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IN THIRTY VOLUMES:

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*BY JOHN WESLEY, M.A.*

LATE FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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THE LIVES
OF
VARIOUS EMINENT PERSONS,

CHIEFLY EXTRACTED FROM

MR. SAMUEL CLARK.

MR. WESLEY'S PREFACE

TO HIS

EXTRACTS FROM "CLARK'S LIVES."

1. IN order to illustrate, by examples, the rules already laid down, I at first only designed to abridge the LIVES which MR. CLARK had collected. But, upon a closer inspection, it was easy to perceive, that many of them would not answer the pains of abridging. Many of the persons of whom he speaks were in no way eminent, either for piety or understanding. The accounts he has given of many of the rest, contain few matters worth relating: and even these are generally related in a low and injudicious manner.

2. On the other hand, I found that he had omitted the lives of some of the most eminent men in our nation: such were Archbishop USHER and Bishop BEDELL in particular: such were many others of the Established Church, who had no scruple in respect of conforming both to her doctrine and discipline.

3. I have therefore been obliged to vary from my first design, both by omitting many lives which MR. CLARK has inserted, as containing either nothing exemplary, or nothing but what occurs with more advantage in the lives of others; and by inserting those of some whom he had omitted, but who were men famous in their generations, and highly esteemed by all those who love the image of God, in whomsoever it may be found.

4. Perhaps it may be useful, as well as agreeable, to those who have broken loose from that miserable bigotry, which is too often entailed upon us from our forefathers, to observe how the same SPIRIT works the same work of grace in men upright of heart, of whatever denomination. These, how widely soever they differ in opinion, all agree in one mind, one temper. How far distant soever they are from each other, with regard to the circumstances of worship, they all meet in the substance of all true worship, "the faith that worketh by love."

MR. CLARK'S ACCOUNT

OF

HIS OWN LIFE,

I SAMUEL CLARK was born in Woolston, in the county of Warwick, on the 10th of October, 1599. My mother, who was a good woman, died when I was young : my father was a faithful and laborious Minister, and exercised his ministry for above forty years in that parish, with much profit and comfort. Under his wing I was trained up till I was about thirteen years old ; and then I was sent to school in Coventry ; which city, at that time, flourished exceedingly with religious Ministers and people, though for my own part, falling into the company of dissolute youths, I began to degenerate from the principles of my first education, though not without much reluctance, and frequent checks of conscience.

Having spent about four years in that school, I was by my father carried to Cambridge, which University was eminent for religion at that time ; and was placed by him under MR. THOMAS HOOKER, in Emanuel College, which was the Puritan college. MR. HOOKER was one of the choicest tutors in the University. Yet, neither there did I answer my father's care ; for though my carriage was in the sight of the world blameless, yet did I not walk with God either in my general or particular calling as I ought to have done.

When I was Bachelor of Arts, my father took me from the University ; and immediately after my return home,

I fell sick of the small pox, and was so full of them, that my father despaired of my recovery; yet it pleased my heavenly Father to restore me beyond his expectation. Shortly after, I was sent for to a gentleman in the woodland part of the country, to teach his children, and to be assistant to MR. SLADER, Minister of Knowle. After I had continued in that family somewhat more than a year, I was unexpectedly sent for into Cheshire, to be an assistant to MR. BYROM, Minister of Thornton, with whom I continued almost two years; and by reason of some suits in law wherein he was entangled, I was put upon preaching twice a sabbath, a great part of that time.

In that family I was cast upon some great temptations; but it pleased the LORD in mercy to hedge up my way with thorns, and by striking me with extraordinary fear and terror, he made me reflect upon myself, humbled me for my sins, and by degrees gave me some comfort in believing. Yet SATAN often interrupted me in my secret duties; and one of his instruments was also raised up to prosecute me in the Chancellor's court at Chester, for the omission of some ceremonies: so that, receiving divers discouragements, I resolved to leave that place; and being importuned by some friends in London to come thither, I went to Chester at Michaelmas Fair, with a purpose of sending my trunk to London, and of shortly after following myself: but some inhabitants of Wirral, a peninsula beyond West Chester, who had been my frequent hearers at Thornton, meeting me at the fair, importuned my coming to Shotwick amongst them, and would receive no repulse.

That country is about fourteen miles long, and five broad. There were several understanding Christians scattered up and down in it; but scarce a constant

preacher besides myself: so that, as my maintenance came by a voluntary contribution from all those Christians, all of them, within six or seven miles' compass, repaired to my ministry, both old and young, men and women, summer and winter; spending the time between the sermons in repetition, singing of psalms, and conference; and as they took extraordinary pains for the word, so they highly prized it, and much profited by it. I also set up monthly sacraments, in which we enjoyed much sweet liberty and communion. And besides these public ordinances, we had once in three weeks ordinarily a day of conference, unto which repaired many, both men and women, out of all the country; and this meeting was held by turns at the richer men's houses. In the morning, when they first met, the master of the family began with prayer; then was the question to be conferred of, read, and the younger Christians first gave in their answers, together with their proofs of Scripture for them; and then the more experienced Christians gathered up the other answers which were omitted by the former; and thus they continued till dinner-time, when they dined together with much cheerfulness. After dinner, having sung a psalm, they returned to their conference upon the other questions, which were three in all, till towards the evening; at which time, as the master of the family began, so he concluded with prayer, and I gave them three new questions against their next meeting; which being appointed for time and place, every one repaired to his own home. The benefits which came by these days of conference were many and great.

1. Hereby knowledge was wonderfully increased, so that I was never acquainted with more understanding Christians in all my life, though the best of them followed

husbandry. 2. Holy affections, by this mutual whetting of each other, were exceedingly kindled, and kept alive. 3. Love, by frequent society, was nourished and increased ; so that all the professors, though living ten or twelve miles asunder, were as intimate and familiar as if they had been all of one household. 4. The necessities of the poorer sort being made known, there was plentiful provision made for them. 5. The weak were strengthened, the mourners comforted, the wanderers reclaimed, the dejected raised up, and all of them mutually edified in their most holy faith. 6. Under the pretence of these meetings, we enjoyed the opportunities, as occasion was offered, of private fasts and days of thanksgiving, which otherwise would quickly have been taken notice of and suppressed.

In this place I found the first seal of my ministry, by being an instrument of the conversion of many souls to God : amongst these persons I had abundance of comfort, by their hearty prayers for me, entire affection to me, and care to provide for me. Whilst I was in this place, God disposed of me in marriage to an holy, humble, prudent, and sweet-natured yoke-fellow, unto which, of all the outward mercies I ever enjoyed from God, none is to be compared. She came of religious parents ; her father was a faithful Minister at Bedford, in Warwickshire. But after I had continued about the space of five years in this place, where we enjoyed so much happiness, the Devil raised up some of his instruments to prosecute me in the Chancellor's court, for the omission of ceremonies ; who was so violently bent against me, that he would not suffer me to preach a farewell-sermon to my people. But, behold the sweet Providence of God ! Just at the time when I was thus molested, there came a letter to

me from the Mayor, Aldermen, old Mr. FENN, and some other people in Coventry, importuning me to come to preach a lecture in that great city; divers of them having heard me not long before at Woolston. After I had sought to God and my friends for advice, I resolved to embrace that call: but when I was about leaving that people, it caused much grief to them and me; and with abundance of tears on both sides, we were torn asunder.

At my coming to Coventry, I was entertained with much love and respect; there, for a while, I exercised my ministry. But neither there would the Devil suffer me to be quiet long; for DR. BUGGS, who had engrossed both the livings, there being but two parishes in that great city, seeing his hearers go from him, soon professed himself my enemy, and having power of both the pulpits, denied me entrance into either. Whereupon the Mayor and Aldermen, having another church at an end of the town in their disposal, appointed my lecture there: but DR. BUGGS, having his spies to watch me, both in my prayers and sermons, conceived that he had gotten some advantages against me, for some expressions used by me in the same.

Hereupon he became an eager prosecutor of me before the Bishop of the Diocese, who was DR. MORTON, who inhibited me from preaching in his diocese; but having a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury, [ABBOT,] I refused to obey his inhibition. Shortly after, the Bishop, going to London, caused me to be cited up to the Court of Arches, whither I went, but he put in nothing against me: and when I went to him at his lodgings, he first by persuasions, and afterwards by menaces, laboured to have me relinquish the place: yet I resolved to keep it as long as I could, and returned to Coventry again; where

a new Mayor being chosen, who was a great friend to Dr. BUGGS, the zeal of the Aldermen in standing for me was much cooled; whereupon my lecture fell to the ground, and I assisted my father every Sabbath, who lived within four miles of the city. The door being thus shut against me at Coventry, I was unexpectedly sent for by ROBERT, LORD BROOK, who was then a young man, and unmarried, to bestow a sermon upon him at his house in Wednock Park, not far from Warwick; whither, though with much reluctancy, I went, and preached before him, and found such approbation, that he desired me to be his household Chaplain; but such a life not suiting with my estate, being married, nor with my affections, with humble thanks I refused it, yet found him a fast and faithful friend to me all his life after.

About the same time I was sought for by the Magistrates of Warwick, to preach a lecture there on the Sabbaths in the afternoon, and on Tuesday mornings; but MR. HALL, the Vicar of that place, opposed it: whereupon the Bailiff and Burgesses made their address to ROBERT, Earl of Warwick, who was their Recorder, who sent for me up to London, heard me preach, gave me his qualification to be his Chaplain, and wrote so to MR. HALL, that, being overawed by his letter, he admitted of me for his assistant. In that place I exercised my ministry about five years, and the LORD was pleased so to bless my labours, that I was the instrument of the conversion of some souls; as also of much good in the LORD BROOK's family, who, being then married, lived for the most part in Warwick Castle. But these things proved the object of MR. HALL's envy, who caused me to be presented for the omission of ceremonies; yet the Bishop [DR. THORNBURY] being an old man, and peace-

able, dealt so fairly, that still I got off. At length, MR. HALL, being impatient of my continuance, came to pull me out of the pulpit, and by his clamours and noise so interrupted me, that I was forced to give over; and DR. LAUD being made Archbishop of Canterbury, he, in his old age, made a journey to London, complained of me to the Archbishop; and threatened to prosecute me in the high Commission-Court: yet it pleased the LORD so to order things, that I heard no more of it. About this time the Parson of Alcester died; and LORD BROOK, having formerly proffered that Rectory to me, did now as freely confer it upon me; whither I went, preached to the people, and was freely and unanimously chosen by them for their Pastor: whereupon I took institution and induction into the place, and there exercised my ministry in peace for a time.

And whereas the town was placed in the midst of many great Papists, who made it their rendezvous; and for want of a powerful ministry, the inhabitants of the town were much given to swearing, drunkenness, and profanation of the Sabbath, opening their shops, and selling wares, especially meat, publicly; it pleased God to bless my ministry and private labours, for the reforming those things. But neither did the Devil suffer me to be long in quiet there; for the book of Sporting upon the Sabbath came forth, and I was often enjoined the reading of it, and much threatened for the refusal; and was the more envied, because all the Ministers thereabout submitted to the reading of it: yet it pleased God to preserve my liberty, notwithstanding my refusal; and the LORD added divers to the church by my ministry at that time.

Also about the same time, after I had preached largely upon the doctrine of the Sabbath for half a year together,

it pleased God to show a remarkable judgment upon two of my neighbours ; who, encouraged by that book, and in contempt of my ministry, dared to profane that holy day. The one was a healthy young woman, daughter to J. WALDREN, who said that she would go to such a green in the next parish, and there dance as long as she could stand ; which also on the Sabbath in the afternoon she did ; but as she was dancing, it pleased the LORD to strike her with a grievous disease, whereof she died within three days. The other was a young man, one CHARLES BELLERS. These remarkable judgments, seconding the word, struck a great awe in the hearts of many, to the restraining of them from the like sins. Soon after came on the Archbishop's visitation by SIR NATHANIEL BRENT, unto whom MR. HALL, and some others, made many and great complaints of me ; yet by a letter from MR. R. KNIGHTLY, of Fausly, to SIR N. BRENT, in my behalf, it pleased God to deliver me from that snare also. Thus through God's mercy, I continued the exercise of my ministry in that place for about nine years ; in which time very many young persons, both men and women, held their meetings on the Sabbaths in the evening, to repeat sermons, and perform such duties ; others were built up in their faith ; and the town, which before was called drunken Alcester, was now exemplary for religion all over the country ; and upon all occasions, when public works of mercy were called for, their zeal and forwardness provoked many others.

Not long after, the differences between King and Parliament grew so high, that both parties betook themselves to arms. Whereupon, after some time, upon a special occasion, I went to London, and having been a while there, yet with a purpose of returning, I was one day

talking with my Sister SUTTON, whom I met about Mercer's Chapel in Cheapside; and whilst we were talking together, came by MR. THOMAS CLENDAN, whom I had formerly known, but had now forgotten. My sister telling me who it was, I desired her to call him back, that I might renew my acquaintance; which she did: and as we were talking together, God by his providence so ordered it, that there came by two of Bennet-Fink parish; whom MR. CLENDAN stopping, said to them, "You want a Minister, and if you can prevail with this gentleman, you will be well fitted." Hereupon I was requested to give them a sermon the Sabbath following; which I assented to, not knowing what God intended. About ten others had preached before me, for the place, amongst whom were DR. HOILE, old MR. CARTER, of the Assembly, and MR. F. BELLARS. The chief persons in the parish were for MR. CARTER; and whereas some of the parish urged to proceed to a choice, the other party put it by till the last Wednesday in May, which was the monthly fast; against which time they had procured MR. CARTER to preach in the afternoon: so that they were immediately to proceed to the choice, whilst his gifts in prayer and preaching had left an impression upon the people's spirits, that they might the easier bring him in. Accordingly when they were met in the vestry, the debate was, who should be put into nomination; and all agreed that MR. CARTER, MR. BELLARS, and myself, should be set down in a paper, to which they were to make their marks. MR. BELLARS had but one or two hands; for MR. CARTER there was MR. GREENE, a Member of Parliament, and six more of the greatest men of the parish, before any appeared for me. But then a godly man beginning, so many of the rest followed, that the choice went clearly on my side.

All this while I knew nothing hereof, or what they were about; not being acquainted with any one in the parish, nor employing any friend to speak to them in my behalf. But that day I preached in Fish-Street for Mr. J. SMART, and in the evening supping there, there came a committee from Bennet-Fink parish, to acquaint me with my free election, and to entreat me to accept of the place. Taking notice of the concurring providences of God, I durst not refuse the call; yet reserved myself free to return to Alcester when the storm was over.

The wars being ended, I went into Warwickshire, and preached on the LORD's day at Alcester; and many of the people with tears importuned my return. During the wars, many of the inhabitants of the younger sort had retired to Warwick for safety; where falling into the company of Anabaptists, and other sectaries, they were leavened with their errors; and being now returned home, they had set up private meetings; and many young men, whom I looked upon before as children begotten by my ministry to God, were turned preachers. Whereupon, before I would promise to return, I propounded some articles to them concerning their owning me for their Pastor, which they promised; upon which I promised to return to them the spring following, this being the latter end of summer. But these sectaries underhand wrought against me, and grew higher in the ways of separation; so that finding the love of the people towards me here, the opportunities that I had of being instrumental to the public good, and the unlikeliness of living comfortably at Alcester, having provided an able Minister for them, I resigned to him, and resolved to fix at Bennet-Fink.

Thus, through God's mercy, I continued the exercise

of my ministry for the space of forty years, even till the Act of Conformity took place; which turned me, and almost two thousand godly and laborious ministers and school-masters out of their places. After which, though I durst not separate from the Church of England, yet I intermitted not my private studies; but spent most of my time in reading, writing, and enlarging the books which I formerly printed, or composing new ones. And if it please God that the remainder of my Cases of Conscience shall ever be printed, I doubt not but they will prove as grateful and useful, (if not more so,) as any I have printed already.



POSTSCRIPT.

The following Account is given of the Death of MR. SAMUEL CLARK.

“Dec. 20, 1682. When he first came down in the morning, he complained that he had lain in a fever all night, yet found no great alteration in himself that day: but within two or three days he grew very weak, and was confined to his bed; and then the decays of nature fell violently upon him, so that his strength was quite gone, and he was unable to help himself, and began to falter in his speech; yet the use of his understanding remained to the last. And as upon all occasions, at other times, he would be speaking of his change, so now more especially his communication was such as became a dying person, and one that had a sense of eternity upon his spirit, yea, a comfortable assurance of his own title to a blessed eternity. And thus, upon December 25, 1682, having blessed those that were about him, he resigned up his soul into the hands of his FATHER, and fell asleep in the Lord; being aged eighty-three years, two months, and fifteen days.”

MR. BAXTER'S PREFACE

TO

CLARK'S "LIVES."

CHRISTIAN READER,

THE Author was well known to be a man of great sincerity, a hater of lying, and a great lover of truth, and of long experience and great acquaintance in many parts of the land, especially Cheshire, Warwickshire, and London. My acquaintance with him hath been long, though not much, because of interrupting distances.

On October 23, 1642, little knowing what was doing at Edge-hill, I was preaching in his pulpit at Alcester, on those words, "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence."—My voice hindered me, but the auditors heard the cannon. That night was passed by us in sad watching, with the noise of fugitive troops: the next day, such spectacles being rare and sad, MR. CLARK and I rode to the field to see what was done, where we saw the dead bodies of Englishmen slain by one another. I afterwards lived in Coventry, where MR. CLARK often was; and where his very humble, godly, cheerful old father-in-law, MR. OVERTON, a minister above eighty years of age, was, with many other excellent men, one of my frequent company. MR. CLARK went to London, and there was pastor of a small parish, Bennet-Fink. When the King

commissioned us to treat for concord with the Bishops, he was daily with us, and had the chief hand in drawing up the Exceptions against the Liturgy, at which I was absent.

In 1662, on September 10th, he married me in Bennet-Fink church. After that, when the Lord-Keeper BRIDGMAN, by a favourable exposition, drew twenty non-conforming ministers to take the Oxford Oath, he resolved to be one, that he might leave the accusers of them as disloyal no pretence. But to show that he did it not for any worldly advantage, he presently left London, and lived privately at Thisleworth till his death, bearing not only his own low estate with patience, but that of his worthy sons also, who were sufferers with him, ejected by the Act of Uniformity.

I never saw him since, nor heard that he came to London; but in a letter from him a year before he died, he told me was eighty-two years old.

Some deride him for writing Lives with no more art: but I take that to be his commendation. He did not make the histories, but received them as made by those who had been faithful acquaintances of the dead: and he was not to patch or paint the dead, nor to add any thing of his own, but to deliver naked truth.

JOHN JANEWAY'S Life, and JOSEPH ALLEIN'S, I had a hand in publishing and prefacing heretofore: and O that I could reach that heavenly frame of mind, by which they lived and died, in triumphant joy and praise to God!

I knew not of his epitomizing my wife's Life; but the manner of that tells me, he is likely to be faithful in the rest. His worthy son added his own Life, which he found written by himself.

I have desired the bookseller to reprint the Life of the

Countess of Suffolk, daughter to the Earl of Holland, written by BISHOP RAINBOW, yet living, as an excellent pattern to ladies; the book being not easily to be got.

It is a great work to learn to die safely and comfortably, even the work of all our lives: my turn is near, and this preparation is my daily study: but it is the communication of life, light, and love from heaven, that must make all effectual, and draw up our hearts, and make us ready; for which I daily wait on God, at the brink of the grave, and door of eternity.

RICHARD BAXTER.

January 6, 1682-3.

(I.)

THE LIFE

OF

PHILIP MELANCTHON.

PHILIP MELANCTHON was born at Bretta, in the Lower Palatinate, in the year 1497, of honest parents, by whom he was placed at school, and afterwards sent to Heidelberg at twelve years of age. He commenced Bachelor of Arts at the age of fourteen, with general approbation. After three years' study there, the air not agreeing with him, he removed to Tübingen. He always used to carry his Bible about him, reading often in it both at church and elsewhere; yet was he carried away with the common errors of the times, of which himself saith, "I tremble to think with what blind devotion I went to images, whilst I was a Papist." At Tübingen he privately taught the law, and read over very diligently all the books of GALEN and HESIOD. He stayed in that University four years, where he profited so much in the arts, tongues, and philosophy, that he read public lectures in the schools, and was employed in overseeing the press. He studied the mathematics, law, and physic, in all which he profited much; and there he commenced Master of Arts, at the age of seventeen.

LUTHER about that time beginning to oppose the Pope, in August, 1518, PHILIP MELANCTHON was sent for from Tübingen, by FREDERIC Duke of Saxony, to the University of Wittemberg, to teach the Greek tongue. He consulted with CAPNIO, who advised him to embrace the invitation; whereupon, August 25, he came to Wittemberg. About

this time ERASMUS wrote thus of him: "PHILIP MELANCTHON is a most learned and excellent Grecian. He is a stripling, if you consider his age; but one of us, if you look upon his variety of knowledge, almost in all books. He is very exquisite in the learning of both the tongues. I pray CHRIST that this young man may live long amongst us; he will quite obscure ERASMUS."

He came to Wittemberg when he was but twenty-two years old: there he began to expound ST. PAUL's Epistle to TITUS out of Greek, to the great admiration of his hearers, who flocked exceedingly to his lectures; and LUTHER also was exceedingly taken with the same.

In the year 1527, he was employed in visiting the churches in Saxony. In 1529, the Elector of Saxony took him with him to the Convention at Spire, where, by the consent of the Protestant Princes, he drew up a Confession of Faith with great pains and exactness, which by them was presented to the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth.

In 1534, HENRY the Eighth sent to invite him into England, with promise of courteous entertainment, and good preferment; hoping by his means to draw the Protestant Princes of Germany into a league with him against the Pope. But MELANCTHON refused to go, rendering the reason in a letter which he wrote to CAMERARIUS, wherein is this passage; "Perhaps many things are reported amongst you concerning England, that it lieth open now for purer doctrine: but I have intelligence from a good hand, that the King hath no great care of the affairs of the Church. Only, this good comes of his rejecting the Pope's authority, that for the present no cruelty is used towards those that are desirous of better doctrine."

When the wars for religion broke out in Germany, he foresaw, in a dream, the captivity of the Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse, fifteen days before they were taken. And when MELANCTHON did justly bewail those sad times, he was accused to the Emperor as an enemy to his affairs; whereupon the Emperor sent

to MAURICE, the Elector, to send him to him, which he refused to do. He was sent also to the Council of Trent; but whilst he stayed at Noremberg for the public faith, the war broke out betwixt MAURICE of Saxony, and the Emperor; whereupon he returned to Wittemberg. Shortly after, the plague breaking out there, the University was removed to Tergaw: but he said, he feared not that plague, but a far worse plague, which threatened the ruin of the commonwealth. Whilst he was with the Palatine at Heidelberg, he had news brought him of the death of his wife, who had lived piously and lovingly with him in wedlock thirty-seven years; at the hearing whereof he expressed himself thus: "Farewell, KATE! I shall follow thee ere long." He was very careful beforehand to prepare himself for death, having this distich often in his mouth:

*Sic ego quotidie de lecto surgo, precando,
Ut mens ad mortem sit duce læta Deo.*

On the 27th of March, 1560, a short time before his death, he was sent for by the Elector of Saxony to Leipsic, for the examination of those who were maintained by the Elector there for the study of divinity, which examination he had held many years. He continued in that employment till the 4th of April, at which time he returned to Wittemberg.

On the 8th of April, his sickness seized upon him, of which he died. It was a fever, which prevented him from having much sleep that night. Hereupon DR. PEUCER, his son-in-law, intended to send for CAMERARIUS, between whom and MELANCTHON there had been a strong bond of friendship for forty years.

On the 13th, to make an end of his writing, which he was to propose on Easter-day, he followed his study hard that morning, which was the last thing he wrote for his public reading. On Easter-eve he carried it to the printing-house, after which he went to church, and in the afternoon went again to the printing-house, to see how the work went forward. About four that evening he sat

on the stairs which led up into his study, leaning upon his elbow; at which time JOACHIM CAMERARIUS came from Leipsic to visit him, and, entering his house, found him in that posture. They saluted each other with great familiarity, and about five that evening his fever seized on him; so that night he had a very grievous fit, yet in the morning he had a little sleep, being April 14th, Easter-day. After which he rose out of his bed, and though he was scarcely able to go, yet he would have read his lecture publicly, which his friends dissuaded him from, considering his great weakness. On the 15th, before dinner, he professed his desire to depart hence, saying, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with CHRIST."

On the 16th of April, CAMERARIUS was minded to return home, but as they sat at breakfast together, on a sudden such a weakness came upon MELANCTHON, that he desired to go to bed, so that CAMERARIUS laid aside his purpose of departure. On the 17th, CAMERARIUS took his leave of him, commending him to God; whereupon MELANCTHON said, "JESUS CHRIST, the SON OF GOD, that sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and giveth gifts unto men, preserve you, and yours, and us all." This night he was very sick, and in his prayers cried out, "O LORD, make an end."

April 18th, he was much pained with the stone. About eight that morning, the Pastors of the church visited him, to whom he said, "By the goodness of God, I have no domestic grief to disquiet me, although my nephews and nieces stand here before me, whom I love very dearly. Yet this is my comfort, they have godly parents, who will take care of them as I have done so long as I was able. But public matters affect me, especially the troubles of the church in this evil age: but, through God's goodness, our doctrine is sufficiently explained and confirmed." Then speaking to the eldest daughter of his son-in-law, DR. PEUCER, he said, "I have loved thee, my daughter; see that thou honour thy parents, be dutiful to them, and fear God, and he will never forsake thee: I beseech

him to defend thee, and keep thee." About nine o'clock he spake to his son-in-law, who was his physician, saying, "What think you of my disease? Have you any hope? Speak plain." The physician answered, "God is your life, and the length of your days, to whom we commend you; but if we look at natural causes, your disease is dangerous; for your weakness is great, and increaseth every moment." "I think the same, (quoth he,) and am sensible of my weakness."

A while after, he made them search for some sheets of paper, wherein he had begun to write his will, purposing to declare his judgment about all the heads of religion, and to testify it to posterity; but they could not be found: whereupon he began to frame it anew, sitting at a table, but through weakness was not able to proceed therein. Only he wrote, that he had twice formerly set down a confession of his faith, and a thanksgiving to God, and to our LORD JESUS CHRIST. His mind was sincere and sound to his last gasp, and his brain never more firm. Then he conferred with his son-in-law about the affairs of the University. About six o'clock, letters were brought to him from his friends at Frankfort, concerning the persecution of some good men in France; whereupon he said, "His bodily disease was not comparable to the grief of his mind for his friends, and for the miseries of the church." That night he had very little rest. About two in the morning, he raised himself up in his bed, saying, that God had brought into his mind again that speech of PAUL, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" After which he returned to his former complaints of the calamities of the church: "Yet," saith he, "my hopes are very great, for the doctrine of our church is explained." And so he proceeded to earnest prayers and groanings for the church, and then betook himself to rest. About eight in the morning, in the presence of divers Pastors and Deacons, he made three prayers, whereof this was one:—

"O almighty, eternal, ever-living, and true God,

Creator of heaven and earth, together with thy co-eternal SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, crucified for us, and raised again, and together with thy HOLY SPIRIT;—who hast said that thou ‘desirest not the death of a sinner, but that he may be converted and live;’ and also, ‘Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee;’—I confess unto thee that I am a most miserable sinner, that I have many sins, and have been faulty many ways: but I am sorry with all my heart that I have offended thee. I pray thee, for our LORD JESUS CHRIST’s sake, who was crucified, and rose again for us, to have pity upon me, and to forgive all my sins, and to justify me by and through JESUS CHRIST thy SON, thine eternal Word and image, whom, by thy unspeakable counsel, and unmeasurable wisdom and goodness, thou wouldest have to be for us a Sacrifice, Mediator, and Intercessor. Sanctify me also by thy HOLY SPIRIT, that I may truly acknowledge thee, firmly believe in thee, truly obey thee, give thanks unto thee, rightly invoke thy name, serve thee, and see thee gracious to all eternity, and the almighty true GOD, Creator of heaven and earth, and men, the eternal Father of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and JESUS CHRIST thy SON, thy eternal Word and image, and the HOLY GHOST the COMFORTER. In thee, O LORD, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. ‘Thou hast redeemed me, O LORD GOD of truth.’ Keep, O LORD, and govern our church, and commonwealth, and this school, and give them wholesome peace, and wholesome government. Rule and defend our Princes; nourish thy church, gather and preserve thy church in these countries, and sanctify it, and join it with thy HOLY SPIRIT, that it may be one in thee, in the knowledge of thy SON JESUS CHRIST, by and for the sake of this thine eternal SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST.”

After this he rested a while. Then the Pastors and Deacons, by turns, read unto him, *Psal.* xxiv., xxv., xxvi., *Isa.* liii., and divers other psalms and chapters. After which he said, “I often think upon that saying of St. JOHN, ‘He came unto his own, and his own received

him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name.'” After this, for an hour or two, he seemed to do little else than pray; and being at length asked by his son-in-law, whether he would have any thing, he answered, “Nothing but heaven, therefore trouble me no more with speaking to me.” Then the Pastor prayed with him, and the others read again; and so, about half an hour after six, he quietly and peaceably gave up the ghost; having lived sixty-three years, sixty-three days; and spent, in preaching and writing, forty-two years.

(II.)

THE LIFE

OF

PETER MARTYR.

PETER MARTYR was born at Vermile in Florence, in the year 1500, of an ancient and honourable family. His mother, being well skilled in Latin, trained him up in it from his childhood.

He was exceedingly studious, spending no time idle. And finding that in the flourishing city of Florence he met with many temptations to luxury, at sixteen years old he entered into a monastery of Regular Canons of St. Augustine, in Fessulæ, near Florence. But that which moved him to this was, that he might have leisure to serve God, to follow his study, and to benefit himself by the famous library which was in that monastery. There he spent three years in the study of the arts, and of the Holy Scriptures, part whercof he learned by heart. Then he went to Padua, where, entering into a monastery of the same order, he continued nearly eight years, in which time he almost wholly employed himself in the study of Philosophy, spending both night and day in meditating, reading, writing, and disputations. There he heard also the daily lectures of the famous Philosophers, who were Professors in that University; in the mean time spending whole nights in the library of the monastery, with BENEDICT CUSANUS, the companion of all his studies.

When he was twenty-six years old, the fraternity of that monastery called him to the office of Preaching; and, upon trial, his learning and abilities appeared to be such, that

he was honoured with the degree of a Doctor. He began first to preach in the church of Brixia, and afterwards in the most famous cities of Italy, in Rome, Bononia, Firmium, Pisa, Venice, Mantua, Bergomum, and Montserrat. And all the time which he could gain from preaching, he spent in the study of Philosophy and Divinity. He preached also privately, and read lectures in the colleges at Padua, Ravenna, and Bononia.

Hitherto he had mostly applied himself to the study of the Schoolmen, yet had spent some time in reading the Fathers, but now he began to employ himself in searching the fountain, the Old and New Testament; and finding that, to enable him thereto, the knowledge of the Hebrew language was necessary, whilst he was vicar to the Prior in Bononia, he procured one ISAAC, a Jew, for his master, and applied himself to the study of that language; and though he had little help from his master, yet by his singular diligence, he attained great skill in the Hebrew, and his name grew famous in the chief cities of Italy; whereupon the superiors of his order, approving his diligence, resolved to advance him to some greater dignity, and so, by the consent of all, he was made Abbot of Spoleto; which office when he had once undertaken, he carried himself so excellently therein, that he was admired of all, considering that hitherto he had been only employed in his studies, and yet now showed such admirable wisdom and dexterity in managing the affairs of his monastery.

His prudence appeared conspicuous in these two examples. There were in Spoleto two nunneries, and one monastery of Augustinian Canons Regular, where MARTYR resided. These houses, through the negligence of former Abbots, were so corrupted with luxury and uncleanness, that they were extremely hated by all men. MARTYR, seeing this, by the authority of his office, reduced them quickly into order, by teaching, admonishing, and exhorting, and sometimes by using severe castigation; so that he procured great credit to himself, and love to his order.

The other example was this : the commonwealth of Spoleto, as most others in Italy, was divided into factions, whereupon not only quarrels, but murder often ensued. MARTYR was not ignorant hereof, and yet, looking upon it as his duty, resolved rather to hazard his life, than to suffer Christians thus to tear one another ; and it pleased God so far to bless his labours, that all the time of his living in that city, his authority, prudence, and eloquence, so far prevailed, that there was neither fight nor murder ; no, nor the least footsteps of faction appearing amongst the people.

At Spoleto he continued three years, at the end whereof, by a public convention of the superiors of the order, he was made Governor of the college at Naples, which, for the profits belonging to it, was of great esteem.

In that city, it pleased God, that he began to attain more light and knowledge of the truth : for by his study of the Scriptures, through the illumination of the HOLY GHOST, he began to take notice of the errors and abuses which had crept into the church ; whereupon (God inclining his heart thereto) he began to read some Protestant authors, by which, as he confessed afterwards, he profited very much. He daily also conferred with some friends who were addicted to the study of the Reformed Religion, to the mutual edification of both parties. The chief of these were BENEDICT CUSANUS, his old friend, ANTHONY FLAMINIUS, and JOHN VALDESSOS, a noble Spaniard, made a Knight by CHARLES V., who, after he had embraced the truth in the love of it, spent his time in Italy, especially in Naples, where by his life and doctrine he had gained many to CHRIST, and amongst those, several of the Nobility and learned men.

A church being thus, by God's Providence, gathered in Naples, PETER MARTYR joined himself to it ; and being desirous to impart that light to others which God had revealed to him, he began to expound the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and that with great fruit : for not only the Fellows of his college resorted to it, but many Bishops

and Noblemen. But when he came to the words of Sr. PAUL, in 1 *Cor.* iii. 13, "Every man's work shall be made manifest; for the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire," and had interpreted them contrary to the received opinion, he stirred up many adversaries against him: for it is commonly thought that these words imply a Purgatory, whereas MARTYR showed, out of the ancient fathers, that they could not be so understood.

Such as were addicted to the Pope, could by no means endure this interpretation of his; knowing that if Purgatory were overthrown, a great part of their profits would presently cease. Whereupon they accused MARTYR, and so far prevailed, that his lecture was put down; but MARTYR refused to obey this sentence, and, trusting to the goodness of his cause, appealed to the Pope; and at Rome, by the assistance of his friends, he overcame his adversaries: for at that time, he had there powerful friends, such as Cardinal GONZAGA, GASPAR CONTARENE, REGINALD POLE, PETER BEMBO, and FREDERICK FREGOSIUS, all learned men, and gracious with the Pope; who also acknowledged, that the church needed some reformation.

By these men's assistance, he was restored to his former liberty of preaching, which yet he could not long enjoy: for before he had been three years at Naples, he fell into a grievous disease, together with his old fellow-student BENEDICT CUSANUS, who died there. But MARTYR, by the goodness of God, was (though with much difficulty) cured. Whereupon the Superiors of his order, seeing the air of Naples did not agree with him, in a public convention made him general Visitor of their order; in which office he so demeaned himself, that good men much commended his integrity, constancy, and gravity; and others feared him, not daring to discover their hatred against him.

Not long after, in a public convention of the Superiors of his order, he was made Prior of a monastery in Lucca. Some out of love preferred him to this place; others,

thinking that it would be his ruin ; for there was an ancient grudge between Florence and Lucca, the latter suspecting that the Florentines sought to enslave them. But MARTYR, by his excellent learning and virtue, did so bind the hearts of those of Lucca to him, that, contrary to the expectation of his adversaries, himself being a Florentine, he was no less esteemed at Lucca than if he had been born amongst them.

MARTYR, continuing at Lucca, had in his college many learned men, and many hopeful youths, amongst whom he settled such a discipline as might most advance holiness and learning. He took care that the younger sort should be instructed in the three languages ; and that together with the Greek they might learn divinity, he daily expounded ST. PAUL'S Epistles to them, and afterwards required them to read over the same ; and every night before supper, he publicly expounded one of DAVID'S Psalms.

Very many of the Nobility and Senators, out of the city, resorted to his lectures. And that he might the better plant religion in that commonwealth, he preached to them every sabbath-day. And what fruit his ministry had may be discerned by this, that in one year's space after his departure out of Italy, eighteen Fellows of that college left their places and the Papacy, betaking themselves to the Reformed Churches. Many citizens also of Lucca went into voluntary exile, where they might enjoy the Gospel with peace and safety.

Whilst PETER MARTYR was at Lucca, there met in that city, the EMPEROR CHARLES V., POPE PAUL III., and CARDINAL CONTARENE, coming Legate out of Germany ; who, for old acquaintance' sake, quartered with PETER MARTYR, and had daily much conference with him about religion. Most men thought he would be in no small danger, by reason of the presence of the Pope ; because his enemies would suggest something to the suspicious old man, which might turn to MARTYR'S great trouble. But being informed of the snares that were laid for him,

and admonished by his friends to take heed to himself, there being many that sought his life, he resolved to convey himself where he might be safe from the power and malice of his adversaries. Therefore, setting all things in order in the college, he privately departed out of the city, with only three companions.

Purposing to visit his own country, he went to Pisa, where to some noblemen he administered the Lord's-Supper; and meeting there with some faithful messengers, he wrote to CARDINAL POLE, and to some of his friends at Lucca. In these letters, he showed what great errors and abuses were in the Popish religion, and in the monastical life, with whom he could no longer communicate with a safe conscience. He also stated the other causes of his departure, viz. the hatred and snares laid for him by his enemies.

Coming to Florence, he met there with a godly and learned man, BERNARDINE OCHINE, who, being cited to Rome, was going thitherwards; but being warned of the danger by his friends, he consulted with MARTYR; and, upon deliberation, both of them resolved to go into Germany.

When he came to Zurich, he was kindly entertained by the Ministers belonging to that city, to whom he proffered his service; but having at this time no place void, they told him, they much desired his company and pains, but for the present had no employment for him. He often used to say, that as soon as he came to Zurich, he fell in love with that city, desiring of God that it might be a refuge to him in this his banishment; which prayer was afterwards granted, though in the mean time God was pleased to make use of his labours in other places for his own glory.

From thence he went to Basle, where, after he had abode a month, he was called to Strasburgh, and made Professor of Divinity. There he continued five years, in which time he interpreted most of the Bible. He was very skilful in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. He had an

admirable dexterity in interpreting the Scripture ; was a very acute disputant ; and used always to express himself very clearly, knowing that ambiguity of words is the cause of much contention. He lived in most entire friendship with his colleague BUCER.

At Strasburgh, being unmarried, he lived with his friends that came with him out of Italy, being contented with a very small stipend. For having forsaken his country, his honours, and his riches, for the sake of CHRIST, he thought it unfit to trouble any about the increase of his stipend ; the rather because he was of a frugal disposition, so that his stipend did not only suffice, but he spared something out of that little towards the support of his friends. By the advice of his friends, he married KATHERINE DAMPMARTIN, who afterwards died in England without issue, having lived with him eight years. She was one that feared GOD, was loving to her husband, prudent in administering household affairs, liberal to the poor, and, in the whole course of her life, pious, modest, and sober. After her death, by the command of CARDINAL POLE, her body was dug up and buried in a dunghill ; but in QUEEN ELIZABETH's days, it was again taken up, and buried in the chief place of the church.

The occasion of PETER MARTYR's going into England was this : King HENRY VIII. being dead, and his son EDWARD VI. succeeding, the latter, by the advice of the Protector, EDWARD, Duke of Somerset, and CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, abolished the Popish religion, and reformed the church according to the Word of GOD ; for which end he thought best to reform the Universities. And PETER MARTYR, being at this time famous for his learning and skill in affairs, was judged most fit for this employment : whereupon the Archbishop, by the command of the King, sent for him over ; and in the year 1547, by the consent of the Senate of Strasburgh, he went into England ; BERNARDINE OCHINE accompanying him, who also was sent for by the Archbishop. On their arrival, the Archbishop entertained

them in his house, using them with all courtesy and humanity ; but after a while, the King sent MARTYR to Oxford, to be Professor of Divinity, where he first began to expound the First Epistle to the Corinthians, because therein were many heads laid down, which concerned the controversies of those times.

The Papists, (whereof there were many at Oxford,) at first, patiently bore MARTYR's teaching ; but some of them, especially the Heads of Houses, laboured to restrain the students from going to his lectures, yet proceeded no further. But when he came to declare his judgment about the Sacrament, they could bear it no longer ; and therefore, that they might not only procure him envy, but bring him into danger, they began to load him with their usual accusations amongst the vulgar, that he taught contrary to the doctrine of their forefathers, and that he profaned the Sacrament of the altar, and did (as it were) trample it under his feet. Then (without acquainting him with it) they affixed papers upon all their church-doors, in English, declaring that to-morrow there should be a public disputation against the real presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament. By this means, on the day following, they filled the schools, and disposed their party in every place, commanding them to make a noise, to raise tumults, and, if need were, to fight with any that should oppose them. Many ran to this sight, not only of the scholars, but of the townsmen ; some to see the event of the business, others to assist their friends.

MARTYR, in the mean time, being wholly ignorant of all this, was in his house, preparing himself after his usual manner to read his lecture, till some of his friends (observing the unusual concourse of people) went to him, and opened the whole business to him ; entreating him not to expose himself, seeing his adversaries seemed resolved, rather with arms than with arguments, to oppose him. He answered, that he could not neglect his office ; that he was never the author of any tumults, as themselves were witnesses ; neither would he now give his adversaries any

occasion of raising a tumult, for he would only read according to his usual custom: "for," said he, "there are many amongst them that expect the lecture, to whom I may not be wanting." And so going towards the schools, accompanied with his most faithful friends, there met him a boy from DR. SMITH, who was one of those chiefly concerned. The boy gave him a letter from his master, wherein he challenged him to a disputation. Then did MARTYR's friends again earnestly solicit him to return home, telling him the danger he was running into. But he was still resolute; and so going to the schools, when his adversaries provoked him, he endeavoured, by a modest speech, to quiet them, saying, that he refused not to dispute, but only disliked the time, because he came to read his lecture: and thus having somewhat quieted them, he went on with his lecture to the great admiration of all. For they who before admired him for his singular learning and eloquence, now much more admired him for his admirable constancy: for, notwithstanding the murmurs of the people, and the rage of his adversaries, he went on without the least change of his colour, or hesitation, or trembling, or any thing else that might imply the least fear.

Having ended his lecture, his adversaries began again with great clamour to provoke him to a disputation; nor would they accept of his modest excuse, when he told them, that he would dispute, but at another time; that he was not now prepared for it, they having concealed their questions from him, without setting them up in public as they used to do. To this they replied, that he who had read his lectures about the Lord's-Supper, could not be unprovided to dispute upon the same subject. To which he again answered, that he durst not undertake such a work without acquainting the King with it, especially seeing the thing tended to sedition. He told them also, that to a lawful disputation was required, that the questions should be agreed on; that moderators should be appointed, by whose judgment all things should be determined; and lastly, that they should have

notaries to write the arguments on both sides : “Whereas,” saith he, “none of these things are ready, and besides, the night draws on, so that we shall want time to discuss so great a controversy.”

His adversaries would not be satisfied with these reasons, but were likely to fall together by the ears. Whereupon the Vice-Chancellor interposed his authority, requiring PETER MARTYR and SMITH to meet at his house, with their friends on both sides, where they should agree upon the questions, and the time and order for disputing ; and in the mean time he commanded the beadles to dissolve the assembly ; and so taking PETER MARTYR by the hand, he led him forth, and safely conducted him to his own house. MARTYR being delivered from this danger, yet, lest he should seem to decline the disputation, being accompanied with some of his friends, at the hour appointed, went to the Vice-Chancellor’s house. SMITH did the like, bringing with him DRS. COLE and OGLETHORP, and three other Doctors of Divinity. At length the questions were agreed upon, and time and place appointed for the disputation, and so they parted ; and in the mean time, by their mutual consents, the King was made acquainted with it, who, against the day, sent down his delegates to order the disputation aright. But SMITH, before the day came, fled first into Scotland, and from thence to Louvaine, in Brabant. Yet at the day appointed the King’s delegates came ; and in the presenee of these, PETER MARTYR disputed four days with three of the Popish Doctors, wherein he showed excellent learning ; and because his adversaries scattered many false reports, MARTYR afterwards printed the whole disputation.

Not long after, the common people in Devonshire and Oxfordshire rose in arms, amongst whom many threatened the death of MARTYR, so that he could neither read his lectures, nor safely remain in the city : whereupon he was safely conveyed to London ; and when his wife and family could not with safety remain at his house, his friends hid them, till the seditious multitude were de-

parted out of the city. For the King, raising two armies, quickly suppressed them, punishing with death the ring-leaders of those rebellions; and MARTYR thereupon returned to Oxford to his wonted labours.

But his restless Popish adversaries, who had been formerly beaten with arguments, and durst not again return to arms, yet, to show their spite, often raised tumults before his house in the night, throwing stones at his door, and breaking his windows: wherefore the King, being careful to provide for his safety, made him Dean of Christ-Church; and so, though he had formerly taken the degree of Doctor, yet he took it again according to the rites of that university.

He was much prized by the King, and highly esteemed by CRANMER, RIDLEY, LATIMER, HOOPER, and all that loved the truth. CRANMER made much use of him, and took his advice about reforming the Church, and settling the government of it. But when the bloody days of Queen MARY came, wherein the Church was laid waste, and holy men shut up in prisons, MARTYR also was forbidden the exercise of his office, and commanded not to set foot out of his own doors, nor to carry any thing thence. Whereupon he presently wrote to his friends, showing what danger he was in, and pleading the *public faith* given to him when he was sent for by King EDWARD the Sixth; and by this means, leave being given him, he came from Oxford to London, repairing immediately to ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, his entire and old friend. About which time a report was spread that CRANMER wavered, and was ready to change his religion; which he hearing of, set forth a writing, wherein he professed himself ready to maintain the doctrine, which was authorised by King EDWARD, to be agreeable to the word of God, and the doctrine of the Apostles: and herein he was encouraged by PETER MARTYR, whom the Archbishop chose to join him in defending the same against all opposers. But this was denied, and the Archbishop sent to the Tower.

It was also debated in the Queen's Council, whether

PETER MARTYR should be imprisoned : but after debate, it was concluded, that because he came into England upon the *public faith*, he should be safely dismissed. Whereupon, sending him public letters signed with the Queen's own hand, he and BERNARDINE OCHINE went first to Antwerp, and from thence to Strasburgh ; where he was entertained with much joy by his old friends, and restored to his former place.

Yet there the Devil also raised him up enemies, who suggested to the Senate that he differed in judgment from the Augustan Confession about CHRIST's presence in the Sacrament of the LORD's-Supper : whereupon he wrote to the Senate, that there was nothing in the Augustan Confession, rightly understood, which he did not concur with, and that if his text at any time should lead him to speak of that subject, he would do it with such modesty that it should be offensive to none. With this answer the Senate was well satisfied : yet his restless adversaries did nothing but asperse him, and seek his disgrace ; first more privately, and then more openly, which made him think upon a remove ; and GOD in his wise providence so ordered it, that about that time PELLICAN dying at Zurich, the Senate chose MARTYR in his room, and presently sent for him to come to them. In the year 1556, (to the great grief of his friends,) he departed to Zurich, JOHN JEWEL (afterwards Bishop of Sarum) accompanying him. There he was entertained with much joy, both by the Senate, Ministers, and all good men : he at first resided with his old friend BULLINGER, with whom he lived with entire friendship, which continued to their death. Also by his sweet and holy carriage, he won the love of all ; inso-much that the Senate, to show how highly they esteemed him, made him free of their commonwealth.

He had buried his wife in England ; whereupon, at the desire of his friends, six years after her death, he married CATHERINE MAREDA, who for religion had left her own country, and had a good testimony of the whole church.

As he was highly prized by them of Zurich, so he loved them exceedingly, as may appear by two examples. **CELSUS**, the Pastor of the Italian church at Geneva, being dead, many of that congregation having been **MARTYR**'s old disciples, and very dear to him, chose him to be their Pastor, and sent to request his coming to them : many also of his old English friends, that lived as exiles there, much pressed it : yea, and **CALVIN** also wrote to him, desiring him to embrace the call. **MARTYR** being thus importunately pressed to remove thither, and having many engagements to incline him that way, yet referred the whole matter to be determined by the Senate and Ministers at Zurich, and they refusing to part with him, he resolved to stay, notwithstanding all solicitations to the contrary : and afterwards, when, in **QUEEN ELIZABETH**'s days, he was much importuned to return into England, and had large proffers made him from the Queen, yet he would not leave his flock till his death.

And how ready he was to be servicable to other churches, may appear by this example :—the year before his death the King of France had appointed a meeting of the Bishops and Nobility at Passy ; whereupon they of the Reformed Religion in France thought it was a very seasonable time to procure a conference about religion, which might tend to the peace and liberty of the Church. Upon this the churches chose certain delegates, which should move for the liberty of religion : and they chose many learned men who should dispute with their adversaries ; and because the singular learning and dexterity of **PETER MARTYR** in disputing was sufficiently known, they in the first place made choice of him for one, and sent to Zurich, to try his willingness to accept of that employment. When he had declared his readiness, shortly after came letters from the King, Queen-Mother, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral **COLIGNI**, to the Senate of Zurich, to desire them to send **MARTYR** ; withal sending him a safe conduct : whereupon he undertook the journey, and when he came to Passy, he made an

oration to the Queen, exhorting her to seek, not only the quiet of France, but of other Churches, by promoting true religion, showing also what a blessing she might expect from God thereby. The Queen entertained him kindly, and so did the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral of France. But the Cardinal of Loraine sought to hinder the disputation all that possibly he could; yet when he could not prevail, five of each party were chosen to dispute about the Lord's-Supper in private, having only two notaries present; and after several days' disputation, something was drawn up as the result of all, which, with some explanations, BEZA, MARLORAT, MARTYR, SPINA, and the Lord of Sole, subscribed to. But when the same was presented to the Cardinal and Popish Bishops, they complained of their disputants as having consented to that which was heresy; and so by their authority they brake off the disputation, and departed. Whereupon MARTYR addressed himself to the Queen, seeing he was like to do no good there, desiring license to depart, which she consented to; and he returned to Zurich with a large testimony of his worthy carriage, and a guard from the Prince of Condé and the Admiral, for his safety.

Thus having worn out himself with indefatigable labours, and having his spirits much exhausted with grief for the afflicted condition of the churches of France, he fell sick of a fever, made his will, and to his friends that visited him, spake cheerfully and comfortably, telling them that his body was weak, but inwardly he enjoyed much peace and comfort. He made an excellent confession of his faith, concluding thus, "This is my faith, and they that teach otherwise to the withdrawing men from God, God will destroy them." He gave them his hand, and bade them farewell; and commending his soul to God, he slept in the Lord, and was buried honourably, in the year 1562, and in the sixty-second year of his age.

(III.)

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN CALVIN.

JOHN CALVIN was born at Soissons, a city of France, June 6, 1509. His father's name was GERARD CALVIN, his mother's JOAN FRANCA; both of good repute, and of a competent estate. GERARD was a very prudent man, and much esteemed. He gave his son a liberal education from his childhood. From the grammar-school, he sent him to Paris, and placed him with MATURINUS CORDERIUS, a man well esteemed both for probity and learning.

His father, from the beginning, designed him to the study of Divinity, which he judged him to be much inclined to, being religiously addicted from his childhood, and a severe reprover of his school-fellows' faults. And being thus resolved, he procured a benefice of the Bishop for him, in Soissons, in which place JOHN, before his ordination, preached divers sermons to the people. But this purpose of his was afterwards altered; for his father, seeing the study of the law was a surer step to riches and honour, altered his mind: and his son growing into acquaintance with a certain kinsman of his, was by him instructed in the true religion; whereupon he addicted himself to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and began to abominate the superstitious services of the Popish Church.

Upon this occasion he went to Orleans, where PETER STELLA, the most famous lawyer in France, read his lectures, whose auditor JOHN CALVIN was, and in a short

space wonderfully profited : so that many times, occasionally supplying his master's place, he rather seemed a Doctor, than a learner in the law : and when he was about to depart, all the Professors in that university professed to bestow the degree of a Doctor upon him. But all this while he neglected not the study of the Sacred Scriptures, insomuch that there were but few in that city, that were addicted to the Reformed Religion, who did not go to him to be satisfied in their doubts. And some, who were intimately acquainted with him at that time, testified, that his manner was constantly to continue his studies till midnight, and in the morning, as soon as he awoke, to ruminate what he had read the night before, whereby he fixed it in his memory ; neither would he suffer himself to be disturbed during the time of his meditation. And the better to fit him for his studies, he always supped very sparingly ; by which practice he attained to excellent learning ; yet, withal, contracted many diseases.

Whilst he was employed in these studies, he neglected not that of Divinity, so that he preached divers sermons in a neighbouring town. But whilst he was thus busied, news came to him of his father's death, which called him back into his own country. Having settled his affairs there, he went to Paris, being now about twenty-four years old. After a few months' stay at Paris, he grew acquainted with all that professed the Reformed Religion ; and amongst the rest with STEPHEN FORGEUS, a famous merchant, who afterward sealed the truth with his blood.

From henceforward, at the earnest request of all those that held their private meetings in Paris, he laid aside all other studies, and wholly applied himself to that of Divinity. At this time NICHOLAS COPE was Rector of the University at Paris, who being to make an oration on All-Saints' Day, at the instigation of CALVIN, spoke of religion more purely and clearly than he used to do. This the Parliament of Paris was angry at, insomuch that they cited him to appear before them, which accordingly he was about to do ; but as he went, some of his friends

advised him to take heed of his adversaries ; whereupon he returned home, and immediately afterwards left France, and went to Basle. The officers sent by the Parliament, searching for COPE, went into CALVIN's house, who by chance not being at home, they ransacked his study, and amongst his papers found many of his friends' letters, which had like to have endangered the lives of many. But it pleased GOD to divert that storm by the prudent and pious diligence of the Queen of Navarre, the only sister of King FRANCIS, a woman of an admirable wit, and exceedingly tender of the Professors of the Reformed Religion. She also sent for CALVIN to her Court, used him very honourably, and heard him gladly. But CALVIN, finding Paris too hot for his abode, went to Xantone, where sojourning with a friend, at his request he drew up short admonitions, which were dispersed amongst certain priests to be taught to their people, that so their people might, by little and little, be drawn to searching out the truth.

