own business. Being recommended to serjeant Glanvill for his counsellor, and he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the study of the law: and this had so good an effect on him, that on the 8th of November, 1629, when he was past the twentieth year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn: and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had over-run and almost corrupted his mind,

he resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed his studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a day: he threw aside all fine clothes, and betook himself to a plain fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But, since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former course of life, is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer, serjeant Glanvill, and since my design in writing is to propose a pattern of heroic virtue to the world, I shall mention one passage of the serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother, but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him, that was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatnings of an angry father, was now but too certain, became melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will, so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of an estate that was gone from him. But his brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do: so he called him, with many of his friends together to a feast, and after other dishes had been served up to the dinner,

dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was surprized to find it full of writings. So he told them, that he was now to do what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother: and therefore he freely restored to him the whole estate. This is so great an instance of a generous and just disposition, that I hope the reader will easily pardon this digression, and that the rather, since that worthy serjeant was so instrumental in the happy change that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain people, till a sad accident drove him from it, for he, with some other young students, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that, notwithstanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present, were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again. This did particularly affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to life again; and that himself might be forgiven for giving such countenance to so much excess: and he vowed to God, that

he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow, till his dying day. And though he was afterwards prest to drink healths, particularly the king's, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of loyalty, and drew many into great excess after his Majesty's happy restoration; but he would never dispense with his vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him: now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession. In the former he was so regular, that for six and thirty years time he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day; this observation he made when an ague first interrupted that constant course, and he reflected on it as an acknowledgment of God's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the reader will best judge, by the scheme he drew for a diary, which I shall insert copied from the original, but I am not certain when he made it; it is set down in the same simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use.

Morning.

I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life,

II. To

II. To renew my covenant with God in Christ.

1. By renewed acts of faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation. 2. Resolution of being one of his people, doing him allegiance.

III. Adoration and prayer.

IV. Setting a watch over my own infirmities and passions, over the snares laid in our way.

Perimus licitis.

Day Employment.

There must be an employment, two kinds.

I. Our ordinary calling, to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ though never so mean. Colos.

3. Here faithfulness, diligence, chearfulness. Not to overlay myself with more business than I can bear.

II. Our spiritual employments: mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in this day.

Refreshments.

I. Meat and drink, moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.

II. Recreations. 1. Not our business. 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

If alone.

I. Beware of wandering vain lustful thoughts; fly from thyself rather than entertain these.

II. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable, view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul,
the

the coming of Christ, thy own mortality, it will make thee humble and watchful.

Company.

Do good to them. Use God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill example. Receive good from them, if more knowing.

Evening.

Cast up the accompts of the day. If ought amiss, beg pardon. Gather resolution of more vigilance. If well, bless the mercy and grace of God that hath supported thee.

These notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his privacies. No wonder, a man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called *Young Noy*. He passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken when there was a press for the king's service, as a fit person for it; for he was a strong and well-built man: but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them. Once

Once as he was buying some cloth for a new suit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him an hundred pounds when he came to be Lord Chief Justice of England; to which he answered, that he could not with a good conscience wear any man's cloth, unless he payed for it; so he satisfied the draper, and carried away the cloth. Yet that same draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the study of the law, he not only kept the hours of the hall constantly in term-time, but seldom put himself out of commons in vacation time, and continued then to follow his studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the books wrote about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all records. Then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read, and mixing them with his own observations, digested them into a commonplace book; which he did with so much industry and judgment, that an eminent judge of the King's-bench borrowed it of him when he was Lord Chief Baron: He unwillingly lent it, because it had been writ by him before he was called to the bar, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that time, only what alterations had been made in the law by subsequent statutes, and judgments, were added by him as they had happened: but the judge, having perused it, said, that
though

though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and learned antiquary, Mr. Selden, who though much superior to him in years, yet came to have such a liking of him, and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Common-pleas, that as he continued in a close friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his death two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession, but becoming as great a master in it, as ever any was, very soon, he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner as most men have done in any age.

He set himself much to the study of the Roman law, and though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge; yet he often said, that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the Digests, that a man could never understand law as a science so well as by seeking it there, and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England.

He looked on readiness in arithmetick as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment,

ment, and acquired it to such a degree, that he would often on the sudden, and afterwards on the bench, resolve very hard questions, which had puzzled the best accomptants about town. He rested not here, but studied the algebra, both *speciosa* and *numerosa*, and went through all the other mathematical sciences, and made a great collection of very excellent instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact as art could make them. He was also very conversant in philosophical learning, and in all the curious experiments, and rare discoveries of this age; and had the new books, written on those subjects, sent him from all parts, which he both read and examined so critically, that if the principles and hypotheses, which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those, who have differed most from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, he shews as great an exactness, and as much subtilty in the reasoning he builds on them, as these principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed, it will seem scarce credible, that a man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of mind, could find leisure to read, observe, and write so much of these subjects as he did. He called them his diversions, for he often said when he was weary with the study of the law, or divinity, he used to recreate himself with philosophy, or the mathematicks; to these he added great skill in physick, anatomy, and chyrurgery:

and

and he used to say, “ No man could be absolutely “ a master in any profession, without having some “ skill in other sciences : ” for, besides the satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his employments. In some examinations he would put such questions to physicians, or surgeons, that they have professed the college of physicians could not do it more exactly ; by which he discovered great judgment, as well as much knowledge, in these things : and in his sickness he used to argue with his doctors about his distempers, and the methods they took with them, like one of their own profession ; which one of them told me, he understood as far as speculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great searches into ancient history, and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek philosophers, but want of occasion to use it, wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue ; and though he never studied the Hebrew tongue, yet by his great conversation with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the Rabinical learning.

But above all these, he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others, to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those, who have read what he has written on these subjects, will think, they must have had most of his time and thoughts. It may seem extravagant, and almost

most incredible, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge, and that in sciences that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehensions lively, his memory great, and his judgment strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning, was never idle, scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning, and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: and in eating and drinking he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite: so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself immediately after he had dined; by these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for what ever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things, which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from, his studies.

When

When he was called to the bar, and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out, in which it was no easy thing for a man to preserve his integrity, and to live securely, free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of Pomponius Atticus, wrote by Nepos, and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much distraction, as ever was in any age or state, from the wars of Marius and Scilla, to the beginnings of Augustus his reign, without the least blemish on his reputation, and free from any considerable danger, being held in great esteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them; he set him as a pattern to himself, and observing that besides those virtues which are necessary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved Atticus, the one was his engaging in no faction, and meddling in no public business; the other was his constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest, which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the generosity of his temper, and procured him much kindness from those on whom he had exercised his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern: He resolved to guide himself by those rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news; and was always both favourable and charitable to those who were depressed, and was sure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions;

ous; for many that have conversed much with him, have told me, they never heard him once speak ill of any person.

He was employed in his practice by all the king's party. He was assigned council to the earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud, and afterwards to the blessed king himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock-trial, and offered to plead for him with all the courage, that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with, but was not suffered to appear, because the king refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the court, it was pretended, none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also council for the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel: his plea for the former of these I have published in the memoirs of that duke's life. Afterwards also, being council for the lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general threatened him for appearing against the government; to whom he answered, " he was
" pleading in defence of those laws, which they
" declared they would maintain and preserve;
" and he was doing his duty to his client, so that
" he was not to be daunted with threatenings."

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party; nor was he satisfied to appear for their just defence in the way of his profession, but he also relieved them often in their necessities; which he

did in a way that was no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: for he did often deposit considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the king's party, who knew their necessities well; and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell, seeing him possessed of so much practice, and he being one of the eminentest men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him, and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice, for a judge's place in the Common-pleas, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers; but having considered well of this, he came to be of opinion, "that it being absolutely
 " necessary, to have justice and property kept up
 " at all times, it was no sin to take a commission
 " from usurpers, if he made no declaration of his
 " acknowledging their authority," which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of his own profession, who were of the king's party, as sir Orlando Bridgeman, and sir Geoffrey Palmer; and was also satisfied

concerning the lawfulness of it, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Henchman, who were afterwards promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London.

To these were added the importunities of all his friends, who thought that in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation, to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the bench: and the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be, in relation to public matters.

But he had greater scruples concerning the proceeding against felons, and putting offenders to death by that commission, since he thought the sword of justice belonging only by right to the lawful prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital sentence by an authority derived from usurpers; yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary felonies, and offences against the state; for the last he would never meddle in them, for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that account was murder; but for the ordinary felonies, he at first was of opinion, that it was as necessary, even in times of usurpation, to execute justice in those cases, as in matters

of property; but after the king was murdered, he laid by all his collections of the pleas of the crown, and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the wainscoting of his study, for he said, “there was no more occasion to use
 “ them, till the king should be again restored to
 “ his right,” and so upon his Majesty’s restoration he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great work.

Yet, for some time after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, he did sit on the crown-side, and judged criminals: but, having considered farther of it, he came to think, that it was at least better not to do it; and so after the second or third circuit, he refused to sit any more on the crown-side, and told plainly the reason, for in matters of blood, he was always to choose the safer side. And indeed he had so carried himself in some trials, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them, of which I shall give some instances:

Not long after he was made a judge, which was in the year 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king’s party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling piece on his shoulder, which the soldier seeing, he came to him and said, it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, “That none who had been of the
 “ king’s

“king’s party should carry arms;” and so he would have forced it from him; but as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun, which he refusing, the soldier struck at him, and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried: against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of man-slaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder: and though colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court and urged, that the man was killed only for disobeying the Protector’s orders, and that the soldier was but doing his duty; yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little, and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in an-

other circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned: upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff; and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the Protector was highly displeas'd with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer he made was, that it was very true.

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolv'd to have proceeded severely. Some Anabaptists had rush'd into a church, and had disturb'd a congregation, while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence; at this he was highly off'ended, for he said, it was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side: but these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would meddle no more with the trials on the crown-side,

When

When Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country-house at Alderly: he plainly refused to go, and said, the four terms, and two circuits, were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for his private affairs, and so he excused himself: he thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly, but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a parliament-man, (for there being then no house of lords, judges might have been chosen to sit in the house of commons) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brain-sick, designed they knew not what, being resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law, and property of England, and all the antient rules of this government, and set up in its room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called the kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or other Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions, that all the sober men

of the nation were in, least they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who, to all their other ill principles, added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, judge Hale steered a middle course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliament, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing, that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders, then in agitation, would ferment to that happy resolution in which they determined in May 1660. And therefore all that could be then done, was to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the enthusiasts as well as the usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation; so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness, and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons, (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice till the Protector died, but then he both refused the mournings that were sent to him and his servants
for

for the funeral, and likewise to accept of the new commission that was offered him by Richard, and when the rest of the judges urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and said, he could act no longer under such authority.

He lived a private man till the parliament met that called home the king, to which he was returned knight of the shire from the county of Gloucester. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and esteemed in his neighbourhood, for though another, who stood in competition with him, had spent near a thousand pounds to procure voices, (a great sum to be employed that way in those days) and he had been at no cost, and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who press'd him to appear, and he did not promise to appear till three days before the election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by violence, by the lord (now earl of) Berkeley, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his friends and interest for him: and whereas by the writ, the knight of the shire must be *miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no sword, that noble lord girt him with his own sword during the election; but he was soon weary of it, for the embroidery of the belt did not suit well with the plainness of his cloaths: and indeed the election did not hold long, for as soon as ever he came into the field, he was chosen

chosen by much the greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that parliament he bore his share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation, which, contrary to the expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner, that those who had formerly built so much on their success, calling it an answer from heaven to their solemn appeals to the providence of God, were now not a little confounded, to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think, that the sooner an act of indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on, in which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the courts in Westminster-hall came to be settled, he was made lord chief baron; and when the earl of Clarendon (then lord chancellor) delivered him his commission, in the speech he made according to the custom on such occasions, he expressed his esteem of him in a very singular manner, telling him among other things, “ that if the king could have found out
“ an honest and fitter man for that employment,
“ he

“ he would not have advanced him to it; and
 “ that he had therefore preferred him, because he
 “ knew none that deserved it so well.” It is ordinary for persons so promoted to be knighted, but he desired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of waiting on the king, which the lord chancellor observing, sent for him upon business one day, when the king was at his house, and told his Majesty there was his modest chief baron, upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court, and all proceedings in it, with singular justice. It was observed by the whole nation, how much he raised the reputation and practice of it: and those who held places and offices in it, can all declare, not only the impartiality of his justice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generosity, his vast diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, that he did not dispatch matters quick enough; but the great care he used, to put suits to a final end, as it made him slower in deciding them; so it had this good effect, that causes, tried before him, were seldom, if ever, tried again.

Nor did his administration of justice lie only in that court: he was one of the principal judges that sat in Clifford's-Inn, about settling the difference between landlord and tenant, after the dreadful fire of London. He being the first that
 offered

offered his service to the city, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the rebuilding it, in which he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all persons concerned: so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care, which he and sir Orland Bridgeman, (then lord chief justice of the Common-pleas, afterwards lord keeper of the great seal of England) used, and to the judgment they shewed in that affair: since without the rules then laid down, there might have otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. But, without detracting from the labours of the other judges, it must be acknowledged, that he was the most instrumental in that great work; for he first, by way of scheme, contrived the rules upon which he and the rest proceeded afterwards, in which his readiness at arithmetic, and his skill in architecture, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a judge behaved himself as he did, who, at the entry into his employment, set such excellent rules to himself, which will appear in the following paper copied from the original under his own hand.

Things

Things necessary to be continually had in remembrance.

I. That in the administration of justice, I am intrusted for God, the king and country; and therefore,

II. That it be done, 1. uprightly; 2. deliberately; 3. resolutely.

III. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength, but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.

IV. That in the execution of justice I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.

V. That I be wholly intent upon the business I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts, as unseasonable and interruptions.

VI. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.

VII. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.

VIII. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity; yet to consider, that there is also a pity due to the country.

IX. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgment.

X. That

X. That I be not biased with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.

XI. That popular, or court applause, or distaste, have no influence in any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.

XII. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rule of justice.

XIII. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.

XIV. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.

XV. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity is justice.

XVI. To abhor all private solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whom soever, in matters depending.

XVII. To charge my servants, 1. not to interpose in any business whatsoever; 2. not to take more than their known fees; 3. not to give any undue precedence to causes; 4. not to recommend council.

XVIII. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business.

He would never receive private addresses or commendations from the greatest persons in any matter, in which justice was concerned. One of the first peers of England went once to his cham-

ber and told him, “ that having a suit in law to
 “ be tried before him, he was then to acquaint
 “ him with it, that he might the better understand
 “ it, when it should come to be heard in court.”
 Upon which the lord chief baron interrupted
 him, and said, “ he did not deal fairly to come to
 “ his chamber about such affairs, for he never
 “ received any information of causes but in open
 “ court, where both parties were to be heard
 “ alike ;” so he would not suffer him to go on :
 whereupon his grace (for he was a duke) went
 away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it
 to the king, as a rudeness that was not to be en-
 dured. But his Majesty bid him content himself
 that he was no worse used, and said, “ he verily
 “ believed he would have used himself no better,
 “ if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own
 “ causes.”

Another passage fell out in one of his circuits,
 which was somewhat censured as an affectation of
 an unreasonable strictness, but it flowed from his
 exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gen-
 tleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had
 a trial at the assizes ; so when he heard his name,
 he asked, “ if he was not the same person that
 “ had sent him venison,” and finding he was the
 same, he told him, “ he could not suffer the trial
 “ to go on, till he had paid him for his buck ;”
 to which the gentleman answered, “ that he never
 “ sold his venison, and that he had done nothing
 “ to him, which he did not do to every judge that
 “ had

“ had gone that circuit,” which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present : but all would not do, for the lord chief baron had learned from Solomon, that a gift perverteth the ways of judgment, and therefore he would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the present ; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record : and at Salisbury the dean and chapter having, according to the custom, presented him with six sugar loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

It was not so easy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compassion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatness ; yet when justice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the lord chief baron to set his hand to a certificate, to restore him to it, or provide him with another ; but he told him plainly, his fault was such that he could not do it ; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears ; but finding that could not prevail, he said he should be utterly ruined if he did it not ; and he should curse him for it every day. But that having no effect, he then fell out in all the reproachful words, that passion and despair could inspire him with, to which all the answer the lord chief baron made, was, “ that he could
 “ very well bear all his reproaches, but he could
 “ not

“not for all that set his hand to his certificate.” He saw he was poor, so he gave him a large charity and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern, Pomponius Atticus, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest; so besides great charities to the nonconformists, who were then as he thought too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could, from the severities some designed against them, and discouraged those who were inclined to stretch the laws too much against them. He lamented the differences that were raised in this church very much, and according to the impartiality of his justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the nonconformists, had merited highly in the business of the king's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter, than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful prospect of popery, that has appeared since: but that which afflicted him most was, that he saw the heats and contentions which followed upon those different parties and interests, did take people off from the indispensable things of religion, and slackened the zeal of otherways good men for the substance of it, so much being spent about external and indifferent things. It also gave advantages to atheists, to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith as ridiculous, when they saw the pro-

fessors of it contend, so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about lesser matters. He was much offended at all those books that were written to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age in a wanton and petulant stile; he thought such writers wounded the christian religion, through the sides of those who differed from them: while a sort of lewd people, who having assumed to themselves the title of wits (though but very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands, what they had said, to make one another shew ridiculous, and from thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some law, to make all scurrility or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigourously against the nonconformists, so he declared himself always of the side of the church of England, and said those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the church, about such inconsiderable matters, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever medled in state intrigues, yet upon a proposition that was set on foot by the lord keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension of the more moderate dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension, he dispensed with his maxim, of avoiding to engage in matters of state. There were several meetings upon that occasion. The
divine

divine of the church of England that appeared most considerable for it, was doctor Wilkins, afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of Chester, a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined, as well by his excellent temper, as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the great prejudices that religion received, and the vast dangers the reformation was like to fall under by those divisions, set about that project with the magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself; for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the eminentest of the presbyterian divines, heads were agreed on, some abatements were to be made, and explanations were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the lord chief baron, who put them in form of a bill, to be presented to the next sessions of parliament.

But two parties appeared vigorously against this design, the one was of some zealous clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the church to alter laws, and change settlements for the sake of some whom they esteemed schismatics: they also believed, it was better to keep them out of the church, than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism

itself was. Besides they said, if some things were now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party, as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions, and there might be as good reasons invented for these as for those: many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the church of Rome, pretending that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a church that was constant and true to herself. These were the reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on, against all comprehension; and they wrought upon the greater part of the house of commons, so that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

There were others that opposed it upon different ends: they designed to shelter the papists from the execution of the law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in popery so well as a toleration. But to tolerate popery bare-faced, would have startled the nation too much; so it was necessary to hinder all the propositions for union, since the keeping up the differences was the best colour they could find, for getting the toleration to pass only as a slackening the laws against dissenters, whose numbers and wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence popery might have crept in more covered, and less regarded: so these councils being more acceptable to some concealed papists than in great power, as

has

has since appeared but too evidently, the whole project for comprehension was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill eye, as secret favourers of the dissenters, underminers of the church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast on them.

But upon this occasion the lord chief baron, and Dr. Wilkins, came to contract a firm and familiar friendship; and the lord chief baron having much business, and little time to spare, did, to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendship with some other eminent clergymen, as Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Barrow, late master of Trinity college; Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury; and Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, (men so well known and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the lord chief baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the character they are so deservedly in, that they are reckoned among judge Hale's friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with bishop Wilkins, that was singular to him alone. He had during the late wars lived in a long and intimate friendship with the apostolical primate of Ireland bishop Usher: their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers, led them to a great agreement almost in every thing. He held also

great conversation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick apprehension: their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age, and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: and as he could not find a subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the age that understood it so well, and could manage it more skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it was this. He was a strict observer of the Lord's day, in which, besides his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons, with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances, and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours, which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts. He writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published: he never corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflections in them; so that he used no sort of care

to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These fell into the hands of a worthy person, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them to the world, might be a public service, printed two volumes of them in octavo a little before the author's death, containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS,

- I. Of our latter end.
- II. Of wisdom, and the fear of God.
- III. Of the knowledge of Christ crucified.
- IV. The victory of faith over the world.
- V. Of humility.
- VI. Jacob's vow.
- VII. Of contentation.
- VIII. Of afflictions.
- IX. A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.
- X. Changes and troubles, a poem.
- XI. Of the redemption of time.
- XII. The great audit.
- XIII. Directions touching keeping the Lord's day, in a letter to his children.
- XIV. Poems written upon Christmas-day.

In the 2d Volume.

- I. An enquiry touching happiness.
- II. Of the chief end of man.

- III. Upon *Ecles. xii. 1.* Remember thy Creator.
- IV. Upon the *Pfal. li. 10.* Create a clean heart in me; with a poem.
- V. The folly and mischief of sin.
- VI. Of self-denial.
- VII. Motives to watchfulness, in reference to the good and evil angels.
- VIII. Of Moderation of the affections.
- IX. Of worldly hope and expectation.
- X. Upon *Heb. xiii. 14.* We have here no continuing city.
- XI. Of contentedness and patience.
- XII. Of moderation of anger.
- XIII. A preparative against affliction.
- XIV. Of submission, prayer, and thanksgiving.
- XV. Of prayer and thanksgiving on *Pf. cxvi. 12.*
- XVI. Meditations on the Lord's prayer, with a paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true spirit of religion, mix'd with a most serious and fervent devotion, and perhaps with the more advantage, that the style wants some correction, which shews they were the genuine productions of an excellent mind, entertaining itself in secret with such contemplations. The style is clear and masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation, in which he expresses his thoughts both easily and decently. In writing these discourses, having run over most of the subjects that his own circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began

to be in some pain to chuse new arguments, and therefore resolved to fix on a theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices, that had so long vexed his righteous soul: and therefore began a great design against atheism; the first part of which is only printed, of the origination of mankind, designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

The second part was of the nature of the soul, and of a future state.

The third part was concerning the attributes of God, both from the abstracted ideas of him, and the light of nature; the evidence of providence, the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

And the fourth part was concerning the truth and authority of the scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. On writing these he spent seven years. He wrote them with so much consideration, that one who perused the original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it, told me, he did not remember any considerable alteration, perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.

The way of his writing them (only on the evenings of the Lord's day, when he was in town, and not much oftener when he was in the country) made, that they are not so contracted, as it is
very

very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compass, and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the stile, that volume that is printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the perfectest pieces both of learning and reasoning that has been writ on that subject; and he who read a great part of the other volumes told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this work, he sent it by an unknown hand to bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgment of it; but he that brought it, would give no other account of the author, but that he was not a clergyman. The bishop and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson, read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the author, and how a man that was master of so much reason, and so great a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out, by those characters which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the lord chief baron, to which the other presently agreed, wondering he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the bishop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person he had trusted had discovered him. But the bishop soon cleared that, and told him, “ he had discovered himself, for the
“ learning

“ learning of that book was so various, that
 “ none but he could be the author of it.” And
 that bishop having a freedom in delivering his opi-
 nion of things and persons, which perhaps few
 ever managed both with so much plainness and
 prudence, told him, “ there was nothing could
 “ be better said on these arguments, if he could
 “ bring it into a less compass, but if he had not
 “ leisure for that, he thought it much better to have
 “ it come out, though a little too large, than that
 “ the world should be deprived of the good which
 “ it must needs do.” But our judge had never
 the opportunity of revising it, so a little before
 his death he sent the first part of it to the press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an essay of his
 excellent way of methodizing things, in which he
 was so great a master, that whatever he under-
 took, he would presently cast into so perfect a
 scheme, that he could never afterwards correct it.
 He runs out copiously upon the argument of the
 impossibility of an eternal succession of time, to
 shew that time and eternity are inconsistent one
 with another; and that therefore all duration that
 was past, and defined by time, could not be from
 eternity; and he shews the difference between
 successive eternity already past, and one to come:
 so that though the latter is possible, the former is
 not so; for all the parts of the former have actually
 been, and therefore being defined by time, cannot
 be eternal; whereas the other are still future to all
 eternity, so that this reasoning cannot be turned

to prove the possibility of eternal successions, that have been, as well as eternal successions that shall be. This he follows with a strength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all those moral arguments, to prove that the world had a beginning; agreeing to the account Moses gives of it, as that no history rises higher, than near the time of the deluge; and that the first foundation of kingdoms, the invention of arts, the beginnings of all religions, the gradual plantation of the world, and increase of mankind, and the consent of nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews profound skill both in historical and philosophical learning, so he gives a noble discovery of his great candour and probity, that he would not impose on the reader with a false shew of reasoning by arguments that he knew had flaws in them; and, therefore, upon every one of these he adds such allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much exactness of judgment, and strictness of censure, as if he had been set to plead for the other side: and indeed sums up the whole evidence for religion, as impartially as ever he did in a trial for life or death to the jury, which, how equally and judiciously he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that, he examines the ancient opinions of the philosophers, and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections in answering that only argument, that has any appearance of strength for
the

the casual production of man, from the origination of insects out of putrified matter, as is commonly supposed; and he concluded the book, shewing how rational and philosophical the account which Moses gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confess I never met together in any other book on that subject. Among other conjectures, one he gives concerning the deluge is, “that he did not think the face of the earth and the waters were altogether the same before the universal deluge, and after; but possibly the face of the earth was more even than now it is; the seas possibly more dilated and extended, and not so deep as now.” And a little after, “possibly the seas have undermined much of the appearing continent of earth.” This I rather take notice of, because it hath been since his death made out in a most ingenious and most elegantly written book by Mr. Burnet, of Christ’s college in Cambridge, who has given such an essay towards the proving the possibility of an universal deluge, and from thence has collected with great sagacity what paradise was before it, as has not been offered by any philosopher before him.

While the judge was thus employing his time, the lord chief justice Keyling dying, he was on the 18th of May 1671, promoted to be lord chief justice of England. He had made the pleas of the crown one of his chief studies, and by much
search,

search, and long observation, had composed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned. He that holds the high office of judiciary in that court, being the chief trustee, and assertor of the liberties of his country, all people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better deposited than in the hands of one, that as he understood them well, so he had all the justice and courage that so sacred a trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him, that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the councellers that were to plead one against another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that; so he would enforce what the weaker council managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes, but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him, that the council did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that I have heard many profess that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law: and which was yet more, the parties themselves, though interest does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were

were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His impartial justice, and great diligence, drew the chief practice after him, into whatsoever court he came: since, though the courts of the Common pleas, the Exchequer and the King's-bench, are appointed for the trial of causes of different natures, yet it is easy to bring most causes into any of them, as the council or attornies please; so as he had drawn the business much after him, both into the Common-pleas, and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the king's-bench, and many causes that were depending in the Exchequer and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his publick life and employment: but about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days time broke the constitution of his health to such a degree that he never recovered it: he became so asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath; that determined in a dropsy, of which he afterwards died. He understood physick so well, that, considering his age, he concluded his distemper must carry him off in a little time; and therefore he resolved to have some of the last months

months of his life reserved to himself, that, being freed of all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was also so much disabled in his body, that he could hardly, though supported by his servants, walk through Westminster-hall, or endure the toil of business. He had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him; he loved to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as will appear by a paper that he wrote on this subject, which I shall here insert:

“ First, if I consider the business of my pro-
 “ fession, whether as an advocate or as a judge, it
 “ is true I do acknowledge by the institution of
 “ Almighty God, and the dispensation of his pro-
 “ vidence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in
 “ it: and as it is an act of obedience unto his
 “ will, it carries with it some things of religious
 “ duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, and
 “ expect a reward of my obedience to him, and
 “ the good that I do to mankind therein, from the
 “ bounty and beneficence and promise of Almighty
 “ God: and it is true also that without such em-
 “ ployments civil societies cannot be supported,
 “ and great good redounds to mankind from them,
 “ and in these respects the conscience of my own
 “ industry, fidelity and integrity in them, is a
 “ great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet
 “ this I must say concerning these employments,
 “ considered simply in themselves, that they are
 “ very

“ very full of cares, and anxieties and perturbation.
“ tions.

“ Secondly, That though they are beneficial to
“ others, yet they are of the least benefit to the
“ person employed in them.

“ Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the
“ party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties,
“ and calumnies.

“ Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian
“ of this life, which is short and uncertain.

“ Fifthly, That tho’ it be my duty faithfully to
“ serve in them, while I am called to them, and
“ till I am duly called from them, yet they are great
“ consumers of that little time we have here, which,
“ as it seems to me, might be better spent in a
“ pious contemplative life, and a due provision for
“ eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment
“ than Martha had, in testifying her
“ love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision
“ for him; yet our Lord tells her, that
“ though she was troubled about many things,
“ there was only one thing necessary, and Mary
“ had chosen the better part.”

By this the reader will see that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, but that being set in it by the providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that post which was assigned him, without preferring his own private inclination to the choice God had made for him; but now that same providence having by this great distemper disengaged him from the obli-

gation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole town to divert him from it, but all was to no purpose; there was but one argument that could move him, which was, that he was obliged to continue in the employment God had put him in, for the good of the public; but to this he had such an answer, that even those who were most concerned in his withdrawing, could not but see, that the reasons inducing him to it, were but too strong; so he made application to his majesty for his writ of ease, which the king was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place still, he doing what business he could in his chamber; but he said, "he could not with a good conscience continue in it, since he was no longer able to discharge the duty belonging to it."

But yet such was the general satisfaction which all the kingdom received by his excellent administration of justice, that the king, though he could not well deny his request, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was possible: nor could the lord chancellor be prevailed with to move the king to hasten his discharge, though the chief justice often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself, and all his friends, with his importunate desires, and growing sensibly weaker in body, he did upon the twenty-

first day of February, 28. Car. An. Dom. 167⁵/₆, go before a master of chancery, with a little parchment deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there sealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled, and afterwards he brought the original deed to the lord chancellor, and did formally surrender his office in these words

“ Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præfens
 “ scriptura pervenerit, Matheus Hale, miles capi-
 “ tialis justiciarius domini regis ad placita-coram
 “ ipso rege tenenda assignatus salutem in domino
 “ sempiternam, noveritis me præfatum Matheum
 “ Hale, militem jam senem factum & variis cor-
 “ poris mei senilis morbis & infirmitatibus dire-
 “ laborantem & adhuc detentum. Hâc chartâ
 “ meâ resignare & sursum reddere serenissimo do-
 “ mino nostro Carolo secundo, Dei gratia Angliæ
 “ Scotiæ Franciæ & Hiberniæ, regi, fidei defen-
 “ sori, &c. Predictum officium capitalis justiciarii
 “ ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda, humillime
 “ petens quod hoc scriptum irrotaletur de recordo.
 “ In cujus rei testimonium huic chartæ meæ
 “ resignationis sigillum meum opposui, dat vicesi-
 “ mo primo die Februarii anno regni dict. dom.
 “ regis nunc vicesimo octavo.”

He made this instrument, as he told the lord chancellor, for two ends; the one was to shew the world his own free concurrence to his removal :

another was to obviate an objection heretofore made, that a chief justice being placed by writ, was not removeable at pleasure, as judges by patent were; which opinion, as he said, was once held by his predecessor the lord chief justice Keyling, and though he himself was always of another opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a scruple.

He had the day before surrendered to the king in person, who parted from him with great grace, wishing him most heartily the return of his health, and assuring him, “ that he would still look upon
“ him as one of his judges, and have recourse
“ to his advice when his health would permit,
“ and in the mean time would continue his pension during his life.”

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the king, and therefore writ a letter to the lord treasurer, earnestly desiring that his pension might be only during pleasure; but the king would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

And yet for a whole month together, he would not suffer his servant to sue out his patent for his pension; and when the first payment was received, he ordered a great part of it to charitable uses, and said, he intended most of it should be so employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to die upon the quarter day, which was Christmas day; and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute whether the
pension

pension for that quarter were recoverable, yet the king was pleased to decide that matter against himself, and ordered the pension to be paid to his executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great place, he returned home with as much chearfulness as his want of health would admit of, being now eased of a burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable of enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his elegant translation of, or rather paraphrase upon, those excellent lines in Seneca's Thyestes. Act. 2.

*Stet quicumque volet potens,
Aulæ culmine lubrico :
Me dulcis saturet quies.
Obscuro positus loco.
Leni perfruar otio :
Nullis nota quiribus,
Ætas per tacitum fluat.
Sic cum transierint mei,
Nullo cum strepitu dies,
Plebcius moriar senex.
Illi mors gravis incubat,
Qui notus nimis omnibus,
Ignotus moritur sibi.*

“ Let him that will ascend the tottering seat
“ Of courtly grandeur, and become as great
“ As are his mounting wishes : as for me,
“ Let sweet repose and rest my portion be ;

" Give me some mean obscure recess, a sphere
 " Out of the road of business, or the fear
 " Of falling lower; where I sweetly may
 " Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.
 " Let not my life or name be known unto
 " The grandees of the time, tost to and fro
 " By censures or applause; but let my age
 " Slide gently by, not overthwart the stage
 " Of public action; unheard, unseen,
 " And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
 " And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
 " In shady privacy, free from the noise
 " And bustles of the mad world, then shall I
 " A good old innocent plebeian die.
 " Death is a mere surprise, a very snare
 " To him, that makes it his life's greatest care
 " To be a public pageant, known to all,
 " But unacquainted with himself, doth fall.

Having now attained to that privacy, which he had no less seriously than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his office together, and told them, he had now laid down his place, and so their employments were determined; upon that, he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable presents, and to every one of them a token, and so dismissed all those that were not his domesticks. He was discharged the 15th of February 1675-6, and lived till the Christmas following, but all the while was in so ill a state of health,

health, that there was no hopes of his recovery. He continued still to retire often, both for his devotions and studies, and as long as he could go, went constantly to his closet; and when his infirmities encreased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. At last, as the winter came on, he saw with great joy his deliverance approaching, for besides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the blessedness of another state, his pains encreased so on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind; yet he expressed to the last such submission to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what mighty effects his philosophy and christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma, but sat rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his sickness by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, but with his hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotions. Not long before his death, the minister told him, "There was to be a sacrament next Sunday at church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest, therefore he

“ would give it him in his own house : ” But he answered, “ No ; his heavenly father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his father’s house to partake of it : ” So he made himself be carried thither in his chair, where he received the sacrament on his knees, with great devotion, which, it may be supposed, was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his viaticum and provision for his journey. He had some secret unaccountable presages of his death, for he said, “ that, if he did not die on such a day,” (which fell to be the 25th of November) “ he believed he should live a month longer,” and he died that very day month. He continued to enjoy the free use of his reason and sense to the last moment, which he had often and earnestly prayed for during his sickness. And when his voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring towards that blessed state, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for Christmas-day, and after he had received the sacrament, and been in the performance of the publick worship of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verses on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expression of the joy he felt in his soul, at the return of that glorious anniversary. There are seventeen of those copies printed, which he wrote on seventeen several Christmas-days, by which the
world

world has a taste of his poetical genius, in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent as well as in other things; but he wrote them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the laurel.

I shall here add one which has not been yet printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last he writ; it is a paraphrase on Simeon's song; I take it from his blotted copy not at all finished, so the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it.

“ Blessed Creator, who before the birth
 “ Of time; or e'er the pillars of the earth
 “ Were fix't or form'd, did'st lay that great design
 “ Of man's redemption, and did'st define
 “ In thine eternal councils all the scene
 “ Of that stupendious business, and when
 “ It should appear, and though the very day
 “ Of its epiphany, concealed lay
 “ Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleas'd to show
 “ Some glimpses of it, unto men below,
 “ In visions, types, and prophecies, as we
 “ Things at a distance in perspective see:
 “ But thou wert pleas'd to let thy servant know
 “ That that blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
 “ Through former ages, should at last attain
 “ Its time, e'er my few sands, that yet remain,
 “ Are spent; and that these aged eyes
 “ Should see the day, when Jacob's star should rise.

“ And

“ And now thou hast fulfill’d it, blessed Lord,
 “ Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
 “ And let my aged body now return
 “ To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn;
 “ For I have liv’d enough, mine eyes have seen
 “ Thy much desired salvation, that hath been
 “ So long, so dearly wish’d, the joy, the hope
 “ Of all the ancient patriarchs, the scope
 “ Of all the prophecies, and mysteries,
 “ Of all the types unveil’d, the histories
 “ Of Jewish church unriddl’d, and the bright
 “ And orient sun arisen to give light
 “ To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
 “ The worlds redeemer, blest Emanuel.
 “ Let this sight close mine eyes, ’tis loss to see,
 “ After this vision, any sight but thee.

Thus he used to sing on the former Christmas-days, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new songs above; so that day which he had spent in so much spiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace, he had no strugglings, nor seemed to be in any pangs in his last moments. He was buried on the 4th of January, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral sermon, his text was Isa. lviii. 1.

“ The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it
 “ to heart; and merciful men are taken away,
 “ none considering that the righteous is taken
 “ away

“ away from the evil to come.” Which how fitly it was applicable upon this occasion, all that consider the course of his life, will easily conclude. He was interred in the church-yard of Alderly, among his ancestors; he did not much approve of burying in churches, and used to say, “ the churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead.” His monument was like himself, decent and plain; the tomb-stone was black marble, and the sides were black and white marble, upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble inscription to be made,

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
 MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
 ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ,
 UXORIS EJUS, FILII UNICI.
 NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE AL-
 DERLY, PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS,
 ANNO DOM. 1609.
 DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESIMO
 QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS, AN-
 NO DOM. 1676.
 ÆTATIS SUÆ, LXVII.

Having thus given an account of the most remarkable things of his life, I am now to present the reader with such a character of him, as the laying his several virtues together will amount to: in which I know how difficult a task I undertake; for to write defectively of him, were to injure him,
 and

and lessen the memory of one to whom I intend to do all the right that is in my power. On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended, and proposed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a picture of him, from an abstracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than setting him out, as he truly was: but there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man so fresh in all peoples remembrance, that is so lately dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study. He rose always early in the morning, he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he set himself to any study, he used to cast his design into a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method; he took nothing on trust, but pursued his enquires as far as they could go, and as he was humble enough to confess his ignorance, and submit to mysteries which he could not comprehend, so he was not easily imposed on, by any shews of reason, or the bugbears of vulgar opinions. He brought all his knowledge as much to scientific principles, as he possibly could,
which

which made him neglect the study of tongues, for the bent of his mind lay another way. Discouraging once of this to some, they said, “ they looked
 “ on the common law, as a study that could not
 “ be brought into a scheme, nor formed into a
 “ rational science, by reason of the indigestedness
 “ of it, and the multiplicity of the cases in it,
 “ which rendered it very hard to be understood,
 “ or reduced into a method ;” but he said, “ he
 “ was not of their mind,” and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a scheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large sheet of paper, to the great satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to compile a body of the English law. It could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and industry have put it into method; but he said, “ as it was a great
 “ and noble design, which would be of vast advantage to the nation ; so it was too much for
 “ a private man to undertake : it was not to be
 “ entered upon, but by the command of a prince,
 “ and with the communicated endeavours of some
 “ of the most eminent of the profession.”

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations, and many tender strains in his contemplations ; but he look'd on eloquence and wit, as things to be used very chastly, in serious matters, which should come under a severer enquiry : therefore he was both, when at the bar, and on
 the

the bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetoric in pleading: he said, “ If the judge or jury
 “ had a right understanding, it signified nothing,
 “ but a waste of time, and loss of words; and if
 “ they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was
 “ a more decent way of corrupting them, by
 “ bribing their fancies; and byasing their affecti-
 “ ons;” and wondered much at that affectation
 of the French lawyers in imitating the Roman
 orators in their pleadings. For the oratory of the
 Romans, was occasioned by their popular govern-
 ment, and the factions of the city, so that those
 who intended to excell in the pleading of causes,
 were trained up in the schools of the Rhetors, till
 they became ready and expert in that luscious way
 of discourse. It is true, the composurés of such
 a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary
 quickness, an exact judgment, and a just decorum
 with his skill in rhetoric, do still entertain the rea-
 ders of them with great pleasure: but at the same
 time it must be acknowledged, that there is not
 that chastity of stile, that closeness of reasoning,
 nor that justness of figures in his orations, that
 is in his other writings; so that a great deal was
 said by him, rather because he knew it would be
 acceptable to his auditors, than that it was ap-
 proved of by himself; and all who read them, will
 acknowledge, they are better pleaséd with them
 as essays of wit and stile, than as pleadings, by
 which such a judge as ours was, would not be
 much wrought on. And if there are such grounds

to censure the performances of the greatest master in eloquence, we may easily infer what nauseous discourses the other orators made, since in oratory as well as in poetry, none can do indifferently. So our judge wondered to find the French, that live under a monarchy, so fond of imitating that which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome. He therefore pleaded himself always in few words, and home to the point: and when he was a judge, he held those that pleaded before him, to be the main hinge of the business, and cut them short when they made excursions about circumstances of no moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well stated and cleared.

