

T H E

POLITICAL BALLANCE,

For 1754.

T H E

MOCK-PATRIOT,

For 1753.

To which is added,

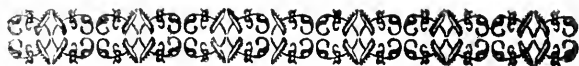
The Case of *John Atherton*, Bishop of *Waterford* in *Ireland*, who was convicted of Beastiality with a COW and other Creatures, for which he was hang'd at *Dublin*; with a full Account of his Behaviour after Condemnation, and the Letters he left before his Execution: By *N. Barnard* Dean of *Ardagh*, at the Command of the Primate of *Ireland*.

O Luxury! thou soft, but sure Deceit!
Rise of the MEAN; and Ruin of the GREAT?
Too sure Presage of ill approaching Fates,
Thou Bane of Empires, and thou Change of States.

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111 (111) = 111



T H E
P O L I T I C A L B A L L A N C E ,

For 1754.

S I R,

THE Rules Philosophers have laid down to estimate the real Value of Honesty, and to expose the Deformity of Vice are generally liable to great Fallacy, therefore of little Use in Life.

Vice often lurks secure beneath the Mask of Hypocrisy, and meets with undeserved Praise and Reward; whilst Virtue remains unregarded for want of being truly known, and meets with unjust Reproach from the Misrepresentations of Malice and Envy. To remedy this Inconvenience, after much Study and Application, I have invented a Ballance for Mankind; contrived with such Art, as to examine with the greatest Exactness any Mans Talents, take the Weight of his Merit and Failings, his Virtues and Vices. That you may have a more particular Idea of its Use, I shall lay before you some Experiments, I lately made by the Help of this Machine, which I hope, will be found as useful in political, as the common Ballance is, in Mechanical and Natural Philosophy.

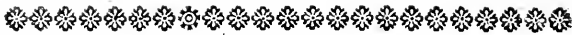
You will not be surprized to find (as I am particularly solicitous about the Fate of Patriotism) that I first try'd my Scales in examining the present Weight of this public Virtue. It gave me a
sensible

fenfible Pleasure to fee the Scale in which it was placed prevail; though I observed feveral Perfons contending with their utmoft Force to pull down the oppofite Beam, amongst whom I could perceive *the ARCH TEMPTER* particularly bufy; and throwing in feveral Weights, on which were Inſcribed PLACES, PENSIONS, BRIBES, PROMISES, &c. Whilft he was engaged in this Employment, I feized and fixed him in one of the Scales; I could ſcarcely forbear ſmiling at his ſcared Looks, but upon my promiſing that he ſhould come to no Harm, he ſate quiet. I attempted to examine his interiour Qualities, his *Truth, Virtue* and *Honeſty*; but could find no Weight light enough to eſtimate them properly, ſo that I am induced to believe he has none. I next put his *Vices* into the Ballance, his PRIDE, LYING, DISSIMULATION, and BEASTLY LUST; I was amazed to find that no common Weights could poiſe them. I therefore placed in the oppoſite Scale, the public and private *Virtues* of a certain Man, whoſe Zeal for the Intereſt of his Country is well known; and the PRIEST with all his Load of Vices immediately flew up and kicked the Beam; whilſt the Patriot Scale ſtood immoveable. Though I afterwards added to the bad Qualities of the *Patriarch*, the Mock-Patriotiſm of a canting Hypocrite, the Ingratitude of a *Judas*, the *Impudence* and *Treachery* of a ſanctified *Spy*, nay, the united Vices of his whole Faction. When I found that the *Virtues* of this True-Patriot outweighed them all.

*A Wit's a Feather and a Chief's a Rod;
An honeſt Man's the nobleſt Work of God:
Has God thou Fool! work'd ſolely for thy Good,
Thy Joy, thy Paſtime, thy Attire, thy Food?*

POPE.

THE



T H E
Mock-P A T R I O T.

Dublin, November, 22. 1753.

Ego in uno Homine omnia Vitia, que possunt in Homine perduto nefarioque esse, reprehendo. Nul- lum esse, dico, Indicium Libidinis, Sceleris, Au- daciæ, quod non in istius unius Vita perspicere possitis.
CIC. Orat. in Verrem.

IT is the Business of a Patriot, not only to be careful of the Liberties of his Countrymen, but also to be watchfull of their Morals; as it is universally allowed, that nothing does so much contribute to the Ruin of Kingdoms and Societies as the abounding of Vice and Immorality. On this Account, I propose in the Course of this Essay, to draw the most notorious reigning Vices in their true Shapes, and to paint them in their just Colours, that Men, by beholding their natural Deformity and considering what they will end in, may be warned to flee from the Wrath to come. I was interrupted in my Reflections on this Subject by the Account of an uncommon Appearance, observed in the Island of *WEEN* or *Scarlet Island* in the *Baltic*, where once stood the Observatory of the celebrated *Tycho Brahe*. The extraordinary Manner in which this Account is introduced, reminded

me

me of the following Lines, which I remember to have read in the Craftſman.

A wond'rous Star doth now appear,
 And governs all our Wiſemen here;
 Tho' it's deluding dangerous Rays
 Point out ſuch dirty flippery Ways,
 That it's no heavenly Flame, I trow,
 But ſome damn'd Meteor from below.

Moſt of the antient Hiſtorians, as a Prelude to the many Revolutions which have happened in the ſeveral Countries, whoſe Hiſtories they relate, give frequent Accounts of fundry Portents and Prodigies, which appeared to uſher in and forewarn the People of theſe ſurprizing Events. But as the Diſtance of the Place, where this Phœnomenon was ſeen, ſecures us from its Influence, I am free from all Apprehenſions on this Head. I could have wiſh'd that my Correfpondent had been clearer in his Deſcription; his irregular Method of writing, and the odd Confuſion of Images between the Motions of a Meteor, and the Workings of a human Mind, expoſe him juſtly to the Cenſure of correct Criticks. I ſhall (notwithſtanding his Deſire to make what Alterations I thought proper in the Stile and Method) publiſh his Letter, for the Amuſement of my Readers, without any further Remarks.

There has lately appeared in this Place a Phœnomenon, which ſurprizes all that behold it; it is a political Meteor made up of noxious and peſtilential Vapours, raiſed to our very Zenith, hung in the Skies, and blazing as it travels, portending Ruin and Deſtruction, to all who are ſo unfortunate as to fall within its baleful

ful Influence: It is remarkable, that tho' it pass thro' all the other Constellations it never entered VIRGO; but it's Tail was chiefly display'd in *Aquarius*, which Sign Astronomers represent by *Ganymede*.

The political *Gallilæos* of our Time, set themselves to work, and by their Observations have found, that its present stupendous Height has been owing to Causes altogether unknown in Philosophy: In vain had they Recourse at first to the usual Principles; this pestilential Exhalation, drawn up by the wanton Beams of Favour from the Slime and Filth of the World, shining in their superior Orb, puzzled their Philosophy, and baffled all their Researches,

At length, one of the most antient of our Wisemen, upon a close Examination, pretends to have found out, that this extraordinary Appearance is nothing but a mortal Composition of such Vices, as could never have supposed to have entered the human Breast, unless they had been inspired by some Minister from Hell: He has endeavoured to explain the Movements of this mysterious Being, and to trace the secret Springs on which they depend; and after much Study and Application, has lately published the following System.

I shall not advance any thing that will admit of doubt; I shall collect the Observations of the best and wisest Men amongst us, and from them I shall be able to let the World know what this Child of Fortune is made of, and what the Qualifications are to which he is indebted, for this surprizing Pitch of Power to which he has attained.

First let us consider his Impudence: Perhaps by some he will not be allow'd to have this
Quality;

Quality ; but I think we may venture to affirm, that he is not without a competent Share of it ; since it is this that has prompted him to undertake desperate Enterprizes, and emboldens him to despise the Reproaches of an injur'd Nation.

His most Favourite Quality, is that of Lying ; which has been of singular Use to him : This has procured him the Favour of the Great ; this, has he made use of to impose on his Patron ; to defame and misrepresent those who opposed his Measures ; and to blazon his own Merit. Has he not represented us as a disaffected Race, grown insolent from our Wealth, and therefore to be restrain'd in our most valuable Branch of Trade ? Nay, has he not sent Messages, which betray'd his abject Fears ; and the next Hour has he not denied them ? Has he not made Promises, confirmed them with the most solemn Attestations ; and the next Moment has he not broke them ?

Of Dissimulation he is a compleat Master ; he can counterfeit any Humour he thinks conduive to his Design : He can cozen most exquisitely ; and is the obsequious Servant of all whom he judges proper to serve his Purpose : He is prodigal of Promises, and solemnly protests on every Occasion, that he has nothing so much at Heart as the public Good ; as the Murderer who mingles Poison for his Guest, he smears the Goblet's Brim with Honey. Under the Hypocritical Mask of promoting the welfare of our Country, he secretly works it's Ruin ; like the Conspirators, who, whilst their Dagger's were sheath'd in *Cæsar's* Breast, cried, *Long live Cæsar.*

He

He grows fat on Fraud and Oppression, as the Toad on Filth and Venom: His Practice out-vies Debauchery, as much as SODOMY does *Fornication*; and to call him a Politician must be by the same Figure, that Pick-pockets stile their Legerdemain an Art and Profession. His Shop of Corruption, like Hell Gates, is always open, where he sits at the Receipt of Custom, and draws the unwary to his Net.