Purposing to bid adieu to France, and travelling through Lorraine, he went towards Basle : but being not far from the city of Meton, they fell into great straits ; for one of their servants, who had gotten all their money, being mounted upon a swift horse, ran away from them, and could by no means be overtaken, so that they were fain to send their other servant to borrow ten crowns, which with much difficulty carried them to Strasburgh, and from thence to Basle.

Some time after, he had a great desire to visit the Duchess of Ferrara, the daughter of Louis XII. of France, a woman famous for her piety ; and thereby also to have a sight of Italy. To her therefore he went, and endeavoured to confirm her in the truth, so that she loved him dearly all his life, and after his death honoured his memory. Returning out of Italy he came into France, where he settled his affairs, and taking along with him his only brother, he intended to return to Basle or Strasburgh ; but all other ways being stopped, by reason of

wars, he went to Geneva, without any purpose of staying there. Yet presently after it appeared, that it was so ordered by Divine Providence: for a little before, the Gospel of CHRIST was brought into that city by the labour and industry of two excellent men, WILLIAM FARRELL, and PETER VIRET.

CALVIN, hearing of these worthy men, went to visit them, to whom FARRELL spake much, to persuade him rather to stay with them at Geneva, than to go any further. But when he saw that persuasions would not prevail, he said thus unto him; "I protest unto thee, in the name of the omnipotent God, that if thou proceedest to frame excuses, and wilt not join with us in this work of the LORD, the LORD will curse thee, as seeking thy own, rather than the things of JESUS CHRIST" CALVIN being terrified with this, submitted to the judgment of the Presbytery and of the Magistrates, by whose suffrages, together with the consent of the people, he was chosen not only their Preacher, but also Professor of Divinity: the first he refused, the second he accepted of in August, 1536. He then published a Form of Christian Doctrine, and a Catechism, containing the chief heads of religion; and a public Scribe reading them, the Senate and People of Geneva swore together to those heads of christian religion and discipline.

About the same time, observing that there were many in France that knew and were convinced of the truth, and yet indulged themselves, as if it were enough that they reserved their hearts for CHRIST, though they were present at the Popish services, he published two elegant epistles; one to exhort them to flee from idolatry, the other, on the Popish priesthood. But whilst he was thus employed, he met with grievous seditions at home.

The Gospel indeed was entertained, and Popery abjured, in Geneva; but many were not reformed from the profane and scandalous courses which they had learned of the Popish Clergy; and the ancient feuds amongst the

chief families were not yet laid aside. These at first were gently admonished, and, when that prevailed not, more sharply reprehended ; and when yet they continued stubborn, and the city, by the factions of private persons, was divided into parties, FARRELL, CALVIN, and CAROLDUS, did openly profess that they could by no means administer the LORD's-Supper to persons who were at such bitter enmity amongst themselves. Upon this occasion, the Syndics which were chosen for that year at Geneva (who for the time are the chief Magistrates) assembling, the captains of the seditious persons so far prevailed, that these three worthy servants of CHRIST were commanded within two days to depart the city. When this decree was brought to CALVIN, he said, " Truly if I had served men, I should have had but an ill reward ; but it is well that I have served Him who doth always perform to his servants what he hath once promised."

Who would not have thought, that this business must needs have brought destruction upon the Church of Geneva ? But the event showed the wonderful wisdom of GOD ; partly in employing the labours of these his servants elsewhere, by variety of experiences to fit them for greater employments ; partly that the seditious persons in Geneva overthrowing themselves by their own violence, that Church might be purged from many pollutions. So wonderful doth GOD show himself in all his ways, especially in the government of his Church.

CALVIN went to Basle, and thence to Strasburgh ; where, by the desire of the Senate, he was made the Professor of Divinity, which office he discharged with the great applause of learned men ; and by the consent of the Senate, planted the French church there, and settled discipline in it. Thus was the expectation of SATAN frustrated, CALVIN settled in another place, and a new church erected.

At this time CARDINAL SADOLET, a man of great eloquence, seeing the flock deprived of such able and vigilant shepherds, thought it a fit time to ensnare them ;

for which end he wrote letters, directed to his dear friends (as he called them) the Senate, Council, and People of Geneva, in which he omitted no arguments, whereby he might persuade them to return into the bosom of the Romish Church. There was no man in Geneva that would undertake to answer the same ; so that probably these letters would have done much mischief, but that they were written in a foreign language. But when CALVIN had read them, forgetting all the wrongs which had been done him, he returned an answer so speedily and eloquently, that the Cardinal, despairing of accomplishing his end, wholly gave over his design.

CALVIN continued at Strasburgh till the year 1541 ; in the which the Emperor CHARLES V. assembled two Diets, the one at Worms, the other at Ratisbon, for composing the differences about religion ; at both which CALVIN was present, to the great advantage of the churches, and where he was most lovingly entertained by PHILIP MELANTHON and GASPER CRUCIGER. He also had much private conference with them about the Sacrament of the LORD'S-Supper, and they could not but approve of his opinion therein.

But now the time was come wherein the LORD proposed to show mercy to his poor church at Geneva : for one of the Syndics, who had promoted the decree for their banishment, did so misdeemean himself, that being found guilty of sedition, whilst he thought to escape out at a window, he fell down, and so bruised himself, that within a few days he died : another of them had his head cut off for a murder : the other two having done the commonwealth much disservice in an embassy wherein they were employed, were fain to flee their country, and were condemned in their absence.

Those evil instruments being removed, the city of Geneva began to call for FARRELL and CALVIN : but when by no means they could recover FARRELL, they used all their endeavours to procure CALVIN ; and for that end sent ambassadors to Strasburgh. The Senate of Stras-

burgh were exceedingly unwilling to hearken to it ; and CALVIN himself, abhorring to enter into new troubles, and finding that the LORD blessed his ministry at Strasburgh, did absolutely refuse to return. Besides, BUCER and the other Pastors did profess their great unwillingness to part with him. But the Genevians still pressing hard for him, BUCER at last thought that their requests should be condescended to, which yet was not granted by CALVIN, till they had urged him with the judgment of GOD in case he refused, and with the example of JONAH. This falling out just at the time when CALVIN, with BUCER, was going to the Diet at Ratisbon, his return was delayed for a time ; and in the mean time the Genevians obtained PETER VIRET ; which made CALVIN far more willing to return, when he saw that he was to have such a colleague. Accordingly, after some months, CALVIN went to Geneva, Sept. 13, 1541, being singularly welcomed by the people, and especially by the Senate, who acknowledged the wonderful mercy of GOD towards them, in restoring him to them. And whereas the Senate of Strasburgh had decreed, that after a time he should return to them again, they of Geneva would never give over till they had reversed that decree, which at last was yielded to by them of Strasburgh ; yet with this proviso, that that pension which they had settled upon him should still be continued to him. But he could never be persuaded to receive it, caring for nothing less than for riches. CALVIN, being thus restored to his church, and perceiving that the city needed such bridles, professed that he could not comfortably exercise his ministry amongst them, except, together with the doctrine of the Gospel, they would embrace the Presbyterian government, for the well regulating of the Church. Hereupon Elders were chosen, and a model of government was drawn up.

His ordinary labours were these :—every other sabbath he preached twice : Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, he read his Divinity Lectures : every Thursday he assisted in the Consistory for the exercise of ecclesiastical disci-

pline : on Fridays he read a Lecture for the illustration of difficult places of Scripture. Besides which, he wrote many commentaries upon the Scriptures ; answered many adversaries to the truth ; and wrote many letters to sundry places. So that we have cause to wonder how it was possible for one man to perform so much business. And in addition to these labours, he had also the charge and care of a family, and many foreign concerns ; for God so blessed his ministry, that from all parts of the christian world he was sought to, and many came to hear him preach ; so that, at the same time, there was an *Italian* church, an *English* church, and a *Spanish* church, and the city seemed too little to entertain all that came to it for his sake.

In the following year, 1542, CALVIN met with many afflictions ; some at home, but especially by the fury of the adversaries of the truth abroad, in France and Italy, whence they drove away many professors of the Gospel ; for the comforting of whom he laid out himself exceedingly, writing many encouraging letters every way, both to those who had escaped, and to those who yet remained within the lion's jaws.

In 1545, the plague, increasing in the city and neighbouring villages, seemed as if it would devour all before it ; and covetousness so prevailed with the poor people, who were employed to attend the rich in their sickness, and to cleanse their houses, that, by a horrible conspiracy amongst themselves, with an infectious ointment they anointed the posts, thresholds, and doors of many houses, whereby a more grievous pestilence ensued. These wicked instruments of the Devil had bound themselves by oath, that by no torments they should confess their wickedness : yet many of them, being taken in the city and villages, were punished according to their deserts.

This year was also infamous by that abominable and cruel edict which the Parliament of Aquitaine set forth against the poor Waldenses of Merindol, Cabriers, and those parts, whereby unheard-of cruelties were exercised,

not against some few, but against all of them, without any distinction of age or sex. Some of those who escaped having fled to Geneva, CALVIN was the more afflicted for them, and careful of them, because, a little before, he had written consolatory letters to them, and sent them faithful Pastors, and had also (where they were in danger before) preserved them by his intercession with the German Princes.

The next year, 1546, one of the Senators, in a public assembly of the people, blamed CALVIN as one that taught false doctrine ; suborned (as was supposed) by two of the College of Pastors, both of them being drunkards, and therefore fearing the severity of the laws. But CALVIN made little account of this. Yet the man that accused him was called before the Senate, and, his cause being heard, was condemned for slander, and those two drunken Ministers, who had set him on, were removed out of their places.

The troubles of that year being ended, the next year, which was 1547, proved far worse : indeed that age saw not a more calamitous time than this was :—the Churches of Germany seemed to be utterly subverted, the Protestant Princes taken, and cities yielding up themselves, after so great labour used, and so great difficulties passed through, in planting the Gospel amongst them. With what grief CALVIN was afflicted for the desolation of the churches, it is not easy to express, especially if we consider that great affection which he bore to them, though far remote from him, which indeed was no other than if he had borne them all upon his shoulders. Indeed, he was wonderfully grieved when he heard of those holy men, his worthy friends, PHILIP MELANETHON, BUCER, PETER MARTYR, &c., in so great danger, that they seemed nearer death than life. In the midst of these contentions, the Church of Geneva did wonderfully increase, and CALVIN was very solicitous to entertain and provide for such as were banished for the name of CHRIST.

In the year 1550, the Church of CHRIST enjoyed peace,

and then it was decreed in Geneva, that the Ministers, not only in their sermons, which many neglected, and others heard with small profit, but from house to house, should divide the city amongst them, and require of every family an account of their faith; by which means, it is scarcely credible how great profit came to the people.

In the year 1553, MICHAEL SERVETUS, having published a book filled with errors, was, at Vienna, cast into prison for the same. But making an escape, he came to Geneva, thinking to pass further; but being discovered, and CALVIN acquainting the Magistrates with it, they cast him into prison. Many means were used to bring him to repentance; but when he would not be brought to recantation, he was condemned to death, and, upon the 27th of October, burned alive.

About this time a grievous calamity befell the church of England by the death of KING EDWARD VI., which was a grievous wound to all the Reformed Churches. Soon after, the care of the English exiles lay heavy upon CALVIN; for some of them had come to Emden, and others to Frankfort, all sending to him for advice and counsel. How great pains he took this year for several churches, may appear by the multitude of epistles wrote by him, by which he stirred up many noblemen to embrace the gospel, and strengthened many of the brethren, some of whom were in extreme danger, and others already cast into bonds.

The next year, 1556, a tertian ague seized upon CALVIN as he was preaching. Hereupon many false rumours were spread abroad, which were so grateful, especially to the Papists, that at Soissons, in his own country, the priest had returned public thanks for his death. But the prayers of good men prevailed for his health, and he was so far from dying of that disease, that, being increased in strength, he undertook a longer journey than he was used to do, *viz.* to Frankfort, being invited thither to pacify some controversies, which had sprung up. Returning

home, though somewhat impaired in his health, he yet remitted nothing of his daily labours, publishing the next year his Commentaries upon the Psalms.

At this time a grievous persecution rising at Paris, it was a great affliction to CALVIN; many being taken when they were assembled in St. James's-Street, for the celebration of the LORD's-Supper, being about eighty in number, the rest escaping by the benefit of the night; who, the next morning, were led to prison, loaded with scorns and reproaches, though some of them were noble women of good account. Against these sheep of CHRIST the King's anger was inflamed, not only by those about him, but by the very occasion of the times: for this fell out at the same time when the King's army had received such a notable defeat at St. Quintin. Besides, these persons were forced to meet in the night, because they could not do it in the day, which further irritated him. Hereupon those old scandals were raised against them, which charged the Christians as the cause of all the evils which befell the kingdom.

There were also some false witnesses suborned against them, whom the credulous multitude was too apt to believe. There were therefore seven of them brought forth to be burned, amongst whom was a noble woman, who, with six others, showed admirable patience: and whereas they were accused of promiscuous whoredoms at their meetings, a learned man, who had lately been their Pastor, easily confuted those lies; and the German Princes interceding in their behalf, (which CALVIN procured with admirable celerity,) the tempest was in a good measure blown over.

In October, CALVIN was taken with a quartan ague, which, though it held him but eight months, yet so debilitated his lean and over-worn body, that he never thoroughly recovered his health again. Yet all this time, though his physicians warned him, and his friends dissuaded him, did he continually busy himself, night and

day, in dictating and writing letters every way, often saying, "That nothing was more troublesome to him than an idle life."

The year following, *viz.* 1559, was famous for the league entered into between the two most potent Kings of Spain and France, strengthened by affinity betwixt them, which was likely to prove fatal to Geneva. In the mean time CALVIN, though sickly, laboured hard in comforting the afflicted churches; as also, by his frequent and fervent prayers, craving help of God. And behold the wonderful work of God! Whilst all things were full of terror, the King of France, in the great marriage-solemnity which was made for the confirmation of the peace, in his running at tilt, received his death's wound, and that by the hand of the Captain of his guard, by whom, a little before, he had apprehended and imprisoned several senators.

About this time, the Bohemians sent two of their brethren to CALVIN, to desire his judgment about some matters of religion; whom he lovingly satisfied, exhorting them also that they would enter into a nearer conjunction with other Reformed Churches. At the same time also, Queen MARY being dead, and Queen ELIZABETH succeeding, many of the French, relying upon her piety and humanity, fled for refuge into England, with the consent of that reverend man, EDMUND GRINDALL, Bishop of London; and craved leave of her that one might be sent from Geneva, to plant a French church there.

Towards the latter end of this year, King FRANCIS, of France, died suddenly, and that in such a juncture of time, when all things seemed so desperate, that they could not be cured but by God himself: and King CHARLES IX., a child, was scarcely entered into his kingdom, when, by a herald, letters subscribed with his name were brought to Geneva, wherein he complained that many were sent out from thence, that infected his kingdom, desiring that they might be presently called back; and threatening, that otherwise he would revenge

that injury. CALVIN, being hereupon sent for by the Senate, answered in his own, and in his colleagues' names, that, at the request of the churches of France, they had exhorted certain men that were sound in the faith, and of a holy life, that they should not be wanting to lend their help to their country in so holy a cause; and that this they had done, not to disturb the kingdom, but that the people might be taught the Gospel of peace; and if they were accused for any thing further than this, they were ready to answer their accusers before the King. So this business went no further.

In the year 1562, GOD gave peace and liberty to the French churches, by a public edict of the King. But not long after, the King of Navarre, presently after the Duke of Guise had committed the abominable massacre at Vassy, began that civil war which continued many years after, to the miserable devastation of France. It cannot be spoken how much CALVIN was afflicted therewith, which so far increased his disease, that it was easy to divine, that it would not be long before he was translated to a better life; yet did he not desist from exhorting and comforting every one, no, nor from preaching and reading his ordinary lectures. One thing also is not to be omitted, that on the 19th of December, lying in bed sick of the gout, being the Sabbath-day, and the north wind having blown two days strongly, he said to many that were present, "Truly I know not what is the matter, but I thought this night I heard warlike drums beating very loud, and I could not persuade myself but it was so: let us therefore go to prayers, for surely some great business is in hand." And that very day there was a great battle fought between the Guisans and the Protestants not far from Paris; news whereof reached Geneva within a few days after.

In the following year his disease much increased; yet even then he could not be persuaded to favour himself; and if at any time he abstained from his public labours, which yet he never did but when by necessity he was

enforced thereto, yet he was busy at home, either in giving counsel to those that sought it, or in dictating to his scribes.

In the year 1564, February 6, he preached his last sermon, and from thenceforward spake little; only now and then he would be carried to the congregation, the last time being the last day of March. His diseases, contracted by the incredible labours both of his mind and body, were very many; for, besides that, naturally, he was but of a weak body, lean, and inclinable to a consumption, he slept little, and spent a great part of the year in preaching, teaching, and dictating. For at least ten years together, he abstained from dinners, taking no food at all till supper; so that it was a wonder how he could escape so long. He was often troubled with the head-ache, which his abstinence only could cure; whereupon he sometimes fasted thirty-six hours together. But partly through straining his voice, and partly through his too frequent use of aloes, (which was taken notice of too late,) he was first troubled with the piles, which at length proved ulcerous; and, for five years before his death, he did many times spit blood. And when his quartan ague left him, the gout took him in his right leg; then the colic, and lastly the stone.

The physicians applied what remedies they could; neither was there ever a man that was more observant of their rules. But in respect of the labours of his mind, he was extremely negligent of his health, so that the most violent head-ache could never restrain him from preaching. And though he was tormented with so many and violent diseases, yet no man ever heard him utter one word unbecoming a Christian: only lifting up his eyes to heaven, he used to say, "How long, LORD?" For he often used this motto in his health, when he spake of the calamities of his brethren, which always more afflicted him than his own. When his colleagues admonished and earnestly entreated him, that in his sickness he would abstain from dictating, but especially from writing himself, he an-

swered, "What! would you have me idle when my LORD comes?" On the 10th of March, when all the Ministers came to him, they found him clothed, and sitting at his little table where he used to write and meditate: he beholding them, when he had rubbed his forehead awhile with his hand, as he used to do when he meditated, with a cheerful countenance, said, "I give you hearty thanks, my dear brethren, for the great care you take of me, and I hope within these fifteen days (which was the time they were to meet about church censures) I shall be present at your Consistory: for then I believe God will declare what he will determine concerning me, and will receive me to himself." Accordingly he was present that day, which was the 24th of March, and when all their business was dispatched, he told them that God had given him some further delay; and taking a French Testament in his hand, he read some of the annotations upon it, and asked the Ministers their judgments about the same, because he had a purpose to amend them. The day after, he was somewhat worse, as being tired with the former day's labour.

On the 27th of March, he caused himself to be carried in his chair to the door of the Senate-House; and then, leaning upon two persons, he walked into the Court, and there he presented to the Senate a new Rector for the school, and, with a bare head, returned them thanks for all their favours, and in particular, for the great care they had of him in his sickness: "For I perceive," said he, "that this is the last time that I shall come into this place." Which words he could scarcely utter, his voice failing him: and so, with many tears on both sides, he bade them farewell.

On the 2d of April, which was Easter-day, though he was very weak, yet he caused himself to be carried to the church in his chair, where, after sermon, he received the Sacrament of the LORD's-Supper at BEZA's hands; and with a cheerful countenance, though weak voice, sang the psalm with the rest of the congregation, showing,

though in a dying countenance, signs of much inward joy.

On the 25th of April, he made his will in this form :

“ IN the name of GOD, Amen! *Anno Christi* 1564, April 25, I, PETER CHENALAT, Citizen and Notary of Geneva, do witness, that being sent for by that reverend man, JOHN CALVIN, Minister of the word of GOD in the church of Geneva, who then was sick in body, but sound in mind, he told me, that his purpose was to make his testament, and to declare his last will, desiring me to write it down as he should dictate unto me, which I did, word by word, as he told me ; as follows :—

“ In the name of the LORD, Amen ! I, JOHN CALVIN, Minister of the word of GOD in the church of Geneva, oppressed and afflicted with divers diseases, so that I easily think that the LORD GOD hath appointed shortly to lead me out of this world ; have therefore determined to make my testament, and commit to writing my last will in this form following :

“ I give thanks to GOD, that, taking pity of me, he hath delivered me out of the deep darkness of idolatry into which I was plunged, and that he brought me into the light of his Gospel, and made me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, whereof I was most unworthy. Neither hath he only gently and graciously borne with my faults and sins, for which I deserve to be rejected by him, and driven out ; but hath used towards me so great mildness, that he hath vouchsafed to use my labours in preaching and publishing the truth of his Gospel. And I witness and profess, that I intend to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion, which he hath delivered to me by his Gospel, and not to seek any other aid or refuge for salvation than his free adoption, in which alone salvation resteth. And with all my heart I embrace the mercy which he hath used towards me for JESUS CHRIST’S sake, making compensation for my faults with the merit of his death and passion, that satisfaction may be made by this means for all my sins, and the

remembrance of them may be blotted out. I witness also and profess, that I humbly beg of him, that being washed and cleansed in the blood of that most high Redeemer, shed for the sins of mankind, I may stand at his judgment-seat under the image of my Redcemer.

“Also, I profess that I have diligently done my endeavour, according to the measure of grace received, and the bounty which God hath used towards me, that I might preach his word purely, both in sermons, writings, and commentaries, and interpret his holy Scripture faithfully. I also witness and profess, that I have used no artful and sophistical means in my controversies and disputations, which I have held with the enemies of the Gospel, but I have been conversant candidly and sincerely in maintaining the truth.

“But, alas! that study and zeal of mine, if it be worthy so to be called, hath been so remiss and languishing, that I confess innumerable things have been wanting in me to the right performing of my duty; and unless the immeasurable bounty of God had been present, my studies had been vain. Also, I acknowledge, that unless the same bounty had been present to me, the goods of the mind, which God hath given me, would have made me guilty of the greater sin before his judgment-seat. For which causes I witness and profess, that I hope for no other help for salvation but this only, that seeing God is a Father of Mercy, he showed himself a Father unto me, who acknowledge myself a miserable sinner.

“As for other things, after my departure out of this life, I would have my body committed to the earth, in that order and manner which is usual in this church and city, till the blessed day of resurrection cometh.

“As touching that slender patrimony which God hath given me, I have determined thus: let ANTHONY CALVIN, my most dear brother, be my heir; but, only for honour's sake, let him take beforehand, and have to himself, the silver charger which was given me by VARANNIUS for a gift, wherewith I desire him to be contented:

for whatsoever things remain in mine inheritance, I request and commit them to his faith, that he return them to his children when he shall die. I bequeath ten pieces of gold to the school of boys; also, the same sum to poor strangers; and the same to JOAN, the daughter of CHARLES COSTAN and of my kinswoman. But to SAMUEL and JOHN, the sons of my said brother, I desire to have forty pieces of gold given by my heir when he dieth; to ANNE, SUSAN, and DOROTHY, his daughters, thirty; to DAVID their brother, because of his lightness and miscarriages, but five-and-twenty. This is the whole patrimony and goods which God hath given me, so near as I estimate it, setting a price upon my library, my moveables, and all my household goods. If there be found any thing above, I would have it to be distributed to all those children, the sons and daughters of my brother: neither do I exclude DAVID, if he prove a good husband. If there shall be any surplus above that sum, I believe there will be no great matter, especially when my debts are paid, the care whereof I have committed to my said brother, upon whose fidelity and love I rely. For which cause I will and appoint him to be the executor of my testament, and, together with him, the worshipful LAURENCE NORMENDY; giving them power to take an inventory of my goods. I also permit them to sell my moveables, that out of the money made thereof they may execute my will above written. Dated this 25th of April, *anno Christi* 1554."

When this Will was made and confirmed, CALVIN sent to the four Syndics, and all the Aldermen, desiring to speak with them all yet once more in the Court before his death, whither he hoped to be carried the next day. The Senators answered, that they would rather come to him, desiring him to have a regard to his health: and the day after, when they came all to him from the Court, after mutual salutations, and professing that he had long desired to speak with them, he said,

"Honoured Masters, I give you great thanks that ye

have honoured me thus far, having not deserved it from you, and for that you have so often borne with mine infirmities ; which to me hath always been an argument of your singular good-will towards me. And albeit in performance of mine office, it could not be but that I must undergo many bickerings, and divers assaults, because every good man must be exercised therewith ; yet I know and acknowledge, that none of these things have fallen out through your default ; and I earnestly beseech you, that if I have not always done that which behoved me, you rather would have regard of my will than of my ability. For I can truly testify, that I have been heartily studious of the welfare of your commonwealth ; and howsoever I have not fully performed mine office, yet I have studied the public good according to mine ability ; and except I should acknowledge that the Lord hath used my service, sometimes not unprofitably, I could not avoid the crime of dissembling. But this I request of you again and again, that I may be excused by you, for that the things are so little that I have publicly and privately performed, in comparison of those things which it behoved me to have done. Certainly of mine own accord I acknowledge, that I am much indebted to you for this cause also, that ye have patiently borne with my too much vehemency sometimes ; which sin also I trust God hath forgiven me.

“ As touching the doctrine you have heard from me, I take God to witness that I have sincerely taught the word of God entrusted unto me, whose wrath I should otherwise have felt now hanging over me, as I am certainly assured that my labours in teaching it have not been displeasing to him. And I testify this the more willingly, both before God and you, because I doubt not but that the Devil will raise wicked people to corrupt the sincere doctrine which you have heard from me.”

Then considering the unmeasurable benefits which God had conferred on that city, he said :—“ I am a witness out of how many dangers the hand of the great God hath delivered you. Moreover, you see in what estate you

now are ; therefore whether your affairs be prosperous or adverse, let that be always before your eyes, that God is He alone that establisheth kingdoms and cities, and therefore will be worshipped by mortal men. Remember what great DAVID doth testify, that when he enjoyed a deep peace, he fell most foully, and should never have risen again, if God of his singular goodness had not reached out his hand to him. Ye have need of great humility, that ye walk circumspectly and with great reverence before God, and trust him only. Wherefore, if prosperity befall you, take heed, I pray you, that ye be not puffed up, but rather give thanks to God with lowliness of mind. But if adversity shall happen, and death stand before you, yet trust in him that raised the dead ; yea, then especially think, that ye are stirred up by God, that ye may more and more trust in him alone. And if ye desire that this your commonwealth may be preserved in a firm estate, see that you be not defiled with any filthiness. I know the dispositions and conversations of every one of you, and I know that you have need of exhortation. There is none of those that excel most, in whom many things are not wanting ; therefore let every man ask of the LORD those things which he understands himself to stand in need of. We see what vices reign in the greatest councils in the world ; some are cold, and neglect the public, taking care only for their own private affairs ; others are indulgent to their private affections ; others use not the excellent gifts which God hath bestowed upon them ; others boast of their own parts, and expect that every man should subscribe to their opinions. I exhort old men, that they envy not the younger, whom they find adorned with excellent gifts from God : I admonish the younger, that they carry themselves modestly, without arrogance ; and let not one molest another. Avoid contentions, and all that bitterness of spirit, which diverts many from the right way in the government of the commonwealth. And ye shall the better avoid these things, if every man contain himself within his own sphere,

and all administer faithfully that part of the commonwealth which is committed to him. I pray you, for God's sake, let there be no place for favour or hatred in the judgment of civil causes. Let none pervert right by subtle tricks: let no man hinder the laws from prevailing: let no man depart from that which is just and equal. If sinister affections shall arise, let him resist them constantly, looking upon Him that hath placed him in his throne, and beg of Him his HOLY SPIRIT. To conclude, I beg of you again that you pardon mine infirmities, which I acknowledge before God, angels, and men."

Having thus spoken, he prayed unto God, to multiply his gifts and blessings upon them more and more, and to govern them by his HOLY SPIRIT, for the safety and good of the commonwealth.

On the 28th of April, the Ministers of Geneva being come to him, he spoke thus unto them:—"Brethren, After my decease, stand fast in this work of the LORD, and be not discouraged; for the LORD will preserve this church and commonwealth, against the threatenings of the enemies. I pray God to keep you from dissensions. Embrace one another with mutual charity. Think again and again what you owe to this church wherein the LORD hath placed you, and let nothing divert you from your duty; otherwise it will be easy for such as seek them, to find out evasions; but such shall find that God cannot be deceived. As soon as I came to this city, the Gospel indeed was preached, but affairs were very troublesome; and there were not a few wicked persons, from whom I suffered many things; but the LORD our God so confirmed and strengthened me, though by nature I was not bold, that I gave not place to any of their endeavours. Afterwards, when I returned hither from Strasburgh, I followed this vocation with an unwilling mind, because it seemed to me that it would prove unfruitful; but going on, at last I found that God had much blessed my labours. Stand fast therefore in this your vocation. Retain that order that is begun, and do your utmost endeavours that

the people may be kept in subjection to your wholesome doctrine : for some are wicked and stubborn. Things, as you see, are, through God's mercy, well settled, and therefore you shall be left without excuse before God, if, through your slothfulness, they be unsettled again. I profess, Brethren, that I have lived with you in true love, and that I now so depart from you. If you have found me peevish in this my disease, I crave pardon of you, and give you great thanks that ye have sustained the burden imposed upon me during my sickness." Having thus spoken, he gave his hand to each of them, who departed from him with much sorrow and weeping.

A while after, CALVIN understanding, by letters from Mr. FARRELL, that Mr. VIRET, who was eighty years old, and sickly, was yet determined to visit him, and was now on his journey, he wrote thus to him, to stay him.

" May 11, 1564.

" Farewell, my best and sincerest brother ; and seeing God will have you to outlive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which, as it hath been profitable for the Church of God here, so the fruit thereof tarrieth for us in heaven. I would not have you weary yourself for my sake. I hardly draw my breath, and I expect daily when it will wholly fail me. It is enough that I live and die to CHRIST, who is gain to his people, both in life and death. Again, farewell."

Yet, notwithstanding this letter, the good old man came to Geneva, and having fully conferred with CALVIN, returned back.

The rest of his days he spent almost in perpetual prayer, with his eyes fixed upon heaven, and his voice full of sighs, by reason of his short breath.

On the 27th of May, he seemed to speak more strongly, and with less difficulty ; but this was but a lightening before death. In the evening, about eight o'clock, on a sudden, signs of present death appeared ; at which time, BEZA being newly departed from him, some ran to acquaint him therewith ; whereupon he presently returned,

but found him to have yielded up his spirit into the hands of God, without the least struggle, yea, without so much as sending forth one groan, having had his understanding, memory, and voice, even to the last. So that day, at sun-setting, this bright light was taken out of the world.

That night, and the day following, there was great weeping and wailing all over the city. Many citizens and strangers desired to see him after he was dead. The day after, being the Sabbath, his body was put into the coffin, and in the afternoon he was carried forth, the Senators, Pastors, and Professors of the School, and almost the whole city, following the corpse, not without abundance of tears. He was buried in the common church-yard, without much pomp, no tomb-stone being added, as himself commanded.

(IV.)

THE LIFE
OF
GALEACIUS CARACCIOLUS,
MARQUIS OF VICO.

GALEACIUS CARACCIOLUS was born at Naples, in the year 1517. His father's name was CALANTONIUS, descended of the ancient and noble family of the Caraccioli, of Capua: his mother was descended of the noble family of the Caraffi, whose brother was afterwards Pope PAUL IV.

His father was very careful of his education in his youth; and being well known to, and in favour with, the EMPEROR CHARLES V., he requested him to entertain this his son in his service, which the Emperor willingly did, and liked him so well, that shortly after he made him his Gentleman-Sewer; in which place he demeaned himself so well, that he won the favour of the Nobility, and the rest of the Court, and grew to be of special account with the Emperor himself: and indeed few were to be compared with him for innocency of life, elegance of manners, sound judgment, and knowledge of many things.

His father also, being desirous to continue his name, and advance his house, provided for him a wife, a lady of noble birth, called VICTORIA, daughter to the Duke of Nuceria. By this wife he had six children, four sons and two daughters. But God intending to advance him to a higher dignity than that to which he was born, was pleased in mercy, by degrees, to reveal himself and his truth to him. The first beginning of it was this:—

There lived about this time in Naples, a noble Spaniard, called JOHN WALDESSO, who, having some knowledge of the truth of the Gospel, especially in the doctrine of Justification, used often to confer with and instruct divers other noblemen in points of Religion, confuting the false opinion of our inherent justification, and the merit of good works. Many of these noblemen began to discern the truth, amongst whom was one JOHN FRANCIS, a kinsman to GALEACIUS. He, discoursing often with GALEACIUS, began to convince him of the vanity of worldly privileges, of the true means of our justification, of the excellency and power of GOD's word, and of the folly of most of the Popish superstitions.

At this time, PETER MARTYR was a public preacher at Naples, whose holy life, and copious teaching, made him very famous. Hereupon GALEACIUS was content, at CÆSARTA's motion, to go and hear his sermon, yet not so much out of a desire to learn, as to hear so famous and learned a man. PETER MARTYR, at this time, was showing, out of 1 *Cor.* ii., the weakness and deceitfulness of man's reason in spiritual things, and the power and efficacy of GOD's word in those men in whom the LORD works by his SPIRIT.

This, by the grace of GOD, wrought so wonderfully in GALEACIUS, (as he often confessed to his friends,) that from that hour he resolved to forsake his former pleasures, and to set himself to seek true happiness : and for that end, he read the Scriptures every day, as the fountain whence it must be drawn ; and chose such company, by whose life and conference he might be edified in true religion. This being observed in Naples, his old companions were much amazed ; some judged it melancholy, others esteemed it plain folly. But the more courageously this worthy servant of CHRIST went on in the ways of godliness.

His father was much displeased, seeing how the honour and advancement of his house were likely to be eclipsed ; and therefore he often and sharply chid him with his

fatherly authority, to put away his melancholy conceits. This much grieved him, being always very submissive and obedient to his parents. His wife VICTORIA also, though a wise, kind, and dutiful wife, yet would by no means yield to his motion, for the change of her religion ; and, therefore, was always soliciting him with complaints, tears, kind entreaties, and all other ways which a wife could use to her husband.

It was also a great temptation to him, that almost all the Nobility about Naples, being of familiar acquaintance with him, often resorted to him, to draw him forth to his old sports and pleasures. And his office, sometimes calling him to the Court, was a great trouble to him ; for there he heard of any thing rather than of religion. Seeing his friends had forsaken him, and he had no hope of a Reformation in Naples, he resolved to forsake his country, and to seek for CHRIST and his religion wheresoever he might find them.

But herein he met with many grievous combats : for as often as he looked upon his aged father, who dearly loved him, and whom he respected with all duty and reverence, so often he was struck to the heart with unspeakable grief, to think of leaving him. Such like reasonings as these he had in his heart : “ What ! must I forsake my loving father, or else I cannot have God to be my father ? Must I fail in my duty to him, if I perform my duty to God ? Shall I hereby bring his hoary hairs with sorrow to the grave ? Shall I bring an obloquy upon him, and my whole kindred ? Shall I be the cause of his death, who would (if need were) redeem my life with his own ? Yet must I rather hazard his life, than cast my poor soul into hell.” And no less was he grieved in respect of his wife, having no hope that she would go with him. She was in the prime of her youth, a lady of great birth, fair, wise, and modest ; but her love and loyalty to him passed all, which filled him with these reasonings : “ Shall I thus suddenly leave my dear wife, the only joy of my heart in this world, my companion, the augments of my joy, and

lessener of my woe? Shall I thus leave her for ever? Shall I deprive myself of her, and thereby of all others also, and of all comfort of a conjugal life? Alas! poor lady! what will become of her and her little ones, when I am gone? What will she do but weep and wail, and pine away with grief? Yet must I, for CHRIST's sake, resolve to leave her, and all, to follow CHRIST."

Whilst he meditated on these things, he thought he heard and saw his wife sighing, and weeping, and running after him. These thoughts tormented him the more, because he durst impart them to none, lest they should have hindered his departure. The thoughts of his children, also, extremely augmented his grief. They were children worthy of such noble parents: they were young, and therefore not apprehensive what it was to want a father: he loved them tenderly. When his wife did put the youngest in his arms to play with, how did it cut him to the heart; and what ado had he to refrain from tears! How did he in himself thus reason: "Shall I leave these to the wide world, as though they had never been my children? To be a father is a comfort; but to be a father of no children, and yet to have children, is a misery? And you, poor orphans, what will become of you when I am gone? Your lot is hard, to be fatherless, while your father is yet living. What can your great birth now help you? By my departure you will lose all honour, livelihood, and dignity; yea, hereby you shall be exposed to infamy, reproach, and slander, so that you shall curse the time that ever you had me for your father."

Many other were the temptations with which he conflicted, though inferior to these: as his leaving the company of so many noblemen, his kindred and acquaintance; the loss of his honourable office at court; the quitting for ever his native soil, the fruitful Italy, to undertake a long and tedious journey; the casting himself into exile, poverty, shame, and other miseries: and the abandonment of so fine a seat, the garden and orchard whereof exceeded all others in Italy, and to see which, there daily resorted many

strangers out of all parts. Yet resolved he (through God's grace) to leave all and follow CHRIST.

According to this holy resolution, making his mind known only to a few, they vowed to accompany him in his voluntary exile; yet, most of these, when they came to the borders of Italy, and began seriously to consider what they left behind them, and what they went to, returned back again to the vomit of their pleasures.

GALEACIUS, seeing himself forsaken of those by whose society he hoped to have enjoyed much comfort in a strange country, notwithstanding all this, prepared for his departure; and, finding his opportunity, on the 20th of March, 1551, and in the thirty-fourth year of his age, he departed from Naples, as if he had intended going to the Emperor's Court, whither indeed he went, attending his office for a short time; and then, bidding adieu to the Court, and all worldly pleasures, he went straight to Geneva. Here he associated himself with CALVIN, and submitted to his instruction, who most kindly entertained him; and this their mutual love continued to their lives' end.

When the news of his fixing at Geneva came to the Emperor's court, and to Naples, it cannot be imagined how strangely it affected all that heard it; but above all, his own friends and family, where nothing was to be heard but lamentations, tears, and complaints: yet was the old Marquis most affected of all others, foreseeing hereby the ruin of his estate and family. But the violence of his sorrow being once over, he began to think by what means he might recover him again; and, for that end, sent a cousin of his, who was most dear to GALEACIUS, with letters to Geneva, full of authority, protestations, complaints, and loving entreaties to return home again, for the comfort of his aged father, the reviving of his forlorn wife and distressed children, and the unspeakable joy of all his kindred.

This gentleman coming to Geneva, found GALEACIUS in a mean house, which he had taken for his use. But

how sad was the meeting ! It was spent in nothing but embraces, sighs, and tears ; yea, it so exceeded, that for divers hours they could not speak ; till at length the gentleman, hoping and longing to recover his friend, delivered his letters ; to which he added obtestations, entreaties, persuasions, and exhortations, all mingled with many tears, that he would respect the ruin of his house, the grief of his old father, and the desperate condition of his wife and children, and would remedy all by his return into Italy.

But GALEACIUS, without delay, returned him this answer : that he knew all this which he had said to be true ; yet withal, he would have him know that he had done nothing rashly ; that he had consulted with God, by whose grace he was moved herunto ; and by the same grace had his eyes opened to discern the truth, and to see the superstitions of Popery. He told him also that he had well weighed the reproaches and miseries which had attended this change : but, said he, “ seeing one of these must needs be chosen, either to stay at home with a burdened conscience, or else to leave house, lands, family, country, yea, and all the world’s glory, thereby to obtain liberty to serve the LORD purely according to his word, I resolve of two evils to choose the less, and rather to shut my eyes against the splendour of worldly glory, than that the sight of them should hinder me from following the call of CHRIST.”

His kinsman was much astonished at this answer, yet had nothing to reply ; considering that his resolution was not grounded on the will of man, but upon the holy word of God ; therefore, with a sorrowful heart he held his tongue, and after a while took his leave. When he came near Naples, there was much running to hear good news ; but when he had delivered his heavy message, the sorrow of them all was redoubled upon them ; and the rather, because the Emperor had published an edict, whercin he proclaimed GALEACIUS guilty of high treason, and confiscated his goods, making him and his posterity incapable of inheriting his father’s Marquisate. This made the old

man, notwithstanding his great age, go to the Emperor, and sue to him, that his son's falling from the Church of Rome might not prejudice his posterity, but that himself only might bear the punishment of his fault: but before he entered upon this journey, he dispatched a messenger with a letter, wherein he charged his son to meet him at a certain time at Verona, hoping, if he could speak with him, that he could recall him from the society of the heretics of Geneva. GALEACIUS having received this letter, and taken advice upon it, purposed not to disobey. He therefore hastened to Verona, where he found his father; who received and used him kindly, and, after salutations, assailed him with all the arguments he could invent to draw him home again. GALEACIUS humbly answered, that his body and estate were his father's, but his conscience belonged to the LORD; adding, that he could not embrace that motion, without making shipwreck of a good conscience; and therefore he humbly entreated his father, that he would not urge him to respect estate and family, more than God's glory, and his own soul's health.

The old Marquis, seeing the unmoveableness of his son, yet enjoined him to stay there till he had been with the Emperor. This GALEACIUS consented to; but so soon as ever he understood that the Emperor had granted his father's request, he, with a joyful heart, returned to Geneva; and being there, he considered how to employ himself for the public good; for which end, he devised how to settle the discipline of the Italian Church in that city, which was now much increased by a confluence of families who fled thither from the bloody Inquisition.

About this time, CALVIN was sent to Basle about matters of religion; with whom, at his request, GALEACIUS went, and there met with CELSUS, descended of a noble family, of the Earls of MARTINENGO in Italy, lately (through God's mercy) escaped out of the mire of Popish superstition. CELSUS, by the persuasion of GALEACIUS, went with him to Geneva, where they joined, and, by the

help of CALVIN, established a form of discipline for the Italian Church, and CELSUS was chosen the first Pastor thereof; in which place he performed the office of a faithful and vigilant watchman, and had Elders joined as assistants to him. The principal of the Elders was GALEACIUS himself, by whose authority and diligence the Church was preserved in peace and unity.

In 1555, GALEACIUS's uncle, PAULUS QUINTUS, was made Pope. Hereupon the old Marquis wrote to him again, commanding him to meet him at Mantua, sending him money for his journey: this he obeyed, and went thither, where his father entertained him with more than ordinary kindness. Then he told him, that he had procured of his uncle, the Pope, a dispensation for him, whereby he might freely live in any city within the Venetian territories, without being molested for his religion: he told him that hereby he would be a greater solace to his old age, than his absence had been a grief; earnestly entreating that he would gratify him in his request, and beseeching him not to reject so great a favour; telling him, that hereby he might recover his honours, estate, friends, and estimation,

GALEACIUS was wonderfully perplexed with this motion, considering the proffers, and promises, and authority of his father, which he knew not well how to deny, nor yet how to embrace; the rather, because he wanted the advice of his faithful friend CALVIN. Being in this perplexity, he durst not rely upon his own understanding; but, retiring, betook himself to fervent prayer: and the LORD answered his prayers, directing him in the way he should choose; for he considered that this was to forsake the ordinary means of the true word and sacraments, and to live in a place where there was nothing but idolatry. He farther saw, that SATAN's policy herein was to entangle him again in the cares of the world, and the pleasures of Italy, and to dazzle his eyes with sensual delights, that by degrees the power of godliness might decay in him,

Hereupon he besought his father not to draw him to that, which afterwards he might have cause to repent of, by making him a prey to the Papists, who held it for a maxim, "That faith was not to be kept with heretics;" "therefore," said he, "it is better that I should live in this poor estate, than that I should endanger my life, and my whole posterity." The Marquis, being silenced hereby, returned with a heavy heart to Naples, and GALEACIUS to Geneva; where he was received by his friends, and the whole Church, with exceeding rejoicing for his safe return.

During these occurrences, his wife VICTORIA burned in hearty affection towards him, and vehemently longed for his company, so that she never ceased writing to him, beseeching him to return again to her and his children. And when letters prevailed not, she earnestly desired him to meet her in some city within the territories of the Venetians: this request he yielded to, hoping to prevail with her to leave her superstitions, and to come with him to Geneva. The place where they were to meet, was Læsina, a city in Dalmatia, a hundred miles by water from Vicum. Thither he went; but she came not according to promise, but sent two of her eldest sons to meet him there. Their sight and company was most acceptable to him, but being disappointed in his expectation of meeting with his wife, he sent them back, and returned to Geneva; whither, after a few days, came letters from his wife, craving pardon for her former failing, and beseeching him once more to come to that place, where, without fail, she vowed to attend him.

Accordingly, in 1558, he came again to Læsina, where he understood that many of his friends, together with his wife, had intended to have met him, but that a mariner of Venice had disappointed them; hereupon he resolved to go to Vicum, relying on the LORD's protection.

When he came to his father's castle, it cannot be expressed how great joy the whole family was filled with; but above all others, his wife, hoping that now she had recovered her dear Lord, the only comfort of her life.

But within a few days all this joy was turned into mourning, when he made known his constant resolution to persevere in his religion, and that he would rather die than be drawn from it. Yet in the midst of these mournings, which almost broke his heart, he comforted himself in the LORD; entreating his wife, in a loving and earnest manner, to go and live with him, as the law of God and nature required, and promising her, that she should have her religion, to live as she pleased. But she flatly answered him, (though with many tears,) that she would never go with him to Geneva, and that she would not live with him so long as he was entangled with those heresies; yea, so violent she was, that she denied him that duty which a wife is bound by all laws to yield to her husband; saying, that she was expressly forbidden by her Confessor to do it, upon the pain of excommunication. Even this he bore with invincible constancy; but withal told her, that if she denied him that, which by the law of God she owed him, he would sue out a divorce against her: notwithstanding which, she still persisted in her obstinacy, rather choosing to break God's command, than her Confessor's. He therefore resolved to depart, repeating his former protestation, and so bade her to take it as his last warning.

The day of his departure being come, he went to his father to take his leave, whose former love was now turned to fury, so that he gave him his farewell with many a heavy curse, which the LORD turned into a blessing. Having passed this, he came into the hall where his wife, children, and many of his near kindred and friends were. Nothing was heard but sighs and cries; nothing seen but tears and wringing of hands; his wife embracing, and taking him about the neck, beseeching him, with loving speeches, that he would pity himself, her, and his children, and not so willingly cast them all away; his young children all upon their knees, with arms stretched out, hands holden up, and faces swollen with tears, crying unto him to have pity upon them, and not to make them fatherless

before their time : his kindred, with heavy countenances and watery eyes, looked on him, and though, through grief, they could not speak, yet every look and gesture was a loud cry, and strong entreaty, for his stay amongst them. Unutterable was the grief of them all, and unspeakable was the temptation that he felt in this agony, when he must either leave JESUS CHRIST, or these his friends for his sake. Yet, above all, there was one most lamentable sight, which would have broken a heart of flint. Amongst his children he had one daughter, of twelve years old, who, catching fast hold about his knees, held him so hard, that he could by no means shake her off, and his fatherly affections would not suffer him to hurt her. He laboured to be loose, but she held the faster. He went forwards, but she trailed after, crying to him, not to be so cruel to her his child, who came into the world by him.

This so wonderfully affected him, being a man of a most loving and tender nature, that, as he often related, his heart was ready to burst in sunder : but being armed with a divine fortitude, he broke away, and so leaving that heavy house, he hastened to the sea-side, and taking ship, presently caused them to hoist sails towards Læsina. But it much pierced his heart, when, on looking back, he saw his wife, children, and kindred, standing on the shore, who, when their cries could be no longer heard, ceased not to look after the ship, so long as it was in sight ; neither could he refrain from looking at them again, so long as he could discern them ; and remembering all the former passages of his father's curses, his wife's tears, and children's cries, it brought from him many a heart-breaking sigh. Yet the spiritual strength and courage of his mind were constant and invincible : so that, after a while, he bended the knees of his heart to the eternal FATHER in heaven, giving him most hearty thanks, that he had furnished him with grace to withstand and conquer SATAN in so perilous a conflict.

His safe arrival at Geneva brought exceeding joy to the

whole Church there, especially to the Italian congregation ; amongst whom he lived with unspeakable content in his private and quiet life. And after a few years, he began to find in himself some reasons which inclined him to think of entering into a married condition ; and the rather because he never heard from his wife, nor found any relenting in her, nor remorse for her former obstinacy. This his purpose he communicated to CALVIN, desiring his advice in a case of so great importance ; whose answer was, that it was most convenient, if he could, to abstain from marriage. GALEACIUS told him that he could not abstain, and gave him many weighty reasons which inclined him to marriage.

CALVIN foresaw that many would be scandalized, because few only understood the doctrine of divorce, and fewest of all knew the circumstances of this particular fact ; and thereupon he told him at last, that if he would go to PETER MARTYR, and ask his opinion, and the opinions of the learned Divines of Rhætia and Switzerland, and request of them, after mature deliberation, to set down their judgments, and the reasons thereof, in writing ; for his own part he would subscribe unto them, and yield him what liberty they thought fit in this matter ; always provided, that he should submit and stand to their judgments in this case.

This GALEACIUS willingly assented to, desiring nothing more than to find out what the LORD by his word, and by the voice of his servants, should prescribe to him ; and accordingly he wrote to these Divines and Churches, who, meeting together, and seriously debating the case, and weighing all circumstances, at last unanimously resolved, that he might, with a safe conscience, leave his former wife, who had first deserted him, and be married to another ; and this their opinion they confirmed by Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and by the Civil Law. This answer being returned to GALEACIUS, he, still taking the consent of the Church along with him, sued out a divorce, and had it legally by the magistrate granted unto him.

After this, advising with his friends, he began to think of disposing of himself in marriage, wherein he sought not so much after riches, beauty, and birth, as for a fit companion of his life, with whom he might comfortably spend the remainder of his days, and serve God cheerfully till the coming of his LORD : and the Providence of God provided him such a wife, a widow that came from Roan for religion's sake, who was well reported of for piety, modesty, and many excellent qualities, and about forty years of age. GALEACIUS, considering her fitness in many respects, married her in the year 1560, in the forty-third year of his age ; and they lived together many years after, with much comfort and excellent agreement, so that the great afflictions of his former life were now fully recompensed with a life full of contentment and christian joy.

His next care was to unburden himself of all worldly cares, prescribing to himself a moderate and frugal course of life. His attire was plain ; and he that might in his own country have been attended by many servants, did often walk the streets alone ; yea, he disdained not often to go into the market, and provide his own necessities, and sometimes would buy and carry home fruits, herbs, roots, and such other things ; esteeming this course of life, together with freedom of religion, better than the Marquisate of Vicum : yet under this mean attire was shrouded such gravity and majesty of deportment, that any wise observer might easily discern that he came of a noble race.

His chief converse was with the Italians of his own Church, in whose eyes his humble mind, and friendly conversation, made him honourable. Besides his noble birth and princely education, he was affable, courteous, and friendly to all men ; wise, discrete, and very eloquent. As his memory was exceeding good, so his smooth style, and his easy, quiet, and seemly delivery, made his speech most graceful to all that heard him. With poor men, if they were godly, he would converse as familiarly as if they had been his equals. He was of a free and liberal heart : no poor or distressed man did ever desire his assistance, but

he would presently reach out to them his helping hand; and the loss of his former estate never troubled him, but when he had not to give to charitable uses.

It was his joy and delight to be lending and giving to those that wanted: prisoners, and distressed persons, did often taste of his bounty: he visited the sick, and his presence and christian exhortations were very comfortable to them. Every day he joined with the Church in their public service: he never omitted to hear sermons, showing wonderful devotion and reverence to the word of God: he daily read a portion of the holy Scriptures: as an Elder of the Church, he carefully observed, and inquired into, the manners and lives of professors, encouraging the good, and admonishing offenders: where he saw, or heard of any dissensions amongst neighbours, he was exceedingly careful to compose them. He wholly dedicated himself and all his abilities to the advancement of God's glory, and the edification of his Church.

But after a long calm, God raised up new storms, yet further to try his patience: for, first, he fell sick of a grievous disease, wherewith he was exceedingly tormented night and day, so that he could scarcely get any sleep: then there came to Geneva a nephew of his, bringing him letters from his former wife and his eldest son, persuading him yet at length to return to his native country, and former religion; and giving him hope that thereby he might advance his youngest son to the place of a Cardinal. But the soul of this worthy gentleman was much wounded hereat, as abhorring those profane dignities; and to show his distaste of the motion, he burnt the letters before the messenger's face, and withal, not designing to answer them by writing, he by word of mouth returned a grave, wise, and zealous answer.

Being delivered from this tempter, his sickness increased upon him: his pain was grievous, but he bore it with heroic courage; as the pains increased, so his faith and patience increased; and as the "outward man perished, so the inward man was renewed day by day." He found unspeakable comfort and sweetness in his

prayers to the LORD; and would often say, that in the midst of his prayers his soul seemed to be ravished, and to taste of the blessed joys of heaven, and as the suffering of CHRIST abounded in him, so the consolations of CHRIST abounded much more. The physicians spared no pains, and his loving and tender wife was never absent from him; but all was in vain, the time of his dissolution drawing on; he therefore wholly sequestered himself from any more care of his body. He took his farewell of his wife, and of all his christian friends, saying, "He would lead them the way to heaven." His heart and thoughts were all in heaven, and he cried to JESUS CHRIST, that as he had sought him all his life, so now he would receive and acknowledge him as his own. And so, in the presence of his friends, whilst the Ministers were exhorting and praying with him, he peaceably and quietly gave up his spirit into the hands of his merciful God, and faithful Creator, in the year 1592, about the seventy-fourth year of his age.