There was another custom among the Romans, which he as much admired, as he despised their rhetoric, which was, that the juris-consults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employment in the state, and became the great masters of their law: these gave their opinions of all cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any present for it; and indeed they were the only true lawyers among them, whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one classis of those materials out of which Trebonian compiled the digests under Justinian; for the orators or causidici that pleaded causes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues, to work on the affections of the people, and senate or the
 pretors:

pretors: even in most of Tully's orations there is little of law, and that little which they might sprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the resolution of some juris-consult: according to that famous story of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator, and being to receive the resolution of one of those that were learned in the law, was so ignorant, that he could not understand it; upon which the juris-consult reproached him, and said, "it was a shame for him that was a nobleman, a senator, and a pleader of causes, to be thus ignorant of law:" this touched him so sensibly, that he set about the study of it, and became one of the most eminent juris-consults that ever were at Rome. Our judge thought it might become the greatness of a prince, to encourage such sort of men, and of studies; in which, none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our English law, what the old Roman juris-consults were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as any, either in illustrating his reasonings, by proper and well pursued similes, or by such tender expressions, as might work most on the affections, so that the present lord chancellor, has often said of him since his death, that he was the greatest orator he had known; for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most significant, and expressive,
that

that the matter could bear ; of this fort there are many in his contemplations made to quicken his own devotion, which have a life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the hardest tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers, that as they shew his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself, so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illustrations of things by proper similies, I shall give a large instance out of his book of the origination of mankind, designed to expose the several different hypotheses the philosophers fell on, concerning the eternity and original of the universe, and to prefer the account given by Moses, to all their conjectures ; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine wit, and solid learning and judgment.

[“ That which may illustrate my meaning, in this preference of the revealed light of the holy scriptures, touching this matter, above the essays of a philosophical imagination, may be this. Suppose that Greece being unacquainted with the curiosity of mechanical engines, though known in some remote region of the world, and that an excellent artist had secretly brought and deposited in some field or forest, some excellent watch or clock, which had been so formed, that the original of its motion were hidden, and involved in

some close contrived piece of mechanism, that this watch was so framed, that the motion thereof might have lasted a year, or some such time as might give a reasonable period for their philosophical discanting concerning it, and that in the plain table there had been not only the description and indication of hours, but the configurations and indications of the various phases of the moon, the motion and place of the sun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indications of celestial motions, and that the scholars of the several schools of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest of those philosophical sects, had casually in their walk, found this admirable automaton; what kind of work would there have been made by every sect, in giving an account of this phenomenon? We should have had the Epicurean sect have told the bystanders, according to their preconceived hypothesis, that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of atoms, that happily falling together had made up the index, the wheels, and the ballance, and that being happily fallen into this posture, they were put into motion. Then the Cartesian falls in with him, as to the main of their supposition, but tells him, that he doth not sufficiently explicate how the engine is put into motion, and therefore to furnish this motion, there is a certain *materia subtilis* that pervades this engine, and the moveable parts, consisting of certain globular atoms apt for motion, they are thereby, and by the mobility of the globular atoms put into motion.

motion. A third finding fault with the two former, because those motions are so regular, and do express the various phenomena of the distribution of time, and of the heavenly motions; therefore it seems to him, that this engine and motion also, so analogical to the motions of the heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which formed this instrument and its motions, in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence. A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, that he hath a more plain and evident solution of the phenomenon, namely, the universal soul of the world, or spirit of nature, that formed so many sorts of insects with so many organs, faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various motions as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into motion this admirable automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it. Then steps in an Aristotelian, and being dissatisfied with all the former solutions, tells them, gentlemen, you are all mistaken, your solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory, you have taken up certain precarious hypotheses, and being prepossessed with these creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your conceptions of things according to those fancied and preconceived imaginations. The short of the business is, this machina is eternal, and so are all the motions of it, and in as much as a

circular motion hath no beginning or end, this motion that you see both in the wheels and index, and the successive indications of the celestial motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the phenomena, without so much ado as you have made about it.

And whilst all the masters were thus contriving the solution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the artist that made it, and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the artist that made this engine, and all this while listened to their admirable fancies, tells them, gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of invention touching this piece of work that is before you, but you are all miserably mistaken: for it was I that made this watch, and brought it hither, and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the spring, and the fusee, and the wheels, and the ballance, and the case, and table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several axes that are to direct the motions of the index to discover the hour of the day, of the figure that discovers the phases of the moon, and the other various motions that you see; and then I put it together, and wound up the spring, which hath given all these motions, that you see in this curious piece of work, and that you may be sure I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing, and ordering of this piece of work; the several materials of it, the manner of
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the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it. This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated hypotheses of those philosophical enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical flourishes, or logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the hypotheses of the learned philosophers in relation to the origination of the world and man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful explications and unintelligible hypotheses. The plain, but divine narrative, by the hand of Moses, full of sense, and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in itself, does at the same moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great mystery, and renders all the essays of the generality of the heathen philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable theories, the creatures of phantasy, and imagination, and nothing else."]

As for his virtues, they have appeared so conspicuous in all the several transactions and turns of his life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related; but there are many particular instances which I knew not how to fit to the several years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout christian, a sincere protestant, and a true son of the church of England; moderate towards dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the quakers

from that mischief that was like to fall on them, by declaring their marriages void, and so bastardizing their children; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the quaker's council pretended, that it was no marriage that had past between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the church of England; he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed in law, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession, and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholding to them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the gospel, of doing to others, what he would have others do to him; and therefore because he would have thought it a hardship not without cruelty, if amongst papists all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the roman ritual,

ritual, so he applying this to the case of the sectaries, he thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself, if there was no clergymen present: but as to his private exercises in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expressions of devotion could have done.

From the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind, he used great caution to conceal it: not only in obedience to the rules given by our Saviour, of fasting, praying, and giving alms in secret; but from a particular distrust he had of himself, for he said he was afraid, he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were look'd on as a very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men to blaspheme the name of God: but a tree is known by its fruits, and he lived not only free of blemishes, or scandal, but shined in all the parts of his conversation: and perhaps the distrust he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the purity of his life, for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the aids of the Spirit of God, no won-

der if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally the root of all evil. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice: for in common cases, when those who came to ask his council gave him a picce, he used to give back the half, and so made ten shillings his fee, in ordinary matters that did not require much time or study. If he saw a cause was unjust, he for a great while would not meddle farther in it, but to give his advice that it was so; if the parties after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice. If he found the cause doubtful or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business: yet afterwards he abated much of the scrupulosity he had about causes that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion. There were two causes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the party or their attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they seemed to be very bad, but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and just: so after this he slackened much of his former strictness, of refusing to meddle in causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading he abhorred those too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents, or books falsely, or asserting things confidently;
by

by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often wrought on. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, “ it was as great a dishonour as
 “ a man was capable of, that for a little money
 “ he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than
 “ as he thought :” all this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed otherwise born and made for great things,

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled, but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made ; for he said, “ in those cases he was made
 “ a judge, and a judge ought to take no money.” If they told him, he lost much of his time in considering their business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it ; his answer was, (as one that heard it told me,) “ can I spend my time better, than
 “ to make people friends ? must I have no time
 “ allowed me to do good in ?”

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any conclusion concerning any matter of importance. *Festina lente* was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his staff, and was often heard to say, “ that he had observed
 “ many witty men run into great errors, because
 “ they did not give themselves time to think, but
 “ the

“ the heat of imagination making some notions
“ appear in good colours to them, they without
“ staying till that cooled, were violently led by
“ the impulses it made on them ; whereas calm and
“ slow men, who pass for dull in the common
“ estimation, could search after truth and find it
“ out, as with more deliberation, so with greater
“ certainty.”

He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities ; and after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place, as his dividend of the rule and box money, were sent by him to the jails to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came. It is also a custom for the marshall of the king's-bench, to present the judges of that court with a piece of plate for a new-year's gift, that for chief justice being larger than the rest : this he intended to have refused, but the other judges told him it belonged to his office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his successors, so he was persuaded to take it, but he sent word to the marshal, that instead of plate, he should bring him the value of it in money, and when he received it, he immediately sent it to the prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them set at table with himself ; and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them
from

From his table: and he did not only relieve the poor in his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there was occasion for it: and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one, who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities but such as he himself might be brought to: but for common beggars, if any of these came to him, as he was in his walks, when he lived in the country, he would ask such as were capable of working, why they went about so idly; if they answered, it was because they could find no work, he often sent them to some field, to gather all the stones in it, and lay them on a heap, and then would pay them liberally for their pains: this being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the highway as needed mending.

But when he was in town, he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street beggars, and when some told him, that he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats, he used to answer, “ that he believed most
 “ of them were such, but among them there were
 “ some that were great objects of charity, and
 “ pressed with grievous necessities: and that he had
 “ rather give his alms to twenty who might be
 “ perhaps rogues, than that one of the other sort
 “ should perish for want of that small relief
 “ which he gave them.”

He loved building much, which he affected chiefly because it employed many poor people : but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that the changes he made in his houses, was always from magnificence to usefulness, for he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity, even in the walls of his houses : he had good judgment in architecture, and an excellent faculty in contriving well.

He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements, for he was merciful as well as righteous. One instance of this was, of a widow that lived in London, and had a small estate near his house in the country ; from which her rents were ill returned to her, and at a cost which she could not well bear : so she bemoaned herself to him, and he according to his readiness to assist all poor people, told her, he would order his steward to take up her rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing. But after that, when there was a falling of rents in that country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the tenant ; yet he would have it lie on himself, and made the widow be paid her rent as formerly.

Another remarkable instance of his justice and goodness was, that when he found ill money had been put into his hands, he would never suffer it to be vented again ; for he thought it was no excuse for him to put false money in other peoples hands, because some had put it in his : a great
heap.

heap of this he had gathered together, for many had so far abused his goodnefs, as to mix bafe money among the fees that were given him : it is like he intended to have destroyed it, but some thieves who had observed it, broke into his chamber and stole it, thinking they had got a prize ; which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived, when they perceived what sort of booty they had fallen on.

After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth ; if it had been a horse he was to buy, he would have out-bid the price : and when some represented to him, that he made ill bargains, he said, “ it became judges to pay more for what
“ they bought, than the true value ; that so those
“ with whom they dealt, might not think they
“ had any right to their favour, by having sold
“ such things to them at an easy rate :” and said it was suitable to the reputation, which a judge ought to preserve, to make such bargains, that the world might see they were not too well used upon some secret account.

In sum, his estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great fortune, for from a hundred pounds a year, he raised it not quite to nine hundred, and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Selden’s estate ; yet this, considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant, frugal, and modest

way of living, was but a small fortune. In the share that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the curiousest collections in Europe; so they resolved to keep this intire, for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the univerty of Oxford, where a noble room was added to the former library for its reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned body, to those their worthy benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that university, and had left it so by his will; but having occasion for a manuscript, which belonged to their library, they asked of him a bond of a thousand pounds for its restitution; this he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his will by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared they should never have it. The executors stuck at this a little, but having considered better of it, came to this resolution, that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will, and not of his passion; so they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and past over what his passion had suggested to him.

The

The parting with so many excellent books, would have been as uneasy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend's memory had not prevailed over him; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world. He himself had made a great and rare collection of manuscripts belonging to the law of England; he was forty years in gathering it: he himself said it cost him above fifteen hundred pounds, and calls it in his will, a treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every man's view; these all he left to Lincoln's-Inn, and for the information of those who are curious to search into such things, there shall be a catalogue of them added at the end of this book.

By all these instances it does appear, how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations. He was as he said himself naturally passionate; I add, as he said himself, for that appeared by no other evidence, save that sometimes his colour would rise a little; but he so governed himself, that those who lived long about him, have told me they never saw him disordered with anger, though he met with some trials, that the nature of man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great injury, which it is not necessary to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his
advice

advice in the settlement of his estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it, and therefore shewed both that he could forgive as a christian, and that he had the soul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, how he could use a man so kindly, that had wronged him so much, his answer was, “ he thanked God he had learned to “ forget injuries.” And besides the great temper he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was a gentle master: he was tender of all his servants, he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope of reclaiming them: when any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty; he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, least when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himself: but if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he said, “ he that by his place ought “ to punish disorders in other people, must by no “ means suffer them in his own house.” He advanced his servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occasion to envy among them, by raising the younger
clerks

clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend, than a master, giving them often good advice and instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profits to the other servants who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Esq; in whom he had that confidence, that he left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble gratitude to his worthy benefactor and master, for he has been so careful to preserve his memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his life; so he has procured for me a great part of those memorials, and informations, out of which I have composed it.

The judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature. This did eminently appear in his trying and giving sentence upon criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the piety that was due to men, whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jeering or unreasonable severity ever fell from him. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and

he summed all the evidence so equally when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence, he did it with that composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners, directing them to prepare for death, were so weighty, so free of all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials, when he sat judge, to be edified by his speeches, and behaviour in them, and used to say, they heard very few such sermons.

But though the pronouncing the sentence of death was a piece of his employment, that went most against the grain with him; yet in that, he could never be mollified to any tenderness which hindered justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some (whom he had condemned) to his majesty's mercy and pardon; he answered, he could not think they deserved a pardon, whom he himself had adjudged to die: so that all he would do in that kind, was to give the king a true account of the circumstances of the fact, after which, his majesty was to consider whether he would interpose his mercy, or let justice take place.

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts, for when the horses that he had kept long, grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market and the like; he used old dogs also with the same care: his shepherd having one
that

that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or lost him, but the judge coming to hear of it, made one of his servants bring him home and feed him till he died: and he was scarce ever seen more angry than with one of his servants for neglecting a bird, that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons, that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him; and in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them: particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, it did not become their profession. He was not pleased to see students wear long perriwigs, or attornies go with swords; so that such young men as would not be persuaded to part with those vanities, when they went to him laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicative in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject, and loved for an hour or two at night, to be visited by some of his friends. He neither said nor did any thing with affectation, but used a simplicity that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others: and though he never studied the modes of civility or court breed-

ing, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of justice, then he would raise his voice a little, and so shake off those importunities.

In his furniture, and the service of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new fashions, so he rather affected a coarseness in the use of the old ones; which was more the effect of his philosophy than disposition, for he loved fine things too much at first. He was always of an equal temper, rather chearful than merry; many wondered to see the evenness of his deportment, in some very sad passages of his life.

Having lost one of his sons, the manner of whose death had grievous circumstances in it; one coming to see him and condole, he said to him, “those were the effects of living long, such must look to see many sad and unacceptable things;” and having said that, he went to other discourses, with his ordinary freedom of mind; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep impression upon him, yet the regard he had to the wisdom and providence of God, and the just estimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquility of his mind, and he gave no occasion by idleness to melancholly to corrupt his spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of sorrow.

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He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind, and this he found did above all other considerations preserve his quiet: and indeed that was so well established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him. Of which an eminent man of that profession, gave me this instance: in the year 1666, an opinion did run through the nation, that the end of the world would come that year. This, whether set on by astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the number of the beast in the Revelation, or promoted by men of ill designs, to disturb the public peace, had spread mightily among the people; and judge Hale going that year the western circuit, it happened, that as he was on the bench at the assizes, a most terrible storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and claps of thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an age; upon which a whisper or rumour run through the croud, that now the world was to end, and the day of judgment to begin; and at this there followed a general consternation in the whole assembly, and all men forgot the business they were met about, and betook themselves to their prayers: this added to the horror raised by the storm looked very dismal; in so much that my author, a man of no ordinary resolution, and firmness of mind, confessed it made a great impression on himself. But he told me, that he did observe the judge was not a whit affected, and was going

on with the business of the court in his ordinary manner; from which he made this conclusion, that his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him, with what one of the greatest men of the profession of the law, sent me as an abstract of the character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him: it was sent me, that from thence, with the other materials, I might make such a representation of him to the world, as he indeed deserved; but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down intirely as it was sent me, hoping that as the reader will be much delighted with it, so the noble person that sent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it intire, and setting it in the best light I could. It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious informations.

“ He would never be brought to discourse of public matters in private conversation, but in questions of law, when any young lawyer put a case to him he was very communicative, especially while he was at the bar: but when he came to the bench, he grew more reserv'd, and would never suffer his opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially: and he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the judges in the same court could
never

never perceive it; his reason was, because every judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or difference to another man's opinion: and by this means it hath happened some times, that when all the barons of the exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons and arguments; yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes and concurred with him: He hath set as a judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief; but still wherever he sat, all business of consequence followed him, and no man was content to sit down by the judgment of any other court, till the case were brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind: and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it; and it was very rarely seen, that any man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did so, did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person: so that what Cicero says of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *etiam quos contra statuit equos placatosque dimisit.*

“ Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only, but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the same respect and submission was paid to him there too; and this appeared not only in his own court of

equity in the exchequer chamber, but in the chancery too, for thither he was often called to advise and assist the lord chancellor, or lord keeper for the time being; and if the cause were of difficult examination, or intricated and entangled with variety of settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning judgment: if it were of great value, and great persons interested in it, no man ever shewed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons: when he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his discourse into such a method, that one part gave light to the other, and where the proceedings of chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them, and from his observations and discourses, the chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those rules by which it governs itself at this day.

“ He did look upon equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it; and therefore as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might study it as a science, and not think the administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every station, and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear, that he deserved the chief seat there.

“ As great a lawyer as he was, he would never suffer the strictness of law to prevail against conscience; as great a chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the niceties and subtilties in law,
when

when it tended to support right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his patience: he did not affect the reputation of quickness and dispatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the council: he would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope, thinking it much better to loose time than patience. In summing up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least circumstance; some judges have been disturbed at this as a rudeness, which he always looked upon as a service and respect done to him.

“ His whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry, and when he could borrow any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations, and even that was a public service too as it hath proved; for they have occasioned his writing of such treatises, as are become the choicest entertainments of wise and good men, and the world hath reason to wish that more of them were printed. He that considers the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind, he dispatched all mens business which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation: he that considers again the various studies he past through, and the many collections and observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for action: but no man can wonder at

the exemplary piety and innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so 'tis manifest he never spent an idle day. They who come far short of this great man, will be apt enough to think that this is a panegyric, which indeed is a history, and but a little part of that history which was with great truth to be related of him : men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any man else did ever arrive at such a height.

“ He was the greatest lawyer of the age, and might have had what practice he pleased ; but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet at the same time he despised the gain of it; and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown, than others do to compass them. His modesty was beyond all example, for where some men, who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own esteem by depreciating other men, he on the contrary was the most obliging man that ever practised : if a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend
the

the objections when he came to repeat them, and always commend the gentleman if there were any room for it, and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man, than all the favour of a court could be."

Having thus far pursued his history and character, in the public and exemplary parts of his life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was private and domestic, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice married, his first wife was Ann daughter of sir Henry Moore of Faly in Berkshire, grandchild to sir Francis Moore, serjeant at law; by her he had ten children, the four first died young, the other six lived to be all married; and he outlived them all, except his eldest daughter, and his youngest son, who are yet alive.

His eldest son Robert married Frances the daughter of sir Francis Chock, of Avington in Berkshire, and they both dying in a little time one after another left five children, two sons Matthew and Gabriel, and three daughters, Ann, Mary, and Frances, and by the judge's advice, they both made him their executor, so he took his grandchildren into his own care, and among them he left his estate.

His second son Matthew, married Ann the daughter of Mr. Matthew Simmonds, of Hillsley, in Gloucestershire, who died soon after, and left one son behind him named Matthew.

His third son Thomas, married Rebekah the daughter of Christian Le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without issue.

His fourth son Edward, married Mary the daughter of Edmond Goodyere, Esq; of Heythorp, in Oxfordshire, and still lives; he has two sons, and three daughters.

His eldest daughter Mary, was married to Edward Alderly, son of Edward Alderly, of Innishannon, in the county of Cork in Ireland, who dying, left her with two sons and three daughters; she is since married to Edward Stephens, son to Edward Stephens, Esq; of Cherington in Gloucestershire. His youngest daughter Elizabeth, was married to Edward Webb, Esq; barrister at law, she died, leaving two children, a son and a daughter.

His second wife was Ann, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of Faly in Berkshire, by whom he had no children; he gives her a great character in his will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his grand-children to her care, and left her one of his executors, to whom he joined sir Robert Jenkinson, and Mr. Gibbon. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small honour to derive from him; and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his issue. I shall next give an account of the issues of his mind, his books, that are either
 printed,

printed, or remain in manuscript; for the last of these by his will, he has forbid the printing of any of them after his death, except such as he should give order for in his life: but he seems to have changed his mind afterwards, and to have left it to the discretion of his executors, which of them might be printed: for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a codicil, “ that if
 “ any book of his writing, as well touching the
 “ common law, as other subjects, should be printed, than what should be given for the consideration of the copy, should be divided into
 “ ten shares, of which he appointed seven to go
 “ among his servants, and three to those who had
 “ copied them out, and were to look after the
 “ impression.” The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death, was, that he apprehended in the licensing them, (which was necessary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but since his death determined) some things might have been struck out or altered; which he had observed not without some indignation, had been done to a part of the reports, of one whom he had much esteemed.

This in matters of law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous consequences, that he thereupon resolved none of his writings should be at the mercy of licensers; and therefore, because he was not sure, that they should be published without expurgations or interpolations, he forbade

forbade the printing any of them; in which he afterwards made some alteration, at least he gave occasion by his codicil, to infer that he had altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grand-children, may not conclude themselves to be under an indispensable obligation of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

A CATALOGUE of all his Printed Books.

1. **T**HE primitive origination of mankind; considered and examined according to the light of nature. Folio
2. Contemplations moral and divine, part 1. 8vo.
3. Contemplations moral and divine, part 2. 8vo.
4. *Difficiles Nugæ*, or observations touching the Torricellian experiment, and the various solutions of the same, especially touching the weight and elasticity of the air. 8vo.
5. An essay touching the gravitation, or non-gravitation of fluid bodies, and the reasons thereof. 8vo.
6. Observations touching the principles of natural motions, and especially touching rarefaction, and condensation; together with a reply to certain remarks, touching the gravitation of fluids. 8vo.
7. The life and death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his contemporary and acquaintance
Cor.

Cornelius Nepos, translated out of his fragments ; together with observations, political and moral, thereupon. 8vo.

8. Pleas of the crown, or a methodical summary of the principal matters relating to that subject. 8vo.

MANUSCRIPTS not yet published.

- I. CONCERNING the secondary origination of mankind. Fol.
2. Concerning religion, 5 vol. in Fol. viz. 1. De deo, Vox metaphysica, pars 1 & 2. 2. Pars 3. Vox naturæ, providentiæ, ethicæ, conscientiæ. 3. Liber sextus, septimus, octavus. 4. Pars 9. Concerning the holy scriptures, their evidence and authority. 5. Concerning the truth of the holy scriptures, and the evidences thereof.
3. Of policy in matters of religion. Fol.
4. De anima, to Mr. B. Fol.
5. De anima, transactions between him and Mr. B. Fol.
6. Tentamina, de ortu, natura & immortalitate animæ. Fol.
7. Magnetismus magneticus. Fol.
8. Magnetismus physicus. Fol.
9. Magnetismus divinus.
10. De generatione animalium & vegetabilium. Fol. lat.
11. Of the law of nature. Fol.
12. A letter of advice to his grand-children. 4to.
13. Placita coronæ, 7 vol. Fol.

14. Preparatory notes concerning the right of the crown. Fol.
15. *Incepta de juribus coronæ*. Fol.
16. *De prerogativa regis*. Fol.
17. Preparatory notes touching parliamentary proceedings, 2 vol. 4to.
18. Of the jurisdiction of the house of lords, 4to.
19. Of the jurisdiction of the admiralty.
20. Touching ports and customs. Fol.
21. Of the right of the sea and the arms thereof, and customs. Fol.
22. Concerning the advancement of trade. 4to.
23. Of sheriffs account. Fol.
24. Copies of evidences. Fol.
25. Mr. Selden's discourses. 8vo.
26. *Excerpta ex schedis Seldenianis*.
27. Journal of the 18 and 21 Jacobi regis. 4to.
28. Great common place book of reports or cases in the law, in law French. Fol.

In Bundles.

ON *quod tibi fieri*, &c. Matth. vii. 12.
 Touching punishments, in relation to the Socinian controversy.

Policies of the church of Rome.

Concerning the laws of England.

Of the amendment of the laws of England.

Touching provision for the poor.

Upon Mr. Hobbs's manuscript.

Concerning the time of the abolition of the Jewish laws.

In

In Quarto.

Quod sit deus.

Of the state and condition of the soul and body after death.

Notes concerning matters of law.

To these I shall add the Catalogue of the MANUSCRIPTS which he left to the Hon. Society of Lincoln's-Inn, with that part of his Will that concerns them.

ITEM, As a testimony of my honour and respect to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education, I give and bequeath to that honourable Society the several manuscript books contained in a schedule annexed to my will: they are a treasure worth having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expence. My desire is, that they be kept safe, and all together, in remembrance of me; they were fit to be bound in leather and chained, and kept in archives: I desire they may not be lent out, or disposed of: only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that Society, that desires to transcribe any book, and give very good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, such as the benchers of that Society in coun-

eil shall approve of; then, and not otherwise; only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the society; so that there be no more but one book of those books abroad out of the library at one time. They are a treasure that are not fit for every man's view: nor is every man capable of making use of them: only I would have nothing of these books printed, but intirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that society.

A CATALOGUE of the Books given by him to Lincoln's-Inn, according to the schedule annexed to his will.

Placita de tempore regis Johannis, 1 vol. fitcht.

Placita coram rege E. 1. 2 vol.

Placita coram rege E. 2. 3 vol.

Placita coram rege E. 3. 3 vol.

Placita coram rege R. 2. 1 vol.

Placita coram rege H. 4. H 5. 1 vol.

Placita de banco, E. 1. ab anno 1, ad annum 21. 1 vol.

Transcripts of many pleas, coram rege & de banco E. 1. 1 vol.

The pleas in the exchequer, filed communia, from 1 E. 3. to 46 E. 3. 5 vol.

Close rolls of king John, verbatim, of the most material things, 1 vol.

The principal matters in the close and patent rolls,

rolls, of H. 3. transcribed verbatim, from 9 H. 3. to 56 H. 3. 5 vol. velum, marked K. L.

The principal matters in the close and patent rolls, E. 1. with several copies and abstracts of records, 1 vol. marked F.

A long book of abstracts of records, by me.

Close and patent rolls, from 1 to 10 E. 3, and other records of the time of H. 3. 1 vol. marked W.

Close rolls of 15 E. 3. with other records, 1 vol. marked N.

Close rolls from 17 to 38 E. 3. 2 vol.

Close and patent rolls from 40 E. 3 to 50 E. 3. 1 vol. marked B.

Close rolls of E. 2. with other records, 1 vol. R.

Close and patent rolls, and charter rolls in the time of king John for the clergy, 1 vol.

A great volume of records of several natures, G.

The leagues of the kings of England, tempore E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. 1 vol.

A book of ancient leagues and military provisions, 1 vol.

The reports of iters of Derby, Nottingham, and Bedford, transcribed, 1 vol.

Itinera forest de Pickering & Lancafter, transcript ex originali, 1 vol.

An ancient reading, very large, upon charta de forestæ, and of the forest laws.

The transcript of the iter foresta de Dean, 1 vol.

Quo warranto and liberties of the county of Gloucester, with the pleas of the chace of Kingwood, 1 vol.

Transcript of the black book of the admiralty, laws of the army, impositions and several honours, 1 vol.

Records of patents, inquisitions, &c. of the county of Leiceſter, 1 vol.

Muſter and military proviſions of all ſorts, extracted from the records, 1 vol.

Gervafius Tilburienſis, or the black book of the exchequer, 1 vol.

The king's title to the pre-emption of tin, a thin vol.

Calender of the records in the tower, a ſmall vol.

A miſcellany of divers records, orders, and other things of various natures, marked E. 1 vol.

Another of the like nature in leather cover, 1 vol.

A book of divers records and things relating to the chancery, 1 vol.

Titles of honour and pedigrees, eſpecially touching Clifford, 1 vol.

History of the marches of Wales collected by me, 1 vol.

Certain collections touching titles of honour, 1 vol.

Copies of ſeveral records touching premunire, 1 vol.

Extract of commiſſions tempore H. 7. H. 8. R. and the proceedings in the court military, between Ray and Ramſey, 1 vol.

Petitions in parliament tempore E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. H. 4. 3 vols.

Summons of parliament, from 49 H. 3. to 22 E. 4. 3 vol.

The

The parliament rolls from the beginning of E. 1. to the end of R. 3. in 19 volumes, viz. 1 of E. 1. 1 of E. 2. with the ordinations. 2 of E. 3. 3 of R. 2. 2 of H. 4. 2 of H. 5. 4 of H. 6. 3 of E. 4. 1 of R. 3. all transcribed at large.

Mr. Elsing's book touching proceedings in parliament, 1 vol.

Noye's collection touching the king's supplies, 1 vol. fitch.

A book of various collections out of records and register of Canterbury, and claims at the coronation of R. 2. 1 vol.

Transcript of bishop Usher's notes, principally concerning chronology, 3 large vol.

A transcript out of dooms-day book of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and of some pipe-rolls, and old accompts of the customs, 1 vol.

Extracts and collections out of records touching titles of honour, 1 vol.

Extracts of pleas, patents and close-rolls, tempore H. 3. E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. and some old antiquities of England, 1 vol.

Collections and memorials of many records and antiquities, 1 vol. Seldeni.

Calender of charters, and records in the tower, touching Gloucestershire.

Collection of notes and records of various natures, marked M. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Transcript of the iters of London, Kent, Cornwall, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the leiger-books of Battell, Evesham, Winton, &c. 1 vol. Seldeni.

Copies of the principal records in the red book, in the exchequer, 1 vol.

Extracts of records and treaties, relating to sea affairs, 1 vol.

Records touching customs, ports, partition of the lands of Gi. de Clare, &c.

Extract of pleas in the time of R. 1. king John, E. 1. &c. 1 vol.

Cartæ antiquæ in the tower, transcribed, in 2 vol.

Chronological remembrances, extracted out of the notes of bishop Usher, 1 vol. stitched.

Inquisitiones de legibus Walliæ, 1 vol.

Collections or records touching knighthood.

Titles of honour. Seldeni. 1 vol.

Mathematicks and fortifications, 1 vol.

Processus curiæ militaris, 1 vol.

A book of honour stitched, 1 vol.

Extracts out of the registry of Canterbury.

Copies of several records touching proceedings in the military court, 1 vol.

Abstracts of summons and rolls of parliament, out of the book Dunelm, and some records alphabetically digested, 1 vol.

Abstracts of divers records in the office of first fruits, 1 vol. stitched.

Mathematical and astrological calculations, 1 vol.

A book of divinity.

Two large repositories of records, marked A. and B.

[All those above are in folio.]

The proceedings of the forests of Windsor, Dean, and Essex, in 4to. 1 vol.

[Those that follow are most of them in vellum or parchment.]

Two books of old statutes, one ending H. 7. the other 2 H. 5. with the sums, 2 vol.

Five last years of E. 2. 1 vol.

Reports tempore E. 2. 1 vol.

The year book of R. 2. and some others, 1 vol.

An old chronicle from the creation to E. 3, 1 vol.

A mathematical book, especially of optiques, 1 vol.

A Dutch book of geometry and fortification.

Murti Benevenlani geometrica, 1 vol.

Reports tempore E. 1. under titles, 1 vol.

An old register and some pleas, 1 vol.

Bernardi Bratrack peregrinatio, 1 vol.

Iter Cantii and London, and some reports, tempore E. 2. 1 vol.

Reports tempore E. 1. and E. 2. 1 vol.

Leiger book, Abbatiae de bello.

Isidori opera.

Liber altercationis, & christianae philosophæ, contra paganos.

Historia Petri manducatorii.

Hornii astronomica,

Historia ecclesiae Dunelmensis,

Holandi chymica.

De alchymiaë scriptoribus.

The black book of the new law, collected by me, and digested into alphabetical titles, written with my own hand, which is the original copy.

MATTHEW HALE.

THE CONCLUSION.

THUS lived and died sir Matthew Hale, the renowned lord chief justice of England. He had one of the blessings of virtue in the highest measure of any of the age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by men of all sides and persuasions. For as none could hate him but for his justice and virtues, so the great estimation he was generally in, made, that few durst undertake to defend so ungrateful a paradox, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His name is scarce ever mentioned since his death, without particular accents of singular respect. His opinion in points of law generally passes as an uncontrollable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of justice: and all that knew him well, do still speak of him as one of the perfectest patterns of religion and virtue they ever saw.

The commendations given him by all sorts of people are such, that I can hardly come under the censures of this age; for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this book lives to after times, it will be looked on perhaps as a picture, drawn
more

more according to fancy and invention, than after the life ; if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its credit in the present age, will make it pass down to the next with a clearer authority.

I shall pursue his praise no further in my own words, but shall add what the present lord chancellor of England said concerning him, when he delivered the commission to the lord chief justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that office, which he began in this manner.

“ The vacancy of the seat of the chief justice
 “ of this court, and that by a way and means so
 “ unusual, as the resignation of him, that lately
 “ held it, and this too proceeding from so deplorable
 “ a cause, as the infirmities of that body, which
 “ began to forsake the ablest mind that ever pre-
 “ sided here, hath filled the kingdom with lamen-
 “ tations, and given the king many and pensive
 “ thoughts, how to supply that vacancy again.”
 And a little after speaking to his successor, he said,
 “ The very labours of the place, and that weight
 “ and fatigue of business which attends it, are no
 “ small discouragements ; for what shoulders may
 “ not justly fear the burthen which made him
 “ stoop that went before you ? Yet I confess you
 “ have a greater discouragement than the meer
 “ burthen of your place, and that is the unimitable
 “ example of your last predecessor : *onerosum est*
 “ *succedere bono principi*, was the saying of him
 “ in the panegyrick ; and you will find it so too
 “ that are to succeed such a chief justice, of so
 “ inde-

“ indefatigable an industry, so invincible a pati-
 “ ence, so exemplary an integrity, and so magna-
 “ nymous a contempt of worldly things, without
 “ which no man can be truly great; and to all
 “ this a man that was so absolute a master of the
 “ science of the law, and even of the most ab-
 “ struse and hidden parts of it, that one may
 “ truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St.
 “ Austin said of St. Hierom’s knowledge in divi-
 “ nity, *quod Hieronimus nescivit, nullus mortalium*
 “ *unquam scivit.* And therefore the king would
 “ not suffer himself to part with so great a man,
 “ till he had placed upon him all the marks of
 “ bounty and esteem, which his retired and weak
 “ condition was capable of.”

To this high character, in which the expressions,
 as they well become the eloquence of him who
 pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the
 subject, without the abatements that are often to
 be made for rhetoric; I shall add that part of the
 lord chief justice’s answer, in which he speaks of
 his predecessor.

“ — A person in whom his eminent virtues,
 “ and deep learning, have long managed a contest
 “ for the superiority, which is not decided to this
 “ day, nor will it ever be determined, I suppose,
 “ which shall get the upper hand. A person that
 “ has sat in this court these many years, of whose
 “ actions there I have been an eye and an ear
 “ witness, that by the greatness of his learning
 “ always charmed his auditors to reverence and
 “ atten-

“ attention : a person, of whom I think I may
 “ boldly say, that as former times cannot shew
 “ any superiour to him, so I am confident suc-
 “ ceeding and future time will never shew any
 “ equal : these considerations hightened by what I
 “ have heard from your lordship concerning him,
 “ made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to
 “ a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good,
 “ and so great a man : it doth very much trouble
 “ me, that I who in comparison of him am but
 “ like a candle lighted in the sun-shine, or like a
 “ glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great
 “ a person, that is and will be so eminently fa-
 “ mous to all posterity, and I must ever wear this
 “ motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my
 “ actions to excuse me,

“ *Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.*”

Thus were panegyricks made upon him while
 yet alive, in that same court of justice which he
 had so worthily governed. As he was honoured
 while he lived, so he was much lamented when he
 died : and this will still be acknowledged as a just
 inscription for his memory, though his modesty
 forbid any such to be put on his tomb-stone.

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST
 PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED,
 WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPORT-
 MENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS
 PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT
 THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

ADDI-

ADDITIONAL NOTES
OF THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

Written by RICHARD BAXTER,

At the Request of EDWARD STEPHENS, Esq; Publisher
of his Contemplations, and his familiar Friend,

To the READER.

SINCE the history of judge Hale's life is published (written by Dr. Burnet very well) some men have thought, that because my familiarity with him was known, and the last time of a man's life is supposed to contain his maturest judgment, time, study, and experience correcting former oversights; and this great man who was most diligently and thirstily learning to the last, was like to be still wiser, the notice that I had of him in the latter years of his life should not be omitted.

I was

I was never acquainted with him till 1667, and therefore have nothing to say of the former part of his life; nor of the latter, as to any public affairs, but only of what our familiar converse acquainted me: but the visible effects made me wonder at the industry and unwearied labours of his former life. Besides the four volumes against atheism and infidelity, in folio, which I after mention, when I was desired to borrow a manuscript of his law collections, he shewed me, as I remember, about two and thirty folios, and told me, he had no other on that subject, (collections out of the tower records, &c.) and that the amanuensis work that wrote them, cost him a thousand pound. He was so set on study, that he resolutely avoided all necessary diversions, and so little valued either grandeur, wealth, or any worldly vanity, that he avoided them to that notable degree, which incompetent judges took to be an excess. His habit was so coarse and plain, that I, who am thought guilty of a culpable neglect therein, have been bold to desire him to lay by some things which seemed too homely. The house which I surrendered to him, and wherein he lived at Acton, was indeed well situate but very small, and so far below the ordinary dwellings of men of his rank, as that divers farmers thereabout had better; but it pleased him. Many censured him for chusing his last wife below his quality: but the good man more regarded his own daily comfort, than men's thoughts and talk. As far as I could discern, he chose one very
suitable

suitable to his ends; one of his own judgment and temper, prudent and loving and fit to please him; and that would not draw on him the trouble of much acquaintance and relations. His housekeeping was according to the rest, like his estate and mind, but not like his place and honour: for he resolved never to grasp at riches, nor take great fees, but would refuse what many others thought too little. I wondered when he told me how small his estate was, after such ways of getting as were before him: but as he had little, and desired little, so he was content with little, and suited his dwelling, table, and retinue thereto. He greatly shunned the visits of many, or great persons, that came not to him on necessary business, because all his hours were precious to him, and therefore he contrived the avoiding of them, and the free enjoyment of his beloved privacy.

I must with a glad remembrance acknowledge, that while we were so unsuitable in places and worth, yet some suitableness of judgment and disposition made our frequent converse pleasing to us both. The last time save one, that I was at his house, he made me lodge there, and in the morning inviting me to more frequent visits said, no man shall be more welcome; and he was no dissembler. To signify his love, he put my name as a legatee in his will, bequeathing me forty shillings. Mr. Stephens gave me two manuscripts, as appointed by him for me, declaring his judgment of our church contentions and their cure (after
men-

mentioned). Though they are imperfect as written on the same question at several times, I had a great mind to print them, to try whether the common reverence of the author would cool any of our contentious clergy: but hearing that there was a restraint in his will, I took out part of a copy in which I find these words, “ I do expressly declare, that I will have nothing of my writings printed after my death, but only such as I shall in my life-time deliver out to be printed.” And not having received this in his life-time, nor to be printed in express terms, I am afraid of crossing the will of the dead, though he ordered them for me.