Honesty, in his Mind, is a mechanic Virtue, and unworthy of great Men; if he ever had any, his Eye sight depriv'd him of it, for he no sooner saw the golden Apple of Preferment, than he thought no Means too vile to attain it. To be a Slave to his Word, he thinks to be the undoing of a Statesman, and is of Opinion that the Oaths of *M——s* of *S——e* are put in the same Scale with those of Lovers, and that *Jupiter* gives them to the Wind as Things of no Obligation, never to be regarded farther than present Interest requires. Though he ought to be a PILLAR of the CHURCH, he thinks King *Solomon's* Mistresses too antiquated for his Embraces: Perhaps he may think with *Machiavel*, that Religion is an Impediment to great Actions, and therefore resolves to get rid of his Conscience, that he may with less Incumbrance manage State Affairs. He ballances Merit in the Lake of SODOM, where Iron swims, and Feathers sink.

He might be a Camelion for his different Appearances, but he knows not how to live upon Air; he is a meer Weather-cock, and always faces about, and turns his Back-side to every Wind, but what blows from Court. He seldom forgets Injuries, or remembers Favours conferred: Great Men, in this Respect, are allow-

ed to have treacherous Memorys, and he will not part with the Title Greatness: His Virtue consists in a demure Look, his Policy in Cunning, his Courage in avoiding Danger, his Constancy is Variation, and his Honour is what you please, for I know not where to find it: In short he is a State-Hermaphrodite; and like the Satyr in the Fable, blows hot and cold with the same Breath; he never does any thing Praise-Worthy, except when he blushes for Shame, at playing hide and seek with his own Principles.

His Dignities which ought to make him respected, serve to make him more Dangerous; for that Devil can do less Mischief that appears in his own Shape, than he who assumes the Form of an Angel of Light. He is the very Reverse of the Members of the Rump-Parliament, they set aside the H—se of L—ds as useles, he is for pulling down the Authority of the H—se of C——ns. It requires a metaphysical Brain to define him; he should have Lucifer for his Father by his Pride and Ambition, and Eve for his Mother by his Readiness to comply with Temptation. As I have given the Pedigree of this Hero, the Emblazonry of his Ensigns naturally follow.

He bears, Party per Pale,

GodsGlory, and his own Interest counterchanged.
 In Chief, *Vice, Luxury, and Pleasure*;
 Over all, in an *Escutcheon of Pretence*,
 A Love for this Island,
 Ensigned with an Helmet befitting his Degree,
 The Vizer open, discovering
 Confidence, Ignorance, and Impudence;
Mantled

Mantled

with *Corruption* Vert, and *Tyranny* Gules,
doubled with *Hypocrisy*.
over a Wreath of *Pride* and *Ambition* ;

His Crest,
A beardless Stripling couchant
endorfed
with a Goat rampant Proper.

Motto

Improbus hic Amor est.

Epitaph on Cardinal *Wolfey*, found among the
Ruins at *Whitehall*.

This Monument conſign'd to lateſt Times,
Stands to perpetuate *Wolfey's* daring Crimes ;
With wicked Luſt, and wild Ambition cloy'd,
He Fame alike, and Infamy enjoy'd.
Vers'd in the Art of Lying, from his Youth,
His Genius ſcorn'd the mean Reſtraints of
Truth.

Good Nature, Reason, Argument and Senſe
Were all ſupply'd with ſhameleſs Impudence.
A purple Robber, who for impious Gain,
Saw a torn Nation bleed at every Vein.
Rash to provoke, and yet afraid of War,
He ſued for Peace with Bribes, and Sordid-
neſs of Prayer.

Attend ye Courtiers, though with Power elate
Be warn'd by his Example, ſhun his Fate.



To the Most REVEREND Father *JAMES*
USHER, Archbishop of *ARMAGH*,
 Primate of all *IRELAND*.

May it please your Grace,

T HIS *small Treat*, as it derives it's Being from your Grace's Command; so (like a Rivulet to the Sea) it returns to its original Fountain, accept this as the first Fruits of Your Industry on the Author; who must ever acknowledge he owes himself also. What Paulinus writes to St. Augustine, *Os tuam fistulam aquæ vivæ, & venam fontes æterni merito dixerim, cujus desiderio sitivit in te anima mea, & ubertate tui fluminis inebriari terra mea concupivit, was indeed the Cause of my thirsting also, and the Load-stone that gave me a happy Draught in your Service, many Years since out of my native Soil into this Kingdom, which, methinks, this Year, by Your Absence, hath suffer'd a great Eclipse, and yet we cannot grudge the Church in this floating Age, such a Steersman, nor so pious a Prince, so precious an Ear-Ring. That which is related of the fore-nam'd Father, Mensam habebat hospitibus expositam, sed frugiferis sermonibus, magis quam exquisitis eduliis opiparâ, semper de re quadam frugifera commentabatur, ut non minus animi convivarum reficerentur quam corpora, is so well known to be Your Grace's daily Practice, that it needs no further Application, the Offals of whose Discourse carefully gather'd, were able to perfect a Divine to every good Work; in a word, Erasmus's Description of him, by what St. Paul requires in a Bishop, methought in the reading (mutato nomine) it was your own Picture, by which, if others in this Age had*

D E D I C A T I O N.

had been drawn, I believe the Office had never been so much as question'd.

*The very subjects of both these Discourses, were they wrote by whomsoever, could not but claim an Interest in Your Grace. The Conversion of Sinners, by a constant Preaching, (who, unless a Stranger in Israel) but must acknowledge to be Your Character. Nay, this and much more, is no News to Strangers, whose large Relations from Abroad, may prevent any further from Home, only 'tis no Flattery to attest it. Your continu'd Motto of Væ mihi si non evangelizavero, both in Your Episcopal and Archiepiscopal Seals is as worthy of Memory, as Imitation; where that Woe may light I know not, but surely St. Paul's reposita est mihi corona, will be your Portion. How little Your Grace affects these kind of Expressions, I am not now to learn, and for myself, let this be my Plea against any Mis-judgings in others. Rare Examples ought to be set up like Lights, where they may be seen; and in the Words of St. Paul, * I wish it might be a Means to provoke to Emulation those which are my Flesh, and might save some of them; Fac tu similiter, is the only intended Moral: Be still the Honour of your Nation, the sacred First-Fruits of this College, the Prime Light of this our Israel, where (according to Joshua's Wish) You may, like the Sun, stand still in the Firmament of our Church, till all the Enemies of it, be made its Footstool. So prays many Thousands, and among them, as having most Cause,*

*Drogheda,
April 28, 1641.*

Your Grace's most humble
and Affectionate Servant,

N. B A R N A R D.

* Wou'd to Heaven all his successors deservedly had such wishes.

T O T H E
R E A D E R.

According to my Directions in some Circumstances, you have here presented this penfive Relation, *finifh'd indeed, long fince, but delay'd the Prefshitherto, by some unufual Mifcarriage. However it falls out to be as feafonable now.* * Some *ſcandalous Papers lately Printed in the Abufe of him, and full of Miſtakes, pretended to have their Origin from myſelf, may likely have come to View, but let this vindicate him, and give you full Satisfaction in both. Had I been commanded this Service ſooner, thou might poſſibly have had ſome other uſeful Paſſages remembred. And had it not been in ſo buſy a Time, it might have appear'd more refined. As it is, for the Matter, believe it to be wholly true, as coming from one, whom no Relation whatſoever can ſuſpect him partial. For the Stile, the plainer it is, the more fitting a Narration; and I have the rather affected it, that the Profit intended, might be further extended, Read it with ſhunning the Rocks, Preſumption and Deſpair. The former, by the Difficulty and Hazard, thou ſhalt find him labouring in at the firſt; the latter, by that Mercy he obtain'd at laſt, where thou ſeeſt God's ſpecial Work magnify it, any bleſſed Change in a Sinner, rejoice at it, any thing exemplary for thyſelf, be not thy own Enemy ſo much as to ſlight it. Let God have the Glory, you the Benefit; the Church clear'd of Scandal, and he hath his Deſire, who is*

Thine in him, by whom are all things.

N. B.

‡ I hope never may again.

T H E



T H E

P R E F A C E.

AN *Additional Preface to the ensuing Pages would be unnecessary, were it not, that there are some who at first sight, without any Consideration will Censure the Revival of them at this Juncture, as directly levell'd to Asperse the Episcopal Order; but the Intent being quite otherwise, there needs no Apology. Had Bishop Usher entertain'd such Thoughts, he would never have Commanded the Writing and making Public the Fact; the Scandal of one tho' evr so ignominious, cannot reflect upon a Community, if rightly consider'd, as is most admirably shewn by Dean Barnard in the following Account.*

Bishop Atherton behaved somewhat indecently on his Trial; but after Condemnation was so far from endeavouring to palliate his Crimes, that he not only confess'd 'em with the greatest Abhorrence, but freely open'd the inmost Recesses of his Soul, and declar'd the very Temptations, that induc'd him to commit those abominable Facts.

The only Reason of reprinting at this time these Sheets is, that the Case being known, may deter the Vicious, from such atrocious Crimes.