[Perhaps it would be wrong to suffer this *Life of the excellent GALEACIUS CARACCIOLUS* to pass again through the Press, without a cautionary intimation, that, (notwithstanding the high veneration which every Protestant must feel for one who made so many sacrifices for his religion, and for the eminent Reformers under whose advice and sanction he acted, and after making large allowances for the very peculiar character of the circumstances in which he was placed, and of the times in which he lived;) it may well be doubted whether he did not greatly err, if not in the original abandonment of his family, yet, at least, in suing, on such grounds, for a formal Divorce, and in marrying a second wife during the life of his first. Would not the cause of God, and of the Reformation, have been more honoured by his standing at his post, and patiently suffering for righteousness' sake the worst possible consequences of such a determination? Or, at all events, would not this distinguished man, if really bound in conscience to separate himself from his dearest connexions, have evinced more strikingly the "singleness of his eye" and the integrity of his heart, by refraining from a second marriage, under circumstances which made its *propriety* (even if its *lawfulness* could be conceded) exceedingly dubious?—EDITOR.]

(V.)

THE LIFE
OF
BERNARD GILPIN.

BERNARD GILPIN was born in the year 1517, about the middle of the reign of HENRY VIII. His forefathers had been seated at Kentmire-Hall, in Westmoreland, from the time of King JOHN. EDWIN GILPIN, his father, had several children, of whom BERNARD was one of the youngest. From a child he was inclined to a contemplative life, being thoughtful, wise, and serious. At the age of sixteen, he was entered upon the foundation at Queen's College, in Oxford.

As he had determined to apply himself to divinity, he made the Scriptures his chief study ; and set himself with great industry upon gaining a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. He was soon taken notice of, as a young man of good parts and considerable learning ; and loved for a remarkable sweetness in his disposition, and sincerity in his manners. At the usual time, he took the degree of Master of Arts, and about the same time was elected Fellow of his college. He had not been long settled in his Fellowship, before, at the desire of CARDINAL WOLSEY, he removed to Christ-Church, lately erected.

King HENRY VIII. was now dead ; and his young successor began in earnest to support that cause, which his father had only so far encouraged, as it contributed to break a yoke which sat uneasy upon him. Under this Prince's patronage, PETER MARTYR went to Oxford, where he read Divinity-Lectures.

The Papists, who were immediately in a flame, were very solicitous to engage MR. GILPIN to side publicly with them ; and the most pressing applications were accordingly made. But they found his inclination rather led him to stand by, an unprejudiced observer ; and to embrace truth, whether he found her amongst Protestants or Papists. But such importunity was used with him, that at length he yielded, and appeared the next day against PETER MARTYR. But he soon found his adversary's arguments too strong for him. We need not therefore wonder, if the disputation was speedily over. MR. GILPIN gave up his cause with that grace which always attends sincerity.

Having been thus staggered, the first step he took, after he had implored the divine assistance, was to recollect the substance of what had passed in this controversy ; and of those points, in which he had been hardest pressed, he resolved to enter into a stricter examination. The result was, (though after a considerable time,) that he cordially embraced the Protestant doctrine.

He continued at Oxford till the thirty-fifth year of his age. About that time the vicarage of Norton, in the diocese of Durham, falling vacant, a presentation passed in his favour, which bears date, November, 1552. But before he went to reside, he was appointed to preach before the King, who was then at Greenwich : for it was then ordered, that none should be presented unto any benefice in the donation of the Crown, till he had first preached before the King, and thereby passed his judgment and approbation.

The reigning vice of that age, as its historians inform us, was avarice, or more properly, rapine. In the room of law and justice, gross bribery and wrong were common ; in trade, grievous extortions and frauds : every where, and every way, the poor were vexed. MR. GILPIN thought it became him to take notice of these evils : accordingly he made the avarice of the times his subject ;

resolving, with an honest freedom, to censure corruption, in whatever rank of men he observed it.

He began, first, with the Clergy. He was sorry, he said, to observe among them such a manifest neglect of their function. To get benefices, not to take care of them, was their endeavour: half of them were pluralists or non-residents; and such could never fulfil their charge. He was shocked, he said, to hear them quote human laws against God's word: if such laws did exist, they were the remains of Popery, and the King would do well to repeal them. While men's consciences would permit them to hold as many livings as they could get, and discharge the duties of none, it was impossible that the Gospel could have any success in England.

From the Clergy he turned to the Court; and observing that the King was absent, he was obliged to introduce that part of his sermon which he had designed for him, by saying, that it grieved him to see those absent, who for example's sake ought to have been present. He had heard other Preachers likewise remark, that it was common for them to be absent. Business might perhaps be their excuse; but he could not believe that serving God would ever hinder business. If he could, he said, he would make them hear in their chambers; but however he would speak to their seats, not doubting but what he said would be carried to them.

"You," said he, "great Prince, are appointed by God to be the Governor of this land: let me then here call upon you in behalf of your people. It is in your power to redress them; and if you do not, the neglect must be accounted for. Take away pluralities and non-residence; oblige every Pastor to hold but one benefice; and, as far as you can, make every one do his duty. Your Grace's eye looking through your realm would do more good than a thousand preachers. The land is full of idle Pastors; it would be good if your Grace would send out surveyors, to see how benefices are bestowed. And I must tell your

Grace, that all this is owing to you, for taking no more notice of these things. For my part, I will do my duty; I will tell your Grace what abuses prevail, and pray to God that he will direct your heart to amend them."

He next addressed himself to the Magistrates and Gentry. They all, he told them, received their honours, their power, and their authority, from God, who expected they would make a proper use of such gifts; and would certainly call them to an account for the abuse of them. But he saw so much ambitious striving for them at Court, that he was afraid they did not all consider them in their true light.—"Let me then," said he, "call upon you who are Magistrates, and put you in mind, that if the people are debtors to you for obedience, you are debtors to them for protection. If you deny this, they must suffer; but God will assuredly espouse their cause against you.—And now, if we search for the root of all these evils; what is it but avarice? This it is that maketh the bad Nobleman, the bad Magistrate, the bad Pastor, and the bad Lawyer."

Thus this pious man began his ministry; and such was the sense he had of that plainness and sincerity which became it: as he thought nothing his interest, but what was also his duty, hope or fear never swayed him. He considered himself in some degree chargeable with those vices which he knew were prevailing, and failed not to rebuke them.

MR. GILPIN's plainness was well received, and recommended him to the notice of many persons of the first rank; particularly to SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL and SIR ROBERT DUDLEY, afterwards Earls of Bedford and Leicester.

MR. GILPIN, having now stayed as long in London as his business required, and having received a general licence for preaching, repaired to his parish, and immediately entered upon the duties of it. He failed not, as occasion required, to use the King's licence in other parts of the country; but his own parish he considered as the place where his chief care was due. Here he made it his

principal endeavour to dissuade from those vices which he observed most prevalent. He seldom handled controverted points ; being afraid, lest, endeavouring to instruct, he might only mislead. For, however resolved he was against Popery, he yet saw not the Protestant cause in its full strength ; and was still scarcely settled in some of his religious opinions. This gave him great uneasiness.

At length, quite unhappy, he wrote to BISHOP TUNSTALL an account of his situation. The Bishop told him, that, in his opinion, he could not do better than put his parish into the hands of some person in whom he could confide, and spend a year or two in Germany, France, and Holland ; by which means he might have an opportunity of conversing with some of the most eminent Professors on both sides of the question. He acquainted him also, that his going abroad at this time would do him a considerable service ; for, during his confinement, he had written two or three books, particularly one upon the LORD'S-Supper, which he had a desire to publish ; and as this could not be done so conveniently at home, he would be glad to have it done under his inspection at Paris.

This letter gave MR. GILPIN much satisfaction ; it just proposed his own wish ; only he had one objection to the scheme,—he was afraid it might prove too expensive. But as to that, the Bishop wrote, that MR. GILPIN'S living would do something, and he would supply the deficiency.

This, however, did not remove the difficulty. MR. GILPIN'S notions of the pastoral care were so strict, that he thought no excuse could justify non-residence for so considerable a time. He could not, therefore, think of supporting himself with part of the income of his living. However, abroad he was determined to go ; and resolved, if he stayed the shorter time, to be frugal of the little money he had, and leave the rest to the Bishop's generosity. Having resigned his living, therefore, to a person with whose abilities he was well acquainted, he set out for London, to receive his last orders from the Bishop, and to embark ; which he did without delay.

Upon his landing, he went immediately to Mechlin, to visit his brother GEORGE, who was at that time pursuing his studies there. And having stayed a few weeks with his brother, he went to Louvaine, where he resolved to settle for some time. He made frequent excursions to Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and other places in the Low Countries; where he spent a few weeks among those of any reputation, whether Papists or Protestants. But he made Louvaine his place of residence, for which city he always expressed a more than common affection.

What endeared Louvaine most to a scholar, was the noble seminary there established. It consisted of many colleges, in each of which philosophy was taught by two Professors, who read two hours each morning. The scholars had the rest of the day to commit to writing what they heard. At the time when MR. GILPIN was at Louvaine, it was one of the chief places for students in divinity. Some of the most eminent Divines, on both sides, resided there; and the most important topics of religion were discussed with great freedom. He now began to have juster notions of the doctrine of the reformation. He saw things in a clearer and a stronger light; and felt a satisfaction in the change he had made, to which he had hitherto been a stranger.

While he was thus pursuing his studies, he and all the Protestants in those parts were suddenly alarmed with news of King EDWARD's death, and Queen MARY's accession, in whom the signs of a persecuting spirit already appeared. This bad news came, however, attended with one agreeable circumstance; BISHOP TUNSTALL's release from the Tower, and re-establishment in his bishopric.

Soon afterwards MR. GILPIN received a letter from his brother GEORGE, entreating him to come immediately to Mechlin. When he came thither, he found that his brother had received a letter from the Bishop, informing him, that he had found a benefice of considerable value vacant in his diocese, which he wished he could persuade his brother BERNARD to accept. But this he absolutely

refused ; for which he gave his reasons to the Bishop in the following letter.

“ Right honourable, and my singular good Master : my duty remembered in most humble manner, pleaseth it your Honour to be informed, that of late my brother wrote to me, that in any wise I must meet him at Mechlin. When we met, I perceived it was nothing else but to see if he could persuade me to take a benefice, and to continue in study at the University: which if I had known to be the cause of his sending for me, I should not have needed to interrupt my study to meet him ; for I have so long debated that matter with learned men, especially with the holy Prophets, and most ancient and godly writers since CHRIST’s time, that I trust, so long as I have to live, never to burden my conscience with having a benefice, and being absent from it. My brother said, that your Lordship had written to him, that you would bestow one on me ; and that your Lordship thought (and so did other of my friends, of which he was one) that I was much too scrupulous in that point. Whereunto I always say, if I be too scrupulous, (as I cannot think that I am,) the matter is such, that I had rather my conscience were therein a great deal too strait, than a little too large : for I am seriously persuaded, that I shall never offend GOD by refusing to have a benefice, and live away from it. He replied against me, that your Lordship would give me no benefice, but what you would see discharged in my absence as well or better than I could discharge it myself. Whereunto I answered, that I would be sorry, if I thought not there were many thousands in England more able to discharge a cure than I find myself ; and therefore I desire, they may both take the cure and the profit also, that they may be able to feed the body and the soul both, as I think all Pastors are bounden. As for me, I can never persuade myself to take the profit, and let another take the pains : for if he should teach and preach as faithfully as ever ST. AUSTIN did, yet should

I not think myself discharged. And if I should strain my conscience herein, and strive with it to remain here, or in any other University, with such a condition, the unquietness of my conscience would not suffer me to profit in study at all.

“ And whereas I know well your Lordship is careful how I should live, if God should call your Lordship, being now aged, I desire you not to let that care trouble you : for if I had no other shift, I could get a lectureship, I know, shortly, either in this University, or at least in some Abbey hereby ; where I should not lose my time. And this kind of life, if God be pleased, I desire before any benefice. And thus I pray CHRIST always to have your Lordship in his blessed keeping.

“ By your Lordship’s humble Scholar and Chaplain,
“ *Louvaine, Nov. 22, 1554.* “ BERNARD GILPIN.”

MR. GILPIN, having got over this troublesome affair, continued some time longer at Louvaine, daily improving in religious knowledge. His own opinions he kept to himself, industriously endeavouring to make himself acquainted with the opinions of others, and the arguments upon which they were grounded.

Having been now two years in Flanders, and having made himself perfect master of the controversy, he left Louvaine, and took a journey to Paris. Passing through a forest in his way thither, he was attacked by highwaymen; from whom, being very well mounted, he escaped to a cottage by the road-side. The thieves pursued him to the house, and declared they would pull it down, or set it on fire, if he did not immediately come out. The family was in great consternation ; to quiet which he went out, and gave them his money.

While MR. GILPIN stayed at Paris, he lodged with VASCOSAN, an eminent Printer, to whom he had been recommended by his friends in the Netherlands. This learned man did him many friendly offices, and introduced him to the most considerable men in that city.

Here Popery became quite his aversion. He saw more of its superstition and craft than he had yet seen ; the former among the people, the latter among the Priests. Having now spent three years abroad, he wanted no farther conviction of the bad tendency of Popery ; he saw the necessity of some reformation ; and began to think every day more favourably of the present one. The principal end of his going abroad being thus answered, he was desirous of returning home.

It is probable that his purpose to return at this time was in pursuance of the Bishop of Durham's advice ; who, finding the infirmities of age increase upon him, and believing his nephew totally unqualified to advance himself in life, might be desirous of providing for him before his death ; and hoped that his power, in that remote part of the kingdom, would be a sufficient protection for him against his enemies. At his request he came into England during the heat of the persecution.

On his arrival in England, he went immediately to the Bishop of Durham, who was then in his diocese. Here this humane Prelate kept himself withdrawn during most of that violent reign. Nothing was further from his intention than persecution ; insomuch that his was almost the only diocese where the poor Protestants enjoyed any repose.

Such was the state of the diocese of Durham, when MR. GILPIN came there. The Bishop received him with great friendship ; and, within a little time, gave him the archdeaconry of Durham ; to which the rectory of Easington was annexed. Upon removing to his parish, he found it in great disorder. With a firm resolution, therefore, of doing what good he could in it, he set himself in earnest to reprove vice publicly and privately ; to encourage virtue ; and to explain the nature of true religion, with a freedom by no means suited to those dangerous times.

Very material objections were then made to the Clergy of those parts. Their manners were scandalous ; the

pastoral care was totally neglected ; and it is hard to say, whether vice or ignorance was more remarkable in them. This corruption among his brethren gave MR. GILPIN great concern. "The insatiable covetousness, (to use his own words,) joined with the pride, carnal liberty, and other vices, which reign at this time in all estates, but especially among us Priests, who ought to be the salt of the earth, breaks me many a sleep." He determined, therefore, to do all in his power to effect a reformation ; or, if that were impossible, to protest, at least, against what he could not alter. He considered, that one of his offices obliged him to take the same care of the manners of the Clergy, as the other did of those of the Laity ; and as he never received an office without a design of doing his duty in it, he resolved to behave as an Arch-deacon ought.

Accordingly, he took every opportunity of reproving the enormities he remarked. The more ingenuous of the Clergy he endeavoured to bring by gentler methods to their duty : the obstinate he would rebuke with all authority. And as he feared none in the cause of religion, no man's family or fortune could exempt him from his notice.

It was his opinion, that non-residence and pluralities were the principal sources of corruption among churchmen. We need not wonder therefore if we find him inveighing against them with the greatest earnestness. Sometimes he would show how wrong they were in themselves, as absolutely contrary to the design of endowments ; at other times how injurious to the rest of the order : for while three parts out of four of the Clergy, in his manner of speaking, were picking what they could get off a common, the rest were growing wanton with stall-feeding. But his great argument against them was, the prejudice they did to religion. "It was reasonable," he said, "to think that a parish would be better taken care of by the Priest, who received the whole income,

than by the Curate, who received only a 'small part.'" Besides, he thought one man's engrossing what in all reason belonged to two, perhaps three or four, agreed very ill with a Minister of CHRIST; and gave an example which tended more to the discredit of religion, than all the preaching in the world to its advancement.

It was presently the popular clamour, that he was an enemy of the Church, and a scandalizer of the Clergy. "After I entered upon the parsonage of Easington," says he, in a letter to his brother, "and began to preach, I soon procured me many mighty and grievous adversaries, because I preached against pluralities and non-residence. Some said, all that preached that doctrine became heretics soon after. Others found great fault, because I preached repentance and salvation by Christ, and did not make whole sermons, as they did, about transubstantiation, purgatory, holy water, images, prayers to saints, and such like."

Thus, in short, he had raised a flame, which nothing but his blood could quench. Many articles were drawn up against him, and he was accused in form before the Bishop of Durham.

The Bishop, taking care to press his accused friend in points only in which he knew him able to bear examination, brought him off innocent; and dismissed the cause, telling the accusers, "He was afraid they had been too forward in their zeal for religion,—and that heresy was such a crime, as no man ought to be charged with but upon the strongest proof."

After some time he acquainted the Bishop, "That he must resign either his Archdeaconry or his parish;—that he would with the greatest readiness do his duty in which soever his Lordship thought him best qualified for; but he was not able to do it in both." But the Bishop refusing to let him keep either of them singly, he resigned them both. During the time of his being thus unemployed, he lived with the Bishop as one of his Chaplains. The rectory

of Houghton-le-Spring fell vacant before Easington and the archdeaconry were disposed of; and the Bishop, in a jocular way, made him an offer of all the three. He thanked the Bishop, and accepted Houghton.

This rectory was so extensive, that it contained no less than fourteen villages: and having been as much neglected in that dark age, as the cures in the North then ordinarily were, Popery had produced its full growth of superstition in it. Scarcely any traces of true Christianity were left. Nay, what little religion remained, was even Popery itself corrupted. How entirely this barbarous people were excluded from all means of better information, appears from hence, that in that part of the kingdom King EDWARD's proclamations for a change of worship had not even been heard of at the time of that Prince's death.

Such was the condition of the parish of Houghton, when it was committed to MR. GILPIN's care;—a waste so miserably uncultivated, that the greatest industry seemed but sufficient to bring it to any kind of order. He was grieved to see ignorance and vice so prevail; but he did not despair. He implored the assistance of God; and his sincere endeavours met with it. The people crowded about him, and heard him with attention, perceiving him to be a teacher of a different kind from those to whom they had hitherto been accustomed.

Upon his taking possession of Houghton, it was some mortification to him, that he could not immediately reside. His parsonage-house was gone entirely to decay; and some time was required to make it habitable. Part of it was fitted up as soon as possible for his reception: but he continued improving and enlarging it, till it became suitable to his hospitable temper, a proper habitation for a man who never intended to keep what he had to himself.

Soon after, a stall in the Cathedral of Durham was vacant, which the Bishop urged MR. GILPIN to accept,

telling him, “that there lay not the same objection to this as to the Archdeaconry,—and that he could have no reasonable pretence for refusing it.” But MR. GILPIN told the Bishop, “that by his bounty he had already more wealth than, he was afraid, he could give a good account of. He begged therefore he might not have an additional charge; but that his Lordship would bestow this preferment on one by whom it was more wanted.”

Though he lived now retired, and gave no offence to the clergy, their malice, however, still pursued him. His care and labour were a standing satire upon their negligence and sloth; and it was the language of their hearts, “By so living thou reproachest us.” So they were determined, if possible, to extinguish a light which showed them to such disadvantage.

By their unwearied industry such a number of articles were, in a short time, got together, as, it was eagerly imagined, could not but crush him. He was soon therefore formally accused, and brought once more before the Bishop of Durham. How the Bishop behaved we are not particularly informed; but it is certain that MR. GILPIN was acquitted.

His enemies succeeded, however, in part; for the Bishop’s favour to him from this time visibly declined. This was not less than MR. GILPIN expected, nor more than he was well provided for. He acknowledged his great obligations to the Bishop; and would have given up any thing to have him satisfied, except his conscience. But a good conscience he was resolved not to part with for any friend upon earth.

Convinced how impossible it was to work up the Bishop of Durham’s zeal to the height they wished, they were determined to try what could be done elsewhere. Thirty-two articles were accordingly drawn up against him, and laid before BISHOP BONNER of London. He at once took fire; extolled their laudable concern for religion; and promised that the heretic should be at a stake

in a fortnight. MR. GILPIN's friends in London trembled for his safety, and instantly dispatched a message,—that he had not a moment to lose.

The messenger did not surprise him. He had long been preparing himself to suffer for the truth, and he now determined not to decline it. It was in some sort, he thought, denying his faith, to be backward in giving the best testimony to it. As it was the business of his life to promote religion, if he could better effect this by his death, it was his wish to die. He received the account therefore with great composure; and immediately after, calling up WILLIAM AIRAY, a favourite domestic, who had long served him as his almoner and steward, and laying his hand upon his shoulder, "At length," said he, "they have prevailed against me. I am accused to the Bishop of London, from whom there will be no escaping. God forgive their malice, and grant me strength to undergo the trial!" He then ordered his servant to provide a long garment for him, in which he might go decently to the stake; and desired it might be got ready with all expedition: "For I know not," said he, "how soon I may have occasion for it." As soon as his garment was provided, he used to put it on every day, till the Bishop's messengers apprehended him."

His friends, in the mean time, failed not to interpose; earnestly beseeching him to provide for his safety. But he begged them not to press him longer upon that subject. "Be assured," says he, "I should never have thrown myself voluntarily into the hands of my enemies; but I am fully determined to persevere in doing my duty, and shall take no measures to avoid them." In a few days, the messengers apprehended him, and put an end to these solicitations.

In his way to London, it is said, he broke his leg, which put a stop for some time to his journey. The persons, in whose custody he was, took occasion thence to retort upon him an observation he would frequently make, "that nothing happens to us but what is intended

for good ;” asking him, whether he thought his broken leg was so ? He answered meekly, “ He made no question but it was.” And indeed so it proved : for before he was able to travel, Queen MARY died. Being thus providentially rescued, he returned to Houghton through crowds of people, who expressed the utmost joy, and praised God for his deliverance.

It was now his friend the Bishop of Durham’s turn to suffer. He and some other Bishops, refusing the oath of supremacy, were deprived and committed to the Tower. But this severity soon relaxed. To the Bishop of Durham, especially, the government showed much lenity. He was recommended to the care of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; with whom he spent, in great tranquillity, the short remainder of a very long life.

Queen ELIZABETH judging MR. GILPIN a proper person for one of the void Bishoprics, she nominated him to that of Carlisle ; and a *Congé d’elire* was sent down to the Dean and Chapter of that see. MR. GILPIN, who knew nothing of what was going forward, was greatly surprised at this unexpected honour ; yet could not by any means persuade himself to accept it. Upon this DR. SANDYS, then Bishop of Worcester, who was intimately acquainted with him, wrote the following letter to him :

“ My much respected kinsman : regarding not so much your private interest, as the interest of religion, I did what I could, that the Bishopric of Carlisle might be secured to you ; and the just character I gave of you to the Queen has, I doubt not, had some weight with her Majesty in her promotion of you to that see ; which, not to mention the honour of it, will enable you to be of the utmost service to the Church of CHRIST.—I am not ignorant how much rather you choose a private station : but if you consider the condition of the Church at this time, you cannot, I think, with a good conscience, refuse this burden ; especially as it is in a part of the kingdom where no man is thought fitter than yourself to be of service to

religion. Wherefore I charge you before God, and as you will answer it to Him, that, laying all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your country, and do what service you can to the Church of God; exhorting and beseeching you to be obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect the duty of your function. I commend both you and this whole business to the Divine Providence.

“Your kinsman and brother,

“*London, April 4, 1560.*

“EDWIN WORCESTER.”

This letter, notwithstanding the pressing manner in which it was written, was without effect. MR. GILPIN returned his thanks; but as for the Bishopric, he was determined, and he thought for very good reasons, not to accept it. Nor could all the persuasions of his friends alter this resolution.

The year after his refusal of the Bishopric of Carlisle, an offer of another kind was made him, *viz.* that of the Provostship of Queen's-College in Oxford; but this also he refused, and sat down with one living, which gratified the utmost of his desires;—for he found that it afforded him as many opportunities of doing good as he was able to make use of.

The great ignorance which at this time prevailed over the nation, afforded a melancholy prospect to all who had the interest of religion at heart. And the very bad consequences of this ignorance turned the endeavours of all well-wishers to the progress of true religion upon the most probable methods to remove it. In this MR. GILPIN joined to the utmost of his abilities; and indeed, as was commonly thought, beyond them. He resolved to build and endow a grammar-school, which his exact economy soon enabled him to accomplish.

The effects of this endowment were quickly seen. His school was no sooner opened than it began to flourish, and to afford the agreeable prospect of a succeeding generation rising above the ignorance and errors of their forefathers. That such might be its effects, no care on his

part was wanting. He not only placed able masters in his school, but himself likewise constantly inspected it. And that encouragement might quicken the application of his boys, he always took particular notice of the most forward; he would call them his own scholars, and would send for them often into his study, and there instruct them himself.

One method used by him to fill his school was a little singular. Whenever he met a poor boy upon the road, he would make trial of his capacity by a few questions; and if he found it such as pleased him, he would provide for his education. Nor did his care end here. From his school he sent several to the Universities, where he maintained them wholly at his own expense. To others, who were in circumstances to do something for themselves, he would give the farther assistance they needed. By these means he induced many parents to allow their children a liberal education, who otherwise would not have done it.

Nor did MR. GILPIN think it enough to afford them the means of an academical education, but endeavoured to make it as beneficial to them as he could. He still considered himself as their guardian; and seemed to think himself bound to the public for their being made useful members of it. With this view he held a punctual correspondence with their tutors; and made the youths themselves frequently write to him, and give him an account of their studies. Several of their letters, chiefly preserved by having something of MR. GILPIN'S written upon their backs, still remain, and show in how great veneration he was held among them. So solicitous indeed was he about them, knowing the many temptations to which their age and situation exposed them, that, every other year, he generously made a journey to the Universities, to inspect their behaviour. In these good designs, he was for a while interrupted, by the rebellion which broke out in the North. He had observed the fire gathering before the flame burst out; and knowing what zealots

would soon approach him, he thought it prudent to withdraw. Having given proper advice therefore to his masters and scholars, he took the opportunity to make a journey to Oxford.

The passages of MR. GILPIN's life, already collected, are chiefly of a public nature; but to place him in a true light, it will be necessary to accompany him in his retirement, and take a view of his ordinary behaviour.

When he first took upon him the care of a parish, he laid it down as a maxim, to do all the good in his power there. And indeed his whole conduct was only one straight line drawn to this point.

The pastoral care he saw was much neglected: the greater part of the Clergy, he could not but observe, were scandalously negligent of it, accepting livings only with secular views; and even they who seemed more serious, too often, he thought, considered it in a light widely different from its true one. Some, he observed, made it consist in asserting the rights of the Church, and the dignity of their function; others, in a strenuous opposition to the prevailing sectaries, and a zealous attachment to the established church-government; a third sort in examining the speculative points, and mystical parts of religion;—none of them in the mean time considering, either in what the true dignity of the ministerial character consisted, or the only end for which church-government was at all established, or the practical influence which can alone make speculative points worth our attention.

The strange disorder of that part of the country where his lot fell, hath already been observed. Amidst such ignorance, to introduce a knowledge of religion was a laborious work; as difficult as a first plantation of the Gospel. There was the same building to raise, and as much rubbish to clear away; for no prejudices could be stronger, and more alien to Christianity, than those which he had to oppose.

He set out with making it his endeavour to gain the affection of his parishioners. To succeed in it, however,

he used no servile compliances: his behaviour was free without levity, obliging without meanness, insinuating without art. He condescended to the weak, bore with the passionate, complied with the scrupulous. In a truly apostolic manner, he became all things to all men. By these means he gained mightily upon his neighbours, and convinced them how heartily he was their friend.

To this humanity and courtesy he added an unwearied application to the duties of his function. He was not satisfied with the advice he gave in public, but used to instruct in private; and brought his parishioners to come to him with their doubts and difficulties. He had a most engaging manner towards those whom he thought well-disposed. Nay, his very reproof was so conducted, that it seldom gave offence; the becoming gentleness with which it was urged made it always appear the effect of friendship. Thus laying himself out, in a few years he made a greater change in his neighbourhood, than could well have been imagined.

He was very assiduous in preventing all law-suits among them. His hall was often thronged with people who came to him about their differences. He was not indeed much acquainted with law; but he could decide equitably, and that satisfied them: nor could his Sovereign's commission have given more weight than his own character gave him.

He had a just concern for all under affliction; and was a much readier visitant at the house of mourning than at that of feasting. He was considered as a good angel by all in distress. When the infirmities of age came upon him, and he grew less able to endure exercise, it was his custom to write letters of consolation to such as were in affliction. He used to interpose, likewise, in all acts of oppression; and his authority was such, that it generally put a stop to them.

Mean time it grieved him exceedingly to see every where, in the parishes around him, so much ignorance and

superstition ; occasioned by the very great neglect of the Clergy of those parts. The very bad consequences arising from this shameful remissness among the Clergy, induced MR. GILPIN to supply, as far as he could, what was wanting in others. Every year, therefore, he used regularly to visit the most neglected parishes in Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. And that his own parish, in the mean time, might not suffer, he was at the expense of a constant assistant. In each place he stayed two or three days ; and his method was, to call the people about him, and lay before them, in as plain a way as possible, the danger of leading wicked or even careless lives, explaining to them the nature of true religion, instructing them in the duties they owed to God, their neighbour, and themselves ; and showing them how greatly true religion would contribute to their present as well as future happiness.

Having all the warmth of an enthusiast, though under the direction of a very calm judgment, he never wanted an audience even in the wildest parts ; where he roused many to a sense of religion, who had contracted the most inveterate habits of inattention to every thing of a serious nature.

Wherever he came, he used to visit all the gaols and places of confinement ; few in the kingdom having at that time any appointed minister. And by his labours, and affectionate manner of behaving, he reformed many very abandoned persons in those places. He would employ his interest, likewise, for such criminals, whose cases he thought attended with any hard circumstances, and often procured pardons for them.

There is a tract of country upon the border of Northumberland, called Reads-Dale and Tyne-Dale ; of all barbarous places in the North, at that time the most barbarous. Before the Union, this country was subject by turns to England and Scotland, and was the common theatre where the two nations were continually acting

their bloody scenes. It was inhabited by a kind of desperate banditti, rendered fierce and active by constant alarms. They lived by theft; used to plunder on both sides of the barrier; and what they plundered from one side, they exposed to sale on the other.

In this dreadful country, where no man would even travel that could help it, MR. GILPIN never failed to spend some part of every year. He generally chose the holidays of Christmas for this journey, because he found the people at that season most disengaged. He had set places for preaching, which were as regularly attended as the assize-towns of a circuit. If he came where there was a church, he made use of it; if not, of barns, or any other large building; where great crowds of people were sure to attend him, some for his instructions, and others for his charity.

This was a very laborious employment. The country was so poor, that what provision he could get, extreme hunger only could make palatable. The badness of the weather, and the badness of the roads, through a mountainous country, and at that season covered with snow, exposed him likewise often to great hardships. Sometimes he was overtaken by the night, the country being in many places desolate for several miles together, and obliged to lodge out in the cold. At such times he would make his servant ride about with his horses, whilst himself on foot used as much exercise as his age, and the fatigues of the preceding day, would permit. All this he cheerfully underwent; esteeming such sufferings well compensated by the advantages which might accrue from them to his fellow-creatures.

Our Saxon ancestors had a great aversion to the tedious forms of law. They chose rather to determine their disputes in a more concise manner, pleading generally with their swords. This custom still prevailed on the borders. These wild Northumbrians indeed went beyond their ancestors. They were not content with a duel:

each contending party used to muster what adherents he could, and commence a kind of petty war; so that a private grudge would often occasion much bloodshed.

It happened that a quarrel of this kind was on foot, when MR. GILPIN was at Rothbury in those parts. During the two or three first days of his preaching, the contending parties observed some decorum, and never appeared at church together. At length, however, they met. One party had been early at church, and just as MR. GILPIN began his sermon the other entered. They stood not long silent. Inflamed at the sight of each other, they began to clash their weapons, for they were all armed with javelins and swords. When the tumult in some degree ceased, MR. GILPIN proceeded: but again the combatants began to brandish their weapons, and drew towards each other. MR. GILPIN stepped from the pulpit, went between them, and, addressing the leaders, put an end to the quarrel for the present, but could not effect an entire reconciliation. They promised him, however, that, till the sermon was over, they would make no more disturbance. He then went again into the pulpit, and spent the rest of the time in endeavouring to make them ashamed of what they had done. His discourse affected them so much, that they promised to forbear all acts of hostility while he continued in the country. And so much respected was he among them, that whoever was in fear of his enemy, used to resort where MR. GILPIN was, esteeming his presence the best protection.

The disinterested pains he took among these barbarous people drew from them the sincerest gratitude; a virtue, perhaps, as frequently the growth of these natural soils, as of the best cultivated.

How greatly his name was revered among them one instance will show. By the carelessness of his servant, his horses were one day stolen. The thief was rejoicing over his prize, when, by the report of the country, he found whose horses he had taken; he instantly came trembling back, confessed the fact, returned the horses,

and declared he believed the Devil would have seized him directly, had he carried them off, knowing them to have been MR. GILPIN'S.

One day, as he was preparing for his journey into these parts, he received a message from DR. BARNES, Bishop of Durham, appointing him to preach a visitation-sermon the Sunday following. He acquainted the Bishop with the necessity of keeping that appointment, begging his Lordship would at that time excuse him. His servant informed him that the Bishop had received his message, but returned no answer. Concluding him therefore satisfied, he set out on his journey, but to his great surprise, when he came home, found himself suspended; some persons, through enmity to him, having put the Bishop upon this hasty step. A few days after, he received an order to meet the Bishop at Chester, a town in the diocese of Durham. Here many of the Clergy assembled, and MR. GILPIN was ordered by the Bishop to preach that day before them. He made his apology; he had come wholly unprepared;—besides, he was suspended, and thereby excluded from the pulpit. The Bishop answered, that he took off the suspension. But MR. GILPIN still begged to be excused;—he had brought no sermon with him, and hoped none would be required from him. But the Bishop would take no excuse; telling him, that as he had been a Preacher so long, he must be able to say enough to the purpose without any previous meditation. MR. GILPIN persisting in his refusal, the Bishop at length grew warm, and required him, upon his canonical obedience, to go immediately into the pulpit. After a little delay he went up; and though he observed several persons taking notes of what he said, he proceeded without the least hesitation.

The Ecclesiastical Court of Durham was at this time very scandalously governed, being made indeed little better than an office for granting indulgences. The Bishop was a well-meaning, weak man; irresolute, and wholly in the hands of others. Every thing was managed

by his relation, the Chancellor, whose irregularities were most notorious.

The opportunity now afforded him, MR. GILPIN thought no unfavourable one to open the Bishop's eyes ; accordingly, before he concluded his sermon, he turned towards the Bishop, to whom he thus addressed himself:—" My discourse now, Reverend Father, must be directed to you. God hath exalted you to be the Bishop of this diocese, and requireth an account of your government thereof. A reformation of all those matters which are amiss in this church, is expected at your hands. And now, lest, perhaps, while it is apparent that so many enormities are committed every where, your Lordship should make answer, that you had no notice of them given you, and that these things never came to your knowledge, behold, I bring these things to your knowledge this day. Say not then that these crimes have been committed by the fault of others without your knowledge ; for whatever either yourself shall do in person, or suffer through your connivance to be done by others, is wholly your own. Therefore, in the presence of God, his angels, and men, I pronounce you to be the author of all these evils: yea, and in that strict day of the general account I will be a witness to testify against you, that all those things have come to your knowledge by my means ; and all these men shall bear witness thereof, who have heard me speak unto you this day."

This freedom alarmed every one. As MR. GILPIN went out of the church, his friends gathered round him, kindly reproaching him, with tears, for what he had done:—" The Bishop," they said, " had now got that advantage over him which he had long sought after,—and if he had injured him before without provocation, what would he do now, so greatly exasperated ? " MR. GILPIN walked on, assuring them, that if his discourse should do the service he intended by it, he was regardless what the consequence might be to himself.

During that day, nothing else was talked of. Every

one commended what had been said, but was apprehensive for the speaker. Those about the Bishop waited in silent expectation, when his resentment would break out.

After dinner, MR. GILPIN went up to the Bishop, to pay his compliments to him before he went home. "Sir," said the Bishop, "I propose to wait upon you home myself."—This he accordingly did; and as soon as MR. GILPIN had carried him into a parlour, the Bishop turned suddenly, and seizing him eagerly by the hand, "Father GILPIN," said he to him, "I acknowledge you are fitter to be the Bishop of Durham, than I am to be Parson of this church of yours.—I ask forgiveness for past injuries;—forgive me, Father.—I know you have enemies; but while I live Bishop of Durham, be secure, none of them shall cause you any further trouble."

Though MR. GILPIN was chiefly solicitous about the souls of those committed to his care, he omitted not to promote, as far as he could, their temporal happiness. What wealth he had, was entirely laid out in charities and hospitality. The value of his living was about £400 a year; an income which, however considerable, was yet in appearance very disproportionate to the generous things he did. Indeed he could not have done them, unless his frugality had been equal to his generosity. In building a school, and purchasing lands for the maintenance of a master and usher, he expended above £500. As there was so great a resort of young people to his school, that in a little time the town was not able to accommodate them, he put himself to the inconvenience of fitting up a part of his own house for that purpose, where he seldom had fewer than twenty or thirty children. Some of these were the sons of persons of distinction, whom he boarded at easy rates; but the greater part were poor children, whom he not only educated, but clothed and maintained. He was at the expense likewise of boarding in the town many other poor children. He used to bring several every year from the different parts where he preached, particularly Reads-Dale and Tync-

Dale; which places he was at great pains in civilizing, and contributed not a little towards rooting out that barbarism, which every year prevailed less among them.

For the maintenance of poor scholars at the Universities, he yearly set apart £60. This sum he always laid out, and often more. His common allowance to each scholar was about £10 a year, and which for a sober youth was at that time a very sufficient maintenance: so that he never maintained fewer than six. By his will it appears, that at his death he had nine upon his list; whom he took care to provide for, during their stay at the University.

Every Thursday, throughout the year, a very large quantity of meat was dressed wholly for the poor; and every day they had what quantity of broth they wanted. Twenty-four of the poorest were his constant pensioners. Four times in the year, a dinner was provided for them, when they received from his steward a certain quantity of corn, and a sum of money; and at Christmas they had always an ox divided among them. Wherever he heard of any distress, whether in his own parish, or in any other, he was sure to relieve it. In his walks abroad he would frequently bring home with him poor people, and send them away clothed as well as fed. He took great pains to inform himself of the circumstances of his neighbours, that the modesty of the sufferer might not prevent his relief.

But the money best laid out was, in his opinion, that which encouraged industry. It was one of his greatest pleasures to make up the losses of his laborious neighbours, and prevent their sinking under them. If a poor man had lost a beast, he would send him another in its room; or if any farmer had had a bad year, he would make him an abatement in his tithes.—Thus, as far as he was able, he took the misfortunes of his parish upon himself; and, like a true shepherd, exposed himself for his flock. Of all kinds of industrious poor, he was most forward to assist those who had large families. Such never failed to meet with his bounty, when they wanted to settle their children in the world.

In the distant parishes where he preached, as well as in his own neighbourhood, his generosity and benevolence were continually showing themselves ; particularly in the desolate parts of Northumberland : “ When he began his journey,” says an old manuscript of the Life of him, “ he would have ten pounds in his purse ; and at his coming home he would be twenty nobles in debt, which he always paid within a fortnight after.” In the gaols he visited, he was not only careful to give the prisoners proper instructions, but used to purchase for them likewise what necessities they wanted.

Even on the public road, he never let slip an opportunity of doing good. Often has he been known to take off his cloak, and give it to an half-naked traveller. And when he has had scarcely money enough in his pocket to provide a dinner, yet would he give away part of that little, or the whole, if he found any who seemed to stand in need of it.—Of this benevolent temper, the following instance is preserved. One day, returning home, he saw, in a field, several people crowding together ; and judging that something more than ordinary had happened, he rode up, and found that one of the horses in a team had suddenly dropped down, which they were endeavouring to raise, but in vain, for the horse was dead. The owner of it seeming much dejected with his misfortune, and declaring how grievous a loss it would be to him, MR. GILPIN bade him not to be disheartened : “ I’ll let you have,” says he, “ honest man, that horse of mine,” pointing to his servant’s.—“ Ah ! master,” replied the countryman, “ my pocket will not reach such a beast as that.”—“ Come, come,” said MR. GILPIN, “ take him, take him ; and when I demand my money, then thou shalt pay me.”

His hospitable manner of living was the admiration of the whole country. He spent in his family, every fortnight, forty bushels of corn, twenty bushels of malt, and a whole ox ; besides a proportionable quantity of other kinds of provision. Strangers and travellers found a cheerful reception. All were welcome that came ; and

even their beasts had so much care taken of them, that it was said, "If a horse was turned loose in any part of the country, it would immediately make its way to the Rector of Houghton's."

Every Sunday, from Michaelmas till Easter, was a sort of public day with him. During this season, he expected to see all his parishioners and their families. For their reception he had three tables: the first for gentlemen; the second for husbandmen and farmers; and the third for day-labourers.—This piece of hospitality he never omitted, even when losses, or a scarcity of provision, made its continuance difficult to him. "If you should, as you threaten," says he in a letter to his old enemy, Chancellor BARNES, "give out a sequestration of my benefice, you shall do me a greater favour than you are aware of. For at this time I am run in no small debt. I want likewise provision of victuals. Where I have had against Michaelmas six or seven fat oxen, and five or six fat cows, I have now neither cow nor ox, but must seek all from the shambles. A sequestration given out, I may with honesty break up house for a space, which will save me twenty or thirty pounds in my purse. But I trust you will think better of this matter." And even when he was absent, no alteration was made in his family expenses: the poor were fed as usual, and his neighbours entertained.

Towards the latter part of his life, MR. GILPIN went through his duty with great difficulty. His health was much impaired. The extreme fatigue which he had undergone, during so many years, had quite broken his constitution. Thus he complains in a letter to a friend: "To sustain all these travels and troubles I have a very weak body, subject to many diseases; by the monitions whereof I am daily warned to remember death. My greatest grief is, that my memory is quite decayed; my sight and hearing fail; with other ailments, more than I can well express."

While he was thus struggling with an advanced age,

and much impaired constitution, there happened a very unfortunate affair, which entirely destroyed his health. As he was crossing the market-place at Durham, an ox ran at him, and pushed him down with such violence, that it was imagined the bruises he received would have occasioned his death. He lay long confined ; and though he again got abroad, he never recovered even the little strength he had before, and continued lame as long as he lived.

But sickness was not the only distress which the declining years of this excellent man had to struggle with. As age and infirmity began to lessen that influence he once had, the malice and opposition of his enemies prevailed more. Of what frivolous pretences they availed themselves, and with what temper he bore it, the following letters will show.

“ I am very sorry, MR. WREN, to hear that, to maintain an evil cause, you should make an untrue report of me. I am very glad, however, that the two other false reports, if it be as you say, were not raised by you : one, that I should make the marriage of ministers unlawful ; the other, that I should make their children bastards. Whereas certainly it is known, that long ago I was accused before BISHOP TUNSTALL, for speaking in favour of Priests’ marriage : since which time I have never altered my mind ; but in my sermons in this country, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Yorkshire, and Lancashire, I have, as opportunity served, spoken in defence of Priests’ marriage. And allowing their marriage, I trust no man will believe that I should make their children bastards.

“ You say, I am called hypocrite : I know I am so of divers. How they will answer God’s law therein, I leave to their own conscience. But verily, for my own part, I can thank them ; for when I hear it, I trust in God, I gain not a little thereby in studying clearly to subdue that vice. And I suppose very few preachers in England

have preached oftener against it than I; and that, as I trust, with a clear conscience.

“But to make an end, it is time, good MR. WREN, both for you and me, (age and sundry diseases, messengers of death, giving us warning,) more diligently to search our own faults, and to leave off from curious hearkening and espying of other men’s. I pray you read ST. JAMES, the latter part of the third chapter, and there learn from whence cometh contentious wisdom. And this, I beseech you, remember, that it is not long since GOD did most mercifully visit you with great sickness. At that time, I doubt not, you lamented sorely your duty forgotten in your life past: and for the time to come, if GOD would restore you to your health, I trust you promised a godly repentance. Good MR. WREN, if you have somewhat forgotten that godly mind, pray to GOD to bring it again; and being had, keep it. Pray in faith, and ST. JAMES saith, GOD will hear you; whom I beseech evermore to have you in his blessed keeping.

“Your loving friend to his power,

“BERNARD GILPIN.”

“After my most hearty and due commendations; having heard that SIR WILLIAM MITCHELL, one of your brother’s Executors, reported of me in sundry places, that I withhold from him great sums of money, and I know nothing wherefore; I heartily beseech you, seeing that you are joined Executor likewise, that you will let me know, by this bearer, if you can find any thing in any writings or accounts of your brother, that can be lawfully demanded of me, and, GOD willing, it shall be paid ere I be much older. If, as I believe, I be debtor for nothing else, saving the sixteen books, whereof I know no price, I have given this bearer, my servant, such instructions, that he will either satisfy you, or I will make return of the books.—I pray Almighty GOD to have you ever in his blessed keeping.

“Your loving friend to his power,

“BERNARD GILPIN.”

About the beginning of February, in the year 1583, he found himself so weak, that he was sensible his end was drawing near. He told his friends, and spoke of his death with that happy composure which always attends the conclusion of a good life. He was soon after confined to his chamber. His senses continued perfect to the last. Of the manner of his taking leave of the world, we have this account.

A few days before his death, he ordered himself to be raised in his bed, and his friends, acquaintance, and dependents, to be called in. He first sent for the poor, and beckoning them to his bed-side, he told them, that he was going out of the world, and he hoped they would be his witnesses at the great day, that he had endeavoured to do his duty among them : above all things, he exhorted them to fear God, and keep his commandments ; telling them, if they would do this, they could never be left comfortless.

He next ordered his scholars to be called in ; then his servants ; and then sent for several persons, who had not heretofore profited by his advice according to his wishes, and upon whom he imagined his dying words might have a better effect. His speech began to falter before he had finished his exhortations. The remaining hours of his life he spent in prayer, and in broken conversations with some select friends ; mentioning often the consolations of Christianity,—declaring they were the only true ones,—and that nothing else could bring a man peace at the last. He died on the 4th of March, 1583, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

(VI.)

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM WHITAKER.

WILLIAM WHITAKER was born at Holme, in the parish of Burnley, in Lancashire, of an ancient family. His father was one who, by his industry, increased the ancient inheritance of the WHITAKERS.

In his childhood he was educated under his parents, and brought up in the school of Burnley: but when he was thirteen years old, he was sent for, to London, by his uncle, ALEXANDER NOWELL, Dean of St. Paul's. His uncle kept him in his own house, and placed him in St. Paul's school. At eighteen years old he was sent to Cambridge, to Trinity College, where he was chosen, first, Scholar, and then Fellow of the House.

A while after, leaving PLATO and ARISTOTLE, he became a diligent reader of the Sacred Scriptures, to which he always attributed the chief authority, not only to build our faith upon, but to determine all controversies by. In a few years he read over most of the Fathers, both Greek and Latin; and if by any occasion of friends' visits he was interrupted in his studies, he would gain so much time out of his sleep, as to finish the task he had imposed upon himself. But as by these his labours and watchings he much increased his learning, so he much impaired the health of his body, which he never recovered.

DR. WHITGIFT, then Regius Professor, took so great a liking to him, that he esteemed him as his son, all his

life after. When he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, he performed his exercises in such a manner, that his auditors knew not whether he showed himself the better Christian or Divine. When this work was over, he lived quietly for a while in the College; “being never less idle than when idle, nor less alone than when alone.” For when he was free from public business, he prepared himself, by studying controversies, for public work; thereby presaging, as it were, what afterwards came to pass. For, shortly after, DR. CHADDERTON, the Master of Queen’s College, and Regius Professor, was made a Bishop; and though WHITAKER was but young, yet, considering his great learning, he was unanimously chosen to be his successor in the Professorship.

When he began to read his lectures, he performed them to the abundant satisfaction of all his hearers; nothing being found wanting which could be required in the best Divine, and most accomplished Professor. For he showed much reading, a sharp judgment, and a pure and easy style, with sound and solid learning; so that his fame spreading abroad, many resorted to his lectures, and reaped much profit thereby.

The first thing that he began with, in his lectures, was to expound the first three chapters of ST. LUKE: after which he went over the Epistle to the Galatians, the First Epistle to TIMOTHY, and the Canticles. Afterwards he betook himself to the controversies between the Papists and us, in the year 1585.

About this time he married a wife, a prudent, pious, chaste, and charitable woman. After her death, at the end of two years, he married another, a grave matron, the widow of DUDLEY FENNER. By these he had eight children, whom he educated religiously.

DR. WHITAKER was shortly after chosen Master of ST. JOHN’S College in Cambridge, which, though at first some of the Fellows disliked, yet, within a little space, by his clemency, equity, and goodness, he turned them unto love and admiration of him. Yea, he always

governed the College with much prudence and moderation, not seeking his own profit, but the public good. In choosing Scholars and Fellows, he always carried himself unblameably ; so that he would never suffer any corruption to creep into the election : and if he found any one, who, by bribes, had sought to buy suffrages, *he*, of all others, (though otherwise never so deserving,) was not to be chosen.

The week before he died, he performed an excellent work, not only for the University of Cambridge, but for the whole English Church, for whose peace and unity he always studied, by undertaking to compose some differences which sprang up about some heads of religion ; for which end he went towards London in the midst of winter, in the company of DR. TYNDAL, Master of Queen's College : but what with his journey, and want of sleep, (being too intent upon his business,) he fell sick by the way, which made him return to Cambridge ; and finding his disease increase, he sent for the physicians, who resolved to take some blood from him, which was yet neglected for two days. The third day, when they went about it, he was unfit, by reason of a continual sweat that he was in ; yet that night he seemed to sleep quietly ; and the next morning a friend asking him, how he did, he answered, " O happy night ! I have not taken so sweet a sleep, since my disease seized upon me." But his friend, finding him all in a cold sweat, told him, that signs of death appeared on him ; to whom he answered, " Life or death is welcome to me, which God pleaseth ; for death shall be an advantage to me." And after a while he said, " I desire not to live, but only so far as I may do God and his Church service." And so, shortly after, he quietly departed in the LORD, in the year 1595, in the forty-seventh year of his age ; having been Professor sixteen years.

CARDINAL BELLARMINE procured his picture out of England, and hung it up in his study, much admiring him for his singular learning ; and being asked by a

Jesuit, why he would suffer the picture of that heretic to hang there, answered, "Though he was an heretic, and his adversary, yet he was a learned adversary."

In the whole course of his disease, which was a fever, he demeaned himself quietly and mildly, acknowledging God to be the author of his disease, to whose will he willingly submitted himself, without the least sign of impatience; saying with JOB, "LORD, my God, though thou kill me, yet I am sure that with these eyes I shall see thee, for in thee do I hope." In his habit, in his countenance, and in the whole course of his life, he showed forth piety and holiness; and in his private family, where he most discovered himself, he was the same man. He was most patient in injuries, which he quickly forgot, and was easily reconciled to those who deserved worst of him.

He was very charitable and liberal to the poor, according to his estate, which yet he always carried privately: but especially he was most bountiful to such poor as were modest, godly, and industrious, and yet more especially to such poor students as were ingenious and laborious. These he would often secretly furnish with money, and prefer them to places, as far as by the statutes of the College he could.

In passing judgment upon other men's lives and actions, he was always very modest and moderate. Those whom he saw do well, he would encourage and commend: for those that brake out into inordinate practices he would grieve and mourn. In his converse with his friends, he was very courteous and pleasant; faithful in keeping secrets; prudent and grave in serious matters; always most ready to assist his friends in every condition, either with counsel, comfort, or money.

His piety towards his parents was singular; to whom he was very dutiful, and whom he supported, being fallen into decay. And that which added a lustre to his learning, virtue, and graces, was, that they were accompanied with MOSES-like meekness, and almost incredible humility. For although he was endued with a most sharp

wit, happy memory, variety of reading, excellent eloquence, as ever was in any Divine, and, lastly, with a most learned and polite judgment, so that he was the oracle of the University, yet did he not hold any singular or private opinion, but what was agreeable to the sound doctrine of the word of God : yea, he was so humble, that he despised not his inferiors, but carried himself as a child that is weaned from his mother's breasts.

BISHOP HALL saith of him, "Never man saw him without reverence, nor heard him without wonder."

(VII.)

THE LIFE
OF
PHILIP DE MORNAY,
LORD OF PLESSIS MARLY.

PHILIP DE MORNAY was, by the father's side, of the house of Mornay, allied to the most illustrious families in France, being some while since united to the royal family of Bourbon. He was born November the 5th, 1549. JAMES DE MORNAY, his father, was much addicted to the superstitions of the Church of Rome, in the which he was very careful to bring up his children. His mother, daughter to CHARLES DE BEC CRESPIN, Vice-Admiral of France, had some knowledge of the true religion in her husband's life-time, and endeavoured under-hand to instil it into her family; and in the end wrought so far with her husband upon his death-bed, that, after some ardent exhortations which she used to him in his extremity, he signified to the by-standers, that he had no need of the Romish superstitious ceremonies, but grounded his salvation upon the alone merits of CHRIST JESUS his SAVIOUR.

His first master was one GABRIEL PRESTAT, who, together with human learning, infused gently into him some principles of true doctrine, though he durst not make any open mention of religion to him, for fear of his father, who knew not that GABRIEL was a Protestant. He was afterwards brought to Paris, where he continued for two years; though the course of his studies was often interrupted by sickness.