It shewed his mean estate as to riches, that in his will he is put to distribute the profits of a book or two when printed, among his friends and servants. Alas! we that are great loofers by printing, know that it must be a small gain that must thus accrue to them. Doubtless, if the lord chief justice Hale had gathered money as other lawyers do that had less advantage, as he wanted not will, so he would not have wanted power to have left them far greater legacies. But the servants of a self-denying mortified master, must be content to suffer by his virtues, which yet if they imitate him, will turn to their final gain.

God made him a public good, which is more than to get riches. His great judgment and known integrity, commanded respect from those that knew him; so that I verily think, that no one
subject

subject since the days that history hath notified the affairs of England to us, went off the stage with greater and more universal love and honour; (and what honour without love is, I understand not.) I remember when his successor, the lord chief justice Rainsford, falling into some melancholly, came and sent to me for some advice, he did it as he said, because judge Hale desired him so to do; and expressed so great respect to his judgment and writings, as I perceived much prevailed with him. And many have profited by his contemplations, who would never have read them, had they been written by such a one as I. Yet among all his books and discourses, I never knew of these until he was dead.

His resolution for justice was so great, that I am persuaded, that no wealth nor honour would have hired him knowingly to do one unjust act.

And though he left us in sorrow, I cannot but acknowledge it a great mercy to him, to be taken away when he was. Alas! what would the good man have done, if he had been put by plotters, and traitors, and swearers, and forswearers, upon all that his successors have been put to? In likelihood, even all his great wisdom and sincerity, could never have got him through such a wilderness of thorns, and briars, and wild beasts, without tearing in pieces his entire reputation, if he had never so well secured his conscience. O! how seasonably did he avoid the tempest and go to Christ.

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And so have so many excellent persons since then, and especially within the space of one year, as may well make England tremble at the prognostick, that the righteous are taken as from the evil to come. And alas! what an evil is it like to be? We feel our loss. We fear the common danger. But what believer can chuse but acknowledge God's mercy to them, in taking them up to the world of light, love, peace and order, when confusion is coming upon this world, by darkness, malignity, perfidiousness and cruelty. Some think that the last conflagration shall turn this earth into hell. If so who would not first be taken from it? And when it is so like to hell already, who would not rather be in heaven?

Though some mistook this man for a meer philosopher or humanist, that knew him not within; yet his most serious description of the sufferings of Christ, and his copious volumes to prove the truth of the scripture, christianity, our immortality, and the Deity, do prove so much reality in his faith and devotion, as makes us past doubt of the reality of his reward and glory.

When he found his belly swell, his breath and strength much abate, and his face and flesh decay, he chearfully received the sentence of death: and though Dr. Glisson by meer oximel squilliticum, seemed a while to ease him, yet that also soon failed him; and he told me, he was prepared and contented comfortably to receive his change. And accordingly he left us, and went into his native

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country of Gloucestershire to die, as the history tells you.

Mr. Edward Stephens being most familiar with him, told me his purpose to write his life: and desired me to draw up the meer narrative of my short familiarity with him; which I did as followeth: by hearing no more of him, cast it by; but others desiring it, upon the sight of the published history of his life by Dr. Burnet, I have left it to the discretion of some of them, to do with it what they will.

And being half dead already in those dearest friends who were half myself, am much the more willing to leave this mole-hill and prison of earth, to be with that wise and blessed society, who being united to their head in glory, do not envy, hate, or persecute each other, nor forsake God, nor shall ever be forsaken by him.

R. B.

Note, That this narrative was written two years before Dr. Burnet's; and it's not to be doubted, but that he had better information of his manuscripts, and some other circumstances, than I. But of those manuscripts directed to me, about the soul's immortality, of which I have the originals under his hand, and also of his thoughts of the subjects mentioned by me, from 1671, till he went to die in Gloucestershire, I had the fullest notice.

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ADDITIONAL NOTES

On the LIFE and DEATH of

Sir MATTHEW HALE, Knt.

To my Worthy Friend Mr. STEPHENS,
the Publisher of Judge HALE'S Con-
templations.

S I R,

YOU desired me to give you notice of what I knew in my personal converse, of the great lord chief justice of England, sir Matthew Hale. You have partly made any thing of mine unmeet for the sight of any but yourself and his private friends (to whom it is useless) by your divulging those words of his extraordinary favour to me, which will make it thought, that I am partial in his praises. And indeed that excessive esteem of his, which you have told men of, is a divulging of his imperfection, who did over-value so unworthy a person as I know myself to be.

I will promise you to say nothing but the truth; and judge of it and use it as you please.

My acquaintance with him was not long: and I look'd on him as an excellent person studied in his own way, which I hoped I should never have occasion to make much use of; but I thought not so versed in our matters as ourselves. I was confirmed in this conceit by the first report I had from him, which was his wish, that Dr. Reignolds, Mr. Calamy, and I, would have taken bishopricks, when they were offered us by the lord chancellor, as from the king, in 1660, (as one did). I thought he understood not our case, or the true state of English prelacy. Many years after when I lived at Acton, he being lord chief baron of the exchequer, suddenly took a house in the village. We sat next seats together at church for many weeks, but neither did he ever speak to me or I to him. At last, my extraordinary friend (to whom I was more beholding than I must here express,) serjeant Fountain, asked me, why I did not visit the lord chief baron? I told him, because I had no reason for it, being a stranger to him; and had some against it, viz. that a judge, whose reputation was necessary to the ends of his office, should not be brought under court suspicion, or disgrace, by his familiarity with a person, whom the interest and diligence of some prelates had rendered so odious, as I knew myself to be with such, I durst not be so injurious to him. The serjeant answered, it is not meet for him to come first to you; I know why I speak it: let me intreat you to go first to him. In obedience to which request I did it; and so

fo we entered into neighbourly familiarity. I lived then in a small house, but it had a pleafant garden and backside, which the (honest) landlord had a desire to fell. The judge had a mind to the house; but he would not meddle with it, till he got a stranger to me, to come and enquire of me whether I was willing to leave it? I told him, I was not only willing but desirous, not for my own ends, but for my landlord's sake, who must needs fell it: and so he bought it, and lived in that poor house, till his mortal sickness sent him to the place of his interment.

I will truly tell you the matter and the manner of our converse. We were oft together, and almost all our discourse was philosophical, and especially about the nature of spirits and superiour regions; and the nature, operations, and immortality of man's soul. And our disposition and course of thoughts, were in such things so like, that I did not much cross the bent of his conference. He studied physicks, and got all new or old books of philosophy that he could meet with, as eagerly as if he had been a boy at the university. Mousnerius, and Honoratus Faber, he deservedly much esteemed; but yet took not the latter to be without some mistakes. Mathematicks he studied more than I did, it being a knowledge which he much more esteemed than I did; who valued all knowledge by the greatness of the benefit, and necessity of the use; and my unskilfulness in them, I acknowledge my great defect, in which he much

excelled. But we were both much addicted to know and read all the pretenders to more than ordinary in physicks; the Platonists, the Peripateticks, the Epicureans (and especially their Gassendus,) Teleius, Campanella, Patricius, Lullius, White, and every sect that made us any encouraging promise. We neither of us approved of all in Aristotle; but he valued him more than I did. We both greatly disliked the principles of Cartesius and Gassendus (much more of the Bruitists, Hobbs and Spinoza); especially their doctrine de motu, and their obscuring, or denying nature itself, even the principia motus, the virtutes formales, which are the causes of operations.

Whenever we were together, he was the spring of our discourse (as chusing the subject): and most of it still was of the nature of spirits, and the immortality, state, and operations of separated souls. We both were conscious of human darkness, and how much of our understandings, quiet in such matters, must be fetcht from our implicit trust in the goodness and promises of God, rather than from a clear and satisfying conception of the mode of separated souls operations; and how great use we have herein of our faith in Jesus Christ, as he is the undertaker, mediator, the Lord and lover of souls, and the actual possessor of that glory. But yet we thought, that it greatly concerned us, to search as far as God allowed us, into a matter of so great moment; and that even little and obscure prospects into the heavenly state,

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are more excellent than much and applauded knowledge of transitory things.

He was much in urging difficulties and objections; but you could not tell by them what was his own judgment: for when he was able to answer them himself, he would draw out anothers answer.

He was but of a slow speech, and sometimes so hesitating, that a stranger would have thought him a man of low parts, that knew not readily what to say (though ready at other times). But I never saw Cicero's doctrine de Oratore, more verified in any man, that furnishing the mind with all sorts of knowledge, is the chief thing to make an excellent orator: for when there is abundance and clearness of knowledge in the mind, it will furnish even a slow tongue to speak that which by its congruence and verity shall prevail. Such a one never wants moving matter, nor an answer to vain objectors.

The manner of our converse was as suitable to my inclination as the matter. For whereas many bred in universities, and called scholars, have not the wit, manners, or patience, to hear those that they discourse with speak to the end, but through list and impotency cannot hold, but cut off a man's speech when they hear any thing that urgeth them, before the latter part make the former intelligible or strong (when oft the proof and use is reserved to the end), liker scolds than scholars; as if they commanded silence at the end of each sentence to him that speaketh, or else would have

two talk at once. I do not remember, that ever he and I did interrupt each other in any discourse. His wisdom and accustomed patience caused him still to stay for the end. And though my disposition have too much forwardness to speak, I had not so little wit or manners, as to interrupt him; whereby we far better understood each other, than we could have done in chopping and maimed discourse.

He was much for coming to philosophical knowledge by the help of experiments: but he thought, that our new philosophers, as some call the Cartesians, had taken up many fallacies as experiments, and had made as unhappy a use of their trials, as many empericks and mountebanks do in medicine: and that Aristotle was a man of far greater experience, as well as study, than they. He was wont to say, that lads at the universities had found it a way to be thought wiser than others, to join with boasters that cried down the ancients before they understood them: for he thought that few of these contemners of Aristotle, had ever so far studied him, as to know his doctrine, but spoke against they knew not what; even as some secular theologues take it to be the way to be thought wise men and orthodox, to cant against some party or sect which they have advantage to contemn. It must cost a man many years study to know what Aristotle held. But to read over Magirus (and perhaps the Conimbricenses or Zabarella), and then prate against Aristotle, requireth but a little time and labour. He could well bear it,

it, when one that had thoroughly studied Aristotle, dissented from him in any particular upon reason; but he loathed it in ignorant men, that were carried to it by shameful vanity of mind.

His many hard questions, doubts and objections to me, occasioned me to draw up a small tract of the nature and immortality of man's soul, as proved by natural light alone (by way of questions and answers): in which I had not baulked the hardest objections and difficulties that I could think of (conceiving that atheists and fadduces are so unhappily witty, and satan such a tutor, that they are as like to think of them as I). But the good man, when I sent it to him, was wiser than I, and sent me word in his return, that he would not have me publish it in English (nor without some alterations of the method); because though he thought I had sufficiently answered all the objections, yet ordinary readers would take deeper into their minds such hard objections as they never heard before, than the answer (how full soever) would be able to overcome: whereupon, not having leisure to translate and alter it, I cast it by.

He seemed to reverence and believe the opinion of Dr. Willis, and such others, *de animis brutorum*, as being not spiritual substances. But when I sent him a confutation of them, he seemed to acquiesce, and as far as I could judge, did change his mind; and had higher thoughts of sensitive natures, than they that take them to be some evanid qualities,
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proceeding from contexture, attemperation, and motion.

Yet he and I did think, that the notion of immateriality, had little satisfactory to acquaint us with the nature of a spirit (not telling us any thing what it is, but what it is not). And we thought, that the old Greek and Latin doctors (cited by Faustus Rhegiculis, whom Mamertus answereth), did mean by a body or matter (of which they said spirits did consist), the same thing as we now mean by the substance of spirits, distinguishing them from meer accidents. And we thought it a matter of some moment, and no small difficulty, to tell what men mean here by the word [substance], if it be but a relative notion, because it doth *subsistere accidentibus* & *subsistere per se*, relation is not proper substance. It is substance that doth so subsist: it is somewhat, and not nothing, nor an accident. Therefore if more than relation must be meant, it will prove hard to distinguish substance from substance by the notion of immateriality. Souls have no shadows: they are not palpable and gross; but they are SUBSTANTIAL LIFE, as VIRTUES. And it is hard to conceive, how a created *vis vel virtus* should be the adequate *conceptus* of a spirit, and not rather an inadequate, supposing the *conceptus* of *substantia fundamentalis* (as Dr. Glisson calls it *de vita naturæ*), seeing *omnis virtus est rei alieni virtus*.

Yet he yielded to me, that *virtus seu vis vitalis*, is not *animæ accidens*, but the *conceptus formalis spiritus*,

spiritus, supposing *substantia* to be the *conceptus fundamentalis*: and both together express the essence of a spirit.

Every created being is passive; for *recipit in fluxum causæ primæ*. God transcendeth our defining skill: but where there is receptivity, many ancients thought there were some pure sort of materiality: and we say, there is receptive substantiality: and who can describe the difference (laying aside the formal virtues that difference things) between the highest material substance, and the lowest substance, called immaterial.

We were neither of us satisfied with the notions of penetrability and indivisibility, as sufficient differences. But the *virtutes specificæ* plainly difference.

What latter thoughts, a year before he died, he had of these things, I know not: but some say, that a treatise of this subject, the soul's immortality, was his last finished work (promised in the end of his treatise of man's origination); and if we have the sight of that, it will fuller tell us his judgment.

One thing I must notify to you, and to those that have his manuscripts, that when I sent him a scheme, with some elucidations, he wrote me on that and my treatise of the soul, almost a quire of paper of animadversions; by which you must not conclude at all of his own judgment: for he professed to me, that he wrote them to me, not as his judgment, but (as his way was) as the hardest objections

objections which he would have satisfaction in. And when I had written him a full answer to all, and have been oft since with him, he seemed satisfied. You will wrong him therefore, if you should print that written to me as his judgment.

As to his judgment about religion; our discourse was very sparing about controversies. He thought not fit to begin with me about them, nor I with him: and as it was in me, so it seemed to be in him, from a conceit, that we were not fit to pretend to add much to one another.

About matters of conformity, I could gladly have known his mind more fully: but I thought it unmeet to put such questions to a judge, who must not speak against the laws; and he never offered his judgment to me. And I knew, that as I was to reverence him in his own profession, so in matters of my profession and concernment, he expected not, that I should think as he, beyond the reasons which he gave.

I must say, that he was of opinion, that the wealth and honour of the bishops was convenient, to enable them the better to relieve the poor, and rescue the inferiour clergy from oppression, and to keep up the honour of religion in the world. But all this on supposition, that it would be in the hands of wise and good men, or else it would do as much harm. But when I asked him, whether great wealth and honour would not be most earnestly desired and sought by the worst of men, while good men would not seek them? And whether

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he that was the only fervent seeker, was not likeliest to obtain (except under some rare extraordinary prince)? And so whether it was not like to entail the office on the worst, and to arm Christ's enemies against him to the end of the world (which a provision that had neither alluring nor much discouraging temptation, might prevent), he gave me no answer. I have heard some say, if the pope were a good man, what a deal of good might he do? But have popes therefore blest the world.

I can truly say, that he greatly lamented the negligence, and ill lives, and violence of some of the clergy; and would oft say, what have they their calling, honour and maintenance for, but to seek the instructing and saving of men's souls?

He much lamented, that so many worthy ministers were silenced, the church weakened, papists strengthened, the cause of love and piety greatly wronged and hindered by the present differences about conformity. And he hath told me his judgment, that the only means to heal us was, a new act of uniformity, which should neither leave all at liberty, nor impose any thing but necessary.

I had once a full opportunity to try his judgment far in this. It pleased the lord keeper Bridgman to invite Dr. Manton and myself (to whom Dr. Bates at our desire was added), to treat with Dr. Wilkins and Dr. Burton about the terms of our reconciliation and restoration to our ministerial liberty. After some days conference, we came to agree-

agreement in all things, as to the necessary terms. And because Dr. Wilkins and I had special intimacy with judge Hale, we desired him to draw it up in the form of an act, which he willingly did, and we agreed to every word. But it pleased the house of commons, hearing of it, to begin their next session with a vote, that no such bill should be brought in; and so it died.

Query 1. Whether after this and other such agreement, it be ingenuity, or somewhat else, that hath ever since said, we know not what they would have? And that at once call out to us, and yet strictly forbid us to tell them what it is we take for sin, and what we desire.

2. Whether it be likely, that such men as bishop Wilkins, and Dr. Burton, and judge Hale, would consent to such terms of our concord, as should be worse than our present condition of division and convulsion is? And whether the maintainers of our dividing impositions, be all wiser and better men than this judge and that bishop were?

3. And whether it be any distance of opinion, or difficulty of bringing us to agreement, that keepeth England in its sad divisions, or rather some mens opinion, that our unity itself is not desirable, lest it strengthen us? The case is plain.

His behaviour in the church was conformable, but prudent. He constantly heard a curate, too low for such an auditor. In common-prayer he behaved himself as others, saying that, to avoid
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the differencing of the gospels from the epistles, and the bowing at the name of Jesus, from the names, Christ, Saviour, God, &c. He would use some equality in his gestures, and stand up at the reading of all God's word alike.

I had but one fear or suspicion concerning him, which since I am assured was groundless: I was afraid least he had been too little for the practical part of religion, as to the working of the soul towards God, in prayer, meditation, &c. because he seldom spake to me of such subjects, nor of practical books, or sermons; but was still speaking of philosophy, or of spirits, souls, the future state, and the nature of God. But at last I understood, that his averfeness to hypocrisy made him purposely conceal the most of such his practical thoughts and works, as the world now findeth by his contemplations and other writings.

He told me once, how God brought him to a fixed honour and observation of the Lord's day; that when he was young, being in the west, the sickness or death of some relation at London, made some matter of estate to become his concernment; which required his hastening to London from the west: and he was commanded to travel on the Lord's day: but I cannot well remember how many cross accidents befel him in his journey; one horse fell lame, another died, and much more; which struck him with such sense of divine rebuke, as he never forgot.

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When I went out of the house, in which he succeeded me, I went into a greater, over-against the church-door. The town having great need of help for their souls, I preached between the public sermons in my house, taking the people with me to the church (to common-prayer and sermon) morning and evening. The judge told me, that he thought my course did the church much service; and would carry it so respectfully to me at my door, that all the people might perceive his approbation. But Dr. Reeves could not bear it, but complained against me; and the bishop of London caused one Mr. Rosse of Brainford, and Mr. Philips, two justices of the peace, to send their warrants to apprehend me. I told the judge of the warrant, but asked him no council, nor he gave me none; but with tears shewed his sorrow: (the only time that ever I saw him weep). So I was sent to the common goal for six months, by these two justices, by the procurement of the said Dr. Reeves (his majesty's chaplain, dean of Windsor, dean of Wolverhampton, parson of Horseley, parson of Acton). When I came to move for my release upon a habeas corpus (by the council of my great friend serjeant Fountain), I found, that the character which judge Hale had given of me, stood me in some stead; and every one of the four judges of the common-pleas, did not only acquit me, but said more for me than my council, (viz. judge Wild, judge Archer, judge Tyrel, and the lord chief justice Vaughan); and made me
sensible

sensible, how great a part of the honour of his majesty's government, and the peace of the kingdom, consisted in the justice of the judges.

And indeed judge Hale would tell me, that bishop Usher was much prejudiced against lawyers, because the worst causes find their advocates: but that he and Mr. Selden had convinced him of the reasons of it, to his satisfaction: and that he did by acquaintance with them, believe that there were as many honest men among lawyers, proportionably, as among any profession of men in England (not excepting bishops or divines).

And I must needs say, that the improvement of reason, the diverting men from sensuality and idleness, the maintaining of propriety and justice, and consequently the peace and welfare of the kingdom, is very much to be ascribed to the judges, and lawyers.

But this imprisonment brought me the great loss of converse with judge Hale: for the parliament in the next act against conventicles, put into it diverse clauses, suited to my case; by which I was obliged to go dwell in another county, and to forsake both London and my former habitation; and yet the justices of another county were partly enabled to pursue me.

Before I went, the judge had put into my hand four volumes (in folio), which he had written, to prove the being and providence of God, the immortality of the soul, and life to come, the truth of christianity, and of every book of the scripture

by itself, besides the common proofs of the whole. Three of the four volumes I had read over, and was sent to the goal before I read the fourth. I turned down a few leaves for some small animadversions, but had no time to give them him. I could not then persuade him to review them for the press. The only fault I found with them of any moment, was that great copiousness, the effect of his fulness and patience, which will be called tediousness by impatient readers.

When we were separated, he (that would receive no letters from any man, about any matters which he was to judge) was desirous of letter-converse about our philosophical and spiritual subjects. I having then begun a Latin *methodus theologiæ*, sent him one of the schemes (before mentioned), containing the generals of the philosophical part, with some notes upon it; which he so over-valued, that he urged me to proceed in the same way. I objected against putting so much philosophy (though mostly but *de homine*) in a method of theology: but he rejected my objections, and resolved me to go on.

At last it pleased God to visit him with his mortal sickness. Having had the stone before (which he found thick pond-water better ease him of, than the gravel spring-water), in a cold journey; an extraordinary flux of urine took him first, and then such a pain in his side, as forced him to let much blood, more than once, to save him from sudden suffocation or oppression. Ever after which

he had death in his lapsed countenance, flesh and strength, with shortness of breath. Dr. Willis, in his life-time, wrote his case without his name, in an observation in his pharmaceut, &c. which was shortly printed after his own death, and before his patient's: but I dare say it so crudely, as is no honour to that book.

When he had striven a while under his disease, he gave up his place, not so much from the apprehension of the nearness of his death (for he could have died comfortably in his public work), but from the sense of his disability to discharge his part: but he ceased not his studies, and that upon points which I could have wished him to let go (being confident, that he was not far from his end).

I sent him a book which I newly published, for reconciling the controversies about predestination, redemption, grace, free-will, but desired him not to bestow too much of his precious time upon it: but (before he left his place) I found him at it so oft, that I took the boldness to tell him, that I thought more practical writings were most suitable to his case, who was going from this contentious world. He gave me but little answer; but I after found, that he plied practicals and contemplatives in their season; which he never thought meet to give me any account of. Only in general he oft told me, that the reason and season of his writings (against atheism, &c. aforesaid) were, both in his circuit and at home, he used to set apart some time for
K 2 meditation,

meditation, especially after the evening public worship every Lord's day; and that he could not so profitable keep his thoughts in connection and method, otherwise, as by writing them down; and withal, that if there were any thing in them useful it was the way to keep it for after use: and therefore for the better management, for the accountability and the after use, he had long accustomed to pen his meditations; which gave us all of that nature that he hath left us.

Notwithstanding his own great furniture of knowledge, and he was accounted by some, somewhat tenacious of his conceptions (for men that know much, cannot easily yield to the expectations of less knowing men), yet I must say, that I remember not that ever I conversed with a man that was readier to receive and learn. He would hear as patiently, and recollect all so distinctly, and then try it so judiciously (not disdaining to learn of an inferior in some things, who in more had need to learn of him), that he would presently take what some stand wrangling against many years. I never more perceived in any man, how much great knowledge and wisdom facilitate additions, and the reception of any thing not before known. Such a one presently perceiveth that evidence which another is incapable of.

For instance, the last time, save one, that I saw him (in his weakness at Acton), he engaged me to explicate the doctrine of divine government (and decree), as consistent with the sin of man.

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And when I had distinctly told him, 1. What God did, as the author of nature, physically. 2. What he did, as legislator, morally. And 3. What he did, as benefactor, and by special grace. 4. And where permission came in, and where actual operation. 5. And so, how certainly God might cause the effects, and not cause the volitions, as determinate to evil, [though the volition and effect being called by one name (as theft, murder, adultery, lying, &c.) oft deceive men]: he took up all that I had said in order, and distinctly twice over repeated each part in its proper place, and with its reason: and when he had done, said, that I had given him satisfaction.

Before I knew what he did himself in contemplations, I took it not well, that he more than once told me, “ Mr. Baxter, I am more beholden
“ to you than you are aware of; and I thank you
“ for all, but especially for your scheme, and your
“ catholic theology.” For I was sorry, that a man (that I thought) so near death, should spend much of his time on such controversies (though tending to end them). But he continued after, near a year, and had leisure for contemplations which I knew not of.

When I parted with him, I doubted which of us would be first at heaven: but he is gone before, and I am at the door, and somewhat the willinger to go, when I think such souls as his are there.

When he was gone to Gloucestershire, and his contemplations were published by you, I sent him

the confession of my censures of him, how I had feared that he had allowed too great a share of his time and thoughts to speculation, and too little to practicals; but rejoiced to see the conviction of my error: and he returned me a very kind letter, which was the last.

Some censured him for living under such a curate at Acton, thinking it was in his power to have got Dr. Reeves, the parson, to provide a better. Of which I can say, that I once took the liberty to tell him, that I feared too much tepidity in him, by reason of that thing; not that he needed himself a better teacher, who knew more, and could over-look scandals; but for the sake of the poor ignorant people, who greatly needed better help. He answered me, that if money would do it, he would willingly have done it; but the Dr. was a man, not to be dealt with; which was the hardest word that I remember I ever heard him use of any. For I never knew any man more free from speaking evil of others behind their backs. Whenever the discourse came up to the faultiness of any individuals, he would be silent: but the sorts of faulty persons he would blame with cautelous freedom, especially idle, proud, scandalous, contentious, and factious clergymen. We agreed in nothing more than that which he oft repeateth in the papers which you gave me, and which he oft expressed, viz. that true religion consisteth in great, plain, necessary things, the life of faith and hope, the love of God and man, an humble self-denying
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mind, with mortification of worldly affection, carnal lust, &c. And that the calamity of the church, and withering of religion, hath come from proud and busy men's additions, that cannot give peace to themselves and others, by living in love and quietness on this christian simplicity of faith and practice, but vex and turmoil the church with these needless and hurtful superfluities; some by their decisions of words, or unnecessary controversies; and some by their restless reaching after their own worldly interest, and corrupting the church, on pretence of raising and defending it; some by their needless ceremonies, and some by their superstitious and causeless scruples. But he was especially angry at them that would so manage their differences about such things, as to shew, that they had a greater zeal for their own additions, than for the common saving truths and duties which we were all agreed in; and that did so manage their several little and selfish causes, as wounded or injured the common cause of the christian and reformed churches. He had a great distaste of the books called, a friendly debate, &c. and ecclesiastical polity, as from an evil spirit, injuring scripture phrase, and tempting the atheists to condemn all religion, so they might but vent their spleen, and be thought to have the better of their adversaries; and would say, how easy is it to requite such men, and all parties to expose each other to contempt? (Indeed, how many parishes in England afford too plenteous matter of reply

to one that took that for his part; and of tears to serious observers)?

His main desire was, that as men should not be peevishly quarrelsome against any lawful circumstances, forms or orders in religion, much less think themselves godly men, because they can fly from other mens circumstances, or settled lawful orders as sin; so especially, that no human additions of opinion, order, modes, ceremonies, professions, or promises, should ever be managed to the hindering of christian love and peace, nor of the preaching of the gospel, nor the wrong of our common cause, or the strengthening of atheism, infidelity, prophaneness or popery; but that christian verity and piety, the love of God and man, and a good life, and our common peace in these, might be first resolved on and secured, and all our additions might be used, but in due subordination to these, and not to any injury of any of them; nor sects, parties, or narrow interests be set up against the common duty, and the public interest and peace.

I know you are acquainted, how greatly he valued Mr. Selden, being one of his executors; his books and picture being still near him. I think it meet therefore to remember, that because many Hobbists do report, that Mr. Selden was at the heart an infidel, and inclined to the opinions of Hobbs, I desired him to tell me the truth herein: and he oft professed to me, that Mr. Selden was a resolved serious christian; and that he was a great adversary to Hobbs's errors; and that he had seen
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him openly oppose him so earnestly, as either to depart from him, or drive him out of the room. And as Mr. Selden was one of those called Erastians (as his book de Synedriis, and others shew), yet owned the office properly ministerial. So most lawyers that ever I was acquainted with, taking the word jurisdiction, to signify something more than the meer doctoral, priestly power, and power over their own sacramental communion in the church which they guide, do use to say, that it is primarily in the magistrate (as no doubt all power of corporal coercion, by mulcts and penalties is). And as to the accidentals to the proper power of priesthood, or the keys, they truly say with Dr. Stillingsfleet, that God hath settled no one form.

Indeed, the lord chief justice thought, that the power of the word and sacraments in the ministerial office, was of God's institution; and that they were the proper judges appointed by Christ, to whom they themselves should apply sacraments, and to whom they should deny them. But that the power of chancellors courts, and many modal additions, which are not of the essence of the priestly office, floweth from the king, and may be fitted to the state of the kingdom. Which is true, if it be limited by God's laws, and exercised on things only allowed them to deal in, and contradict not the orders and powers settled by Christ and his apostles.

On this account he thought well of the form of government in the church of England; (lamenting
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ing the miscarriages of many persons), and the want of parochial reformation: but he was greatly for uniting in love and peace, upon so much as is necessary to salvation, with all good, sober, peaceable men.

And he was much against the corrupting of the christian religion (whose simplicity and purity he justly took to be much of its excellency), by mens busy additions, by wit, policy, ambition, or any thing else which sophisticateth it, and maketh it another thing, and causeth the lamentable contentions of the world.

What he was as a lawyer, a judge, a christian, is so well known, that I think for me to pretend that my testimony is of any use, were vain. I will only tell you what I have written by his picture, in the front of the great bible which I bought with his legacy, in memory of his love and name, viz. " Sir Matthew Hale, that unwearied student, that prudent man, that solid philosopher, that famous lawyer, that pillar and basis of justice (who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive), the ornament of his majesty's government, and honour of England; the highest faculty of the soul of Westminster-hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable judges; that godly, serious, practical christian, the lover of goodness and all good men; a lamenter of the clergy's selfishness, and unfaithfulness, and discord, and of the sad divisions following hereupon; an earnest desire of their reformation, concord, and
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the church's peace, and of a reformed act of uniformity, as the best and necessary means thereto; that great contemner of the riches, pomp and vanity of the world; that pattern of honest plainness and humility, who while he fled from the honours that pursued him, was yet lord chief justice of the king's bench, after his being long lord chief baron of the exchequer; living and dying, entering on, using, and voluntarily surrendering his place of judicature, with the most universal love, and honour, and praise, that ever did English subject in this age, or any that just history doth acquaint us with, &c. &c. &c. This man so wise, so good, so great, bequeathing me in his testament the legacy of forty shillings, meerly as a testimony of his respect and love, I thought this book, the testament of Christ, the meetest purchase by that price, to remain in memorial of the faithful love, which he bare and long expressed to his inferior and unworthy, but honouring friend, who thought to have been with Christ before him, and waiteth for the day of his perfect conjunction with the spirits of the just made perfect."

RICHARD BAXTER.

S O M E
P A S S A G E S
O F T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H

Of the Right Honourable

JOHN Earl of Rochester,

Who died July 26, 1680.

Written by his own direction on his death bed,

By GILBERT BURNET, D. D.

Late Lord Bishop of SARUM.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE celebrating the praises of the dead, is an argument so worn out by long and frequent use, and now become so nauseous, by the flattery that usually attends it, that it is no wonder if funeral orations, or panegyricks, are more considered for the elegancy of style, and fineness of wit, than for the authority they carry with them as to the truth of matters of fact. And yet I am not hereby deterred from meddling with this kind of argument, nor from handling it with all the plainness I can; delivering only what I myself heard and saw, without any borrowed ornament. I do easily foresee how many will be engaged for the support of their impious maxims and immoral practices, to disparage what I am to write. Others will censure it, because it comes from one of my profession; too many supposing us to be induced to frame such discourses for carrying on what they are pleased to call our trade. Some will think I dress it up too artificially, and others, that I present it too plain and naked.

But being resolved to govern myself by the exact rules of truth, I shall be less concerned in the censures I may fall under. It may seem liable to great exception, that I should disclose so many things, that were discovered to me, if not under the seal of confession, yet under the confidence of friendship. But this noble lord himself not only released me from all obligation of this kind, when I waited on him in his last sickness, a few days before he died; but gave it me in charge not to spare him in any thing which I thought might be of use to the living; and was not ill pleased to be laid open, as well in the worst, as in the
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best and last part of his life, being so sincere in his repentance, that he was not unwilling to take shame to himself, by suffering his faults to be exposed for the benefit of others.

I write with one great disadvantage, that I cannot reach his chief design without mentioning some of his faults : but I have touched them as tenderly as occasion would bear ; and I am sure with much more softness than he desired, or would have consented unto, had I told him how I intended to manage this part. I have related nothing with personal reflections on any others concerned with him, wishing rather that they themselves reflecting on the sense he had of his former disorders, may be thereby led to forsake their own, than that they should be any ways reproached by what I write : and therefore, though he used very few reserves with me, as to his course of life, yet since others had a share in most parts of it, I shall relate nothing but what more immediately concerned himself ; and I shall say no more of his faults, than is necessary to illustrate his repentance.

The occasion that led me into so particular a knowledge of him, was an intimation given me by a gentleman of his acquaintance, of his desire to see me. This was some time in October, 1679, when he was slowly recovering out of a great disease. He had understood that I often attended on one well known to him, that died the summer before ; he was also then entertaining himself in that state of his health, with the first part of the history of the reformation, then newly come out, with which he seemed not ill pleased : and we had accidentally met in two or three places some time before. These were the motives that led him to call for my company. After I had waited on him once or twice he grew into that freedom with me, as to open to me all his thoughts, both of religion and morality : and to give me a full view of his past life ; and seemed not uneasy at my frequent visits. So till he went
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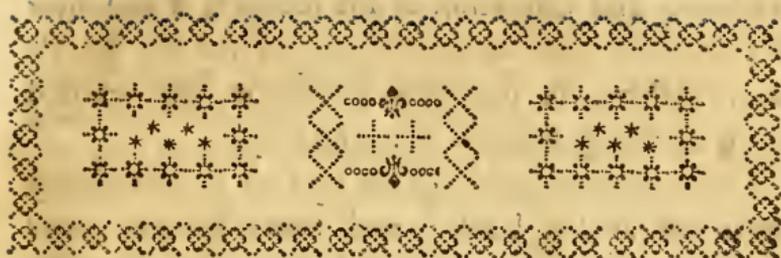
from London, which was in the beginning of April, I waited on him often. As soon as I heard how ill he was, and how much he was touched with a sense of his former life, I writ to him, and received from him an answer, that, without my knowledge, was printed since his death, from a copy which one of his servants conveyed to the press. In it there is so undeserved a value put on me, that it had been very indecent for me to have published it: yet that must be attributed to his civility and way of breeding: and indeed he was particularly known to so few of the clergy, that the good opinion he had of me, is to be imputed only to his unacquaintance with others.

My end in writing is so to discharge the last commands this lord left on me, as that it may be effectual to awaken those who run on to all the excesses of riot; and that in the midst of those heats which their lusts and passions raise in them, they may be a little wrought on by so great an instance of one who had run round the whole circle of luxury; and, as Solomon says of himself, Whatsoever his eyes desired, he kept it not from them; and withheld his heart from no joy. But when he looked back on all that on which he had wasted his time and strength, he esteemed it vanity and vexation of spirit: though he had both as much natural wit, and as much acquired by learning, and both as much improved with thinking and study, as perhaps any libertine of the age; yet when he reflected on all his former courses, even before his mind was illuminated with better thoughts, he counted them madness and folly. But when the powers of religion came to operate on him, then he added a detestation to the contempt he formerly had of them, suitable to what became a sincere penitent, and expressed himself in so clear and so calm a manner, so sensible of his failings towards his Maker and his Redeemer, that as it wrought not a little on those that were about him; so, I hope, the making it public may have a more general

The P R E F A C E.

influence, chiefly on those on whom his former conversation might have had ill effects.

I have endeavoured to give his character as fully as I could take it: for I who saw him only in one light, in a sedate and quiet temper, when he was under a great decay of strength and loss of spirits, cannot give his picture with that life and advantage that others may, who knew him when his parts were more bright and lively: yet the composure he was then in, may perhaps be supposed to balance any abatement of his usual vigour, which the declination of his health brought him under. I have written this discourse with as much care, and have considered it as narrowly as I could. I am sure I have said nothing but truth; I have done it slowly, and often used my second thoughts in it, not being so much concerned in the censures which might fall on myself, as cautious that nothing should pass that might obstruct my only design of writing, which is the doing what I can towards the reforming a loose and lewd age. And if such a signal instance concurring with all the evidence that we have for our most holy faith, has no effect on those who are running the same course, it is much to be feared they are given up to a reprobate sense.



S O M E

P A S S A G E S

Of the LIFE and DEATH of

JOHN Earl of ROCHESTER.

JOHN WILMOT, earl of Rochester, was born in April, Anno Dom. 1648. His Father was Henry earl of Rochester, but best known by the title of the lord Wilmot, who bore so great a part in all the late wars, that mention is often made of him in the history; and had the chief share in the honour of the preservation of his majesty that now reigns, after Worcester fight, and the conveying him from place to place, till he happily escaped into France: but dying before the king's return, he left his son little other inheritance but the honour and title derived to him, with the pretensions such eminent services gave him to the king's favour: these were carefully managed by the great

prudence and discretion of his mother, a daughter of that noble and antient family of the St. John's of Wiltshire, so that his education was carried on in all things suitably to his quality.

When he was at school, he was an extraordinary proficient at his book; and those shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves: he acquired the Latin to such perfection, that to his dying day he retained a great relish of the fineness and beauty of that tongue, and was exactly versed in the incomparable authors that writ about Augustus's time, whom he read often with that peculiar delight which the greatest wits have ever found in those studies.

When he went to the university, the general joy which over ran the whole nation upon his majesty's restauration, but was not regulated with that sobriety and temperance, that became a serious gratitude to God for so great a blessing, produced some of its ill effects on him: he began to love these disorders too much: his tutor was that eminent and pious divine Dr. Blandford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester; and under his inspection he was committed to the more immediate care of Mr. Phineas Berry, a fellow of Wadham College, a very learned and good-natured man; whom he afterwards ever used with much respect, and rewarded him as became a great man. But the humour of that time wrought so much on him, that he broke off the course of his studies, to which no means could ever effectually recall

recall him ; till when he was in Italy his governour Dr. Balfour, a learned and worthy man, now a celebrated physician in Scotland, his native country, drew him to read such books as were most likely to bring him back to love learning and study : and he often acknowledged to me, in particular three days before his death, how much he was obliged to love and honour this his governour, to whom he thought he owed more than to all the world, next after his parents, for his great fidelity and care of him while he was under his trust. But no part of it affected him more sensibly, than that he engaged him by many tricks (so he expressed it) to delight in books and reading ; so that ever after he took occasion in the intervals of those woeful extravagancies that consumed most of his time, to read much ; and though the time was generally but indifferently employed, for the choice of the subjects of his studies was not always good, yet the habitual love of knowledge, together with these fits of study, had much awakened his understanding, and prepared him for better things, when his mind should be so far changed as to relish them.

He came from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantages as most ever had. He was a graceful and well-shaped person, tall, and well made, if not a little too slender : he was exactly well bred, and what by a modest behaviour natural to him, what by a civility became almost as natural, his conversation was easy and obliging. He had a strange

vivacity of thought, and vigour of expression: his wit had a subtilty and sublimity both, that it was scarce imitable. His style was clear and strong; when he used figures, they were very lively, and yet far enough out of the common road: he had made himself master of the antient and modern wit, and of the modern French and Italian, as well as the English. He loved to talk and write of speculative matters, and did it with so fine a thread, that even those who hated the subjects that his fancy ran upon, yet could not but be charmed with his way of treating of them. Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the English wits, were those he admired most. Sometimes other men's thoughts mixed with his composures; but that flowed rather from the impressions they made on him when he read them, by which they came to return upon him as his own thoughts, than that he servilely copied from any; for few men had a bolder flight of fancy, more steadily governed by judgment than he had. No wonder a young man so made, and so improved, was very acceptable in a court.

Soon after his coming thither, he laid hold on the first occasion that offered to shew his readiness to hazard his life in the defence and service of his country. In Winter 1665, he went with the earl of Sandwich to sea, when he was sent to lye for a Dutch East-India fleet; and was in the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port.

It was as desperate an attempt as ever was made; during the whole action, the earl of Rochester shewed as brave and as resolute a courage as was possible: a person of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion; for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea fight of that year: almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middleton (brother to Sir Hugh Middleton) was shot in his arms: during the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not easily find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much danger, to carry his commands to that captain. This lord offered himself to the service; and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to Sir Edward, which was much commended by all that saw it. He thought it necessary to begin his life with these demonstrations of his courage, in an element and way of fighting, which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted valour.