D. L.

T H E



A

R E L A T I O N

O F T H E

Penitent Death

O F

Bishop *A T H E R T O N*.

FOR his Arraignment, tho' it held long, I heard it not, only his Carriage then is by all *Condemned*; and it is not my Intent in the least to excuse it. The Subject of this Discourse is only to declare, how afterwards *he judg'd, and condemn'd himself* (and so we trust is *not Condemned of God.*) How deeply he repented and *cry'd to Heaven* for Pardon, whereof he received a *Memorable Testimony*.

On *Saturday* the 28th of *November*, the next day after his *Condemnation*, I went to see him first, when having had some Speech with him of the Scandal of the Facts, Justice of the Sentence, Misery of his Condition without Repentance (of each of which he heard me long with silence) at length he asked me, if I were sent by any to him; when he understood I was not, but came of my self, he took me by the Hand, and reply'd, *I was very welcome*, believed I had no other End but his Good; that indeed he had been moved to send for
me,

me, but being thus come of myself, *he took me as sent of God*. He acknowledged his Stupidity and Senselessness, desir'd me to take a farther Liberty of Speech, to preach the Law to him, to aggravate his Sins by the highest Circumstances, that he might grow but sensible of the Flames of Hell : In Subjects of this Nature we spent near two Hours, when I left him pliable, only with this Assurance, that in *Christ* his Sins were *Pardonable*. His Request then was, that I would not leave the Town, till I left him more at Ease ; that as he had begun, so he would continue to open himself unto me, and would in all things be ordered by me, and prayed me to see the End of him ; to which I consented.

As a Preparative, I advised him to *Lay aside all rich Cloathing*, and to put on the meanest he had. To let the Chamber be kept *dark* : To deprive himself of the Pleasure of any *Company*, but such as came to give him Spiritual Counsel, and so commit himself close Prisoner to his own *Thoughts* ; that if upon Necessity any Meat was brought to him, he should eat it in a solitary way alone : And chiefly to give himself to *fasting*, even to the afflicting of his Body, which he had so Pamper'd, as a means to effect the Amendment of his Soul. To have his *Coffin* made, and brought into his Chamber, which, tho' but small things in themselves, yet altogether were very conducive to a farther end, as he acknowledged afterwards.

I went to him usually three times a day. To relate our Discourse, and what most affected him would be tedious ; *In short*, he first entred into a serious and special Consideration of his Sins, in *Thought, Word and Deed*, of Omission, or Commission, against G O D, or
 C Man,

Man, which he drew out according to the several Commandments, of which they were Breaches, and for his Memory, put all into one *Indictment*, wherein he might at once, as in a Glafs, view the Face of his Soul. *After* this rough Draught, that he might be the more astonifhed, he went over them again with marginal Aggravations, whereby they became exceeding finful, by the Circumftances of Time when, Place where, and againft whom, contrary to the Light of Knowledge, often Checks of Confcience, many feafonable Admonitions in Publick and Private, notwithstanding the apparent Hand of God in feveral Croffes, fpecial Mercies, unexpected Prefervation. Then he confider'd with what *Pre-fumption* he had finned, even before God's Face, tho' he knew he was by him, and looked on all the while, *Haman's Aggravation for Eftber. The Thieves Condemnation to steal before the Judges Eyes.* What Hardnefs of Heart after it, tho' he could not but know God was angry with him, yet continued *carelefs* whether he were pleafed or no: (*Such an Answer of a Servant in a fmall matter would much incense his Master.*) His reproving, and fharp cenfuring others for the fame Faults (which muft leave him altogether *inexcufable*, and farther bind him over to Condemnation.) His often Relapfes after Vows in Sicknefs, after receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, each of which Sins fo often *reiterated*, added to the Heap, as multiplying of the fame Figures do in Numbers; *a great Plea againft a Rebel being often pardoned.* Upon this in the next Place did he make a Stand, in thinking what a miserable Condition he muft needs be in, if he fhould now *Die in his Sins, viz.* A loft and undone Man for ever. He imagined with himfelf, as if he now faw the Day
of

of Judgment set, heard the Trumpet sounding, the Voice crying, *Arise ye dead*; as if he beheld the Graves opening, the Earth and Sea, like GOD's Goal, giving up the Prisoners, our Saviour upon his Throne, in flaming Fire, both Judge and Witness; every Man's Life, and his among the rest, reading before Men and Angels, and in Conclusion a final Sentence pronouncing upon his Body and Soul: Hell accordingly with his wide Mouth enlarged to receive him, those Spirits of Darkness ready to seize on him, their Prisoner.

These Thoughts and the like work'd upon him in some Frights and Astonishments, but a Spirit of Contrition and Compunction, he complained was far from him: How often did I hear him crying out, *Oh! can you give me any Receipt that will work my Heart into Tears and Sorrow.* The Eye of his Understanding, he confess'd, was sufficiently enlightned, his Conscience smitten; but still his Heart and Affections were hardned. *All my Friends, said he, as ashamed of me, have forsaken me: But if GOD withdraw his Grace from me, what shall I do?* And so desir'd me to speak to any in the Town, whom I thought would be compassionate of his Condition, to pray for him, for which he thought there was more Cause than for any bodily Sickness. And here by his own Experience (whatsoever he had before uttered) he utterly condemned that Doctrine of *Free-will* naturally in Man to any saving Good, that tho' it be in his own Power, thus to kill himself, yet it is not to make himself alive again. How firmly did he now believe Repentance to be *the Gift of God*, that it is he that *worketh the Will and the Deed.* How happy did he apprehend those that had *broken Hearts,*

though not bound up again with Comfort : and how unhappy such, whose hardned Hearts could not repent, tho' swimming in all Earthly Contents : And yet herein he had a *Door of Hope*, that his dry Soul in time should be watered with this Dew of Heaven, in that God did not give him over with *Cain* unto Despair ; but still he stuck to his first Principle, that Mercy was attainable, his Sins pardonable. The Thing he only wanted was God's Act in *pouring upon him that Spirit of Grace and Supplication*, whereby he might mourn, and be in *Bitterness of Weeping* for them. He saw, that there was a *Fountain of Salvation* opened to him for Sin, and for *Uncleaness* : But his Case was like the poor impotent Man at the *Pool of Bethesda*, wanted one to put him in : His first Supporter in this Case was that of *Nehemiah*, who *desir'd to fear God*, and that of our Saviour, *You that are heavy laden, and whosoever will, whosoever is athirst, come* : And indeed this was some Change in him, before he was wont to fling the Thoughts of Grief out of his Mind, did his utmost to put them from him : Now he bewailed their Absence, he grieved that he could not mourn. To be altogether insensible, is very opposite to the State of Grace ; but to be sensible of an Insensibleness proceeds from some already. The Sight and Sense of Sin was *some Pledge* of a farther Perfection, at least that God had not given him *over unto Death*, as *Manoah's Wife* said to her Husband, *If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have shewn us thus much, nor told us such things as these*.

In this wrestling with God for Repentance, and such a Measure of Godly Sorrow, that might be proportionable for so great a Sinner, was *Monday* and part of *Tuesday* spent by him : When in the
 Afternoon

Afternoon upon some further Discourse, the Grief of his Soul being now ripened, burst forth, and his Mind being a Burthen to himself, he unloaded his Conscience to me in some Particulars, but with such a Flood of Tears, casting himself down to the Ground, taking me by the Hand, and desiring me to kneel down by him, and pray for him, that I have never seen the like; whereas before he could swallow gross Acts without Trouble, now only the Thoughts of his Heart, put him to a most grievous Agony, that astonish'd, and drew Tears from me. *A good Foundation to begin at the Heart. Evil Thoughts and Affections, howsoever common, yet ought to be of no small reckoning with us: The first Sin of the Devil (being a Spirit) could be no other.*

And here 'tis observable that, as they say, a Pine Apple or a Flint are sooner broken upon a soft Bed, than on a hard Floor; so the representing unto him, the most compassionate, *Merciful Nature* of GOD, willing yet to be Friends with him, so apt to forgive and forget all Injuries; I say, the opening unto him the infinite, *sweet Disposition* of Christ, whom he had offended, raised up in him this Holy Indignation against himself; and was a means to melt him into an Entrance of this happy Condition: *Many that never could be moved with Threatnings, have been overcome with Kindness,* is the Argument of the Apostle, *Rom. xii. 1.*

And after this, by some Interruption of other Company, I was compell'd to leave him 'till late at Night; when I found him getting farther ground of himself: And that Time was the first I heard him pray; the main Subject being a sorrowful, large Confession of his Vileness, with deep Aggravations; prevalent Arguments for
Mercy;

Mercy ; hearty Thankfulness for any Beginnings of Breakings in him ; and sending a Brother willing to bear the Burthen with him, which with divers others were so aptly and fully exprest ; and in that Latitude, that as it was beyond my Imagination, so it wrought much upon my Affection ; and this was the first Time he said, he ever felt indeed what belong'd to Prayer : He had said one over often as others usually do, but he found a great Difference between that and the *Spirit of Prayer* ; so we parted for that Night.