About the end of the year 1560, he was called from Paris to his father's funeral. Being arrived at his mother's,

he was solicited by her to read the Protestant Catechism, which he refused, but demanded a New Testament in Latin and French; and one of the Geneva impression being offered unto him, he likewise refused it, but accepted of one printed at Lyons, which he greedily read, praying God to enlighten him in the knowledge of his truth; and, withal, carefully observing, that the chief doctrines and services of the church of Rome were not to be found in Scripture, such as purgatory, invocation of saints, the sacrifice of the mass, adoration of images; each of these, still as he found no mention of it in Scripture, he blotted out of his mind, and began to suspect the rest: so that at last he desired to satisfy himself concerning transubstantiation and justification, by reading concerning those subjects; which wrought so good effect on him, that, about the end of the year 1561, he became resolved to quit the Church of Rome.

His mother, though she exceedingly rejoiced, yet would not willingly have had him to profess it so soon, because she as yet adhered outwardly to the Papists. But God having, about the same time, cast her into a sickness, almost unto death, she made a vow, in the presence of her children, that if God would please to raise her from that bed of sickness, she would make open profession of the Gospel, which she performed at the end of the same year, 1561.

About the beginning of the year 1562, he was again sent to Paris by his mother, where he had scarcely continued three months, before the troubles for religion broke out, which forced him to leave the city. Being returned home, he fell sick of a pleurisy, which, with other infirmities, so far interrupted his studies, that he forgot almost all which he had learned: whereupon his mother had an intention to make him Page of the King's chamber. But peace being re-established in the year 1563, his importunities prevailed so far with her, as to return once more to Paris, where in a short time he recovered what before he had lost, so far as to outgo his

master. It is observable, that during this time of his continuance at Paris, he was never seen to play, or take other recreation than expounding, before his master, PLATO's *Timæus*, or some such like author.

About this time his unele, the Bishop of NANTES, strove to win him back to the Church of Rome, exhorting him to read diligently the ancient Docters of the Church; and the better to allure him thereto, he promised to resign unto him his Bishoprie, and to put him in present possession of a Priory. But he, thanking him for his proffers, answered, that he would commit himself wholly unto God, from whom he was confident he should receive whatsoever was necessary for him. And afterwards, he did often, by letters, mark out unto his said unele such passages of the Fathers as confirmed the Protestant religion, and confuted that of the Papists.

In the year 1567, the second troubles arising for religion, he prevailed with his mother to put himself into the army, with two of her brothers. But the eternal providence of God, which reserved him to higher employments, brought it so to pass, that his horse, falling upon him by the way, broke his leg, which forced him to return. This hurt was long in healing, and at length constrained him to undertake a voyage into foreign countries, the use of baths being requisite to his full recovery.

In September, 1569, he went to Frankfort, and from thence into Italy, remaining some time at Padua to continue his studies. His idle hours he passed in the physie-garden, learning the natures and names of the herbs and plants. At the same time he read over the greatest part of the Bible, under RABBI MENAKEN, a Jew, the most learned of that age.

At length, the State of Venice making a league with Spain and the Pope, against the Turks, occasioned a more strict search to be made by the Bishop of Padua after such as professed the Protestant religion; of which profession MR. DU PLESSIS being known to be, he retired to Venice, to MONSIEUR DU FERRIER, then Ambassador

for the King of France there. And here also he was likely to have come into danger: for a certain officer of the Inquisition, proffering him an oath upon some articles proposed to him, he answered in Italian, that his religion permitted him not to take it. The officer, misunderstanding the word religion, (which, in that language, most commonly signifies some order of Friars,) asked him if he was a religious person. MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, understanding the officer's question of a Protestant, (such being in France called "of the religion,") answered, "Yes;" whereupon the officer proceeded no farther. Divers like dangers he escaped, by the providence of God, in other parts of Italy. At Rome, a Provost came by night, and examined him concerning his country and his name. He told him his name was PHILIP DE MORNAY; the Provost not hearing DU PLESSIS, by which name he was more ordinarily called, left him, supposing he was not the man he sought for.

From Venice (having first seen the rest of Italy) he went to Vienna, and from thence by Hungary, Bohemia, and Saxony, to Frankfort, and so to Cologne, in the end of the year 1571. Here he was familiar with PHILIP XIMENES, a Spaniard, the great friend of CASSANDER, with whom he had frequent conference about religion. XIMENES confessed many errors in the visible church, but would by no means allow of a separation from it: DU PLESSIS, having obtained his arguments in writing, gave him an answer to them, to which XIMENES promised, but never gave an answer.

In the spring, 1572, he passed into Flanders, and so into England, where he was favourably received by Queen ELIZABETH, who already had him in great esteem. At that time MONSIEUR DE MONTMORENCY, and MONSIEUR DE FOIX, were newly arrived in England, to swear the league betwixt the Queen and CHARLES King of France. These intended to send DU PLESSIS to the Queen of Scots, then prisoner in England, to salute her in the name of their master. But when he perceived that he was to deliver

some letters secretly to her, which made against the league, he refused that commission, saying, "That he would not begin his employment by so evil an action."

At the end of July, 1572, he returned into France, and went to wait upon the Admiral at Paris; that fatal marriage being then ready to be solemnized between the King of Navarre, and MARGARET of France. His mother was then in the city upon her return home, and himself ready to accompany her, when news was brought that the Admiral was hurt, whom presently he ran to aid at his lodging. He had always suspected that marriage, but this wicked act confirmed his suspicion. Wherefore, desiring his mother instantly to depart, he resolved himself to stay, and attend the issue of what he suspected. Upon ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S Day, (the day of that horrid massacre,) the messenger whom he had sent to inquire concerning the Admiral's health, returned affrighted, and told him, that the Admiral's lodging was broken into by force. At this sudden news, he leaped out of his bed, and, putting on his clothes, felt an extraordinary motion in himself, which caused him to say, "God will deliver me out of this danger, and I shall see it revenged:" on the contrary, RAMINI, his tutor, presently answered, "And I shall die in it:" both which came to pass.

Whilst he intended to hasten to the Admiral's lodging, divers hinderances kept him within, till the murderers arrived at his house, so that he had scarcely time to burn his papers, and save himself on the top of the house, till they were gone. A day or two he lay hid in Paris; and on the third day of the massacre, he slipped out of the city (though not without much danger) under the disguise of a lawyer's clerk. Arriving at his mother's, he found the family dispersed, and herself concealed by a mean gentleman of the neighbourhood. Having saluted her, he resolved to venture for England: to which end, one offered to procure for him the Duke of Guise's pass; but he refused it, saying, "that he would not owe his life to those for whose service he should be loth to employ it;

that God had delivered him from the massacre, and therefore into his hands he would commit his passage ;” and within two or three days, finding a boat at Dieppe, he passed in it safe to England ; where he had been recommended to the Queen by the Lord WALSINGHAM, then Ambassador in France.

Being there, he wrote some remonstrances, by which he exhorted the Queen to the defence of the afflicted Church ; and confuted the calumnies imposed upon the Protestants. He was likewise employed in the treaty of marriage betwixt the Duke of Alençon (brother to the French King) and Queen ELIZABETH. This Duke, by reason of some differences betwixt his brothers and himself, took up arms, and made use of the Protestants, as a discontented party, to assist him ; to join with whom MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS was much solicited, which occasioned him at length to return into France ; but withal, he expressed his dislike of joining the interest of religion with the Duke’s ambitious and discontented ends.

This war not succeeding, he retired to Jametz, till the death of King CHARLES VII., who died in 1574. After this he came to Sedan, where he was desired by the Duchess of Bouillon to undertake a journey to the Duke of Cleves, who, with the Elector-Palatine, had been, by her late husband, constituted executors of his will ; which (though a business of much hazard) was undertaken by him, and performed to the great contentment of the Duchess. During his sojourning at Sedan, he married CHARLOTTE ARBALESTE, a widow, who, having likewise escaped the massacre at Paris, had fled thither for religion. At her request he composed his “ Treatise of Life and Death.”

In the year 1576, he went to the King of Navarre, at Guienne, who immediately received him for one of his council, and to whom he did much service in the wars, against the pretended Holy League ; in reference to which, he was, by the said King, employed in 1577, with an ample commission to the Queen of England, to solicit

her for aid against the leaguers. Being arrived in May at London, the Queen (who was very prompt in such kind of speeches) told him, that she had expected him as messenger from a Duke, but now she saw him as an ambassador from a King. At his audience he obtained from her the sum of eighty thousand crowns to levy men in Germany for that war, which nevertheless were not raised, by reason of the peace which followed in the same year. During this his abode in England, he composed his "Treatise of the Church."

Being resolved to pass into the Low Countries, in June, 1578, he took leave of the Queen at Norwich; who, besides an honourable present bestowed upon him, would have a particular cypher for letters to pass betwixt them. In his passage he was robbed by pirates, where he lost (besides other things) his papers, amongst which there were some books of the History of his Time in Latin, which he had begun.

Arriving at Antwerp, he was present at the treaty betwixt Queen ELIZABETH, Duke CASIMIR, and the United Provinces; in which treaty he caused likewise to be included the King of Navarre, his master. Soon afterwards an attempt was made to poison him by one GUERIN, who had been hired to poison the Prince of Orange; but his youth and good constitution overcame the force of the poison. During his stay here, he fell into a grievous sickness, which the physicians judged to be caused by the remains of the poison. This continuing upon him, and the plague raging in Antwerp, he was invited by those of Ghent, for change of air, unto their city, where they provided a house for him.

The next spring the King of Navarre again took up arms, and commanded MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS (laying all other business aside) to make another journey to England to demand succours, which he immediately undertook. The Queen of England was then about to make peace with the King of France, so that this embassy was not very agreeable to her: yet after his return to Antwerp, she

wrote a letter with her own hand to MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, telling him, that he should be welcome, whenever he pleased, to return into England; and that never any gentleman had treated with her, in whom she took so much pleasure as in himself.

In the year following, (1583,) he was sent by the King of Navarre to the National Synod of Vitray, in Bretagne, where he was joyfully received by the whole company, with this preface, "That had they met him occasionally in the streets, they should have earnestly importuned his presence with them." He was likewise present in the General Assembly of the Protestants held at Montauban, by the King's permission, in the year 1584, where he was desired by the Assembly to draw up the form of their complaints against the violation of the edict for peace, which he, together with the Count DE LAVAL, presented afterwards to the King at Blois.

The league of the House of Guise breaking forth in the year 1585, which was formed first against the King, under pretence of the defence of the Catholic Religion, and afterwards declared against the King of Navarre and the Protestants; that famous declaration, in the name of the said King, was penned by MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, wherein the King, having answered the calumnies cast upon him by that faction, proposed (to avoid the calamities of a civil war) that the quarrel might be ended betwixt himself and the Duke of Guise, notwithstanding the inequality of their conditions, by a combat, either of one to one, two to two, or ten to ten, more or less, at the choice of the said Duke: to which declaration MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS would not set his hand, till the King of Navarre had promised that he should be one of the combatants, if the conditions should be accepted. But this not being accepted by the Duke, there followed the civil wars, in which MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS did many important services for the King of Navarre and the Protestants.

After the death of the Duke of Guise at Blois, there

followed a truce betwixt the Kings, in the year 1589. Upon this MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS was, by the King of France, made Governor of Saumur. One memorable passage during these wars cannot well be omitted :—The King of Navarre, having abused the daughter of a gentleman in Rochelle, (by whom he had a son,) the Church had often remonstrated with him ; but he could not be persuaded to take off the scandal by a public acknowledgment, till MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, giving him counsel about a battle which was then ready to be fought, took the opportunity to tell him how necessary it was to seek the favour of Almighty God, the only giver of victory, and thereupon urged him to consult with his conscience, whether he ought not to give glory to God upon such an occasion, and what remorse it would create in him, if God, for want of it, should blast his undertakings, to the ruin of so good a cause ; which so nearly touched the King's heart, that he commanded him to consult with a Minister concerning what he had to do in that business ; according to whose advice he made, the next day, a public acknowledgment of his fault in the church before all the Nobility of his army. This counsel being thought by some to be too rigorous, MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS made this answer, "That as a man could not be too courageous before men, so he could not be too humble in the presence of God."

After the murder of HENRY III. by a Jacobin at St. Cloud, in August, 1587, MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS was made Counsellor of State to the King of Navarre, (now HENRY IV., King of France,) whom he served in the recovery of his right against the league of the House of Guise, though with much hazard to himself, some having been, by their own confession, hired to murder him.

Afterwards, the Duke of Florence being willing to join interests with the King, fearing the too great potency of Spain, sent a gentleman to him, who proffered to MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS twenty thousand crowns a year,

if he would counsel the King to change his religion, to which he stoutly replied, "That his master's conscience was not to be sold, any more than his own."

In the year 1590 he built a church for the Protestants at Saumur, and obtained a grant from the King for the institution of an University there, which was afterwards confirmed by a National Synod.

In the year 1602, a certain monk had hired two young men to kill him; who came in sermon-time into the church at Saumur; the one of them drew so near, as to lift up the carpet which lay before him, but had not the boldness to strike. Being taken upon suspicion, he confessed his intentions, and who set him on work; whereupon the monk was apprehended and hanged.

In January, 1605, the only son of MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS was sent for to the Court by the King, who intended an employment for him: but the design for which he had been sent failing, he desired leave to go into Holland, which was granted him, where he was, the same year, unhappily slain before Gueldres; which caused so great a grief in his mother, that she lived not long after, departing this life in May, 1606. This was one of the most remarkable years in the whole life of MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, in the which two such losses had befallen him. After his son's death, he had both his own grief to combat with, and to comfort his wife; but after her death he was wont to say, "That heretofore she had been an aid to him in living well, and should hereafter be so in teaching him to die well."

The horrid murder of the King following, in the year 1610, he, upon notice of it, took so good order, as to keep the people about his government in quiet, who, upon that sudden change, were ready to take up arms. And as soon as he received the edict for the regency of the Queen-Mother, he administered the oath of fidelity to all the Clergy and people within his jurisdiction; making a speech unto them, in which he desired them to forget the distinguishing names of Papist and Protestant,

which, having caused so many misfortunes, ought to be buried in this great one, and professing, that whoever would show himself a good Frenchman, and a faithful subject, should be by him respected as his brother.

Some years following were spent by MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS in procuring the peace of the Protestant churches, and endeavouring to keep a good correspondence between the King and them, which was continually ready to be interrupted; in which business he carried himself with so much prudence and fidelity, that he was admired and praised by all: yea, even CARDINAL PERRON himself (heretofore one of his greatest enemies) showed him great respect in the Assembly of Estates held at Roan, in 1617, speaking of him in all companies with an excess of praises, and telling the King himself, that those men had done him wrong who had hindered MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS from having a greater power in the management of his affairs; that his religion ought not to render him unprofitable in the exercise of those graces which God had given him; and that his Majesty ought to keep him near his person so long as he should live;—which praises the said Cardinal reiterated upon his death-bed, in September, 1618, charging his friends, then about him, to send a solemn farewell from him to MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, and to manifest his sorrow for not having made a stricter league of friendship with him, having so high an esteem of his conscience and integrity.

His government of the town and castle of Saumur was continued unto him till the year 1621, when the King, regarding the Protestants with displeasure and suspicion, by reason of their high deportment in the Assembly at Rochelle, displaced him, at first but for three months, with a promise of restoring him so soon as affairs should be quieted. But these discontents growing to an open war, he could never procure a re-establishment; wherefore, retiring to his house in the forest upon Dayure, he continued there till the day of his death, applying himself to holy meditations and exercises of patience.

He did, by a particular providence, make his last will, for the peace of his family, and the edification of those that should survive him ; which having finished upon the 3d of November, in the fore-mentioned year, he expressed himself to be now discharged of one of his greatest cares, and that nothing was left for him to do, but to die. The next day he was seized by a fever, forcing him to keep his bed, which so continued and increased upon him, that upon the ninth of the same month, the physicians gave over all hopes of his recovery : nevertheless he lived for forty-eight hours after, which he well husbanded. In all this time he gave, both by word and action, so many evident signs of his faith, that it may be truly said, that in this short time he confirmed, by irrefragable proofs, all that he had said or written of the truths of the christian religion.

In all this time he felt little pain, so that when the Minister asked him how he did, he still would answer, " Well ; very well." His speech continued till the tenth day at midnight, which he constantly employed in prayers for himself and his enemies, and in comfortable speeches to the by-standers. Being asked if he felt not the SPIRIT within him, sealing unto him the promises of God, he answered, " Yes, indeed, I am assured of it ;" and again, " I feel, I feel what I speak." Two hours after, his speech and his hearing failed him, and his breath between six and seven in the morning of the eleventh day, which was the hour when he yielded up his spirit into the hands of God ; finishing, by a happy death, a life of above seventy-four years' continuance.

Additional Particulars concerning the last Hours of

MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS.

MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS had made his will upon the 24th of October, 1623 ; but he did not sign it till the 3d of November following, which having done, " Now," said he, " I am discharged of one of my chief cares, and for

the time to come have nothing else to look after but death." And indeed, from the day following, he kept his bed for the most part, being seized by a continual fever.

On Thursday, the ninth of November, MADAME DE VILLARNOUL, his eldest daughter, came in the morning to his bed-side, where, after she had inquired of his health, as she stood silent, he told her that he desired some one might come and hold some good discourse with him : upon which occasion, they caused a Minister, being his household Chaplain, to come, that he might give him notice of the dangerous condition in which he was. The Minister used much liveliness in the delivery, without making use of the circumstances wherewith men commonly usher in such discourses : to whom MONSIEUR DU PLESSIS, with a countenance full of assurance, answered, " It is true ! I am very well content it should be so ; and do in the first place pardon from my heart, all such as have done, or procured, evil to me ; " further beseeching God, that he would pardon and amend them. The Minister, praising God for this, prayed him, that as he had edified him in his life-time, so now, he would do the same at his death ; and since he still enjoyed the use of his tongue, that he would comfort the by-standers by his speeches. To this he answered, " that he had not his speech so free as they imagined ; neither could he speak without pain." Nevertheless, the desire he had to give an outward testimony of the disposition of his heart, made him in some measure overcome this hinderance ; only he abridged into as few words as he could all that he had to say. Then he began a confession of his faith, but not being able to finish it, he lifted up himself from the chair whereon he sat, and said to the Minister, " I have a great account to make, having received much, and profited little." It being answered, that he had, by the grace of God, faithfully employed his talent, having served the church with much profit, and advanced the kingdom of CHRIST ; " Alas," said he, " what was there of mine in that work ?

Say not that it was I, but God by me." Afterwards, being laid upon his bed, "There is nothing," said he, "more just and reasonable, than that the creature should obey his Creator." Then, lifting up his hands above his head, he thrice cried out; "Mercy;" adding, that he did it to show, that it was the mercy of God to which alone he had his recourse; that he had heretofore desired to live, in hopes to see the deliverance of the Church; but that finding no repentance in it, he found nothing that should invite him to continue in it. Then, composing his countenance, with a firm and grave voice, he gave his blessing, first unto his daughters, afterwards unto his sons-in-law, recommending peace unto them, "which," said he, "I leave you, as also your children, and whole posterity, as well present as absent, praying God to ratify this my blessing, by his most holy benediction." He gave his blessing likewise to MONSIEUR D'AUBERVILLE his nephew, and his wife; afterwards to his family and household servants; and, in particular, to the Minister who assisted him, beseeching the LORD to prosper the ministry of his word in his hands. He called likewise MONSIEUR DISSENDEAU, the Physician, who had always faithfully served him in his sicknesses, and blessed him:

At the same time calling to mind MONSIEUR BOUCHERAN, Minister of the church in Saumur, he prayed God to bless him; "and let it not trouble him," said he, "to be patient;—he hath to do with a troublesome people: I beseech God not to impute their sins unto them; there are some in the company who know what I mean." He understood by these words those horrible calumnies, with which he had been unworthily charged. Afterwards he gave his blessing to the church of Saumur, and to that of St. Iovin; (which was the nearest to his house,) taking notice that there were in it many good men. At length he prayed to God for all the Church in general, that he would deliver it, and relieve it from oppression. After which, he gave charge to the Minister to write to MADAME

DE NOÏERS, daughter to his wife by her former husband, to tell her, that he gave his blessing to her and all her household. Remembering, awhile after, MADAME DE L'ISLE, daughter to MONSIEUR and MADAME DE VILLARNOUL, he expressed his sorrow for not seeing her, blessing her and her children : as also, a while after, he blessed his grand-children, saying, he was assured they should be blessed with the blessings both of heaven above, and of the earth beneath.

This being done, he protested, that he had, through his whole life, made GOD's glory his end ; adding, withal, that such as knew him were not ignorant, that had he proposed any other end to himself, it had been an easy matter for him to have come to great riches and honours. Thereupon, the Minister questioning him upon that subject, he declared, that he persisted constantly in the faith wherein he had lived, and which also, by the grace of GOD, he had defended by example, word, and writings ; that were his life again to begin, he would walk in the same way, by which he had already steered his course, to wit, by persevering in the profession of the Gospel, notwithstanding the many disfavours which he had suffered for it ; and that this his faith was altogether founded upon the mercy of GOD in CHRIST, who by the FATHER had been made unto him, and to all such as believe in him, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. " And for your works, Sir," said the Minister unto him, " do you attribute no merit at all unto them ? " " Away," answered he, " away, with all merit both of mine, and of any other man's whatsoever : I call for nothing but mercy, free mercy." Upon which the Minister pronounced unto him, in the name of JESUS CHRIST, the remission of his sins, and the inheritance of eternal life, belonging unto all those that believe in the SON OF GOD ; saying, that he did it in the virtue and discharge of his duty, not that he at all doubted, but he in his heart fully felt the grace of GOD, and had full assurance of his mercy. " I thank you," said he, " for it, and take your saying for an earnest of the goodness of GOD towards me."

MONSIEUR DE VILLARNOUL praised God that he saw him enjoy so much comfort in his end, which he had always heard him desire, during his life, that he might be able to testify it from his heart, and not die without speaking it. "I feel," said he unto him, "my son, I feel what I speak." Afterwards the Minister demanding if he desired that they should pray to God to fortify him more and more, and likewise that he would restore him unto his health, that he might further serve him : "Pray unto God," said he, "that he would dispose of me." It being answered, that all hope was not yet lost ; that what had been told him concerning the danger of his condition, was but for fear lest some accident should take away the consolation of hearing him speak ; but that God was Almighty, able to raise up even those that were already in the grave ;—"I am not," said he, "an enemy to life, but I already see one that is far better than this."

While after, MADAME DE VILLARNOUL said unto him, that she hoped God would restore him at the instance of their prayers ; "My daughter," said he, "let him do what he pleases, I depend upon his will." And, indeed, though he always testified a great resolution and assurance to encounter with death, yet he never rejected such remedies as were proffered to him ; and that day he dined as he was accustomed. He retired from life ; he fled it not.

After this they prayed by him, during which exercise he was extremely attentive, his hands and eyes following the motions of his heart : and as long as the least sense was left him, he constantly lent a like attention to all the prayers, which at divers times were presented unto God for him, during the space of those forty-eight hours ; so that, about five hours before his death, when motion and sense began to fail him, it was marked, that he endeavoured with one hand to lift the other from under the clothes, that he might hold them up, during the prayer.

Prayer being ended, he desired they would read unto him the 71st Psalm, of which himself made choice : there was likewise read unto him the meditation which himself

had before time made upon 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith;" and, moreover, by his command, another, which he had likewise published upon those words of the Psalmist, "Cast thy burthen upon the LORD." Whilst these were reading, he was very attentive, giving us infinite testimonies of the pleasure which he took therein, and of the applications which he made for his own consolation: all this continued during three hours, and above, after which, we left him to his repose; as since we always observed the same, to give him some time of rest. All these spaces he employed in prayers and holy meditations, as appeared by the motions, sighs, and words, which from time to time broke from him, of the assurance which he had in God, and of the victory which by his grace he had obtained against the Tempter.

In the afternoon, upon a discourse which was made to him of the blessed immortality, the Minister saying, that here below we have but the right and title, the possession being reserved for us in heaven, himself cited to this purpose the words of ST. JOHN, in the third chapter of his First Epistle: "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him."—From whence an occasion being given to discourse unto him of the resurrection, he thought good that they should read unto him the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and remarked (so fresh and untroubled was his spirit) upon the forty-seventh verse; "The first man, being of the earth, is of dust;" for so it sounds in the French translation.

About the end of this, arrived MADAME DE LA TABARRIERE, his daughter, sent by her husband to visit him, and render the last offices of her duty. He expressed much contentment in seeing her, saying, that God had granted him what he desired; that she made up a great part of his comfort, and had done him a great pleasure in coming. He inquired likewise concerning some of her

children, whom she had not brought with her, and gave her his blessing ;—afterwards exhorting all his children to union and brotherly love, that they might possess in peace the inheritance which he should leave them, and enjoining them, in particular, not to go to law about it ; which was promised him by his sons-in-law, and daughters, and particularly by Madame DE FONTENAY, in the name of her husband, then absent in Normandy. This being done, full of content, he said “ that he was arrived at the height of comfort, since he died with the assurance of leaving peace amongst his children.” And as all withdrew themselves to leave him in repose ; “ How should I sleep,” said he, “ there being so many good people near me ? ” His daughters then returning, he took them by the hands, saying, “ that he would speak to them, and would have them answer him : ” and then he repeated unto them all the preceding exhortations, tending to the fear of GOD, and to peace and mutual concord. Some time after, the Minister discoursing to him, that of all his enemies he had now none left to fear, not sin, not death, not the Devil, not the world, these being already discomfited by the LORD JESUS, and, speaking to each of these in particular, he seemed to take much delight in that discourse : amongst the rest, as he spoke unto him concerning sin, he said, “ that its power was the law, abolished by CHRIST for such as believe in him ; and that as for death, it was indeed to be feared by those that are out of CHRIST, but not by those that die in the LORD, by whose cross death was disarmed.” As touching the world, the Minister telling him, that he knew well by his own experience, how little its temptations can prevail against those whom the LORD fortifies, his grace and mercy having always constantly accompanied him in all his ways, even to the present hour ; he answered, lifting up his eyes on high, “ Thy gifts, O God, and thy calling, are without repentance : ” declaring further, that he was fully assured to have part in all his promises, so that “ neither life nor death, things present, nor things to come, should

ever be able to separate him from the love of his SAVIOUR :” which saying he repeated divers times.

After this, he insisted much upon confession of his sins, saying, “ that he was a grievous sinner, even one of the greatest that was upon the earth ; that there were in him by nature the seeds of all evil ; but that in JESUS CHRIST he should obtain mercy :” and thereupon he required, with much affection, that they would speak unto him touching the death and passion of our SAVIOUR ; which being done, and followed by prayer, he heard all with great devotion, and at the end of the prayer said, “ Amen, by JESUS CHRIST our LORD, in whom all the promises of God are yea, and amen.”

On Friday morning, as we approached to his bed-side, praying him that he would continue to edify and comfort us, by the testimonies of his faith, he began with a prayer, which he pronounced in Latin ; “ LORD, open thou my lips, and I will show forth thy praise : LORD, make me to know my sins, to weep for them, to detest them, to have them in execration ;” which he repeated twice. Upon this the Minister took occasion to speak to him concerning the remission of his sins, and the comfort which follows it, founded upon the hope of immortality. Citing unto him part of the fifth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and laying a particular emphasis upon these words, “ We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens,” and asking if he believed not all these things, and if in this faith he were not assured to be made partaker of that eternal weight of glory, he answered, “ that he was entirely persuaded of it, by the demonstration of the HOLY SPIRIT, more powerful, more clear, and more certain, than all the demonstrations of EUCLID.”

In the afternoon he was heard praying to himself, saying, in broken sentences ; “ I flee, I flee to heaven ; the angels carry me into the bosom of my SAVIOUR.” Then the Minister approached, and, to comfort and confirm him more and more, called to his mind the manifold favours which

GOD had showed him, in preserving him from so many dangers through which he had run, fortifying him against so many assaults which he had sustained, and having always had a particular care over him. The Minister continuing this discourse, he cried out, "LORD, thou hast been our refuge in all generations: before the mountains were brought forth, Thou art GOD." Whereupon it being added, that as the goodness of GOD towards us was from everlasting, so it is firm to all eternity; whence he might rest for ever assured of it, nor should the weakness of his flesh make him at all to doubt of it; he answered, "I know that my Redeemer liveth; I shall see him with these eyes:" repeating these last words in Latin three or four times. And as for the infirmity of the body, which turns into dust, it having been said, that this should not weaken our hope, because that GOD, into whose hands we resign it, is powerful and faithful to preserve it; that he suffereth us to turn, as it were, into nothing, in order to raise us up again more gloriously, taking pleasure to magnify his power in our weakness, of which he often had experience during his life; and that it was still to be seen in his death, in which, by the LORD's assistance, he triumphed over all his enemies;—"We can do all things," answered he, "through CHRIST that strengthens us."

From that time he still grew weaker, so that towards evening he could no longer pronounce entire periods, nor testify the motions of his heart, but by short answers to what they demanded of him. Being asked, if he felt not within his soul the force of the HOLY SPIRIT, sealing unto him the promises of GOD, and filling him with a lively consolation; he answered, "Yes, indeed;" and another time, "I am assured of it."

Thus in the midst of these blessed thoughts, he entered into the possession of the true life, leaving by little and little this earthly life. His speech failed about midnight, his hearing two hours after, and his breath between six and seven in the morning, at which time he rendered his spirit unto GOD his Creator.

(VIII.)

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN BRUEN.

JOHN BRUEN, Esq., of Bruen-Stapleford, in the County-palatine of Chester, was born in 1560; and the LORD preserved him in his childhood and youth from the poison of Popish superstition, and the contagion of those common and gross sins, which reigned in those parts. When he was about seven years old, his father, for some offence, rebuked him sharply, which he being much grieved at, took a prayer-book, and going into his father's chapel, read in it, and prayed as well as he could; and it pleased the LORD to comfort him with inexpressible joys. The next day he went to the same place, and used the same means, but found not the like comfort.

In 1574, he was sent to Oxford, where he first received the love of the truth, being then about seventeen years old; he lived in Alban's Hall as a Gentleman-Commoner, and was familiar with JOHN BREREWOOD, his countryman, an Alderman's Son, of Chester.

In 1580, his father sent for him home, having provided for him the daughter of one MR. HARDWARE, to whom he was married in the fear of GOD, and lived very comfortably with her seventeen years. But being in the prime of his youth, he spent much time in hawking, hunting, and such foolish delights.

But in 1587, his father dying, he began to be much perplexed both in mind and estate. Some sorrows and

fears began to work in him : whereupon he began to search his heart, and try his ways, and to call himself to an account for his former courses ; and weighing them in the balance of the sanctuary, he found them to be but vanity and vexation of spirit. And although the pangs of his conversion, and the pains of his new birth, were not so violent as in some other of God's children ; yet were his passions and affections at this time not much unlike to ST. AUSTIN's at the time of his conversion, who, being weary of the ways of vanity, and tired out with the weight of his sins, out of an holy desire to cast off the burden that pressed him down, and to shake off the pleasing sins that did entangle him, poured out his heart in prayers and tears before the LORD in this manner : " How long, LORD, wilt thou be angry ? For ever ? Be not mindful of my old sins."

MR. BRUEN's father, together with his lands, left him charged with the portions of twelve children, sons and daughters, which that he might discharge, he laid away his hawks and hounds, and began to cut off all other occasions of expense. And whereas his father left him a park well furnished with deer, he disparked it ; and drawing himself to as narrow a compass as he could, he provided competently and comfortably for his own family, and faithfully paid his brethren and sisters all their portions, and disposed of them in marriage to their own content. Then he was very careful to set up God's worship in his family, walking wisely in the midst of his house, setting his favour upon the godly, and not suffering a wicked person to abide in his sight ; and his principal care was, to dwell with his wife as a man of knowledge, and to train up his children in the nurture of the LORD : and by his holy and prudent carriage, his wife, though well affected to religion before, yet grew on to a higher pitch in knowledge and grace, and became to him a faithful helper, and careful yoke-fellow. They were both very careful in the education of their children, cate-

chizing them in the principles of religion, and causing them to learn such sentences of Scripture as might make the easiest impression upon their hearts. Neither did he spare the rod of correction, as God's healing medicine to cure the corruptions of his children ; yet if at any time his heart was overheated, through his hatred of sin, and zeal for God's glory, so that he spake unadvisedly with his lips, or dealt too violently with his hands, he used to be much humbled for it. The fruits of these holy desires and endeavours he found, and reaped in due season : for hereby he became more watchful over his spirit and speech on all such occasions ; he grew more moderate in his corrections ; when his passions were most vehement against sin, he much assuaged them by his tender affection to the sinner ; and, lastly, he lived to see those, whom he most sharply corrected, effectually converted and reformed.

Among his men and maid-servants, there was not one idle and unprofitable person. He took notice of any thereabouts, who began to set their faces towards heaven ; such he loved, and laboured to draw them into his service : so that in a short time he was furnished with gracious servants, both men and maids ; and then he looked upon them as his brethren and fellow-servants in and under CHRIST. He would sometimes converse with them familiarly, advise, confer, and resolve with them, in matters of conscience, and on other weighty occasions : sometimes he made them his comforters in afflictions and temptations, and received refreshing from them. Among the rest, he had one old disciple, ROBERT PASFIELD, a man utterly unlearned, being able neither to write nor read ; yet through God's blessing upon his industry, having a good memory, he became ripe in understanding, and mighty in the Scriptures : yea, he was so well acquainted with the sum and substance of every book and chapter, that hardly could a man ask him for any sentence of Scripture, but he would tell him in what book and chapter

he might find it : he had a good gift in prayer, and was very willing and able to confer of good things, whereby he became very useful, both in the family, and to other young Christians abroad. For the help of his memory, he invented and framed a girdle of leather, long and large, which went twice about him : this he divided into several parts, allotting every book in the Bible, in its order, to one of these divisions ; then for the chapters, he affixed points or thongs of leather to the several divisions, and made knots, by fives or tens, by which to distinguish the chapters of that book ; and by other points he divided the chapters into their particular contents, or verses, as occasion required. This he used instead of pen and ink, in hearing sermons, and made so good use of it, that, on coming home, he was able to repeat the sermon, and to quote the texts of Scripture, to his own great comfort, and to the benefit of others : this girdle, MR. BRUEN kept after his death, and hung it up in his study. With this old ROBERT, his master used to converse very familiarly ; when conveniently he could, he would have him near him, and would often go to the hop-yard or barn, where his business lay, to talk and confer with him ; and when he was grown old, having been in his service about thirty years, he was so far from casting him off, that he daily fed him from his own table, and set him not far from him, which he continued to his dying day. Such other servants as he chose to be ever about him, at home and abroad, he made happy, by taking opportunities to impart some wholesome admonition and instruction to them.

To them all he allotted their places and employments, according to their skill and knowledge ; proportioning also their labour to their strength, and their wages to their labour ; ever allowing them both liberty and leisure, means and helps, to accomplish the work they took in hand ; and not suffering them to want any encouragement which might make them cheerful and faithful in his own and in God's service. For this end, as opportunity

would permit, he would go amongst them to see the work, and encourage the workmen, and would take occasion to raise matter of discourse from their callings, work, or wages; sometimes from the good creatures of God, their nature and use; or from the season of the year, as spring, seed-time, harvest, fair or foul weather; applying to these subjects those places of Scripture in which they had heard or read the same things for their further instruction and edification. In their labours, what he saw well done he would well accept of, and by a due commendation provoke them to continue in well-doing: what he saw amiss, if it were of small concernment, he would wisely pass by; if of greater weight, he would admonish or reprove them for it, yet, without reviling words, sometimes more sharply, according to the nature of the fault, and disposition of the offender, and sometimes more mildly, as he found the party more sensible of his fault, and more capable of amendment. There was not the meanest of his servants, but he would cheer and encourage him, especially if he saw in him any thing of CHRIST. His servants also did usually exercise themselves unto godliness, exhorting, admonishing, and encouraging one another in the ways of God, and praying to God, in their turns, every night, for his blessing upon themselves and labours; which duty they performed in the kitchen, after family-prayers were ended, before they went to bed. And for such of his servants as were inclined to marriage, he provided well, sending them out, in the fear of God, to establish God's worship in their own houses.

He never thought his table better furnished, than when he had some godly persons to sit with him, or stand about him; nor his meat better seasoned, than when it was mixed with the salt of wholesome words.

The religious duties which he daily performed in his family, morning and evening, were these. He rose every morning betwixt three and four in the summer, and at five in the winter, and then spent an hour or two in

private, before he rang the bell to awaken the rest of his family. In his secret prayers he used to make mention of every one in his family, and especially as their occasions and afflictions required, and gave thanks for such mercies as either he or they had received: then he meditated upon some part of God's word, or works, wherewith he seasoned his mind in the morning: then he wrote out part of some sermon that he had heard lately before: then his family being up, and met together, he, with his heart and his hands lifted up to heaven, spake in this manner:—"Blessed LORD GOD, and our most merciful Father in CHRIST JESUS, we, thy poor children, do humbly beseech thee graciously to assist us by thy HOLY SPIRIT in this our morning exercise, that we may faithfully perform the same to thy praise, and our comfort, and that for CHRIST's sake, our only SAVIOUR and REDEEMER. Amen."—This set form of short prayer he used morning and evening before his exercise, to convince the ignorance of those, who deny the lawfulness of forms. Then he, with his family, sung a psalm, with which exercise he was much delighted, and oftentimes so ravished therewith in his spirit, that his heart would even spring and leap in his body. Yea, he was so affected with praising God, that he took the word *Hallelujah* for his motto, and usually wrote it in the first page of all his books. Then he read a chapter himself out of the Bible, keeping a constant course in his reading, to make his family better acquainted with the order and matter of the Scriptures, and to season their hearts with some portion of God's word in the morning, as a preservative against all evil thoughts, speeches, or works, all the day after. He also prayed with them, and that with such power, feeling, fervency, sincerity, faith, and humility, that he was often much admired by them who heard him. He so wrestled with God by prayers and tears, that he would not let him go, till he had prevailed, insomuch that they seldom met again to pray, but he had some new and fresh cause of thanksgiving for the returns of his prayers. In the

evening he called them together again to the like service, which he performed very religiously after the same manner, saving that, after the chapter, he propounded some wholesome instructions to them, as the portion of Scripture gave occasion, whether to convince of any error, to confirm the truth, to rebuke sin, or to instruct in the way of righteousness.

In 1590, having provided for his parish a worthy Preacher, the people, though they admired his gifts, yet would not so much as thank him for his pains, which was a great discouragement to the Minister. Hereupon MR. BRUEN withdrew his Preacher into his own chapel, in order to make the people more to prize the word by the want of it; more careful to seek it where they might find it, and more thankful to God and his servants, by whose means they did enjoy it. But after a while, at the importunity of christian friends, he restored him to the public congregation, maintaining him, and other Preachers after him; till, by the death of the incumbent, God established a faithful Pastor among them, concerning which, hear MR. CLARK's words at his funeral: "He was," saith he, "the chief instrument to plant and establish the preaching of the Gospel in this congregation: first, by providing divers of God's Ministers to preach here often when the Incumbent was grown old and decrepit; afterwards, by maintaining a Preacher at his own proper cost; and lastly, by being a means to obtain the place for me in reversion, and allowing me the greatest part of my maintenance: so that this parish hath cause for ever to acknowledge him a nursing father of religion amongst them, and a blessed instrument to bring in the light of the Gospel unto them, when they sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death."

And whereas the people of Tarvin had a bad custom of keeping wakes upon the Sabbath-Day, at which times there was much profaneness practised, to the dishonour of God, by banqueting, drinking, dancing, &c., this godly gentleman studying to remedy this great evil, against that

time, every year, provided three of the best Ministers in the country, who spent the greatest part of the three days in preaching and praying in the church, so that the pipers, fiddlers, bear-wards, players, gamesters, &c., had no time left them for their follies, but went away with great fretting. Yet multitudes of well-affected people filled the town and the church, greatly rejoicing before God; and these he feasted at his house also, so that, at one of these times, he used in his house a fat ox and a half, in the space of three days. And this he did for divers years together, till, by degrees, he had worn out those profane wakes.

Hereupon he began to be admired for his fervency in religion, insomuch that divers gentlemen of the best rank desired to sojourn in his house, for their better information in the way of God. One of them, at his first coming, would by no means endure to be reprovèd for his faults; but how it was afterwards with him, Mr. BRUEN thus left upon record:—"It pleased God whilst my brother, and his wife, children, and servants, were in my family, so to work upon their souls, that they went home with new hearts, converted unto God, and professed religion in holy sincerity till their death. My brother HARDWARE, upon his return to Poole, set up religion in his family with great power and comfort; so that the very first evening after their coming home, they began to sing psalms, to read the Scriptures, to pray, and to catechise. All this being ended, his wife went to him, and kissed him, saying, "O husband, I thank God, and bless his name, that ever you went to Stapleford."

And whereas in those days the LORD was pleased, in compassion to his people, to raise up, and establish, many holy exercises of religion in Cheshire and Lancashire, which were maintained monthly by the faithful Ministers of CHRIST in those parts, with comfortable success; Mr. BRUEN frequented these exercises, and with great care and conscience stored himself with their treasures, whereby he was better enabled to promote

religion in his own family, and elsewhere, as occasion offered. In frequenting these exercises, he took much pains, riding early and late, in heat and cold, and through foul ways, sometimes ten, twenty, yea, thirty miles. These sermons he wrote diligently, repeated them as he went home, and, for about thirty-six years together, wrote over again the substance of these exercises, whereby he left to the heirs of his family so many volumes of manuscripts, set up orderly in his study, as is scarcely credible.

In the midst of these sweet comforts, the LORD was pleased to exercise him with great affliction, by taking away with a stroke his dear wife, who, being well in the morning, began to be ill at supper, and departed this life the same evening; yet did the LORD so sanctify this affliction to him, that, by the power of grace, he moderated his affections, not mourning as a man without hope, but assuring himself that his loss was her gain.

After this, finding that he stood in need of marriage for the necessity of his family, he sought by prayer a prudent wife from God; and the LORD was pleased to answer his prayers. For as he was in Manchester, attending upon the holy exercises of religion, he cast his eye upon a very amiable gentlewoman, who diligently frequented those assemblies; upon sight of whom a sudden thought arose in his mind, that this was she whom the LORD had provided to be his wife. But, that he might deal prudently, he employed one of his most trusty servants to make inquiry after her, who, being born and bred in those parts, soon brought him word, that she was named Mrs. ANN FOX, sister to Mr. FOX of the Rhodes, well descended both by father and mother's side; and that she was a virtuous and religious woman, well reported of in the church, and of good esteem amongst God's people. Upon this encouraging report, he neglected no time, but took the first opportunity to make a motion to her mother and friends, which being readily entertained by them, he wooed the young gentlewoman, and so proceeding in the fear of God, they were married.

And his mother-in-law gave them and theirs their table, the first year; during which time he was careful to do good to that family, as if it had been his own; and he quickened himself and them to prayer and praise, reading the Scripture, singing of psalms, holy conference, and catechising. Concerning this, himself thus writes: "My mother-in-law tabling us for a year, we set up the exercise of religion morning and evening; in which time, through God's grace, my mother-in-law got saving grace, and so did my sister-in-law, and another half sister of hers, and their brothers, a servant or two, and some neighbours: blessed be God for it!"

At the year's end, he brought home his wife to Stapleford, where they lived in great peace and love. And being well settled, there were many of the greatest gentlemen in the county that sued to him, some for themselves, some for their children, to be entertained in his family; that under his government and holy example, the ignorant might be instructed, the unruly reclaimed, the profane converted, the babes in CHRIST grow up by the sincere milk of the word, and such as were of riper years be fed with stronger meat: by which means his house became a nursery for religion; a vineyard which the LORD blessed to bear trees of righteousness and fruits of holiness.

His manner was, when any came first into his family, to try their dispositions and inclinations, and how tractable they were likely to be to good duties and practices: for which end he carefully observed their ways, saw much, and said little, bore and forbore, as occasion required; taking special notice of any good they said or did, and passing over many lesser faults, till he had fitter opportunity to reclaim them.

Concerning this, hear what himself saith: "Afterwards, many more desired to table with me;—the LADY EGERTON, widow, daughter-in-law to the then Lord Chancellor, with her company;—my cousin THOMAS DUTTON, of Dutton, with his wife, son, and daughter,

now wife to the LORD GERRARD, being ten in that company,—and four gentlewomen of Hatton, who were sisters, and their maid. This maid was at first froward against religious duties ; but GOD in mercy began first with her ; for being in grievous affliction of conscience, she was soundly humbled, and had a comfortable conclusion : blessed be GOD for it ! And then two of the sisters had a more easy conversion, but I believe, true grace : the other two sisters, being convinced, were very honest modest maids : and as for my cousin DUTTON, his condition with me was to keep the holy sabbath with my family, as well in the afternoon as in the forenoon, which he and all his did, in the public congregation.”

But in the midst of these comforts, the LORD again sent a tempest of grief, by taking away his yoke-fellow, which not long after caused a dispersing of that whole company, to their no small grief.

The loss of this gentlewoman was so much the more grievous, both to her husband and to the whole family, because of the great help and comfort they all had by her. She lived ten years with her husband, a faithful helper, bearing to him nine children, sons and daughters, and continuing with him in great peace and love ; a prudent wife, and a wise fellow-governor in his house, much respected and beloved, not only by her own, but by all the gentlemen and gentlewomen that tabled with them.

Concerning this event, himself thus writes : “ When it pleased God to take away my wife from me, then all mourned for her loss : as also my tablers must now part, being about the number of one-and-twenty : but so loth we were to part, that I requested them to stay with me that quarter more, which was very thankfully accepted ; in which time we had much comfort, but mourned often to think of the quarter’s end : and the last day, sitting at dinner together, all were so full of heaviness, that there was no meat eaten, so that I was forced to hide myself, and could not take leave of them. Then I lived a single life five years and a half : and being in

debt, and having four daughters, and divers sons to dispose of, by advice of my friends I gave over house, and went to live at Chester for a season ; in which time God stirred up the hearts of many of my neighbours to come to prayer with us, which meetings were at first traduced, yet, after a while, as it became well known what they were, no fault was found. In this time it pleased the LORD to give a great blessing ; all praise be to his holy name ! Many were converted, many confirmed, and many convinced. In these three years, God also gave me a great blessing in my outward estate : I paid all my debts : I married two of my daughters, and paid their portions : I preferred a son or two : I maintained the poor in mine own parish in the country, allowing them all the profit of my two mills : I maintained the poor in Chester, both at my gates, and otherwise, weekly. All thanks be given unto GOD, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, for evermore ! Amen."

The three years being expired, he returned home to Stapleford, and married another wife, by whom he had one daughter that died, and one son living. Encouraging himself in the ways of God, he daily performed these four duties : First, meditation for the increase of knowledge, and good affections towards God : and for his help herein, he carried about him some part of the Bible, or notes of sermons, when he went into the fields : within doors he read much in the Scriptures, and made collections of the promises, precepts, comforts, and prohibitions ; and these he made the subject of his meditations : for this end also he often read the works of divers learned men, and drew into heads what was most worthy of observation.

In the next place, he was very careful to observe God's works, both of mercy and judgment, for which end he observed and recorded many of them. Hear his own words. "Some few years before my brother HARDWARE died, he had a man-servant, as many thought, bewitched, who grew daily weaker and weaker, so that

my brother sent to me and my family, to spend a day with him in fasting and prayer. At that time I had good MR. WATTS, the Preacher, with me : we went to the house, where we found the man very sick and weak, and like a skeleton, having nothing but skin and bones, not likely to live a day longer. He was brought and laid in a bed in the chamber where we prayed, and the same evening he began to amend : the next morning he walked abroad, and the third day was so strong, that he went to his work and labour. All praise to GOD for it!—In 1601, my servant going with his cart laden, fell down, and the wheels being iron-bound, went over his leg, yet hurt him not at all. Praised be GOD!—In 1602, my son JOHN going into the field, took up a seythe to see how he could mow ; the seythe entered his stocking near the shin-bone, shaving the hair, and came out at the back of his leg, and touched no flesh nor skin. Praised be GOD!—In 1603, one that dwelt in my farm in Wimble Stafford, seeing two godly persons going in the way, said to one with him, ‘ I will dance, swagger, and swear, to provoke yonder two Puritans ; ’ and so he did, to their great grief : but presently the hand of GOD was upon him, so that immediately he fell sick, was carried home in a cart, and within three days died most fearfully.” But he took the greatest pains in recording the passages about a boy, twelve years old, at Northwich, who was so strangely and wonderfully afflicted and tormented, that many held him to be really possessed by the Devil. Some of the passages were these :—By his torments he was brought so low and feeble, that he was almost nothing but skin and bones ; yet for the space of four and twenty hours every day, having only one half hour’s respite, which they called his awaking time, and wherein they gave him a little food, he was of that extraordinary strength, that if he folded his hands together, no man could pull them asunder : if he rolled his head, or tossed his whole body, as he usually did, no man could stay or restrain him. He would, to the great astonishment of the hearers, howl like a dog, mew like a cat, roar like a

bear, and froth like a boar. When any prayed with him, his passions were strongest, and his rage and violence greatest ; he was ready to fly in their faces, and to drown their voices with his yellings and outeries. If one came near him with a Bible, though under his cloak, and quite in secret, he would run upon him, and use great violence to get it from him ; and if he could get it, he would tear it in pieces. Sometimes he would lie along, as if he had been stark dead, his colour gone, and his mouth so wide open, that he would on a sudden thrust both his hands into it : notwithstanding his great weakness, he would leap and skip from his bed to the window, from the window to the table, and so to bed again, and that with such agility as no tumbler could do the like ; and yet all this while his legs were drawn so that he could not use them : sometimes we saw his chin drawn up to his nose, that his mouth could scarcely be seen ; sometimes his chin and forehead drawn almost together like a bended bow. The Bishop, hearing of the strange torments of this poor child, sent for him : his parents brought him, and once the Bishop prayed with him ; but the boy was so outrageous, that he flew out of his bed, and so frightened the Bishop's men, that one of them fell into a swoon, and the Bishop was glad to lay hold on the boy, who ramped at the window to have gotten out. Hereupon the Bishop granted a license for a private fast in the child's father's house, for his help and release, and that in these words :—
“ Having seen the bodily affliction of this child, and observed in sundry fits very strange effects and operations, either proceeding from some natural and unknown causes, or some diabolical practices ; we think it fit and convenient, for the ease and deliverance of the said child from his grievous affliction, that prayer be made publicly for him by the Minister of the parish ; and that certain Preachers, namely these following, MR. GERARD, MR. HARVEY, and MR. PEIRSON, repair to the said child by turns, as their leisure will serve, and use their discretion for private prayer, and fasting, for the

ease and comfort of the afflicted. "RICHARD CESTREN., GRIFFITH VAUGHAN, DAVID YALE, HUGH BARCHES."—This was accordingly performed by two godly ministers, and by MR. BRUEN, with several others; yet God gave not deliverance at that time. When he was in his fits, without understanding what he did or said, he would often say, "The Devil when he comes takes away my hearing, seeing, understanding, hands, legs, that I should have no senses, nor limbs, to glorify God withal.—I have but three Devils: it is likely that one of the spirits will go out of me, and take counsel of a great number of foul spirits, and come again, and trouble me worse. The Devil is afraid when he hears any word that he must be cast out; then he quakes. Some say, if I were bewitched, or possessed, I could neither move my tongue nor my lips; but the Devil can move both my tongue and my lips. SATAN, I am bound to a hard apprenticeship; for thou wilt not give me leave, neither holy-day nor work-day, to eat a morsel of bread." On one occasion, being in a sore fit, and a great rage, biting his hands, gnashing with his teeth, foaming like a boar, and casting blood and filth out of his mouth, he uttered these words: "Proud witch! I will tell you how these witches work, all upon life, all upon life, all upon life; but they cannot take my life from me. Well, these drunkards and whoremasters do not think upon their sins: there is no drunkard that doth drink one drop of drink more than will suffice nature, but the Devil doth pen it down in his book: it is a great book, and he doth keep it close till the day of judgment, and then he will lay it to their faces, at which time the hills will tremble and quake, and the Devil will quake; yea, he doth quake for fear already. They say he shall not go out of me; but when God comes he will strike home." And many other such strange speeches did he utter, which for brevity's sake are here omitted.

MR. BRUEN, besides his family duties mentioned before, used private prayer very often, yet not confining himself to any place within or without doors for it, but taking

his fittest opportunity, as time and place best accorded. About his own house he had divers places which interchangeably he used for this purpose, not frequenting one, lest he should be suspected of hypocrisy or vain-glory : within doors he had variety of closets, sundry chambers, and other convenient rooms. When he was abroad he had his gardens, orchards, arbours, groves, woods and fields, walks and shades, where he delighted to speak, and commune with his best Friend, and to seek the face and favour of his heavenly Father, in and through the mediation of CHRIST JESUS. And he was choice of the time, which he constantly set apart every day for private prayer. Seven times a day did he practise this duty : first, in the morning, before any of his family rose ; next, after family-prayer, before his breakfast ; then, immediately before dinner ; then, a little while after dinner ; then, a little before supper ; then, not long after supper ; and lastly, a little before he went to bed. And as he was frequent, so was he, through God's grace, powerful in these his prayers : and hereunto, upon extraordinary occasions, he added fasting, which he observed with so great austerity, that he much weakened his body thereby ; and as it is recorded of ST. JAMES the Apostle, so was it true of this gentleman, that his knees were grown senseless and hard with much and frequent kneeling. In these private prayers his principal aim was to search his heart, to examine his life, and to confess and bewail his special sins, craving pardon for them, and power against them, as also for the sins or afflictions of JOSEPH, and the desolations of *Jerusalem*. He afflicted his heart for the barrenness and backsliding of professors, and for their embracing the world, and forsaking their first love ; to which he added praise and thanksgiving for mercies ; rejoicing in the LORD, and praising his holy name for blessings, earthly and heavenly, bestowed upon him, or his, and sometimes for great deliverances which GOD had wrought for him.

Lastly, his care was to imitate his heavenly Father

every day ; and this he endeavoured by conforming himself to his image, and by expressing the properties and virtues, the affections and actions, of him that had begotten him, and called him to be conformable to the image of his SON JESUS CHRIST. For this end he daily laboured to be more and more renewed in the spirit of his mind, in knowledge, righteousness, and holiness, according to the image of him that created him.