He had so entirely laid down the intemperance that was growing on him before his travels, that at his return he hated nothing more. But falling

into company that loved these excesses, he was, though not without difficulty, and by many steps, brought back to it again. And the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in intemperance; which at length did so entirely subdue him, that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually drunk; not all the while under the visible effects of it, but his blood was so inflamed, that he was not in all that time cool enough to be perfectly master of himself. This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable things: by this, he said, he had broke the firm constitution of his health, that seemed so strong, that nothing was too hard for it; and he had suffered so much in his reputation, that he almost despaired to recover it. There were two principles in his natural temper, that being heightened by that heat, carried him to great excesses: a violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant mirth. The one involved him in great sensuality; the other led him to many odd adventures and frolics, in which he was oft in hazard of his life. The one being the same irregular appetite in his mind, that the other was in his body, which made him think nothing diverting that was not extravagant. And though in cold blood he was a generous and good natured man, yet he would go far in his heats, after any thing that might turn to a jest, or matter of diversion. He said to me, he
never

never improved his interest at court, to do a premeditated mischief to other persons. Yet he laid out his wit very freely in libels and satires, in which he had a peculiar talent of mixing his wit with his malice, and fitting both with such apt words, that men were tempted to be pleased with them : from thence his composures came to be easily known, for few had such a way of tempering these together as he had : so that when any thing extraordinary that way came out, as a child is fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so was it laid at his door as its parent and author.

These exercises in the course of his life were not always equally pleasant to him ; he had often sad intervals, and severe reflections on them : and though then he had not these awakened in him from any deep principle of religion, yet the horror that nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses, made him too easy to receive some ill principles, which others endeavoured to possess him with ; so that he was too soon brought to set himself to secure and fortify his mind against that, by dispossessing it all he could of the belief or apprehensions of religion. The licentiousness of his temper, with the briskness of his wit, disposed him to love the conversation of those who divided their time between lewd actions and irregular mirth. And so he came to bend his wit, and direct his studies and endeavours to support and strengthen these ill principles both in himself and others.

An accident fell out after this, which confirmed him more in these courses; when he went to sea in the year 1665, there happened to be in the same ship with him Mr. Montague, and another gentleman of quality; these two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague, said, he was sure of it; the other was not so positive. The earl of Rochester, and the last of these entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that if either of them died, he should appear and give the other notice of the future state, if there was any. But Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he generously staid all the while in the place of greatest danger: the other gentleman signalized his courage in a most undaunted manner, till the end of the action; when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that he could scarce stand; and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each others arms, a cannon ball killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he died within an hour after. The earl of Rochester told me that that these presages they had in their minds made some impression on him, that there were separated beings; and that the soul either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated

cated to it, had a sort of divination : but that gentleman's never appearing was a great snare to him during the rest of his life. Though when he told me this he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him to think, that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits, that they could not command their own motions, but as the Supreme Power should order them ; and that one who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth, as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction.

He told me of another odd presage that one had of his approaching death in the lady Warre, his mother-in-law's house : the chaplain had dreamt that such a day he should die, but being by all the family put out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it ; till the evening before at supper, there being thirteen at table, according to a fond conceit that one of these must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was to die. He remembering his dream fell into some disorder, and the lady Warre reproving him for his superstition, he said, he was confident he was to die before morning, but he being in perfect health, it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber and sat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle, and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon, but was found dead in his bed the next morning : these things he said made him inclined to believe, the
soul

soul was a substance distinct from matter ; and this often returned into his thoughts. But that which perfected his persuasion about it, was, that in the sickness which brought him so near death before I first knew him, when his spirits were so low and spent that he could not move nor stir, and he did not think to live an hour ; he said his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that from thence he was fully persuaded that death was not the spending or dissolution of the soul, but only the separation of it from matter. He had in that sickness great remorse for his past life, but he afterwards told me, they were rather general and dark horrors, than any convictions of sinning against God. He was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon, or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself, and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express : but at such times, though he complied with his friends in suffering divines to be sent for, he said, he had no great mind to it ; and that it was but a piece of his breeding, to desire them to pray by him, in which he joined little himself.

As to the Supreme Being, he had always some impression of one ; and professed often to me, that he had never known an entire atheist, who fully believed there was no God. Yet when he explained his notion of this being, it amounted to no more than a vast power, that had none of the attributes of goodness or justice, we ascribe to the deity ; these were his thoughts about religion, as himself told

told me. For morality, he freely owned to me, that though he talked of it, as a fine thing, yet this was only because he thought it a decent way of speaking; and that as they went always in cloaths, though in their frolicks they would have chosen sometimes to have gone naked, if they had not feared the people; so some of them found it necessary for human life to talk of morality, yet he confessed they cared not for it, further than the reputation of it was necessary for their credit and affairs; of which he gave me many instances, as their professing and swearing friendship, where they hated mortally; their oaths and imprecations on their addressees to women, which they intended never to make good; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent persons, and spreading false reports of some perhaps in revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill designs; the delight they had in making people quarrel; their unjust usage of their creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent, that might deliver them from present importunity. So that in detestation of these courses he would often break forth into such hard expressions concerning himself, as would be indecent for another to repeat.

Such had been his principles and practices in a course of many years, which had almost quite extinguished the natural propensities in him to justice and virtue. He would often go into the country, and be for some months wholly employed in study, or the sallies of his wit, which he came to direct chiefly

chiefly to satire. And this he often defended to me; by saying there was some people that could not be kept in order, or admonished but in this way. I replied, that it might be granted that a grave way of satire was sometimes no unprofitable way of reproof; yet they who used it only out of spite, and mixed lies with truth, sparing nothing that might adorn their poems, or gratify their revenge, could not excuse that way of reproach, by which the innocent often suffer; since the most malicious things if wittily expressed, might stick to and blemish the best men in the world, and the malice of a libel could hardly consist with the charity of an admonition. To this, he answered, a man could not write with life, unless he were heated by revenge: for to make a satire without resentments, upon the cold notions of philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood cut mens throats who had never offended him: and he said, the lies in these libels came often in as ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem.

For his other studies, they were divided between the comical and witty writings of the antients and moderns, the Roman authors and books of physick; which the ill state of health he was fallen into, made more necessary to himself, and which qualified him for an odd adventure, which I shall but just mention. Being under an unlucky accident, which obliged him to keep out of the way, he disguised himself, so that his nearest friends could not have known him, and set up in Tower-street for

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an Italian mountebank, where he practised phyfic for some weeks not without success. In his latter years he read books of history more. He took pleasure to disguise himself as a porter, or as a beggar; sometimes to follow some mean amours, which for the variety of them, he affected. At other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were in the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.

I have now made the description of his former life and principles, as fully as I thought necessary to answer my end in writing; and yet with those reserves that I hope I have given no just cause of offence to any. I have said nothing but what I had from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular passages of his life, of which he told me not a few: but since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. It is their reformation, and not their disgrace, I desire: this tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things he told me; but finding that though I should name none, yet I must at least relate such circumstances, as would give too great occasion for the reader to conjecture concerning the persons intended right or wrong; either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. But I hope those that know how
 much

much they were engaged with him in his ill courses, will be somewhat touched with this tendernefs I exprefs towards them, and be thereby the rather induced to reflect on their ways, and to confider without prejudice or paffion what fense this noble lord had of their cafe, when he came at laft ferioufly to reflect upon his own.

I now turn to thofe parts of this narrative, wherein I myfelf bore fome fhare, and which I am to deliver upon the obfervations I made, after a long and free converfation with him for fome months. I was not long in his company, when he told me, he fhould treat me with more freedom than he had ever ufed to men of my profeflion. He would conceal none of his principles from me, but lay his thoughts open without any difguife; nor would he do it to maintain debate, or fhew his wit, but plainly tell me what ftuck with him; and protefted to me, that he was not fo engaged to his old maxims, as to refolve not to change, but that if he could be convinced, he would chufe rather to be of another mind: he faid, he would impartially weigh what I fhould lay before him, and tell me freely when it did convince, and when it did not. He expreffed this difpofition of mind to me in a manner fo frank, that I could not but believe him, and be much taken with his way of difcourfe: fo we entered into almoft all the parts of natural and revealed religion, and of morality. He feemed pleafed, and in a great meafure fatisfied, with what I faid upon many of thefe heads; and
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though our freest conversation was when we were alone, yet upon several occasions, other persons were witnesses to it. I understood from many hands that my company was not distasteful to him, and that the subjects about which we talked most were not unacceptable : and he expressed himself often not ill pleased with many things I said to him, and particularly when I visited him in his last sickness ; so that I hope it may not be altogether unprofitable to publish the substance of those matters about which we argued so freely, with our reasoning upon them : and perhaps what had some effects on him, may be not altogether ineffectual upon others. I followed him with such arguments as I saw were most likely to prevail with him : and my not urging other reasons proceeded not from any distrust I had of their force, but from the necessity of using those that were most proper for him. He was then in a low state of health, and seemed to be slowly recovering of a great disease. He was in the milk diet, and apt to fall into hecical fits ; any accident weakened him ; so that he thought he could not live long ; and when he went from London, he said, he believed he should never come to town more. Yet during his being in town he was so well, that he went often abroad, and had great vivacity of spirit. So that he was under no such decay, as either darkened or weakened his understanding ; nor was he any way troubled with the spleen, or vapours, or under the power of melancholly. What he was then compared to what he had been formerly, I could not so well judge,

who had seen him but twice before. Others have told me they perceived no difference in his parts. This I mention more particularly, that it may not be thought that melancholly, or the want of spirits, made him more inclined to receive any impressions: for indeed I never discovered any such thing in him.

Having thus opened the way to the heads of our discourse, I shall next mention them. The three chief things we talked about, were morality, natural religion, and revealed religion, christianity in particular. For morality, he confessed, he saw the necessity of it, both for the government of the world, and for the preservation of health, life and friendship; and was very much ashamed of his former practices, rather because he had made himself a beast, and had brought pain and sickness on his body, and had suffered much in his reputation, than from any deep sense of a Supreme Being, or another state: but so far this went with him, that he resolved firmly to change the course of his life; which he thought he should effect by the study of philosophy, and had not a few no less solid than pleasant notions concerning the folly and madness of vice: but he confessed he had no remorse for his past actions, as offences against God, but only as injuries to himself and to mankind.

Upon this subject I shewed him the defects of philosophy, for reforming the world: that it was a matter of speculation, which but few either had the leisure, or the capacity to enquire into. But the principle that must reform mankind, must be obvious

obvious to every mans understanding. That philosophy in matters of morality, beyond the great lines of our duty, had no very certain fixed rule; but in the lesser offices and instances of our duty, went much by the fancies of men and customs of nations; and consequently could not have authority enough to bear down the propensities of nature, appetite or passion: for which I instanced in these two points; the one was, about that maxim of the stoics, to extirpate all sort of passion and concern for any thing. That, take it by one hand, seemed desirable, because if it could be accomplished, it would make all the accidents of life easy; but I think it cannot, because nature, after all our striving against it, will still return to itself: yet on the other hand it dissolved the bonds of nature and friendship, and slackened industry, which will move but dully, without an inward heat: and if it delivered a man from any troubles, it deprived him of the chief pleasures of life, which arise from friendship. The other was concerning the restraint of pleasure, how far that was to go. Upon this he told me the two maxims of his morality then were, that he should do nothing to the hurt of any other, or that might prejudice his own health; and he thought that all pleasure, when it did not interfere with these, was to be indulged as the gratification of our natural appetites. It seemed unreasonable to imagine these were put into a man only to be restrained, or curbed to such a narrow-

ness : this he applied to the free use of wine and women.

To this I answered, that if appetites being natural, was an argument for the indulging them, then the revengeful might as well alledge it for murder, and the covetous for stealing ; whose appetites are no less keen on those objects ; and yet it is acknowledged that these appetites ought to be curb'd. If the difference is urged from the injury that another person receives, the injury is as great if a man's wife is defiled, or his daughter corrupted : and it is impossible for a man to let his appetites loose to vagrant lusts, and not to transgress in these particulars : so there was no curing the disorders that must arise from thence, but by regulating these appetites ; and why should we not as well think that God intended our brutish and sensual appetites should be governed by our reason, as that the fierceness of beasts should be managed and tamed by the wisdom, and for the use of man ? So that it is no real absurdity to grant, that appetites were put into men, on purpose to exercise their reason in the restraint and government of them, which to be able to do, ministers a higher and more lasting pleasure to a man, than to give them their full scope and range. And if other rules of philosophy be observed, such as the avoiding those objects that stir passion, nothing raises higher passions than ungoverned lust, nothing darkens the understanding and depresses a man's mind more, nor is any thing managed with more frequent returns
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of other immoralities, such as oaths and imprecations, which are only intended to compass what is desired: the expence that is necessary to maintain these irregularities, makes a man false in his other dealings. All this he freely confessed was true: upon which I urged, that if it was reasonable for a man to regulate his appetite in things which he knew were hurtful to him; was it not as reasonable for God to prescribe a regulation of those appetites, whose unrestrained course did produce such mischievous effects? That it could not be denied, but doing to others what we would have others do unto us, was a just rule. Those men then that knew how extreme sensible they themselves would be of the dishonour of their families in the case of their wives or daughters, must needs condemn themselves for doing that which they could not bear from another: and if the peace of mankind, and the intire satisfaction of our whole life, ought to be one of the chief measures of our actions, then let all the world judge, whether a man that confines his appetite, and lives contented at home, is not much happier than those that let their desires run after forbidden objects. The thing being granted to be better in itself, then the question falls between the restraint of appetite in some instances, and the freedom of a man's thoughts, the soundness of his health, his application to affairs, with the easiness of his whole life. Whether the one is not to be done before the other? As to the difficulty of such a restraint,

though it is not easy to be done, when a man allows himself many liberties, in which it is not possible to stop; yet those who avoid the occasions that may kindle these impure flames, and keep themselves well employed, find the victory and dominion over them no such impossible, or hard matter, as may seem at first view. So that though the philosophy and morality of this point were plain, yet there is not strength enough in that principle to subdue nature, and appetite. Upon this I urged, that morality could not be a strong thing, unless a man were determined by a law within himself; for if he only measured himself by decency, or the laws of the land, this would teach him only to use such cautions in his ill practices, that they should not break out too visibly; but would never carry him to an inward and universal probity. That virtue was of so complicated a nature, that unless a man came intirely within its discipline, he could not adhere steadfastly to any one precept; for vices are often made necessary supports to one another. That this cannot be done, either steadily, or with any satisfaction, unless the mind does inwardly comply with, and delight in the dictates of virtue; and that could not be effected, except a man's nature were internally regenerated, and changed by a higher principle: till that came about, corrupt nature would be strong, and philosophy but feeble; especially when it struggled with such appetites or passions as were much kindled, or deeply rooted in the constitution of ones body. This,
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he said, founded to him like enthusiasm, or canting: he had no notion of it, and so could not understand it. He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy, in which as the mind became much conversant, there would soon follow, as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts. I told him on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. It was certain, that the impressions made in his reason governed him, as they were lively presented to him; but these are so apt to slip out of our memory, and we so apt to turn our thoughts from them, and at some times the contrary impressions are so strong, that let a man set up a reasoning in his mind against them, he finds that celebrated saying of the poet,

Vido meliora proboque, deteriora sequor,

“ I see what is better and approve it, but follow what is worse,”

to be all that philosophy will amount to. Whereas those who upon such occasions apply themselves to God, by earnest prayer, feel a disengagement from such impressions, and themselves endued with a power to resist them; so that those bonds which formerly held them fall off.

This he said must be the effect of a heat in nature: it was only the strong diversion of the thoughts, that gave the seeming victory, and he

did not doubt but if one could turn to a problem in Euclid, or to write a copy of verses, it would have the same effect. To this I answered, that if such methods did only divert the thoughts, there might be some force in what he said: but if they not only drove out such inclinations, but begat impressions contrary to them, and brought men into a new disposition and habit of mind; then he must confess there was somewhat more than a diversion in these changes, which were brought on our minds by true devotion. I added that reason and experience were the things that determined our persuasions: that experience without reason may be thought the delusion of our fancy, so reason without experience had not so convincing an operation; but these two meeting together, must needs give a man all the satisfaction he can desire. He could not say, it was unreasonable to believe that the Supreme Being might make some thoughts stir in our minds with more or less force, as it pleased: especially the force of these motions, being, for most part, according to the impression that was made on our brains: which that power that directed the whole frame of nature, could make grow deeper as it pleased: it was also reasonable to suppose God a being of such goodness that he would give his assistance to such as desired it: for though he might upon some greater occasions in an extraordinary manner turn some peoples minds, yet since he had endued man with a faculty of reason, it is fit than men should

should employ that as far as they could, and beg his assistance ; which certainly they can do. All this seemed reasonable, and at last probable. Now good men who felt upon their frequent applications to God in prayer, a freedom from those ill impressions, that formerly subdued them, and inward love to virtue and true goodness, an easiness and delight in all the parts of holiness, which was fed and cherished in them by a seriousness in prayer, and did languish as that went off, had as real a perception of an inward strength in their minds, that did rise and fall with true devotion, as they perceived the strength of their bodies increased or abated, according as they had or wanted good nourishment.

After many discourses upon this subject, he still continued to think all was the effect of fancy : He said, that he understood nothing of it, but acknowledged that he thought they were happy whose fancies were under the power of such impressions ; since they had somewhat on which their thoughts rested and centered ; but when I saw him in his last sickness, he then told me, he had another sense of what we had talked concerning prayer and inward assistances. This subject led us to discourse of God, and of the notion of religion in general. He believed there was a Supreme Being : he could not think the world was made by chance, and the regular course of nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal power of its author. This, he said, he could never shake off ; but when he came to explain

plain his notion of the deity, he said, he looked on it as a vast power that wrought every thing by the necessity of its nature : and thought that God had none of those affections of love or hatred, which bred perturbation in us, and by consequence he could not see that there was to be either reward or punishment. He thought our conceptions of God were so low, that we had better not think much of him : and to love God seemed to him a presumptuous thing, and the heat of fanciful men. Therefore he believed there should be no other religious worship, but a general celebration of that being, in some short hymn : all the other parts of worship he esteemed the inventions of priests, to make the world believe they had a secret of incensing and appeasing God as they pleased. In a word, he was neither persuaded that there was a special providence about human affairs ; nor that prayers were of much use, since that was to look on God as a weak being, that would be overcome with importunities. And for the state after death, though he thought the soul did not dissolve at death, yet he doubted much of rewards or punishments ; the one he thought too high for us to attain by our slight services ; and the other was too extreme to be inflicted for sin. This was the substance of his speculations about God and religion.

I told him his notions of God was so low, that the Supreme Being seemed to be nothing but nature. For if that being had no freedom or choice of its own actions, nor operated by wisdom or goodness, all those reasons which led him to acknowledge a
 God,

God, were contrary to this conceit; for, if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful, since these all appeared equally in the creation; though his wisdom and goodness had ways of exerting themselves, that were far beyond our notions or measures. If God was wise and good, he would naturally love, and be pleased with those that resemble him in these perfections, and dislike those that were opposite to him. Every rational being naturally loves itself, and is delighted in others like itself, and is averse from what is not so. Truth is a rational nature's acting in conformity to itself in all things, and goodness is an inclination to promote the happiness of other beings: so truth and goodness were the essential perfections of every reasonable being, and certainly most eminently in the Deity: nor does his mercy or love raise passion or perturbation in him; for we feel that to be a weakness in ourselves, which indeed only flows from our want of power or skill to do what we wish or desire: it is also reasonable to believe God would assist the endeavours of the good, with some helps suitable to their nature. And that it could not be imagined, that those who imitated him, should not be specially favoured by him; and therefore since this did not appear in this state, it was most reasonable to think it should be in another, where the rewards shall be an admission to a more perfect state of conformity to God, with the felicity that follows it, and the punishments should be a total
 exclusion

exclusion from him, with all the horror and darkness that must follow that. These seemed to be the natural results of such several courses of life, as well as the effects of divine justice, rewarding or punishing. For since he believed the soul had a distinct subsistence, separated from the body, upon its dissolution, there was no reason to think it passed into a state of utter oblivion, of what it had been in formerly : but that as the reflections on the good or evil it had done, must raise joy or horror in it ; so those good or ill dispositions accompanying the departed souls, they must either rise up to a higher perfection, or sink to a more depraved and miserable state. In this life variety of affairs and objects do much cool and divert our minds ; and are on the one hand often great temptations to the good, and give the bad some ease in their trouble ; but in a state wherein the soul shall be separated from sensible things, and employed in a more quick and sublime way of operation, this must very much exalt the joys and improvements of the good, and as much heighten the horror and rage of the wicked, so that it seemed a vain thing to pretend to believe a Supreme Being, that is wise and good, as well as great, and not to think a discrimination will be made between the good and the bad, which, it is manifest, is not fully done in this life.

As for the government of the world, if we believe the supreme power made it, there is no reason to think he does not govern it ; for all that we can fancy against it, is the distraction which that infinite
variety

variety of second causes, and the care of their concernments, must give to the first, if it inspects them all. But as among men, those of weaker capacities are wholly taken up with some one thing, whereas those of more enlarged powers, can without distraction, have many things within their care; as the eye can at one view receive a great variety of objects in that narrow compass without confusion, so if we conceive the divine understanding to be as far above ours, as his power of creating and framing the whole universe, is above our limited activity; we will no more think the government of the world a distraction to him; and if we have once overcome this prejudice, we shall be ready to acknowledge a providence directing all affairs, a care well becoming the Great Creator.

As for worshipping him, if we imagine our worship is a thing that adds to his happiness, or gives him such a fond pleasure as weak people have to hear themselves commended; or that our repeated addresses do overcome him through our mere importunity, we have certainly very unworthy thoughts of him. The true ends of worship come within another consideration, which is this, a man is never entirely reformed till a new principle governs his thoughts; nothing makes that principle so strong, as deep and frequent meditations of God; whose nature though it be far above our comprehension, yet his goodness and wisdom are such perfections as fall within our imagination: and he that thinks often of God, and considers him as governing

verning the world, and as ever observing all his actions, will feel a very sensible effect of such meditations, as they grow more lively and frequent with him; so the end of religious worship, either public or private, is to make the apprehensions of God have a deeper root and a stronger influence on us. The frequent returns of these are necessary, lest if we allow too long intervals between them, these impressions may grow feebler, and other suggestions may come in their room; and the returns of prayer are not to be considered as favours extorted by mere importunity, but as rewards conferred on men so well disposed and prepared for them, according to the promises that God has made for answering our prayers; thereby to engage and nourish a devout temper in us, which is the chief root of all true holiness and virtue.

It is true, we cannot have suitable notions of the divine essence; as indeed we have no just idea of any essence whatsoever, since we commonly consider all things, either by their outward figure, or by their effects, and from thence make inferences what their nature must be: so though we cannot frame any perfect image in our minds of the divinity, yet we may from the discoveries God has made of himself, form such conceptions of him, as may possess our minds with great reverence for him, and beget in us such a love of those perfections as to engage us to imitate them. For when we say we love God, the meaning is, we love that being that is holy, just, good, wise, and infinitely perfect: and
loving

loving these attributes in that object, will certainly carry us to desire them in ourselves. For whatever we love in another, we naturally, according to the degree of our love, endeavour to resemble it. In sum, the loving and worshipping God, though they are just and reasonable returns and expressions of the sense we have of his goodness to us; yet they are exacted of us not only as a tribute to God, but as a mean to beget in us a conformity to his nature, which is the chief end of pure and undefiled religion.

If some men have at several times found out inventions to corrupt this, and cheat the world; It is nothing but what occurs in every sort of employment, to which men betake themselves; mountebanks corrupt physic, petty-foggers have entangled the matters of property, and all professions have been vitiated by the knaveries of a number of their calling.

With all these discourses he was not equally satisfied: he seemed convinced that the impressions of God being much in mens minds, would be a powerful means to reform the world; and did not seem determined against providence. But for the next state, he thought it more likely that the soul began anew, and that her sense of what she had done in this body, lying in the figures that are made in the brain, as soon as she dislodged, all these perished, and that the soul went into some other state to begin a new course. But I said on this head, that this was at best a conjecture, raised

in him by his fancy; for he could give no reason to prove it true: nor was all the remembrance our souls had of past things seated in some material figures lodged in the brain: though it could not be denied but a great deal of it lay in the brain. That we have many abstracted notions and ideas of immaterial things which depend not on bodily figures: some sins, such as falshood, and ill nature, were seated in the mind, as lust and appetite were in the body; and as the whole body was the recepticle of the soul, and the eyes and ears were the organs of seeing and hearing, so was the brain the seat of memory: yet the power and faculty of memory, as well as of seeing and hearing, lay in the mind; and so it was no unconceivable thing that either the soul by its own strength, or by the means of some subtiler organs, which might be fitted for it in another state, should still remember as well as think. But indeed we know so little of the nature of our souls, that it is a vain thing for us to raise an hypothesis out of the conjectures we have about it, or to reject one, because of some difficulties that occur to us; since it is as hard to understand how we remember things now, as how we shall do it in another state: only we are sure we do it now, and so we shall be then, when we do it.

When I pressed him with the secret joys that a good man felt, particularly as he drew near death, and the horrors of ill men especially at that time; he was willing to ascribe it to the impressions they
had

had from their education : but he often confessed, that whether the business of religion was true or not, he thought those who had the persuasions of it, and lived so that they had quiet in their consciences, and believed God governed the world, and acquiesced in his providence, and had the hope of an endless blessedness in another state, the happiest men in the world ; and said, he would give all that he was master of, to be under those persuasions, and to have the supports and joys that must needs flow from them. I told him the main root of all corruptions in mens principles was their ill life ; which, as it darkened their minds, and disabled them from discerning better things ; so it made it necessary for them to seek out such opinions as might give them ease from those clamours, that would otherwise have been raised within them. He did not deny, but that after the doing of some things he felt great and severe challenges within himself ; but he said, he felt not these after some others which I would perhaps call far greater sins, than those that affected him more sensibly. This I said, might flow from the disorders he had cast himself into, which had corrupted his judgment, and vitiated his taste of things ; and by his long continuance in, and frequent repeating of some immoralities, he had made them so familiar to him, that they were become as it were natural ; and then it was no wonder if he had not so exact a sense of what was good or evil ; as a feverish man cannot judge of tastes.

He did acknowledge, the whole system of religion, if believed, was a greater foundation of quiet than any other thing whatsoever; for all the quiet he had in his mind, was, that he could not think so good a being as the Deity would make him miserable. I asked, if when by the ill course of his life he had brought so many diseases on his body, he could blame God for it; or expect that he should deliver him from them by a miracle. He confessed there was no reason for that. I then urged, that if sin should cast the mind, by a natural effect, into endless horrors and agonies, which being seated in a being not subject to death, must last for ever, unless some miraculous power interposed, could he accuse God for that which was the effect of his own choice and ill life?

He said, they were happy that believed; for it was not in every man's power.

And upon this we discoursed long about revealed religion. He said, he did not understand the business of inspiration; he believed the penmen of the scriptures had heats and honesty, and so writ; but could not comprehend how God should reveal his secrets to mankind. Why was not man made a creature more disposed for religion, and better illuminated? He could not apprehend how there should be any corruption in the nature of man, or a lapse derived from Adam. God's communicating his mind to one man, was the putting it in his power to cheat the World: for prophecies and miracles, the world had been always full of strange stories;

stories; for the boldness and cunning of contrivers meeting with the simplicity and credulity of the people, things were easily received; and being once received, passed down without contradiction. The incoherences of stile in the scriptures, the odd transitions, the seeming contradictions, chiefly about the order of time, the cruelties enjoined the Isrealities in destroying the Canaanites, circumcision, and many other rites of the Jewish worship; seemed to him unsuitable to the divine nature: and the first three chapters of Genesis he thought could not be true, unless they were parables. This was the substance of what he excepted to revealed religion in general, and to the old testament in particular. ←

I answered to all this, that believing a thing upon the testimony of another, in other matters where there was no reason to suspect the testimony, chiefly where it was confirmed by other circumstances, was not only a reasonable thing, but it was the hinge on which all the government and justice in the world depended: since all the courts of justice proceed upon the evidence given by witnesses; for the use of writings, is but a thing more lately brought into the world. So then if the credibility of the thing, the innocence and disinterestedness of the witnesses, the number of them, and the publicest confirmations that could possibly be given, do concur to persuade us of any matter of fact, it is a vain thing to say, because it is possible for so many men to agree in a lye, that there-

fore these have done it. In all other things a man gives his assent when the credibility is strong on the one side, and there appears nothing on the other side to balance it. So such numbers agreeing in their testimony to these miracles; for instance, of our Saviour's calling Lazarus out of the grave the fourth day after he was buried, and his own rising again after he was certainly dead; if there had been never so many impostures in the world, no man can with any reasonable colour pretend this was one. We find both by the Jewish and Roman writers that lived in that time, that our Saviour was crucified, and that all his disciples and followers believed certainly that he arose again. They believed this upon the testimony of the apostles, and many hundreds who saw it, and died confirming it. They went about to persuade the world of it with great zeal, though they knew they were to get nothing by it, but reproach and sufferings: and by many wonders which they wrought they confirmed their testimony. Now to avoid all this, by saying it is possible this might be a contrivance, and to give no presumption to make it so much as probable, that it was so, is in plain English to say, "we are resolved, let the evidence be what it will, we will not believe it."

He said, if a man says he cannot believe, what help is there? for he was not master of his own belief, and believing was at highest but a probable opinion. To this I answered, that if a man will let a wanton conceit possess his fancy against these things,

things, and never consider the evidence for religion on the other hand, but reject it upon a slight view of it, he ought not to say he cannot, but he will not believe: and while a man lives an ill course of life, he is not fitly qualified to examine the matter aright. Let him grow calm and virtuous, and upon due application examine things fairly, and then let him pronounce according to his conscience, if to take it at its lowest, the reasons on the one hand are not much stronger than they are on the other. For I found he was so possessed with the general conceit, that a mixture of knaves and fools had made all extraordinary things be easily believed, that it carried him away to determine the matter, without so much as looking on the historical evidence for the truth of christianity, which he had not enquired into, but had bent all his wit and study to the support of the other side. As for that, that believing is at best but an opinion; if the evidence be but probable, it is so; but if it be such that it cannot be questioned, it grows as certain as knowledge: for we are no less certain that there is a great town called Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman empire, than that there is another called London. We as little doubt that queen Elizabeth once reigned, as that king Charles now reigns in England. So that believing may be as certain, and as little subject to doubting, as seeing or knowing.

There are two sorts of believing divine matters; the one is wrought in us by our comparing all the

evidences of matter of fact, for the confirmation of revealed religion, with the prophecies in the scripture; where things were punctually predicted, some ages before their completion; not in dark and doubtful words uttered like oracles, which might bend to any event; but in plain terms, as the foretelling that Cyrus by name should send the Jews back from the captivity, after the fixed period of seventy years: the history of the Syrian and Egyptian kings, so punctually foretold by Daniel, and the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, with many circumstances relating to it, made by our Saviour; joining these to the excellent rule and design of the scripture in matters of morality, it is at least as reasonable to believe this as any thing else in the world. Yet such a believing as this, is only a general persuasion in the mind, which has not that effect, till a man applying himself to the directions set down in the scriptures (which upon such evidence cannot be denied to be as reasonable, as for a man to follow the prescriptions of a learned physician, and when the rules are both good and easy, to submit to them for the recovery of his health) and by following these, finds a power entering within him, that frees him from the slavery of his appetites and passions, that exalts his mind above the accidents of life, and spreads an inward purity in his heart, from which a serene and calm joy arises within him: and good men, by the efficacy these methods have upon them, and from the returns of their prayers, and other endeavours, grow
assured

assured that these things are true, and answerable to the promises they find registered in scripture. All this, he said, might be fancy; but to this I answered, that as it were unreasonable to tell a man that is abroad, and knows he is awake, that perhaps he is in a dream, and in his bed, and only thinks he is abroad, or that as some go about in their sleep, so he may be asleep still; so good and religious men know, though others might be abused by their fancies, that they are under no such deception; and find they are neither hot nor enthusiastical, but under the power of calm and clear principles. All this he said he did not understand, and that it was to assert or beg the thing in question, which he could not comprehend.

As for the possibility of revelation, it was a vain thing to deny it; for as God gives us the sense of seeing material objects by our eyes, and opened in some a capacity of apprehending high and sublime things, of which other men seemed utterly incapable; so it was a weak assertion that God cannot awaken a power in some mens minds, to apprehend and know some things, in such a manner that others are not capable of it. This is not half so incredible to us as sight is to a blind man, who yet may be convinced there is a strange power of seeing that governs men, of which he finds himself deprived. As for the capacity put into such mens hands to deceive the world, we are at the same time to consider, that besides the probity of their tempers, it cannot be thought but God can so forc-

bly blind up a man in some things that it should not be in his power to deliver them, otherwise than as he gives him in commission: besides, the confirmation of miracles are a divine credential to warrant such persons in what they deliver to the world, which cannot be imagined can be joined to a lye, since this were to put the omnipotence of God to attest that which no honest man would do. For the business of the fall of man, and other things, of which we cannot perhaps give ourselves a perfect account; we who cannot fathom the secrets of the council of God, do very unreasonably to take on us to reject an excellent system of good and holy rules, because we cannot satisfy ourselves about some difficulties in them. Common experience tells us, there is a great disorder in our natures, which is not easily rectified; all philosophers were sensible of it, and every man that designs to govern himself by reason, feels the struggle between it and nature; so that it is plain, there is a lapse of the high powers of the soul.

But why, said he, could not this be rectified by some plain rules given; but men must come and shew a trick to persuade the world they speak to them in the name of God? I answered, that religion being a design to recover and save mankind, was to be so opened, as to awaken and work upon all sorts of people; and generally men of a simplicity of mind, were those that were the fittest objects for God to shew his favour to; therefore it was necessary that messengers sent from heaven should

should appear with such alarming evidence as might awaken the world, and prepare them by some astonishing signs, to listen to the doctrine they were to deliver. Philosophy, that was only a matter of fine speculation, had few votaries; and as there was no authority in it to bind the world to believe its dictates, so they were only received by some of nobler and refined natures, who could apply themselves to and delight in such notions. But true religion was to be built on a foundation, that should carry more weight on it, and to have such convictions, as might not only reach those who were already disposed to receive them, but rouse up such as without great and sensible excitation would have otherwise slept on in their ill courses.

Upon this, and some such occasions, I told him, I saw the ill use he made of his wit, by which he flurred the gravest things with a slight dash of his fancy; and the pleasure he found in such wanton expressions, as calling the doing of miracles the shewing of a trick, did really keep him from examining them with that care which such things required.

For the old Testament, we are so remote from that time, we have so little knowledge of the language in which it was writ, have so imperfect an account of the history of those ages, know nothing of their customs, forms of speech, and the several periods they might have, by which they reckon their time, that it is rather a wonder we should understand so much of it, than that many passages in it
should

should be so dark to us. The chief use of it as to us christians, is, that from writings which the Jews acknowledged to be divinely inspired, it is manifest the Messiah was promised before the destruction of their temple; which being done long ago, and these prophecies agreeing to our Saviour, and to no other, here is a great confirmation given to the gospel. But though many things in these books could not be understood by us who live above 3000 years after the chief of them were written, it is no such extraordinary matter.

For that of the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, it is to be considered, that if God had sent a plague among them all, that could not have been found fault with. If then God had a right to take away their lives without injustice or cruelty, he had a right to appoint others to do it, as well to execute it by a more immediate way; and the taking away people by the sword is a much gentler way of dying, than to be smitten with a plague or a famine. And for the children that were innocent of their fathers faults, God could in another state make that up to them. So all the difficulty is, why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity? But this will not seem so hard, if we consider that this was to be no precedent for future times; since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as did plainly shew, that they were particularly designed by God to be the executioners of his

his justice; and God by employing them in so severe a service, intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.

For the rites of their religion, we can ill judge of them, except we perfectly understood the idolatries round about them, to which we find they were much inclined; so they were to be bent by other rites to an extreme aversion from them: and yet by the pomp of many of their ceremonies and sacrifices, great indulgences were given to a people naturally fond of a visible splendor in religious worship. In all which, if we cannot descend to such satisfactory answers in every particular, as a curious man would desire, it is no wonder. The long interval of time, and other accidents, have worn out those things which were necessary to give us a clearer light into the meaning of them. And for the story of the creation, how far some things in it may be parabolical, and how far historical, has been disputed; there is nothing in it that may not be historically true. For if it be acknowledged that spirits can form voices in the air, for which we have as good authority as for any thing in history, then it is no wonder that Eve, being so lately created, might be deceived, and think a serpent spake to her, when the evil spirit framed the voice.

But in all these things I told him he was in the wrong way, when he examined the business of religion by some dark parts of scripture; therefore I desired him to consider the whole contexture of
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the christian religion, the rules it gives, and the methods it prescribes. Nothing can conduce more to the peace, order, and happiness of the world, than to be governed by its rules. Nothing is more for the interest of every man in particular: the rules of sobriety, temperance, and moderation, were the best preservers of life, and which was perhaps more of health, humility, contempt of the vanities of the world, and the being well employed, raises a man's mind to a freedom from the follies and temptations that haunted the greatest part. Nothing was so generous and great, as to supply the necessities of the poor, and to forgive injuries, nothing raised and maintained a man's reputation so much, as to be exactly just and merciful, kind, charitable, and compassionate, nothing opened the powers of a man's soul so much as a calm temper, a serene mind, free of passion and disorder, nothing made societies, families, and neighbourhoods so happy as when these rules, which the gospel prescribes, took place, of doing as we would have others do to us, and loving our neighbours as ourselves.

The christian worship was also plain and simple, suitable to so pure a doctrine. The ceremonies of it were few and significant, as the admission to it by a washing with water, and the memorial of our Saviour's death in bread and wine; the motives in it to persuade to this purity were strong: that God sees us, and will judge us for all our actions: that we shall be for ever happy or miser-

able,

able, as we pass our lives here : the example of our Saviour's life, and the great expressions of his love in dying for us, are mighty engagements to obey and imitate him. The plain way of expression used by our Saviour and his apostles, shews there was no artifice, where there was so much simplicity used : there were no secrets kept only among the priests, but every thing was open to all Christians . the rewards of holiness are not entirely put over to another state, but good men are specially blest with peace in their consciencies, great joy in the confidence they have of the love of God, and of seeing him for ever, and often a signal course of blessings follows them in their whole lives; but if at other times calamities fell on them, these were so much mitigated by the patience they were taught, and the inward assistances with which they were furnished, that even those crosses were converted to blessings.

I desired he would lay all these things together, and see what he could except to them, to make him think this was a contrivance. Interest appears in all human contrivances ; our Saviour plainly had none ; he avoided applause, withdrew himself from the offers of a crown ; he submitted to poverty and reproach, and much contradiction in his life, and to a most ignominious and painful death. His apostles had none neither ; they did not pretend either to power or wealth ; but delivered a doctrine that must needs condemn them, if they ever made such use of it ; they declared
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their commission fully without reserves till other times ; they recorded their own weakness ; some of them wrought with their own hands, and when they received the charities of their converts, it was not so much to supply their own necessities, as to distribute to others : they knew they were to suffer much for giving their testimonies to what they had seen and heard ; in which so many, in a thing so visible, as Christ's resurrection and ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost which he had promised, could not be deceived ; and they gave such public confirmations of it, by the wonders they themselves wrought, that great multitudes were converted to a doctrine, which, besides the opposition it gave to lust and passion, was borne down and persecuted for three hundred years, and yet its force was such, that it not only weathered out all those storms, but even grew and spread vastly under them. Pliny, about threescore years after, found their numbers great, and their lives innocent : and even Lucian, amidst all his railery, give a high testimony to their charity and contempt of life, and the other virtues of the Christians, which is likewise more than once done by malice itself, Julian the apostate.

If a man will lay all this in one balance, and compare with it the few exceptions brought to it, he will soon find how strong the one, and how slight the other are. Therefore it was an improper way, to begin at some cavils about some passages in the new testament, or the old, and from
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thence to prepossess one's mind against the whole. The right method had been first to consider the whole matter, and from so general a view to descend to more particular enquiries: whereas they suffered their minds to be forestalled with prejudices; so that they never examined the matter impartially.