The next Day, he desir'd we might keep together in the Nature of a *solemn Fast* ; when no Body came to him but my self, from Nine till between Three and Four in the Afternoon, which he set apart for the finishing what he had begun before. Such a Countenance of a *Perplexed Soul* did I never see, as seem'd to me, that Morning at our first meeting ; so sore had the Weight of his Sins press'd his feeble Conscience that Night, in a private *Audit* between GOD and Himself.

At our Entrance, he desir'd me again to stir up in him a farther Apprehension of his wretched Condition, how odious his Sins had made him in his Sight, with whom he had now to do ; that the nearer he drew to GOD, the more he might, like *Job*, *abhor himself*. To use his own Words, *I Pray*, said he, *deal truly, freely and impartially with me. Look not upon me, as one that hath had some Honour in the Church (from which I am worthily fallen) but as upon the most abject, base Person in the World* : He was resolv'd to set himself as before GOD's Tribunal, and to pour forth his Heart fully unto me : The Thing he only desir'd, was a farther Spirit of Compunction, that his Eyes might be like *Jeremiah's*, a *Fountain of Tears*,

Tears, to weep Day and Night: After some such Instructions as he had desir'd, he fell upon his Knees with a most affectionate Prayer, in the Acknowledging of GOD's Omnipresence and Omniscience, infinite Wisdom and Justice, &c. praying for a farther Sense and Sorrow for those Sins, which he was now about to rip up without any Extenuation or Concealing; and so set open his Heart, indeed, in a *plenary particular Confession* of all the Sins he could remember from his Youth 'till now; but with such *bitter Tears* and *sorrowful Sighs*, the whole time either upon his Knees, or prostrating himself upon the Ground, as cannot be expressed: Which took so with me, *as I never wept more at the Loss of my dearest Friend*: And in Conclusion, after he had thus unlock'd (to use his own Words) *the Magazine of his sinful Soul* (for which his Shame was as evident as his Grief) he entreated me, if I could discern any true Penitency in him, and judg'd him to be in the State of Pardon, *To pronounce* it to him in Christ's Stead, that it would be some Comfort to his Conscience for me to declare so much unto him: But what Tears fell on both sides, how he prayed both before and after, that GOD would ratifie it in Heaven, and seal it inwardly to his Soul, can scarce be imagin'd.

Now, howsoever he found some present Ease in this *emptying himself*, yet still he grew very jealous, that he was not yet come to that Depth of Sorrow requisite for so great a Sinner. The Fears and Troubles of *Francis Spira* he wish'd for, whose Life and Death he had a great Desire to read, but I thought it not fitting. One Thing that troubled him long, was my weeping with him, gathering from thence, that if an Ear-Witness were so moved, what should the Party himself

himself be plunged into? He began to find already such Sweetness in Tears for Sin, as he was praying like those in the Gospel, *Lord evermore give us this Bread*; desir'd there were a *Well of such living Water* in him, that might stream down his Cheeks continually; wish'd that he might be in them wafted over into another World, and 'till then not be *wiped from his eyes*. After this, many Conflicts and Doubts assaulted him, which would be too many to relate. Perplexed he was at the Consideration of some Passages of Humiliation in *Abab, Felix, and Judas*, finding that wicked Men may cry earnestly for Mercy, and yet have little Love to GOD, less to Grace. A Passage he read casually of *Francis Spira*, disturb'd him more, *viz. That he begged for Grace it self, as a Bridge to get to Heaven by*. Sometimes he doubted if the Time and Cause of his Return, being so late, and out of Necessity, would be accepted. Seldom did he think of any passionate fit of Mourning, such as *David's* for *Absalom*, but he thought presently it check'd him for his Sins, to be as nothing, which being so great, and the Issue so miserable, even the Loss of his Soul, he judged should have exceeded them much, both in Measure and Continuance. When in these and divers others he was satisfy'd, then Fears of another Nature rose, *viz. That if he were truly getting out of the Devil's Snare, it could not be, but he should be pursued with farther Horrors and Terrors, tending to Despair, which he had not felt*. In this he was thus satisfy'd, that Expectation of Temptations was a Preparation for them; and such the Devil did not usually set upon: And that if ever he did appear, it would be in some Wiles, and at such times as he should least suspect he had a Hand in them; which I
verily

verily believe did so fall out in some Distractions afterwards. The many Objections, which he not only found, but studied against himself, as it was a Task too clear, so a School to learn much Experience in; so fearful was he of any Rocks, which in this Mist might split him, so suspicious of any Sands that might swallow him, so accurate in searching out any secret Leak within himself, that might sink him; so fearful and full of Doubts was he, till he found himself anchor'd upon safe and firm Ground. The Story of *Manasses* he read often, who beginning to repent in *Fetters*, as he had now in *Prison*, was a Comfort to him.

On *Thursday* Morning he desir'd to receive the Holy Sacrament, when I provided myself with such Matters as I conceived fit for him, by way of Preparation; and so with some others appointed to Communicate with him, he receiv'd it with Penitential Expressions, and after that was somewhat comforted. He desired me to stay Dinner with him, as the last set Meal he intended in this World. The Magnanimity of the Man I did much admire, his Cheerfulness in counting how many Hours he had to live, his solid Counsel to his Wife, who (upon his Discourse of Death, and Thankfulness to GOD for this Punishment) fell into a Passion; his Comforting of her, that he was upon an Advancement; And why should she be against it? That his Sins were not the greater for the Shame he was to suffer; that the only thing to be feared in Death, is the Guilt of Sin, *the Sting of it*, which he hoped was now taken out, that he trusted GOD, who had forgiven the Sin, would also in time abate the Scandal and provide for her also, if she could by *Faith rely upon him*.

That Afternoon (the Storm in his Conscience being somewhat allay'd) we had many calm and comfortable Discourses of the Privileges of Chri-

ftians, admitted not to be only *Servants, Friends, but Sons of GOD, Heirs and Co-heirs with Christ*, called *his Love, his Spouse*, faid to be *Married* to him, to have a *Fellowship* with him, &c. which he defir'd to have largely declared unto him. Then was his *Coffin* brought into his Chamber (tho' he was difpleas'd he had it not long before) it came feafonably. He looked on it with as little Confternation of Mind, as on his Bed: And yet even then another thing troubled him, which he feared was a Stupidity, viz. *That he should be no more afraid of Death*, having alfo fleep'd quietly the Night before; in which, after he was fatisfy'd, yet it fell fo out, that the next Night he was difquieted, which he took as a Punifhment for his former Defire of Troubles and Fears, and fo gave it over.

One Paffage he took fpecial Notice of, that the fame Friend of his, who not many Days before had been very harfh with him, fearing *the Party to whom he had given up himfelf was too mild, and would not deal roughly enough with him, &c.* now vifiting him again, and finding that Change in him; wifhed his Soul in his Cafe, and applied all Comforts to him; which coming from the fame Mouth that had ufed him fo fharply before, drew many Tears of Joy from him, and confirmed him: Divers Divines, with others that came to vifit him, did the like, and rejoiced much at the Sight of him.

That Night his Prayers were to my Admiration (with which his Defire was, we might, every time we parted, conclude.) 'Tis known what an excellent Faculty he had naturally, in a ready prefent Expression of what he underftood, either in Ecclefiastical or Civil Affairs. Now GOD had given him another Heart, he did as much excel in Spiritual: And very defirous he was ftill to be put up-
on

on the Tryal for Saving Grace, by any Signs or Discoveries.

Naturally he was not apt to weep, but now he was a Man of Tears; before given to Pride and Vain-glory, now so *humble*, so thankful for the Counsel of the meanest Person, so attentive to any Advice, so open in the Abasing and Condemning himself to whomsoever came to him; his very Countenance was altered. When he heard of my *Lord Deputy's* Death, and others who dy'd suddenly, being in Health at his Condemnation, his Application to me was, what Cause he had to bless GOD it was not so with him; who must undoubtedly then have sunk down to Hell. What Thankfulness did he confess he owed to GOD and Man for this *Week's Preparation*; Apprehended it as no small Token of GOD's Love to him, in giving him his Portion of *Shame* in this World, as a Means to shun it in the next; which he once expressed with such a height of Affection, as I wonder'd at it; believing that nothing but this, or the like, would have wrought upon his Masterless Disposition, which under any other Troubles he feared, should still have lingered, like *Lot* in *Sodom*, 'till he was hauled out; or like Cattle within a House and Fire about them, yet stir not 'till they are drawn out. It was so with the *Israelites*, *Isa.* 42. 25. The like he judged of himself. And herein he was so far from bearing any Hatred to such as had prosecuted him, that he accounted them his best Friends, applying the Case of *Pheræus Jason* to himself, whom his Enemy running through with a Sword, *opened an Impostume, which the Physicians could not cure*. That whosoever of his Enemies, as *Joseph* said of his Brethren, might intend his Hurt, yet GOD had turned it to his Good; by his Death they had saved this