According to the wisdom which GOD had given him, he endeavoured to have his conversation pure and holy, answerable to that religion which he did profess, which, by the testimony of the HOLY GHOST, is “pure and undefiled before GOD the FATHER.” He was well acquainted with his natural corruptions, passions, and pollutions of sin, both original and actual, inward and outward, spiritual and corporal. His constant care was, *to be pure in heart* ; (*Matt. v. 8*;) and this he sought for by faith and repentance, and the help of GOD’S SPIRIT, every day purging out old sins, and renewing the beauty of former graces ;—*to be pure in hand*, free from all iniquity and injury ; and “washing his hands in innocency,” he was ever ready to lift up “pure hands” unto GOD, and “so to compass his altar ;”—*to be pure in lips and tongue*, never suffering any evil speech or word to fall from him ; but having learned the language of Canaan, his tongue did often speak of judgment, and his speeches were as the very oracles of GOD ;—*to be pure in his senses* ; with his “eyes he made a covenant,” restraining them from wanton looks, and resolving then only, or especially, to open them, when they might serve as necessary lights to the body, or to behold the works of the Lord, that he might be bettered thereby ; his ears were circumcised, nailed to the posts of GOD’S house, bored by the SPIRIT of grace for audience and obedience to hear what the “SPIRIT speaks unto the churches ;”—*to be pure in his whole body*, ever preserving his “vessel in holiness and honour,” and “hating the garment spotted by the flesh ;” (*1 Thess. iv. 4* ; *Jude 23*;)—*to be pure in the whole man*, both soul and

body, "cleansing himself from all filthiness of flesh and spirit," whereby he became a vessel of honour, sanctified for his Master's use; "prepared unto every good work."

Naturally he was passionate; but having his sin pardoned through the blood of CHRIST, and having gotten power over it, his nature was healed, his passions subdued, and his frowardness changed into mildness. He was easy to be persuaded to any thing that was good, or to be dissuaded from any thing that was evil. An honourable Judge in open court, having a complaint made to him against MR. BRUEN, of some wrong that he did, by a water-course to his mills, out of that good opinion he held of him, said: "I cannot think but that you wrong MR. BRUEN; I will undertake for him: make him but sensible of any wrong that he hath done, and he shall willingly acknowledge it, and make you double amends for it."

He was full of mercy and good fruits towards sinners and saints, neighbours and strangers, friends and foes, poor and rich; yea, towards all sorts and conditions of men, as he had opportunity and ability. He saw none that were without the means of grace, but the bowels of compassion yearned in him. He saw none occasionally at their heathenish sports and sinful pastimes, but he looked angrily upon them, and spake roughly to them, yet withal inwardly mourning for the hardness of their hearts. If occasionally he met with mockers, contemners of GOD, and despisers of good things, he would not cast pearls before swine, but turn away his face, and not so much as salute them. If any poor soul erred from the right way, and yet desired a guide, how careful was he of his good, how joyful to do him good? Yea, to encourage and draw on such, he would give them money, corn, Bibles, Catechisms, and other good works, which he had always by him for such purposes.

Sometimes he would take off a good suit of apparel from his own back, and bestow it upon a godly poor man that wanted it. He was much given to hospitality: his house was the common inn of GOD's children that

came near him. Many that passed betwixt Ireland and England, and that came upon business to Chester, horsemen and others, would take his house for their lodging place, that they might rejoice their hearts in seeing his face, hearing his voice, and conferring and advising with him. His ordinary table was plentiful, not to excess, but to a very competent sufficiency; yet would he not suffer any waste or abuse of God's good creatures: his cellar was open and free to any, as far as they kept themselves within the bounds of moderation. He did usually give food to great multitudes, which out of his own and other parishes resorted to him: and in the dear years he made provision for them almost every day in the week, and would sometimes serve them himself; both to keep them in good order, and equally to distribute according to their necessities. His purse was ever open to give or lend to such as would borrow: his admonition was, "Remember your promise, and pay again, if you would borrow again:" and if any that borrowed were willing, but not able to pay, he would rather forgive the debt than exact it.

In the time of a great dearth, fearing that divers of his poor neighbours were in want, taking the opportunity when most of his family were gone abroad, he sent for his neighbours, and distributed fourteen bushels of corn amongst them. Yea, the loins of the poor did bless him, being warmed with the fleece of his flock, or clothed by the cost of his purse: every year, against winter, he made provision to clothe the poor. Yea, he was a protector to the poor, to deliver them out of the hands of those that were too strong for them: he was a counsellor to defend their righteous cause, and to plead for them.

When he heard any evil tidings out of Bohemia, Hungary, or the Palatinate, he sat down, (as Nehemiah did,) and wept and mourned certain days, and fasted and prayed before the God of heaven. He was frequent in visiting the sick, and such families as had the extraordinary hand of God upon them. If any were troubled in conscience, molested by SATAN, or terrified by God's judg-

ments, happy was he that could get MR. BRUEN to come to him ; his very presence was some ease and refreshing to them : and as his gifts and pains in prayer were great, so were the issue and success thereof, through GOD's blessing, many times very effectual. He himself recorded divers mercies obtained of GOD by his prayers.

His whole life was a meditation of death, and a continual preparation for it; and therefore his care was so to live, that he might not be afraid to die, yea, so to live that he might desire to die, and to be with CHRIST, which is best of all.

It was observed by many of his friends, both at home and abroad, that in his declining days, when he saw he was drawing towards his journey's end, his faith was exceedingly increased, his hope and rejoicing in GOD much enlarged, his love and zeal wonderfully inflamed, his affections towards GOD and his people more holy and heavenly, and his motions towards heaven more quick and lively than before.

The day before his last sickness, he rose very early ; went into his study to private prayer ; then came forth and prayed with his family ; then returned into his study till dinner-time ; and after dinner went into his study again, where it pleased GOD, after two hours, to visit him with an ague, whereupon he laid himself down upon a bed. His wife said to him, " Sir, I fear you have done yourself hurt with rising so early ;" to whom he replied, " If you had seen, wife, such glorious things as I saw this morning, being in private prayer with GOD, you would not have said so ; for they were so wonderful and unspeakable, that whether I was in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell. And now it hath pleased GOD, lest I should be too much exalted by this glorious sight, to give me a buffet in the flesh." The like ravishing in spirit, and glorious sights, he saw not long before, (as he acquainted some private friends,) after he had been one day in private prayer in his grove, whence he had a strong persuasion that he should not live long, before he made a glorious change of this life for a better.

Though his bodily infirmity grew upon him, yet would

he by no means be kept from the house of God, so long as he could either go or ride: when he went to church, besides his family, he used to call his tenants and neighbours that dwelt in his way, to go with him, and then calling them about him, they used with one heart and voice to sing psalms, especially the eighty-fourth: and he with his train came to church constantly before divine service began, that he might the more comfortably join with the congregation in the confession of sin, in prayer, praise, reading, singing, hearing, and receiving of the sacraments, all which he performed with most reverent attention.

In his family exercises he was so full of life and zeal, that many who lived near him came to hear him repeat the sermons, and pour out his prayers unto God with such tender and sweet affections for them all, that the heat of his spirit did cause their hearts, as it were, to melt within them. The joy and comfort that he found in these holy duties were such, that he would often say, "O that every day were a sabbath, or a fast-day, for then I should be well." And when the sabbath was ended, it was his usual manner to bless God, with a thankful heart, that he had given him one sabbath more than he had looked for amongst his people.

The week-days were more tedious to him, his bodily infirmity increasing and his strength decaying; yet would he quicken his soul, and raise up his heart by faith and hope, often saying, "The time is not long; I must shortly lay down this my tabernacle, and then I shall get the start of you all, and shall celebrate an everlasting sabbath before the Lord, with the holy angels, and blessed saints, in the highest heavens;" which he spake rejoicingly, and yet with tears. Thus he grew daily more and more weary of the world, and was then best contented when he could dispatch worldly business with fewest words.

It was his provident care to set his house in order, to make his will, and to leave all things in good terms, which accordingly he effected. By these means, his mind being disburdened, and eased of many worldly thoughts

and cares, he got a greater freedom to think and speak of spiritual and heavenly things ; and accordingly, as he could stir abroad in the house, he would drop some wholesome words of counsel or comfort amongst such as he met withal.

When any came to visit him, he would often say, “ Alas, good souls ! what are you come to see ?—a poor wretch, a worm, and no man ! ” And when any told him of hopes of recovery, he would say, “ My task is ended ; the Lord hath no more work for me to do ; my warfare is accomplished ; my race is run ; I now wait for that crown of righteousness, which CHRIST hath purchased, and God hath promised to me. I may now say with JOB, ‘ If I wait, the grave is my house ; I have made my bed in the dark. I have said to corruption, Thou art my father ; to the worm, Thou art my mother, and sister.’ And yet ‘ I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth : and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God.’ ”

His christian friends he admonished to hold on, and to hold out ; to be steadfast in their profession ; not to “ be weary of well-doing ; ” to “ grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our LORD JESUS CHRIST ; ” to increase in faith, and abound in love ; never to be discouraged by mocks and taunts, railings and revilings, or any other persecutions for the name of CHRIST, but, as they had given their names to him, so to give their hearts also ; and then to be “ faithful to the death, that they might receive the crown of life.” And for their encouragement, he told them, that when he first began to profess religion, there were almost none in the whole shire that were acquainted with the power and practice of it. “ I was,” said he, “ a wonder of the world, and a monster of men ; and many did bend their tongues like bows for lies, and did shoot their arrows, even bitter words against me ; and yet for all this that came upon me, I did not forget the name of my God. But, blessed be God, the number of believers in this country is much enlarged, every quarter

and corner of it being filled with the sweet savour of the Gospel. Therefore, ‘ my dearly beloved, stand fast in faith, quit you like men, be strong.’ ”

Though his sickness increased, yet were not his consolations diminished ; though he was feeble in the flesh, yet was he strong in the spirit. Afterwards his weakness increased, by reason of an obstruction in his breast and throat, so that he could not take down any liquid thing, but was ready to faint away.

About this time a worthy Knight, coming to visit him, could not refrain from many tears, which he observing, said to him, “ Good Sir, weep not for me, for there is no cause of weeping, but of much rejoicing in my behalf ; turn your tears into prayers, and let me enjoy that fruit of your love. You are in your way, I am at my journey’s end ; walk on as hitherto you have done, and the Lord will be with you ; he will never fail you, nor forsake you.”

On Monday, January 16, his eldest son came to him, whom he rejoiced to see, and to whom he gave many wholesome instructions, praying for him, and blessing his children, encouraging him to be constant in religion, and commanding him to uphold the service of God, both in the public assembly, and in his family.

A little before his death, there came two Ministers to him, of his special acquaintance, whose presence much cheered him, to whom he said, “ I am here, you see, the Lord’s prisoner, cast upon the bed of my sickness, and in great affliction, yet waiting upon the mercies of my God, for a comfortable release in due season.” And being asked by them, whether his consolations did not abound in the midst of all his afflictions, he answered, “ Yes ; and that which is more remarkable, the Lord of his mercy hath given me such strong evidence of his favour and love in CHRIST, that I am not troubled with any doubts or fears, or any other Satanical molestations, but rest and wait in patience for the accomplishment of his mercies upon me, according to his good pleasure.” Then he desired them to pray with him, and raising up

himself in his bed, with his heart and hands lifted up to GOD, he did, as it were, reach after the petitions that were made for him, often with a cheerful consent, saying, "Amen, Amen." After this MR. LANGLEY spake to comfort him, adding, that shortly he should be released from all sin and sorrow, from SATAN, and this present evil world; whereunto he answered most cheerfully, "I know I shall, and be with CHRIST, which is best of all; and now the messenger of death is upon me;" meaning the hiccough, which had now seized upon him: to which MR. LANGLEY replied, "I hope, Sir, death is not terrible to you?" "No, indeed," said he, "it is not, I thank God; for it is my way to life: I am now called of GOD to it."

Thus he continued in great pain of body, but in great peace of mind, increasing still in consolations, bearing his pains with admirable patience, and not showing the least discontent in word or deed.

He never was quiet, unless he were either meditating, or praying himself, or had some one praying with him. The morning before his death, several of his friends took their leave of him, desiring at their parting a blessing from him, which he did willingly express, by lifting up his hands and heart to heaven for them. And not long after, hearing some one make mention of black, he said, "I will have no black; I love no proud nor pompous funeral; neither is there any cause of mourning, but of rejoicing rather."

Immediately before his death, lifting up his hands, he said, "The LORD is my portion, my help, and my trust: his blessed Son JESUS CHRIST is my Saviour and Redeemer, Amen. Even so, saith the SPIRIT unto my spirit: therefore come, LORD JESUS, and kiss me with the kisses of thy mouth, and embrace me with the arms of thy love: into thy hands do I commend my spirit; O come now, and take me to thine own self: O come, LORD JESUS, come quickly, O come, O come, O come!" And so his spirit fainting, and speech failing, he meekly yielded up his soul into the hands of GOD, in January, 1625, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

(IX.)

THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD BLACKERBY.

RICHARD BLACKERBY was born in the year 1574, at Worlington, in Suffolk. He was the second son of THOMAS BLACKERBY, a person of good estate and quality, who had nine sons and one daughter; and who designed him, from the first, for the ministry. At the age of fifteen he was admitted a student at Trinity College, in Cambridge, where he lived nine years, and became an eminent scholar in all parts of learning, especially in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues.

While he was in the University, MR. PERKINS was a Preacher and Lecturer in the town of Cambridge, upon whose ministry he diligently attended; whereby his soul was deeply wrought upon: but he lay some years in great distress of conscience, when his father took him for some time home to Worlington, to see if change of air would relieve his melancholy, which his friends thought proceeded from temper of body, though it had another cause, which neither air nor company could remove.

After a short time, he desired to return again to MR. PERKINS; and it pleased GOD, as he was returning to Cambridge, and riding alone upon Newmarket Heath, bemoaning his sad condition before the LORD, to reveal his reconciled face in CHRIST JESUS to him, and to give him that peace of conscience, (so well grounded, and so clearly evidenced,) which he never lost to his dying day.

From the University he went as a Chaplain to the house of SIR THOMAS JERMYN, of Rushbrook, in Suffolk,

in which family he, both morning and evening, not only prayed, but opened some portion of Scripture, during the whole time of his abode there. From thence he removed to SIR EDWARD LEWKNOR, of Denham, in Suffolk, with whom he lived till he married SARAH, the eldest daughter of MR. TIMOTHY OLDHAM.

MR. BLACKERBY lived two years with his father-in-law, Minister of Denham, and from thence was called to be Minister at Feltwell, in Norfolk, where he continued for some time; but then, by reason of his non-conformity, he was forced to remove to Ashen, a village in Essex, near Clare.

Here, not being capable of receiving any ecclesiastical preferment on the account aforesaid, he betook himself to boarding young men, and educating of youth, spending three-and-twenty years in that employment; but during the whole time, he always kept lectures in some neighbouring town, preaching weekly in one place or other; and for the last ten years of the time, he preached statedly either at Castle-Heningham, Stoke by Clare, or Hunden in Suffolk.

He seemed never to lose one moment of time in idleness, or non-improvement thereof; and herein is wrapped up all the practical wisdom of mortal man, *viz.* to improve time for immortality. He rose early in the morning, winter and summer, and spent the whole day in reading, meditation, prayer, and teaching others. After a competent time spent in his study in the morning, he would early call his family, or any other family in which he was, and wherein he had any influence, together; and as constantly as the sun rose and set, he failed not, morning and evening, to spend some time in prayer, and in reading and expounding some part of the Scripture, unless in very extraordinary cases. He spent much of his time in teaching young scholars, boarding in his house always a great number of youths, the sons of pious gentry, tradesmen, and yeomen in the country, whom he daily instructed both in religion and learning. They

sat round about the table at his expositions ; and if he saw any behaving themselves as not minding, he would call out to that youth by name, and ask him what he had said last ; by which means he made them continually attentive.

He was a great walker, and would often call forth his scholars abroad, and teach them both natural and divine knowledge ; fitting some for the University, and others for other callings. He walked continually before them, as the picture of JESUS among his disciples, abounding in wisdom, holiness, and love. Many grew to be excellent persons in Church and State ; and, indeed, his example was enough to commend religion to the head and heart of every spectator. Likewise, divers young students, after they came from the University, betook themselves to him to prepare them for the ministry, to whom he opened the Scriptures, and read divinity, and gave them excellent advice for learning, doctrine, and life : and many eminent persons proceeded from this GAMALIEL ; as DR. BERNARD, afterwards Dean and Bishop in Ireland, whom he commended to Archbishop USHER, with whom he had great acquaintance ; MR. PROSSE, Minister of two Dutch congregations, first in Colchester, then in London ; MR. STONE, afterwards famous in New England ; MR. FAIRCLOUGH ; and many others.

He was a man much in prayer,—much in closet-prayer, much in walking prayer, much in solitary prayer, much in conjugal prayer, (for he daily prayed with his wife alone,) much in family prayer ; daily with his own family, and almost daily with some other family ; very much in fasting and prayer ; for which he took all occasions that seemed in any measure to require it.

He used much to ride about from family to family, (when possibly he could be spared from his scholars,) and only alight and pray with them, and give them some heavenly exhortation, and then hasten away to another family. And in the neighbourhood of his house, where he would walk, he would frequently visit the inhabitants, especially the poor, diligently instructing them, and fervently pray-

ing with them ; and would give them Catechisms and Bibles, and money, if he had it, and if they had need of it ; for which his going about and doing good, many praised God in time, and more will to all eternity.

His preaching was not altogether in the usual manner, but much in making excellent, spiritual, short observations, and brief and close applications. He had great skill in the original tongues, spent much study to understand the Scripture, and lived much in divine converse ; by all which he became a singular textuary, and famous Divines would send to him for his opinion in Scripture difficulties. He was a mighty man in wounding consciences by the sword of the SPIRIT, and in healing them by the blood of JESUS. His voice used not to be very loud ; but his preaching was accompanied with such an authority of the divine presence, and power of the SPIRIT, that souls fell exceedingly under the yoke of CHRIST by his ministry : so that he has been constrained to acknowledge to some intimate friends, (though far from boasting,) that he had reason to believe God had made him a spiritual father to above two thousand persons. Indeed the word of God in his lips was so unmixed with any appearance of any by-respects, and came so pure, as if it were immediately from the HOLY GHOST, that like the word of God, (*Heb.* iv. 12,) it was very “ quick and powerful,” and men soon became either converts to it, or flyers from it, or with all their might fighters against it. The direct rays of divine light, falling on the conscience, will have a speedy and great effect ; but when that light is mingled and diluted with a carnal spirit, or not directly levelled at the heart, it may fall, many years, upon the outward ear, but never a piercing drop doth enter the soul ; or if it does, it is quickly choked there, with the body of death and power of darkness : but his preaching was such as must be yielded to, fled from, or fought against. Many profane persons who could both hear other pious Ministers, and would curse them bitterly when they had done, yet dared neither to hear him, nor

speak against him if they did. There was so much of God in him, and with him, that he left a perpetual dread upon many souls that would play with other sermons, and with the names and persons of other Preachers. Multitudes of very profane persons did fall under the power of the word preached by him ; a particular instance whereof happened in or near Castle-Heningham, in Essex, among a society or club of young persons, who used to have their set times to meet, and dance, and frolic in their youthful sports, sins, and vanities : by his preaching there, all or most of them were converted, and became a company of gracious Christians, and used afterwards to join in prayer, as before they had done in sin and folly.

Some, whose consciences were seared, would sometimes rise up against his preaching with rage and violence ; but the wrath of God did often most eminently take hold of such. Thus, at Hunden, in Suffolk, where some time he had a lecture, he met with great opposition : divers persons, of considerable estate in the town, joined together, and procured his suspension ; but all of them were notoriously afterwards blasted in their outward estates, some brought to beggary, and all but one died miserably. One of them, the next LORD'S-day after his suspension, boasting in the church-yard, that now he had got BLACKERBY out of the pulpit, a woman, standing by, replied, " BLACKERBY will preach again in Hunden pulpit, when you are crying in hell ;" and that very day eight years that man was buried ; and the LORD'S-day after, MR. BLACKERBY had liberty to preach again, and preached in Hunden pulpit.

There was never any person, who had the happiness to converse with him, who did not behold both his heart and life so greatly sanctified, and so generally raised to such an universality and height of true christian godliness, as is not often equalled. Few persons have ever been acquainted with, or scarcely ever read or heard of, any mere man that did exceed him. Though others might equal him in some corporal severities, and seem more heated in

some particular parts of religion ; yet for the impartiality, constancy, and sweetness of holiness, very few have come near him, and none, since the primitive times, did excel him. He made it his business to live with God, and to his glory ; not as too many that satisfy themselves in the frequent motions of their affections in some pangs of indigested resolutions, or some fits of pious conversation, as if these were the life and power of godliness ; all which are very good and desirable, but yet, at best, they are but seeds and blossoms of the divine nature, which is first conceived by the HOLY GHOST in the soul in a real absolute consecration of the whole man to God, and grows in a diligent endeavour of perfect conformity to this consecration. He, the business of whose heart and life is not, in all things, through strength derived from CHRIST, by faith, to live to God, is yet no living child of God, what preparatory affections soever there may be in him towards it. It would make one's heart tremble to think what multitudes of half Christians drop daily down into everlasting destruction, cheating themselves with pious sentiments, as if they were the life of godliness, which cannot be but in an absolute union with CHRIST, and by living in the virtue of him, and in faithful obedience to him, as this saint did. He lived not without infirmities ; but in the eyes of all knowing, impartial, daily spectators, he was free from acting any sin of commission, not so much as speaking an idle or an angry word, or losing any moment of time that he could redeem, or that he was sensible he might better spend ; and this by the space of above forty years, as by diligent inquiry, and personal acquaintance of many years, will be justified. His deportment was always such, as if at that moment he saw God, and had God's law, his own covenant with God, and the day of account, just then before his eye ; so that whenever the LORD should come and call him, he would ever have been found so doing. To any understanding converser with him, there always appeared written in his face and demeanour a sense of the divine majesty and holiness ; a most pleasing, conscientious, and full dedi-

cation of himself to God; a watchfulness upon his own heart and life, lest he should offend; a great mortification of heart to all the world; a wonderful purity from sinful pollution; and an admirable transformation of spirit into the divine similitude. Indeed, constant holiness seemed perfectly natural to him, when it seems but endeavoured after by others.

With this height of holiness was joined the depth of humility. He sometimes, when walking with his eldest grand-child, then but a youth, took occasion to say, after other serious discourse, "O lad! thou little thinkest what a vile heart I have, how I am plagued with proud thoughts; child, if thou hast acquaintance with God in prayer, pray for me, that God would purify this filthy heart; Oh! if God did not enable me in some measure to keep a watch over it, I should act to the shame of my face." Such expressions did greatly affect the heart of this young person, to hear one so like an incarnate angel, speak in such a manner of his heart.

And such discourses as these were frequently held by him to other persons, when a fitting season offered. He seemed to have small sense of any self-excellency, though SATAN would fain have defiled him with it, but walked in continual admiration of the vouchsafements of free grace unto him. From his humility came that readiness in him to be persuaded or disposed of by others, much inferior to him, in any thing, (so that religion and duty suffered not by it,) little valuing in what place he was put, or what account was had of him, so that he might keep close to his duty, and enjoy the light of the divine countenance.

And that which did set him most high above all others who lived in these latter days, was the impartial universality of his obedience, joined with the greatest charity and candour to all others, in whom there was the least appearance of good. No hopes of preferment, or smart of suffering, could prevail with him to depart from his light; he could not so conform to the Church of England, as the law required, to make him capable of a living; yet

wherein he thought it his duty to conform, no man was more exact than he. And, therefore, being no enemy to the Common Prayer, he would on all days, LORD's-days and week-days, when divine service was read in the parish-church, go with his family to the very beginning, and there behave himself with such reverence and heavenly-mindedness, that I never saw any like him therein.

He was far from countenancing any known evil in any. I believe all who ever conversed with him will bear him witness, that he never suffered what he thought sin in them, without admonition and reproof; as sure as he observed the evil, they heard of it from him, but ever with so much evident love, as well as seriousness, that at the same time both their consciences were awed by the gravity of his advice, and their affections inflamed with the sweetness of his spirit. His reproofs were truly, as one well expresses, nails dipt in oil, driven with power into the inmost part of the heart, and received with all acceptance, because of the overcoming kindness with which they were accompanied. When he has been in company, and heard great persons swear, or speak profanely, he would with a sad countenance (leaving the table, or departing from the room,) rebuke them, and afterwards privately address the great persons with so much seriousness and respect, that they would be much taken with his dealing with them, thanking him for his reproof, and the manner of it; and one told him, "Had you spoken to me at table, I had stabbed you, but now I heartily thank you." He would neither suffer sin in men unreprieved, nor provoke to sin by his rebuke.

He was very zealous for the holy observation of the LORD's-day. On Saturday, at four in the afternoon, he constantly preached in his family, (to which divers neighbours would resort,) preparatory to the next day. Of all mornings he would rise earliest on the LORD's-day mornings; and wherever he was, and had any power, he would call up all the family, but especially his own, to prayer and reading. He usually prayed six times every LORD's-day in the family:—*first*, As soon as he had got

them up in the morning, expounding some part of the Scripture to them: *secondly*, When he was going to the public congregation, he carried his family with him, and before they went out of doors, would pour out some petitions for God's assistance and blessing in the public worship of the day: *thirdly*, When he returned from church in the morning, he constantly prayed for a blessing on what they had heard: *fourthly*, He led them out again in the afternoon with prayer: *fifthly*, When he returned from church in the afternoon, he prayed again for a blessing on what they had heard: *sixthly*, After supper, when the family was ready to go to bed, he commended them again to God by prayer. But this must be observed, he prayed often, but never (unless upon an extraordinary occasion) very long, neither on LORD'S-days nor week-days, at home or abroad, in family or congregation: nor in preaching would he ever be over-long; so that his exercises, though frequent, were never burdensome. On the LORD'S-day he was impatient at hearing any idle word, or seeing any idle action; nor could he endure any worldly word or act, but what was of charity or necessity; but after dinner he would call upon all, especially those that were apt to sleep at church, to go and take a nap, as he himself usually did, lest they should profane God's public worship, or should hazard the salvation or edification of their immortal souls, by sleeping in the congregation; and therefore also he frequently inveighed against great dinners on the LORD'S-day, as apt to make them heavy and dull, on those glorious days set apart for celebration of divine praises, and edification of men's precious souls.

At a place called Linton, in Cambridgeshire, there was a fair usually kept on the LORD'S-day once a year, at which time he was once invited to preach; and he then so plainly convinced the town of the greatness of the sin, that they would never more keep the fair on the LORD'S-day. Though he lived every day as sinless and as heavenly as if it had been a sabbath, yet he was very sensible that our time is then much more to be spent in outward religious exercises, than on other days. The business of

his life was all the week to obey, glorify, and have communion with God ; but on the Lord's-day, the object of his acts was all religious and charitable performances.

He was a man of a most tender and contrite spirit. Any greater than common sins or providences made deep impressions on him : if any such sin were committed in a neighbouring town, or any judgment happened in the nation, he would be sure to get divers Ministers and Christians together, and keep a day of fasting and prayer. In nights of great thunder and unusual tempest, he would call up all his family to prayer, and expound some part of the Scripture to them, to affect their hearts with greater reverence towards God. Any notable scripture, any eminent providence, deeply entered his soul, and raised up his graces.

As his life was ever led as in the divine presence, so his heart and tongue were ever ready for prayer, or any holy duty ; and he so enjoyed God in every religious exercise, that he would almost constantly say when he rose up from prayer, or came from a sermon, or any holy converse, or religious exercise, (especially a day of fasting and prayer,) that he must bless God for ever for such an ordinance, and would not, for many worlds, but have been in it ; a frequent expression with him, and if an hyperbole, the only one that he was observed to use.

When he was awake in the night, he spent the time in meditation and prayer. He would often, at midnight, make Greek, Latin, or English verses, exalting the praise of God, his attributes, the acts of Christ, or the graces of his Spirit, or the like, and give them in the morning to his scholars. His dreams were usually such, as showed a heart that lived with God, full of gracious communications from God to him, and of faith, love, and obedience to God, and abhorrence of sin ; and he would in the evening usually pray that his dreams might be holy. In general, holy dreams are certain signs of much love from God, or gracious habits in the man.

He often received immediate answers of prayer. I heard an eminent Divine once say, that he knew eighteen

persecutors taken away remarkably upon his fasting and prayer. God seemed also to make a covenant for him with the beasts of the field. His daughter BURRELL was much affected with a remarkable providence, which happened to him when she was accompanying him, one day, to visit one afflicted in conscience. Their way lay through a field where was a raging bull, that used to do much mischief; which beast, seeing them, made towards them with great fury, and being come very near them, MR. BLACKERBY put off his hat, and prayed in these words, "LORD, if our way be of thee, stay the fury of this beast;" which immediately stopped, and turned from them.

He kept three diaries of his life, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English, wherein he set down all the remarkable acts of God towards him, and of himself towards God; these he would often read over to affect his soul, and improve them to divine glory.

He was so crucified to the world, and the world to him, that all worldly concerns seemed a perfect nothing to him; the world seemed to have no temptation to him, and he no taste for the world. His passions were so subdued, that though he was one that was most tenderly affected to his relations, yet their loss discomposed not his mind, nor interrupted his communion with God. His eldest daughter was a most excellent person, and one in whom he took great delight: she died a few hours after her last child was born; and he, being present at her death, commended her spirit to God more affectionately, but as undisturbedly, as when he gave her person to her husband in marriage. He desired to preach her funeral sermon, which he did; and therein gave her this testimony, that he believed she had feared the LORD in sincerity, from three years old; yet preached so, as showed he had not lost his God, though he had lost his dearest child. Nothing of creatures could in the least draw him from his life with God.

Living much in divine communion, he had great insight into Scripture Prophecies, and had many future events deeply impressed on his mind. Men know but

little of God's mind, because they live but little in his presence and converse. He was one of the first that convinced men, in those parts, of God's intent to convert the nation of the Jews. Mr. ROGERS, of Dedham, Mr. STEPHEN MARSHALL, and divers others, much opposed that opinion at first, but were at last, by his discourses, fully satisfied, and really persuaded of the truth of it. He lived much in the foresight of the glory of God, and the peace of the church, in the last ages. He often said, many years before it came to pass, to divers of his friends, that they would live to see the time when there would not be a persecuting Bishop in power in England.

The first time when the Scots army came into England, he said to some who were much troubled for it, that the army should go back without a stroke struck; and so they did. He said, after the battle of Naseby, that many strict professors of religion should have rest for a little time; but afterwards a blacker time would come unto them than ever they had; which was in part fulfilled: but he used to add, the storm would not last very long. And these were the very last words which he spake at his death, "There is a sharp storm coming, but it will be but short." The former part of this anticipation has already proved true; God grant that the other part may also be accomplished.

He used to say, that God had two sieves for the professors in England; one of a coarser make, and *that* he had used; but there would come a finer one, which all should stand ready for; and this, it is feared, is in a great degree to come. He used to say, it was very probable that this nation would be punished by the French, after whose fancies they went so much a whoring. And he much believed that Popery would come in, but that it would not last; for it could not recover its first strength again in England.

There were some particularities in him that may seem of lesser moment. He could not endure to see any Bibles lie contemptuously about the house, but would have them carefully and cleanly used, or laid up; he thought that a reverence ought to be given to the very outsides of such

sacred oracles. He was exceedingly careful to have none of God's creatures lost; he would always have a fowl or two allowed to come familiarly into his eating-room, to pick up the crumbs that would fall from the table.

His conversation was so in heaven, and the majesty of holiness did so shine in him, that that famous Divine for learning and piety, Mr. D. ROGERS, of Wethersfield, in Essex, told another Divine, that he could never come into the presence of Mr. BLACKERBY without some kind of trembling upon him, because of the divine majesty and holiness which seemed to shine in him. The height and constancy of his holy and heavenly converse were accompanied with a settled peace of conscience, and good assurance of eternal life: for some years before his death he would often (upon seasonable occasions) declare, that for more than forty years he never had a doubting thought of his salvation. It is our low, loose, unequal walking in religion, that makes the sense of God's love, peace with God, and evidence for eternal life, so rare a thing among us.

This holy man was indeed an instance sent by God into the world, to show to what a life of holiness and peace Christians may on earth certainly arrive, if hearty sincerity, deep mortification, diligent watchfulness, love of divine communion, and an humble and active faith, meet in the heart of any man.

When he was about the age of fifty-five, his son-in-law, Mr. CHRISTOPHER BURRELL, was presented to the Rectory of Great Wrating, in Suffolk. Mr. BURRELL had lived some years as a boarder to Mr. BLACKERBY: Mr. BLACKERBY now removed, and continued a boarder with him for several years; in all which time he continued preaching the Gospel only occasionally, (except at Gerstingtherp, in Essex, where he maintained a constant lecture,) until towards the close of his life.

Then Providence so ordered, that he took upon him a pastoral charge over the congregation at Great-ThurLOW; and here his Master found him "so doing," to wit, very busy in his Master's service; for as he was preaching on

one LORD'S-day, he was taken with a great weakness and fainting while he was in the pulpit, so that, being carried home, he continued very weak six weeks, but kept his bed only two days before he died, which was in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

He had seven children who lived to be men and women; (two sons and five daughters;) his eldest son was a gracious young man, and lived some time a student in Katherine-Hall in Cambridge, but died of a consumption before he took any degree. His other son was also a good man, and an excellent Preacher, and died lately, Minister of Stow-Market, in Suffolk.

And now that all his sons and daughters, except one, and all his sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, are gone with him to everlasting rest, it is most fitting that the world should know and remember, that there was a man that lived, fifty years after his conversion, doing good, and walking with GOD, in the eyes of the most strict observers, without perceived actual commission of any known transgression, no, not so much as of an idle or angry word.

His countenance and speech, his deportment and behaviour, were perpetually as before the eye of GOD, in the conscientious observance of all his precepts; his heart full of love to him; his face awing the beholder with the majesty, and shining with the sweetness and beauty of holiness. He (to all appearance) spent every moment of his time in his beloved duty, and in zealously doing good, always ready for, and enjoying, spiritual communion with GOD in all his ordinances; and all was carried on with a deep and contrite sense of the natural corruption of his heart, in the lowest humility and condescension, and with most transcendent charity to all men, yet so as not to suffer sin in his brother unreprieved. He kept peace of conscience, and assurance of eternal life, inviolate for forty years together; and convinced all men (both good and bad) that knew him, that the power of GOD and religion dwelt assuredly in him; the Divine SPIRIT and power beautifying and adorning him, and assuring both himself and others that he was born of GOD.

(X.)

THE LIFE
OF
HENRY ALTING.

HENRY ALTING was born at Emden, in Friezeland, in the year 1583, of a very ancient and honourable family : his father, MENSO ALTING, was Pastor of Emden. In his childhood he was very sickly and weak, so that he was four years old before he could go.

His parents devoted him to the service of GOD and his church from the very womb ; and therefore, when he was seven years old, they sent him to school in their own city of Emden. At fourteen years old his father sent him to the University of Groningen, and from thence into Germany, for the advancement of his learning : having saluted MARPURG, he went to Herborn, in 1602, where that famous Divine, JOHN PISCATOR, was Professor. After three years' abode there, he began to think of entering into the holy ministry : but GOD, for the present, intended him for another employment ; and upon the recommendations of the Professors of Herborn, he was appointed by Count JOHN of Nassau, to be tutor to three young Counts, *viz.* WILLIAM of NASSAU, CONRADE LODOWICK of Solmes, and PHIL. ERNEST of Isenburg, who all, at this time, were students in the University of Sedan, together with the young Prince FRÉDERIC, son to FREDERICK IV., Elector-Palatine.

He had continued but a short time in that place, before it was requisite for him to withdraw, with his charge, from that city, for fear of a siege, which was

threatened by HENRY IV., King of France. And therefore they all went to Heidelberg; and ALTING, in the Prince's Court, attended his former employments, having a fourth added to the three former noblemen, *viz.* JOHN CONRADE, the Rhinegrave. The same summer, Prince FREDERICK was committed to his tuition, to be by him instructed in History and Geography.

In the year 1612, the Prince-Elector going into England, to marry the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter to King JAMES, would needs have HENRY to go along in his train; in which journey he escaped death very narrowly himself, with SCULTETUS, and some other of the Prince's company, being surprised with a storm upon the Lake of Haarlem, so that with great difficulty they got to the further shore. This was on October the 7th in the afternoon, just at which time his father died.

Some months after, he was called to be a Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg; into which he was admitted August the 16th, which was the Prince's birth-day: and because, by the statutes of the University, none could be Moderator of the disputations but a Doctor, he was solemnly inaugurated into that degree, November the 18th. But God's providence intended him to some further employment; for there was in Heidelberg an excellent seminary, endowed with large revenues, called the College of Wisdom: the Prince therefore, chose him Master thereof, October the 15th, 1616.

Thus far we have heard the happier and more comfortable part of his life: now follows the more afflicted part of it; for soon after, the tumults in Bohemia began. The Prince-Elector was chosen King of Bohemia, and crowned: SPINOLA broke into the Palatinate: the great battle was fought near Prague: the Bohemians were beaten in the year 1620: and, the year following, the University of Heidelberg was dissipated, the students in general fled for fear, and the Professors had liberty granted them to go whither they pleased. Yet ALTING, sending his family into a place

of safety, stayed still in the College, keeping the remaining students in good order, and remaining unterrified in the midst of dangers, whilst he satisfied his own conscience, and the earnest desire of the King, who from the Hague had written to him, desiring him not to depart from Heidelberg.

In August, 1622, Heidelberg was besieged by TILLY, and, on September the 6th, was taken by storm, at which time it suffered whatsoever military licentiousness could inflict, by plunderings, murders, and insulting of matrons and virgins, all being heightened by the hatred of religion, and the brutishness of the Croats.

At this time ALTING was in his study, who, hearing the surprise of the city, bolted his door, and betook himself to prayer, looking every moment when the soldiers would break in to sacrifice him to God. But the great Arbiter of life and death took care for his safety; for MONSIEUR BEHUSIUS, Rector of the school, and his dear friend, hiring two soldiers, called him forth, and conveyed him through a back-door into the Lord Chancellor's house; which TILLY had commanded to be preserved from plundering, by reason of the public monuments of the commonwealth that were kept in that place. This house was commanded to be guarded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, a man greedy of prey; who, lest he should lose his share in the booty, sent forth his soldiers, commanding them, that if they met with any citizens of note, under pretence of safe-guarding them, they should bring them to him, purposing by their ransom to enrich himself. To this man, ALTING was brought, who, with his naked sword reeking with blood, said, "This day with this hand I have slain ten men; to whom DR. ALTING shall be added as the eleventh, if I knew where to find him. But who art thou?" Such a countenance, and such a speech, in such a juncture of time, might have affrighted the most constant mind: but ALTING, by a wise answer, neither denying himself to be ALTING, nor unseasonably discovering himself, answered, "I was a school-master in

the College of Wisdom." Hereupon the Lieutenant-Colonel promised him safety.

He remained without sleep, hearing the continual shrieks and groans which filled the air, from women insulted, and men, some of whom were drawn to torments, others immediately slain. But when he saw that many fled to this house as to their only refuge, fearing lest he should be discovered by some of them, either through imprudence or malice, he retired into a cockloft; where, whilst he hid himself, this Lieutenant-Colonel was, by the authority of TILLY, commanded away, not giving him so much time as to seek out this school-master, that the house might be resigned to the Jesuits, for whom it was appointed. Yet, under these new inhabitants, ALTING would not have been one jot safer, if GOD had not, by a special providence, accomplished his safety: for the kitchen of this house was reserved for TILLY's own use; one of the Palatine's cooks was appointed over it, who closely fed and maintained him; and whilst the Jesuits were providing all things in readiness in the church for the mass, he hired three Bavarian soldiers, who kept guard in the streets, to guard him to his own house.

When he came thither, he found all things broken, plundered, and carried away. In his study he found a captain boasting that all things therein were his own: "Yet," said he to ALTING, "I give thee leave to take any one book, and to carry it away with thee." This proffer ALTING refused, saying, "Sir, if all these things be yours, I pray GOD that you may enjoy them longer than their last master did." Then returning to his former refuge, not without very great danger, three days after, TILLY (who had taken up ALTING's son-in-law's house for his quarters) was prevailed with to grant him a safe conduct to go to Heilbron, to bring back his family from thence.

Thus escaping out of Heidelberg, he passed through a thousand dangers, till it pleased GOD at last to bring him to Heilbron; from whence, after a short stay, he went to

Schomdorf, where he found his family, and in which place he stayed till the February following, having obtained leave so to do of the Duke of Wirtemberg.

The year following, being 1623, the King of Bohemia sent for him into the Low-Countries, and at last (through GOD's mercy) after a long, difficult, and dangerous journey, both by water and land, he arrived safely with his family at Emden. After a short stay there he went into Holland, presenting himself to his King, who presently made him tutor to his eldest son FREDERICK: neither would the King suffer him to embrace a frequent call which he had to a pastoral charge in Emden. Yet neither did he pass over that year without great danger; for as he was passing in a sledge upon the ice near Purmerend, the ice breaking, he fell into the water, and was very near drowning. But, by GOD's mercy, being pulled out, he fell into a dangerous disease, from which, though he recovered, yet he felt a continual pain in his left shoulder all his life after. A while after, he removed to Leyden, to oversee the King's sons in their studies.

In 1626, he was called to Groningen, to supply the place of one of the Professors of Divinity lately dead. And though the King would by no means at first hear of it, yet at the importunity of the Senate and University, he at last consented, and, furnishing him with necessaries, dismissed him: so that he removed to Groningen; and the Easter following began his work in the University. Yet, once a year, he used to visit the King, who always highly prized him, and used to converse with him very familiarly. ALTING supplied that Professor's place at Groningen, for the space of eighteen years, with admirable fidelity, diligence, and industry.

He was three times Rector of the Academy; at all which times he brought some great profit to the University. In his first Rectorship, he procured an increase of Fellowships: for, whereas there were but forty before, he increased them to sixty. In his second Rectorship, he procured a great augmentation to the University-Library.

In his third he obtained an order, that one of the Doctors should be sent at the public charge to Leyden, to buy the choicest books out of GOMARUS's library. He was seven years Pastor of the church of Groningen.

He always had a singular care of the churches of Germany, and especially of the Palatinate, improving his interest by procuring liberal contributions in all the Reformed Churches for their maintenance, that they might not perish through want. The collections which were made in England were committed to his distribution. The contribution of that noble and munificent man, LODOWICK DE GEER, was also put into his hand, for the training up of young German students in Divinity, who might, when God would restore peace, furnish the Churches of the Palatinate again: this trust he discharged with great diligence and fidelity.

He married a wife whilst he was at Heidelberg, in 1614, a little before he was called to his Professor's place. She was a very religious matron, [SUSANNAH BELIER,] the daughter of CHARLES BELIER, then Consul of Heidelberg; with whom he lived lovingly near thirty years, and by whom he had seven children.

He was tall of stature, and well set: he had quick eyes, and lively senses; a loud and pleasing voice; and a sound constitution, only by reason of his many occasions of grief, somewhat inclining to melancholy. If he set himself to reprove vice, he performed it with great gravity. If he comforted his friends, he did it with admirable dexterity. If he admonished any of their duty, he did it with much lenity.

His ministry was full of majesty; his style eloquent, his matter clear and solid. He was very sociable and loving in his converse with his friends. By his practice, converse, experience, and reading both of ancient and modern ecclesiastical histories, he attained to a great measure of wisdom. He was very zealous in defending the orthodox religion, but very far from busying himself in other men's matters; he could not endure strife and con-

tentions, and shunned those vain distinctions of sophisters, whereby they rather darken than explain the mysteries of salvation. He could not endure novelties in Divinity, holding the opinion of TERTULLIAN, "*Primum quodque verissimum*," "that which is most ancient is most true." His profession was without dissimulation; his Divinity solid and substantial, not that which is fetched out of the puddle of the Schoolmen, (though he was no stranger to them,) but out of the pure fountain of the sacred Scriptures. He was a constant studier of the peace of the Church, yet always so as not to hazard the loss of truth. He was of a constant mind, always the same; valiant in adversity, moderate in prosperity, having well learned to sustain and abstain. In reproofs, he was affectionate without bitterness; in admonishing and counselling, prudent without passion; of a quick judgment in choosing his friends, and constant in retaining them.

In delivering his judgment, either in the Academical Senate, or in the Ecclesiastical Presbytery, he so went before others with his prudent counsel, as not to neglect to hear others' judgments; neither would he take it ill if they dissented from him. If any question of great difficulty occurred, he would never rest, till he had searched out, and made plain the truth. If any resorted to him in private to ask his advice in sacred, civil, academical, or economical affairs, his answer was instead of an oracle to them.

His prudence further discovered itself by the government of his family, where he kept all in peace, order, and concord; and concerning which this only was known, "that nobody knew what was done therein."

In 1639, he buried one of his daughters, named MARY, a beautiful and virtuous young maid, which caused so great a grief to him, that he fell into a quartan ague; and though at last he was cured of it, yet it left ill reliques in his weakened body, which, in the year 1641, broke forth into a far more grievous disease, *viz.* a lethargy, which the physicians did foretell to be fatal. Yet neither by this

could his steadfast mind be cast down ; for, after a while, contrary to all men's expectations, he began to recover strength, though indeed he was never perfectly cured.

A third affliction which befell him was the death of his dear wife, which happened the year after, on the 15th of October, the same day upon which, formerly, he had been chosen Master of the College. From that time he was discerned to decay, his solitude increasing his melancholy, which afterwards he could never get the mastery over. He often foretold that he should not long survive his wife. And though, the Easter after, he went as far as Emden to visit his friends, yet thereby he did but increase his distempers ; for he was detained there for the space of twenty days, by reason of a fever. After which he returned to Groningen, but much weakened and troubled with obstructions, which physic could not remove. Yet it pleased God that he had some lucid intervals, at which times he would attend upon his Professorship, and the affairs of the University. In August following, those obstructions so far prevailed, that they took away his appetite, and thence ensued a sensible decay of his strength, which afterwards was accompanied with great pains in his back and loins.

In his sickness DR. MARET visiting him, with a firm voice and friendly mind he congratulated him, that he was designed for his successor : " For," said he, " it much rejoiceth me that I shall leave to the University and Church, one that is studious of peace, orthodox in judgment, and averse from novelties ; and as you have ever maintained friendship with me, do the like with mine whom I shall leave behind me."

The day before his death, he sang the 130th Psalm with a sweet voice, and fervent zeal, and spent the rest of his time in hearty prayers, and holy meditations. In the evening he gave his blessing to his children, and commanded his son, DR. JAMES ALTING, to pray with him, and in his prayers to remember the Church and University. The next day, which was Sunday, in the morning, he

found himself somewhat better, yet presently after he fell into a swoon. After the morning exercise, his old friends DRs. CAMERARIUS and STRASBERGER, agents from the Crown of Sweden, came to visit him, by whose conference he was somewhat refreshed. But no sooner were they gone, than, feeling that his disease had conquered nature, he told those about him that before sun-set he should depart to the LORD: and so, exercising his faith upon the death and merits of CHRIST, and upon the promises of the Gospel, and cheered with the comforts of the HOLY GHOST, he expected death without fear; and presently after, with a firm voice, bade them all farewell, as being ready to depart to CHRIST, which he much longed for. Then causing himself to be raised up, they perceived that he was ready to depart: wherefore hastily sending for the Pastor of the church, his old friend, he prayed with him; and as long as he perceived that he understood him, he cheered him by the sweet promises of the Gospel. About three o'clock in the afternoon, in the presence of his friends, and the Professors of the University, without the least struggle, he quietly fell asleep in the LORD, August 25, 1644.

(XI.)

THE LIFE
OF
FREDERICK SPANHEIM.

FREDERICK SPANHEIM was born in January, 1600, in Amberg, the metropolis of the Upper-Palatinate. His father was an honourable and pious man, Doctor of Divinity, and Counsellor to FREDERICK, King of Bohemia. When he was eleven years old, falling into a tertian ague, which held him long, he made a vow to God, that if he pleased to restore him, he would study Divinity, whereby he might be able to do him service. He went afterwards to the University of Heidelberg, and thence returned to his parents; with whom after he had stayed awhile, he was by them sent to Geneva, in regard to the eminence both of the teachers and the city.

In the year 1621, things being in a deplorable condition in Bohemia and the Palatinate, he went to Gratianoble, that he might free his parents from further charge in his maintenance. He was then tutor to a Nobleman's son for three years, during which time he was afflicted with many diseases, especially with a dizziness in his head. At the end of the three years, having with much difficulty obtained leave of the Nobleman, he returned to Geneva, and after a while went from thence to Paris; where he was courteously entertained by SAMUEL DURANT, the Pastor of the Reformed Church, with whom he lived till the death of MR. DURANT.

During his abode at Paris, he grew into familiar acquaintance with the learned CAMERO, who was so far

affected with his sweet disposition, that though he differed from him in some points, especially about universal redemption, yet did he endeavour to carry him along with him to Montauban, whither he was called to be the Divinity-Professor, but prevailed not. These were his halcyon days, which were interrupted by the death of MR. DURANT. After this he retired into the family of ARNOLD, Counsellor of State, who entertained him at his own table.

And thus far he lived a private life. But in July, 1625, he was called by his friends to Geneva; and indeed he delighted in that city above all others, wishing he might there fix his station; whereupon he hasted thither upon this call, and often spake of the good Providence of God to him therein: for when he came to Lyons, being to pass over the river, he would needs go over in a boat; but by the violence of the stream, his boat was split against an arch of the bridge, whereby he with much difficulty escaped drowning. Through God's merey, coming at length to Geneva, in 1626, he found the Professor of Philosophy's place void; and by the unanimous vote of all, he was preferred to it before all his competitors; whereby after all his travels and troubles he aimed at a quiet harbour.

Hereupon, the better to bind himself to continuance in that place, the year after he married CHARLOTTE A PORTU, the daughter of PETER A PORTU, and ever after carried a tender affection towards her; and indeed she well deserved it in regard of her virtues, and innoeeney of manners, joined with dove-like simplicity, free from fraud and guile. By this wife he had many children, whereof some died in their infancy, but he left seven behind him.

But it was not fit that his excellent parts should be shut up within the schools, nor his light put under a bushel, which ought so to shine that the Church of God might be illuminated thereby; whereupon the Reverend Presbytery often advised him to apply his mind to the study of Divinity, which also he willingly did, and, to the great rejoicing of all, was ordained a Minister; and indeed so

excelled, that he exceeded all men's hopes, both for his eloquence and doctrine. And it pleased God to call him forth to the constant exercise of it in 1631 ; at which time BENEDICT TURRETIN, one of the Professors, and his dear friend, dying, he was, by the generous consent of all, chosen to succeed him ; at which time he lay sick in bed, and dreamed of no such matter. After this, the Curators of Leyden insisted with so much earnestness by their frequent letters, to which were added the request of the King of Bohemia, of the States of Holland and West-Friezeland, and lastly of the States-General, that at length they extorted, rather than obtained, his dismissal from Geneva.

In October, 1642, leaving Geneva, he, with his whole family, arrived safely in Leyden, just upon the festival-day, wherein they celebrated the memorial of their deliverance from the Spanish siege, and was most heartily welcomed by them. And as soon as he came thither, it was observed, that there ensued a great alteration both in his style, phrases, and manner of life ; so that he lived amongst the Hollanders, as if he had been born amongst them.

He was truly a scribe instructed to the kingdom of heaven, who out of his treasury brought forth things new and old ; and although his mind was estranged from contentions, yet was he so great a lover of truth, that no bonds of friendship or acquaintance, nor any fear, could divert him from the defence thereof. He always preferred the cause of God before all other relations and respects ; and though he often professed that his chief desire was to grapple with the open adversaries of the church, yet withal he declared, that he could not be silent towards those brethren, who, through ignorance or infirmity, sought to undermine the truth ; for many times, a little spark, neglected at first, proves a dangerous fire.

Before he grew old, he was an old man for wisdom, and intentness upon business. His whole life was an

idea of wisdom, whereby, as occasion required, he could accommodate himself to affairs of all sorts. In his friendships, though he did not permit all promiscuously, yet did he admit not a few into his familiarity. He was very ready to do good to, and deserve well of all; and whereas many had daily occasion to make use of his aid, he rather numbered than weighed the good turns he did them. But his labours were so many and great, that if his body had been of oak or iron, he could not have held out long; so that we may truly say, the employment of his soul destroyed its habitation.

Besides the public labours he underwent in the Church and University, his private and domestic cares, his conferences with his friends, his frequent intercourse of letters, his various writings, and giving counsel to others, took up every moment in his life; and though he was often admonished by his friends to favour himself, yet would he by no means be persuaded to it. Hence his strength began sensibly to decay, and he was troubled with great obstructions; so that himself began to complain of them, yet would he not diminish his daily task. And thus he continued all the winter, afflicted with weakness and pains, at sundry seasons.

His last sermon he preached at Easter, upon those memorable words of ST. PAUL, (*Phil.* iii. 21,) "Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body," &c. After his last lecture, returning home, he complained of the decay of his strength, which was so great, that with much difficulty he went on to the end of his lecture. From thenceforth, his strength declined more and more; yet notwithstanding that circumstance, he was delegated in the middle of April, by the Church, to a Synod of the French Churches which met at Haarlem, whither he went, though the labour was too great for his weak body. At his return, he was much worse; so that though no signs of death appeared outwardly, yet was he confined to his bed.