To the greatest part of this he seemed to assent, only he excepted to the belief of mysteries in the christian religion; which he thought no man could do, since it is not in a man's power to believe that which he cannot comprehend, and of which he can have no notion. The believing mysteries, he said, made way for all the jugglings of priests, for they getting the people under them in that point, set out to them what they pleased; and giving it a hard name, and calling it a mystery, the people were tamed, and easily believed it. The restraining a man from the use of women, except one in the way of marriage, and denying the remedy of divorce, he thought unreasonable impositions on the freedom of mankind: and the business of the clergy, and their maintenance, with the belief of some authority and power, conveyed in their orders, looked, as he thought, like a piece of contrivance; and why, said he, must a man tell me, I cannot be saved, unless I believe things against my reason, and then that I must pay him for telling me of them? These were all the exceptions which at any time I heard from him to christianity; to which I made these answers.

For mysteries, it is plain there is in every thing, somewhat that is unaccountable. How animals or men are formed in their mothers bellies, how seeds grow in the earth, how the soul dwells in the body, and acts and moves it; how we retain the figures of so many words or things in our memories, and how we draw them out so easily and orderly in our thoughts or discourses? how sight and hearing were so quick and distinct, how we move, and how bodies were compounded and united? these things, if we follow them into all the difficulties that we may raise about them, will appear every whit as unaccountable as any mystery of religion; and a blind or deaf man would judge sight or hearing as incredible as any mystery may be judged by us; for our reason is not equal to them. In the same rank, different degrees of age or capacity raise some far above others, so that children cannot fathom the learning, nor weak persons the councils of more illuminated minds; therefore it was no wonder if we could not understand the Divine Essence. We cannot imagine how two such different natures as a soul and body should so unite together, and be mutually affected with one anothers concerns? and how the soul has one principle of reason, by which it acts intellectually, and another of life, by which it joins to the body and acts vitally? two principles so widely differing both in their nature and operation, and yet united in one and the same person. There might be as many hard arguments brought against the possibility

possibility of these things, which yet every one knows to be true, from speculative notions, as against the mysteries mentioned in the scriptures. As that of the Trinity, that in one essence there are three different principles of operation, which, for want of terms fit to express them by, we call persons, and are called in scripture the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and that the second of these did unite himself in a most intimate manner with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that the sufferings he underwent, were accepted of God as a sacrifice for our sins; who thereupon conferred on him a power of granting eternal life to all that submit to the terms on which he offers it; and that the matter of which our bodies once consisted, which may as justly be called the bodies we laid down at our deaths, as these can be said to be the bodies which we formerly lived in, being refined and made more spiritual, shall be reunited to our souls, and become a fit instrument for them in a more perfect estate; and that God inwardly bends and moves our wills, by such impressions as he can make on our bodies and minds.

These, which are the chief mysteries of our religion, are neither so unreasonable, that any other objection lies against them, but this, that they agree not with our common notions, nor so unaccountable, that somewhat like them cannot be assigned in other things, which are believed really to be, though the manner of them cannot be apprehended: so this ought not to be

any just objection to the submission of our reason to what we cannot so well conceive, provided our belief of it be well grounded. There have been too many niceties brought indeed rather to darken than explain these: they have been defended by weak arguments, and illustrated by similies not always so very apt and pertinent; and new subtillities have been added, which have rather perplexed than cleared them. All this cannot be denied; the opposition of hereticks antiently, occasioned too much curiosity among the fathers, which the schoolmen have wonderfully advanced of late times. But if mysteries were received, rather in the simplicity in which they are delivered in the scriptures, than according to the discantings of fanciful men upon them, they would not appear much more incredible, than some of the common objects of sense and perception. And it is a needless fear, that if some mysteries are acknowledged, which are plainly mentioned in the new testament, it will then be in the power of the priests to add more at their pleasure. For it is an absurd inference from our being bound to assent to some truths about the Divine Essence, of which the manner is not understood, to argue that therefore in an object presented daily to our senses, such as bread and wine, we should be bound to believe against their testimony, that it is not what our senses perceived it to be, but the whole flesh and blood of Christ, an entire body being in every crumb and drop of it. It is not indeed in a man's
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power to believe thus against his sense and reason, where the object is proportioned to them, and fitly applied, and the organs are under no indisposition or disorder. It is certain that no mystery is to be admitted, but upon very clear and express authorities from scripture, which could not reasonably be understood in any other sense. And though a man cannot form an explicit notion of a mystery, for then it would be no longer a mystery, yet in general he may believe a thing to be, though he cannot give himself a particular account of the way of it; or rather, though he cannot answer some objections which lie against it. We know we believe many such in human matters, which are more within our reach; and it is very unreasonable to say we may not do it in divine things, which are much more above our apprehensions.

For the severe restraint of the use of women, it is hard to deny that priviledge to Jesus Christ as a law-giver, to lay such restraints, as all inferior legislators do; who when they find the liberties their subjects take prove hurtful to them, set such limits, and make such regulations, as they judge necessary and expedient. It cannot be said, but the restraint of appetite is necessary in some instances; and if it is necessary in these, perhaps other restraints are no less necessary to fortify and secure them. For if it be acknowledged, that men have a property in their wives and daughters, so that to defile the one, or corrupt the other, is an unjust and injurious thing; it is certain, that ex-

cept a man carefully governs his appetites, he will break through these restraints; and therefore our Saviour knowing that nothing could effectually deliver the world from the mischief of unrestrained appetite, as such a confinement, might very reasonably injoin it. And in all such cases we are to balance the inconveniences on both hands, and where we find they are heaviest, we are to acknowledge the equity of the law. On the one hand there is no prejudice, but the restraint of appetite; on the other are the mischiefs of being given up to pleasure, of running inordinately into it, of breaking the quiet of our own family at home, and of others abroad; the engaging into much passion, the doing many false and impious things to compass what is desired, the waste of men's estates, time, and health. Now let any man judge, whether the prejudices on this side, are not greater than that single one on the other side, of being denied some pleasure? For polygamy, it is but reasonable since women are equally concerned in the laws of marriage, that they should be considered as well as men; but in a state of polygamy they are under great misery and jealousy, and are indeed barbarously used. Man being also of a sociable nature, friendship and converse were among the primitive intendments of marriage, in which, as far as the man may excel the wife in greatness of mind, and height of knowledge, the wife someway makes that up with her affection and tender care; so that from both happily mixed, there arises a harmony, which

which is to virtuous minds one of the greatest joys of life ; but all this is gone in a state of polygamy, which occasions perpetual jarrings and jealousies. And the variety does but engage men to a freer range of pleasure, which is not to be put in the balance with the far greater mischiefs that must follow the other course. So that it is plain, our Saviour considered the nature of man, what it could bear, and what was fit for it, when he so restrained us in these our liberties. And for divorce, a power to break that bond would too much encourage married persons in the little quarrellings that may arise between them, if it were in their power to depart one from another. For when they know that cannot be, and that they must live and die together, it does naturally incline them to lay down their resentments, and to endeavour to live together as well as they can. So the law of the gospel being a law of love, designed to engage christians to mutual love, it was fit that all such provisions should be made, as might advance and maintain it, and all such liberties be taken away as are apt to enkindle and foment strife. This might fall in some instances to be uneasy and hard enough ; but laws consider what falls out most commonly, and cannot provide for all particular cases. The best laws are in some instances very great grievances : but the advantages being balanced with the inconveniences, measures are to be taken accordingly. Upon this whole matter, I said, that pleasure stood in opposition to other considerations

of great weight, and so the decision was easy : and since our Saviour offers us so great rewards, it is but reasonable he have a priviledge of loading these promises with such conditions, as are not in themselves grateful to our natural inclinations ; for all that propose high rewards, have thereby a right to exact difficult performances.

To this, he said, we are sure the terms are difficult, but are not so sure of the rewards. Upon this I told him, that we have the same assurance of the rewards, that we have of the other parts of christian religion. We have the promises of God made to us by Christ, confirmed by many miracles : we have the earnest of these, in the quiet and peace which follows a good conscience, and in the resurrection of him from the dead who hath promised to raise us up. So that the reward is sufficiently assured to us ; and there is no reason it should be given to us, before the conditions are performed on which the promises are made. It is but reasonable we should trust God, and do our duty, in hopes of that eternal life, which God who cannot lie hath promised. The difficulties are not so great, as those which sometimes the commonest concerns of life bring upon us : the learning some trades or sciences, the governing our health and affairs, bring us often under as great straits : so that it ought to be no just prejudice, that there are some things in religion that are uneasy, since this is rather the effect of our corrupt natures, which are farther depraved by vicious habits, and can hardly turn to
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any new course of life, without some pain, than of the dictates of christianity, which are in themselves just and reasonable, and will be easy to us when renewed, and in a good measure restored to our primitive integrity.

As for the exceptions he had to the maintenance of the clergy, and the authority to which they pretended if they stretched their designs too far, the gospel did plainly reprove them for it; so that it was very suitable to that church, which was so grossly faulty this way, to take the scriptures out of the hands of the people, since they do so manifestly disclaim all such practices. The priests of the true christian religion have no secrets among them, which the world must not know; but are only an order of men dedicated to God, to attend on sacred things, who ought to be holy in a more peculiar manner, since they are to handle the things of God. It was necessary that such persons should have a due esteem paid them, and a fit maintenance appointed for them, that so they might be preserved from the contempt that follows poverty, and the distractions which the providing against it might otherwise involve them in: and as in the order of the world, it was necessary for the support of magistracy and government, and for preserving its esteem, that some state be used (though it is a happiness when great men have philosophical minds to despise the pageantry of it;) so the plentiful supply of the clergy, if well used and applied by them, will certainly turn to the advantage

of religion. And if some men either through ambition or covetousness used indirect means, or servile compliances to aspire to such dignities, and being possessed of them, applied their wealth either to luxury or vain pomp, or made great fortunes out of it for their families; these were personal failings, in which the doctrine of Christ was not concerned.

He upon that told me plainly, there was nothing that gave him, and many others, a more secret encouragement in their ill ways, than that those who pretended to believe, lived so that they could not be thought to be in earnest when they said it: for he was sure religion was either a mere contrivance, or the most important thing that could be; so that if he once believed, he would set himself in great earnest to live suitably to it. The aspirings that he had observed at court of some of the clergy, with the servile ways they took to attain to preferment, and the animosities among those of several parties about trifles, made him often think they suspected the things were not true, which in their sermons and discourses they so earnestly recommended. Of this he had gathered many instances; I knew some of them were mistakes and calumnies; yet I could not deny but something of them might be too true: and I publish this the more freely, to put all that pretend to religion, chiefly those that are dedicated to holy functions, in mind of the great obligations that lies on them to live suitable to their profession; since otherwise a great deal of
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the irreligion and atheism that is among us, may too justly be charged on them: for wicked men are delighted out of measure when they discover ill things in them, and conclude from thence, not only that they are hypocrites, but that religion itself is a cheat.

But I said to him upon this head, that though no good man could continue in the practice of any known sin, yet such might, by the violence or surprize of a temptation, to which they are liable as much as others, be of a sudden overcome to do an ill thing, to their great grief all their life after; and then it was a very unjust inference, upon some few failings, to conclude that such men do not believe themselves. But how bad soever many are, it cannot be denied but there are also many, both of the clergy and laity, who give great and real demonstrations of the power religion has over them, in their contempt of the world, the strickness of their lives, their readiness to forgive injuries, to relieve the poor, and to do good on all occasions; and yet even these may have their failings, either in such things in which their constitutions are weak, or their temptations strong and sudden; and in all such cases we are to judge of men, rather by the course of their lives, than by the errors that they through infirmity or surprize may have slipt into.

These were the chief heads we discoursed on; and as far as I can remember, I have faithfully repeated the substance of our arguments. I have not concealed the strongest things he said to me; but
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though I have not enlarged on all the excursions of his wit in setting them off, yet I have given them their full strength, as he expressed them, and as far as I could recollect, have used his own words; so that I am afraid some may censure me for setting down these things so largely, which impious men may make an ill use of, and gather together to encourage and defend themselves in their vices: but if they will compare them with the answers made to them, and the sense that so great and refined a wit had of them afterwards, I hope they may, through the blessing of God, be not altogether ineffectual.

The issue of all our discourse was this; he told me, he saw vice and impiety were as contrary to human society, as wild beasts let loose would be; and therefore he firmly resolved to change the whole method of his life, to become strictly just and true, to be chaste and temperate, to forbear swearing and irreligious discourse, to worship and pray to his Maker; and that though he was not arrived at a full persuasion of christianity, he would never employ his wit more to run it down, or to corrupt others.

Of which I have since a further assurance, from a person of quality, who conversed much with him the last year of his life; to whom he would often say, that he was happy if he did believe, and that he would never endeavour to draw him from it.

To all this I answered, that a virtuous life would be very uneasy to him, unless vicious inclinations were

were removed, it would otherwise be a perpetual constraint. Nor could it be effected without an inward principle to change him; and that was only to be had by applying himself to God for it in frequent and earnest prayer: and I was sure, if his mind was once cleared of these disorders, and cured of those distempers, which vice brought on it, so great an understanding would soon see through all those flights of wit, that do feed atheism and irreligion which have a false glittering in them, that dazzles some weak-sighted minds, who have not capacity enough to penetrate further than the surfaces of things; and so they stick in these toys, which the strength of his mind would soon break through, if it were once freed from those things that depressed and darkened it.

At this pass he was when he went from London, about the beginning of April: he had not been long in the country, when he thought he was so well, that being to go to his estate in Somersetshire, he rode thither post. This heat and violent motion did so inflame an ulcer that was in his bladder, that it raised a very great pain in those parts; yet he with much difficulty came back by coach to the lodge at Woodstock-park. He was then wounded both in body and mind; he understood physic and his own constitution and distemper so well, that he concluded he could hardly recover; for the ulcer broke, and vast quantities of purulent matter passed with his urine. But now the hand of God touched him, and as he told me, it was not only a general
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dark melancholy over his mind, such as he had formerly felt, but a most penetrating cutting sorrow. So that though in his body he suffered extreme pain for some weeks, yet the agonies of his mind sometimes swallowed up the sense of what he felt in his body. He told me, and gave it me in charge to tell it to one for whom he was much concerned, that though there were nothing to come after this life, yet all the pleasures he had ever known in sin, were not worth that torture he had felt in his mind. He considered he had not only neglected and dishonoured, but had openly defied his Maker, and had drawn many others into the like impieties; so that he looked on himself as one that was in great danger of being damned. He then set himself wholly to turn to God unfeignedly, and to do all that was possible in that little remainder of his life which was before him, to redeem those great portions of it that he had formerly so ill employed. The minister that attended constantly on him, was that good and worthy man Mr. Parsons, his mother's chaplain, who hath since his death preached, according to the directions he received from him, his funeral sermon; in which there are so many remarkable passages, that I shall refer my reader to them, and will repeat none of them here, that I may not thereby lessen his desire to edify himself by that excellent discourse, which hath given so great and so general a satisfaction to all good and judicious readers. I shall speak cursorily of every thing, but that which

I had immediately from himself. He was visited every week of his sickness by his diocesan, that truly primitive prelate, the lord bishop of Oxford; who though he lived six miles from him, yet looked on this as so important a piece of his pastoral care, that he went often to him, and treated him with that decent plainness and freedom which is so natural to him; and took care also that he might not on terms more easy than safe, be at peace with himself. Dr. Marshall, the learned and worthy rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, being the minister of the parish, was also frequently with him; and by these helps he was so directed and supported, that he might not on the one hand satisfy himself with too superficial a repentance, nor on the other hand be out of measure oppressed with a sorrow without hope. As soon as I heard he was ill, but yet in such a condition that I might write to him, I wrote a letter to the best purpose I could. He ordered one that was then with him, to assure me it was very welcome to him; but not satisfied with that, he sent me an answer, which, as the countess of Rochester his mother told me, he dictated every word, and then signed it. I was once unwilling to have published it, because of a compliment in it to myself, far above my merit, and not very well suiting with his condition.

But the sense he expresses in it of the change then wrought on him, hath upon second thoughts prevailed with me to publish it, leaving out what concerns myself.

WOODSTOCK-PARK, OXFORDSHIRE.

“ My most honoured Dr. Burnett,

“ **M**Y spirits and body decay so equally to-
 “ gether, that I shall write you a letter
 “ as weck as I am in person. I begin to value
 “ churchmen above all men in the world, &c. If
 “ God be yet pleased to spare me longer in this world,
 “ I hope in your conversation to be exalted to that
 “ degree of piety, that the world may see how
 “ much I abhor what I so long loved, and how
 “ much I glory in repentance and in God’s service.
 “ Bestow your prayers upon me, that God would
 “ spare me (if it be his good will) to shew a true
 “ repentance and amendment of life for the time to
 “ come: or else, if the Lord pleaseth to put an
 “ end to my worldly being now, that he would
 “ mercifully accept of my death-bed repentance,
 “ and perform that promise that he hath been
 “ pleased to make, that at what time soever a sin-
 “ ner doth repent, he would receive him. Put up
 “ these prayers, most dear doctor, to Almighty
 “ God, for

“ YOUR MOST OBEDIENT,

“ LANGUISHING SERVANT,

June 25, 1680.

ROCHESTER.”

He.

He told me when I saw him, that he hoped I would come to him upon that general insinuation of the desire he had of my company ; and he was loth to write more plainly, not knowing whether I could easily spare so much time. I told him, that on the other hand, I looked on it as a presumption to come so far, when he was in such excellent hands ; and though perhaps the freedom formerly between us, might have excused it with those to whom it was known, yet it might have the appearance of so much vanity, to such as were strangers to it ; so that till I received his letter, I did not think it convenient to come to him ; and then not hearing that there was any danger of a sudden change, I delayed going to him till the twentieth of July. At my coming to his house an accident fell out not worth mentioning, but that some have made a story of it. His servant, being a Frenchman, carried up my name wrong, so that he mistook it for another, who had sent to him, that he would undertake his cure, and he being resolved not to meddle with him, did not care to see him : this mistake lasted some hours, with which I was the better contented, because he was not then in such a condition, that my being about him could have been of any use to him ; for that night was like to have been his last. He had a convulsion fit, and raved ; but opiates being given him, after some hours rest, his raving left him so entirely, that it never again returned to him.

I cannot easily express the transport he was in, when he awoke and saw me by him ; he broke out in the tenderest expressions concerning my kindness in coming so far to see such a one, using terms of great abhorrence concerning himself, which I forbear to relate. He told me, as his strength served him at several snatches, for he was then so low, that he could not hold up discourse long at once, what sense he had of his past life ; what sad apprehension for having so offended his Maker, and dishonoured his Redeemer ; what horrors he had gone through, and how much his mind was turned to call on God, and on his crucified Saviour, so that he hoped he should obtain mercy, for he believed he had sincerely repented, and had now a calm in his mind after that storm that he had been in for some weeks. He had strong apprehensions and persuasions of his admittance to heaven, of which he spake once, not without some extraordinary emotion. It was indeed the only time that he spake with any great warmth to me ; for his spirits were then low, and so far spent, that though those about him told me he had expressed formerly great fervour in his devotions ; yet nature was so much sunk, that these were in a great measure fallen off. But he made me pray often with him ; and spoke of his conversion to God, as a thing now grown up in him to a settled and calm serenity. He was very anxious to know my opinion of a death-bed repentance. I told him, that before I gave any resolution in that, it would be

be convenient that I should be acquainted more particularly with the circumstances and progress of his repentance.

Upon this he satisfied me in many particulars. He said, he was now persuaded both of the truth of christianity, and of the power of inward grace, of which he gave me this strange account. He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the fifty-third chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour's passion, that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done; which the Jews that blasphemed Jesus Christ still kept in their hands, as a book divinely inspired. He said to me, that as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind, and convince him, that he could resist it no longer; for the words had an authority which did shoot like rays or beams in his mind, so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding, but by a power which did so effectually constrain him, that he did ever after as firmly believe in his Saviour, as if he had seen him in the clouds. He had made it to be read so often to him, that he had got it by heart, and went through a great part of it in discourse with me, with a sort of heavenly pleasure, giving me his reflections on it. Some few I remember, *Who hath believed our report?* (verse 1.) Here, he said, was foretold the opposition the gospel was to meet with from such

wretches as he was. *He hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him,* (verse 2.) On this, he said, the meanness of his appearance and person has made vain and foolish people disparage him, because he came not in such a fool's coat as they delight in. What he said on the other parts I do not well remember; and indeed, I was so affected with what he said then to me, that the general transport I was under during the whole discourse, made me less capable to remember these particulars, as I wish I had done.

He told me, that he had thereupon received the sacrament with great satisfaction, and that was increased by the pleasure he had in his lady's receiving it with him; who had been for some years missed into the communion of the church of Rome, and he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it, as he freely acknowledged: so that it was one of the joyfullest things that befell him in his sickness, that he had seen that mischief removed, in which he had so great a hand: and during his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and true kindness to his lady, that as it easily defaced the remembrance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly, so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for him that was possible, which indeed deserves a higher character than is decent to give of a person yet alive: but I shall confine my discourse to the dead.

He

He told me, he had overcome all his resentments to all the world, so that he bore ill-will to no person, nor hated any upon personal accounts. He had given a true state of his debts, and had ordered to pay them all, as far as his estate that was not settled could go; and was confident, that if all that was owing to him were paid to his executors, his creditors would be all satisfied. He said, he found his mind now possessed with another sense of things, than ever he had formerly. He did not repine under all his pain, and in one of the sharpest fits he was under while I was with him, he said, he did willingly submit; and looking up to heaven, said, "God's holy will be done, "I bless him for all he does to me." He professed, he was contented either to die or live, as should please God; and though it was a foolish thing for a man to pretend to chuse whether he would die or live, yet he wished rather to die. He knew he could never be so well that life should be comfortable to him. He was confident he should be happy if he died, but he feared if he lived he might relapse; and then said he to me, in what a condition shall I be, if I relapse after all this? but, he said, he trusted in the grace and goodness of God, and was resolved to avoid all those temptations, that course of life and company, that was likely to ensnare him; and he desired to live on no other account, but that he might by the change of his manners some way take off the high scandal his former behaviour had given.

All these things at several times I had from him, besides some messages which very well became a dying penitent to some of his former friends, and a charge to publish any thing concerning him, that might be a mean to reclaim others. Praying God, that as his life had done much hurt, so his death might do some good.

Having understood all these things from him, and being pressed to give him my opinion plainly about his eternal state; I told him, that though the promises of the gospel did all depend upon a real change of heart and life, as the indispensable condition upon which they were made; and that it was scarce possible to know certainly whether our hearts are changed, unless it appeared in our lives; and the repentance of most dying men, being like the howlings of condemned prisoners for pardon, which flowed from no sense of their crimes, but from the horror of approaching death; there was little reason to encourage any to hope much from such sorrowing; yet certainly, if the mind of a sinner, even on a death-bed, be truly renewed and turned to God, so great is his mercy, that he will receive him, even in that extremity. He said, he was sure his mind was entirely turned, and though horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled faith and conversion.

There is but one prejudice lies against all this, to defeat the good ends of divine providence by it upon others, as well as on himself; and that is,
that

that it was a part of his disease, and that the lowness of his spirits made such an alteration in him, that he was not what he had formerly been; and this some have carried so far as to say, that he died mad; these reports are raised by those who are unwilling that the last thoughts or words of a person, every way so extraordinary, should have any effect either on themselves or others; and it is to be feared, that some have so far feared their consciences, and exceeded the common measures of sin and infidelity, that neither this testimony, nor one coming from the dead, would signify much towards their conviction. That this lord was either mad or stupid, is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it is the greatest impudence for any that were about him, to report it, and a very unreasonable credulity in others to believe it. All the while I was with him, after he had slept out the disorders of the fit he was in the first night, he was not only without ravings, but had a clearness in his thoughts, in his memory, in his reflections on things and persons, far beyond what I ever saw in a person so low in his strength. He was not able to hold out long in discourse, for his spirits failed; but once for a half hour, and often for a quarter of an hour after he awaked, he had a vivacity in his discourse that was extraordinary, and in all things like himself. He called often for his children, his son, the now earl of Rochester, and his three daughters, and spake to them with a sense and feeling that cannot be expressed in writing.

He called me once to look on them all, and said, "see how good God has been to me, in giving me so many blessings, and I have carried myself to him like an ungracious and unthankful dog." He once talked a great deal to me of public affairs, and of many persons and things with the same clearness of thought and expression, that he had ever done before: so that by no sign but his weakness of body, and giving over discourse so soon, could I perceive a difference between what his parts formerly were, and what they were then.

And that wherein the presence of his mind appeared most, was in the total change of an ill habit grown so much upon him, that he could hardly govern himself when he was any ways heated three minutes without falling into it, I mean swearing. He had acknowledged to me the former winter, that he abhorred it, as a base and indecent thing, and had set himself much to break it off; but he confessed, that he was so overpowered by that ill custom, that he could not speak with any warmth, without repeated oaths, which upon any sort of provocation, came almost naturally from him; but in his last remorse this did so sensibly affect him, that by a resolute and constant watchfulness, the habit of it was perfectly mastered; so that upon the returns of pain, which were very severe and frequent upon him the last day I was with him, or upon such displeasures as people sick or in pain are apt to take of a sudden at those about them; on all these occasions he never swore an oath all the while I was there.

Once

Once he was offended with the delay of one he thought made not haste enough with somewhat he called for, and said in a little heat, "that damned fellow:" soon after, I told him, I was glad to find his style so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing; only that word of calling any damned, which had returned upon him, was not decent. His answer was, "Oh that language of friends which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me: sure none has deserved more to be damned than I have done." And after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him, that he might ask him forgiveness; but I told him that was needless, for he had said it of one that did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

In this disposition of mind did he continue all the while I was with him, four days together; he was then brought so low, that all hopes of recovery were gone. Much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with some pain, but one day with inexpressible torment; yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. He imagined he had a stone in his passage, but it being searched, none was found. The whole substance of his body was drained by the ulcer, and nothing was left but skin and bone, and by lying much on his back, the parts there began to mortify: but he had been formerly so low, that he seemed as much past all hopes of life as now;

which made him one morning, after a full and sweet night's rest procured by laudanum, given him without his knowledge, to fancy it was an effort of nature, and to begin to entertain some hopes of recovery: for he said, he felt himself perfectly well, and that he had nothing ailing him, but an extreme weakness, which might go off in time; and then he entertained me with the scheme he had laid down for the rest of his life, how retired, how strict, and how studious he intended to be; but this was soon over, for he quickly felt, that it was only the effect of a good sleep, and that he was still in a very desperate state.

I thought to have left him on Friday, but not without some passion he desired me to stay that day; there appeared no symptom of present death; and a worthy physician then with him, told me, that though he was so low, that an accident might carry him away on a sudden; yet without that, he thought he might live yet some weeks. So on Saturday, at four of the clock in the morning, I left him, being the 24th of July. But I durst not take leave of him; for he had expressed so great an unwillingness to part with me the day before, that if I had not presently yielded to one day's stay, it was like have given him some trouble, therefore I thought it better to leave him without any formality. Some hours after he asked for me, and when it was told him, I was gone, he seemed to be troubled, and said, "has my friend left me, then I shall die shortly." After that, he spake but once

or twice till he died: he lay much silent; once they heard him praying very devoutly. And on Monday about two of the clock in the morning he died, without any convulsion, or so much as a groan.

The CONCLUSION.

THUS he lived, and thus he died in the three and thirtieth year of his age. Nature had fitted him for great things, and his knowledge and observation qualified him to have been one of the most extraordinary men, not only of his nation, but of the age he lived in; and I do verily believe, that if God had thought fit to have continued him longer in the world, he had been the wonder and delight of all that knew him: but the infinite wise God knew better what was fit for him, and what the age deserved. For men who have so cast off all sense of God and religion, deserve not so signal a blessing, as the example and conviction which the rest of his life might have given them. And I am apt to think that the Divine Goodness took pity on him, and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty. Now he is at rest, and I am very confident enjoys the fruits of his late, but sincere repentance. But such as live, and still go on in their sins and impieties, and will
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not be awakened neither by this nor the other alarms that are about their ears, are, it seems, given up by God to a judicial hardness and impenitency.

Here is a public instance of one who lived of their side, but could not die of it : and though none of all our libertines understood better than he, the secret mysteries of sin, had more studied every thing that could support a man in it, and had more resisted all external means of conviction than he had done ; yet when the hand of God inwardly touched him, he could no longer kick against those pricks, but humbled himself under that mighty hand, and as he used often to say in his prayers, he who had so often denied him, found then no other shelter but his mercies and compassions.

I have written this account with all the tenderness and caution I could use, and in whatsoever I may have failed, I have been strict in the truth of what I have related, remembering that of Job, “ will ye lie for God ? ” Religion has strength and evidence enough in itself, and needs no support from lies, and made stories. I do not pretend to have given the formal words that he said, though I have done that where I could remember them. But I have written this with the same sincerity, that I would have done, had I known I had been to die immediately after I had finished it. I did not take notes of our discourses last winter after we parted ; so I may have perhaps in the setting out of my answers to him, have enlarged on several

veral things both more fully and more regularly, than I could say them in such free discourses as we had. I am not so sure of all I set down as said by me, as I am of all said by him to me; but yet the substance of the greatest part, even of that, is the same.

It remains, that I humbly and earnestly beseech all that shall take this book in their hands, that they will consider it entirely, and not rest some parts to an ill intention. God the searcher of hearts, knows with what fidelity I have writ it: but if any will drink up only the poison that may be in it, without taking also the antidote here given to those ill principles; or considering the sense that this great person had of them, when he reflected seriously on them; and will rather confirm themselves in their ill ways, by the scruples and objections which I set down, than be edified by the other parts of it; as I will look on it as a great infelicity, that I should have said any thing that may strengthen them in their impieties, so the sincerity of my intentions will, I doubt not, excuse me at his hands, to whom I offer up this small service.

I have now performed in the best manner I could, what was left on me by this noble lord, and have done with the part of an historian. I shall, in the next place say somewhat as a divine. So extraordinary a text does almost force a sermon, though it is plain enough itself, and speaks with so loud a voice, that those who are not awakened
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by it, will perhaps consider nothing that I can say. If our libertines will become so far sober as to examine their former course of life, with that disengagement and impartiality, which they must acknowledge a wise man ought to use in things of greatest consequence, and balance the account of what they have got by their debaucheries, with the mischiefs they have brought on themselves and others by them, they will soon see what a bad bargain they have made. Some diversion, mirth; and pleasure is all they can promise themselves; but to obtain this, how many evils are they to suffer? How have many wasted their strength, brought many diseases on their bodies, and precipitated their age in the pursuit of those things? And as they bring old age early on themselves, so it becomes a miserable state of life to the greatest part of them; gouts, stranguries, and other infirmities, being severe reckonings for their past follies; not to mention the more loathsome diseases, with their no less loathsome and troublesome cures, which they must often go through, who deliver themselves up to forbidden pleasures. Many are disfigured beside with the marks of their intemperance and lewdness, and which is yet sadder, an infection is derived oftentimes on their innocent but unhappy issue, who being descended from so vitiated an original, suffer for their excesses. Their fortunes are profusely wasted, both by their neglect of their affairs, they being so buried in vice, that they cannot employ either their time or spirits,

so much exhausted by intemperance, to consider them; and by that prodigal expence which their lusts put them upon. They suffer no less in their credit, the chief mean to recover an entangled estate; for that irregular expence forces them to so many mean shifts, makes them so often false to all their promises and resolutions, that they must needs feel how much they have lost that, which a gentleman, and men of ingenuous tempers, do sometimes prefer even to life itself, their honour and reputation. Nor do they suffer less in the nobler powers of their minds, which, by a long course of such dissolute practices, come to sink and degenerate so far, that not a few whose first blossoms gave the most promising hopes, have so withered, as to become incapable of great and generous undertakings, and to be disabled to every thing, but to wallow like swine in the filth of sensuality, their spirits being dissipated, and their minds so benumbed, as to be wholly unfit for business, and even indisposed to think.

That this dear price should be paid for a little wild mirth, or gross and corporal pleasure, is a thing of such unparalleled folly, that if there were not too many such instances before us, it might seem incredible. To all this we must add the horrors that their ill actions raise in them, and the hard shifts they are put to to stave off these, either by being perpetually drunk or mad, or by an habitual disuse of thinking and reflecting on their actions, and (if these arts will not perfectly quiet
them)

them) by taking sanctuary in such atheistical principles, as may at least mitigate the sourness of their thoughts, though they cannot absolutely settle their minds.

If the state of mankind and human societies are considered, what mischiefs can be equal to those which follow these courses. Such persons are a plague where ever they come, they can neither be trusted nor beloved, having cast off both truth and goodness, which procure confidence and attract love; they corrupt some by their ill practices, and do irreparable injuries to the rest, they run great hazards, and put themselves to much trouble, and all this to do what is in their power to make damnation as sure to themselves as possibly they can. What influence this has on the whole nation is but too visible; how the bonds of nature, wedlock, and all other relations are quite broken: virtue is thought an antick piece of formality, and religion the effect of cowardice or knavery; these are the men that would reform the world, by bringing it under a new system of intellectual and moral principles; but hate them a few bold and lewd jests, what have they ever done, or designed to do, to make them to be remembered, except it be with detestation? They are the scorn of the present age, and their names must rot in the next. Here they have before them an instance of one, who was deeply corrupted with the contagion which he first derived from others, but unhappily heightened it much himself. He was a master indeed
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and not a bare trifler with wit, as some of those are who repeat, and that but scurvily, what they may have heard from him or some others, and with impudence and laughter will face the world down, as if they were to teach it wisdom; who, God knows, cannot follow one thought a step further than as they have conned it; and take from them their borrowed wit and mimical humour, and they will presently appear, what they indeed are, the least and lowest of men.

If they will, or if they can, think a little, I wish they would consider, that by their own principles they cannot be sure that religion is only a contrivance; all they pretend to is only to weaken some arguments that are brought for it; but they have not brow enough to say, they can prove that their own principles are true, so that at most they bring their cause no higher, than that it is possible religion may not be true. But still it is possible it may be true, and they have no shame left that will deny that it is also probable it may be true; and if so, then what mad men are they who run so great a hazard for nothing? By their own confession, it may be there is a God, a judgment, and a life to come, and if so, then he that believes these things, and lives according to them, as he enjoys a long course of health and quiet of mind, an innocent relish of many true pleasures, and the serenities which virtue raises in him, with the good-will and friendship which it procures him from others; so when he dies, if these things prove
mistakes,

mistakes, he does not out-live his error, nor shall it afterwards raise trouble or disquiet in him, if he then ceases to be; but if these things be true, he shall be infinitely happy in that state, where his present small services shall be so excessively rewarded. The libertines, on the other side, as they know they must die, so the thoughts of death must be always melancholly to them; they can have no pleasant view of that which yet they know cannot be very far from them: the least painful idea they can have of it is, that it is an extinction and ceasing to be, but they are not sure even of that; some secret whispers within make them, whether they will or not, tremble at the apprehensions of another state; neither their tinsel wit, nor superficial learning, nor their impotent assaults upon the weak side, as they think, of religion, nor the boldest notions of impiety, will hold them up then. Of all which, I now present so lively an instance, as perhaps history can scarce parallel.

Here were parts so exalted by nature, and improved by study, and yet so corrupted and debased by irreligion and vice, that he who was made to be one of the glories of his age, was become a proverb, and if his repentance had not interposed, would have been one of the greatest reproaches of it. He knew well the small strength of that weak cause, and at first despised, but afterwards abhorred it. He felt the mischiefs, and saw the madness of it; and therefore though he lived to the scandal of many, he died as much to the edification
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of all those who saw him, and because they were but a small number, he desired that he might even when dead; yet speak. He was willing nothing should be concealed that might cast reproach on himself and on sin, and offer up glory to God and religion. So that though he lived a hainous sinner, yet he died a most exemplary penitent.

It would be a vain and ridiculous inference for any, from hence to draw arguments about the abstruse secrets of predestination, and to conclude, that if they are of the number of the elect, they may live as they will, and that Divine Grace will at some time or other violently constrain them, and irresistably work upon them. But as St. Paul was called to that eminent service for which he was appointed, in so stupendious a manner as is no warrant for others to expect such a vocation; so, if upon some signal occasions such conversions fall out, which, how far they are short of miracles, I shall not determine, it is not only a vain, but a pernicious imagination, for any to go on in their ill ways upon a fond conceit and expectation that the like will befall them: for whatsoever God's extraordinary dealings with some may be, we are sure his common way of working is, by offering these things to our rational faculties, which, by the assistances of his grace, if we improve them all we can, shall be certainly effectual for our reformation; and if we neglect or abuse these, we put ourselves beyond the common methods of God's mercy, and have no reason to expect that wonders

should be wrought for our conviction; which, though they sometimes happen, that they may give an effectual alarm for the awaking of others, yet it would destroy the whole design of religion, if men should depend upon, or look for such an extraordinary and forcible operation of God's grace.

And I hope, that those, who have had some sharp reflections on their past life, so as to be resolved to forsake their ill courses, will not take the least encouragement to themselves in that desperate and unreasonable resolution of putting off their repentance till they can sin no longer, from the hopes I have expressed of this lord's obtaining mercy at the last, and from thence presume, that they also shall be received when they turn to God on their death-beds: for what mercy soever God may shew to such as really were never inwardly touched before that time; yet there is no reason to think, that those who have dealt so disingenuously with God and their own souls, as designedly to put off their turning to him upon such considerations, should then be accepted with him. They may die suddenly, or by a disease that may so disorder their understandings, that they shall not be in any capacity of reflecting on their past lives. The inward conversion of our minds is not so in our power, that it can be effected without divine grace assisting; and there is no reason for those who have neglected these assistances all their lives, to expect them in so extraordinary a manner at their death. Nor can one, especially in a sickness that is
quick

quick and critical, be able to do those things that are often indispensably necessary to make his repentance complete; and even in a longer disease, in which there are larger opportunities for these things. Yet there is great reason to doubt of a repentance, begun and kept up merely by terror, and not from any ingenuous principle. In which, though I will not take on me to limit the mercies of God, which are boundless, yet this must be confessed, that to delay repentance with such a design, is to put the greatest concernment we have, upon the most dangerous and desperate issue that is possible.

But they that will still go on in their sins, and be so partial to them, as to use all endeavours to strengthen themselves in their evil course, even by these very things which the providence of God sets before them for the casting down of these strong holds of sin: what is to be said to such? it is to be feared, that if they obstinately persist, they will by degrees come within that curse, *He that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.* But if our gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.



A
S E R M O N
P R E A C H E D A T T H E
F U N E R A L

Of the Right Honourable

J O H N Earl of Rochester,

Who died at Woodstock-Park, the 26th of
July, 1680, and was buried at Spilsbury,
in Oxfordshire, the 9th day of August.

By ROBERT PARSONS, M. A. Chaplain to the
Right Honourable Anne, Countess of Rochester.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL the lewd and profane poems and libels of the late lord Rochester, having been (contrary to his dying request, and in defiance of religion, government, and common decency) published to the world; and (for the easier and surer propagation of vice) printed in penny-books, and cried about the streets of this honourable city, without any offence or dislike taken at them: it is humbly hoped that this short discourse, which gives a true account of the death and repentance of that noble lord, may likewise (for the sake of his name) find a favourable reception among such persons; though the influence of it cannot be supposed to reach as far as the poison of the other books is spread; which by the strength of their own virulent corruption, are capable of doing more mischief than all the plays, and fairs, and stews, in and about this town can do together.

LUKE xv. 7.

I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance.

IF ever there were a subject that might deserve and exhaust all the treasures of religious eloquence in the description of so great a man, and so great a sinner as now lies before us; together with the wonders of the Divine Goodness, in making him as great a penitent; I think the present occasion affords one as remarkable as any place or age can produce.

Indeed, so great and full a matter it is, that it is too big to come out of my mouth, and perhaps not all of it fit or needful so to do. The greatness of his parts are well enough known, and of his sins too well in the world; and neither my capacity, nor experience, nor my profession, will allow me to be so proper a judge either of the one or the other. Only as God has been pleased to make me a long while a sad spectator, and a secret mourner for his sins, so as he at last graciously heard the prayers of his nearest relations and true friends, for his conversion and repentance: and it is the good tidings of that especially which God has done for his soul, that I am now to publish and tell abroad to the world, not only by the obligations of mine office, in which I had the honour to be

a weak minister to it, but by his own exprefs and dying commands.