Life, and so he owed them Thanks: Acknowledged GOD's Goodness to him in his sudden Surprizal and strict Imprisonment, that as no Counsel would come unto him, so he was not permitted to go into the Town to them, by which Liberty, it may be, some Evasions might have been contriv'd for his Escape, which would have proved his Everlasting Undoing. That Speech of his, *Periissem, si non periissem*: Or that of anothers, whom a Shipwreck occasion'd the being a Philosopher, *Tum secundis velis navigavi, quando naufragium feci*, was in substance his often Application to himself. After the *Lord Deputy's* Death, when the Rumour of some Hope of a Reprieve came to his Ears 'till another Governor succeeded, it moved him not, as rather chusing a present deserved Death, than the prolonging of an ignominious Life; whereby the Scandal would but increase. He did so *abhor himself*, that once a Thought rising within him to have petition'd to have been beheaded, he told me, he answer'd himself with Indignation, *That a Dog's Death was too good for him*, and so judged himself to the last; which appeared by this particular, that he was casting with himself, where he might be buried, so as to be out of Remembrance; wish'd his Grave were in the bottom of the Sea, where he had deserv'd to be *cast with a Millstone about his Neck*, for that Offence and Scandal he had given; the Church-yard he thought was too much Honour for him: And in Conclusion, lest his Friends, being left to themselves, should have procur'd some better Place, he sent for the Clerk of St. *John's*, and the Verger of *Christ-Church* (of which he was once Prebend) to whom I was a Witness of his Charge, that they should not suffer him to be buried in that Church, or in any ordinary Place in the Church-yard, but appointed it
in

in the farthest Corner, where some Rubbish was used to be cast, and where none could be remember'd ever to have been buried before : When with many Tears to them, he condemned himself, as unworthy of the Communion of the Dead, as now of the Living. After this he related to me in several Discourses, divers observable Passages in his former Life, and since he came into the Castle, tending to the Magnifying of GOD's *Justice* and *Mercy* to him ; some of which he left to my Judgment, if the Knowledge of them might be useful to others. *The Disrespect and Neglect of his Mother* since he came to Ability, he acknowledged, according to the *fifth Commandment*, to be just, that *his Days should be shortened* : As his own Father once solemnly passing such a Sentence on him, and foretelling long ago, this would be his End, hath been assured me also by one who had it from an Ear-witness, *His often wishing would he were Hang'd*, if this, or that be so, &c. (which in some Protestations fell out to be false) went not in the same Justice unobserved. His being once in Anger, and by way of Revenge, scaring his Mother, that he would go hang himself on a common Gallows they rode by, with his Horses Bridle. This, however done in his Youth, and not meaning, yet he observed GOD's Justice in bringing him to it in Earnest. *Let these be Warnings to the Living in the like.* His Reading of *bad Books*, viewing of *immodest Pictures*, frequenting of *Plays*, *Drunkeness*, &c. were Causes and Inticements to these foul Facts. About three Weeks before the Complaint was put in against him in Parliament, the Man who had before been the Corrupter of him in his Youth, whom he had not seen in Twenty Years before, came casually out of *England* into this Kingdom, and visited him ; the Sight of whom did

did so affright him, as if some Ghost had appeared to him, he said, his very Heart mis-gave him, and his Conscience apprehended him, as some Prefage, or Messenger of a present Vengeance drawing nigh him. His too much Zeal and Forwardness, both in *Introducing* and *Pressing* some Church Observations, and in dividing himself from the House of Convocation, *Anno* 1634. in Opposition to the *Articles of Ireland* then Voted to be received, on purpose to *please some Men*, who had notwithstanding (with just Cause) now forsaken him; passed not without taking notice of a just Hand in it also, and from which he gave good Counsel to others.

He acknowledged he had many *Checks of Conscience*, which held him two or three Days. In times of Sicknes, or in any Fears of Death, his Conscience would be *a very Hell within him*; that once he had gone so far, as to resolve upon Amendment, had composed in Latin a large Prayer wherein he confessed his Sins, which he repeated to me, and had at times used it; and for a Fit made some Reformation, but returned again *like the Dog to his vomit*. Some Discourses from a *Layman*, since he came into the Castle, had some Effect for the present; but he still endeavour'd to check all Thoughts that might disquiet him, which he took notice of, as somewhat comfortable to him *that GOD ever follows* such as belong to him with all sorts of Means, 'till he brings them to Repentance; when neither the secret Voice of Conscience nor the Admonitions of the World will move, then he useth louder Cries to awaken them, *Poverty, Disgrace, nay, Destruction of the Body, that the Soul may be saved in the Day of the Lord*.

There

There were many more evident Signs of a true Change in him, besides what I have related. His giving Satisfaction to any he had wronged, even in small Matters. His sending for some that were mean Persons, and asking them Forgiveness. Those whom he had prosecuted too bitterly in the High Commission Court, endeavouring to take off their Fines. His Care for the satisfying his Debts. His admonishing many that came to him, not to *presume* by his Example to *defer Repentance*, who with much Hazard and Difficulty had obtained it. His good Council to me I shall not forget, according to that Command given to St. Peter, *When thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.* For his Family, his Resolutions [if he had liv'd to have reform'd it] that they should have been GOD's Servants, or none of his: For himself, his Intentions to have given over all Law-business, and wholly imploy'd his, in *Preaching, and the Studies of the Scriptures*, which he had neglected, I doubt not, but would have been steadfast, but, said he, *now I hope GOD will give me the Knowledge of these Mysteries by some quicker way.* His giving Alms to the Poor, with a Charge to the Party, that *it might not be known* from whence it came, were good things. But more especially it appeared in his *pious Letters to his Wife and Children*, hereunto annexed; the latter of which is most worthy of Memory, as wrote the Night before his Execution: In the difference of them somewhat will appear of his Growth in that time. It is scarce to be believed, in this little Space, how much he had read, in some Practical Books of our late Divines. Especially that of Dr. *Preston* of GOD's *All-sufficiency*, and Bishop *Downham* of the *Covenant of Grace*; his conversing with Mr. *Fox's Book of Martyrs*,

tyrs, in viewing the manner of some pious Mens Deaths, did much animate him against his own.

The Night before, his Resolution was surprizing in taking leaving of his Children, and giving them good Advice, and to one the said *Letter*; and some Hours after, his taking his last Farewel of his Wife, which was more Passionate, his Affectionate Counsel to her, Comforting and Instructing her, I could not but admire, and in Conclusion told her he had wrote a Letter two or three Days before, which she should receive about the Time of his Execution; which if she observed, their next Meeting would be in Heaven. Then late at Night he sent for the Servants of the House, gave them several Admonitions with Tears, who all wept, as if they had been his own. *His Speech* to me, not long before his leaving the Castle, is not to be omitted, *viz.* *It may be (said he) if they do not bury me 'till Sunday, you will be desir'd to preach then, but I pray, speak no good of me; only what may abate the Scandal, and be an useful Warning to others, he was willing to. That which he chiefly then requested of me, as his last, was, As soon as I had seen the End of him, to continue my Endeavours for the good of his, in a present Comforting and Counselling his Wife and Children, whom he prayed might with Content make the same sanctify'd Use, he had done himself.*

“ And now we are drawing nigh the saddest
 “ Part of the Story for his *Body*, but the most com-
 “ fortable for his *Soul*. *His Sowing-time in Tears,*
 “ ye have heard; now follows *his Reaping in Joy,*
 “ of which some *Sheaves* he carried with him
 “ being the most Memorable in the whole Rela-
 “ tion.”

After he had with Industry and Watchfulness obtain'd some Testimony to himself of his Repen-
 tance,

tance, and hopes of Mercy, his earnest Desire was, that G O D would give him *some Token of good*, in sealing it to him, by the Comforts of his Spirit. He had read much of that *Joy unspeakable and glorious, of the Light of G O D's Countenance*, which *David* valued above the World, heard much of the *Cosolations and Refreshments* of the Soul by the inward Witness of the Spirit; but, Oh! how he thirsted the Day before his Execution, to have some taste of them, which would fully arm him against the Fear of Death. He said, he could remember *in his Youth*, before his Soul was stain'd with Sin, when he liv'd for a Time in some conscientious way in a certain Religious Family; he had some short Flashes of such *Sweetness* that was of more Worth than all the Joy he had since: He acknowledged he was unworthy of it, and that if G O D deny'd it him, yet would he hold the Course he had began, that he would never cease imploring till he had some degree, were it but as imperfect a Sight, as the blind Man's in the Gospel, *who saw Men walking like Trees*, and he had a Promise, G O D would not deny *his Holy Spirit to them that ask him*. And that if he might expect the *Fulness of Joy* not many Hours after, why might he not hope to get some *Earnest* for the Assurance of it here; and he conceiv'd of all Men he had most need, considering what he had been, and what he was to suffer; with this his Thoughts wholly employed, and for which he desir'd me to pray with him often, and to assist him with the Prayers of others. After *Eleven that Night*, I was Witness of a most affectionate Prayer of his, which a Hearer would have thought could not but arise from some Apprehension already, and which made me so confident as to assure him of it.