Hereupon he foresaw the approach of death, and wholly

gave up himself to God, whom he continually invoked by fervent prayers and sighs, which had been his constant practice in the whole course of his life. But yet, on April the 28th, he thought himself better; whereupon in the afternoon, he sat up at his study-window, where he had not continued long, before he was seized by a violent fever, with a great trembling of his whole body, which at length ended in a burning; so that he lay all night as if he had been in the midst of a fire. Whereupon, seeing his end to approach, in the presence of his family, he poured forth most ardent prayers to God; professing that he knew CHRIST to be his Redeemer, with whom he knew he should shortly be, and that he desired nothing so much as his happy dissolution, his soul still breathing after CHRIST;—only this he begged of God, that he would give him strength to undergo whatsoever he should please to lay upon him, that he would not suffer him to be tempted beyond what he was able to bear, and that he might have a quiet and comfortable departure out of this miserable and sinful world.

His wife and family, foreseeing their calamity in his loss, were dissolved into tears. But HEIDANUS coming to visit him, he declared to him the inward peace of his soul, his hope of glory, and his faith in CHRIST; together with his earnest desire of leaving this world. He also freely forgave all that had wronged him, desiring the like from others, if he had in any way offended them; professing, that whatsoever he had done, he did it out of his love to truth, and his care over the Church.

The night before his death, DR. TRIGLAND was sent for to him, whom he always loved and honoured as his dear friend and colleague, who being come, prayed with him; and the next day DR. MASSISIUS, Pastor of the French Church, did the like: and thus he spent all that week in prayers and holy exercises.

On Wednesday night, he caused his son to read to him the eighth chapter of Ezekiel, and part of the Epistle to the Romans. After which, he spake to his eldest son,

FREDERICK, exhorting him to the study of divinity, and requiring him not to be withdrawn from it by any means whatsoever. He thought that he could never talk enough of the tender love, care, and diligence of his wife.

A little before his death, re-collecting his spirits, in the presence of SAMUEL RIVER, Pastor of Delft, he prayed with a clear and fervent voice, and with such ardency of affection, as caused all present to wonder. In his prayer he gave thanks to GOD for all his blessings bestowed so plentifully upon him, in the whole course of his life, and that he had blessed him so much amongst strangers ; acknowledging himself to be less than all those blessings, and that he had nothing to return for them but his grateful heart. Above other things, he especially blessed him for bringing him forth in a Reformed Church ; and that he had not suffered him to be infected with the Popish Religion. He prayed heartily to GOD to continue these blessings to his family for ever ; and that he would never suffer any of them to be seduced to Popery. He prayed also, that in the pains of death he might, with all his soul, breathe after GOD, and might before-hand taste of the glory of heaven. This prayer being ended, his strength and voice failed him ; and so, about sun-set, he quietly slept in the LORD, in the year 1649, and in the forty-ninth year of his age.

(XII.)

THE LIFE

OF

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY was the first-born son of HENRY SIDNEY, who was a man of excellent wit and conversation ; and such a Governor as sought not to make an end of the state in himself, but to plant his own ends in the prosperity of his country : witness his sound establishments both in Wales and Ireland, where his memory is deservedly grateful unto this day. His mother was daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, and sister to the Earls of Warwick and Leicester.

A nobleman of eminent parts, who was brought up with him from his childhood, gives this testimony of him : “ Though I knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man ; with a stayedness of mind, and a lovely and familiar gravity, which carried grace and reverence above greater years. His talk was profitable, and his very play tended to the enriching of his mind : so that even his teachers found something in him to observe and learn, above that which they had usually read or taught.”

Prince WILLIAM of Nassau long kept intelligence with SIR PHILIP, both by word and letters, and that in affairs of the highest nature : and this young gentleman had, by his mutual freedom, so imprinted the extraordinary merit of his young years into the large wisdom and experience of that excellent Prince, that, as SIR FULK GREVILLE (SIR PHILIP'S intimate friend) passed out of Germany into England, meeting with the Prince of Orange in the town of Delft, among other discourse, he pro-

tested, that, if he could judge, her Majesty of England (Queen ELIZABETH) had one of the ripest and greatest Counsellors of State in SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, of all that then lived in Europe; to the trial of which he would leave his own credit engaged, until her Majesty might be pleased to employ this gentleman, either among her friends, or against her enemies.

His uncle, the Earl of Leicester, after SIR PHILIP'S death, and not long before his own, told a great Courtier, that when he undertook the government of the Low Countries, he carried his nephew, SIR PHILIP, over with him, as one among the rest, not only despising his youth as a counsellor, but withal bearing a hand over him as a forward young man: yet, notwithstanding, in a short time, he saw the sun so risen above his horizon, that both he and all his stars were glad to fetch light from him; and in the end, acknowledged that he held up the honour of his government and authority by him, whilst he lived, and found reason to withdraw himself from it after his death.

He won great respect and honour among the most eminent Monarchs of the time; as first with his most excellent Majesty, King JAMES, then King of Scotland, to whom his service was affectionately devoted, and from whom he received many pledges of love and favour; and likewise with the renowned King HENRY IV., of France, and then of Navarre, who, having measured and mastered all the spirits in his own nation, found out this master-spirit among us, and conversed with him as an equal in nature, and so fit for friendship with a King.

Also, the gallant Prince, DON JOHN of Austria, Viceroy in the Low Countries for the King of Spain, when this gentleman, in his embassy to the Emperor of Germany, came to kiss his hand, at first gave him access of grace as to a stranger, and, as he conceived, to an enemy; yet, after a while, the beholders wondered to see what tribute that brave and high-minded Prince paid to his worth, giving more honour and respect to this young gentleman, than to the ambassadors of mighty princes.

In what estimation his worth was, even among enemies, will appear by his death; for when MENDOZA, a secretary of many treasons against us, heard of it, he said openly, "That, however glad he was that King PHILIP, his master, had lost a dangerous enemy, yet he could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in those cloudy times, and bewail poor widow England, which, having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him by the hands of a villain."

Indeed he was a true model of worth; a man fit for great undertakings, for conquests, plantations, reformation of things amiss, and what action soever is greatest and hardest among men; and withal, such a lover of mankind, and of goodness, that whosoever had any real parts found comfort in him, yea, protection to the uttermost of his power. The Universities abroad and at home accounted him a general Mæcenæ of learning and learned men; dedicated their books to him; and communicated every invention or improvement of knowledge to him. The soldiers honoured him; and were so honoured by him, that no man thought he marched under the true banner, who had not obtained SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S approbation.

His heart and capacity were so large, that there was not a cunning painter, a skilful engineer, an excellent musician, or any other artificer of extraordinary fame, that made not himself known to this famous genius, and found him his true friend without hire.

Yea, it will be confessed by all who knew him, that this one man's example, and personal respect, did not only encourage learning and honour in the schools, but brought the affection and true use thereof both into the Court and Camp; so that his very ways in the world did generally add reputation to his Prince and country, by restoring amongst us the ancient majesty of noble and true dealing. His heart and tongue went both one way, and so with every one that went with the truth, as knowing no other kindred, party, or end.

Above all, he made the religion which he professed the firm basis of his life : for his judgment was, that our true-heartedness to the Reformed Religion, in the beginning, brought peace, safety, and freedom to us ; and he concluded, that the wisest and best way was that of the famous WILLIAM, Prince of Orange, who never divided the consideration of the state from the cause of religion. To this active spirit all depths proved but shallow fords : he pierced into men's counsels and ends, not by their words, compliments, or oaths, but by fathoming their hearts ; and found no wisdom where he found no courage, nor courage without wisdom, nor either of them without honesty and truth. The ingenuousness of his nature did spread itself freely abroad : none that then lived when he died could say that he ever did them wrong, but many there were that thankfully acknowledged that he had done them good. Neither was this in him a private, but a public affection ; his chief ends being, not friends, wife, children, or himself, but, above all things, the honour of his CREATOR and SAVIOUR, and the service of his Prince and country.

After this he designed a voyage with SIR FRANCIS DRAKE to the West Indies, purposing, if GOD prospered them, to settle a plantation upon the continent of America ; and when the fleet was almost ready to set sail, he stole from the Court, unknown to the Queen, purposing to have gone along with it himself ; but, before he could get off, the Queen being informed of it, commanded him back, promising to him employment under his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, in the Low Countries.

Accordingly, he was appointed Governor of Flushing ; and, after his arrival in the Low Countries, was made General of the Horse, under the Earl of Leicester. In this situation he distinguished himself by uncommon bravery, particularly in the fatal battle in which he received his death-wound. In expectation of being soon engaged with the enemy, he had put on all his armour ; till meeting the Marshal of the Camp but lightly armed, the honourable emulation of his heart, desirous of venturing without any

inequality, made him cast off his cuishes; and so, by the secret influence of the wise Providence of God, he disarmed that part where God had resolved to strike him.

Thus they went on, every man at the head of his own troop; and, the weather being misty, they fell unawares upon the enemy, who had made a strong stand to receive them near the walls of Zutphen. By reason of this accident, their troops were unexpectedly engaged, not only within the level of the great shot that played from the ramparts, but more fatally within the shot of their muskets, which were laid in ambush within their own trenches.

An unhappy hand, out of those trenches, brake the bone of SIR PHILIP'S thigh, with a musket-shot, above the left knee, which so shivered the bone that the bullet could not be got out. The horse whereon he rode was furiously choleric, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, which was the noblest and fittest bier to carry a martial commander to his grave. In this sad passage, going along by the rest of the army, where his uncle the General was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him. But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, ghastly casting up his eyes at the said bottle; which SIR PHILIP taking notice of, took it from his own head, before he drank, and gave it to the poor man, with these words; "Thy necessity is yet greater than mine." And when he had pledged this poor soldier, he was presently carried to Arnheim, in Guelderland. In this place the principal Surgeons of the camp attended him; some seeking gain, but most of them with a true zeal, compounded of love and reverence, to do him good.

When they went about to dress his wound, he told them, that whilst his strength was yet entire, and his body free from fever, they might freely use their art, and cut and search to the bottom; for that, besides his hope of health, he would make this farther profit of the pain

which he should suffer, that they might witness they had a man under their hands, to whom a stronger SPIRIT had given power above himself either to do or suffer ; but that if they should now neglect to use their art, it would afterwards be too late.

The Surgeons began the cure, and continued it for sixteen days, not only with hope, but rather with such confidence of his recovery, that the joy of their hearts overflowed their discretion, and made them spread the intelligence of it to the QUEEN, and to all his noble friends in England, where it was received not as private, but as public good news.

Only there was one who, though looking with no less zealous eyes than the rest, yet saw reason for despair. He was an excellent Surgeon of COUNT HOLLOCK's. The Count himself lay at the same instant hurt in the throat with a musket-bullet ; yet he neglected his own extremity to save his friend, and for that end had sent him to SIR PHILIP. This Surgeon, out of love to his master, had made bold one day to return to dress his wound ; and, whilst he was doing it, the Count cheerfully asked him, how SIR PHILIP did, to which the Surgeon answered, with a heavy countenance, " that he was not well." At those words this worthy Prince, as having more sense of his friend's wounds than his own, cried out, " Away, villain ; never see my face again, till thou bringest me better news of that man's recovery, for whose redemption many such as I were happily lost."

After the sixteenth day was past, and the very shoulder-bones of this delicate patient were worn through his skin with constant posturing of his body according to the surgeons' directions ; he, judiciously observing the pangs which his wound stung him with by fits, together with many other symptoms of decay, began rather to submit his body to these artists, than any farther to trust them. During this suspense, one morning, lifting up the bed-clothes for ease, he smelled some extraordinary noisome savour proceeding from him ; and either out of natural

delicacy, or care not to offend others, grew a little troubled at it. They that sat by, perceiving this, besought him to let them know what sudden indisposition he felt. SIR PHILIP told them what it was, and desired them to confess whether they smelled any noisome scents or not. They all protested against it : whereupon he gave this doom upon himself, that it was some inward mortification, and a welcome messenger of death.

Shortly after, when the Surgeons came to dress his wounds, he acquainted them with these piercing intelligences between him and his mortality : and afterwards, how freely soever he left his body subject to their practice upon it, yet did he not change his mind ; but as having cast off all hope or desire of recovery, he made and divided that little span of life which was left him, in this manner :

First, he called the Ministers to him, who were excellent men of divers nations, and before them made such a confession of his christian faith, as no books but the heart can truly and freely deliver. Then desired he them to accompany him in prayer, wherein he craved leave to lead the assembly ; because, as he said, the secret sins of his own heart were best known to himself, and, out of a true sense of them, he was more properly enabled to apply the eternal sacrifice of his blessed SAVIOUR's passion and merits to himself.

Not long after, he entreated these divines to recall to mind what was the opinion of the Heathen, touching the immortality of the soul, and to parallel with it the most pregnant authorities of the Old and New Testament : not that he wanted information or assurance ; but because this fixing of a lover's thoughts upon those eternal beauties, tended not only to the cheering up of his decaying spirits, but was, as it were, a taking possession of that unfading inheritance, which was due unto him by virtue of his brotherhood in CHRIST.

The last scene of this tragedy was the parting between the two brethren ; the weaker showing wonderful strength

in suppressing his sorrow, and the stronger great weakness in expressing it. So far did invaluable worthiness, in the dying brother, enforce the living to descend beneath his own worth, and, by abundance of tears, to bewail the public in his particular loss.

SIR PHILIP, with a strong virtue, but a weak voice, mildly blamed him for relaxing the frail strength left to support him in his final combat of separation at hand. And to stop this natural torrent of affection in both, he took his leave with these words :—" Love my memory ; cherish my friends ; their faith to me may assure you that they are honest. But, above all, govern your will and affections by the will and word of your CREATOR, in me beholding the end of this world, with all her vanities." —Quickly after, he went to rest.

(XIII.)

THE LIFE

OF

RICHARD MATHER.

RICHARD MATHER was born in a village called Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster, in 1596. His parents sent him to the school at Winwick, which was about four miles distant from their house. In the winter-season they boarded him at Winwick; but such was his eager desire after learning, that in the summer-time he went every day thither on foot.

After he had spent several years in the school, some Popish merchants coming out of Wales to Warrington, which is but two miles from Winwick, made diligent inquiry whether there were not some in that school whom they might procure for apprentices. Presently RICHARD MATHER was mentioned to them; whereupon application was made to his father to know whether he would thus dispose of him; who was inclinable to accept of the motion, because now his estate was so decayed, that he almost despaired of bringing up this his son as he intended. But here Divine Providence was very observable; for when the father was thus ready to part with his son, and the child to go, the LORD raised up the heart of his master to be importunate with his father to keep him at school, professing that it was a great pity that a wit so prone to learning should be taken from it, or that he should be undone by Popish education. And the persuasions of the master so far prevailed, that his scholar was continued under his care until the fifteenth year of his age.

In 1611 he left the school, and removed to Toxteth to teach school. And the LORD helped him in those years to behave with such wisdom, love, and gravity among his scholars, as was much admired; so that he was both loved and feared beyond what is usual, even where there are more aged masters.

His conversion took place in the year 1614, and was occasioned, partly, by observing a strange difference between himself and several persons in the godly family of MR. EDWARD ASPINWALL, which caused fears to rise in his soul, lest haply he might not be in the right way; partly, by one MR. HARRISON's preaching upon *John* iii. 3, concerning the necessity of regeneration. The pangs of the new birth were very terrible to him, insomuch that many times, when others were at their meals in the family, he absented himself, to retire under hedges, and in other secret places, there to lament his misery before GOD. But after some time, the LORD revived his broken heart, by sending the HOLY SPIRIT to accompany the ministry of the word, and to enable him to apply the precious promises of the Gospel to his soul.

After some years he went to Oxford, and was admitted into Brazen-Nose College; and being settled there, he was variously affected; for it much rejoiced him to find many there who had been his scholars. It was also a joy to him, that he had now such leisure to follow his studies. But his heart being touched with the fear of GOD, the profaneness which he was forced there to behold was no small grief to him.

Soon after his coming to Oxford, by a good providence, he came into acquaintance with DR. WORRALL, who was very helpful to him, by directing him in the course of his private studies; and among other things, he advised him to read over the works of the learned PETER RAMUS, which counsel he followed, and had no cause to repent his so doing. But, when he had not spent so much time in Oxford as he could have wished, the people in Toxteth, whose children had been trained up by him,

sent to him, desiring that he would return, to instruct, not so much their children as themselves, and that not in mere human literature, but in the things of God. And this call, after mature deliberation, he accepted.

Being returned to Toxteth, he preached his first sermon, on the 30th of November, 1618. There was a very great concourse of people to hear him; and his labours were highly valued by those who were judicious. Such was the vastness of his memory, that the things which he had prepared, and intended to deliver at that time, contained no less than six long sermons.

The people, having now had some trial of his gifts, were the more importunate to have him fixed amongst them; and because that could not be done without ordination, they urged him to accept thereof. He yielded to the motion, and, accordingly, was ordained by DR. MORRISON, the then Bishop of Chester. The ordination being ended, the Bishop singled out MR. MATHER from among the rest, saying, "I have something to say to you, between you and me alone." MR. MATHER was hereupon afraid that some informations had been given in against him, because of his puritanism. But it fell out far otherwise; for when the Bishop had him alone, he spake thus unto him: "I have an earnest request unto you, and you must not deny me: it is, that you will pray for me; for I know," said he, "that the prayers of men who fear God will avail much, and such an one I believe you to be."

Being thus settled at Toxteth, he resolved to change his condition, and accordingly became a suitor to KATHERINE HOULT, daughter of EDWARD HOULT, Esq., of Bury in Lancashire, who at last gave his consent, and the match was consummated on the 29th of September, 1624. And God made her a rich blessing to him, continuing them together for above thirty years.

After his marriage he removed three miles from Toxteth to Much-Woolton, having there purchased a house; yet was he wont constantly, both in summer and winter, to

preach at Toxteth twice every LORD's-day; and once a fortnight, on the Tuesdays, he held a lecture at a town called Prescott.

After he had thus spent painfully and faithfully fifteen years in the work of the ministry, he that holds the stars in his right hand had more work for him to do elsewhere, and therefore SATAN's rage was suffered to break forth to the stopping of his mouth. The lecture which he held at Prescott caused him to be much taken notice of; and so he became, to the adversaries of the truth, an object of envy. Complaints being made against him for his non-conformity to the ceremonies, he was suspended in August, 1633, under which he continued till November following: but then, by means of the intercession of some gentlemen in Lancashire, he was restored to the exercise of his public ministry.

But this liberty continued not long; for in 1634, Bishop NEAL, who was once, by King JAMES, pleasantly admonished of his preaching Popery, because by his carriage he taught the people to pray for a blessing upon his dead predecessor, having now become Archbishop of York, sent his Visitors into the diocese of Chester; who, being come into the country, kept their court at Wigan, where, among others, MR. MATHER was convened before them, and suspended merely for his non-conformity. And it was marvellous to consider how GOD was with him, causing a spirit of courage and of glory to rest upon him, and filling him with wisdom when he stood before his judges, who were not willing that he should speak for himself, or declare the reasons which convinced him of the unlawfulness of conformity.

Being thus silenced, means were again used by MR. MATHER's friends to obtain his liberty. The Visitor asked how long he had been a Minister. Answer was made, that he had been in the ministry fifteen years. And said the Visitor, "How often hath he worn the surplice?" Answer was returned, that he had never worn it. "What," said the Visitor, with an oath,

“preach fifteen years, and never wear a surplice ! It had been better for him that he had gotten seven bastards.”

The case being thus, he betook himself to a private life : and no hope appearing that he should enjoy his liberty in the land of his nativity, foreseeing also the approaching calamities of England, he meditated a removal into New England. Being fully satisfied concerning the clearness of his call to New England, after many prayers, and extraordinary seeking God, he resolved upon the transportation of himself and family thither.

His parting with his friends in Lancashire was like ST. PAUL’S taking his leave of Ephesus, with much sorrow ; many tears being shed by those that expected to see his face no more. He began his journey in April, 1635 ; and travelled to Bristol, purposing to take ship there. In this journey he was forced to change his outward habit, because Pursuivants were designed to apprehend him ; but by this means he came safe and unmolested to Bristol.

From Bristol they set sail for New England, May 23, 1635. And the LORD, after manifold trials of their faith and patience, brought them in safety to their desired haven. It is seldom known that a man, designed in God’s counsel to any special services doth not, at one time or other, experience eminent deliverances of God’s Providence : and so it was with this servant of the LORD, not once nor twice. But the most remarkable of all others was that which happened to him on the mighty waters, where He that sits upon the floods, and stilleth the raging of the sea, showed himself wonderful in goodness. The relation of this signal providence, we will here set down in MR. MATHER’S own words.

“August 15, 1635. The LORD had not yet done with us, nor had he let us see all his power and goodness : and therefore about break of day he sent a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much danger as, I think, ever people were. When we came to land, we found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of their trunks, and others turned up by the

roots, by the fierceness of the tempest. That morning we lost three anchors and cables, one of them having never been in the water before. Two were broken by the strength and violence of the storm, and the third was cut off by the mariners in extremity of distress, to save the ship, and their lives, and our own. And when our cables and anchors were all lost and gone, we had no visible means of deliverance, but by hoisting sail, if so be we might get to sea from among the islands and rocks where we had anchored.

“But the LORD let us see that our sails could not save us, any more than the cables and anchors: for, by the force of the storm, the sails were rent in pieces, as if they had been rotten rags; of divers of them there was scarcely left so much as a hand’s-breadth that was not torn in pieces, or blown away into the sea; so that, at that time, all hope that we should be saved, in all outward appearance, was utterly taken away, and the rather, because we seemed to drive, with full force of wind, directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above water, so that we did expect that continually we should hear and feel the crashing of the ship upon the rock.

“In this extremity we cried unto the LORD; and he was pleased to have compassion upon us. For, by his over-ruling Providence, he guided the ship by the rock, and assuaged the violence of the sea and of the wind. So God granted us as wonderful a deliverance as I think ever any people had felt: the seamen confessed that they never knew the like. In all this, (the LORD’s holy name be blessed for it!) he gave us hearts contented and willing that he should do with us, and ours, what he pleased, and what might be most for the glory of his great name.”

This deliverance was the more remarkable, because several vessels were cast away in that storm. One in particular, a ship called the *Angel Gabriel*, which set out from Bristol with the vessel wherein Mr. MATHER was, being then at anchor, was broken in pieces. There was, also, a ship going between Pascataqua and the Bay, which was cast away in this storm, and all the people

therein lost, except two. Among others in that vessel, there was a Minister, MR. AVERY, who, every moment expecting that the next wave would be a wave of death, lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "LORD, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant I challenge heaven;" which he had no sooner spoken, but a wave came immediately, and swept him away, and so wafted him to heaven indeed. And by the way, let it be noted, that this was the only vessel which at that time had miscarried with passengers from Old England to New: so signally did the LORD in his Providence own the plantation of New England.

The storm being allayed, the LORD brought them safely to an anchor before Boston, August 17, 1635. And MR. MATHER abode with his family in Boston for some months; and both he and his consort joined the church there.

Being thus, by a mighty hand and out-stretched arm, brought safely into New England, sundry towns sent to him, desiring that he would employ the talents with which the LORD had enriched him, for the work of the ministry amongst them. At the same time he was desired at Plymouth, Dorchester, and Roxbury. Being in a great strait which of these invitations to accept, he referred himself to the advice of some judicious friends, among whom MR. COTTON and MR. THOMAS HOOKER were the chief, who met to consult upon this weighty affair. And the result of their advice was, that he should accept of the invitation from Dorchester; which accordingly being accepted of by him, he did, by the help of CHRIST, set upon the gathering of a church there; the church which was first planted in that place being removed, with the REV. MR. WARHAM, to Connecticut. Being thus again settled in the LORD's work, he therein continued to his dying day; the LORD making him an eminent blessing, not only to Dorchester, but to all the churches and plantations round about him, for the space of almost four-and-thirty years.

Before, and for some years after, his acceptance of the

office of a Pastor in Dorchester, he was in much spiritual distress, by reason of uncertainty concerning his spiritual state. He kept these troubles secret from men; only he revealed the distress of his soul to that great Divine MR. NORTON, then Pastor of the church in Ipswich, unto whom GOD gave "the tongue of the learned to speak a word in season," whereby his soul was comforted.

During the time of his pilgrimage in New England, he underwent not so many changes as he had done before. Nevertheless, as in a wilderness might be expected, he had experience of many trials of his faith and patience. That which, of all outward afflictions, did most grieve him, was the death of his dear wife, who had been for so many years the greatest outward comfort and blessing which he enjoyed. This affliction was the more grievous, because, being a woman of singular prudence, she had taken off from her husband all secular cares, so that he had opportunity to devote himself to his studies, and sacred employments.

After he had continued in the state of widowhood for the space of a year and a half, he again changed his condition, and was married to the pious widow of MR. JOHN CORTON; whom GOD did make a blessing and comfort to him all the remainder of his days.

Old age being now come upon him, he was sensible of the infirmities thereof, having in these his latter years some difficulty of hearing: also the sight of one of his eyes failed seven years before his death: yet GOD gave him health of body, and vigour of spirit, in a wonderful measure; so that, in fifty years together, he was not by sickness detained so much as one LORD'S-day from his public labours. This continued health, as to natural causes, proceeded partly from the sound constitution of his body, and partly from his accustoming himself to a plain and temperate diet. He never made use of any physician, nor was he in his whole life ever sick of any acute disease; only, in the last two years of his life, he was sorely afflicted with that disease which some justly call *flagellum*

studiosorum, “the scourge of students,” namely, the stone; which at last brought him to an end of all his labours and sorrows.

The manner was this. Some difference having sprung up at Boston, counsel from neighbouring Churches was by some desired, to direct them; accordingly the Churches sent their messengers, and Dorchester Church, amongst others, sent MR. MATHER, who, with the rest, assembled in Boston, April the 13th, 1669. And MR. MATHER, by reason of his age, gravity, grace, and wisdom, was chosen Moderator.

For several days after his being thus in consultation, he enjoyed his health as formerly, or rather better than for some time of late. But as LUTHER, when with others he was assembled in a synod, was surprised with a violent fit of the stone, whereupon he was forced to return home, his friends having little hope of his life; so it was with this holy man: for on the 16th of April, 1669, he was, in the night, taken very ill. The next morning he returned to Dorchester; and truly great was the favour of God towards him, that he should be found about such a blessed business as that in which he was then engaged; for the LORD found him sincerely and earnestly endeavouring to be a peace-maker.

He did not speak much in his last sickness, either to friends that visited him, or to his own children;—only his son, who was afterwards Pastor of a Church in Boston, coming to visit his father, said unto him, “Sir, if there be any special thing which you would have me to do, in case the LORD should spare me upon earth after you are in heaven, I would entreat you to express it;” at which, his father, making a little pause, and lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, replied, “A special thing which I would commend to you is, Care concerning the rising generation in this country, that they be brought under the government of CHRIST in his Church, and that, when they are grown up and qualified, they have baptism for their children.”

His bodily pains continued upon him till April the 22d, when, in the morning, his son beforementioned, coming to visit him, asked his father if he knew him : to whom he replied, that he did ; but was not able to speak any more. Whereupon his son saying, “ Now you will speedily be in the joy of your LORD,” his father lifted up his hands, but could not speak. Not long after, his son again spoke to him, saying, “ You will quickly see JESUS CHRIST, and that will make amends for all your pains and sorrows ;” at which words, his father again lifted up his hands ; and about ten o’clock that night, he quietly breathed his last. Thus did that light, which had been shining in the church above fifty years, expire, on the 22d of April, 1669, in the seventy-third year of his age.

He was, especially in his last sickness, a pattern of patience. For although extremity of pain was that which brought him to the grave, yet did he never so much as once cry out from first to last ; and it was very rare to hear him so much as groan. Once in his sickness, his son saying to him, that inasmuch as several small stones were come from him, now possibly he might have some ease, he answered, “ As for that, the will of the LORD be done.” At the same time his son saying to him, “ GOD hath showed great faithfulness unto you, having upheld you now for above the space of fifty years in his service ; and hath employed you therein without ceasing, which can be said of very few men upon the face of the whole earth ;” his father replied, “ You say true ; I must acknowledge the mercy of GOD hath been great towards me all my days : but I must also acknowledge that I have had many failings, and the thought of them abaseth me, and worketh patience in me.” When any asked him how he did, his usual answer was, “ Far from well ; yet far better than mine iniquities deserve.”

We shall conclude with his last will and testament. It was written with his own hand, October 16th, 1661, as follows :—

“ I RICHARD MATHER, considering the certainty of death, and the uncertainty of the time thereof, and withal, knowing it to be the will of GOD, that a man should set his house in order before he departeth this life, do make this my last will and testament in manner following.

First of all, I acknowledge the rich and wonderful grace and mercy of Almighty GOD, whose ‘ hand hath made and fashioned me,’ and who ‘ took me out of my mother’s womb,’ and hath made me a man, who might have made me a beast, or other creature. He hath also, by his good Providence, preserved the being and comfort of my life all the days of my pilgrimage until now, even for the space of sixty-five years ; during all which time he hath not suffered me to want either food or raiment, or the service of any creature, which hath been requisite for my comfortable subsistence in this world, which I acknowledge to be the bounteous gift of Him who is LORD of all creatures, and the high Possessor of heaven and earth.

“ Next of all, and more especially, I am bound to give thanks and praise to Him, whilst I have any being, that I, being ‘ a child of wrath by nature as well as others,’ and being born in a place of much profaneness and Popery, he hath, of his abundant grace, vouchsafed to draw me out of that woeful estate of sin and ignorance wherein I lay, and to make himself and his CHRIST known unto me by the Gospcl, of which grace I was most unworthy ; and in his great patience and mercy to bear with my manifold and great offences, both before and since the time of his gracious calling of me, though for my unworthy walking in many particulars, I might justly have been for ever rejected of Him. Yea, and such hath been his rich grace, that He hath vouchsafed to put me an unworthy creature into the ministry of the Gospel of his SON, that I should not only know and profess the same, which yet is an unspeakable mercy, but be also a Preacher of it unto others ; in which employment if any thing hath been done, which hath been pleasing to Him, or in any way beneficial to any child of his, it hath not been I that

have done the same, but ‘ the grace of God which was with me.’

“ For I must needs acknowledge, to the praise of his patience and grace, that in my poor ministration, for the space of these forty-two years and upward, I have been very defective in wisdom, and watchfulness over the people’s souls, in purity, in faithfulness, in uprightness, in meekness, humility, and zeal. And because of these, and many other of my defects, and offences against the LORD, I stand in much need, this day, of mercy and forgiveness through his CHRIST, and have no cause to look for any acceptance, either in this or another world, for any righteousness of mine own, either as touching my ministry or otherwise ; but, disclaiming all thoughts of that kind, my only trust and hope is to be accepted of Him, and, when this life shall be ended, to be saved in his heavenly kingdom, merely by his free grace, and the obedience, and precious passion, and intercession, of his dear SON.

“ And as concerning death, as I do believe that ‘ it is appointed for all men once to die,’ so, because I see a great deal of unprofitableness in mine own life, and because the LORD hath let me see such vanity and emptiness even in the best of those comforts which this life can afford, that I think I may truly say, that ‘ I have seen an end to all perfection ;’ therefore, if it were the will of GOD, I should be glad to be removed hence, (where the best that is to be had doth yield such little satisfaction to my soul,) and to be brought into his presence in glory, that there I might find that satisfying and all-sufficient contentment in Him, which under the sun is not to be enjoyed. In the mean time I desire to stay the LORD’s leisure. ‘ But thou, O LORD, how long !’

“ Now as concerning mine outward estate, since ‘ the earth is the LORD’s, and the fulness thereof, the habitable world, and all that is therein,’ to Him belongs the praise of all that I possess in this kind : and for the portion thereof which he hath given me, it is my mind and will, if so be it please his Highness, that, after my decease, the same may be disposed of as followeth.” — — — —

—Having thus expressed himself, he proceeded to the disposal of his temporal estate, with which we shall not here trouble the Reader. After the disposal of that, he concluded with a most solemn charge to his children. It is this :—

“ Concerning my son TIMOTHY, with all the rest of my beloved sons, as I hope GOD hath already made them partakers of his saving grace in CHRIST, for which they and I have cause endlessly to be thankful ; so I think it not amiss, for the furtherance of their spiritual good, to lay upon them this serious and solemn charge of a dying father, that none of them presume, after my decease, to walk in any way of sin and wickedness, or in a careless neglect of GOD, and of the things of GOD, and of their own salvation by CHRIST. For if they shall so do, which GOD forbid, then, I do hereby testify unto them, that their father which begat them, and their mother which did bear them, with all the prayers which they have made, and the tears which they have shed for them, their example, their admonitions, and the exhortations which they have administered unto them, together with this my last will, and solemn charge, —all these will rise up against them as so many testimonies for their condemnation at the last day. But I have better hopes of them ; and do hereby declare unto them, that if they shall seriously repent of their sins, believe in the LORD JESUS, and by his grace walk in all the ways of GOD, and as becometh the Gospel of CHRIST, as this will be to the honour and glory of Him that made them, so it will redound to their own unspeakable comfort, in this, and in another world : and their father that now speaketh unto them, with their dear mother, now with GOD, shall exceedingly rejoice in the day of CHRIST, when we shall receive our children unto those habitations ; and shall see, not ourselves alone, but those also who have come forth of our bowels, to have their portion in that eternal glory. In desire and hope that it may be so, I commend them all to the blessing of the LORD of Heaven : and let the blessing of GOD in JESUS CHRIST be poured out, and remain with them all evermore. Amen.”

(XIV.)

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN ROW.

JOHN ROW, the son of LAWRENCE ROW, was born in the parish of Shobrook, in Devonshire, in that remarkable year, 1588. When he was an infant, he was laid aside in his cradle for dead: but it pleased GOD that one of his sisters went to look upon him once more, and, putting her hand to his mouth, she thought that she felt a little breath; whereupon, some means being presently used, he began to revive: and probably, by this early and signal providence, the LORD intimated that he had reserved him for some more than ordinary service.

He was, by his parents, sent to school at Crediton, and was almost fit for the University; but it pleased GOD to take away his father a little before the intended time, concerning which himself would often say, that “we frequently err in our judgments of things,” and that, “GOD sees not as man sees.” Being frustrated of the hopes he had of going to the University, he would not lose that learning which he had got at school: only the Greek, through disuse, was somewhat worn out with him; but he still retained the exact knowledge of the Latin tongue, which was of great use to him till his dying day.

He was of a sharp wit; and of a deep and penetrating judgment: himself complained of some deficiency in his memory, but others discerned it not; for they judged him to excel in that, as well as in other abilities of the mind. As for his natural temper, he was a man of great ingenu-

ousness, and of much candour and sweetness : they who knew him intimately, judged him to have as noble and generous a soul, as any that they ever knew. He was exceedingly affable and courteous unto all, and that without the least show or suspicion of seeking his own ends in it ; his temper inclining him to be pleasing to all : and there was not the meanest person who could say, that he was neglected or despised by him. He was very careful to give a due respect to all, and never was any one more exact in paying a just reverence to those who were above him.

In his behaviour he was humble, sweet, and candid ; as ready to hear others speak as to speak himself ; and usually he would give others leave to speak before him. And yet, which is not common, although his natural candour was such, he was a man of great presence and authority. He seldom spake in any serious matter, but his speech carried with it a peculiar kind of authority : and such a majesty shone in his conversation, that some, and those reputed both prudent and pious, taking notice of the excellency of his spirit, the lustre of his graces, and how much his conversation differed from that of the generality of men, have professed, that when they have been in his company, they had a kind of awe upon them, and could not be so free, whilst they were with him, as when they were among others.

When his father was dead, he went to live with Dr. BODLEY, brother to SIR THOMAS BODLEY, the founder of the University-Library in Oxford, a man of eminent piety and exemplary holiness, who at this time was Minister of the parish where Mr. Row was born. From this holy man, Mr. Row learned much of the work of God upon his soul ; and as he learned much from him, so he was not a little beloved of him, the Doctor bearing as tender respect to him as if he had been his own child.

Living thus with Dr. BODLEY, and afterwards, for a while, with another godly gentleman, Mr. THOMAS GALE, of Crediton, he had opportunities of frequently going to

London, where he heard those preachers who were in the greatest repute, and by them was much holpen in spiritual knowledge, and quickened in his love to the ways of God. But DR. BODLEY's counsel, together with his holy example, (he being a man of an austere life, and most strict conversation,) seemed to be that which had most influence upon him ; for nothing was more familiar with him through his whole life, than to be speaking, upon all occasions, of what he had seen, and heard, and observed, in this worthy Doctor. The sermons, also, and preaching of DR. BODLEY were of great use to him. For this was MR. ROW's observation concerning him, that whatever were the subject of which the Doctor had been treating, yet still, when he came to the application, the use that he was sure to make of it, was this,—to drive men to CHRIST.

About the twenty-fifth year of his age he was disposed of in marriage, about which there were some remarkable providences, which he thought fit to record in these words :—

“ When I was desirous to enter into the state of marriage, I was assayed with covetousness, voluptuousness, and ambition, and should surely have undone myself by some, or by all of these evils, had not my gracious God, by disappointing my desires for seven years, prevented my folly. O what a misery is it for vain youth to have its will! O what a blessing to bear the yoke betimes!—especially when God will open the ear to discipline, as (blessed be his name!) he did mine at last.

“ My gracious God, crossing those unsanctified desires of mine for several years, did at length teach me to desire marriage for better ends : and having begun to set my mind in order, he also brought on the blessing. For first he prepared my heart to seek him by prayer for a meet helper ; and then he opened his ear, and granted my request ; so that even in the same day wherein he had stirred me up, in a more than ordinary manner, to seek a blessing in my marriage by prayer, he was pleased to give

me evidence that he had heard me, in sending me an honest Christian, who came to me on purpose to break the matter for marriage with her, whom afterwards God gave me to wife.

“ This match SATAN attempted to hinder, by stirring up a near friend of mine to fail in the performance of his promise made to me for my preferment; which justly might have alienated the minds of my wife’s parents from me, but that my gracious God would not suffer SATAN to do me that mischief: yea, more than that, he gave me grace to seek reconciliation with that friend of mine, who had so deeply wronged me.”

The family into which he married was godly, who the rather embraced Mr. Row’s motion, because of what they had heard concerning his religion. She whom he took to wife was a very sincere woman, though she walked in darkness a great part of her life; yet when she was upon her death-bed, complaining that she had no assurance of God’s love, Mr. Row besought the LORD very earnestly for her; and a little before her death, the LORD gave her assurance of being received into his heavenly kingdom, and this in a more than ordinary manner.

After Mr. Row’s marriage, he continued for four years in his father-in-law’s house at Pinhow, in Devonshire; a place enriched with divers worldly contentments, but all imbittered for want of the ministry of God’s word. After a time, hearing that there was an able Preacher at Crediton, he removed thither, on purpose to enjoy the means of grace; and continued there to his dying day. And he would often exhort his children and acquaintance, that, in choosing a habitation, their first care should be to plant themselves under a godly and powerful ministry.

Not long after his coming to Crediton, he was made High Constable, in which office he continued for twenty years. In this place, his care, diligence, and zeal for suppressing vice, were such, that his name became a terror to the wicked; and his prudence, charity, and compassion,

were not inferior to his zeal : for he used first to seek to win offenders by good counsel, and gentle admonitions, before he would use the severity of the law against them ; and he had a special care to let men see that his heat was not against their persons, but against their vices. And such was God's presence with him, such the authority and majesty which shone in his carriage, that although he was forced to punish many for their misdemeanours, yet none had power so much as to lift up a hand against him. One instance of this is too remarkable to be here omitted. A certain ruffian, having been punished by him for some gross misdemeanour, vowed that the next time he met him he would stab him ; and being put into the stocks, his rage was such, that not being able to have his will upon Mr. Row, he struck at the stones with his knife for very madness. Yet afterwards when he met Mr. Row, and might have had opportunity to revenge himself upon him, the Lord so overpowered him, that he was as a man struck dumb, and had not a word to say.

Many of his friends, who knew Mr. Row's abilities, often solicited him to take the office of a Justice of the Peace ; but such were his humility and modesty, that he would by no means yield to it, saying, he had neither abilities, nor an estate fit for it, and that it was a way to make authority contemptible, when inferior persons were put into such places. He was very circumspect to cut off all occasions of offence from such as would be ready to take it. Being used in his younger days to shoot with the long bow for his recreation, once meeting with an offender against the law, he rebuked him for it. The man answered, " Why may I not as well do this, as you shoot with a bow ? " Upon this he laid it aside, and would never shoot afterwards.

He was of a very peccable temper ; never fomenting differences, but seeking all he could to compose them. If any jarring happened between him and any others, the fault was usually theirs, because he could not comply with their corruptions, but sought their reformation. He was

a great peace-maker, and spent much of his time in composing differences among neighbours : many law-suits he prevented ; many differences between near relations he reconciled ; and the LORD so blessed these his endeavours, that he was seldom free from such employments. Upon one occasion he said to a relation of his, that he might have increased his estate much more, had he spent that time in prosecuting his own affairs, which he spent in the businesses of other men. He made other men's occasions and conditions his own ; deeply sympathizing with their distresses, and praying as affectionately for them as for himself : and when he had undertaken their affairs, he would act as vigorously in their behalf, as if it were his own concern, though he neither sought nor reaped any advantage to himself by it.

He was forty years old before he attained a full assurance of the love of GOD ; but having once obtained it, he never lost it ; so that he enjoyed the comfort of it for above thirty years : and, as himself said, he maintained it by a diligent and constant use of all the means of grace, both public and private, and by taking an account of his heart, at least once every day ; and at some seasons he had more special experience of the testimony of GOD'S SPIRIT, together with that of his own.

Some one asking him about this testimony of the SPIRIT, he answered, " It is a secret overpowering [conviction], that I am his, and he is mine : I am my Well-beloved's, and my Well-beloved is mine." He observed that the likeliest means to attain assurance, was to propound spiritual ends to ourselves in desiring it ; not so much that we might be quiet and free from trouble in our consciences, but that, by the knowledge of GOD'S love to us, we might be able to give GOD the glory of his own grace, and be carried out to higher degrees in our obedience. For, said he, " There may be much selfishness in seeking peace. I find it best when I come to the greatest heights of peace, to study my duty,—what it is that GOD would

have me to do,—and to follow him therein: otherwise I meet with a cloud.”

In his accounts which he made up every day, the method that he used in his meditation was, to consider what GOD had done for him, and what his carriage had been towards GOD. And he said, that when he considered what GOD’s carriage towards him had been, there he saw that GOD had been doing him good in a constant tenour; but that when he reflected upon himself, there he saw many failings. Whereupon he said, that there was no action done by him that was ever so good, but there was some circumstance or other in which he saw himself defective. And he added, “I have accounted it a great attainment, when the LORD hath showed me some defects in my best actions, which have led me entirely out of myself unto JESUS CHRIST.” By this constant practice of reviewing his life and actions, he kept much inward peace of conscience: and by this means he attained to as habitual a persuasion of the love of GOD as most have attained unto, so that he walked in the light of GOD’s countenance from day to day. His constant prayer was, that his faith might be so strengthened, as to see and behold the love of GOD in all the passages of his life, that (with ABRAHAM) he might give the LORD glory by believing.

He was very jealous of losing this blessed privilege, namely, the sense which he had of the love of GOD, and the light of his countenance in which he walked. He said, that there were two things which he mainly desired of GOD: First, that having been a professor of religion so long, he might be kept from scandalous sins: Secondly, that GOD would not hide his face from him; saying, that he was a man of a low spirit, and that without GOD’s presence he could not subsist. And therefore, said he, “I saw it necessary to be kept under affliction, that I might be humble; knowing that GOD would not reveal himself to proud persons.”

Besides this habitual peace and assurance, he had many

particular comforts from the LORD at several times, and upon several occasions. Usually when he laid him down to rest at night, he had this promise sealed to him; "Fear not; I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward." When he had been begging a high degree of holiness, the LORD hinted to him; "I will satisfy thee." When the LORD took away his first wife, whereupon he was troubled how to dispose of his children, the LORD comforted him with these words: "They are thine but for a time, but they are mine for ever." Having been exercised with a fit of the stone, he wrote thus to a friend: "This is to let you know in how fatherly a manner the LORD dealeth with us: though afflicted, yet we are not forsaken. That which sweetens all my afflictions is, the inward peace which the LORD is pleased to give me in all my outward pain." When he was in any special strait or difficulty, and needed counsel, the LORD did always, first or last, (after his earnest seeking to him,) make his way plain before him.

The LORD did also many times give him secret hints what he was about to do. When any great thing was approaching relating to himself, his family, or the Church, he had usually some intimations from God concerning it. On one occasion, he was observed to be very sad, saying, that God had intimated to him, that he would make some change in his family, but what it would be he knew not; and he made this use of it, to set his house in order; and not long after the LORD took away a near relation, which proved a great affliction to him. And though the LORD did many extraordinary things, yet did he not expect them, neither did he (as LUTHER speaks of himself) indenture with the LORD that he should give them unto him, much less would he boast of things of this nature. He was content with the plain, naked word of God, and all his study and delight lay therein.

He was much in prayer, and had a singular ability in meditation; and this made him a wise man, and a wise Christian. He would seldom answer any serious matter, without

first pausing a while. He was much delighted in a saying of DR. PRESTON's, "that the greatest musers are the best artists." He was so much taken up in meditation, that he found himself much spent by it, and would say, "That meditation was a spending thing." Sometimes in a morning, he would be meditating an hour or two together: and when he was riding or walking abroad, (if he was alone,) he would still be in meditation. When he went about his worldly affairs, he would contrive them beforehand, and spend what spare time he had in heavenly contemplation. He seldom prayed in secret, without having first prepared himself for it by meditation; saying, that he preferred a short prayer after long meditation, before a long prayer without meditation. And whenever he heard a sermon, he spent a considerable time in meditation upon what he had heard.

He used to say, that if he were in a place where he might have opportunity of hearing more than two sermons a day, he should not like it so well to hear much, unless he could have liberty to digest it by meditation. In meditating upon the things he heard, he would diligently look into all the texts that were quoted; often speaking of that famous instance of the Bereans, of whom the HOLY GHOST testifies, that they were more noble than those of Thessalonica, because they searched the Scriptures, whether those things were so. This meditation helped him greatly, insomuch that by a diligent inquiry into the Scriptures, and musing upon what he had heard, he was sometimes carried much farther than the Minister. And when he came to repeat those sermons in his family, (as his constant practice was,) having meditated upon them beforehand, he would clear up those passages that had been delivered more darkly. And if the Preacher was of meaner parts and gifts, and what he had delivered might not seem so useful, he would so explain and illustrate what he heard, that the sermon was always rendered profitable in his repetition of it.

After his Repetition on the Lord's-Days, he used to call

his children and servants to an account of what they had heard and learned : if any had been careless, he would reprove them for their negligence, and show them the danger they were in by their unprofitableness : such as were apt and forward to remember, he would encourage, often mentioning that speech of our SAVIOUR, “ To him that hath, shall be given ; but from him that hath not, shall be taken away even that which he hath.” And though when there was occasion, he would speak with great authority, yet when he came to discourse with his children and servants about these things, he would speak with much familiarity and condescension to the meanest of their capacities ; thereby insinuating himself into their affections, begetting a love in them to the word, and taking opportunity to make things more plain and easy to their understandings.

He was much and frequent in prayer. He often prayed with his wife alone ; and when any great occasion happened in the day, he would retire into his closet, to ask counsel and a blessing from the LORD. Every month he kept a private fast by himself, (besides what he did upon emergent occasions,) to seek the LORD, and the better to prepare himself for the LORD’S-Supper, at which time also he had much upon his heart the concerns of the church. Whenever any affliction befell him, or any of his family, or of his relations, his constant course was, to seek the LORD in an extraordinary way. And if there were any great business that he was to undertake, or any great strait wherein he needed divine counsel or protection, he still set time apart in a more than ordinary manner, unto which he used to have some gracious return.

Besides his set times of prayer, he was frequent in holy ejaculations ; and he was very punctual in keeping his times and seasons for prayer, reading, and meditation. Though his worldly business was sometimes very urgent, yet was he always very loth to abridge himself in his wonted course of holy exercises ; and if at any time he was abridged of his full time, he would redeem the next

opportunity to regain what he had lost. He used to say, that when he did hasten over holy duties out of an eager desire to follow his worldly business, he did many times meet with a cross in it; but when he did spend his ordinary time, God did make his other business to prosper the better, or if not, his mind was brought to submit to the will of God.

In all his prayers, whether alone or with others, his heart was greatly affected, and carried out with much holy zeal and fervency. In his old age, his heart would often melt and be dissolved into tears, and his affections seemed to be as vigorous as the affections of young converts. When he joined with others in holy duties, he was far from a remiss and careless carriage. His deportment was so reverent, and mixed with such affections, that the Minister under whom he lived would profess, that he found himself much quickened by observing his lively affections: and if at any time he found a deadness coming upon him, it grieved him more than any outward affliction.

If he awoke in a morning before his ordinary time, yet he would get up; and his manner was to spend some time in meditation, for the most part about the great work of our redemption, and on the sacrifice of the Lord Jesus, which he offered up to his Father for the taking away of his people's sins: and he used to counsel his children, every morning to take a turn at the Cross of Christ, and to think of his sufferings, "which," said he, "will be a means to make you love Christ the more." While he was dressing himself in a morning, he would drop holy instructions among those that were about him; and when he was ready, his first work was to retire into his closet, where he spent a considerable time in reading, meditation, and prayer. Every morning he read some part of the Scriptures, with some commentary upon the same.

Having ended his private devotions, he used to call his family together, to whom he communicated what he had

learned by his own meditation, and by the authors whom he read : and whatsoever his worldly business might be, he would rarely omit this exercise in his family. And such were his modesty and humility in managing this business, that he would tell them, he would not take upon him to interpret the Scripture, but only would communicate to them what he had learned from judicious Divines. By this constant course of reading and meditation, he became expert and mighty in the Scriptures ; so that, in his family duties, he would open the Scriptures with much clearness of judgment, the LORD enduing him with a more than ordinary ability to make things plain to the meanest capacity. And when he came to apply things to those of his own family, he would carefully consider every one's condition ; and to those whom he feared to be still in the state of nature, he would lay open the danger of their present condition, and what a sad thing it was for them to remain out of CHRIST. And whatever the matter was that he had been speaking of, his exhortation still was to press them to look after CHRIST, in whom the FATHER had laid up all grace, and from whom they must expect to receive all grace. And his exhortations were given with so much authority, and there was so great a presence of GOD with him, that many (besides his own family) who occasionally came to his house, and heard him, will have cause to bless GOD for him to all eternity.

Having spent about a quarter of an hour in these exhortations, he would close the duties with prayer, wherein he would not be long ; but his prayer was so substantial, that he would comprehend the whole of religion in a short prayer. His prayer seemed to be nothing but a digested meditation, influenced by the SPIRIT OF GOD ; every passage in it had its weight, and not one sentence could well be spared. Though he varied in its form, the substance and materials of his prayers were for the most part the same ; yet still he took in the other necessities of his family, as the various providences of GOD gave occasion. The main scope at which his prayers were levelled, was the glory

of GOD ; he was still carried above himself to eye and aim at that, and still would thus be expressing it ; “ LORD, glorify thyself in our salvation : glorify thyself in bestowing this or that grace upon us.” The matter of his prayer was always commensurate to the word of GOD ; what the word required of us as a duty, either in our general or partieular callings, or in relation to the various providences of GOD, that was ever the matter of his prayers. And he was most eminent in this point, namely, that having a very large and comprehensive charity, he would still take in the concernment of the church catholie.

In the evening, before supper, if he could get liberty, he spent some time in reading the works of some eminent Divine ; and he took most delight in DR. PRESTON’s books, wherein he was so conversant, that most of the choicest passages in his writings became very familiar with him. Then he betook himself to his constant course of prayer and meditation. After supper he caused his children, and the young scholars that were in his house, (which for many years was never empty of such, who were sent to the grammar-school, and by their parents were placed in his family, to enjoy the benefit of his instructions and holy example,) each of them to read a chapter ; which being done, he would call together his whole family, and would spend the rest of the evening in catechising, or in repeating some sermon that had been preached in the week-day.

When the Sabbath was approaching, he would endeavour so to order his affairs, that he might dispatch his worldly business in due season, and thus have the more liberty in the evening to set his heart in order for the duties of the LORD’S-day. When it was come, he would spend most of the morning in seeret prayer and meditation, and he used to be shorter in his family duties on that day than on others, that so they might not be hindered from attending the public ordinances. And his care was to be there at the beginning ; for he used to say, that it was fitter for them to wait for the Minister, than

that the Minister should wait for them ; and he would often mention the example and speech of CORNELIUS, (*Acts* x. 33,) “ We are all here present before GOD, to hear all things that are commanded thee of GOD.” The morning-sermon being ended, he would spend the little time he had before dinner in looking over his notes, and in meditating upon what he had heard. Dinner being ended, he used to repeat the sermon to his family, and so hasten to the congregation. After the sermon he used to spend a considerable time in secret ; and the rest of the evening was spent in repetition of the sermon, and in calling his family to an account of the things which they had learned.

He highly esteemed and revered godly Ministers, though they were of low parts and gifts. And, according to his own practice, he would often exhort his children, and those about him, to have a high esteem of the Gospel-Ministry, often pressing upon them those words of our SAVIOUR, “ He that heareth you, heareth me ; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me ; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.” He would often tell them, that GOD could, if he so pleased, speak unto them himself ; but choosing to condescend to our infirmities, he rather speaks to us by men like ourselves : he could have spoken to CORNELIUS himself, or have caused the Angel to preach to him ; but he bade him to send for PETER, who should tell him what to do.

He would say, that it was lawful for us to covet the best gifts, if we might enjoy them, but we must not despise the meanest. He said, “ When you come to the ordinance, the business is between GOD and you ; and whether the instrument be of meaner or greater parts, yet this is the portion that GOD allots you.” And he added, that there was not the weakest sermon that ever he heard, but the LORD did him good by it. “ When I met,” said he, “ with a sermon that did not like me, I first looked into myself to see if there was nothing amiss there ; and if there were no fault there, I would then scan it over again. For

we many times blame the Minister, when the fault is our own, that we have not prayed for him as we should have done." His love to the word was such, that though there were two Ministers in the place where he lived, and a weekly lecture, yet even in his old age he would ride six or seven miles to enjoy the benefit of a weekly lecture at Exeter.