Now although, to describe this worthily, would require a wit equal to that with which he lived, and a devotion too equal to that with which he died, and to match either would be a very hard task ; yet besides that, I am not sufficient for these things, (for who is ?) and that my thoughts have been rather privately busied to secure a real repentance to himself whilst living, than to publish it abroad to others in an artificial dress after he is dead : I say, besides all this, I think I shall have less need to call in the aids of secular eloquence. The proper habit of repentance is not fine linen, or any delicate array, such as are used in the court, or kings houses, but sack-cloth and ashes : and the way which God Almighty takes to convey it, is not by the words of man's wisdom, but by the plainness of his written word, assisted by the inward power and demonstration of the Spirit : and the effects it works, and by which it discovers itself, are not any raptures of wit and fancy ; but the most humble prostrations both of soul and spirit, and the captivating all human imaginations to the obedience of a despised religion and a crucified Saviour.

And it is in this array I intend to bring out this penitent to you ; an array which I am sure he more valued, and desired to appear in, both to God and the world, than in all the triumphs of wit and gallantry ; and therefore, (waving all these rhetorical
flourishes,

flourishes, as beneath the solemnity of the occasion, and the majesty of that great and weighty truth I am now to deliver) I shall content myself with the office of a plain historian, to relate faithfully and impartially what I saw and heard, especially during his penitential sorrows; which, if all that hear me this day had been spectators of, there would then been no need of a sermon to convince men; but every man would have been as much a preacher to himself of this truth, as I am, except these sorrows: and yet even these sorrows should be turned into joys too, if we would only do what we pray for, that the will of God may be done in earth as it is in heaven; for so our blessed Lord assures us; "I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, &c." From which I shall consider,

I. The sinner particularly that is before us.

II. The repentance of this sinner, together with the means, the time, and all probable sincerity of it.

III. The joy that is in heaven, and should be on earth, for the repentance of this sinner.

IV. I shall apply myself to all that hear me; that they would join in this joy, in praise and thanksgiving to God, for the conversion of this sinner; and if there be any that have been like him in their sins, that they would also speedily imitate him in their repentance.

And

And 1. Let us consider the person before us, as he certainly was a great sinner. But because man was upright before he was a sinner, and to measure the greatness of his fall, it will be necessary to take a view of that height from which he fell; give me leave to go back a little, to look into the rock from which he was hewn, the quality, family, education, and personal accomplishments of this great man. In doing of which, I think no man will charge me with any design of customary flattery, or formality; since I intend only thereby to shew the greatness and unhappiness of his folly, in the perverting so many excellent abilities and advantages for virtue and piety in the service of sin, and so becoming a more universal, insinuating, and prevailing example of it.

As for his family, on both sides, from which he was descended, they were some of the most famous in their generations. His grandfather was that excellent and truly great man, Charles lord Wilmot, viscount Athlone in Ireland. Henry his father, who inherited the same title and greatness, was by his late majesty, king Charles I. created baron of Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, and by his present majesty, earl of Rochester. He was a man of signal loyalty and integrity indeed; and of such courage and conduct in military affairs, as became a great general. His mother was the relict of sir Francis Henry Lee, of Ditchly, in the county of Oxford, baronet, grandmother to the present right honourable earl of Litchfield, and the daughter of that
generous

generous and honourable gentleman sir John St. Johns, of Lyddiard, in the county of Wilts, baronet, whose family was so remarkable for loyalty, that several of his sons willingly offered themselves in the day of battle, and died for it; and whilst the memory of the English or Irish rebellion lasts, that family cannot want a due veneration in the minds of any person, that loves either God or the king.

As for his education, it was in Wadham College, Oxford, under the care of that wise and excellent governor Dr. Blandford, the late bishop of Worcester; there it was that he laid a good foundation of learning and study, though he afterwards built upon that foundation hay and stubble. There he first sucked from the breast of his mother the university, those perfections of wit, and eloquence, and poetry, which afterwards, by his own corrupt stomach, were turned into poison to himself and others; which certainly can be no more a blemish to those illustrious seminaries of piety and good learning, than a disobedient child is to a wise and virtuous father, or the fall of man to the excellency of Paradise.

A wit he had so rare and fruitful in its invention, and withal so choice and delicate in its judgment, that there is nothing wanting in his composures to give a full answer to that question, *What and where wit is?* except the purity and choice of subject. For had such excellent seeds but fallen upon good ground, and instead of pitching upon a beast, or a lust, been raised up on high, to celebrate the
mysterics

mysteries of the divine love, in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs; I persuade myself we might by this time have received from his pen, as excellent an idea of divine poetry, under the gospel, useful to the teaching of virtue, especially in this generation, as his profane verses have been to destroy it. And I am confident, had God spared him a longer life, this would have been the whole business of it, as I know it was the vow and purpose of his sickness.

His natural talent was excellent, but he had hugely improved it by learning and industry, being thoroughly acquainted with all classic authors, both Greek and Latin; a thing very rare, if not peculiar to him among those of his quality, which yet he used not, as other poets have done, to translate or steal from them; but rather to better and improve them by his own natural fancy. And whoever reads his compositions, will find all things in them so peculiarly great, new and excellent, that he will easily pronounce, that though he has lent to many others, yet he has borrowed of none; and that he has been as far from a sordid imitation of those before him, as he will be from being reached by those that follow him.

His other personal accomplishments in all the perfections of a gentleman, for the court or country, whereof he was known of all men to be a very great master, is no part of my business to describe or understand; and whatever they were in themselves, I am sure they were but miserable comforters

ters to him, since they only ministered to his sins, and made his example the more fatal and dangerous; for so we may own, (nay, I am obliged by him not to hide, but to shew the rocks which others may avoid) that he was once one of the greatest of sinners.

And truly none but one so great in parts could be so. His sins were like his parts, from which they sprang, all of them high and extraordinary. He seemed to affect something singular and paradoxical in his impieties, as well as in his writings, above the reach and thought of other men; taking as much pains to draw others in, and to pervert the right ways of virtue, as the apostles and primitive saints did to save their own souls, and them that heard them. For this was the heightening and amazing circumstance of his sins, that he was so diligent and industrious to recommend and propagate them; not like those of old that hated the light, but those the prophet mentions, *Isaiah iii. 9.* "Who
" declare their sins as Sodom, and hide it not; that
" take it upon their shoulders, and bind it to them
" as a crown;" framing arguments for sin, making proselytes to it, and writing panegyrics upon vice.

Nay, so confirmed was he in sin, that he oftentimes almost died a martyr for it. God was pleased sometimes to punish him with the effects of his folly, yet till now (he confessed) they had no power to melt him into true repentance; or if at any time he had some lucid intervals from his folly
and

and madness, yet (alas) how short and transitory were they? All that goodness was but as a morning cloud, and as the early dew which vanishes away; he still returned to the same excess of riot, and that with so much the more greediness, the longer he had fasted from it.

And yet even this desperate sinner, that one would think had made a covenant with death, and was at an agreement with hell, and just upon the brink of them both; God, to magnify the riches of his grace and mercy, was pleased to snatch as a brand out of the fire. As St. Paul, though “before
“ a blasphemer, a persecutor, an injurious, yet ob-
“ tained mercy, that in him Christ Jesus might
“ shew forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to
“ them that should hereafter believe on him to
“ everlasting life.” 1 Tim. i. 13, 16. So God struck him to the ground as it were by a light from heaven, and a voice of thunder round about him: insomuch that now the scales fall from his eyes, as they did from St. Paul’s; his stony heart was opened, and streams of tears gushed out, the bitter but wholesome tears of true repentance.

And, that this may appear to be so, I think it necessary to account for these two things.

I. For the means of it; that it was not barely the effect of sickness, or the fear of death; but the hand of God also working in them and by them manifestly.

II. For the sincerity of it; which though none but God that sees the heart, can tell certainly,
yet

yet man even also may and ought to believe it; not only in the judgment of charity, but of moral justice, from all evident signs of it, which were possible to be given by one in his condition.

And 1st. For the means or method of his repentance. That which prepared the way for it was a sharp and painful sickness, with which God was pleased to visit him; the way which the Almighty often takes to reduce the wandering sinner to the knowledge of God and himself. "I will be unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion unto the house of Judah; I, even I, will tear and go away, and none shall relieve him; I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offence, and seek my face; and in their affliction they will seek me early." *Hos. v. 14, 15.*

And though to forsake our sins then, when we can no longer enjoy them, seems to be rather the effect of impotency and necessity, than of choice, and so not so acceptable or praise-worthy; yet we find, God Almighty often uses the one to bring about the other; and improves a forced abstinence from sin, into a settled loathing and a true detestation of it.

It is true, there are such stubborn natures, that like clay, are rather hardened by the fire of afflictions; ungracious children, that fly in the face of their heavenly father in the very instant when he is correcting them; or it may be like those children who promise wonders then, but presently after forget all. Such as these we have described,

Psal.

Pfal. lxxviii: 34, 35, 36, 37. “ When he slew
 “ them, then they sought him, and they returned
 “ and enquired early after God ; then they remem-
 “ bered that God was their rock, and that the
 “ high God was their Redeemer ; nevertheless they
 “ did but flatter him with their mouth, and lyed
 “ unto him with their tongues, for their heart was
 “ not right with him, neither continued they sted-
 “ fast in his covenant.” And it is probable
 this has been the case formerly of this person.
 But there was an evident difference betwixt the
 effects of this sickness upon him, and many others
 before : he had other sentiments of things now,
 (he told me) and acted upon quite different prin-
 ciples ; he was not vexed with it as it was painful,
 or hindered him from his sins, which he would
 have rolled under his tongue all the while, and
 longed again to be at ; but he submitted patiently
 to it, accepting it as the hand of God, and was
 thankful, blessing and praising God not only in,
 but for his extremities. There was now no cur-
 sing, no railings or reproaches to his servants, or
 those about him, which in other sicknesses were
 their usual entertainment, but he treated them
 with all the meekness and patience in the world,
 begging pardon frequently of the meanness of them
 but for a hasty word, which the extremity of his
 sickness, and the sharpness of his pain, might easily
 force from him. His prayers were not so much for
 ease, or health, or a continuance in life, as for
 grace, and faith, and perfect resignation to the will
 of

of God. So that I think we may not only charitably but justly conclude, that his sickness was not the chief ingredient, but through the grace of God, an effectual means of a true, though late repentance, as will best be judged by the marks I am now to give you of the sincerity of it ; for which I am in the next place to account.

II. And it was the power of Divine Grace, and of that only, that broke through all those obstacles that usually attend a man in his circumstances; that God (who is a God of infinite compassion and forbearance) allowed him leisure and opportunity for repentance ; that he awakened him from his spiritual slumber by a pungent sickness ; that he gave him such a presence of mind, as both to provide prudently for his worldly affairs, and yet not to be distracted or diverted by them from the thoughts of a better world ; that lengthened out his day of grace, and accompanied the ordinary means of salvation, and weak ministry of his word, with the convincing and over-ruling power of his Spirit to his conscience ; which word of God came to him quick and powerful, sharper than a two edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of his soul and spirit ; and at last, the Spirit of God witnessed to his spirit, that now he was become one of the children of God.

Now, if the thief upon the cross (an instance too much abused) was therefore accepted, because accompanied with all the effects of a sincere convert, which his condition was capable of ; as

confession of Christ's in the midst of the blasphemies of pharisees, and his own lewd companion, and desertion of even Christ's disciples; if his repentance be therefore judged real, because he seems to be more concerned in the remembrance of Christ's future kingdom than his own death; if St. Paul was approved by the same more abundant labours, which he commended in the Corinthians, "yea, what zeal? what fear? what "vehement desire?" 2 Cor. vii. 11. I think I shall make it appear, that the repentance of this person was accompanied with the like hopeful symptoms: and I am so sensible of that awful presence both of God and man before whom I speak, who are easily able to discover my failings, that I shall not deliver any thing, but what I know to be a strict and religious truth.

Upon my first visit to him, (May 26, just at his return from his journey out of the West) he most gladly received me, shewed me extraordinary respects upon the score of mine office, thanked God, who had in mercy and good providence sent me to him, who so much needed my prayers and counsels; and acknowledging how unworthily heretofore he had treated that order of men, reproaching them that they were proud, and prophesied only for rewards; but now he had learned how to value them; that he esteemed them the servants of the most High God, who were to shew to him the way to everlasting life.

At

At the same time I found him labouring under strange trouble and conflicts of mind ; his spirit wounded, and his conscience full of terrors. Upon his journey, he told me, he had been arguing with greater vigour against God and religion than ever he had done in his life time before, and that he was resolved to run them down with all the arguments and spite in the world ; but, like the great convert St. Paul, he found it hard to kick against the pricks. For God, at that time, had so struck his heart by his immediate hand, that presently he argued as strongly for God and virtue, as before he had done against it. That God strangely opened his heart, creating in his mind most awful and tremendous thoughts and ideas of the Divine Majesty, with a delightful contemplation of the Divine nature and attributes, and of the loveliness of religion and virtue. I never (said he) was advanced thus far towards happiness in my life before, though upon the commission of some sins extraordinary, I have had some checks and warnings considerable from within, but still struggled with them, and so wore them off again. The most observable that I remember, was this : one day at an atheistical meeting, at a person of quality's, I undertook to manage the cause, and was the principal disputant against God and piety, and for my performances received the applause of the whole company ; upon which my mind was terribly struck, and I immediately replied thus to myself. Good God ! that a man that walks upright,

that sees the wonderful works of God, and has the use of his senses and reason, should use them to the defying of his Creator! But though this was a good beginning towards my conversion, to find my conscience touched for my sins, yet it went off again; nay, all my life long, I had a secret value and reverence for an honest man, and loved morality in others. But I had formed an odd scheme of religion to myself, which would solve all that God or conscience might force upon me; yet I was not ever well reconciled to the business of christianity, nor had that reverence for the gospel of Christ as I ought to have. Which estate of mind continued till the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah* was read to him, (wherein there is a lively description of the sufferings of our Saviour, and the benefits thereof) and some other portions of scripture; by the power and efficacy of which word, assisted by his Holy Spirit, God so wrought upon his heart, that he declared, that the mysteries of the passion appeared as clear and plain to him, as ever any thing did that was represented in a glass; so that that joy and admiration, which possessed his soul upon the reading of God's word to him, was remarkable to all about him; and he had so much delight in his testimonies, that in my absence, he begged his mother and lady to read the same to him frequently, and was unsatisfied (notwithstanding his great pains and weakness) till he had learned the fifty-third chapter of *Isaiah* without book.

At

At the same time, discoursing of his manner of life from his youth up, and which all men knew was too much devoted to the service of sin, and that the lusts of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had captivated him : he was very large and particular in his acknowledgments about it, more ready to accuse himself than I or any one else can be ; publickly crying out, O blessed God, can such an horrid creature as I am be accepted by thee, who has denied thy being, and contemned thy power ? Asking often, can there be mercy and pardon for me ? will God own such a wretch as I ? and in the middle of his sickness said, shall the unspeakable joys of heaven be conferred on me ? O mighty Saviour ! never, but through thine infinite love and satisfaction ! O never, but by the purchase of thy blood ! adding, that with all abhorrency he did reflect upon his former life ; that sincerely and from his heart he did repent of all that folly and madness which he had committed.

Indeed, he had a true and lively sense of God's great mercy to him, in striking his hard heart, and laying his conscience open, which hitherto was deaf to all God's calls and methods : saying, if that God, who died for great as well as lesser sinners did not speedily apply his infinite merits to his poor soul, his wound was such as no man could conceive or bear, crying out, that he was the vilest wretch and dog that the sun shined upon, or the earth bore ; that he now saw his error, in not living up to that reason which God endued him with, and

which he unworthily villified and contemned; wished he had been a starving leper crawling in a ditch, that he had been a link-boy or a beggar, or for his whole life confined to a dungeon, rather than thus to have sinned against God.

How remarkable was his faith, in a hearty embracing and devout confession of all the articles of our christian religion, and all the divine mysteries of the gospel? saying, that that absurd and foolish philosophy, which the world so much admired, propagated by the late Mr. Hobbs, and others, had undone him, and many more of the best parts in the nation? who, without God's great mercy to them, may never, I believe, attain to such a repentance.

I must not omit to mention his faithful adherence to, and casting himself entirely upon the mercies of Jesus Christ, and the free grace of God, declared to repenting sinners through him; with a thankful remembrance of his life, death, and resurrection; begging God to strengthen his faith, and often crying out, Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief.

His mighty love and esteem of the holy scriptures, his resolutions to read them frequently, and meditate upon them, if God should spare him, having already tasted the good word; for having spoken to his heart, he acknowledged all the seeming absurdities and contradictions thereof, fancied by men of corrupt and reprobate judgments, were
vanished,

vanished, and the excellency and beauty appeared, being come to receive the truth in the love of it.

His extraordinary fervent devotions, in his frequent prayers of his own, most excellent and correct; amongst the rest, for the king, in such a manner as became a dutiful subject, and a truly grateful servant; for the church and nation, for some particular relations, and then for all men; his calling frequently upon me at all hours to pray with him, or read the scriptures to him; and toward the end of his sickness, would heartily desire God to pardon his infirmities, if he should not be so wakeful and intent through the whole duty as he wished to be, and that though the flesh was weak, yet the spirit was willing, and hoped God would accept that.

His continual invocation of God's Grace and Holy Spirit to sustain him, to keep him from all evil thoughts, from all temptations and diabolical suggestions, and every thing which might be prejudicial to that religious temper of mind, which God had now so happily endued him withal; crying out, one night especially, how terrible the tempter did assault him, by casting upon him lewd and wicked imaginations; but I thank God (said he) I abhor them all, by the power of his grace, which I am sure is sufficient for me; I have overcome them; it is the malice of the devil, because I am rescued from him; and the goodness of God, that frees me from all my spiritual enemies.

His great joy at his lady's conversion from Popery to the church of England, (being, as he termed it, a faction supported only by fraud and cruelty) which was by her done with deliberation and mature judgment; the dark mists of which, have for some months before been breaking away, but now cleared, by her receiving the blessed sacrament with her dying husband, at the receiving of which, no man could express more joy and devotion than he did; and having handled the word of life, and seen the salvation of God, in the preparation of his mind, he was now ready to depart in peace.

His hearty concern for the pious education of his children, wishing that his son might never be a wit, that is (as he himself explained it) one of those wretched creatures, who pride themselves in abusing God and religion, denying his being, or his providence; but that he might become an honest and religious man, which could only be the support and blessing of his family, complaining what a vicious and naughty world they were brought into, and that no fortunes or honours were comparable to the love and favour of God to them, in whose name he blessed them, prayed for them, and committed them to his protection.

His strict charge to those persons, in whose custody his papers were, to burn all his profane and lewd writings, as being only fit to promote vice and immorality, by which he had so highly offended God, and shamed and blasphemed that holy religion into which he had been baptized; and

all

all his obscene and filthy pictures, which were so notoriously scandalous.

His readiness to make restitution to the utmost of his power to all persons whom he had injured ; and for those whom he could not make a compensation to, he prayed for God's and their pardons. His remarkable justice in taking all possible care for the payment of his debts, which before, he confessed, he had not so fairly and effectually done.

His readiness to forgive all injuries done against him, some more particularly mentioned, which were great and provoking ; nay, annexing thereto all the assurance of a future friendship, and hoping he should be as freely forgiven at the hand of God.

How tender and concerned was he for his servants about him in his extremities, (manifested by the beneficence of his will to them) pitying their troubles in watching with him, and attending him, treating him with candor and kindness, as if they had been his intimates !

How hearty were his endeavours to be serviceable to those about him, exhorting them to the fear and love of God, and to make a good use of his forbearance and long-suffering to sinners, which should lead them to repentance. And here I must not pass-by his pious and most passionate exclamation to a gentleman of some character, who came to visit him upon his death-bed ; “ O remember
“ that you contemn God no more, he is an aveng-
“ ing God, and will visit you for your sins ; he will in
“ mercy, I hope, touch your conscience sooner or
“ later,

“later, as he has done mine. You and I have been
 “friends and sinners together a great while, there-
 “fore I am the more free with you. We have
 “been all mistaken in our conceits and opinions,
 “our persuasions have been false and groundless ;
 “therefore God grant you repentance.” And
 seeing him the next day again, he said to him,
 “perhaps you were disoblged by my plainness to
 “you yesterday ; I spake the words of truth and
 “soberness to you, (and striking his hand upon
 “his breast) said, I hope God will touch your
 “heart.”

Likewise his commands to me, to preach abroad, and to let all men know (if they knew it not already) how severely God had disciplined him for his sins by his afflicting hand ; that his sufferings were most just, though he had laid ten thousand times more upon him ; how he had laid one stripe upon another because of his grievous provocations, till he had brought him home to himself ; that in his former visitations he had not that blessed effect he was now sensible of. He had formerly some loose thoughts and slight resolutions of reforming, and designed to be better, because even the present consequences of sin were still pestering him, and were so troublesome and inconvenient to him ; but that now he had other sentiments of things, and acted upon other principles.

His willingness to die, if it pleased God, resigning himself always to the divine disposal ; but if God should spare him yet a longer time here, he
 hoped

hoped to bring glory to the name of God in the whole course of his life, and particularly by his endeavours to convince others, and to assure them of the danger of their condition, if they continued impenitent, and how graciously God had dealt with him.

His great sense of his obligations to those excellent men, the right reverend my lord bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Marshall, for their charitable and frequent visits to him, and prayers with him; and Dr. Burnett, who came on purpose from London to see him, who were all very serviceable to his repentance.

His extraordinary duty and reverence to his mother, with all the grateful respects to her imaginable, and kindness to his good lady, beyond expression, (which may well enhance such a loss to them) and to his children, obliging them with all the endearments that a good husband or a tender father could bestow.

To conclude these remarks, I shall only read to you his dying remonstrance, sufficiently attested and signed by his own hand, as his truest sense, (which I hope may be useful for that good end he designed it) in manner and form following.

“ **F**OR the benefit of all those whom I may
“ have drawn into sin by my example and
“ encouragement, I leave to the world this my
“ last declaration, which I deliver in the presence
“ of

“ of the great God, who knows the secrets of all
 “ hearts, and before whom I am now appearing
 “ to be judged.

“ That from the bottom of my soul I detest
 “ and abhor the whole course of my former wick-
 “ ed life; that I think I can never sufficiently
 “ admire the goodness of God, who has given me
 “ a true sense of my pernicious opinions and vile
 “ practices, by which, I have hitherto lived with-
 “ out hope, and without God in the world; have
 “ been an open enemy to Jesus Christ, doing the
 “ utmost despite to the Holy Spirit of Grace. And
 “ that the greatest testimony of my charity to such,
 “ is to warn them in the name of God, and as they
 “ regard the welfare of their immortal souls, no
 “ more to deny his being, or his providence, or
 “ despise his goodness; no more to make a mock
 “ of sin, or condemn the pure and excellent re-
 “ ligion of my ever blessed redeemer, through
 “ whose merits alone, I, one of the greatest sin-
 “ ners, do yet hope for mercy and forgiveness.
 “ Amen.”

DECLARED and SIGNED in the presence of
 ANNE ROCHESTER.

June 19, 1680.
 ROBERT PARSONS.

J. ROCHESTER.

And

And now I cannot but mention with joy and admiration that steady temper of mind which he enjoyed through the whole course of his sickness and repentance; which must proceed, not from a hurry and perturbation of mind or body, arising from the fear of death, or dread of hell only, but from an ingenuous love to God, and an uniform regard to virtue, (suitable to that solemn declaration of his; I would not commit the least sin to gain a kingdom) with all possible symptoms of a lasting perseverance in it, if God should have restored him. To which may be added, his comfortable persuasions of God's accepting him to his mercy, saying, three or four days before his death, I shall die, but oh, what unspeakable glories do I see! what joys, beyond thought or expression, am I sensible of! I am assured of God's mercy to me through Jesus Christ. Oh how I long to die, and be with my Saviour!

The time of his sickness and repentance was just nine weeks; in all which time he was so much master of his reason, and had so clear an understanding, (saying thirty hours, about the middle of it, in which he was delirious) that he had never dictated or spoke more composed in his life: and therefore, if any shall continue to say, his piety was the effect of madness or vapours; let me tell them, 'tis highly disingenuous, and that the assertion is as silly as it is wicked. And moreover that the force of what I have delivered may be not evaded by wicked men, who are resolved to
harden

harden their hearts, maugre all convictions, by saying, this was done in a corner; I appeal, for the truth thereof, to all sorts of persons who in considerable numbers visited and attended him, and more particularly to those eminent physicians who were near him, and conversant with him in the whole course of his tedious sickness; and who, if any, are competent judges of a phrensy or delirium.

There are many more excellent things in my absence which have occasionally dropt from his mouth, that will not come within the narrow compass of a sermon; these, I hope, will sufficiently prove what I produce them for. And if any shall be still unsatisfied here in this hard-hearted generation, it matters not, let them at their cost be unbelievers still, so long as this excellent penitent enjoys the comfort of his repentance. And now from all these admirable signs we have great reason to believe comfortably, that his repentance was real, and his end happy; and accordingly imitate the neighbours and cousins of Elizabeth, (Luke i. 58.) who, when they heard how the Lord had shewed great mercy upon her, came and rejoiced with her.

Thus his dear mother should rejoice, that the son of her love and of her fears, as well as of her bowels, is now born again into a better world; adopted by his Heavenly Father, and gone before her to take possession of an eternal inheritance.

II. His truly loving consort should rejoice, that God has been so gracious to them both, as at the same time to give him a sight of his errors in point of practice, and herself (not altogether without his means and endeavours) a sight of hers in point of faith. And truly, considering the great prejudices and dangers of the Roman religion, I think I may aver that there is joy in heaven, and should be on earth, for her conversion as well as his.

III. His noble and most hopeful issue should rejoice, as their years are capable; not that a dear and loving father has left them, but that since he must leave them, he has left them the example of a penitent, and not of a sinner; the blessing of a saint, in recommending them to an all-sufficient Father, and not entailing on them the fatal curse that attends the posterity of the wicked and impenitent.

IV. All good men should rejoice, to see the triumphs of the cross in these latter days, and the words of divine wisdom and power. And bad men certainly, whenever they consider it, are most of all concerned to joy and rejoyce in it, as a condemned malefactor is, to hear that a fellow criminal has got his pardon, and that he may do so too, if he speedily sue for it.

And this joy of all will still be the greater, if we compare it with the joy there is in heaven, in the case of just persons, that need no repentance, viz. that need not such a solemn extraordinary repentance, or the whole change of heart and mind,

as great finners do : and of this my text pronounces, that there is, “ greater joy in heaven over
 “ one such sinner that truly repenteth, than there
 “ is over ninety and nine just persons that need
 “ not such repentance.” One reason of which we may conceive to be this ; that such a penitent’s former failings, are ordinarily the occasion of a greater and more active piety afterwards ; as our convert earnestly wished, that God would be pleased to spare him but one year more, that in that he might honour his name proportionably to the dishonour done to God in his whole life past. And we see St. Paul laboured more abundantly than all the apostles in the planting of the church, because he had raged furiously before in the destruction of it ; and our Saviour himself tells us, that “ to
 “ whom much is forgiven, they will love much ;
 “ but to whom little is forgiven, they will love
 “ little.

’Tis certainly the more safe, indeed the only safe way to be constantly virtuous, and he that is wise indeed, i. e. wise unto salvation, will endeavour to be one of those that need no repentance ; I mean that intire and whole work of beginning anew, but will draw out the same thread through his whole life, and let not the sun go down upon any of his sins : but then the other repentance is more remarkable, and, where it is real, the more effectual, to produce a fervent and a fruitful piety ; besides, the greater glory to God in the influence of the example. Which may probably be a farther
 reason

reason of the excessive joy of the angels at the conversion of such a sinner; because they, who are better acquainted with human nature than we, knowing it apt, like the Pharisees, to demand a sign from heaven, for the reformation of corrupted customs, discern likewise, that such desperate spiritual recoveries, will seem so many openings of the heavens in the descent of the Holy Dove, visible to the standers by; and accordingly will have the greater influence upon them. And 'tis this, in the last place, that I am to recommend to all that hear me this day.

And having thus discharged the office of an historian, in a faithful representation of the repentance and conversion of this great sinner; give me leave now to bespeak you as an ambassador of Christ, and in his name, earnestly persuade you to be reconciled to him, and to follow this illustrious person, not in his sins any more, but in his sorrows for them, and his forsaking them. If there be any in this place, or elsewhere, who have been drawn into a complacency or practice of any kind of sin from his example, let those especially be persuaded to break off their sins by repentance, by the same example; that as he has been for the fall, so he may now be for the rising again of many in Israel. God knows there are too many that are wise enough to discern and follow the examples of evil, but to do good from those examples they have no power; like those absurd flatterers we read of, who could imitate Plato in his crookedness, Aristotle in

his stammering, and Alexander the great in the bending of his neck, and the shrillness of his voice, but either could not, or would not, imitate them in any of their perfections. Such as these I would beseech, in their cooler seasons, to ask themselves that question, “ what fruit had you in those things whereof you are now ashamed, for the end of these things is death ?” And if any encourage themselves in their wickedness from this example, resolving however to enjoy the good things that are present, to fill themselves with costly wines, and to let no part of pleasure pass by them untasted, supposing with the gospel rich man, that when one comes to them from the dead, when sickness or old age approaches, that then they will repent ; let such as these consider the dreadful hazard they run by such pernicious counsels. It may be (and it is but just with God it should be) that whilst they are making provisions for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, and are saying to their souls, soul thou hast much goods laid up for many years, therefore take thine ease, eat, drink and be merry ; perhaps just then at the same time the hand of God may be writing upon the walls of their habitations, that fatal sentence, “ thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee, and then whose shall all those things be, which thou hast promised ?” And what sad reflections must such a one need make upon his own folly, when he sees all that mirth and ease, which he has promised himself for so many years, must be at an end in
a very

a very few hours? And not only so, but that mirth turned into howlings, and that ease into a bed of flames; when the soul must be torn away on a sudden from the things it loved, and go where it will hate to live, and yet cannot die. And were it not better for us to embrace cordially the things which belong to our everlasting peace, before they are hid from our eyes? Were it not better for us all to be wise betimes by preventing such a danger, than to open our eyes, as the unhappy rich man did, when we are in a place of torment?

Be persuaded then with humble, penitent, and obedient hearts to meet the blessed Jesus, who is now on the way, and comes to us in the person and in the bowels of a Saviour, wooing us to accept those easy conditions of pardon and peace offered in his holy gospel, rather than to stay till he become our adversary and our judge too, when he will deliver us over to the tormentors, till we have paid the utmost farthing, i. e. to all eternity: when those who have made a mock at sin all their lives, and laughed at the pretended cheats of religion and its priests, shall find themselves at last the greatest fools, and the most sadly cheated in the world: for God will then laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh, when it cometh as desolation, and their destruction as a whirlwind. And since they would not suffer his mercy to rejoyce over his justice, nor cause any joy in heaven, as the text mentions, in their conversion; his justice will certainly rejoyce over his mercy, and cause

joy in heaven (as it did at the fall of Babylon) which would not be cured, Rev. xix. 1. in their confusion. And oh that there was such an heart in them, that they would consider this betimes ! that in the midst of their carnal jollities they would but vouchsafe one regard what may happen hereafter, and what will certainly be the end of these things. For however the fruits of sin may seem pleasant to the eye, and to be desired to make one seem wise and witty to the world, yet alas, they are but empty and unsatisfactory at present, and leave a mortal sting behind them, and bitterness in the latter end; like the book St. John eat, (Rev. x. 10.) “ which in his mouth was sweet as honey, but as soon as he had eat it, his belly was bitter.” And that God should please at last to bring men back in their old age from their sinful courses, by a way of weeping, to pluck them as fire-brands out of everlasting burnings; yet if men consider how rare and difficult a thing it is to be born again when one is old, how many pangs and violences to nature there must needs be, to put off the habits and inclinations to old sins, as difficult (saith the prophet) as for the leopard to change his spots, or the Æthiopian his skin: and then when that is done, what scars and weaknesses even a cure must leave behind. I say, he that duly considers this, will think it better to secure his salvation, and all his present true comforts, by preserving his innocency, or alleviating his work by a daily repentance for lesser failings, than to venture upon one
single

single chance of a death-bed repentance; which is no more to be depended upon, for the performance, or acceptance, than it can encourage any man not to labour, because Elias was fed by ravens, or the Israelites with manna from heaven.

If then there be any (though alas that need not be asked) that have made the greatness of their wit, or birth, or fortune, instruments of iniquity to iniquity; let them now convert them to that original noble use for which God intended them, viz. to be instruments of righteousness unto holiness.

To these especially that are thus great, not only God, but this great person also, by my mouth, being dead yet speaketh; for as St. Paul seemed more especially concerned for his brethren and kinsmen according to the flesh, and even the rich man in hell, though sufficiently distracted by his own sufferings, yet seems hugely desirous that one might be sent from the dead to his brethren, that he might testify unto them, lest they also come into that place of torment: so this illustrious convert, after God had opened his eyes to see his follies, was more especially desirous of the salvation of those that were his brethren, though not in the flesh, yet in the greatness of their quality, and of their sins; passionately wishing, that all such were not only almost, but altogether such as he now was, saving his bodily afflictions; and of great force, methinks, should the admonitions of a dying friend be.

Now these especially I would beseech, as the minister of Christ, and such as, though we are reviled we bless, though we are defamed we intreat, to suffer the word of exhortation, that they would not terminate their eyes upon the outward pomp and pageantry that attends them, as the vulgar Jews did upon their rites and ceremonies; but (as the wiser Israelites, who esteemed those glittering formalities as the types and images of heavenly things) be quickened by them to the ambition of original honours, and future glory. How much were it to be wished, that such persons especially would be followers of God and goodness, since whether they will or no, other men will be followers of them.

It is true, the temptations of great persons are more, and greater than those of inferiors; but then their abilities and understandings are ordinarily greater too; and if they lye more open to the assaults of the devil, they have generally greater sagacity to foresee the danger, and more powerful assistance to go through it. Nor is piety inconsistent with greatness, any more than it is with policy, but is the best foundation and security both to the one and the other. The breeding of Moses at court, without doubt contributed much even to his religious performances, at least so far, as to make them more useful and exemplary to others: but then he was sincerely virtuous all the while, as well whilst reputed the son of Pharaoh's daughter, as when Jethro's son-in-law.

We

We find christians in Cæsar's household as soon as any where else in Rome ; and when christianity had once gained Constantine, it spread itself farther over the empire in a few years, than before it had done in some centuries. Since then so much good or mischief depends upon illustrious examples, will it not better become men to draw the multitude after them to heaven by their piety, than by infectious guilts be at the head of a miserable company of the damned.

'Tis this piety, a timely and exemplary piety, that will perpetuate to men of birth and fortunes, their honours, and their estates too, as well by deriving on them the blessing of God, who is the true fountain of honour, as by creating an awe and reverence for them from all orders of men, even to many generations ; a reverence which will be fresh and lasting, when all the trophies of wit and gaiety are laid in the dust. 'Tis this piety that will be the guide of their youth, and the comfort of their age ; for length of days are in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour. 'Tis this, and this only, that can make all outward blessings comfortable, and indeed blessings to us, by making them the steps and means of attaining the never fading honours and incomprehensible glories of that kingdom which is above ; where there shall be no more sin, nor sickness, nor pain, nor tears, nor death, but we shall rest from all our labours, and our works shall follow us.

Unto

Unto which God of his infinite mercy bring us, for the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ our Saviour; to whom with the Father and Holy Spirit, let us ascribe all praise and adoration, now and for ever. Amen.

F I N I S.



AN
E S S A Y
ON THE
M E M O R Y
OF THE LATE
QUEEN MARY.

By GILBERT BURNETT, D. D.

Late Lord Bishop of SARUM.

withered. One stroke of a scythe cuts them down by handfuls ; and then the best decked spot of ground, does quickly change its face, and lose all its beauty. We who but the other day saw a great queen, (I say the other day, for such an idea must live so long and so fresh in our minds, that for a great many years we will still say the other day) we who saw her, like the master-piece of nature, wrought up by all the polishings of art and improvement, look with so fresh a bloom, and such promising appearances, who carried that air of life and joy about her, that animated all who saw her, and who reckoned their own lives both the safer and happier, because hers was so firm, must now lament that all this is taken from us with one sudden and amazing stroke. The best part of us, our hearts and hopes, are struck down with her ; who was the best, God knows, the much best part of us all. We look up to heaven with deep, though silent regret, as if we envied her blessedness : we look down to the earth, like men that are sinking thither : we look to the grave, where what was mortal is lodged till it becomes immortal, with a sort of indignation, that it should receive and consume those sacred remains for which we feel a sort of superstition, which though our reason may check, yet it cannot quite silence or extinguish.

Nature, even on very extraordinary occasions, is apt to give itself some vent, and to procure to itself some mitigation of its pain. And when it is

too full for well chosen expressions, or regular discourses, the broken and inarticulate language of sighs and tears, gives some relief: a calm succeeds those storms; they give at least a breathing, and softer intervals. Here we feel such an oppression, and distraction of thought, that they choak us inwardly, and break out only in amazement, and in a wildness of look and behaviour. We feel so great a loss at present, that we need not heighten it by the gloomy prospect of the fatal consequences that may follow it: and yet we cannot help seeing that, which is but too visible. We dare not pretend to enter into the secret of God's councils, which are wrapt up from the eyes of mortals: yet they have such characters upon them, that from thence we are induced to make some conjectures about them; though after all, these are but conjectures, and are often ill grounded. But whether we look up to God, or to the outward face of things, and to those appearances that are but too obvious, we soon find cause enough to drive back our thoughts to that dark and native horror that does now haunt and possess them. Some may perhaps make vain complaints against God, and try to ease their own grief, by accusing his providence: our hearts may carry us to say, why was so much worth laid in one mind, and so nobly lodged? Why was it just shewed the world, with advantage enough to let all men see what might have been expected from it? Why were so many great ideas and vast designs formed by her? Why was she
furnished

furnished with such skill and softness in the management of them? and the sad why comes last, why was all this snatched from us so early and so suddenly?

It is true, all God's ways are a great depth; and we may never presume to ask of him a reason of any of his dealings, which are past finding out: but here the steps of his providence are so accountable, that we ought not to be long in the dark about them. So much worth was full ripe for heaven, and was much too good for earth, especially for so corrupt a part of it as we are. If those great blessings which heaven held forth to us in her, had attained the ends for which they were designed, we might then have hoped that her crown would have been longer delayed; and that our happiness might have been the more lasting. The cutting part of our sorrow is this, that we have too good reason to believe that we have procured this to ourselves.

Unless, according to the growing impiety that spreads itself amongst us, we will conclude that God has forsaken the earth, and that all things roll, either under the sullenness of fate, or the giddiness of chance; if we believe that providence watches over and governs all that happens here below, we must then acknowledge, that so great a change as this has made, could not have come upon us, but by a just and wise direction. Therefore instead of those irregular thoughts and expressions by which so great a commotion of mind may discharge

discharge itself, and instead of those wild and dejecting apprehensions, which it may be apt to throw upon us, we ought to reduce ourselves to more order, and to consider more sedately, what we may justly fear, and how we may wisely provide against it.

If we will examine what may have brought so severe a stroke upon us, and what may draw after it yet heavier ones, (but can any be heavier!) then if there is yet room for hopes, if our wound is not incurable, and if the breach that is made upon us is not wide as the sea, so that nothing can hinder our being overflowed by it, then, I say, the searching into this, is all the reserve that is left us, all that can balance so inestimable a loss, or rather all that can save us from being swallowed up utterly by it.

Even in a shipwrack every one is forced, after all his astonishment at their common fate, to try by what shift he himself may escape: for tho' the first disorders of melancholy may make one wish rather to perish in so terrible a calamity, than to survive it, yet after all, nature returns to itself, and feels self-preservation to be too deeply wrought in its composition, to be easily shaken off. While then such a load oppresses us, and when such fears compass us round, all that remains to make the one lighter, and to dissipate the other, is for us to lay our hands on our mouths, because God has done it: but then to lay them on our heart, and to ask

our-

ourselves what have we done? And what shall we do to be saved?