The next Morning [the Day of his Execution] his Salutation to me was, O! GOD hath heard me about four or five this Morning, for the space of an Hour and a half; I have had that Sweetness in my Soul, those Refreshments in my Heart, that I am unable to express, which he now believed might be well signified by that hidden Manna, and white Stone, which no Man knows, but he that receiveth. To use his words, I had such a Weaning from this World, might I have enjoy'd the Contents of it: such a Trust and Relying on GOD, in committing my Wife and Children to his Care; such Confidence of GOD's Love, and Assurance of Pardon; such a longing to be dissolved, and to be with Christ; such inward Joy and Consolation, as if he had been in the Suburbs of Heaven already; that (said he) I felt where my Heart lay; I arose out of my Bed, and gave GOD Thanks and Praise upon my Knees in the Place where I had begged it: And so fell into abundance of Tears, adding, whereas before I wept for Sorrow, now I weep for Joy; and desir'd me, who had been a *Petitioner* with him, to kneel down with others present, and solemnly give GOD Thanks with him for it, and pray for a Continuance of it to his last; which Tears coming from so chearful a Countenance, moved us more than all before. For Confirmation of his said rising out of his Bed, his Man's Testimony is evident, who coming that Morning by Break of Day to the Chamber-door, and before he knocked, looking through the Key-hole, saw him in his Shirt by his Bed-side upon his Knees for a quarter of an Hour; and as soon as he came in, with a smiling Countenance, brake out in the like fore-named Expressions, what a sweet *Night* he had enjoy'd, &c. and adding, *If I had been in a Slumber, it might have been a Deceit, but I was full waking as now*: He seem'd to be in such Rapture, that his Servant, as he told me, was
astonished,

astonished, expecting then to have found him most disconsolate.

To another of his Friends, [who had told him the Night before of that known Story in the Book of Martyrs, of one who after much Prayer, wanted Comfort, 'till he saw the Stake, who had also desir'd him (as that Martyr's Friend had done him) whenever he should find any to declare it, were it at the Place of Execution,] as soon as he saw him this Morning, his first Salute with great Exultation was, in the said Martyr's Words to his Friends, *Oh, he is come! he is come!* telling him also what GOD had done for his Soul.

After this we fell into many Heavenly Discourses concerning the State of the Soul after Death, the Translation of it out of this World, the Happiness of Heaven, by what we shall be rid of, by what we shall be perfected in, the Company we shall be admitted into, not only *to the Spirits of just Men*, but to the Society of glorious Angels; concerning the beatifical Vision in the Fruition of GOD's Presence, the Sight of our Blessed Saviour, &c. in the Thought of which he was much ravished, and fell into a *long continued Weeping from this Cause*, that he should have offended one that had prepared such inestimable Things for him, which he now thirsted to enjoy.

Then he desir'd the Prisoners of the Castle might be called together, to take his last Leave of them, to whom (as he had done formerly) he would once more read the *Morning Service*, which I was the more willing to, were it but to profess the Faith and Religion he died in *before many Witnesses*, against the expected Calumny of the Adversaries, if any extraordinary Good should appear in him at last. The Psalms he chose were such as are usually read at Burials, the Lesson the 15. of the 1st. Ep.

Cor. some Prayers he selected out of the Visitation of the Sick, the two last Prayers at the Burial, with other Passages in it, and else-where; which with some Alterations and Additions, he turned very apt for himself, and with the like Advice he had given to others, took leave of them. And now, said he, as GOD hath refreshed my Soul, I will a little *my Body*, the better to enable me to speak at the Place of Execution, which was to be about three Hours after; and so called for a little salt Butter and brown Bread, and the smallest Beer, a very little of which he eat, as his last, cheerfully hoping at Night to be invited to the Supper of the *Lamb* in Glory.

When the Time drew nigh, and he heard the Noise of the People gathering, for a quarter of an Hour, he told me, his Heart began to quiver, and *his natural Affection with Tears* to yearn upon his Children, which he was pleased still to find within him, considering that Grace, tho' it be Supernatural, yet doth not dry up Nature. He complained that his former Comfort did abate in the Strength of it; but he trusted, that GOD in whose Custody was the Key of the Spirit, whose Act it is only to open and shut, had reserved it for him for that Place and Time, where he should have most need. Yet not long after he recover'd a great degree of Cheerfulness again, repeating the last Verse in the 42d *Psalms* (which he had used to read often) and saying, *now the Sheriff should be a welcome Messenger*, and so continued. Some few Things he had about him, he then disposed of, as Tokens of Remembrance to his Friends; His Gloves, Staff, Girdle, Books, about seven or eight of some pious Devotions, he gave to several with his Name inscribed; and his last Act after he was Pinion'd, was giving me his Seal-Ring off his Finger, with
such

such affectionate Expressions, as draws Tears from me in the Remembrance. More I might add, but this may suffice, to declare his Repentance, and the Fruit of it, in the Castle before his Execution.

Now the Sheriff of the County (a Papist) was come to receive him, the two Sheriffs of the City with a great Company of *Halberts* to assist him. At *Christ-Church* (according to his Desire) toll'd the Passing-Bell, the whole Town and Castle was so throng'd, that if there had not been a Coach allow'd him, it would have been impossible to have proceeded. And here I must not forget the severe Usage of the *Sheriff* in some cross Passages, which after all this his Preparation, might have proved a Distraction to him, tho' it did not; his Intentions I will not judge, yet whose Instrument he was I may conceive. The Night before, he had desir'd the Favour he might not be pinion'd 'till he came to the Place of Execution, for which I went my self betimes that Morning to the *L. C. Justice of the King's Bench*, and *Justice Cressley*, both of them on my relation of the Change in him, readily granted it, and sent a Command by me to the Sheriff; but he refused, and would have him pinion'd in his Lodging. Again, I sent one to the Inns, who presently brought a Command under the Lord Chief Justice's Hand, with the Consent of all the Judges, then at Dinner; this also he disobey'd; for his Pre-
tence in the Security of his Person, one of the Sheriffs of the City offer'd Body for Body, and assured him that with such a Guard, and by sitting himself in the Coach with him, there could be no Danger of an Escape. For himself (howsoever his Friends thus stirr'd for him) he was contented, and long before the Sheriff came, told me he was very sorry he had engaged me in such Business, using this Expression, *Our Saviour carried his Cross in the way,*

way, and why should I desire to be freed? When he had pulled off his Morning Gown, he presented a strong black Ribbon, which he had provided on purpose for more Decency, and lest it should not be thought strong enough, a black Girdle was offer'd, or any other; *the Sheriff refused all, and had him bound with a Three-penny Cord as a common Felon, and would have had the Hang-man, or some other base Fellow come in and done it.* Nay, would have had one to sit in the Coach behind him, to have held him by the Cord, but the Constable of the Castle would not suffer him. These things being very suspicious, if not apparent, out of Malice, I feared might have disturbed his Charity (as it enraged most of the Standers-by) but as soon as I reminded him of some former Discourses, *that this might be the Devil's Interruption, and Prosecution of him, in a way unexpected:* He apprehended it fully, and told the Sheriff, that it moved him not, and that he looked farther than him in it; prayed GOD to forgive him, and that for his part he did heartily, and would pray for him before he left the Chamber. The Sheriff withdrawing, he desir'd us that were there to join with him once more in Prayer to GOD, for his special Assistance against all sorts of Enemies, that he expected now would beset him. We all kneeled, but such a powerful, excellent Prayer I scarce ever heard, *so that all wept with him.* And after some comfortable Speeches to us, and hope that once more before he dy'd, he should have a Return of the same measure of Comfort, he had enjoyed the last Night, the Sheriff came in again, and received him.

In the Coach with him rode one of the Sheriffs of the City, the under Sheriff of the County, his own Man and myself. At his Entrance he said, *This puts me in mind of Elijah's Chariot, he was carried*

carried to Heaven in. When he saw the Throng, says he, *I am made a Spectacle not only to Men, but I hope to Angels also, who are attending to receive my Soul.* The Time he spent there in singing Psalms (one of which was the 23.) and private Ejaculations; now and then Speeches to us concerning the separation of the Soul from the Body; the carriage of it by the Angels; the Vanity of this World; that his Care was near at an end, &c. And to feed his Thoughts with such Things as were seasonable, I read now and then some comfortable Passages out of the *Psalms*, which he would gloss upon to his own Application. When he came upon the Bridge, and through the Curtains of the Coach discerned the Gallows with the People gathered, he said to me, *There is my Mount Calvary, from which I hope to ascend to Heaven.* When he came to the Place of Execution, there was three Things which might have disturb'd him: *First* was a Fellow got upon one end of the Gallows, deriding him and interrupting him when he began to speak, whom he answer'd not, but patiently bore it, and proceeded. *Second*, the breaking of his Footman's Head (whom he loved, who had run by the Coach-side, and diligently pressed nigh to attend) by one of the Sheriffs of the City, unknown, by laying about him to make room; who when he saw him with the Blood running down his Face, *He bemoaned him only, and desir'd me that he might be removed out of his sight.* *Third*, in the Conclusion, as he was ready to go up, one called to him about some Papers and Leaves, whom the very Standers by cried down, as very unseasonable. All which I could easily think the common Enemy might have a Hand in, to distract him. When there was Silence, he stood up, and made a long and elegant Speech, substantial and sententious; and certain it was not fram'd

fram'd before, for the Matter he had resolv'd upon, but the Form he put to his present Expressions there: I had indeed advis'd him to Pen it, least the sight of Death might then distract him; but his Answer was, *He would put his trust in GOD, whom, he hoped, would not fail him in that last Act, and was confident, Death would not disturb him.*

To relate the Speech, unless I could remember exactly his Expressions, would be injuring him. His Entrance was to this Purpose, *Gentlemen, My first Salutation to you is, GOD bless and save you, I desire you to pray the same for me: I am, I think, the FIRST of my Profession that ever came to this shameful End, and I pray GOD I may be the LAST: You are come hither to see a Comedy turn'd into a Tragedy, a miserable Catastrophe of the Life and Actions of Man in this World, &c.*

In fine, He acknowledged the Justice of the Law of Man, as GOD's in condemning him, who, as he has not deserved, so he desir'd not to live. *He observed* the special Hand of GOD throughout the whole Business, both in the *Witnesses*, the *Jury*, the *Judges*, and in *Himself*,

1. In the *Witnesses* and *Informers*, *they were such as eat of his Bread*, came daily as *Friends to his Table*; some of them Dined with him the Day before the Complaint was put in against him in Parliament.