His desires were much carried out for the conversion of souls. He seldom prayed, but he would pray with great affection for all in his family, and for all others that belonged to God. And in his family exercises he would still be speaking somewhat that might make them see their need of CHRIST; and that which he pressed most was, that they would labour to make sure of CHRIST.

He was full of bowels of compassion to those that were under temptations and distress of conscience, several of whom resorted to him, and some abode in his family for a season, the better to enjoy the benefit of his counsel and prayers; and God was pleased so to bless his endeavours, that they went away with peace and satisfaction.

Himself also was not without his temptations, though his assurance remained unshaken. Once indeed, in sickness, he was strongly assaulted by SATAN, who suggested to him that he was a hypocrite; but the LORD put it into his heart to answer, "Be it so, yet now I will cast myself upon the grace of God in CHRIST;" and hereupon the temptation immediately vanished. And he was not without other temptations, especially to infidelity. A day or two before his death, he complained to a near relation that he had been troubled with grievous temptations, as to question whether there were such an one as CHRIST, and whether there had been such actions done by him as are recorded. But the morning after, these words were dropped into him; "I was crucified for thee; I shed my blood for thee." This melted his heart exceedingly, that the LORD should so condescend to him, so that he could not speak of it without tears.

He had also had several other conflicts, so that he once

brake out into this expression ; “ O, it is hard keeping up till we come to heaven : it is hard fighting : ” and again, “ Before we receive our crown, we must strive : temptations will arise. But blessed is the man that endureth temptation ; for when he is tried, he shall receive a crown of life.” He said, that he had been ten years striving against one corruption, and at last the LORD brake the neck of it : as also, that he had been striving against the height of his spirit for forty years. And as he had his inward conflicts, so he was seldom without some outward affliction. He said it was one of his exercises every morning to expect what God might try him with in the day, either by afflictions or temptations : adding, “ I thought I had undergone many trials, so that now I might hope to be quiet ; but still the LORD provides some new ones.” And in a letter to a near relation he said, that his life was made up of mixtures of encouragements and difficulties : adding, “ It may be much to the glory of God, and to our advantage, if we still expect such mixtures, knowing that we are thereunto appointed, that so we may in every day’s success entreat the LORD for grace suitable to our infirmities and necessities ; whereas, if we should limit the ALMIGHTY to have our wills satisfied, we may displease him, and create crosses to ourselves.” And as he was seldom without some affliction or other, so they were of singular use to him. He said, “ Whenever I was out of the way, the LORD showed me clearly that I was so, and that this or that was not right ; and this he did usually by afflictions.” He said, that he never had any chastisement in all his life, but the LORD had showed him some miscarriage by it.

His afflictions made him pray much. It was his constant course, when any trial befell him, to set time apart to seek the LORD in an extraordinary manner : and in all his afflictions his great request to the LORD was, that he might be made partaker of his holiness thereby. When his family was visited with the small-pox, he was mightily stirred up to pray, that this visitation might end in the

reformation of it, and that they might set to the work of **GOD** with all their might: and this was the fruit of all his afflictions, to make him more active in the ways of **GOD**.

When one of his relations had been sick; he wrote thus unto him: "Truly I perceive the **LORD**'s mind is to wean us from the world, and from ourselves: the **LORD** accomplish the good pleasure of his will in us to the utmost, that we may cleave unto him wholly and fully, by the wisdom and strength of the **LORD JESUS** in us. Be not dismayed at your afflictions: the **LORD** will turn them to good."—A few years before his death, the **LORD** tried him by suffering his house to be on fire, one Saturday night about ten o'clock, most of the family being in bed, and himself asleep. Being awakened by some who first descried the danger, the first thought which **GOD** put into his mind was, that **GOD** "in judgment would remember mercy:" and **GOD** in mercy heard his prayer; for only his out-houses were burnt, and his dwelling-house was preserved, although it joined to the other. The providence of **GOD** was wonderfully seen in its preservation. His friends, neighbours, and the poor of the town, came to his assistance. And though all his goods were carried out, and there were many necessitous people, who might have conveyed away several things, yet such were their love and respect to him, that he lost not any thing, but all his goods that were carried forth were preserved entire, without the loss of any one thing. And that which added much to the mercy was, that the fire was so soon quenched, and his goods set so soon in order by his friends, that he had liberty to sanctify the Sabbath according to his usual manner. This affliction he attributed to his not putting away an evil servant, (whom he had often admonished, and yet he was not reformed,) though he often had thoughts of putting him away; but being slack in doing it, he thought the **LORD** so corrected him.—When at another time the **LORD** had made some breach upon his estate, he said, the **LORD** had hereby showed him, that if he leaned too

much upon these things, GOD would take them all away. Also, speaking about afflictions in general, he said, "For mine own part, I acknowledge to the glory of GOD, that our only wise GOD and heavenly Father hath taken the best course with me. O how lazy I had been, and worldly, if the LORD had not hedged up my way : but blessed be GOD, who will not suffer me to live after the flesh."

He was very sensible of the least mercy, and a curious observer of every providence. When at another time his house had been in danger of burning, writing to a near relation, he thus expressed himself : "The LORD teach us what to render for all mercies and deliverances ; especially for that great deliverance from wrath to come, and for the hope of eternal life, which GOD, who cannot lie, hath promised." He was very curious in observing the least check or rebuke from Providence in every thing that befell him : and upon the least cross he would presently humble himself before the LORD, and pray that he might understand his meaning in it.

His great design was to glorify GOD in his whole conversation : he studiously watched all opportunities for that end ; and his great prayer was, that, wherever he came, he might either do or receive good. He did not speak of the things of GOD because others spake of them ; but if opportunity were not offered, he would seek it, and fasten some good discourse upon those with whom he conversed. The Minister who preached at his funeral had this passage : "The general bent," said he, "and bias of his spirit were towards GOD, and towards his name ; the very quintessence of his spirit carried him that way, and that intensely and constantly : I could never observe in him that he intended any thing more, or minded any thing so much, as the glory of GOD. Did you converse with him about worldly affairs, he would reduce you by little and little to some heavenly discourse : there would all the lines of his circumference centre."

His humility and modesty were such, that if any Ministers were present, or others whom he took to be

his superiors, he would wait to see whether they would speak any thing for edification ; if they were silent or more slack, he would endeavour to engage them in good discourse, or else before they parted would set it on foot himself : he used to be troubled if he was long in any company, and nothing was spoken to edification. When he spoke of the things of God, he did it with much authority : the weight of the things he spake of was much upon his spirit, and he had his heart wholly taken up with them. Religion and the things of God were become natural to him ; and what vehemency of spirit others had in prosecution of their worldly affairs, the same did he manifest in the things of God ; and as himself was affected with them, so did he for the most part affect others. When he either counselled or reproved any, he would choose, as much as might be, to do it in the language of Scripture, that so they might rather hear God speaking than him, and that consequently what was spoken might carry the more authority with it. In his reproofs he used great wisdom and compassion, and he so ordered them, that it appeared he only aimed at their good : and he greatly loved such as would faithfully reprove him. He often said, that he had never met with but one in all his life, that would be so faithful a friend to him, as to tell him of what he apprehended to be amiss in him, and he loved him the better for it all the days of his life.

He was very eminent for his heavenly-mindedness, and his heavenly affections. He constantly prayed, that our conversation might be in heaven, whilst our habitation was on earth. And as he prayed, so he lived. He said, "Methinks I look upon all things in this world as pictures of the things in the other world : " And again : " Surely, if God shall be all in all hereafter, the less we have to do with the creature here, (more than needs must,) the more like we are to that life : " And again : " I am ashamed very much, sometimes, that I should delight in the creature so much, and delight in God no more." When some of his children were coming to visit

him, fearing, out of a godly jealousy, lest they might be too much transported with a merely natural joy, and not make that spiritual improvement they ought, he wrote thus unto them before their coming : “ When MOSES and ELIAS appeared in glory, at the transfiguration of CHRIST in the Mount, the talk they had (as ST. LÜKE saith) was touching the decease of CHRIST, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem : and we (among other things) may thence learn, that it is a heaven-like disposition, in the midst of all our earthly enjoyments, to think and talk of our departure hence. And as I write this to you, so I speak of it here, that both yqu and we may mingle our meeting here on earth with such thoughts and discourses, as may mitigate the bitterness of any afflicting providences, and may contain our spirits in an even temper, by the expectation of that uninterrupted and eternal joy that we hope one day to enter into, when we shall meet never more to be separated.” And in another letter he thus expressed himself : “ We have but an inch of time upon earth, and then we enter upon eternity : O then let us pray continually, effectually, fervently, that our way may be right, and our hearts upright to the finishing of all God’s will in duty, according to our relations, in all well-pleasing.”

He had a very tender conscience, sensible of the least failing ; and though none was known to be more charitable to others, and to make a more charitable construction of what was done by others, yet none was ever more severe against himself. When he discerned the ebullitions of pride, self-love, covetousness, and infidelity ; when he saw the least mixture of self-ends in his good actions ; when he observed how prone he was to be biassed by man-fearing and man-pleasing, from his duty ; this was an inexpressible trouble to him, and he would bewail these things with more bitterness, than many are wont to do their grosser sins. If he had at any time, unawares, spoken a word which he judged uncomely, and unsuitable to the gravity which he conceived became a Christian, he would bewail it greatly, and could not be at rest till he

desired those who, he supposed, might take offence, to pass it by. He rarely spoke of his comforts or spiritual joys, but often of what he found amiss in himself, and many things which are much slighted by others, were curiously observed by him. In one of his letters he thus expresses himself: "My unthankfulness (besides my other sinful infirmities) grieveth me sore; and I am jealous of myself, lest the fear of the LORD doth trouble me more than grief for sin." And again: "I have found, and do find, a great difficulty (as in other things) so in this of health, to keep the narrow way of the LORD; for I find by woe-ful experience, that I am often slipping out, either to too much indulgence, or too much severity. The LORD make us wise to avoid both these extremes."

His great care was to keep himself, not only from such things as were in themselves sinful, but to abstain from all appearance of evil, and to cut off occasions of offence from such as might seek them. He said, he had found by many years' experience, that the great difficulty was, in the use of things lawful and indifferent: adding, that he had been often overtaken in this way; sometimes by his own corrupt nature, which was ever willing to take the largest size; and sometimes by the mistaking of others, who had misapprehended his intentions, and made an evil construction of his words.

He was eminent in resigning himself, and all he had, to the will of God. It was his constant practice to pray his will into an oneness with the will of God. He observed, that it was very incident to our natures to desire to bring down God's will to ours; but it was much better to pray up our wills into his. When any difficulty did occur, and his natural affections and inclination would have carried him such a way, his first work was not to pray so much that he might obtain that which nature would desire, but that his will might be brought up to the will of God, and that his spirit might be brought to a holy indifferency: and the LORD eminently answered him herein. Whereupon, before the issue of Providence was discovered, his will was usually brought to

the will of God ; and in several great cases and emergencies in his life, wherein he was much concerned, he said, " Touching the success of such a business, I have received power, through grace, to acquiesce in the will of God, when it is manifested." He made it also his endeavour to resign all he had to the LORD's wise disposal. Having heard of the welfare of some of his children, he thus expressed himself, " Now what thanks can I render to God for you all ? Only I desire to give all up to God, that he hath given you to me for a time." His advice also to his children, was to follow his example herein, and to give up their nearest comforts to God daily.

He much desired to be spiritual in all he did ; and that grace, and not nature, or fleshly wisdom, might sway him in every thing. When a near relation asked his counsel in a business of concernment, before he would give his advice, he said, " O that I might be wholly spiritual ; that no carnal respects might blind mine eyes !" Wherever he was engaged in any difficulty, or was to manage any business of great concern, his first care was to mind his duty, and to study which way grace would teach him to act ; and his great care was, that grace might have the principal sway in all his actions.

He used to say, " That duty was ours, but the success of things belonged unto God. We should study what our duty is, and then leave the success to God." One desiring his advice in a business of great difficulty, he wrote back thus unto him : " This one thing let us with incessant importunity crave of the LORD, that in this, as in all other things, he would teach us the way wherein we should go, and that we may walk with God, and follow him fully in the integrity of our hearts, and then leave the success to his care, who only is wise and almighty, and our Father."

He advised that in all cases of conscience we should seek resolution from the Word ; and that in difficult cases we should ask counsel of some able, faithful Minister.

“ For,” said he, “ the Priest’s lips must preserve knowledge, and we are to inquire the law at his mouth : and God hath appointed Pastors and Teachers for the perfecting of the saints.” And concerning Ministers’ advice, he would say, “ That which they speak out of the pulpit is to be preferred before that which they speak in a private way ; for it is to be supposed that they have consulted much with God, and have studied and prayed hard for that which they deliver in public ; and therefore more authority is to be given to it, than to any occasional or sudden counsel.”

His desire was to be always in the exercise of grace, and to mind present duty. He was much pleased with the saying, “ That a Christian ought to be always in duty.” And according to this, he made it his great study to consider what the present duty was that God put upon him. When he went to visit any one, he would consider what his call was to go, and what opportunity he might have to do or receive good : and he much bewailed needless and complimentary visits, as things that did eat up and consume much precious time. When he used any bodily exercise, he did it as a duty, saying, “ It is the will of God that we should endeavour the preservation of health.” And when he followed his earthly affairs, he would do it as a duty, saying, “ It is the will of God that we should honour him in a particular calling.” His great care was to make his particular calling subservient to his general calling ; and his great endeavour, so to order his earthly affairs, that they might not justle out the duties of religion, and that he might not to be abridged by them of convenient time for the more immediate service of God. By these means religion became so spiritually natural to him, that he seemed wholly to be turned into it : whatever he did and spake, did not only savour of grace, but seemed to be wholly guided by grace.

He said, that once he could have wished many of the commandments out of the Bible, but now he found his heart made suitable to the law. He never thought his

heart to be in a right temper, but when he could delight in the ways of God, and he used frequently to mention that text, "Blessed is the man that feareth the LORD, and delighteth greatly in his commandments." He took such delight in the ways of God, and found so much satisfaction in them, that he spake thus with seriousness: "If I were sùre, that as dies the beast, so dies the man, yet would I not choose to be otherwise than I am."

One of his most eminent graces was his faith, and living upon CHRIST, which was the true root from whence his other attainments arose. It was the great work of his life to go wholly out of himself, and to live wholly upon CHRIST. These were some of his frequent expressions in prayer: "Take us wholly out of self, and let our whole dependence be upon CHRIST. Make us one spirit with CHRIST, and let us be actuated by his SPIRIT, that so we may not live so much as CHRIST may live in us. It hath pleased the FATHER, that in Him should all fulness dwell: out of his fulness let us receive grace for grace. Thou hast appointed Him to be wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, even all in all to thy people: LORD make Him so to us."

This was his constant and most familiar language; and as the bent of his spirit lay most this way, so he counted it his greatest perfection. To some that highly esteemed him for his great holiness, he said, "The highest thing that I have attained to, is to go quite and clean out of myself, and to roll myself wholly upon the grace of God in CHRIST." He never suspected himself more, or thought worse of himself, than when he found a secret inclination to look to somewhat in himself, and could not find himself so clearly brought off to acts of self-denial: whereupon he said, "I have been apt to question my condition much of late, because when I have found things amiss in me, and have found out any salvo, I would be quiet, and did not deny myself, fully to rest on the grace of God in CHRIST."

He often exhorted his children that they should labour

to deny themselves more and more, and study CHRIST, and learn him more and more. He was scarcely ever known to give any holy exhortations, in which he was most frequent and abundant, but still he would be sure in the close to advise them to look to CHRIST for all grace; and whatsoever duty he exhorted them to, he still put them in mind that the grace and strength by which they were to perform this, were to be expected from CHRIST alone.

He was as eminent for living by faith on the promises, as on the person of CHRIST, resting upon the LORD in all his straits. When he could but take sanctuary in some promise, and find out some word of GOD for his faith to rest upon, he thought himself safe. He delighted to speak of that passage concerning ABRAHAM, which says, that ABRAHAM gave glory to GOD by believing. He thought the highest way of honouring GOD, was to trust upon his naked word and promise. Indeed he was often assaulted with temptations of infidelity; but these did but quicken him to pray more fervently, and, in the conclusion, by these shakings his faith got the deeper root. The chief stream of his prayer in his elder years ran this way, that he might not "stagger at the promise through unbelief;" that he might be "established in the faith;" and that his "faith might not fail:" and the LORD answered him herein; for his faith held out in its strength to the very last.

As his graces and experiences were extraordinary, so he had more than an ordinary measure of humility. He frequently used that expression of ST. PAUL, that he was the greatest of sinners. There was no corruption that he set himself more against than spiritual pride. Whenever he begged any other grace of GOD, he still begged humility, as that which must make him capable of receiving that grace. He used thus to express himself; "That we may receive more grace, make us more humble." He used also to warn others to beware of spiritual pride: "Watch," said he, "against that stratagem of SATAN, wherewith he usually assaulteth souls in the growth of

spiritual gifts, which is, to puff them up." Though he was most sensible of the stirring of pride in himself, yet by his long and daily praying and striving against it, he got so great a victory over it, that others who beheld him never saw greater demonstrations of humility in any than in him.

When he spake of God, or in the cause of God, he would speak with great authority : but when he spake of any thing relating to himself, he would still abase himself, and manifest the greatest lowliness ; and he liked not that others should think too highly of him. Writing to one, he said, "Think of me no otherwise than you see me : only I hope I have obtained mercy to be faithful."

His great care was to put off all from himself, and to attribute all to the free grace of God. And when he was carried out to any special exercise, he would say, "I have received grace to do this or that duty, or to believe this or that particular promise." It was his frequent saying, "Let us remember to expect all from him, and to ascribe all to him." When he heard of the grace of God in others, he used much to rejoice at it, and was never known to envy the gifts or graces of others, but rejoiced exceedingly to hear of them. He loved holiness for holiness' sake ; and therefore when he saw it in any, he rejoiced in it as if it had been in himself. Hearing of the grace of God bestowed on some, he said, "Blessed be the LORD for ever and ever. Who are we, that we should be able to will any thing after this sort ? The LORD keep it in the purpose of our hearts for ever, and prepare our hearts to him." The great thing which he begged of God for himself and his near relations was, that God would make use of him and them to be in some way serviceable to him ; and then said, "One thing more I have begged of God, and shall beg, that both I and you, and all that do receive the benefit, may look up, and give to God alone all the glory."

Herein lay the perfection of his grace, that though he desired to be most serviceable, and to be carried forth in

the highest way of exercising grace, yet when all was done, he desired not to be looked upon the more, but that all that was done might be seen to be of God, and that God might be glorified the more. Writing to a near relation, he said, "I pray that God will make use of myself and you in such a way that God alone may be seen, and we not taken notice of at all; that He may have the glory, and we not be seen." He mightily rejoiced to see religion honoured. When an old Christian, that had been a professor of religion many years, died, and had held out in his profession to the end, without any stain upon his conversation, he seemed to be transported with joy, and could hardly speak of it without tears.

He was greatly affected with a sense of God's dispensations towards the land. If judgments from God seemed to be approaching, or if the land lay under judgments for the present, his course was to humble himself in a more than ordinary manner. He used to say, that he looked above the instruments, and second causes, to transact all between God and him, and to consider what it was that God aimed at in every dispensation.

In the time of our late troubles, he wrote to a near relation thus: "We had here with us as loud thunder as I ever heard: our house did shake: the lightning also was extraordinary, such as I never saw in all my life. I stood to see how it came forth at the breaking of the clouds, and I saw, and so did many others with me, that out of the midst of the lightning there came forth divers times the likeness of fresh burning coals of fire, so red and sparkling as any hot iron can be when it is heated to the uttermost in the smith's forge. These signs from heaven, with the sword drawn out upon earth, speak aloud that our provocations are very great. Join with us to entreat the LORD for pardon and reformation. Stir up your friends to do the like. It may be, that the LORD will hear and spare, because he warns; or it may be, that such seekers may be hid, or marked out from the common

destruction ; or if the outward man perish, sure I am that the soul shall find mercy that seeks the LORD in truth."

In another letter he wrote thus : " At such a time fell abundance of rain, and the waters were so high as have been seldom seen ; many men's harvest is yet behind, and great loss likely to ensue : our heavenly Father shakes now the rod of famine, as formerly that of the sword. O let us pray that grace may turn all of us from our iniquities."

In another letter, speaking of the public troubles, he thus expressed himself : " I believe that one end of our troubles may be to keep us up in a fervent frame of praying ; that we may pray ourselves more and more into that heaven-like conversation, in which the ancient saints have been enabled to outlive their troubles, and so I trust shall we."

He was a man of sound judgment, and most stable in the faith, insomuch that, though he had been a professor of religion for many years, and lived in such a time wherein so many opinions sprang up, yet he never took up any particular or novel opinion. But he always preferred the old divinity, and liked that doctrine best which he knew to be maintained by the generality of godly, sober, and orthodox divines. When he perceived that any were led aside into corrupt principles, he would pray with great compassion and tenderness for their recovery. Indeed herein he was very eminent ; for instead of censuring others about their opinions, he conscientiously set himself to pray for them ; and, as he had opportunity, he would, in the spirit of meekness, endeavour, by setting before them the clearest texts of Scripture, to inform them in the truth. And being sensible how the work of CHRIST was hindered by the falling away of many to vain opinions, his prayers ran much in that way, that the LORD would please to reduce wandering souls ; and he used to exhort others to do the like : " O," said he, " let us be earnest with our God to establish us and ours, and all his people, in the truth of the Gospel."

His charity towards others was very exemplary. Where

he saw any thing of CHRIST, or sincerity, though mixed with some errors in judgment, and accompanied with other infirmities, he could pass over those defects, and embrace that measure of the grace of God which he apprehended to be in them. He loved to put the best construction on the actions of others; and if any action could possibly admit of a candid interpretation, he would be sure to construe it in that sense. It was a rule with him, never to speak of the faults of others behind their backs, except it were in two cases; either that it might tend to the person's reformation, or else to warn others to take heed of one who might do them a mischief. Neither could he patiently endure to hear an evil report concerning others.

He was ready to distribute to the necessities of others, according to his power; yea, many times beyond his power. His house was open at all times for the entertainment of godly Ministers, and other good persons that came to visit him. He was a lover of hospitality, and spent a great part of his estate in that way. Few weeks passed wherein he did not entertain and lodge some godly person or other; and none could be more hearty in the entertainment he gave, whether they were his familiar friends or strangers. His love was truly according to the Apostle's rule; "Let love be without dissimulation." All the entertainment he gave might easily be discerned to be done with all his heart; and he rejoiced that he had an opportunity to express his kindness to them. He conscientiously set apart a portion of his estate yearly for pious uses; some part whereof he gave to godly Ministers, another part to young students at the University, and the other part to poor and necessitous people, as Providence gave occasion: besides, his doors ministered a constant relief to the poor of the place where he lived, who were very numerous.

When any came to complain to him of their dissensions, he would exhort them, first of all, to make their

peace with God, and to endeavour to set all right betwixt him and them. He had the general repute of a man so just and unbiassed, that many times both the dissenting parties would refer the whole business to his single determination, and they were content to stand to what agreement he should bring things to. When he went about any such business, he would usually begin with prayer.

Being once called to make up a difference between some near relations, he moved that they might first begin with prayer; but one of the persons there present declared his unwillingness thereto, whereupon he took his leave, and said to a friend that came away with him, "O! we shall be able to do no good in it." In making up breaches, he was as careful to make the disagreeing persons friends, as to compose the differences between them: and he had an excellent dexterity in the use of motives and arguments, taken as well from the laws of the land as from the laws of God, to press them to come to an agreement. Such was his love of peace, and desire to promote it, that when it hath been a matter of cost, and something hath been to be paid, and the party that was to pay it hath refused to part with the money, rather than the breach should not be made up, he hath paid it out of his own purse.

Many times he had money put into his hands by godly persons, to dispose of as he saw cause; which being known, when poor people have come to him for relief, he would always give them some spiritual alms, before he distributed the other: and if any of them were guilty of any notorious sin, he would endeavour to make them sensible of it, and to bring them to repentance.

He was a great promoter of the meetings of Christians for prayer and holy conference; but an enemy to meetings in which they met together to discourse of state-affairs, or to talk of opinions and controverted points, or where the time was spent merely for an ostentation of men's parts, not aiming at the spiritual edification of one another: and this appeared by the caution which he used

in setting down rules for the regulation of such christian meetings ; which were these :—1. They ought not to be in the time of public ordinances : 2. Nor to the hinderance of family-duties : 3. Nor in places, or with persons, of an evil report : 4. Nor to the hinderance of men's particular callings : 5. Nor for controversies or disputation : —But (1.) For the clearing of truths received in the public ministry, and for clearing of cases of conscience, and for such exhortations, admonitions, counsels, and consolations, as conduce thereto, or as are otherwise necessary: (2.) For an hour or two at the most, and once in the week at most, except in some great and urgent cases : (3.) In some family of good report, and with persons of good report: (4.) Every one present should have liberty to speak one by one : (5.) They should begin and end with prayer for a blessing: (6.) All being ended, presently every one should depart to his place and duty, and walk as becometh the Gospel of CHRIST, that the ways of GOD be not evil spoken of.

But that which did most of all set forth the grace of GOD in him was, that he did not only attain to an eminency in this or that grace, but to a great degree in every grace ; so that there was no grace but might be clearly seen in him, and in each of them he seemed to excel : as holy affections and spiritual fervour in prayer, zeal for GOD's glory, faith, humility, meekness, patience, submission to the will of GOD, heavenly-mindedness, charity, and compassion unto others.

As he thus walked with GOD many years, so he kept his integrity to the end : and that which was most remarkable was, that in his elder years he did not only retain the lustre of his former graces, but was still more spiritual, active, and lively in the ways of GOD : he spent more time in prayer, meditation, and other holy exercises : he was more abundant in holy counsels and exhortations. He often said, “ Since our time is short, let us work the faster, and watch and pray the more fervently. ‘ Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments.’ ” He minded little else but spiritual concerns : grace seemed

to have the whole command of him. Being asked by a friend, how it came to pass that now in his elder years he had more command over his passions than in his younger, he answered, that it was not because he found not the same things in his nature still,—for he found himself more inclined to passion than before; but because the grace of God had now overcome him, and reduced him to the temper wherein he now was.

He had a long and constant remembrance of his change before it came, accounting himself a pilgrim and stranger upon earth. Several years before his death, he seldom wrote a letter to his near relations, but he expressed his sense of his approaching change: and in the last year or two of his life, he greatly rejoiced to think that so much of his race was run, and said, that he would not for a great deal have those years to live again which he had already passed over. About five or six weeks before his last sickness, he thus expressed himself: “I am old, (as ISAAC said,) and know not the day of my death: pray for me, that I may be faithful unto the death.”

About the beginning of December, 1659, he fell sick of a lingering distemper, which continued upon him about the space of ten weeks, before the LORD was pleased to put a period to his race. In the beginning of this, he had some intimation about his change: and the LORD, the better to prepare him for it, had fastened the impression of it upon him before it came. When the Minister of the place came to visit him, and said, that he hoped he might recover, he answered, that he knew not how God might deal with him; but that he had received the sentence of death in himself. A little before, he thus wrote to some of his near relations: “Beloved in the LORD, I am yet, through mercy, alive; but continue sick. My God dealeth bountifully with me, who do from my heart acknowledge that I am the chief of sinners; yet hath he pardoned me, and will ere long receive me to be with CHRIST, which is best of all. Pray for me, that I may give God his due glory by

believing, and by a holy submission and conformity to his will in life and death."

Whilst he was able, he continued to pray in and with his family, and to speak something to them out of the Word read; and when he found his spirits so much spent that he could not do so much as formerly, he told them, that it was the grief of his soul that he could do no more for them.

His deportment during the whole time of his sickness, and at his death, was suitable to his life. He was naturally a man of a fearful spirit: but when he came to die, grace had so elevated him above his natural temper, that he was not only willing to die, but triumphed over death, without being afraid of it.

He did not speak much in the time of his sickness, but employed it for the most part in holy meditations: yet he sometimes spake to such as came to visit him, in some short sentence or other. His usual exhortation to them was this: "Make sure of CHRIST: remember that one thing necessary." Once, when some of the younger sort were about him, he said, "Make sure of CHRIST; and for your encouragement I will tell you, that religion is no vain thing; it is no notion: it is a reality; and I tell you so from my own experience." And at another time, seeing some young persons talking familiarly together, he said to them that he knew not what they were talking about, but he commended their love; only that they should be sure to speak something to the edifying of one another, and should have their "speech seasoned with" the "salt" of the Word: for "the LORD hearkened, and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before him for them that feared the LORD, and that thought upon his name." And when a person of quality came to visit him, he said, "Hold on as you have begun: make sure of CHRIST. If I had as much gold as would reach up to the sky, it would do me no good: my interest in CHRIST is all my happiness."

At another time, his wife and children coming about

him, he said, "I hope you have made choice of CHRIST. Be diligent in the use of means; but when all is done, depend upon CHRIST. Take heed of the world, for that is your greatest enemy; I have found it so." And particularly to his children he said, "Deny yourselves the delights of the world; and seek your all in CHRIST, and in Him you shall find all." When some good people, who used to have private meetings, came to visit him, he said to them; "Continue in prayer; hold on: I am confident it is the way of God you are in." To the Minister of the place, who often visited him in sickness, he said; "Preach to win souls: let all your preaching be to win souls." To his own son he wrote thus: "My son, take heed to the ministry thou hast received of the LORD, that thou fulfil it. This will tend to the glory of God, to the good of souls, and to thine own account in the day of CHRIST, the great Shepherd of the sheep." And to some that were going to a fast, he said, "Pray for me; but especially for the church of God."

During all the time of his sickness, he had not the least cloud upon his spirit, neither was SATAN permitted in the least to disturb his peace. When a Minister that came to visit him asked him, whether he had any temptations, he answered, "No: blessed be the LORD, I have none." So that although, all his life-time, he had been full of conflicts, yet when he came to die, he had perfect peace and serenity. When he had been sick some weeks, he wrote thus to a near relation: "I yet live through God's mercy, but continue weak: yet the LORD deals very gently with me: for my outward afflictions are tolerable, and my inward consolations are full of grace and heavenly sweetness." These comforts continued with him to the very last: for at several times in his sickness, and on the same day on which he died, he was heard to say, "God hath left with me the comforts." And when, about an hour before his death, he brake out into this expression, "My grief is great;" one of his relations that stood by said, "You do not mean in respect of your spiritual estate?" He

answered, "No, no : He hath, and doth, and will support by his eternal SPIRIT." Thus the LORD was pleased to answer him, in that which had been his desire for a long time, that his faith might not fail to the last. The night before he died, he spake thus ; " I have waited upon God for my salvation ; and, blessed be God, I shall not be disappointed."

As was his manner in his life, so at his death, he was much in the acknowledgment of his own vileness, and in magnifying the free grace and mercy of God to him. When his wife came to him, and said, she prayed that she might follow his steps ; he replied, " Follow CHRIST, follow CHRIST : He hath given you an example. Blessed be God for friends ; but blessed be God for JESUS CHRIST, who hath saved us from wrath to come."

His great desire was to be perfectly resigned to the will of God ; and therefore his great request to his friends, when they came to visit him, was, " Pray me up into the will of God." And to some of his near relations he said, " Pray for me and for yourselves, that we may be taught, and made able by the SPIRIT of CHRIST in us, to resign and conform to our Father's good-will, that, when God's time is come, I may depart in peace unto that longed-for and everlasting rest, which the LORD JESUS hath purchased for me, and to which he will bring me. Even so, Amen."

All the time of his sickness, he was full of holy ejaculations and soliloquies. He often used that passage of HEZEKIAH, " I am oppressed ; LORD, undertake for me ;" and that of DAVID, " In the multitude of my thoughts within me, thy comforts delight my soul." He also often repeated these words, (*Isa.* xii. 2,) " The LORD JEHOVAH is my strength and my song : He also is become my salvation." Sometimes he would say, " Come, LORD JESUS ;" and then would answer himself, " Yea, he doth come : He comes leaping over the mountains, and skipping over the hills."

A friend that visited him, using this expression, that the bodies of the saints should rest in the grave as in a

bed of down : "Yea," said he, "but this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise:" intimating, that though it were matter of joy to think that his body should rest in peace till the general resurrection ; yet his greatest comfort lay in this, to think that, at the instant of dissolution, his soul should enjoy the immediate sight of God. This appeared in the many ardent breathings which he used, saying, "Come, LORD JESUS. O how doth my soul thirst for God ! Go forth, my soul, to meet thy God."

The last Sabbath but one before his death, he said, "O what a blessed Sabbath would this be, if this might be an entrance into my everlasting Sabbath!" At another time he said, "Why should we not be willing to die ? CHRIST came from heaven to earth to free us from sin and misery : and why should not we be willing to go from earth to heaven, to be freed from sin and misery ?"

Two or three days before he died, he had a sore fit : but reviving a little, he called for his wife and children, and said, "This is the true grace of God, wherein I stand ; that I expect salvation by JESUS CHRIST, and by Him alone." And this he repeated again ; and withal exhorted them, that they should give up themselves to CHRIST, and live upon him. A day or two before he died, when he saw his children weeping about him, he said, "Weep for your sins." And when his wife was lamenting, and expressing anxiety as to what she should do, when God took him away ; he said, "You must repent for that word. Did JOSEPH say, Without me God shall provide for the life of PHARAOH ; and shall not God provide for you ? Yes, he will ; only cast yourself upon Him."

His understanding and memory continued with him to the last, insomuch, that he wrote a sheet or two of paper a few days before his death, for the better directing of those that were to dispose of things after his death. His will was made long before. And having finished this, he said, "Now I know not any thing more that I have to do." Among these directions he gave a particular

charge, that there should be no mourning worn at his funeral.

The day on which he died, fell out to be the lecture-day in that town. And a near relation coming to see him, he would not suffer him to stay with him, but seemed to put him off with his hand, saying, "Away, away; you will be too late." For he would not have him lose the sermon, though it was the last time he was likely to be with him.

When his end drew near, one that stood by said, "You see, a holy life brings a blessed death." Whereupon, lifting up his hands, he said, "Yea, yea, yea." And a little before he died, he said, "LORD JESUS, receive my soul." Then he called for something that he used to take in his sickness, which being brought, he, as his manner was, set himself to lift up his heart in a short ejaculation; and in that posture he breathed out his last, with his hands clasped together, on the 7th of February, 1660, in the seventy-second year of his age.

(XV.)

THE LIFE
OF
JOSEPH WOODWARD.

MR. JOSEPH WOODWARD was born at Upper-Cam, in the county of Gloucester. He was educated at Oxford, where he took the degree of M. A. Then he was Master of the free-school at Wotton-under-Edge. His carriage was very obliging; but he had at that time but little seriousness, and was wont to frequent the company of some gentlemen, whose character for virtue or sobriety was not very eminent: but it pleased God, by a seemingly little accident, to awaken him to a serious consideration of the things of another world. Being out one evening late, returning home, some dogs began to fight about him, not without danger; which caused a serious reflection in him, what would have become of his soul, if he should have been torn in pieces by them: and so, leaving his former company, he changed it for those in Wotton who used to pray, and repeat sermons, and sing together; which society he found so beneficial to him, that he used to say, though Oxford made him a scholar, yet Wotton fitted him for the ministry. I am told by another, that he did not so much as handle a Bible, till MR. SAMUEL SPRINT, (afterwards Minister in Andover, Hampshire,) his scholar, was privately reading the Scriptures, and praying, as his father had charged him. His master found him thus busy in his chamber, and was thereby struck with shame and concern, that he, that was the master, should do less than a young boy. Hereupon he got a Bible, and

read and studied it : and shortly after, whereas the school had only Latin prayers, he brought in English prayers, reading of the Scripture, singing of Psalms, and all pious exercises.

Some time after, he was ordained, and became very serviceable; and the people of Dursley sought him to be their Minister, all with one consent voting for him. Whereupon he fixed with them; and though he was afterwards tempted to Wells, with a double stipend, he would not accept it. He took a great deal of pains among the people of Dursley: First he showed them the privileges of gospel-times, and then those of gospel-things, and the absolute necessity of CHRIST, opening the nature of the two covenants.

After some time, he vigorously set about the reformation of many disorders in discipline and manners among the people; in aiming at which, he met with many discouragements. Some withdrew from his ministry; others withheld their part of his stipend solemnly promised to him; and others refused to pray, and sing, and receive the Sacrament. These troubles, and the disorders which they brought upon him, who was sensibly disturbed at the sad interruption of his work, so discomposed him that he fell into fits, and was afflicted with a fever: and the grief of his mind had such an influence on his body, that it was thought he received his mortal stroke by the disturbances among his people, and their carriage towards him.

He hereupon determined to leave them; and once there came about ten men, with a design to carry him to another place, where he might have a better prospect; and he was inclined to go with them. But the very men that opposed and slighted him before, when they found he was going, came and begged his pardon, and promised a better carriage for the future, and so he stayed. Some time after, there were about seven men that resolved to ruin him, some by swearing against him, and some in other ways. But it pleased God that several of them died;

and his principal enemy fell desperately ill, and, upon his death-bed, sent for him to pray with him, desired him to preach his funeral-sermon, and confessed, that he and his companions had resolved to ruin him ; but added, that he now saw he must die, and warned all his associates to desist from their design, as they would not provoke God to visit them with his judgments. Thus, at last, he was delivered from their malice ; and he had the comfort to see his people become teachable, and conformable to the rules of the Gospel. His labours among them were very great. Besides the toil of a school, he preached twice every LORD'S-Day, expounding in the morning, and catechising in the afternoon, before sermon. Every Tuesday he expounded for an hour or two, and carried on a lecture every Thursday, usually without any assistance from other Ministers. On LORD'S-day evenings he repeated to his scholars, and many of his auditors, at his own house. And at funerals, he either preached or expounded ; and was always very plain and warm in maintaining the foundations of religion. Twice a year he kept a public fast, besides many in private. Every Monday after dinner, he used to visit ten families, to-instruct the ignorant, reprove the scandalous, and comfort the afflicted. He was very diligent in instilling the principles of religion into the younger sort, and collected money for teaching poor children to read. He himself also was very liberal in works of mercy. He was a very strict observer of the Sabbath ; and used on that day to rise very early. He was a man of a very large soul, and public spirit ; one of unshaken constancy and resolution, and sincere plain-heartedness. He took great pains to oppose the sectaries, and disputed with them openly as an occasion offered, all round the country, and silenced them. He protested and preached against taking the *Engagement*. OLIVER, upon some occasion, appointing a day of public thanksgiving, he, thinking there was more need of fasting, appointed a solemn public fast, and kept it with his people.

When he declared his resolution to admit none to the

sacrament of the LORD'S-Supper, but those who, together with a visible probity of conversation, had also a competent knowledge, a certain person said, he would not submit to examination, and yet he would come, and if MR. WOODWARD would not give him the Sacrament, he would take it. In pursuance of his resolution he was coming to church on the Sacrament-day, but he had scarcely set one foot over the threshold, before he fell down dead ; at which many were much affected.

At length, being overborne with labour, and his infirmities growing upon him, by reason of a wasting consumption, he went to rest, a little before the Act of Uniformity took place.

Some persons in the country having a design to publish his life, DR. WOODWARD, his son, sent them this account of his father in a letter :

“ I am assured that very few (at least in these degenerate days) are blessed with such eminency of grace as he was ; which seemed always to be in the height of pious zeal, without any considerable abatements at any time. In truth, such a pitch of ardour seemed to many to be above the common state of humanity itself, and to have a tendency to decay the health and course of nature. But the power of God bore him up for many years, till at last indeed the raised soul grew too big for the body, and by degrees rent it into pieces, to make way for a happy dissolution.

“ About the twenty-third year of his age, he was so smitten in his breast with a sense of the evil of sin, (through what particular means I do not perfectly remember,) that he has professed he thought himself the vilest creature breathing. He fancied the very dogs in the street were by their Maker set against him ; and when they barked, probably on various instigations, he thought that every yelp was a mark of his odiousness and monstrousness as a sinner : so that he was constrained to forbear company for a while, and to retire from the public, to set himself to the most important work of life, *viz.* to

spread the wounds and ulcers of his soul before the Physician of souls, and to seek the healing balm of his REDEEMER'S blood ; to which he applied himself (through the grace of GOD) with such earnestness, and to so good effect, that all his life after showed that he was saved through faith ; there appearing little concern in him for any thing but the glory of GOD, and the insuring of eternal life.

“ Yet he did not presently step forth into the ministry. He rather dreaded that awful and tremendous charge, in which, above all the employments beneath the skies, men ought to appear with the highest advancements of holiness, prudence, and diligence. He rather retired from such a work, which needs the zeal, purity, and wisdom of an angel, if men could attain them. And like NAZIANZEN, CHRYSOSTOM, and most of the primitive divines, he was by much entreaty drawn to so solemn an office, after he had spent a considerable time in the University of Oxford.

“ But when his thirtieth year was come, GOD was pleased to send an inward warmth into his soul, which was more compulsive than all outward persuasion : for he seemed to have such a zeal for GOD, and the souls of men, as burnt like fire, and, like that of the prophet JEREMIAH, (*Jer.* xx. 9.) was in no way to be made easy and tolerable, but by giving it outward vent ; which the subject he first preached upon did plainly show. For his first sermon was delivered in the church of his native village, and on these words of ST. PETER and JOHN, (*Acts* iv. 20,) ‘ For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.’ And I have heard many, who were then his hearers, say, that they all wondered at the gracious things which proceeded out of his mouth.

“ He had indeed such a readiness, or rather exuberance, in delivering the will of GOD, upon any subject before him, that though he always wrote his sermons at large, yet he has often confessed, he has been carried into a field of doctrine, which he had never committed to writing ; not in a roving and injudicious discourse, but in

such melting and close argument, as seldom failed to reach the mark he principally aimed at, *viz.* the softening and reducing of obstinate hearts.

“The course of my good father’s labours in the ministry, was suitable to this careful entrance upon it. He was earnest even as ST. PAUL ‘beyond strength;’ and would never preach a sermon to others, but what had first warmed his own breast; for which cause, he sometimes either razed out a part of a sermon, or wholly threw it by. He was most affectionate and devout in prayer, earnest in preaching, bold in reproving, kind in admonishing, and ready to advise, succour, and comfort the feeble and disconsolate: and, in a word, he spent, and was spent, in his ministerial labours.

“He made frequent visits to all under his care at their own dwellings. He would pry into most of their failures and neglects, and would compassionate all their wants of soul, body, and estate.

“I know not by what peculiar impulse it was that he particularly fixed his desires of exercising his ministry in Dursley, a place at that time very dissolute; insomuch that it had the nickname of “Drunken Dursley.” But if he found it so, it was very much altered by his labours of many years there; and it became one of the most wealthy and trading towns in the neighbourhood. Some of the inhabitants have told me, that they cleared a thousand pounds a year by the trade of clothing, in the time of his residence there.

“His presence in the streets made the youth grave, and the aged circumspect. It made the sober to rejoice, and the guilty to hide themselves in corners. He seldom went to church, but with a multitude with him: for his house being distant from the church the length of a long street, every one got their families ready as he came by, and stood at their doors, and so fell in with those that followed; so that he went with the multitude to the house of GOD. And every one’s zeal seemed inflamed by the flame he beheld in his neighbour; so that I have heard, that there was

the most composed and affected congregation that could any where be seen.

“ I must indeed lament the fewness of those years of mine which passed under his excellent conduct. O what a blessing had such a guide been to my youth, when it came to any dawns of understanding ! But the good God, who took him, has not left me nor my relations comfortless. We now enjoy the blessings of so happy a descent, and of so many earnest prayers laid up in store for us. The LORD grant that we may not act in a way unworthy of so good a relation, but may so tread in his steps, that we may at last be partakers with him in glory.

“ His sorrow for the death of King CHARLES I., his lamentation for want of a good foundation in the *Inter-regnum*, and his joy at the return of King CHARLES II., ought to be inserted ; and also the raptures of his death.

“ Thus, Sir, I have complied with your desire, not to give materials for a book, so much as to give some hints to a friend.

“ Sir, yours, &c.

“ JOSIAH WOODWARD.”

“ P.S. He gave me my name in memorial of his desire of reformation ; and named my younger brother JEREMIAH, when he saw the little hopes of it.”

(XVI.)

THE LIFE
OF
NICHOLAS LEVERTON.

MR. NICHOLAS LEVERTON was born about the year 1600, at St. Wall, in Cornwall. His parents were of the middle rank ; but provided him with the means of a liberal education at the country schools, and afterwards at Exeter College in Oxford. While he was there, he was addicted rather to youthful diversions, than to his studies. When he had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, his relations, no longer able to bear the expense, recalled him from Oxford.

At first he kept a little school near Padstow for his subsistence. But being ordained, he went over to Barbadoes, and met with good reception there ; any thing of learning being a rarity in those parts. Though he had yet little seriousness, he soon grew weary of their profligate morals, and left Barbadoes, upon an opportunity that offered of going as Chaplain to a ship's crew, who designed to begin a plantation at the island of Tobago. By this means he met with a variety of remarkable Providences, which God blessed to awaken him to seriousness. Some of these are certainly worth recording.

Their company safely reached the island ; part landed, and made a booth of poles, boughs, and palmetto-leaves, for their accommodation on the shore, over-against their ship. Upon search, finding the place agreeable, and discovering no Indians, they resolved to settle there. The Captain, for this end, with half of his land-company,

determined to walk round the island by the sea-shore, to discover the most convenient place for beginning their settlement; among whom was MR. LEVERTON. The Captain and two more went one way, and directed the rest to march another; but, meeting with difficulties, the latter returned to their booth, hoping their Captain would meet them there; but he and those with him never returned. In the mean time, a double calamity befell those on shore. The long-boat, by carelessness, was lost upon a rock, and thereby their communication with the ship was prevented; and a great rain falling, spoiled all the powder they had landed. By break of day, next morning after their return, some Indians attacked their booth, killed most of them with their arrows, and wounded others. Among the rest MR. LEVERTON was wounded in the head; but he, with some others, made a shift to escape into the woods.

Those in the ship had discovered these Indians, the evening before, making their way to the island in canoes, and fired some guns to give their friends notice; but unhappily they missed hearing them, and, being without apprehension of an enemy, kept no watch: and when they discovered them, they could not use their fire-arms. MR. LEVERTON, in his flight, losing a shoe in the woods, was left behind his companions. In this condition, wearying himself without success, for many hours, in endeavouring to recover sight of the ship, his strength failed him; and being without food or clothes, (for he had stripped himself to swim over a bay,) he laid himself down on a grass-plat expecting to die there. He spent the night without sleep in reviewing with sorrow his past life, and particularly his ends in undertaking this voyage; and that Scripture often occurred to his mind, "What doest thou here, ELIJAH?" The coldness of the night benumbed his naked body, and next day the heat was more intolerable, so that he began to faint away. In these circumstances he unexpectedly discerned a man making towards him, which proved, to his great joy, to be one of his companions,

separated from the company, and in quest of the ship as well as he. He assured him, that he must return the way he came, if he would hope to find it.

Revived by his friend's arrival, and furnished with some of his clothes, MR. LEVERTON and he marched back. A third straggler soon joined them, and they marched together all day. Towards evening perceiving a smoke, they made to it, and found it to be the remains of a fire which the Indians had made, where they lay before they fell upon their booth. This fire, by which they stayed all night, was supposed to have been the means of saving their lives. Marching next morning towards the sea, they found a fourth of their company; but he being wounded in the knee, and unable to go with them, they were forced to leave him behind.

At length, through divine goodness, they descried the ship, which made a strange alteration in them: for now, their fear of the Indians increasing with their hope of deliverance, though they had been nearly three days without rest, or sleep, or proper food, and marched along so faintly, yet now they all ran at a swift pace toward the sea. MR. LEVERTON and one more swam to their ship. The other, unable to swim, ran as far as he could into the sea, keeping only his head above water for fear of the Indians, till those in the ship sent and took him up in a pitiful boat which they had patched up. This wound and fatigue cost MR. LEVERTON a dangerous fit of sickness, wherein his life was despaired of for many days. The ship fired signals to any alive on shore to make to them, by which six or eight more of their company were recovered. So this adventure ended with the loss of nearly half their company.

Not being able to return to Barbadoes, or any of our English plantations on that side, because of contrary winds, they resolved to make to the Isle of Providence, which was five hundred leagues off, near the Line. And notwithstanding many fears and difficulties, they had a prosperous voyage, and a welcome reception from their

countrymen there. Many of the inhabitants were such as, upon a dissatisfaction with the English Hierarchy, had left their native country, and settled there, as others did in New-England. They had but one Minister among them, MR. SHERWOOD, who also was not satisfied with conformity. Yet some of the inhabitants were for the English ceremonies, and, upon MR. LEVERTON's arrival, would have had him minister to them in their own way. Hitherto he had never considered the controversy; but his impressions of religion were such as the general custom of his country and education had made. But now being made very serious by the remarkable Providences he had met with, and finding MR. SHERWOOD a pious person, he was disposed to hear his reasons; which induced him heartily to fall in with him in the same way. During his stay at the Isle of Providence, the Spaniards made an assault upon the island, but were repulsed with considerable loss; MR. LEVERTON, with great courage, continuing all the while on the shore to animate the people.

At length, the Governor leaving the island, a difference arose in the colony. He named his successor; but the people, pleading a right by charter to choose their own Governor, fixed a person of their own nomination in that station, one CAPTAIN LANE. But the other, privately arming some of the ruder sort, seized LANE and both the Ministers, and sent them prisoners to England, with an information against them to Archbishop LAUD.

When they arrived here, the state of things was changed, and LAUD was in custody of the Black-Rod. They were kindly received by the Lords Patentees or Proprietors of the island, and encouraged to return. MR. SHERWOOD, the other Minister, being of a timorous temper, chose to stay here. But CAPTAIN LANE and MR. LEVERTON returned, plentifully furnished for their voyage, and authorised with a new commission. At their approach to the island, they found that the Spaniards had seized it in their absence.

After this they continued in those seas for two years, and saw many of God's wonders in the deep,—too many to be here particularly related. They had many preservations, almost miraculous, from famine, from the Spaniards, and in violent storms. Twice they lost their ship, and were providentially taken up, once by a Frenchman, and another time by a Dutchman, and both times set afloat again in a Spanish pink, made prize. For these two years MR. LEVERTON declared he met not with one bit of bread. At length they resolved to return home, and by the assistance of a French vessel arrived safe at St. Christopher's; and thence CAPTAIN LANE, and some of the men, proceeded directly to England.

MR. LEVERTON and some others inclined to settle there; but finding the dissoluteness of the place, and seeing little hope of doing good among them, after four or five months' trial, he took the opportunity of a French frigate to return to Europe. But in this voyage he met with one of his greatest dangers. A dead calm continuing long at sea, all their victuals were spent. For many days they had but eight spoonfuls of peas, and a pint of water, per man. The Captain and MR. LEVERTON contented themselves with the same allowance. This lasted so long till they were all black with famine. He every day, morning and evening, called the English together, prayed with them, and instructed them; and with the more success when they were in such melancholy circumstances. The French were mostly Protestants, and would join with them as well as they could. At length, upon keeping a day of solemn prayer, no sooner was it ended, but they discovered a ship; and upon making towards it, found it an English merchant-man, bound for Bermuda, who took all the English on board, and plentifully supplied the French for their voyage home. On board this ship was the Governor of Bermuda, who acquainted MR. LEVERTON, upon converse with him, that the ship's coming there at that time was by a very uncommon providence: "But I perceive," says he, "MR. LEVERTON, it was all in God's great favour to you."

They soon arrived safe at Bermuda, where the Governor and he went into a long-boat, and were met at their landing by the Governor's lady, and a young gentlewoman of the country, whom he soon after married. Here he preached with great acceptance for about a year: but having a fit of sickness, and not perfectly recovering his health, it was thought adviseable that he should return to England, and try his native air.

Arriving at the Downs, he landed at Sandwich; where as he was taking horse for London, the ostler said to him, "Mr. —, you are somewhat like our Minister; I believe you have lived in the hot countries as well as he." Upon inquiry he found it to be his old colleague MR. SHERWOOD, who was settled there; which brought them to an interview again, to their mutual joy.

Coming to London, he was received with great honour and respect by the Lords-Proprietors of the Island of Providence, and soon after settled as Minister of High-Henningham, in Suffolk; where he sent for his wife, and had his first child, whom he called GERSHOM, for the same reason that MOSES called his so; for he said, "I have been a stranger in a strange land."

After some years' abode in Suffolk, MR. ANTHONY NICOLS, one of the eleven excluded members, who had formerly known him in the University, took him down with him into Cornwall, and settled him at St. Tudy, the parish wherein his own house stood. Here he lived nine or ten years, signally useful in settling some that were inclined to fond opinions, and awakening many out of their carnal security; and kept up a weekly lecture there on Thursdays, with the assistance of his neighbouring brethren, which was well attended by the gentlemen thereabouts.

Upon the King's coming in, he was not only ejected, but met with farther troubles. The former incumbent of St. Tudy had been sequestered, a year or two before MR. LEVERTON settled there, but died before the change. LORD MAHON, the Patron, was solicited to continue

MR. LEVERTON, but in vain ; for he presented his Chaplain to the living, who treated him harshly, and, on pretence of dilapidations, would have seized his goods ; but that was prevented by the kindness of the people, who bought them, and carried them off. After this LORD MAHON prosecuted him for the main profits ever since he was in possession, and would not accept of any composition within the compass of his ability. This necessitated him to secure himself by absconding.

LORD WILLOUGHBY, of Parham, being appointed Governor of Surinam, MR. OXENBRIDGE, a Minister of London, who had been acquainted with MR. LEVERTON at Bermuda, sent him an offer of going as Minister there ; which, with the advice of his friends, he accepted. After long expectation of a ship at Plymouth, which was to convey him and his family over, it came at length, and safely carried him thither. But after he had been there a few weeks, and seemingly fixed to his satisfaction, he died. Thus ended the troublesome and unsettled life of this good man.