How just soever any affliction may seem to be, yet it must have its bounds. Our religion gives a temper: it does not impose upon us the dry fullness of stoics; their most admired sayings, that fate is inexorable; that it is in vain to be troubled at that we cannot help: and the famed answer of him, who upon the news of his son's death, said coldly, I knew I begat him mortal, have an air in them that seems above the present state of human nature. It looks too savage and contrary to those tender affections that are planted in us, and that are in some sort necessary for carrying on the common concerns of life. But the extremes on the other hand, are much more boisterous and untractable: while the rages of passion govern, neither the calmness of reason, nor the authority of religion will be harkened to. Heathenism was fruitful in the inventions of fury, hecatombs of living creatures were thought poor oblations: human sacrifices were offered liberally on those occasions, nor was the greatest waste of treasure, with all the profusion of funeral piles and magnificent buildings, thought a suitable addressing of their dead to the invisible state, to which they went, unless innumerable ghosts were sent after them as a welcome convoy to follow them thither. When the civilizing of the world, and the decencies first of humanity, then of philosophy, and chiefly when revealed religion came to soften and enlighten men,

men, those outragious solemnities fell off; tho' the costly part was by many kept up with too much ostentation. The corrupters of religion found that the tenderness of affection, with that generous disinteressedness which it gave, offered to them a harvest that might be fruitful; and they were not defective in the art of cultivating it.

Opinions were invented, and practices were contrived, that drew great wealth into their hands; and begat a consideration for them, which, if it had not been over-done by the managers, and that in a manner too coarse and too ravenous not to be found out at last, was bringing the whole world under their authority. Their title seemed sure; and it was to have its chief operation, when both those who died, and those who lived, were the least able to examine their pretensions: the fears of the one, and the sorrows of the other, made them very pliant to their conduct, and implicit under it.

We have a better light, and are governed by truer measures: we know there is a wise providence, and a future state; and in those two never-failing sources of quiet and submission, we give our sorrows just abatements. But since all the steps of providence, though just and wise in themselves, have not the same face to us, some of them being as bright as others are dark; we ought not to look on providence as rigid fate; but as the steady conduct of a mind that is infinitely wise: we ought therefore to go as far as reasonably we can, in judging what is the language of that pro-

vidence to us, and what the designs of it upon us may be.

The liveliest as well as the usefulest exercises of our thoughts, is to sum all that was excellent and imitable in the person whose loss we lament; to lay it altogether; to observe how amiable it was; what an influence it had, and in what effects it appeared. This if it rests in the bare commendation of one, that may be safely praised, when flattery or interest cannot be thought to have any share in the incense, that is then given, it is at least a justice to the memory of a person that deserved it, and an homage to virtue itself. It will probably go deeper, and have its best effect upon us: it will engage us to love those virtues in ourselves, which we admire in others, and will reproach us, if we commend that in another, which we take no care to imitate ourselves. Probably this will not evaporate quite into discourse, or wear off with time: somewhat will stick, and have a due effect upon us. Some of those virtues may so far insinuate themselves into us, that we may grow to love and practice them. A noble pattern cannot be much looked at without begetting some disposition to copy after it, and to imitate it. A great lustre, though it may sometimes dazzle, yet it enlightens, as well as it strikes.

Those who are perhaps tied too closely by some fatal engagements to practices that they cannot resolve on forsaking, yet have that secret veneration for true virtue, especially for the sublime of it,

and

and saw so much of that in our blessed queen, that they may be desirous to see such a just representation of those various branches of her character, as may entertain their admiration, at present, and be perhaps of some more use to them in other periods of their lives. They may desire to be made wiser, if not better by it. They may hope that what effect soever it may have on the present age, it will have some on those that are to come : it will be a lively part of our history, and set a noble pattern to succeeding princes. And all persons, how bad soever they may be themselves, have too sensible a share in government, not to wish that their princes were truly and heroically good.

A picture of her, that may have some life in it, is that which all seemed to desire. Where there were so many peculiar features, and yet so much of majesty spread over them all, it seems as hardly possible not to hit a great deal of the resemblance, as to hit it all, and to draw truly, and to the life. Every one will at first view, say, it is she ; but this abatement must be expected, that it has not quite taken her. It has not her air, though it may have her features. The colours may seem to sink, when we remember how the original itself looked.

Extraordinary degrees of virtue in sovereign princes happen so seldom, that it is no wonder if they give the world a surprise that is as great as it is agreeable. When we look through past ages, and through all the different climates and corners

of the world, we find little that is truly eminent, without some great diminution accompanying it.

We accustom ourselves by study and observation not to be flattered with the hopes of seeing ideas of perfection on the throne. It seems a presumption to fancy, that our own times should have a privilege that former ages could not boast. We find that even David, and Solomon much more, had blemishes almost equal to their virtues. Few of their successors arrived at their degree of perfection; though they might have all their allay. Hezekiah and Josiah are the least exceptional: yet some lesser slips occur even in their history. Constantine and Theodosius were two of the greatest blessings of the christian church; yet we dare not propose them as patterns in every thing. Clovis and Charles the great make a mighty figure in history; because the world is disposed to remember what was good in them, and to forget the rest. A full picture of these would have one side so bright, with another so spotted, that the whole would look but odly. If the good and bad that was in most princes, whose names sound the best, were set against one another, as critically as Suetonius has represented the Roman emperors, the world would perhaps retract much of the admiration that it has paid them; and might be for some time in suspense, which side of the character was superior, and did preponderate the other.

Female government has had its peculiar blemishes, with fewer patterns to compensate for the faultiness

faultiness of others. The fierceness of Semiramis's character does lessen her greatness, and the luxuries of Cleopatra does more than balance her beauties. The cruelties of Irene were such, that even her zeal for images could not cover them, in the thickest mist of superstition. Mathildis and the Joans of Naples, are too black to be well thought of, for all the flatteries of popes : and pope Gregory's raptures upon Brunichild have lessened him, rather than changed her character. It is true, Pulcheria has a fairer grace, yet some suspicions have a little eclipsed her ; and her reign was but of a few days continuance, till she chose a husband, who was made emperor by the right of marrying her. Amalazuntha has a nobler character, it is indeed given her by Cassiodore, that had been her chief minister ; but he was the wisest and best of men in the age : her fate was dismal, and others have cast black imputations on her ; but if that wise senator is to be believed, she was one of the best and greatest, though the most unfortunate of women. Female government has seldom looked so great, as it did in Isabel of Castile. But if she was a good queen, she was but an indifferent wife ; and all the honour she did her sex, was thrown down in her daughter, who was likewise a sovereign ; whose violent affections to her husband, was as troublesome while he lived, as extravagant after his death ; she keeping the dead body still in view, and making it travel about with her in her journies, which she made only in the night ; ne-

glecting government, and sinking into a feebleness, that made her become at last utterly incapable of even the shadow of it, which was all that had remained in her for many years.

If Jane of Navarre had had a larger sphere, she was indeed a perfect pattern: nothing was ever suggested to lessen her, but that which was her true glory, her receiving the reformation; she both received it, and brought her subjects to it. She not only reformed her court, but her whole principality, to such a degree, that the golden age seemed to have returned under her; or rather, christianity appeared again with the purity and lustre of its first beginnings. Nor is there one single abatement to be made here, only her principality was narrow; her dominion was so little extended, that though she had the rank and dignity of a queen, yet it looked liker a shadow, than the reality of sovereignty; or rather it was sovereignty in miniature, though the colours were very bright, it was of the smallest form.

Two Marys in this island shewed a greatness of genius that has seldom appeared to the world. But the superstition and cruelty of the one, and the conduct and misfortunes of the other, did so lessen them, that the sex had been much sunk by their means, if it had not been at the same time as powerfully supported by the happiest and most renowned of all sovereign queens; I know I need not name her.

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The great figure she made both at home and abroad, her wise conduct and able ministry were such, that the nations flourishing in trade, and extending itself in colonies, the encrease of our wealth, and the strength of our fleets, owe their beginnings to her auspicious reign. The great transactions then abroad in the world, took their turn from the direction and the support that she gave them. But that which is above all, and for which we owe her memory the profoundest acknowledgments, it was by her means that the true religion received its establishment among us. She delivered us from a foreign yoke, she freed us from idolatry and superstition, and settled us upon a constitution that has been ever since the truest honour, as well as the greatest support of the reformation. So much we owe to the ashes of that great queen, that her memory is still fresh and sacred among us: her times are esteemed the standard of our happiness, and her name still carries a delightful sound to every English ear. If there were any defects or disorders in that time, we ought to think mildly of them, and to censure them gently. In her we must own, that female government seemed to have shined with the fairest glory: we are sure that history can shew nothing like it.

But the latest is commonly the freshest in our thoughts; and what lustre soever authority in that sex may have cast about it in the last age, it has come under a cloud in the present. A queen has lived in our own times, whose great descent gave

her a just title to the highest gratitude, and whose mind seemed born with a sublimity made for empire, that for some time, like the northern star, attracted the eyes of all the world to her. But she abandoned her throne and subjects, and chose rather to wander ingloriously, than to maintain her post, and exert her superiority of genius in governing well at home, and giving law to those about her. This had made the disposition to Salick laws become more universal. We have seen that which has not only taken off the cloud, which she had cast on her sex, but has raised it far beyond the precedents or patterns of former times. In her, that name, which all generations shall call blessed, has recovered the amiable sound, that it ought ever to have. We heard it, not without some harshness, when we remembered some who had carried it: nothing can add to the glorious beginning of that name; yet our Mary has restored it to its first sweetness.

We seek in vain for a pattern to resemble her: Her grandmother of Navarre, is the likest thing we find to her. But we do not lessen that queen's glory, when we say that this descendant of hers had an august appearance and a more exalted throne. She had a higher sphere, and so we may conclude she was the superior intelligence. She was all that the other queen had been, even whilst she was in her princely state. The world has reason to believe, that every thing would have been the same in the other, if she had been advanced to an imperial

perial crown. But what may be well believed of her, was seen in this branch, that sprang from her root: her worth grew with her advancement. She was not only better known in it, but there was a constant progress in her virtues, even beyond that of her fortune.

Yet after all, this cannot so properly be called a female government; though sovereignty was in her, it was also in another; her administration supplied the others absence. Monarchy here seemed to have lost its very essence; it being a government by one. But as the administration was only in one at a time, so they were more one, than either espousals or a joint tenure of the throne could make them; there was an union of their thoughts, as well as of their persons; and a concurring in the same designs, as well as in the same interests. Both seemed to have one soul; they looked like the different faculties of the same mind. Each of them having peculiar talents, they divided between them the different parts of government, as if they had been several provinces: while he went abroad with the sword in his hand, she staid at home with the scepter in hers: he went as the arbiter of Europe, to force a just, as well as a general peace; she staid to maintain peace and to do justice at home. He was to conquer enemies, and she was to gain friends. He as the guardian of Christendom, was to diffuse himself to all, while she contracted her care chiefly to the concerns of religion and virtue. While he had more business, and she

the more leisure, the prepared and suggested what he executed. In all this, there was so close, but so entire an union, that it was not possible to know how much was proper to any one; or if ever they differed in a thought from one another: but the living are not now to be spoke of; our thoughts must run wholly where our sorrows carry us.

While we seek for resemblance in her, in sacred history we find her so like Jofiah, that their being of the same dignity, may excuse the parallel, though the sex is different. He came, after a long and deep corruption; a reign that had so entirely vitiated the nation, that neither the judgments of God that fell on Manasses, nor his own sincere, though late repentance, was able to correct the disorders of his former years. So soon is a nation run into so depraved a state, that its recovery becomes almost desperate. Jofiah was under much disadvantage in his first education: his being a king so young, exposed him to all the flatteries by which those about him might hope to insinuate themselves into his favour; but his happy temper was above it. While he was but growing out of childhood, in the eighth year of his reign, and the sixteenth year of his age, he began to seek after God: he continued four years in this pious course of life, before he set about the reforming of the people, that his own good example might have such influence, and give him such credit in it, as might balance the slowness of beginning it. When he set about it, it was the work of six years to purge the land from idolatry;

idolatry; and of other six to set forward the repairing the temple. All was not finished before the eighteenth year of his reign, so hard it is to recover a degenerated nation. As they were searching the temple, the book of the law (by which most do understand the original itself) was found, the dreadful threatnings in it struck Josiah with a just horror. He sent to Huldah, a famed prophetess, to see what comfort she could give him; she answered, that the decree was fixed and irreversible; but he should die in peace, and not see those fatal days. This was some mitigation to his grief. He tried all he could to reform his people, but without success; they were weary of him and of his virtue, and were longing for an opportunity to return again to their idolatry. So inveterate was the corruption, that all the exactness of Josiah's care, as well as the strictness of the example that he set his own sons, could not keep them from the spreading contagion, it was so catching. This was the last essay of mercy upon that people, in the best of all their kings. He was fatally engaged in an unequal war, and was killed in the day of battle. His death, upon his own single account, would have given the Jews but too just a cause of a bitter mourning for him; but the miseries that did immediately follow his death, made it to be so long remembered, that in a book writ about a hundred years after, it is said, that they continued their mourning for him to that day. It was no wonder that it was remembered by them
with

with so solemn and lasting a sorrow. A succession of calamities came so thick after it, that there was scarce a lucid interval between them; captivity came after captivity; and what by war, what by famine, and what by desertion, in the course of four and twenty years after his death, their nation became an astonishment, a curse, and a bye word, to all nations. Jerusalem was laid in heaps, their temple was rased down to the ground, and Zion became a ploughed field. And if the second and final destruction of that city and nation had not been so signal, and so particularly related by one who was an eye witness of it, that it wore out the remembrance of all that had happened in former times, this would have past for one of the blackest and the most amazing scenes in history.

That pathetical lamentation which Jeremy writ upon it, has strains in it so tender and so moving, that no man who has not hardened himself against the compassions of human nature, can read them without a sensible emotion, though they relate to transactions that happened many ages ago; such a lively poem as that is, makes them ever look fresh, and seem present.

I will make no reflections on any part of this historical deduction. It leads one so naturally to application, that there is no need of offering any. Here one may go rather too fast, than too slow, and stretch the matter further than it will bear.

The whole of it, without any straining, lets us see, that in the worst state under which a nation
can

can fall, a good prince gives a full stop to those judgments that are reserved for them; even when they seemed to be just breaking out upon them; and that the removal of such princes, is like the letting loose that hand of justice which was restrained by their intercessions. But since there is an uniformity in the methods of providence, “and that which has been, is that which shall be,” then such an amazing misery as accompanied the utter ruin of the Jewish nation, ought to make deep impressions on all others, and to give these words of the prophet a formidable sound; “the righteous perish, and the merciful persons are taken away from the evil to come;” which will come the quicker, as well as the more certainly, for their being taken away: and that will be yet the nearer, if while such an appearance of things is in view, no man considers it, nor lays it to heart.

Here I return to my subject, from which all that has been now said, is not so much a digression as it may appear to be to vulgar readers: a subject it is, where the common censures of discourses of this kind are not to be much apprehended. On other occasions of this nature, a few virtues must be raised, to make the most of them that may be; and some few accidents must be set out with due advantages. For the sake of these, a great deal must be forgiven, and the rest is to be shaded or shewed as at a distance and in perspective. Mankind is so little disposed to believe much good of others, because most men know so much ill by themselves,

selves, and are very unwilling to be made better, that in order to the begetting a full belief of that which is proposed to the imitation of others, the words by which it is expressed must be severely weighed and well chosen. When things of this kind are related with an exactness that seems too much studied, the wit that is ill placed lessens the effect that might have followed, if the recital had been more natural; for what is most genuine will be always the best received; nor must too much be said, how true or just soever.

The present age may be easily brought to believe any thing that can be said upon this subject, because the attestations of it came so thick from all hands. Yet such a character as is now to be offered the world, and to be conveyed down to posterity, must be so managed, that it may not seem too excessive; that duty or affection may not be thought to have raised it too high. The living witnesses, to whom we may now appeal, will soon go off the stage; the silent groans as well as the louder cries that are now sounding in all our streets and in every corner, will soon be drowned and hushed in silence: and then that which will be now censured, as a narrow and scanty commendation, far below the subject, and unworthy of it, will appear to succeeding ages to be a strain above human nature; it will pass for the picture of an imaginary perfection, that seems rather to set forth what our nature ought to rise to, than what has really happened.

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This precaution is necessary, when persons have lived in the shade, known only to a few and in a narrow neighbourhood. But a man may take a freer range when he undertakes to describe one that was always in view, that was under a constant observation; and where a high elevation did put even that, which humility might endeavour to recover, in a true light. The bright as well as the dark sides of such persons must be found out. Management may serve a turn, and go on for a time with secrecy and success; but the continued and uninterrupted thread of life, led with so uniform an exactness, that censure itself could never find matter to fix on, even so long as to keep a doubtful thought in suspense, is that which one may venture on, without the danger of over-doing it, he must rather despair to do it justice.

Where the matter rises with so copious a fruitfulness, a nice choice must be made; much must be omitted, a great deal must be only mentioned, rather glanced at than enlarged on. The world is now so far beforehand in every thing that can be said, that we must own fame has here changed her character, and has given such true and full representations, that there is little left to be done; but put things that are generally known, and universally talked of, in a little order, and to tell them as natively as she did them.

Here arises an unexampled piece of a character, which may be well begun with; for I am afraid it both began and will end with her. In most persons,

sons, even those of the truest merit, a studied management will sometimes appear with a little too much varnish, like a nocturnal piece, that has a light cast through even the most shaded parts : some disposition to set ones self out, and some satisfaction in being commended, will at some time or other shew itself more or less. Here we may appeal to great multitudes, to all who had the honour to approach her, and particularly to those who were admitted to the greatest nearness, and the most constant attendance, if at any one time, any thing of this sort did ever discover itself. When due acknowledgments were made, or decent things were said upon occasions that did well deserve them, (God knows how frequent these were!) these seemed scarce to be heard; they were so little desired that they were presently past over, without so much as an answer that might seem to entertain the discourse, even when it checked it. She went off from it to other subjects, as one that could not bear it.

So entire a deadness to the desire of glory, which even the philosophers acknowledged was the last thing that a wise man put off, seemed to be somewhat above human nature, and nearly resembling that state of absolute perfection, to which she has now attained. The desire of true glory is thought to be the noblest principle that can be in sovereigns; which sets them on, with the most constant zeal, to procure the good of mankind. Many have thought that a zealous pursuit of the one, could not be duly
animated

animated and maintained without the other. It was a part of the felicity of our times, that we have seen the most active zeal for the public, and a constant delight in doing good, joined with such unaffected humility, so regardless of applause or praise, that the most critical observers could never see reason to think, that the secret flatteries of vanity or self-love did work inwardly, or had any power over her.

An open and native sincerity, which appeared in genuine characters, in a free and unrestrained manner, did easily persuade those who saw it, that all was of a piece. A constant uniform behaviour, when that which is within does not agree with the appearances, seems to be a strain above our pitch. Nor could any person find any other reason to suppose that it was otherwise in this instance, but from the secret sense that every man has of some latent corruption, and the stolen insinuations of pride that he feels within himself, which may make him conclude, that the whole race of mankind is so tainted, that nothing can be entirely freed from those infirmities which do so naturally beset us. But such persons ought to make another reflection, that daily observation shews to be true; that no man lives under so exact a guard, and such a constant presence of mind, but that all those hidden dispositions which lurk within him, will shoot out sometimes, and shew themselves on great occasions, or sudden accidents. Nature will break through all rules, when it is much excited, or taken at unawares. Therefore it is much more reasonable,

as well as it is more charitable, to think that there are no secret inclinations, which lie so quiet that they do never discover themselves in a course of many years, and of unlooked for accidents, than to imagine that they are so covered and managed, as to be chained up in perpetual restraint. There is an air in what is genuine that is soon seen, (I had almost said felt.) It looks noble, without strains or art; it pleases as well as persuades, with a force that is irresistible; and how silent soever it may be, it looks like the universal character: it is a language which nature makes all men understand; how few soever they are that seek it: this was so peculiar to her, and so singular in her, that it deserved well to be begun with.

In most of those persons who have been the eminentest for their piety and virtue, their thoughts have risen too high for human nature: their notions have become too fierce, and their tempers too fullen and untractable; they have considered only what was good and desirable in itself, without regarding what the world could bear. They have not softened themselves enough into that agreeableness of temper, that might give such an amiable prospect of virtue, as should encourage the world to love and imitate it. Their meditations have soured them too much; and, by an obstinate pursuing their own ideas, without accommodating themselves enough to the frailties of others, they have given advantage to those who have studied to load them with prejudices: their
designs

designs have miscarried, and they themselves have become morose and melancholy; despairing of doing any thing, because they could not hope to do every thing. Cato's error has run through the best sort of men that have ever lived: of projecting a commonwealth like Plato's, when the Romans were run to a dreg. Children must be gained even by flattering their weaknesses, and by the softness of kindness and good humour. The grown state of man is often but an advanced childhood: a dotage rather than a ripeness. It must be confessed, that few of those who in all other respects seem to have been born for the good of mankind, have been able to give their notions that turn, to set them off with that air, and to recommend them with that address, which we of late admired so much. A charming behaviour, a genuine sweetness, and the sprightliness, as well as the freedom of good humour, had softened all those frightful apprehensions that the world is too willing to entertain of the severities of virtue, and of the strictness of true religion. Lesser matters were not much stood on: an easy compliance in some of these, how little soever they were liked, on their own account, was intended to give her advantages, in order to the compassing of greater things. While a fresh and graceful air, more turned to seriousness, but always serene, that dwelt on her looks, discovered both the perfect calm that was within, and shewed the force as well as the amiableness of those principles which

were the springs of so chearful a temper, and so lively a deportment.

The freedom of chearfulness is not always under an exact command : it will make escapes from rules, and be apt to go too far, and to forget all measures and bounds : it is seldom kept under a perpetual guard. The openness of her behaviour was subject to universal observation ; but it was under that regularity of conduct, that those who knew her best and saw her oftenest, could never discover her thoughts or her intentions further, than as she herself had a mind to let them be known. No half word, or change of look, no forgetfulness, or run of discourse, did ever draw any thing from her, further, or sooner, than as she designed it. This was managed in so peculiar a way, that no distrust was shewed in it, nor distaste given by it. It appeared to be no other, than that due reservedness which became her elevation ; and suited those affairs that were to pass through her hands. When she saw cause for it, she had the truest methods to oblige others to use all due freedom with herself ; while yet she kept them at a fit distance from her own thoughts.

She would never take any assistance from those arts, that are become so common to great posts, that some perhaps fancy them necessary : she did not cover her purposes by doubtful expressions, or such general words, as taken strictly do signify little, but in common use are understood to import a great deal more. As she would not deceive others,

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so she avoided the saying of that which might give them an occasion to deceive themselves: and when she did not intend to promise, she took care to explain her meaning so critically, that it might be understood that no construction of a promise was to be made from general words of favour. In a course of several years, and of many turns, when great occasion was given for more artificial-methods, and when, according to the maxims of the world, great use might have been made of them; yet she maintained her sincerity so intirely, to the honour of truth, be it said, as well as to hers, that she never once needed explanations to justify either her words or actions. Integrity preserved her, as well as she preserved it.

Such eminent, I am sorry to say, such unusual perfections, had they appeared in one of the meanest capacity, and of the lowest degree of improvement, yet must have challenged great veneration. Common observation makes it but too apparent, that those of the highest form, that have an exaltation in them, which makes them like another rank of mortals, that have a true flight of thought, a great compass of knowledge, a stability and equableness of temper, with a deep and correct judgment, who have cultivated the advantages of nature, by searching and laborious acquisitions; such persons, I say, do swell too much upon the preference that is due to them; and soil those shining distinctions that were born with them, by mixtures that need not now be enlarged on. A subject composed

of so much perfection, ought not to be digressed from, to set out the disorders that appear but too frequently in the sublimest pieces of mankind. These are so unacceptable, while virtue has so benign an aspect, that eminent degrees of it, though joined with a lower proportion of that which seems to have more lustre, is much more valuable, than all that can be called great in human nature, is without it.

But if both these should happen to meet together, and that in as high a degree as our mortal state is capable of, then we must acknowledge, that this is all that we can expect from our nature, under its present depression. So few instances of such a mixture have appeared to us, that we must confess, it is much more than we ought to look for. The history of princes that have lived at a great distance from us, is seldom believed to be so exact, especially in the commendatory part, that we rely much upon it. Xenophon has made Cyrus appear to be a prince, so much perfecter than the world is disposed to believe, that the picture he gives of him passes rather for a piece of invention, than of history. When the world shall have lived beyond the fame of tradition and report, a minute history of his life, if exactly writ, may probably have the same fate: it will look too great to be credible.

What is good, as well as what is great in human nature, were here so equally mixed, and both shined so bright in her, that though one of these

is always the better part, yet it is hard to tell, in whether of the two she was the more eminent.

I will say little either of her rank, or of her person: the dignity of the one, and the majesty of the other, were born with her. Her sphere was great, and she was furnished with advantages proportioned to it. She maintained her authority with so becoming a grace; and inspired so particular a respect, that in this regard only, she was absolute and despotical, and could not be resisted. The port of royalty, and the humility of christianity did so happily concur in her, that how different soever their characters may seem to be, they gave a mutual lustre to each other.

She maintained that respect that belonged to her sex, without any of those diminutions, that though generally speaking, they do not much misbecome it, yet do seem a little to lessen it. She would never affect to be above it in common and meaner things: she had a courage that was resolute and firm, mixed with a mildness that was soft and gentle; she had in her all the graces of her own sex, and all the greatness of ours. If she did not affect to be a Zenobia or a Boadicia, it was not because she wanted their courage, but because she understood the decencies of her sex better than they did. The character of a Jean of Navarre, or of our celebrated Elizabeth, was much more valuable in her esteem, than that of a Semiramis, or of a Thomiris. A desire of power, or an eagerness of empire, were things so far below her,

though they generally pass for heroical qualities, that perhaps the world never yet saw so great a capacity for government, joined with so little appetite to it; so unwillingly assumed, so modestly managed, and so cheerfully laid down.

The clearness of her apprehension, the presence of her mind, the exactness of her memory, the solidity of her judgment, the correctness of her expressions, had such particular distinctions in them, that great enlargements might be made on every one of these, if a cloud of witnesses did not make them less necessary. None took things sooner, or retained them longer: none judged truer, or spoke more exactly. She writ clear and short, with a true beauty and force of stile. She discovered a superiority of genius, even in the most trifling matters, which were considered by her only as amusements, and so gave no occasion for deep reflections. A happiness of imagination, and a liveliness of expression, appeared upon the commonest subjects; on the sudden, and in greatest variety of accidents, she was quick but not hasty: and even without the advantages that her condition gave her, she had an exaltation of mind, that subdued as well as charmed all that came near her.

A quickness of thought is often superficial; it catches easily, and sparkles with some lustre; but it lasts not long, nor does it go deep: a bright vivacity was here joined with searching diligence. Her age and her rank had denied her opportunities for much study; yet she had gone far that way,
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and had read the best book in the three languages, that were almost equally familiar to her. She gave the most of her hours to the study of the scriptures, and of books relating to them. It were easy to give amazing instances of her understanding in matters of divinity. She had so well considered our disputes with the church of Rome, that she was capable of managing debates in them, with equal degrees of address and judgment: nor was she unacquainted with those unhappy questions that have distracted us: and had such just, as well as large notions about them, that they would have soon laid our animosities, and have composed our differences, if there had been temper enough, on all sides, to have hearkened to them.

She had a generous and a sublime idea of the christian religion, and a particular affection to the church of England: but an affection that was neither blind nor partial. She saw what finishings we still wanted; and had dedicated her thoughts and endeavours to the considering of the best means that might both compleat and establish us. She intended to do all that was possible, in order to the raising a higher spirit of true devotion among us, to engage those of our profession to a greater application to their functions; and to dispose us all to a better understanding among ourselves; that we might with united endeavours set ourselves to beat down impiety and immorality. She read and meditated much on these subjects; and judged of them with so just an exactness, that it appeared the
strength

strength of her mind went far beyond the compass of her knowledge. She took that care to be well informed of these matters, that when she met with hints, either in books or sermons, that related to other subjects with which she was not acquainted, she lost none of them: if they seemed to be of importance, she called for explanations of them, from those whom she suffered to entertain her upon such subjects. She proposed them often with a preface, confessing her own ignorance; and when she had stated some difficulties to them very clearly, she would conclude with words that carried in them an air of modesty, that shined then most particularly, when she seemed to desire an increase of knowledge. She would say, “ she did not know if there was any difficulty in such things or not; or, if she apprehended or expressed it right; or, if it was only her ignorance.” When any new thing was laid before her, she seemed glad to have an occasion to own, that she knew nothing of that before; but then she would have it to be fully explained to her, till she found she did thoroughly apprehend it. All these intimations were so carefully laid up by her, that she seemed scarce capable of forgetting them. After several years of interval, she returned in discourse to some subjects, that had been formerly opened to her, with a freshness of apprehension about them, as if the first discourse had never been interrupted. She knew none of the learned languages, yet when some passages of scripture were explained to her, by the
genius

genius and phrases of the original languages, she retained them very carefully, even though she understood not the foundation of them. She loved sincerity in every thing, to such a degree, that she desired to understand the weak side as well as the strong one of all parties and doctrines. She loved a distinct knowledge of every thing; and she had accustomed those whom she admitted to talk to her on such subjects, to hide neither the weakness of the one side; nor the strength of the other from her. When she delivered her own judgment, which she generally avoided to do, unless there was some necessity for it, she did it with that modesty, as well as exactness, that it shewed the force as well as the purity of her mind.

Next to the best subjects, she bestowed most of her time on books of history, chiefly of the latter ages, particularly those of her own kingdoms, as being the most proper to give her useful instruction. Lively books, where wit and reason gave the mind a true entertainment, had much of her time. She was a good judge as well as a great lover of poetry: she loved it best when it dwelt on the best subjects. So tender she was of poetry, though much more of virtue, that she had a particular concern in the defilement, or rather the prostitution of the muses among us. She made some steps to the understanding philosophy and mathematicks, but she stopped soon; only she went far in natural history and perspective, as she was very exact in geography. She thought sublime things

things were too high flights for the sex; which she oft-talked of with a liberty that was very lively: but she might well be familiar with it, after she had given so effectual a demonstration of the improvements it was capable of. Upon the whole matter, she studied and read more than could be imagined by any, who had not known how many of her hours were spent in her closet. She would have made a much greater progress, if the frequent returns of ill humours on her eyes, had not forced her to spare them. Her very diversions gave indications of a mind that was truly great: she had no relish for those lazy ones, that are the too common consumers of most peoples time, and that make as great wastes on their minds, as they do on their fortunes. If she used them sometimes, she made it visible, it was only in compliance with forms; because she was unwilling to offend others with too harsh a severity: she gave her minutes of leisure with the greatest willingness to architecture and gardenage. She had a riches of invention, with a happiness of contrivance, that had airs in it that were freer and nobler than what was more stiff, though it might be more regular: she knew that this drew an expence after it; she had no other inclinations besides this, to any diversions that were expenceful; and since this employed many hands, she was pleased to say, “that she hoped it would be forgiven her.” Yet she was uneasy when she felt the weight of the charge that lay upon it.

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When her eyes were endangered by reading too much, she found out the amusement of work; and in all those hours that were not given to better employments, she wrought with her own hands, and that sometimes with so constant a diligence, as if she had been to earn her bread by it. It was a new thing, and looked like a fight, to see a queen work so many hours a day. “ She looked on
“ idleness as the great corrupter of human nature;
“ and believed that if the mind had no employ-
“ ment given it, it would create some of the worst
“ fort to itself: and she thought that any thing
“ that might amuse and divert, without leaving
“ a dreg and ill impression behind it, ought to fill
“ up those vacant hours, that were not claimed by
“ devotion or business.” Her example soon wrought on, not only those that belonged to her, but the whole town to follow it: so that it was become as much the fashion to work, as it had been formerly to be idle. In this, which seemed a nothing, and was turned by some to be the subject of raillery, a greater step was made than perhaps every one was aware of, to the bettering of the age. While she diverted herself thus with work, she took care to give an entertainment to her own mind, as well as to those who were admitted to the honour of working with her: one was appointed to read to the rest; the choice was suited to the time of the day, and to the employment: some book or poem that was lively, as well as instructing. Few of her sex, not to say of her rank, gave ever less time

to dressing, or seemed less curious about it. Those parts of it which required more patience, were not given up intirely to it. She read often, all the while herself, and generally aloud; that those who served about her, might be the better for it: when she was indisposed, another was called to do it: all was intermixed with such pleasant reflections of her own, that the gloss was often better liked than the text. An agreeable vivacity spread that innocent chearfulness among all about her, that whereas in most courts, the hours of strict attendance are the heaviest parts of the day, they were in hers the most delightful of all others.

Her chearfulness may be well termed innocent, for none was ever hurt by it: no natural defects, or real faults, true or false, were ever the subjects of her mirth: nor could she bear it in others, if their wit happened to glance that way. She thought it a cruel and barbarous thing, to be merry on other peoples cost; or, to make the misfortunes or follies of others, the matter of their diversion. She scarce ever expressed a more intire satisfaction in any sermon that she had heard, than in our late primate's against evil speaking. When she thought some were guilty of it, she would ask them, if they had read that sermon. This was understood to be a reprimand, though in the softest manner. She had indeed one of the blessings of virtue, that does not always accompany it: for she was as free from censures, as she was from deserving them. When reflections were made on this, before her, she

she said, “ she ascribed that wholly to the goodness of God to her : for she did not doubt but that many fell under hard characters, that deserved them as little. She gave it this further turn, that God knew her weakness, and that she was not able to bear some imputations ; and therefore he did not try her beyond her strength.” In one respect, she intended never to provoke censure : she was conscientiously tender of wounding others ; and said, “ she hoped God would still bless her in her own good name, as long as she was careful not to hurt others ;” but as she was exact in not wronging any other while she diverted herself, so upon indifferent subjects she had a spring of cheerfulness in her, that was never to be exhausted : it never run to repetition, or forced mirth.

A mind that was so exalted by nature, and was so improved by industry, who was as much above all about her by her merit, as she was by her condition, and that owed those peculiar advantages under God, chiefly to herself, for very little was added to her by others, had certainly a right to indulgent censures, even though she had given occasion to them. Much ought to have been forgiven to one that had deserved so well ; but this is perhaps the first instance that the world has yet seen, of one that had so much in her that deserved to be valued and admired, without one single defect or allay, that needed allowances to be made for it.

I have dwelt hitherto upon the more general parts of her character; I go next to consider what was more special. Those that deserve to be most enlarged on, are the dispositions of her mind, both with relation to the impressions of religion, and the compassions of human nature. What she was inwardly with relation to God, was only known to him whom she now sees face to face. Those with whom she talked with more than ordinary freedom upon those matters, saw on many occasions what an awful sense she had of God, and of all things in which his glory was concerned; they saw with how exact a tenderness she weighed every thing by which the purity of her own conscience was to be preserved, unblemished as well as unspotted.

In those great steps of her later years, that carried a face which at first appearance seemed liable to censure, and that were the single instances of her whole life, that might be thought capable of hard constructions; she weighed the reasons she went on with a caution and exactness that well became the importance of them; the biases lying still against that, which to vulgar minds might seem to be her interest. She was convinced that the public good of mankind, the preservation of that religion, which she was assured was the only true one, and those real extremities to which matters were driven, ought to supersede all other considerations. She had generous notions of the liberty of human nature, and of the true ends of government; she thought it was designed to make mankind safe and happy,
and

and not to raise the power of those, into whose hands it was committed, upon the ruins of property and liberty. Nor could she think that religion was to be delivered up to the humours of misguided princes, whose persuasion made them as cruel in imposing on their subjects the dictates of others, as they themselves were implicit in submitting to them: yet after all, her inclinations lay so strong to a duty, that nature had put her under, that she made a sacrifice of herself in accepting that high elevation, that perhaps was harder to her to bear, than if she had been to be made a sacrifice in the severest sense. She saw that not only her own reputation might suffer by it, but that religion too might be concerned in those reproaches that she was to look for. This was much more to her than all that crowns with their gaudy lustre could offer instead of it; but the saving of whole nations seemed to require it; and that being the only visible mean left to preserve the protestant religion, not only here, but every where else, she was thereby determined to it.

She was no enthusiast; and yet she could not avoid thinking, that her being preserved during her childhood in that flexibility of age and understanding, without so much as one single attempt made upon her, was to be ascribed to a special providence watching over her: to that she added, her being early delivered from the danger of all temptations, and the advantages she had afterwards to employ much privacy in so large a course

of study, which had not been possible for her to have compassed, if she had lived in the constant dissipation of a public court. These concurring had convinced her, that God had conducted her by an immediate hand, and that she was raised up to preserve that religion which was then every where in its last agonies; yet when these and many other considerations, which she had carefully attended to, determined her, nature still felt itself loaded: she bore it with the outward appearances of satisfaction, because she thought it became her not to discourage others, or to give them an occasion to believe that her uneasiness was of another nature than truly it was; but in that whole matter she put a constraint upon herself (upon her temper I mean, for no consideration whatsoever could have enduced her to have forced her conscience,) that was more sensible and violent to her, than any thing that could have been wished her by the most enraged and virulent of all her enemies.

Oh, could any be enemies to such virtue! and to so pure and so angelical a mind! Could she that was the glory of her sex, the darling of human nature, and the wonder of all that knew her, become the subject of hatred or obloquy!

A nobler subject calls me from this transport; to look over the other parts of her character, upon this head of religion. Modesty and humility covered a great deal from common observation, indeed all that was possible for her to conceal; but no clouds can quite darken the day; it casts a light
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even when it does not shine out. Her punctual exactness, not only to public offices, but to her secret retirements, was so regular a thing, that it was never put off in the greatest croud of business or little journeys; then, though the hour was anticipated, the duty was never neglected: she took care to be so early on those occasions, that she might never either quite forget, or very much shorten that, upon which she reckoned that the blessing of the whole day turned. She observed the Lord's day so religiously, that besides her hours of retirement, she was constantly thrice a day in the public worship of God; and for a great part of the year four times a day while she lived beyond sea. She was constant to her monthly communions, and retired herself more than ordinary for some days before them. In them, as well as in all the other parts of the worship of God, an unexampled seriousness appeared always in her, without one glance let out for observation; and such care was taken to hide the more solemn elevations of her mind to God, that these things struck all those who saw them, but had never seen any thing like them before. This did spread a spirit of devotion among all that were about her, who could not see so much in her, without feeling somewhat to arise in themselves; though few could chain themselves down to such a fixed and steady application as they saw in her. Nothing in that was theatrical, nothing given to shew; every thing was sincere, as well as solemn, and genuine as well as majestic.

Her attention to sermons was so entire, that as her eye never wandered from a good preacher, so she shewed no weariness of an indifferent one: when she was asked, how she could be so attentive to some sermons that were far from being perfect, she answered, "That she thought it did not become her, by any part of her behaviour, to discourage, or seem to dislike one that was doing his best." The hardest censure that she past on the worst, was to say nothing to their advantage; for she never denied her commendations to any thing that deserved them. She was not content to be devout herself; she infused that temper into all that came near her; chiefly into those whom she took into her more immediate care, whom she studied to form with the tenderness and watchfulness of a mother. She charmed them with her instructions, as she overcame them with her kindness; never was mistress both feared and loved so entirely as she was. She scattered books of instruction to all that were round about her, and gave frequent orders that good books should be laid in the places of attendance, that such as waited, might not be condemned to idleness; but might entertain themselves usefully, while they were in their turns of service.

She had a true regard to piety wherever she saw it, in what form or party soever. Her judgment tied her to our communion, but her charity was extended to all. The liberty that some have taken to unchurch great bodies of christians, for some defects and irregularities, were strains that she could
never

never assent to; nor indeed could she well bear them. She longed to see us in a closer conjunction with all protestants abroad, and hoped we might strengthen ourselves at home, by uniting to us as many as could be brought within our body. Few things ever grieved her more, than that those hopes seemed to languish, and that the prospect of so desired an union vanished out of sight.