2 The *Jury*, though he believed they were honest Gentlemen, and went according to their Consciences, yet the Evidence was not so clear, but they might have stuck at it; but he said it was *Digitus Die*, the Justice of which he fully and solemnly acknowledged to a Friend of his at that Instant, he heard the Jury had returned him Guilty, tho' he deny'd then (as he did now) the main
Thing

thing in the Indictment, which the Law laid hold of, and which hath been since confirmed by the Confession of his chief Accuser, at his Execution also, yet in his own Conscience applauded and magnified GOD's Justice in it; and burn'd a bundle of Papers, which he wrote out of Law-books in his own Defence.

3. In the *Judges*, of whom he said, tho' some were hot against him, he imputed it only to their Zeal against Vice, which deserved it, yet it could not sink into him, that in Law he could have been deny'd his Council; that which he had pleaded in some Errors in the Indictment, he conceived was Reason: But GOD's Hand was in it, and he most willingly submitted, as all Things in the End *had turned to his good*.

4. In the infatuating of *Himself*: For his chief Accuser, he said he could have sent into *England*, and had him Indicted for being concern'd in a Robbery there, easily in this Time have out-law'd him, and so his Testimony had been void. For the *Jury*, he could have excepted against twenty at least, and so have put it off 'till next *Term*, before which he might have had other Thoughts: The Foreman of the Jury he knew was out-lawed; and these Things he conceived, he might have done lawfully in the Pleading what he could for his Life, yet omitted them; the Cause (he said) was both the Height of his Spirit, in scorning to stoop to such poor Shifts and Protractions, and the Confidence he had there would be no need: He had trusted ever too much to his own Wit and Expressions, with which 'till now in any Thing that ever he had attempted, he had not mis-carried; and that he should be so infatuated in this Business, that so nearly concerned him, he took it to be GOD's Hand evidently, which he now not only

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patiently

patiently yielded to, but with Thankfulness embraced.

And thus much he thought proper, to speak concerning those Things he was justly Condemned for; he confessed there were many other heinous Sins he had committed, the public Declaration of which would rather increase the Scandal he had merited, than repair it; and therefore he thought it needless: For those, he said, he had recollected between GOD and himself, and heartily Repented of them; that he had revealed them with a sorrowful Spirit to me there present, to whom he had opened his whole Life, from his Youth 'till now, as to his Ghostly Father, without any Ex-tenuation or Concealing, and had received Comfort; for which as GOD had given Repentance, so he trusted, Forgiveness. He acknowledged his *Neglect of public Preaching, Catechising in the Church, and private Prayers in his Family*; for which Sins of Commission, he was justly given over to Sins of Commission: For the Neglect of the Commandments of the First Table, let fall into the Breach of the Second. That he had come to the Sacrament, and administered it with his Sins upon him. His roving Thoughts at Divine Service and Sermon, with many others, &c: And here he declared a very observable Passage, not many Years ago: He had a long dangerous Sickneſs, when being sensible of the former Neglect of his Pastoral Charge, made a *solemn Vow to GOD*, that if he should recover, he would be diligent both in *Preaching and Catechising* every Sunday. After his Recovery happened, that the first Time he went to Church with that Intent, the Judges of Assize were at *Waterford*; and then a Thought arose, that if he should now enter upon so unusual a Practice, it would be imagined, he did it for fear
of

of them ; and so deferring it that Day, never did it afterwards. *Soon after this, he observed he grew worse than before,* and fell into those Vices, which had brought him to this ignominious End. *I, said he, broke with GOD, he withdrew his Grace, I forsook him, and he left me to myself ;* which he applied to others of his Profession, in being warned by his Example. He had then also Prayed, that if when he recovered, he should recede from his Vow, GOD would send some heavier Judgment upon him than he had yet felt, in order to subdue his stubborn Disposition. Little did he then think of this particular ; but now he believed, it was the Fruit of that Wish and Breach, and so return'd GOD Thanks for it, as the only Means to bring him home.

He confessed he had been Guilty of over-reaching Men, and that if his Estate might be continued to his Wife, he had given Charge for Satisfaction to be made : Took notice of the Justice of GOD upon him, who had formerly so thirsted after a *Name* and *Fame* ; it was now given him, but a Name of Infamy, which he desir'd might rest only on himself, and not be imputed to his Profession. He declared he sincerely forgave all that had a Hand in his Prosecution, and that they should hear him Pray for them. *In conclusion,* asked me, if I could remember any Thing else fit for him to declare, and he would ; at that Instant, not calling to mind any more, he desir'd the People to Pray for, and with him, that GOD would magnify his Mercy in forgiving so great a Sinner. Then reading the 38, 42, and 51. *Psalms,* he desir'd them again to join with him in Prayer, that GOD would give him a further Assurance of the Forgiveness of his Sins, by the inward Comforts of his Spirit, and assist him against the fear of Death

in this his last Act. We all kneeling accompanyed him in such a moving Prayer I never heard, never was I so so encompassed with Tears, not bare Weeping, but gushing Torrents flowed from all. The very Papiſts, and ſome Priests I ſaw, kneeled and wept alſo: *The Sum of it was a Confeſſion, and Aggravation of his Sins, fervent entreaties for Mercy, that his Soul might be bathed in the Blood of Chriſt, a Sealing of it to his Conſcience by the Comforts of his Spirit; to forgive his Enemies in this Affair, and to give them Repentance that had Sinned with him; that his Penitence might be a means to abate Scandal, that he might be aſſiſted againſt the Aſſaults of Satan, and weakneſs of his corrupt Nature, now in this Act of Death; beſought a Bleſſing upon his Majeſty and his Dominions; for his Wife and Children, and commending his Soul to GOD with confidence of a ſpeedy happy Change, &c.* After this he deſir'd to ſing the 116 *Pſalm*, which for the Peoples joining with him, I read. Not long after it was begun, he whiſpered one of his Friends that ſtood by him, *Oh! Pray for me, that GOD do not withdraw his Spirit at this Inſtant*, and preſently the Tears trickled down his Cheeks, with the continuance of which, I obſerv'd him afterwards to ſing the *Pſalm* throughout; the Subject of Praise and Joy, it might poſſibly ariſe from ſuch Spiritual Comforts, as he had taſted the Night before, and in his Prayers had again entreated, which appeared in his Undauntedneſs of Spirit, now entering into the Jaws of Death. When the *Pſalm* was concluded, he roſe and ſaid, *I think I ſaw the Town-Clerk of Waterford, if he be here, or any other of that Town, I ſhall deſire them to commend me to my Neighbours there; that I have taken Notice that none of the Romiſh Church, tho' differing from me in Points of Religion, had a Hand in this Complaint*

plaint against me, tho' they had as much Cause; for which I owe them thanks.

Another Thing, concerning my Burial: It is usual for my Profession to be buried in the Church, but I have given Charge to the contrary; if they will in the Church-yard, it is more than I have deserved; for my Part I would be contented were it in the Sea, where I might never be remembred. And now I have done; only give me leave to say some private Prayers, wherein I shall desire you in your Thoughts to join me, in praying GOD to assist me at this Instant; and kneeling for a little Space, as did the Company also: When he arose, he said chearfully, Now I am ready, and took leave of them that were near him, taking them by the Hand, with the following Speeches, I dread not Death, GOD send us a happy Meeting in Heaven, I am but going before you. The whole Company wept, yet I had most Cause from his Affectionate Expressions. Then he put off his Morning Gown, Hat, and black Cap, and called for his Man for his other Cap and Handkerchief. When he was setting Foot on the Ladder, he turned with a smiling Countenance towards the Sheriff of the County (who at this Time of his Praying and Singing of Psalms, had sat by on Horseback with his Hat on his Head, shewing no Reverence) and said, Master Sheriff, Will you not take leave of your Friends, when you shall never see them again? What not one Word from you? GOD forgive you, I do from my Heart, that usage, which might have distracted me, but did not, I have Prayed for you even now; and went up the Ladder, when he saw so many weeping, said to them, I thank GOD I dread not Death, and that it proceeded not from a Presumption, but from a present sensible Apprehension of GOD's Mercy, and an inward Peace of Conscience; and with a chearful

Countenance,

Courtenace, looking around him, and observing some he knew, whom he had not seen before, *bowed to them and bade them farewell, desiring them to Pray for him as long as he had Life.* I had him last by the Hand, when he was upon the Ladder; and to my Astonishment, his Hand shook no more than mine. When he was gone as high as was thought fit, and the Rope on his Neck, he pinn'd his Handkerchief about his Face, (the Cord with moving his Hands being again loos'd) and said to the Hang-man, *Honest Friend, when thou art ready tell me, and I will tell thee when I am* (to whom he gave some little Money, and prayed the Sheriff he might not be turned off till he spake again; when he had pulled the Cap over his Face, he said, *Lord, now let thy Servant depart in Peace according to thy Word, for mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation, which thou hast prepared for me; commended his Soul to G O D,* with many the like Expressions; not long after said, *Now I am ready,* and from that, continued crying, *Have Mercy, have Mercy, &c.* till he was turned off. When he felt the Ladder stirring, he put down his Hands, laid hold on the sides of his Cassock, and stirred them not to the last, tho' some of his Friends catched him by the Hands, lest he should have lifted them up; but I believe it was needless. By this his Penitential Christian Carriage, the Hearts of his Enemies were moved; such as Hated him in Life, now Loved him at his Death; and I believe these many Years there has not been any that left the World with so many Tears from the Beholders. When he had hung about three Quarters of an Hour, he was cut down and put into the same Coach he came in, into which I went, and rode with him to the House, where he was received; which I did both to feed my Thoughts with Mortality, in viewing the same Body lying

lying Dead in the same Place, where two or three Hours before I had seen it with a Soul, in Health and full Strength; as also lest some fallshood should have been raised of him.

That Night about Ten, he was buried at St. *John's*, in an outward part of the Church-yard, according to his Charge, where I did him that last Office.

About seven or eight, the Verger of *Christ-Church* came to my Lodging, and told me there was a *Rumour* of a Sermon, and an Expectation of my saying somewhat of him, so much that the Church was fill'd already to the Doors, with abundance of Papists; on this sudden Warning I was earnestly intreated to some short Declaration, which according to the Time given me (howsoever I never liked Funeral Commendations, as usually doing more hurt than good) I did observe. And now in Obedience to such, who may Command me, have farther enlarged it, as also the *Sermon*, with some other Additions, which the Shortness of the Warning, and Lateness of the Night, would not then permit. Many Papists (I am inform'd) were much Affected both at what they heard before from, and now of him. One who came casually, wept in the Church, and was Converted. And next Morning, being *Sunday*, went to St. *Owen's* Church, heard Service and Sermon, and so continued.

Thus you have heard at once, a Melancholy and a Joyful Relation; hard it is to Judge, which his Friends have most Cause of. To Conclude,

Let not Papists Object this Scandal to our Church, lest we return them fouler Stories from that Holy See, which we have no Mind to raise. 'Tis true, he did Ill, But do we Teach Men so to do? A Church ought not to be Judged by the Lives of a few Professors, but by the Doctrine Professed. It is a Rule most advantageous

advantageous to themselves. There was a Judas amongst the Apostles, yet no Disparagement to the Apostleship, when he was excluded, and into his Office another Chosen. The incestuous Person was no more a Scandal to the Church of Corinth, when he was once put away from them. Nay, their Zeal in his Excommunication, tended to their Honour, let his Execution perfectly approve our Church also, to be clear in this Matter.

Least of all, should those of his own Communion be such hateful Birds, as to defile their own Nests, by imputing it as an Aspersion to the whole Profession; let him have his last Request granted, that the Dishonour may be Buried with him; let not the Sin of one Man, kindle your Wrath against a whole Congregation. I have Sinned, saith David, and done wickedly; but these Sheep what have they done? [and indeed the former sort in their Generation are wiser in this usually, than the Children of Light] When the Sun is Eclipsed, every Man's Eye is upon it, but little do they observe it in his Glory. Let there be one gross Offender in the Ministry, he shall be ever gazed at; but they remember not the many Glorious Martyrs, and unblemish'd Preachers, who have shined in that Firmament. That the Miscarriage of one should like a cross Line be drawn over all the rest, I see little Reason, less Justice, and least Religion.

In a Word, Object not his Life to Justifie your own; remember our Saviour's Distinction for some, What they bid you do, that observe, but do not after their Works; or that of St. Paul, Be Followers of me, as I am of Christ, If you Remember his Life, Forget not his Death; (in the former indeed the Rod of Aaron was turned into a Serpent; but now the Serpent is turned into a Rod again) as the one was Offensive, so let the other be Useful; as the one made the Breach, so let the other repair it.

'Tis true, the Dignity of his Person must sink his Offence the deeper. The Scandal of both hath increased the Ignominy of his Death; the Shame of his Death hath occasion'd his Spiritual Life: And if GOD hath so forgiven it in Heaven, Why should we upbraid him with it here? The best Churches have had some Stains. Ob! let the Blot of his Life be washed out of your Memories by the many Tears at his Death; for which, Blessed be GOD, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever, Amen.

Letter to his Wife.

My dear Wife,

MARK well the final Words of him, who these twenty Years and upwards, hath been your Husband, and might have so continued much longer by the course of Nature, had not his continued and crying Sins, deservedly drawn this Punishment upon him, to be Cut off from the living, as unworthy of their Society in this Life. I suffer for my Wickedness, which I beseech GOD in his Mercy through Jesus Christ, to forgive. In my Suffering, you Suffer both in your Credit and Estate, and what else soever concerns this World. This Advantage you have of me, I have only left unto me a small time of Repentance; but you, by GOD's Grace, may have a large time of Amendment, which I would have you improve, and not lose a Minute. Turn unto the Lord your GOD with all your Heart. Cloath your self with Patience and Thanksgiving. I doubt not but GOD will
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have Mercy on you, and prove a Husband to you, and a Father to my Children; I doubt not but you shall Live with the same Happiness, and greater Content, than if I were with you.

Serve him, he will not fail you.

Bring up your Children in the Fear of GOD; that Household which you keep, let it be the Servants of GOD.

Above all things be diligent in your Private Prayer; make all your needs known to the Lord. Undertake nothing which you cannot find in your Heart to ask a Blessing for.

Misconstrue not these my dying Advertisements, which proceed (as in the Presence of GOD) from true Affection, that at length I might really give some Supply to my former Defaults, and put you in a right way for Everlasting Comfort. That tho' we part in this World, yet we may enjoy a more happy meeting in Heaven. And after all our Afflictions, be there Partakers of endless Bliss. So Prays, and ever shall Pray as long as he Lives,

Your Husband

Decemb. 1. 1741.

John Alberton,

Cast not away this Paper when read, but keep and peruse it often, as the Legacy of him who can now give no other.

Letter to his Children.

My dear Children,

IT was ever my Desire to have seen you well prefer'd, but GOD thought otherwise, and my Sins would not suffer it; which have not only
Sentenc'd

Sentenc'd me to Death, but bereaved me of that small Worldly Blessing which I purpos'd unto you, as a Patrimony, and Evidence of my Fatherly Affection. And how now it will be Dispos'd of, or what share will come to your Lot, I leave to GOD, who, as he hath given you Body and Soul, so I doubt not but will of his great Goodness provide for your Estate. What is left and cannot be taken from me, I freely impart and Give unto you; not dividing it amongst you by Shares and Proportions, but giving each of you the Whole; wherein tho' you Communicate one with another in my Blessing and last Council, yet each without wrong to the other, may take and challenge the Whole to her self.

First, The Blessing of GOD the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, light upon you, give you a true Knowledge of his Word, Fear of his Will, and Faith in his Promises.

Let no Day pass, wherein you do not Call your selves to a Reckoning before you Sleep, and make your Peace with GOD for the Offences of the Day.

Be Constant in private Prayer, twice every Day at least, on your Knees; and GOD will be a Father to you.

Do nothing great or small without first beseeching a Blessing from GOD, and forbear that, upon which you cannot find in your Heart to entreat such a Blessing.

Be Content with whatsoever GOD shall afford you, Poverty or Riches; take heed; repine not at his Pleasure, who in the End [tho' it be sometimes contrary to our Sense] works all things for the Good of his Children.

If you Marry, prefer an honest Man that Fears GOD, before all other Worldly Motives.

Be Obedient to your Mother: Love one another; and live in hope to enjoy again in Heaven the Company of your Father.

Now ready to Dye,
Decemb. 4. 1640.

John Atherton.

*Cast not away this loose Paper, but each take a Copy,
and preserve it to the End of your Lives.*

F I N I S.

In the Press and speedily will be publish'd.

The Humours of *ROGER DE COVERLY*.

ALL the PARTS will be disposed of to the best Advantage, with entire New Dresses, all of—
IRISH MANUFACTURE, — and other Decorations, suitable to the PLAY. *To which will be added*, a **PANTOMIME** Entertainment, call'd, The GROANS of the BARRACKS. The Part of **GIMCRACK**, to be perform'd by **VANTRYPE**, the celebrated **DUTCH ARCHITECT**, (being the last Time of his Performing there.) With several Pieces of Machinery, Semery, Sinkings, Flyings, Bowings, Cringings, entirely New in this Kingdom. The Dead Man brought to Life; or, *D—t* in a Cradle. The Principal Characters in the Play, will be Printed in the Bills the Day of PERFORMANCE. Places, Pensions, and Promises, to be had at **CALAPHAS'S** in *H—nr—ta-Street*, or at *Priarius's* Office in the *C—le-Yard*, on the Days of Rehearfal. *N. B.* If they are not bespoke before the Day of Performance, they will be all Engaged.

Vivat Rex.