The raising the reputation and authority of the clergy, as the chief instrument for advancing religion, was that to which she intended to apply her utmost diligence. She knew that the only true way to compass this, was to engage them to be exemplary in their lives, and eminent in their labours; to watch over their flocks, and to edify them by good preaching and diligent catechising. She was resolved to have the whole nation understand, that by these ways, and by these only, divines were to be recommended to favour and preferment. She made it visible, that the steps were to be made by merit, and not by friendship and importunity. Solicitations and aspirings were practices that affected her deeply; because she saw the use that was made of them by malicious observers; who concluded from thence, that we run to our profession as to a trade, for the sake of the gains and honours that we might find in it, and not to save souls, or to edify the church. Every instance of this kind gave her a sensible wound, because it hardened bad men in the contempt of religion. She therefore charged those, whom she trusted most in

such matters, to look out for the best men, and the best preachers, that they might be made known to her. She was under a real anxiety when church-preferments, especially the more eminent ones, were to be disposed of. She reckoned that that was one of the main parts of her care; for which a particular account was to be given to that God, from whom her authority was derived, and to whom she had devoted it. When she apprehended that friendship might give a bias to those whom she allowed to speak to her on those heads; she told them of it, with the authority that became her, and that they well deserved. She could deny the most earnest solicitations, with a true firmness, when she thought the person did not deserve them; for that was superior with her to all other considerations. But when she denied things, she did it with so much softness, and upon so good reason, that such as might be mortified by the repulse, were yet forced to confess that she was in the right; even when, for the sake of a friend, they wished she had for once been in the wrong.

It grieved her to hear how low and depauperated a great many of the churches of England were become: which were sunk into such extreme poverty, that it was scarce possible, even by the help of a plurality, to find a subsistence in them. She had formed a great and noble design, to bring them all to a just state of plenty, and to afford a due encouragement; but pluralities and non-residence, when not enforced by real necessity, were otherwise so odious

to her, that she resolved to throw such perpetual disgraces upon them, as should oblige all persons to let go the hold that they had got of the cures of souls, over whom they did not watch, and among whom they did not labour.

In a full discourse on this very subject, the day before the fatal illness overtook her; she said, “ she had no great hope of mending matters; yet
“ she was resolved to go on, and never to suffer
“ herself to be discouraged, or to lose heart: she
“ would still try what could be done, and pursue
“ her design, how slow or insensible soever the
“ progress might be.” She had taken pains to form a true plan of the primitive constitutions; and had resolved to bring ours, as near it as could be; that so it might become more firm and useful, for attaining the great ends of religion. Neither the spirit of a party, nor of bigotry, lay at the bottom of all this. She did not project any part of it as an art of government, or an instrument of power and dominion.

Her scheme was thus laid; she thought that the christian religion was revealed from heaven, to make mankind happy here, as well as hereafter: and that as mankind and society could not subsist without any religion at all, so also the corruption of christianity had made many nations the worse rather than the better, for that shadow of it that was received among them. She thought that a pious, learned, and laborious clergy, was the chief mean of bringing the world under the power

of the christian religion; and that the treating their persons with respect, was necessary to procure them credit in the discharge of their function. She intended to carry on all this together, and not any one part of it separate from the rest. If at any time she knew any thing in those who served at the altar, that exposed them to just censures, she covered it all that could be from common observation; but took care that the persons concerned should be both roundly spoke to, and proceeded against when softer methods did not succeed, or that it seemed necessary that their punishment ought to be made as public as their crimes were. She would never suffer any to go away with a conceit, that a zeal for the service of the crown, could atone for other faults; or compound for the great duties of their function. This seemed to be the setting the interests of religion after their own; but she was resolved to give them always the preference.

No intimation was ever let fall to her in any discourse, that offered a probable mean of making us better, which was lost by her. She would call upon some to turn that motion over and over again, till she had formed her own thoughts concerning it. The last thing that she had settled with our late blessed primate, was a scheme of such rules, as our present circumstances could bear, published since by his majesty; which was an earnest of many others that were to follow in due time. It was indeed an amazing, as well as a delightful thing,

thing, to see how well she understood such matters, and how much she was set on promoting them.

She judged aright, that the true end of power, and the best exercise of it, was to do good, and to make the world the better for it. She often said, that she found nothing in it to make it supportable, not to say pleasant, besides that : and she wondered that the true pleasure which accompanied it, did not engage princes to pursue it more effectually. Without this she thought, that a private life, with moderate circumstances, was the happier as well as the safer state. When reflections were once made before her, of the sharpness of some historians, who had left heavy imputations on the memory of some princes ; she answered, “ that if
“ those princes were truly such, as the historians
“ represented them, they had well deserved that
“ treatment ; and others who tread their steps,
“ might look for the same : for the truth would
“ be told at last, and that with the more acrimony
“ of stile, for being so long restrained. It was a
“ gentle suffering to be exposed to the world in
“ their true colours, much below what others had
“ suffered at their hands : she thought that all so-
“ vereigns ought to read such histories as Pro-
“ copius ; for how much soever he may have
“ aggravated matters, and how unbecomingly
“ soever he may have writ, yet by such books they
“ might see, what would be probably said of them-
“ selves, when all terrors and restraints should fall
“ off with their lives.” She encouraged those
whom

whom she admitted to frequent access, to lay before her all the occasions of doing good that might occur to their thoughts; and was always well pleased when new opportunities were offered to her, in which she might exercise that which was the most valued of all her prerogatives. So desirous she was to know both how to correct what might be amiss, and to promote every good design, that she not only allowed of great freedom, in bringing propositions of that kind to her, but she charged the consciences of some, with a command to keep nothing of that nature from her, which they thought she ought to know. Nor were such motions ever unacceptable to her; even when other circumstances made it impossible for her to put them in execution.

The reforming the manners of her people was one of her chief cares. If a greater progress was not made in this, according to the pious wishes of some, who had good intentions, and much zeal, the true account of that slowness was this; she had often heard that the hypocrisy of the former times had brought on the atheism and impiety of the present, and had fortified libertines in their prejudices; therefore she resolved to guard against every thing that might seem to revive that. She observed that Josiah was for the space of four years engaged in a religious course of life, before he set himself to the reforming of his people; that by the example he set them, he might gain so much credit in carrying on that design, as might excuse, as well as compensate

state the slowness of beginning it. She judged that all people ought to be well possessed of their intentions in that matter: and she feared, lest in the dis-jointed state, in which our affairs have lain so long, the going on with that design might have the face of serving some other end under that appearance, for that will be popular, even when things are in a very corrupt state. Therefore tho' this was no sooner moved to her, than she set it a going, yet finding few instruments to concur in it, and seeing a violent opposition to those that did, she thought that her putting her whole strength to it might be reserved with great advantage to another time, in which our affairs should have a calmer face, and be brought to a more sedate state. She did hearken carefully after every thing that seemed to give some hope, that the next generation should be better than the present, with a particular attention. She heard of a spirit of devotion and piety, that was spreading itself among the youth of this great city, with a true satisfaction; she enquired often and much about it, and was glad to hear it went on and prevailed. "She lamented that
" whereas the devotions of the church of Rome were
" all shew, and made up of pomp and pageantry;
" that we were too bare and naked; and practised
" not enough to entertain a serious temper, or a
" warm and an affectionate heart: we might have
" light enough to direct, but we wanted flame to
" raise an exalted devotion."

I have now given some instances of the temper of her mind, in that which concerned God and religion; I go in the next place to consider her with relation to human nature.

Princes are raised so far above the rest of mankind, that they do generally lose sight of those miseries to which the greater part is subject. It would disturb that ease, in which they pass away their hours too much, to hear dismal recitals of the calamities of their people. How much soever they may be lifted up with the glorious title of the parents of their country, yet for the most part they know little of the pressures their people lie under, and they feel them less. Our blessed queen was become the delight of all that knew her, by the obliging tenderness with which she treated all those who came near her: she made the afflictions of the unfortunate easier to them, by the share that she bore of them, and the necessities of the miserable the more supportable, by the relief that she gave them. She was tender of those who deserved her favour; and compassionate towards those who wanted her pity. It was easy for her to reward, for all sorts of bounty flowed readily from her. But it was much harder for her to punish, except when the nature of the crime made mercy become a cruelty, and then she was inflexible, not only to importunity, but to the tenderness of her own compassionate heart.

She was indeed happily framed by nature, which wrought so soon that it prevented education. She
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was good and gentle, before she was capable of knowing that she ought to be so. This grew up with her in the whole progress of childhood: she might need instruction, but she wanted no persuasion; and I have been often told that she never once, in the whole course of her education, gave any occasion to reprove her: so naturally did she go into every thing that was good, often before she knew it, and always after she once understood it.

She was but growing out of childhood, when she went among strangers; but she went under the guard of so exact a conduct, and so much discretion; she expressed such a gentleness, access to her was so easy, and her deportment was so obliging; her life was such an example, and her charity was so free, that perhaps no age ever had such an instance. Never was there such an universal love and esteem (one is tempted to seek for other words, if language did afford them) paid to any, as she had from persons of all ranks and conditions in the United Provinces. It was like transport and rapture: the veneration was so profound, that how just soever it might be, it seemed rather excessive. Neither her foreign birth, nor regal extraction, neither the diversity of interests of opinions, nor her want of power and treasure, (equal to her bounty) diminished the respects that were offered her, even from a people, whose constitution gives them naturally a jealousy of too great a merit in those who are at the head of their government.

I am afraid to enlarge too much on the justice that was done her in these parts; or on that universal mourning, with which her departure from them was followed: that seemed scarce capable of an addition, till now that there has appeared so black a gloom of desponding sorrow spread among them all; despair and death seeming to dwell on every face, when the dreadful news flew over to them. I am afraid, I say, to dwell too much on this, least it may seem to reproach those who owed her much more.

In her character, ordinary things, how singular soever she might be in them, must be thrown into the heap. She was a gentle mistress, a kind friend, (if this word is too low for her state, it is not too low for her humility,) and above all she was so tender and so respectful a wife, that she seemed to go beyond the perfectest ideas that wit or invention has been able to rise to. The lowest condition of life, or the greatest inequality of fortune, has not afforded so perfect a pattern. Tendernefs and complacency seemed to strive which of them should be the more eminent. She had no higher satisfaction in the prospect of greatness, that was descending on her, than that it gave her an occasion of making him a present worthy of himself. Nor had crowns or thrones any charm in them, that was so pleasant to her, as that they raised him to a greatness, which he so well deserved, and could so well maintain. She was all zeal and rapture, when any thing was to be done, that could either
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express affection, or shew respect to him. She obeyed with more pleasure, than the most ambitious could have when they command. This subject is too hard to be well set out, and so it must be left in general and larger expressions.

Those who served her, can never give over when they are relating the instances of her gentleness to them all. She was so soft when she gave her orders, and so careful of not putting too much upon them; so tender of them in their sickness and afflictions, so liberal on many different occasions, that as the instances are innumerable, so they have peculiarities in them which shew that every thing in her was of a piece with the rest. She shewed a sensibility at the death of those whom she particularly valued; that persons of so exalted a condition, do generally think may misbecome them. The many tears that she shed upon the death of our good primate, who got the start of her, a very few days, shewed how well she understood his worth, and how much she valued it.

So careful she was of all that belonged to her, that when she saw what her last sickness was like to grow to, she made those, who had not yet gone through it, withdraw. She would suffer none to stay about her, when their attendance might endanger their own health; and yet she was so tender of them, when they fell under that so justly dreadful illness, that she would not suffer them to be removed, though they happened to be lodged very near herself.

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Her bounty and her compassions had great matter given them to work upon. And how wide soever her sphere may have been, she went in this rather beyond her strength, than kept within it. Those generous confessors and exiles whom the persecution of France sent over hither, as well as to the United Provinces, felt the tenderness as well as the bounty of the welcome that she gave them. The confusions of Ireland drove over multitudes of all ranks, who fled hither for shelter, and were soon reduced to great straits, from a state of as great plenty: most of these were, by her means, both supported during their stay, and enabled to return home after that storm was over: the largeness of the supplies that were given, and the tender manner of giving them, made their exile both the shorter and the more tolerable: the miserable among ourselves, particularly those who suffered by the accidents of war, found in her a relief that was easily come at, and was copiously furnished. She would never limit any from laying proper objects for her charity in her way; nor confine that care to the ministers of the Almonry: she encouraged all that were about her, or that had free access to her, to acquaint her with the necessities under which persons of true merit might languish; and she was never uneasy at applications of that kind, nor was her hand ever scanty, when the person was deserving, or the extremity was pinching. She was regular and exact in this; she found that even a royal treasure, though dispensed by a hand that

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that was yet more royal, could not answer all demands. Therefore she took care to have a just account, both of the worth and of the necessities of those who pretended ; and she shewed in this as great an exactness, and as attentive a regard, as much memory, and as much diligence, as if she had had no cares of a higher nature upon her. It seemed she kept tables of journals ; for she had a method in it, with which no body was ever acquainted, as far as I could learn. It was very reasonable to believe, that she took notes and set rules to herself in this matter.

But she was so exact to the rule of the gospel, of managing it with deep secrecy, that none knew what, or to whom, she gave, but those whom she was forced to employ in it. When it was to fall on persons who had access to her, her own hand was the conveyance ; what went through other hands, was charged on them with an injunction of secrecy ; and she herself was so far from speaking of such things, that when some persons were offered to her charity, who had been already named by others, and were relieved by herself, she would not let those who spoke to her, upon the same of their being in want, understand any thing of the notice that had been already taken of it ; but either she let the thing pass in silence, or if the necessity was represented as heavier than she had understood it to be, a new supply was given, without so much as a hint of what had gone before.

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But how good soever she was in herself, she carried a heavy load upon her mind : the deep sense that she had of the guilt and judgments that seemed to be hanging over us, as no doubt it gave her many afflicting thoughts in the presence of God, so it broke often out in many sad strains to those to whom she gave her thoughts a freer vent. The impieties and blasphemies, the open contempt of religion, and the scorn of virtue, that she heard of from so many hands, and in so many different corners of the nation, gave her a secret horror, and offered so black a prospect, that it filled her with melancholy reflections, and engaged her into much secret mourning. This touched her the more sensibly when she at any time heard that some, who pretended to much zeal for the crown and the present establishment, seemed from thence to think they had some right to be indulged in their licentiousness, and other irregularities. She often said, “ can a blessing be expected from such hands, or on any thing that must pass through them ? ” She longed to see a set of men of integrity and probity, of generous tempers and public spirits, in whose hands the concerns of the crown and nation might be lodged, with reasonable hopes of success, and of a blessing from above, upon their services. She had a just esteem of all persons as she found them truly virtuous and religious ; nor could any other considerations have a great effect upon her, when these were wanting. She made a great difference between those that were convinced of the principles of religion,
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how fatally soever they might be shut up from having their due effect on them, and those who had quite thrown them off; where these were quite extinguished, no hope was left, nor foundation to build upon: but where they remained, how feeble or unactive soever, there was a seed still within them, that at some time or other, and upon some happy occasion, might shoot and grow. Next to open impiety, the coldness, the want of heat and life in those who pretended to religion, the deadness and dis-union of the whole body of protestants, and the weakness, the humours and affectations, of some who seemed to have good intentions, did very sensibly affect her. She said often, with feeling and cutting regret, "can such dry bones live?" When she heard what crying sins abounded in our fleets and armies, she gave such directions as seemed practicable, to those who she thought might in some measure correct them; and she made some, in very eminent stations, understand, that nothing could both please, and even oblige her more, than that care should be taken to stop those growing disorders, and to reduce matters to the gravity and sobriety of former times. The last great project that her thoughts were working on, with relation to a noble and royal provision for maimed and decayed seamen, was particularly designed to be so constituted, as to put them in a probable way of ending their days in the fear of God. Every new hint that way, was entertained by her with a lively joy: she had some discourse on that head the very day

before she was taken ill. It gave her a sensible concern, to hear that Ireland was scarce got out of its miseries, when it was returning to the levities, and even to the abominations of former times: she spake of those things like one that was trembling and sinking under the weight of them. She took particular methods to be well informed of the state of our plantations, and of those colonies that we have among infidels: but it was no small grief to her to hear that they were but too generally a reproach to the religion by which they were named, (I do not say which they professed, for many of them seem scarce to profess it.) She gave a willing ear to a proposition that was made for erecting schools, and the founding of a college among them. She considered the whole scheme of it, and the endowment which was desired for it. It was a noble one, and was to rise out of some branches of the revenue, which made it liable to objections: but she took care to consider the whole thing so well, that she herself answered all objections, and espoused the matter with so affectionate a concern, that she prepared it for the king to settle it at his coming over. She knew how heartily he concurred in all designs of that nature, though other more pressing cares denied him the opportunities of considering them so much: she digested and prepared them for him; and as she knew how large a share of zeal his majesty had for good things, she took care also to give him the largest share of the honour of them. Nor indeed could any thing inflame her more, than
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the prospect of setting religion forward, especially where there were hopes of working upon infidels; though after all, the infidels at home seemed to be more incurable and desperate than those abroad.

Her concern and her character was not limited to that which might seem to be her own immediate province, and was more especially put under her care; the foreign churches had also a liberal share of it. She was not insensible of the kindness of the Dutch; she remembered it always with a grateful tenderness, and was heartily touched with all their concerns. The refugees of France were considered by her, as those whom God had sent to sit safe under her shadow, and easy through her favour. Those scattered remnants of our elder sister, that had been hunted out of their vallies, were again brought together by their majesties means. It was the king's powerful intercession that restored them to their seats, as well as to their edicts. And it was the queen's charity that formed them into bodies, and put them in the method of enjoying those advantages, and of transmitting them down to the succeeding ages. She took care also of preserving the little that was left of the Bohemian churches: she had formed nurseries of religion in some of the parts of Germany which were exhausted by war, and disabled to carry on the education of their youth; and to transmit to the next age, the faith which they themselves professed.

Such was the temper of our blessed queen; these were the earnest of what we expected from her; they had been a full return of the most promising expectations in any other; but in her they were only earnest of what we looked for. It was but the dawning of her day; the mists and clouds rose so thick upon it, the disorders of war did so obstruct many great designs, that her light was much intercepted, it could not shine through: she understood well the decencies of things; they were beautiful in their seasons; and they would not have had so fair an appearance, if they had come before the proper time, and the other circumstances that might fit them. She seemed to have many years before her; her youth was that which added this particular happiness to all the other blessings that we had in her, that we thought we were secure in a long continuance of it. We flattered ourselves with the hopes of a reign that should have been lasting. The hopes of that made us neither to doubt nor fear any thing else. What generous or abstracted thoughts soever we may have in speculation, self-love lies so near us, that after all we are chiefly concerned for our own times. We think we may more easily deliver over the concerns of the next age to those who are to live in it. It seems to be the voice of nature that Hezekiah said, "good is the word of the Lord, that peace and truth shall be in my days." Therefore when the prospect of a fixed happiness goes farther than the reasonable prospect of our own continuance here, we think

think we ourselves are very safe. It is also a delightful thought to one, that considers how much all things are out of joint, and into what disorder they have fallen, to hope that so dexterous a hand was like to have so long a course of life before her, for putting every thing again into proper methods, and in regular channels ; and that might have lived till the nation had put on another face, till we had recovered our ancient virtue, as well as our much blasted fame ; till religion had been not only secured, but raised to such a degree, as to have shined out from us through the whole earth, with a benign influence on all the foreign churches, as well as with a dreadful one towards the Roman-church, (I mean not the dreadfulnes of cruelty ; that is her own character, which we still leave entire to her, I mean the dazzling her with the brightness of virtue and religion among us) and till public liberty had been settled upon a true basis. I mean the authority of a well balanced and well conducted government ; that should have maintained property, and have asserted the generous principles of the freedom of human nature ; that should have dispensed justice, and rewarded virtue, with a gentle but steady hand, and have repressed the luxuriant pretensions of those who understand public liberty so little, as not to be able to distinguish it from licentiousness ; which strikes first at religion and virtue, and then must soon fall with its own burden, under the misery of usurpations at home, or become an easy prey to foreign conquerors. A corrupted state

of mankind is well prepared to be a scene of slavery. Liberty cannot be maintained but by virtue, temperance, moderate desires, and contented minds; and since those are not to be attained to but by religion, this is an uncontroverted truth, that liberty and religion live and die together.

All this, and a deal more, both with relation to ourselves, and to all that are round about us, was that which we thought we had a right to expect from the continuance of such a reign: we thought that God had formed her by so many peculiar characters, and conducted her by so many happy providences, that from all these we had some right to conclude, that it would be lasting. The appearances were of our side; for though she tempered the cheerfulness of youth with the gravity of age, and the seriousness even of old age, yet youth still smiled in her countenance with so fresh an air, that we thought nature had not gone half its way, and had yet a long career to run. So firm a health, so regular a course of life, and so calm a temper, that exactness of method, and punctuality of hours, seemed to add a further security to our hopes: nor did they stop under the reign or age of a queen Elizabeth.

We felt so happy an influence from her example, as well as by her government, that even under the terror that her sickness gave us, we flattered ourselves with the hopes that God was only trying us, to give us a juster value of so inestimable a blessing, that so it might be restored to us with the more advantage, and an higher endearment. We could

not let ourselves think, that so terrible a stroke was so near us. We, who but a few days before, had been fancying, what our childrens children were to see in her, were then driven to apprehend that our sun was to set before it had attained to its noon. Then under the darkness of that thick cloud, every one began to recollect what he had seen and observed in her : and though some knew more than others, yet every one knew enough to strike him with amazement and sorrow. Then her whole administration, as well as the privater parts of her life, was remembered : every one had something to say, and all added to the common stock, and increased the general lamentation.

It is true, a veil ought here to be drawn over that which is sacred. The secrets of government are so ; and must not break out, till the proper time comes of recording them, and of delivering them down to posterity ; and then we know what a figure her history must make. But in this way, and under the due reserves of speaking of present things, somewhat may be ventured on, without breaking in too far. Her punctualness to hours, her patience in audiences, her gentleness in commanding, her reservedness in speaking, her caution in promising, her softness in finding fault, her readiness in rewarding, her diligence in ordering, her hearkening to all that was suggested, and the copious accounts that she gave to him whom both God, and her own choice, had made her oracle, were every one of them surprising ; but all together they seem to look rather like the idea

of what ought to be, than that which could in reason be expected from any one person. It might have been supposed that her whole time must have gone to this. If many other things had been omitted, it was that which must have been well allowed of; but that there might be a fulness of leisure for every thing, the day was early begun; she had many hours to spare, and nothing was done in haste; no hurry nor impatience appeared. Her devotions, both private and public, were not so much as shortened; and she found time enough for keeping up the cheerfulness of a court, and for admitting all persons to her. She was not so wholly possessed by the greatest cares, that she forgot the smallest. Those who are exact in little things, generally trifle in great ones; and those who mind great things, think they have a right to neglect smaller ones: they think they should rather be lessened if they were too exact in them. But it was a new thing to see one, who never forgot things, which she herself esteemed but trifles, and which she managed with so becoming a grace, that even in these she preserved her own character, yet to carry on the great concerns of government with so firm a conduct, and such an air of majesty.

If any thing was ever found in her, that might seem to fall too low, it was that her humility and modesty did really depress her too much in her own eyes; and that she might too soon be made to think, that the reasons which were offered to her by others, were better than her own. But even this was only

only in such matters, in which the want of practice might make that modest distrust seem more reasonable: and when she did see nothing in that which was before her, in which conscience had any share, for whensoever that appeared, she was firm and unmoveable.

Her administration had a peculiar happiness attending on it: we had reason to believe that it went the better with us upon her account. There was somewhat in herself that disarmed many of her enemies; such of them as came near her, were soon conquered by her; while the dexterity and secrecy of her conduct, defeated the designs of those who were restless and implacable. We seemed once to be much exposed; unprosperous accidents at sea gave our enemies the appearance of a triumph: they lay along our coasts, and were for some time the masters of our seas. But a secret guard seemed then to environ us: all the harm that they did us, in one instance of barbarity, that shewed what our general treatment might probably have been, if we had become a prey to them, did us little hurt: it seemed rather suffered by heaven, to unite us against them. The nation lost no courage by it; their zeal was the more inflamed. This was her first essay of government: but then she, who upon ordinary occasions was not out of countenance to own a fear that did not misbecome her, did now, when a visible danger threatned her, shew a firmness of mind, and a composedness of behaviour, that made the

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the men of the clearest courage ashamed of themselves. She covered the inward apprehensions that she had, with such an equality of behaviour, that she seemed afraid of nothing, when she had reason to fear the worst that could happen. She was resolved, if things should have gone to extremities, to have ventured herself with her people, and either to have preserved them, or to have perished with them.

This was such a beginning of the exercise of royal power, as might for ever have given her a disgust of it. She seemed all the while to possess her soul in patience; and to live in a constant resignation of herself to the will of God, without any anxiety concerning events. The happy news of a great victory, and of a greater preservation of his majesty's sacred person, from the surest instruments of death, which seemed to be sent with that direction, that it might shew the immediate watchfulness of providence about him, did soon change the scene, and put another face on our affairs. She only seemed the least changed; she looked more chearful, but with the same tranquility: the appearances of it had never left her. Nor was it a small addition to her joy, that another person, for whom she still retained profound regards, was also preserved. She was a true Sabine in the case; and though she was no part of the cause of the war, yet she would willingly have sacrificed her own life, to have preserved either of those that seemed to be then in danger. She spoke of that matter, two days after the news came, with so tender

der a sense of the goodness of God to her in it, that it drew tears from her : and then she freely confessed, “ that her heart had trembled, not so
“ much from the apprehension of the danger, that
“ she herself was in, as from the scene that was
“ then in action at the Boyne : God had heard her
“ prayers, and she blessed him for it, with as sen-
“ sible a joy, as for any thing that had ever hap-
“ pened to her.”

The next season of her administration concluded the reduction of Ireland. The expectations of success there, were once so much sunk, that it seemed that that island was to be yet, for another year, a field of blood, and a heap of ashes. She laid the blame of this in a great measure on the licentiousness and other disorders that she heard had rather increased, than abated among them. A sudden turn came from a bold but necessary resolution, that was executed as gallantly as it was generously undertaken. In the face of a great army, a handful of men passed a deep river, forced a town, and made the enemy to retire in haste. All posterity will reckon this among the most signal performances of war : an instance that shewed how far courage could go ; and what brave men, well led on, could do. A great victory followed a few days after : the success of the action was at so long and so doubtful a stand, that there was just reason to believe, that pure hands lifted up to heaven, might have great influence, and might have given the turn ; from that time success was less doubtful. All was concluded with the happy reduction of the
whole

whole island. The reflections that she made on this, looked the same way that all her thoughts did. “ Our forces elsewhere, both at sea and
 “ land, were thought to be considerable, and so
 “ promising, that we were in great hopes of
 “ somewhat that might be decisive; only Ireland
 “ was apprehended to be too weakly furnished
 “ for a concluding campaign; yet so different
 “ are the methods of providence from human ex-
 “ pectations, that nothing memorable happened
 “ any where, but only in Ireland, where little or
 “ nothing was expected.”

She was again at the helm when we were threatened with a descent, and an invasion; which was conducted with that secrecy, that we were in danger of being surpris'd by it, when our preparations at sea were not finished, and our force at land was not considerable. The struggle was like to have been formidable; and there was a particular violence to be done to herself, by reason of him who was to have conducted it. Then we felt new proofs of the watchfulness of heaven. What comes immediately from causes that fall not under human counsels, nor can be redress'd by skill or force, may well be ascribed to the specialities of providence: and the rather, if nature seems to go out of its course, and seasons change their ordinary face. A long uninterrupted continuance of boisterous weather, that came from the point that was most contrary to their designs, made the project impracticable. A succession of turns of weather
 fol-

followed after that, happily to us, and as fatally to them. While the same wind that stopped their fleets, joined ours. It went not out of that direction, till it ended in one of the most glorious actions that ever England had; and then those who were brought together to invade us, were forced to be the melancholy spectators of the destruction of the best part of that fleet, on which all their hope was built. In that, without detracting either from the gallantry of our men, or the conduct of our admiral, it must be acknowledged, that providence had the largest share: and if we may presume to enter into those secrets, and to judge of the hidden causes of them, we may well conclude, that her piety and her prayers contributed not a little to it.

She bore success with the same decency that appeared when the sky seemed to be more clouded. So firm a situation of mind as she had, seemed to be above the power of accidents of any sort whatsoever. Clouds returned again in another year of her administration; though not with a face that was quite so black. She thought God was angry with us; and it was not hard to find out a reason to justify the severest of his providences.

It seemed much more accountable, that our affairs should have met with some unhappy interruptions, than that so many blessings should have attended upon us. She had a tender sense of any thing that looked like a miscarriage, under her conduct, and was afraid lest some mistake of hers
might

might have occasioned it. When difficulties grew too hard to be extricated, and that she felt an uneasiness in them, she made God her refuge; and though she had neither the principles nor the temper of an enthusiast, yet she often owned that she felt a full calm upon her thoughts, after she had given them a free vent before God in prayer.

When sad accidents came from the immediate hand of heaven, particularly on the occasion of a great loss at sea; she said, “ though there was no
“ occasion for complaint or anger upon these, yet
“ there was a juster cause of grief, since God’s
“ hand was to be seen so particularly in them.” Sometimes she feared there might be some secret sins that might lie at the root and blast all; but she went soon off from that, and said, “ where so
“ much was visible, there was no need of divination concerning that which might be hidden.”

When the sky grew clearer, and in her more prosperous days, she was never lifted up. A great resolution was taken, which has since changed the scene very visibly: it has not only asserted a dominion over those seas which we claim as our own, but has for the present assumed a more extended empire; while we are masters both of the ocean and the Mediterranean; and have our enemies coasts, as well as the seas, open to us. She had too tender a heart to take any real satisfaction in the destruction of their towns, or the ruin of their poor and innocent inhabitants. She spoke of this with true indignation, at those who had begun
such

such practices, even in full peace ; or after protections had been given. She was sorry that the state of war made it necessary to restrain another prince from such barbarities, by making himself feel the effects of them ; and therefore she said, “ she
“ hoped, that such practices should become so odi-
“ ous, in all that should begin them, and by their
“ doing so force others to retaliate, that for the
“ future they should be for ever laid aside.”

When her affairs had another face, she grew not secure, nor went she off from her dependance upon God. In all the pleasures of life, she maintained a true indifference for the continuance of them ; and she seemed to think of parting with them, in so easy a manner, that it plainly appeared how little they had got into her heart : she had no occasion for these thoughts, from any other principle, but a mere disgust of life, and the aspiring to a better. She apprehended she felt once or twice such indispositions upon her, that she concluded nature was working towards some great sickness ; so she set herself to take full and broad views of death, that from thence she might judge, how she should be able to encounter it. But she felt so quiet an indifference upon that prospect, leaning rather toward the desire of a dissolution, that she said, “ though she did not pray for death, yet she
“ could neither wish nor pray against it. She left
“ that before God, and referred herself intirely to
“ the disposal of providence. If she did not wish
“ for death, yet she did not fear it.”

As this was her temper, when she viewed it at some distance, so she maintained the same calm, when in the closest struggle with it. Here darkness and horror fall upon me; for who can look thro' that scene so unconcerned as she went through it? I know if I would write according to the rules of art, I should draw a veil here, and leave the reader to imagine that, which no pen can properly express. Every thing must seem flat here, upon a subject that gives a flame too high, to be either managed or described. But it is nature and not art that governs me. I will therefore go through what remains, though without the force or flight that it seems to command: I will do it, though but faintly, with a feebleness suitable to the temper of my own mind, without any anxious study to manage so poor a thing, as the credit of writing in proportion to the sublimity of the subject. Let the matter itself speak; that will have a force that will supply all defects.

She only was calm, when all was in a storm about her: the dismal sighs of all that came near her, could not discompose her. She was rising so fast above mortality, that even he who was more to her than all the world besides, and to all whose thoughts she had been upon every other occasion intirely resigned, could not now inspire her with any desires of returning back to life. Her mind seemed to be dis-entangling itself from her body, and so she rose above that tenderness, that went deeper in her than all other earthly things whatsoever.

soever. It seemed all that was mortal was falling off, when that could give her no uneasiness.

She received the intimations of approaching death with a firmness that did neither bend nor soften under that which has made the strongest minds to tremble. Then, when even the most artificial grow sincere, it appeared how established a calm and how sublime a piety possessed her. A ready willingness to be dissolved, and an entire resignation to the will of God, did not forsake her one minute, nor had any thing been left to be dispatched in her last hours. Her mind was in no hurry, but soft as the still voice that seemed to be calling her soul away to the regions above. So that she made her last steps with a stability and seriousness, that how little ordinary soever they may be, were indeed the natural conclusions of such a life as she had led.

But how quiet soever she was, the news of her danger struck the whole nation, as well as the town, with so astonishing a terror, as if thunders and earthquakes had been shaking both heaven and earth. Blackness then dwelt on every face; a silent confusion of look, bursting out often into tears and sighs, was so universal, and looked with so solemn an air, that how much soever she deserved the affections of the nation, yet we never thought that she possessed them so entirely, as appeared in those days of sorrow. It was a season of great joy: we were celebrating that Blessed Nativity that gave us all life and the hopes of a blessed

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immortality.

immortality. But it was a sad interruption to that sacred festivity when we were alarmed with those frightful apprehensions. We were once revived with the hopes of a less formidable sickness. This spread a joy that was as high and universal as our grief had been. We were easily enough brought to flatter ourselves with the belief of that which was so much wished for. But this went soon off; it was an ill-grounded joy, the clouds returned so much the blacker, by reason of that mistaken interval. Then all that prayed upon any account whatsoever, redoubled their fervour, and cried out, "spare thy people, and give not thy heritage to reproach." We prayed for ourselves more than for her, when we cried to God for her life and recovery; both priest and people, rich and poor, all ranks and sorts joined in this litany. A universal groan was echoed to those prayers through our churches and streets. We were afraid to ask after that sacred health; and yet we were impatient to know how it stood. It seemed our sins cried louder than our prayers; they were heard, and not the other.

But how severely soever God intended to visit us, she was gently handled; she felt no inward depression nor sinking of nature. She then declared that she felt in her mind the joys of a good conscience, and the powers of religion giving her supports, which even the last agonies could not shake: her constant softness to all about her never left her. That was indeed natural to her, but by it, all saw visibly that nothing could put her mind out of its
natural

natural situation and usual methods. A few hours before she breathed her last, when he who ministered to her in the best things, had continued in a long attendance about her, she was so free in her thoughts, that apprehending he might be weary, she commanded him to sit down; and repeated her orders till he obeyed them. A thing too mean in itself to be mentioned, but that it shewed the presence of her mind, as well as the sweetness of her temper. Prayer was then her constant exercise, as oft as she was awake; and so sensible was the refreshment that her mind found in it, that she thought it did her more good, and gave even her body more ease, than any thing that was done her. Nature sunk apace; she resolved to furnish herself with the great viaticum of christians, the last provisions for her journey; she received the blessed sacrament with a devotion that inflamed, as well as it melted all those who saw it: after that great act of church-communion was over, she delivered herself up so entirely to meditation, that she seemed scarce to mind any thing else. She was then upon the wing. Such was her peace in her latter end, that though the symptoms shewed that nature was much oppressed, yet she scarce felt any uneasiness from it. It was only from what she perceived was done to her, and from those intimations that were given her, that she judged her life to be in danger; but she scarce knew herself to be sick by any thing that she felt at heart. Her bearing so much sickness with so little emotion, was for some time imputed to that
undisturbed

undisturbed quiet and patience in which she possessed her soul : but when she repeated it so often, that she felt herself well inwardly, then it appeared that there was a particular blessing in so easy a conclusion of a life that had been led through a great variety of accidents, with a constant equality of temper.

The last and hardest step is now to be made ; our imaginations, which must still be full of the noblest and augustest ideas of her, may be apt to represent her to our thoughts as still alive, with all those graces of majesty and sweetness that always accompanied her. But, alas ! we are but too sure, that all this is the illusion of fancy. She has left us ; she is gone to those blessed seats above, where even crowns and thrones are but small matters, compared to that brighter glory, which rises far above the splendour of triumphs, processions, and coronations.

The measuring of so great a change, and so vast an advancement in its full latitude, as it is the properest thought to mitigate our sorrows, so it seems to be too lively a one for us now, and above what we are capable of in our present depression. This may make us conclude with a sudden transport of joy, that she is happy, unspeakably happy, by the change ; and has risen much higher above what she herself was a little while ago, than she was then above the rest of mortals.

But black and genuine horror still returns, and seems to wrap us, and all things about us, with so
thick

thick a mist, that so bright a thought, as that of her present glory cannot break through it. While we are persuaded of her happiness, and that she has gained infinitely by the change, yet self-love is so strong, and sense makes so powerful an impression, that when we consider what we have lost in losing her, we sink under our burthens; dispirited, as if our life and joy were gone with her, as if black night and lasting winter had chilled all our blood, and damped all our powers.

It may seem a needless severity to aggravate all this, as if we were not loaded enough already; but that a further black scene must be opened, and that we must be filled with the gloomy prospect of that which we may but too justly and too reasonably look for. God seems to be making a way for his anger; and to be removing that interposition which we have reason to believe did effectually stop those miseries, for which we may well fear that we are more than ripe.

We are not quite abandoned; God does still preserve him to us, by whose means only, considering our present circumstances, we can hope either to be safe or happy. That duty and respect which was before divided, does now center all in him. All that we payed her, does now devolve to him, by a title that becomes so much the juster, because we have all seen (I wish we may not feel it) how deep a wound this made on him, whose mind has appeared hitherto invulnerable, and where firmness seemed to be the peculiar character. It is indeed but nat-
tural

tural that he who knew her best, should value her most. The best tribute that we can offer to the ashes of our blessed queen, is to double our duty, and our zeal to him, whom she loved so intirely, and in whom her memory is still so fresh, that tho' for our own sakes we must be concerned to see it sink so deep; yet for his sake, we cannot but be pleased to see how much his character rises, by the just acknowledgments he pays her, and by that deep affliction for her loss, which has almost overwhelmed a mind, that had kept its ground in the hardest shocks of fortune, but lost it here.

If our apprehensions of his sacred life, grow now more tender, and we feel more sensibly than formerly, that it is he who makes us safe at home, as well as great abroad; if we do now see, what is that interposition that is now left, and that keeps off misery and destruction from breaking in upon us, as the sea to swallow us up; if that life itself is so often exposed, that this creates a new cloud upon our minds, gloomy and black, as if charged with storm and thunder; if all this gives us a melancholy prospect, we know that nothing can divert or dissipate it, but our turning from our sins, which lay us so naked, which have brought one severe stroke already upon us, and by which God may be yet further provoked to visit us again. Another stroke must make an end of us.

To conclude,

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The trueſt as well as the uſefuleſt way of lamenting this loſs, is, after that we have given ſomewhat to nature, and have let ſorrow have a free courſe, then to recolleſt our thoughts, and to ſtudy to imitate thoſe virtues and perfeſtions which we admired in her; and for which her memory muſt be ever precious among us: precious, as ointment poured forth, ever ſavory and fragrant.

Her death has indeed ſpread a melting tendereſs, and a flowing ſorrow over the whole nation, beyond any thing we ever ſaw; which does in ſome meaſure bear a proportion to the juſt occaſion of it: how diſmal ſoever this may look, yet it is ſome ſatiſfaction to ſee that juſt reſpects are paid her memory, and that our mournings are as deep as they are univerſal. They have broke out in the ſolemneſt as well as in the decenteſt manner: thoſe auſt bodies that repreſent the whole, began them; and from them they have gone round the nation, in genuine and native ſtrains, free and not emendicated. But if this ſhould have its chief and beſt effect, to drive the impreſſions of religion, and the terrors of God, deeper into us, then we may hope that this fatal ſtroke, as terrible and threatning as it now looks, might produce great and even happy effects: ſo different may events be, from the cauſes, or at leaſt from the occaſions of them.

How lowering ſoever the ſky may now ſeem, a general repentance, and a ſincere reformation of manners, would ſoon give it another face: it would break through thoſe clouds that ſeem now

to be big, and even ready to burst. If this is a
 much to be expected, yet if there were but
 that did heartily go into good designs, even they
 might procure to us a lengthening out of our tran-
 quility, and a mitigation of our miseries, and that
 though they were fixed on us by irreversibile de-
 crees. A number of true mourners might hope
 least to stop their course, till they themselves should
 die in peace; or they might look for a mitigation
 if they should happen to be involved in a
 calamity.

*Mark the perfect, and behold the upright,
 and is peace.*

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