(XVII.)

THE LIFE

OF

SIR NATHANAEL BARNARDISTON.

HE was born in Suffolk, in the year 1588, a year that ever deserves to be written in letters of gold. He derived his pedigree from an ancient family, containing no small number of noble ancestors. He was the twenty-third Knight lineally descended of that family, which still enjoys the paternal estate they had before the Conquest.

The LORD enabled him to “remember his Creator in the days of his youth,” by casting in the seed of regeneration when he was at school. Living there more innocently than, for the most part, young gentlemen do, and upon a time hearing that prayer of the Psalmist opened, (*Psal.* li. 5,) “Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me;” the greatness and odiousness of original sin being demonstrated, and pressed home, it pleased the LORD so deeply to affect his conscience thereby, that in the whole following course of his life, from that very time, it was a means of abasing all high thoughts of himself, and of making him lie down at the footstool of God, in the mournful sense of his own emptiness and vileness. Yea, he was more solidly and constantly humbled and broken for it, than for all the fruits of it, which every day appear by actual transgressions in the lives of most men, yet by this means were happily prevented in him.

Some time after, he heard one preach on the Gospel, as it is the Law of Faith, held forth in 1 *John* iii. 23, “This

is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son JESUS CHRIST." From this text the Preacher happily urged, that in the Gospel there was not only granted a liberty to believe in CHRIST, if we please, but an obligation imposed, that requireth us to believe, whether we like it or not. It pleased the LORD by this doctrine so to overpower his heart, that he durst not refuse, but submitted unto it ; and so his confidence, in the foundation of his faith, was exercised out of pure obedience to GOD.

In order to give some account of his Life, I shall set before you,

- I. His personal capacity as a man.
- II. His public capacity, as a Magistrate or Statesman.
- III. His relative capacity, belonging to his family.
- IV. His religious capacity, belonging to GOD and the Church.

I. *His personal capacity as a man.*—The make of his body, even from head to foot, was competently genteel and brave ; his soul was comprehensive, vigorous, great, and active ; his presence and aspect pleasant, yet grave, and such as often struck reverence and awe into the minds of those who looked upon him, especially such as came before him when he was exercising the office of a Magistrate. I may say of his, as was said of BASIL's countenance, whilst he was performing holy exercises, namely, " that so much of the divine majesty and lustre appeared therein, that it made the Emperor VALENS tremble to behold it." And in like manner, this most exact and holy gentleman's severe deportment was so effectual, that it banished from his presence all those scurrilous gestures and practices, which the debauchery and impudence of too many of considerable degree fear not to act in the sight of GOD and their betters.

As there were none more flexible and complying than himself to the most easy desires of those who were just, honest, and good, even of the lowest rank of men ; so, on the other side, there was none who could put on a braver obstinacy than he would do, against the most lofty

commands, or most zealous importunities, even of the greatest men, if what was urged was unjust, or against his happy rule of life, the word of God.

II. *For his public capacity as a Magistrate, or Statesman.*—As he was Justice of the Peace, he was exceedingly active and useful. He ever exercised justice in its own due time and way; he never befriended the great to the prejudice of those that were little or mean in the world; he ever held the balance of justice with an even hand, and acted as impartially, as if all that came before him had neither had interest in him, nor any acquaintance at all; and he was not only “a terror to evil-doers, but a praise to all that did well,” by this means making religion and justice to flourish round about him.

When he was High-Sheriff, (which he was in the twenty-first year of the reign of King JAMES,) he was to God, his King, and the county for which he served, one of the most exact that ever bore that office.—One passage here I must not let slip. As the serving of God was one principal business with him in every place in which he was employed through life; so here, though he neglected no business that belonged to his present office, yet he had a special care to have God faithfully served, and that even on the week-day; taking with him his sheriff’s men to a weekly lecture at some distance from his house, and thereby dignifying that office at a higher rate than usually is performed.

He was also usually placed in the high trust of a Member of Parliament, for he was constantly chosen on every occasion as a Knight for his own native county; which trust he received not out of any ambition, to advance his own greatness, nor out of any selfish end, to raise his own estate by exhausting the public treasury, but out of a mind and conscience devoted to the service of the church and commonwealth, beyond which neither fear, favour, nor flattery, could draw him to act or vote at all; for he absolutely refused to defile himself by any miscarriage, let the inducement or temptation be ever so great.

For his country, and the defence of the just rights and liberties thereof, he did not refuse to expose himself to a gulf of hazards and sufferings; witness his suffering under the imposition of Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, and the Loan; for refusing whereof he was a long time imprisoned in the Gate-House, and afterwards confined for a longer time in Lineolnshire, above six-score miles from his own abode.

III. *For his relative capacity.*—Here he was really what became a good and holy man; both as inferior and superior.

1. *As an inferior*, towards his father and grandfather; where he did in every thing answer that relation he stood in to them, so that he knew as well how to honour, serve, and obey, as to command, cherish, and love. He enjoyed his father a less time than his grandfather; but we may gather what his carriage to him was, from the value he set upon his memory. He used to please himself to discourse of his father, affirming that he was a very godly man, and that it was a great disadvantage for him to part with him so young. These things he would often declare to his children, dropping many tears; and when he made his will, he there expressed an importunate desire that the bones of his father might be digged out of the earth, where they were buried, and laid by his own body in a new vault, which he ordered his executors to erect for the same purpose. Thus, though he could not live with his father as long as he would have desired, yet he designed that their bodies or remains should lie together till the happy resurrection. And all the days of his grandfather's life, he was ever endeavouring to do him good, and help him in any of his affairs; all which he did with great humility, respect, and honour.

2. *As a superior.*—And, first, as a husband;—Here he seemed to imitate the practice of the LORD JESUS towards his church, in his conjugal love, protection, and full delight, until he became a pattern of matrimonial sweetness and faithfulness.

A father he was also ; and what manner of one, his children have declared in their hearts, lives, and filial deportment. They have always affirmed that he ever performed not only the part of an earthly father, in the due discovery of all tender affection to their bodies, but also performed the office of an heavenly Father to their souls, by a constant endeavour and serious study for their education in the most strict ways of pure and paternal religion ; one testimonial of which was, his continually bestowing on them spiritual counsels and gracious instructions, the grand end of which was to incite them to a strict watchfulness over themselves, and a close walking with God. And it was usual with him, after giving such instructions unto them severally, to take them into his closet, and there pray over them, and for them. If at any time they had displeased him, so excellent was his moderation and wisdom towards them, that he would never correct them, nay, not so much as reprove them, in his displeasure, but still waited for the most cool and convenient time, wherein they seldom discovered that he was angry by any other effect but his silence. And on the other side, he was so ready to encourage them in any acts of well-doing, that, for the most part, his extraordinary respect and favours towards them were bestowed rather under the notion of rewards of their duty, than the issues of bounty ; still professing before them, as he usually did to his friends upon their discoursing concerning the extraordinary blessings of God upon them in their travels abroad, and their return home again, “ that he took infinitely more content in beholding one grain of grace, or evidence of true regeneration in his children, than if their estates and gains abroad had been multiplied a hundred fold.” If withal they had come back again profane, or no more than merely civilized, without the power of godliness, he was ever a kind and tender father, as to his affections and wishes, his advice and prayers, and the numerous letters which he constantly sent to his children. In his will, he exhorts them all, “ to fear God and love

one another ; and enjoins that, if any difference happened amongst them, as ever they bore any duty or love to him, or as they would expect the like from their own children, they would leave all such differences to the arbitration of the rest of their brethren, and would stand to their award.

He was also a wise and careful grandfather ; not only instructing his little relatives while he lived, but also using endeavours to command them to be good, honest, and obedient, when he was dead ; as appears by what he left under his hand, in his last will, where he bequeaths to them several legacies, but with this proviso, “ that if any of them would not be ruled by their parents, it should be in the power of their parents to lessen or take away what he had left them, first giving it under their hands to his executors.”

IV. We are to consider him *in his religious capacity* ; in which he was no less excellent than in any of those that went before. Here we may, FIRST, see with how much piety he exercised himself TOWARDS GOD. He ever lived and acted with such a reverential awe, and most devout respect, towards the ALMIGHTY, that his life seemed little else but one entire series of devotion. Yea, we may a little see what he was in particu^{lar} duties of religion ; and here, whether we instance in secret or public exercises, he did so earnestly devote himself unto them, that, “ for my part,” saith a godly Divine who was his elose observer, “ amongst persons of his quality, I think he hath left very few superiors behind him, if any equals.”

1. *In private duties.*—It was his constant practice to pour out his soul before the LORD in secret thrice every day, and sometimes oftener, if he could get opportunity ; besides his family duties, and days of extraordinary humiliation, which he embraced on every occasion. Nay, his constant converse with individuals was so divine, as to merit a place among his private duties to GOD ; for his speech consisted of nothing but love, sweetness, and modesty ; all his discourse ever ministered grace unto the

hearers ; it was a pure stream from the pure fountain of his heart.

2. *In public duties.*—If we begin with his sanctification of the Sabbath, he rose early every day, but more early on the LORD's-day, so that usually he was the first up in the family. Then he called his children and others, that they might have sufficient time to prepare themselves for a more reverent and devout attention upon the LORD in his public ordinances ; and for himself, he usually spent much time in private every Sabbath morning, before he came to the congregation.

His value of, and constant attendance upon, the ministration of the word publicly dispensed, showed him so eminent, and zealously concerned, and taken up therein, that it was difficult for any to outdo him. What the Apostle JAMES requires was his punctual practice ; that is, he was “ swift to hear :” he could never satisfy his conscience, if he was not present to join with the congregation before there was one word spoken, or one petition sent up to the LORD. His unweariedness in this course while he lived, was always visible to the congregations near the place where he resided.—The congregation being dismissed, the first thing which he did usually, after he came within his own doors, was immediately to betake himself to his closet, to beg a blessed dew from heaven, to water the seed sown in his heart that day.

His preparation for the LORD's-Supper was transcendent. For the most part he spent all the time he could redeem in a fortnight, before the sacrament, in his closet, in reading, prayer, and examination of his spiritual state, with other duties of preparation tending thereunto ; and what he practised himself in this kind, he constantly called upon others under him to do likewise. We shall see further how eminent he was in preparing for the sacrament, as also in advancing public catechising, under the next head.

Consider him, **SECONDLY**, in his religious capacity, as **BELONGING TO THE CHURCH OF GOD** ; in which we shall

see his worth, if we seriously weigh the following particulars.

1. *His warm love and affection to a holy ministry.*—They who were faithful in this function had not, among persons of his quality, a more faithful and hearty friend and well-wisher in the whole world. None so earnestly and frequently prayed for them, none so highly prized their calling and labours, as he did. He was fully of that good man's mind, who openly professed, that he had rather fall with the ministry of England, than stand in greatest power with their enemies. When some talked of dreadfully bloody times, and dark, black days, as coming upon us, he replied, that those would be accounted dark, black days indeed, when the lights of the ministry were extinguished.

2. *His extraordinary care to present to every living, where he was patron, such as were well qualified and holy men.*—When any place in his gift was vacant, he would spend many days in fasting and prayer, to invite the direction of God, to guide him in his bestowing thereof; professing many times, that his spirit did more tremble to set his hand and seal to a presentation, than to any other writing or deed whatsoever; “lest,” said he, “I should thereby bring the loss of the people's souls to be required of me or my posterity, through my negligence.” And therefore, when by all his own care, and the advice of friends, such an one could not be procured, as for sufficiency and abilities would give satisfaction to the conscience of this rare patron, then he left it wholly to the better sort of the people in that place, to choose their own Minister.

3. *His doing all he could to draw his neighbours to the life, power, and universal practice of religion.*—He always heartily joined with his Minister, MR. FAIRCLOUGH, in every design that might advance holiness; nay, he engaged himself to do all things that could be proposed for that end. I will here mention two excellent practices of his, tending directly to it; the first was about catechising, the other the Supper of our LORD.

(1.) As to catechising, he saw that it was so necessary for old people as well as young, in order to their obtaining saving knowledge, that he proposed it to the heads of the families in the town and parish of Ketton, both rich and poor, that when the children or servants were catechised, if they could not give answer at any time to the question asked, the father or master should answer for them, engaging that he would do the like for his children or servants. Having laid out some time, and used several importunate arguments, he prevailed in the setting up of this practice, which by his example succeeded well, and was of admirable advantage to the informing of ignorant minds, and the building up of them, and others, in the most holy faith.

(2.) As to the sacrament of the Supper of our LORD, here he did all he could to assist the Minister in hindering the openly wicked from participating of this holy ordinance. In order hereunto, he agreed with the rest of those that were to communicate, that he and they should publicly declare their acknowledgment of the baptismal covenant. Accordingly he did himself begin this holy undertaking, and, before all the communicants, did declare his faith in God through our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and did undertake, through the assistance of the HOLY SPIRIT, to perform whatsoever his sureties had promised in his baptism upon his account, in which he was imitated by all others that communicated; which kept the profane from meddling with that sacred action, they being fully convinced of the reasonableness of the practice. This surely was doing what he could to advance the life, power, and universal practice of religion; so was also,

4. *His constant commemoration of, and joy in, the deliverances of the Church.*—Although his practice was herein universal, and did contain his abundant joy in the success and deliverances of the churches abroad, in any part of the world; yet we shall confine his actings to our own church in this nation. He did annually commemorate the thrice happy day of Queen ELIZABETH's inaugu-

ration ; which gloriously rescued the Reformed Religion from the bloody designs of the Papists. He also did every year observe the fifth of November with all becoming expressions of joy.

I have but mentioned something of his graces and excellencies ; for divers are omitted wherein he was as eminent as in any I have named. I instance in one, his charity to the poor. He did clothe and feed a great number of those that dwelt round about him, constantly, year by year, while he lived ; and left them legacies in several parishes when he died : yea, so extensive was his heart in the practice of charity, that it reached even as far as the poor in New-England, whose necessities he did highly commiserate and supply.

Thus much for his Life ; and now, lastly, for his Death, in which we shall find six things remarkable :— I. His preparation for it at some distance : II. His welcoming the messenger thereof when it drew near : III. His unwillingness, even then, to be absent from holy ordinances and exercises : IV His fervent performance of such duties as he was capable of : V. His excellent farewell-advice to his children : VI. His peaceable and joyful departure.

I. *His preparation for death at some distance.*—He was unwilling to be surprised, and therefore endeavoured for several years before it came to be ready ; but especially for two years before, he was ever thinking of, and fitting for it. Then he made his last will, upon this very ground, as he there expresseth, that after he had set his house in order, he might have nothing in the world to look after, or to look upon, but his blessed SAVIOUR, and salvation by him. In this last testament, he discovers as much assurance and confidence of the LORD's everlasting grace and love to him, as if at the time he had embraced the LORD JESUS in his arms. As, in the beginning of his will, he heartily begs the guidance of God to direct him in the wise disposal of what divine goodness had bestowed upon him ; so, in several other places, he doth annex many

heavenly counsels, and precious instructions, tending to the everlasting inheritance of his posterity. It was observed of him, that after his will was finished, he seemed to have little to do but to be gone to the better world; being as much at ease as if he had wholly done with this world.

II. *His welcoming the messenger of death, when it drew near.*—He did not then, according to the method of most, seem averse to be gone, but was heartily ready; for as soon as ever there appeared on his side a small swelling, in which none but himself conceived any danger, he, being then at Hackney, did send fifty miles for Mr. FAIRCLOUGH, his Minister, to discourse with him; and taking him to walk with him, presently fell to conference on the worth and immortality of the soul, on the manner of its subsistence and actings when it was separated, on the joys of the other world, and on the vanity and emptiness of all things in this; judging these subjects to be most suitable to his present condition: and herewith he was so deeply and spiritually affected, that, at their parting, he expressed himself in the following manner to Mr. FAIRCLOUGH: “Sir, I now much wonder that any man that fully believes these things to be realities, and not mere notions, should be unwilling to die; for my own part, I will not be so flattered as to be desirous to live longer in the world, where there is little hope left that the LORD hath any more work for me to do, except it be to suffer for keeping a good conscience, in witnessing against the apostasies and impieties of the times. And now it is a great favour of God to be sent for speedily.” After this, being removed to London, for greater conveniency of physicians, he there made the same profession of his desire to be dissolved, and to be with CHRIST.

III. *His unwillingness even then to be absent from holy ordinances and exercises.*—His pains and weakness growing so fast upon him that he was thereby hindered from the enjoyment, first, of public ordinances in the church, and presently after of those that were in the family; this was the greatest grief that burdened his mind. One Sab-

bath-morning, observing the people of the family, where he lodged, to be getting themselves ready to join with the congregation belonging to that place, he fell into a great passion of sorrow, and wept very much, because he had gone with the multitude, and led them to the house of God, but now was necessitated to want the benefit of that which his soul so much thirsted after. Again, the week before he died, he was persuaded, in respect of the extremity of his pain, once or twice to go to bed before family prayers; but the night following, being again persuaded to it, he told them, "that he would not be entreated to do so any more;" for he said, "he was sure that he slept the worse those nights for the want of it."

IV. *His most fervent performance of such holy duties as he was capable of.*—Because he could not enjoy those that were public, he therefore gave up himself the more earnestly to the exercise of secret reading of the Scripture, meditation, and prayer, so long as his strength would hold out; but one wave followed another so fast, that he was disabled thereby from being so frequent and constant in those secret duties as he desired; of which he made many complaints to his sons, and others, as they came about him.

V. *His excellent advice to his children.*—The day before his death, his children being about him, after he had blessed them all, and offered up his prayers to heaven for them, he gave them his last advice in four particulars. First, He admonished them to take heed of worldliness and vain glory. Secondly, He persuaded them to live in unity together; yet so that they should ever count it their duty to watch over one another, and never be afraid to tell one another of their faults lovingly. Thirdly, He exhorted, that they should take heed of timorousness, and shrinking from the truth, by reason of the opposition of the times against the power of godliness. Fourthly, He commended them unto the word of God's grace, and the word of grace unto them; requiring them to be constant in reading the Scriptures, and to join thereto prayer for a blessing, before and after.—After these counsels, one of

his sons (telling him how much he hoped the words of a dying father would be regarded by them) desired him to deal impartially with each of them, and discover unto them what evils he had noted each of them most prone unto, and what duties he had observed any of them most negligent in. He did perform what was desired with so much plainness, that one of his brothers standing by, desired him to use the same fidelity to him, which accordingly he did.

VI. *His peaceable and joyful departure out of the world.*

—He enjoyed before his death, even to the last, such an abundant peace, and ravishing joy, as could not be hid; his soul being so filled therewith, that it even overflowed, and poured upon all those that inquired after his condition. This appeared, first, to his second son, who observing him to grow faint, did desire him to be cheerful; to whom he answered, “Son, I thank the LORD, I am so cheerful in my heart, that I could laugh whilst my sides ache.” Then to his brother, inquiring how he found himself, he answered, “O brother, blessed be God, I have abundance of ravishing joy within me.” The same answer he gave to his eldest son, who inquired how it was with him. He presently fell into an earnest prayer, “that the LORD would be pleased to give him a happy deliverance out of this world, and a glorious meeting with his SAVIOUR.” This prayer was so graciously answered, that as long as he enjoyed any use of speech, he acknowledged the sense of this inward joy. After he had said, “I have peace within, I have peace within,” he spake no more, but lying for a while, as it were in a slumber, at last he opened his eyes again, and lifting up his hands towards heaven, fell asleep in the LORD.

He left the miserable, and went to the happy world, on the 25th of July, in the year 1653, when he had lived full threescore and five years.

(XVIII.)

THE LIFE
OF
SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH.

SAMUEL FAIRCLOUGH was born April 29, 1594, at Haverill, an ancient market-town in Suffolk.

His father, MR. LAWRENCE FAIRCLOUGH, was a branch of a very ancient family in Lancashire, from whence he was sent to the University of Cambridge, and thence removed to be incumbent at Haverill, where he lived, an able and worthy Preacher of the Gospel, for many years. Having preached a sermon of thanksgiving for the coming in of King JAMES, in the year 1603, he caught so great a cold by it, that he died the next day, leaving this son then but nine years old.

There were many pledges of a great and good mind discerned in this child when very young, which his father perceived; but more especially a desire to study, and a love to search after knowledge: and accordingly his father, upon his death-bed, laid a particular command on his mother to breed this son a scholar, and advised that he should be educated under one MR. ROBOTHAM, the most famous schoolmaster of that age. Before he was fourteen years of age, he was sent to the University, with this testimony from his master, "that he was the best scholar that ever went from that school, whereof he had been master near thirty years." This could not but be a great comfort to his mother; but there was something of another kind, which rejoiced her much more; and it was this, that God was pleased to begin a work of grace in his heart very

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early, awakening his conscience by the terrors of the law, bestowing a sincere repentance upon him thereby, and working an effectual faith in him. All this was done by the ministry of the word preached by MR. SAMUEL WARD; then Lecturer of Haverill. MR. WARD had answered for him in his baptism, and had always a hearty love to him. Preaching one LORD'S-day upon ZACCHÆUS'S conversion, and discoursing upon ZACCHÆUS'S four-fold restitution in case of rapine and extortion, he used that frequent expression, *Non dimittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum*; that is, "No man can expect pardon from God of the wrong done to another's estate, except he makes full restitution to the wronged person." This was a dart directed by the hand of God to the heart of our young school-boy; who, together with one JOHN TRIGG, afterwards a famous physician in London, had the very week before robbed the orchard of one GOODMAN JUDE, of that town. At and after sermon he mourned much, and took not any sleep all the night following; and early on the Monday morning, he went to his companion TRIGG, and told him that he was then going to GOODMAN JUDE'S, to carry him twelve pence, by way of restitution for three penny-worth of pears, of which he had wronged him. TRIGG, fearing that if the thing were confessed to GOODMAN JUDE, JUDE would acquaint MR. ROBOTHAM therewith, and that correction would follow, did earnestly strive to divert this poor child from his purpose of restitution; but FAIRCLOUGH replied, that God would not pardon the sin, except restitution was made. To this TRIGG answered thus, "Thou talkest like a fool, SAM; God will forgive us ten times, sooner than old JUDE will forgive us once." But our SAMUEL was of another mind, and therefore he went on to JUDE'S house, and there told him his errand, and offered him a shilling; which GOODMAN JUDE refusing, (although he declared the forgiveness of the wrong,) the youth's wound smarted the more thereby; so that he could get no rest until he went to MR. WARD, and opened to him the whole state of his soul, both upon

the account of this particular sin and many others, and most especially, the sin of sins, the original sin of his nature. MR. WARD received him with great affection, and proved the good Samaritan to him; pouring wine and oil into his wounds, answering all his questions, satisfying his fears, and preaching JESUS to him so fully and effectually, that he dedicated and devoted himself to his SAVIOUR and REDEEMER all the days of his life after.

Being designed for Cambridge, he was recommended by a friend of his, one MR. ALLINGTON, to MR. BERRY, a fellow of Queen's-College, to whom he went, and, having delivered MR. ALLINGTON's letter, begged leave to speak a few words to him. He then informed him, that he was the son of a worthy divine, who died five years before; that he had continued at school ever since; and that his elder brethren had carried away almost all his father's estate with them into the Low Countries, so that he had but little to spend, and not any thing to recommend him to a tutor, but the knowledge he had obtained in the Greek and Latin tongues, and a cheerful observance of the commands of any gentleman who would make trial thereof. He added, that it might seem a great piece of impudence that a poor boy should thus address himself to so reverend a person; but it was the report which MR. ALLINGTON had given of his kindness, that made him hope now to find charity there, where many other persons had experienced so much goodness at all times.

MR. BERRY, who was in truth a very kind and good man, was mightily pleased to see a youth deliver himself so humbly, and yet so freely. He therefore first examined him in all school-authors, both Latin and Greek, and finding him a perfect master of both those languages, he told him that if DR. TINDALI, the Master of the College, would approve of him, he should then be admitted into the College, and he sent him to the Doctor accordingly; who had no sooner made trial of him, but he also did greatly approve of him. But there was yet a mighty

difficulty in the way ; for there was not one study empty in the whole college, and for want thereof many scholars had been rejected that year. Yet MR. BERRY would not upon this account reject him, but set up a bed in his own chamber for him, and gave him liberty to study there, till another study should become void.

He had not been above two years in the college before SPENCER, LORD COMPTON, eldest son of WILLIAM, Earl of Northampton, was designed for the University, and for that college also. The Earl would needs have his son to have two tutors, whereof one or other might always be with him. DR. TOWERS, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, was chosen by the Earl for his head-tutor, and the Earl wrote to DR. TINDALL to provide a sub-tutor, who might converse with the young Lord, and take care of him as often as DR. TOWERS was absent. The Master was then at his Deanery of Ely, with some Fellows of the College, where he received the Earl's letter ; which he had no sooner done, but he concluded with himself that FAIRCLOUGH would be a most fit person for this place. The next day, therefore, he sent for him to Ely ; and told him that he must write immediately a Latin letter to the Earl, and offer his service to the young Lord, his son. The task was very difficult for so young a person to undertake ; but the employment was honourable and profitable, and thereby also a door of preferment was certainly opened for the future. All this DR. TINDALL did intimate to him, and then left him to compose such a letter, whilst himself and the Fellows that were him, went to dinner in another room ; where they had not fully dined, before the letter was sent in finished. MR. PRESTON, afterwards the renowned DR. PRESTON, was one of the Fellows then at dinner. The Dean, and the whole company, were amazed when they read the letter, both for the manliness of the sense, the richness of the fancy, and the elegance of the Latin. But MR. PRESTON discerned especially the seriousness, sobriety, and piety, that breathed in

every line, and from that time he received this young man into intimate familiarity with himself.

The epistle was sent by the Doctor to the Earl, who having read it, and observed much accuracy therein, did rejoice that his son should converse with, and in many things be guided by, such a scholar, who did manifestly appear learned, grave, and prudent beyond his years. The next day, therefore, after the receipt of the letter, there were many rich goods and much furniture sent to this lad to take care of; and orders were given him further to furnish the chambers with every thing that should be wanting. There were several trunks sent also, full of rich clothes, and much money; the keys of all which were delivered to him, with notice that the Earl's son would be at the college in about three weeks. This was done, because the Earl afterwards acknowledged, that he did hereby make trial of the scholar's temper, both as to his faithfulness, and also as to his discretion.

The Earl coming and finding all things that were sent taken good care of, and all the money secured, and all things necessary provided, he declared not only his present satisfaction, but his great confidence that his son would be under excellent government, both as to his civil and also as to all his moral concerns. The Earl, therefore, putting two broad pieces into this sub-tutor's hands, told him that he had made trial of his prudence and faithfulness in his stewardship about smaller matters; and now he believed that he might safely trust him in greater concerns, and therefore he would commit the richest jewel and the greatest treasure he had in the world to the oversight of DR. TOWERS and himself. But in truth, the greatest care lay upon the shoulders of the sub-tutor; inasmuch as DR. TOWERS was much out of town, and the sub-tutor, being constantly with him, had the fairest opportunities to forewarn him of evil, and to reprove him for any miscarriage;—which he always did with such great prudence, deep humility, and apparent

affection, that the young Lord loved him as his brother, and valued his words as an oracle.

About this time, King JAMES I. came to Cambridge, and promised to give the University a second visit within a short time. The Heads therefore resolved to welcome the King's second coming with a comedy, namely, with that famous one called *Ignoramus*; and thereupon the greatest wits were selected to be actors therein, among whom the Lord COMPTON was pitched upon for one, and his sub-tutor designed for another. But it so happened, that the part which was to be acted by the sub-tutor, who was but little and of low stature, was that of Surda, an old woman, and it required him to be clothed in woman's apparel. This had an appearance of evil in it, as the young man thought, which, by the Apostle's rule, was to be avoided. He therefore went to the Vice-Chancellor, desiring to be excused from acting that or any other part. The Vice-Chancellor told him, that he was unwise, for by his acting he would become known to the Court, and by acting well, he would gain the King's favour immediately, and get preferment in a short time; to which the young scholar replied, that he judged it unlawful for a man to wear women's apparel. The Vice-Chancellor at first laughed at him, and argued the point awhile with him; but met with some such arguments, at last, as turned his smile into a frown: so that the contest between the Vice-Chancellor and him had proceeded higher, had not the Lord COMPTON offered, that he would act his own part, which was that of Vince, a page, and his sub-tutor's part also.—Thus did this youth choose to lose the smiles of the Court, and to bear the frowns of the Vice-Chancellor, rather than to hazard the light of God's countenance, or to endure the least lash of his own conscience.

After he had taken his degree, the Earl of Northampton, designing to send his son beyond sea, wrote to him, offering him the privilege of travelling with his son into France and Italy; but his answer was, that so far as he had power over himself, he did most thankfully accept of

the offer ; but he was not his own ; he had a mother yet alive, whose content he sought and preferred above his own, and with whom he would first advise, and then return a speedy answer. His mother being consulted, made an answer something like that of JACOB to his sons ; “ JOSEPH is not ; and SIMEON is not ; and will ye take BENJAMIN also ? ” — “ RAPHAEL,” said she, “ is not ; LAWRENCE is not ; ” (these were the names of her two elder sons, who died in the wars beyond sea ;) “ and will ye take SAMUEL also ? ” “ All these things are against me, and will bring my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.” She was proceeding farther, but he prevented her, falling upon his knees, and saying, “ Dear Mother, although my inclinations are strong, and my desires great to travel with my Lord, in such company, and in such an equipage, as I may now do, yet since I know your pleasure, I can assure you, I feel already far greater satisfaction in denying my own will for yours, than I can find in the journey, should it answer all my desires and expectations.” He therefore the next day went to the Earl’s house in Northamptonshire ; begged his Lordship’s pardon that he could not serve him therein ; and acquainted him with the reason which hindered his going.

Suddenly after this invitation was given him to travel, his old friend Mr. ALLINGTON did procure the presentation of the living of Halson, in the county of Suffolk, which presentation he sent to him ; but Mr. FAIRCLOUGH was not yet of age to receive Priest’s orders, or to be instituted and inducted into a living ; which being understood by Mr. GROUSE, a Fellow of the College, he did offer himself to go to Norwich and take the institution in his own name, to allow the whole profit of the living to this his young curate, and to restore the living to him so soon as he should be capable to receive it. When Mr. FAIRCLOUGH entered upon it, a greater congregation was soon gathered to hear him, than the church of Halson could hold. But when the two years were expired, and Mr. GROUSE had resigned, Mr. FAIRCLOUGH did not

think himself sufficient for these things. For though his learning and parts were beyond his age, and his labours were abundantly acceptable, yet he did not think himself furnished for so great a work as that of taking the care of souls upon him. He therefore resolved to retire again, and to betake himself to his private studies for a year or two longer; desiring to enter into the family of some eminent Minister, where he might again go through, and complete, a course of Divinity-studies, and, by converse with an experienced person, gain a more full knowledge of the nature of his work, and attain greater measures of grace in his own heart. Having, therefore, first consulted with his spiritual father, Mr. WARD, he was by him recommended to the house of Mr. RICHARD BLACKERBY, of Ashen, in Essex; a man justly reputed one of the holiest men on earth, and accounted the greatest scholar in that county. Here he sought to accomplish himself in all pieces of human literature. And he had undoubtedly consumed his whole life, and buried himself, in history and antiquity, and in arts and sciences, if God had not touched his conscience by that text of Scripture, *viz.* “The world by wisdom knew not God;” on reading which, one morning, he became thereby convinced, that he might spend too much time in gratifying his natural inclinations. His conscience also told him that he was not born for himself, but for public use and service. Hereupon he turned the stream of his studies mostly into the channel of Divinity. The grace of God now so far prevailed upon him, that he was taught to judge of things aright. It is true, he valued human learning above all human things, and did both covet and attain to a greater measure than most men do; but he was so happy as to know, that as the concerns of eternity are greater than those of time, so the knowledge of things eternal highly transcends the knowledge of things temporal.

He afterwards allotted four days in the week for the study of Divinity, and two for studying human learning: and although he had left his stated preaching, at one par-

ticular place, yet he preached constantly, every LORD'S-day, in one place or another; and Providence so ordered it, that he was sent for, far and near, especially by Ministers and congregations of market-towns, and those in divers counties. In Essex he was invited often to preach at Colchester, Braintree, Walden, and Thacksted. In Suffolk, he preached often at Hadleigh, Sudbury, and Clare; in all which places his name and memory are precious to this day, and will be so, as long as any of his auditors shall be found alive; for in all places GOD gave him many seals of his ministry.

In the year 1619, the Mayor of Lynn, in Norfolk, and nine of the Aldermen of that town, sent him a letter, subscribed with all their names, entreating him that he would come and be their Lecturer. He so far complied with their desires as to go to Lynn, and preached amongst them. They then offered him £50 per annum, and a fair dwelling-house, at the charge of the Corporation. The people also petitioned him to come thither, and promised to make his salary up to £100 per annum; but he desired some time to consider. Returning to Mr. BLACKERBY, and advising with him, and with divers other friends, they all persuaded him to go to Lynn. Hereupon he went, and continued there some time. But it happened to him there, as it did to the Apostle, to wit, to be greatly envied by some other Ministers, whose people flocked to hear this new Lecturer. Moreover, he was openly opposed by the generality of the inn-keepers, alehouse-keepers, and vintners, whose trade became less. But above all, DR. HARSNETT began to be angry, being informed that he had baptized children without the sign of the Cross, upon which he was cited to the Bishop's court. MR. FAIRCLOUGH, perceiving that his enemies would soon make Lynn too hot for him, went to the Mayor and Aldermen of the town, and besought them to provide themselves with another Lecturer. At this they were greatly troubled; but MR. FAIRCLOUGH acquainting them with what had passed at the Bishop's court, and recom-

mending a learned and godly man to succeed in his place, he obtained leave to return to a small lecture at Clare.

And now, being resolved to sit down in this place, he considered about entering into a married state. At his first coming into MR. BLACKERBY'S family, he had observed not only a great beauty, but a wonderful modesty, in his eldest daughter; and having lived for some years with her, he had discerned, that as she was of an excellent temper and sweet conversation, so she was sincerely pious. He therefore, having spent much time in prayer for direction, resolved first to address himself to her father, and then to herself; which he did, and obtained the consent of both: and they were a most happy couple, every way suitable to each other, and rejoicing in each other's love.

In the mean time the word of God at Clare "ran and was glorified" by his ministry, upon which all sorts of persons, rich and poor, did attend. Amongst those of quality, was SIR NATHANAEL BARNARDISTON. He was Patron to divers livings: and one of them becoming void, the Patron immediately purposed that MR. FAIRCLOUGH should be the incumbent of that parish, called BARNARDISTON. Hereupon the presentation was sent to MR. FAIRCLOUGH; but he sent it back; acquainting the Patron, that he understood some persons had moved in the behalf of one MR. WELD, with whom he did heartily join in the petition, himself having present employment at Clare, whereas MR. WELD was wholly destitute. SIR NATHANAEL was much pleased with the kindness of MR. FAIRCLOUGH; but was troubled at this answer. He therefore sent his servant the same day back to acquaint him, that he did not only offer the presentation, but earnestly request his acceptance thereof; because God had much blessed his labours already to his own, and his lady's heart, and therefore it was their joint desire that he would come to be their neighbour-minister. Importunity from such a person, in such a case, could not be long denied; so MR. FAIRCLOUGH removed to the town of Barnardiston, where he

constantly preached twice on every LORD's-day, and also on every festival-day, when the people could best attend ; and once in every month, he preached a preparation-sermon for the Sacrament. Here he also set up the great duty of catechising young and old ; which he practised (as opportunity allowed) to his life's end. Neither did he content himself with public preaching alone ; but he went to all the houses in Barnardiston (they not being many) once every month, discoursing there with his people about the state of their souls, and giving them assistance and counsel, according to their present condition.

He compared public preaching to sowing of seed, and private discourse to harrowing or covering the seed, without which, the fowls of the air, that is, a multitude of diverting thoughts, and the Prince of the air also, would soon pick up the word, without fruit or benefit. At another time, he compared public preaching to that which falls upon many narrow-mouthed bottles, the greatest part whereof falls beside the mouths of the vessels, so that they are rarely filled ; but private instruction and admonition, he would say, was like a man's taking a single bottle into his hand, and pouring in water into it with a funnel, whereby it was soon filled.

Whilst he was Minister here, which was not above five years, he was desired, not only by the people, but by the Minister also of one of the Churches of Sudbury, to supply the place of the Minister, who was then sick, one LORD's-day. This was granted ; and lodging at the house of one MR. RUGGLE, in that town, he, in the Sabbath-evening, repeated both his sermons in that family, with whom were present divers other persons of the town also. Hereupon one of the other Ministers of the town, being displeased, did draw up certain Articles against him, as a factious and seditious man ; and exhibited them in the Star-chamber, grounding his accusation only upon this repetition of his sermons. He was convened before the Lords of the High Commission ; and, although he made

a legal, clear, and full defence, yet, that Court being arbitrary, he could not obtain a dismissal, till after two years' attendance. The charge of his journeys, and the fees of proctors, advocates, and counsel, did swallow up, in those two years, the whole profit of his little living; and he had continued longer in trouble, if **SIR NATHANAEL BRENT**, his chief counsel and advocate, had not at last humbly petitioned the Court, in the name of his client, that the business might be referred to the petitioner's diocesan at Norwich; which being granted, a lady in Norwich gained such a certificate from the Bishop, as obtained a full discharge. This account we have from his own diary, which he kept constantly, from the age of twenty years; and in which he daily wrote down a full history of all **GOD'S** dealings with him, of the frame of his own heart, and of **SATAN'S** temptations, and his victory over them. A great part of his diary is penned in the Greek tongue; but the greatest part of it is written in elegant Latin.—What now follows, relating to his removal to Ketton, is taken wholly from his own hand.

DR. GIBSON, who was incumbent of the rectory of Ketton, had certain friends at Court, who gave him some hopes, that in case he would come up to London, and petition the Lord Keeper for a prebendary's place, then void at Norwich, he might obtain it. Up went the Doctor hereupon; but it pleased God to afflict him, so soon as he came to the city, with a severe sickness, whereof he died. News hereof was sent down to the Patron, **SIR NATHANAEL BARNARDISTON**. He sent his eldest son with a presentation to **MR. FAIRCLOUGH**; who returned a very thankful letter, acknowledging his great obligations, but withal told him, that he now stood so engaged to his present people, that, without their consent, he could not leave them. Hereupon, his Patron did, the same week, summon all the people of Barnardiston to his house; and told them, that as in love to their souls he had formerly presented this Minister to them, so in love now to the souls of the people of Ketton, he was resolved to bring

him to Ketton; but he still would take care that a godly and learned Minister should succeed,—one that might watch over their souls,—naming MR. WESTLEY, then Lecturer of Haverill. The nearness of the parishes one to the other, the authority of the landlord, and his conscientious care in providing a good successor for them, produced a silence in them, and a half-consent; which was interpreted by the Patron to be sufficient, because, at MR. FAIRCLOUGH's first going to Barnardiston, the people had notice that he was placed there but for a time.

He was about thirty-five years of age when he came to Ketton, and he continued nearly thirty-five years there; all which time, saving a little interval by reason of sickness, he constantly preached four times a week, (besides his daily expositions in his family,) to wit, twice every LORD's-day,—once every Thursday, a public lecture,—and once every Saturday night, in his own house, in preparation for the Sabbath. The frequency of his preaching hindered not the elaborateness of his discourses. He never preached any thing which he had not first duly considered, and written with great deliberation. It is true, he never used any notes in the pulpit; but he never preached without them. His Thursday lectures were preached to a great number of the Clergy; all the Ministers, for many miles round, coming constantly to hear them: and there were frequently not less than ten or twenty scholars, both Fellows of colleges and others, from Cambridge. In his LORD's-Days' exercises, which were addressed to a plain country people, of his own and neighbouring parishes, he very rarely preached about any controverted point; and did never stuff his sermons with nice speculations and intricate disputes. He loved not to meddle, in his popular sermons, with those points that lie out of common reach, and are apt to perplex honest minds. He industriously studied plainness; therein following the pattern of his old acquaintance, Archbishop USHER, and the special counsel and advice of his old friend, DR. PRESTON.

God had given him also a mighty gift in prayer, and did bless the use of both prayer and preaching to the great benefit of his people. The inhabitants of the town, when he first came to it, were very ignorant and profane; being generally "aliens and strangers from the commonwealth of Israel, and without God in the world." There was not one family in twenty, which did then call on the name of the LORD, or had the worship of God set up in it. But in a short time after his coming, he had so preached to them, and so prayed with them, and for them, that there was not one family in twenty which did not profess godliness, or whose governors did not offer up their morning and evening sacrifice constantly.—Upon himself God poured out an abundant measure of the SPIRIT of grace and supplication. Whatever gifts or graces were requisite to make the ordinances of prayer acceptable to, or prevalent with God, were communicated to him, in an extraordinary manner. He always poured forth his very heart and soul before God with great faith; and from thence flowed great freedom of expression, but always joined with the greatest reverence, and deepest humility. It was very affecting to discern gifts and graces thus in conjunction. He well knew how to suit his expressions properly to every particular occasion, whether he petitioned for any special mercy, or supplicated the removal of any evil; all which he performed, though with great fervour and zeal, yet with such entire resignation and submission to the divine will, that in all things it was manifest, that love to God and his glory gave life and breath to all his desires. He had a tender heart; and in a day of humiliation he discovered such brokenness and contrition of spirit as did soon melt the hearts of others. On such days, all that joined with him wished, and many found, with JEREMIAH, "that their heads were rivers, and their eyes fountains of tears." Every LORD'S-Day, especially in the last prayer after his afternoon-sermon, he was very large in the thanksgiving part of that ordinance; which he performed as if he had been one of

the heavenly choir. At this new service he seemed to recover new life and strength ; and O how great were the raptures, how lofty were the strains, how wonderful were the enlargements of soul which he experienced, in the performance of that angelical work of praise ! He never forgot Zion, but begged as often, and more earnestly, that God's name might be hallowed, and that the kingdom of his Son might come, than ever he did for his own daily bread.—He prayed much for others, and desired the like from them ; which that he might obtain, he appointed stated times, when he and his friends engaged to each other to meet together at the throne of grace, which engagement, on his part, was strictly performed. A visitant once coming to him, and the question being asked, whether he had kept the promise of mutual prayer, the person blushed, and confessed that some omission had happened on his part ; to which this holy man replied, “ Well, but I have been true to my word ; and could either this table, or chair, near which I have prayed, speak, they might witness for me, that for seven years together, I have made mention of your name before God in prayer, between four and five o'clock every Saturday in the afternoon, unless hindered by extraordinary occasions.”

As he was a man much with God in prayer, so he was one whose prayers God did often, and sometimes very signally, answer. We must not transcribe the many instances of that return of prayer, which he hath recorded ; but we should be greatly wanting, if we did not make mention of some.

His wife, about a year after his marriage, being great with child, became very sickly, and continued so, till within a fortnight of her time. He had all along wrestled with God upon her behalf, and had spent much time in prayer with her ; but now he was resolved to spend a day in fasting and prayer, by himself, upon her account ; and his wife set apart the same day for prayer by herself in another room. In this duty, he earnestly begged of

God, that she might obtain mercy, and find help in the time of her need. In the evening and close of the day, while he was the seventh time upon his knees, he heard a mighty shriek not far from the house, which he guessed to be the voice of his wife; and so it was; for she having also spent most part of the day in prayer, did in the evening walk abroad,—meditating upon the promises of God to persons in her condition, and contemplating the infinite power of God, whereby he was able to make good his promise in the greatest difficulties. While her mind was deeply engaged herein, going by the side of a pond, in an adjoining field, her feet slipped, so that she fell over head and ears into the water. She shrieked in her fall; which her husband hearing, came down hastily, and, missing her within doors, ran so quickly to the pond, that, although she had sunk twice, he caught her by the hand before she sunk the third time. This happened in the month of October, when the water was exceedingly cold; but it pleased God, that no evil effect was produced.

A more memorable instance of the answer of prayer occurred in the case of his youngest son; for whom, upon a Saturday, about four in the afternoon, which was one of his stated times of prayer for his friends and relations, his heart was much enlarged in prayer. He was walking in the fields, and pouring out his soul for all his relations; but especially for that little one, who was his youngest, and then about two years old. This child, at that hour, a servant had taken up with her into the garret, and set him by the window, while she swept it. She carelessly neglected to have her eye upon the little one; and the child, looking out at the window, upon a company of young ducks, which were swimming in a vessel of water just under the casement, thrust his body so far out, that he fell down, and pitched first upon the eaves of the next floor, with so much force, as to break off above a dozen tiles from the place. With these tiles, he fell down to the ground; but not into the vessel

of water, which stood perpendicular to the window, but exactly between that vessel and a large door which lay very near it, and upon which the food for those ducks was laid. Had he fallen a quarter of a yard on either hand, his brains must have been dashed out, either by the door or vessel ; but GOD, by the ministration of his angels, so ordered it, that although the height of the place caused a dizziness and a swoon for a few moments, yet the child was no sooner taken up, but he immediately recovered. There was not the least bruise or hurt, inward or outward, nor the smallest razing of the skin by any of the tiles that fell with him ; but, within one quarter of an hour, he went up and down the house, as he had formerly done. His good father looked higher than to any natural means for the cause of his child's preservation. When he returned from his walk, which was nearly half an hour after the fall, at which hour he had prayed so earnestly to God for this child, being told the story of the fall, and having observed the height of the window, the broken tiles, the posture of the vessel and door, and the place where the child was taken up safely ; he presently called all his family, and many of the neighbours together, to join with him in giving God praise for the wonderful return of prayer, made at that instant, on behalf of that little one.

To mention but one instance more :—God having given him a seventh child, it pleased God, that when it was about half a year old, it was strangely afflicted with pain and sickness, of which neither Physicians nor Surgeons could give any account. Many eminent persons, of both sorts, had inspected the child, but could not in the least guess the nature of its distemper. Many weeks passed wherein the child languished, and did daily fill the ears of its parents with its loud and frequent shrieks. The parents hereupon set apart a day of prayer, solemnly to seek God for this poor afflicted infant ; in which service God was pleased to give to Mr. FAIRCLOUGH great assistances of his SPIRIT, and enlargement of heart. The

very next morning, as the mother had the sick child in her lap, and was rubbing its naked head with her hand, she felt a pin to prick her hand ; at which very much wondering, she looked narrowly into the car of the child, and there espied the small end of a large pin. It was very difficult to discern the end thereof, and more difficult to draw it forth, the head of the pin being downward, and almost eaten up with rust ; but it being pulled out, the child was presently at ease, and recovered its health in a very short time.

The work of God at Ketton greatly prospered in his hand. The whole town was more and more reformed, so that his parish was a pattern to all the neighbouring towns. Former profaneness was forced now to hide its head ; drunkenness, swearing, cursing, and the like, as they were not practised, so they were scarcely known. Divers persons lived many years in that parish ; and, in the whole time, never heard an oath sworn, or saw one person drunk.

Many years were thus spent by this faithful servant of JESUS CHRIST, wherein God was pleased abundantly to endue him with bodily strength to go through his labours ; and wherein God also did secure him from all molestation and trouble from abroad, which some others met with. But about the year 1635, he was seized with dizziness in his head, which afterwards turned to a violent pain. His physicians told him, that his distemper proceeded from over-much study, and from a sedentary life, for the cure whereof they advised him to forbear preaching ; which he did a while, but found no relief. Then they advised him to try change of air, and recommended to him the air about Newmarket. He went, therefore, and lived with the Lady THORNTON, who had a seat within little more than a mile of that town, and God was pleased very much to bless that air to his recovery ; so that having gotten a little strength, he was resolved to return to his work, and to lay it out in his Master's service ; which he did for nearly two years.

It pleased God afterwards to exercise him with a greater trial; for, upon a Lord's-Day morning, in his passage from his own house towards the parish-church, he went over a gate in his way, which he supposed had been locked, as it was wont to be; but while he was almost over it, the gate opened, and caused him to have a very severe fall, by which he was much hurt. His wife besought him to return home, and retire to his bed; but considering that his congregation was at that time met, and finding that he was able still to walk, though not without pain, he went forward to church, and there preached the former part of that day, but was forced to procure a supply for the afternoon. The next day his pain increased more and more; and although he loved not to keep his bed, yet he was confined thereto for some days, and unto his chamber for some weeks. He was at length able to travel on foot; but wholly hindered from riding on horseback for several years. This affliction, though it was uncomfortable, inasmuch as it barred him from the only recreation in which he delighted, was, however, a sufficient plea for his not appearing at the Bishop's Court; and thereby it was providentially a means of his continuing in his ministerial work longer than probably he might otherwise have done.

About this time the Book of Sports was enjoined to be read, to which he neither did, nor could submit; and for this he was often cited to appear before the Archdeacon and Commissary at Bury: but answer was always given, that by reason of his distemper he was unable to ride so far. Hereupon, articles were drawn up against him; and the Commissary had orders to adjourn the Court from Bury to the parsonage-house of Ketton. And now, all persons feared that he would have been suspended; but the providence of God prevented it; for the Commissary and Surrogate, who were deputed to examine him, were both hindered at that time by sickness, and none came but the Secretary, and one Minister with him, who did little more than take cognizance of his bodily lameness,

and then departed ; leaving him at liberty to go on in his work as formerly. In this he was very diligent and constant ; for although he was not well able to get up into the pulpit for some years, yet he preached twice every **LORD'S-DAY**, sitting in his desk. But over-much study, after some time, had almost brought his first distemper upon him ; for his spirits began to decay, and dizziness began to seize his head, besides the effects of his fall, which still troubled him. Having consulted many doctors, they all advised that he should go down in a horse-litter to the Bath, which they counted would be a most effectual remedy for him. But such a long journey required more time than the statute doth allow to any Incumbent to be absent from his place. This, therefore, put him upon petitioning the Archbishop for a dispensation ; which, by interest of friends, was obtained. One argument which the presenter of the said petition used to the Archbishop was this, that his Lordship had no man dwelling in his whole province who was so like himself, as to bodily shape and face. To which the Archbishop answered, "Is it so ? Then let him go to the Bath."—If any person, upon occasion, shall desire to have some account of his bodily shape and form, let them know, that he was a pretty fat and corpulent man, full-faced, of a grave majestic aspect, and had a very quick and piercing eye ; but withal was low of stature.

This dispensation being obtained, he resolved to undertake his journey to Bath, so soon as God should give his wife safe deliverance ; she being then pregnant. But this time never came ; for his wife fell into premature labour, which cost her her life. He was now left alone, with a great number of small children, and with a large family of servants. The education of the one, and the government of the other, it was impossible for him to discharge, in the way in which he knew that it ought to be done ; because his ministerial work did necessarily take up most of his time, if not all of it. Yet he grappled with these difficulties for three years ; and was then persuaded by

friends to endeavour to repair the breach which God had made in his family, by marrying a second time. And Providence bringing an excellent gentlewoman to live in that town, she was recommended to him by all his friends, but especially by his first wife's relations, as one that would take off much of the burden of educating his daughters, who were the youngest part of his children. This gentlewoman was a person of great piety, and of a sweet disposition. She was the relief of Mr. WILLIAM FOLKE, of Cambridgeshire, and had but one child, a daughter, an heiress of a fair estate, who was much of the same age with his youngest child and daughter. After much prayer and seeking of God, the thing was accomplished, to the great joy and comfort of them both; she being a very affectionate yoke-fellow to him, and a most indulgent mother-in-law to his children; so that there never happened the least strife between them, but only this, whether he should show more kindness to her only child, or she show more love to all his seven children. And this contest also was most pleasingly composed, afterwards, by the inter-marriage of his third son with that daughter.

About this time, the first Long Parliament was convened, who, after a while, thought fit to call an assembly of the most eminent Divines of the nation, and those of different persuasions, to sit at Westminster, and to consult about making some alteration in the discipline and government of the Church. His Patron being one of the Knights of the Shire for Suffolk, nominated him to be one of this assembly. But, although he had much recovered his health, without going to the Bath, yet he was not fully cured; and therefore he went not to London till that assembly had met, and sat some time. When he came to Westminster, and observed the state of things, he petitioned to be discharged, and obtained of his Patron to nominate another Minister to succeed in his place; which being granted, he returned to his own charge. He was a great lover of peace, and a great promoter of it;

and was wont greatly to bemoan, that those who did heartily agree in the fundamental articles of our creed, should, with great heat and animosity, contend about modes and ceremonies of worship, and forms of discipline and government.—He was no lawyer, and therefore might be ignorant of the legality of the proceedings of either party, during the civil wars. Hence, he always chose to be passive therein rather than active; but no man lamented more the sins of those times than he did, being greatly wounded when he heard of Protestants fighting one against another. The wars were no sooner begun, than he foretold the ruin both of Church and State; for he discerned that the designs of the Jesuits were to foment the differences on both sides, till both Church and State should be destroyed; which sadly came to pass in the year 1648, when the emissaries of the Church of Rome, who had listed themselves in both armies, did so influence and leaven their counsels, that the army rebelled against the very persons from whom they received their commissions, and offered great violence to them. First they excluded the most eminent Members of the House of Commons, with the whole House of Lords; and then they killed the King himself at his own door;—throwing the scandal of all upon the Protestants, though a learned Dignitary of the Church hath abundantly proved it to be the act of the Papists chiefly. O how greatly did the soul of this worthy person bleed for these things! Upon all occasions, he constantly bore public testimony against those proceedings. When the engagement for excluding the King's posterity was imposed upon him, upon the penalty of forfeiting his living, he declared that he would not only part with his living, but his life also, rather than subscribe to that which his soul abhorred. He was sometimes threatened with loss; at other times tempted by great offers of gain: but nothing could prevail with him, to bring him to a compliance in any thing which he judged sinful.

After nearly fifty years spent in preaching the Word of

GOD with faithfulness and diligence, it pleased GOD now to honour him, by enabling him to suffer for adhering to the word of his patience, and for the testimony of a good conscience. He had been eminently active, and done much for GOD's honour and glory ; and now he was called to be passive, and to forsake all and follow his Master. Conscientious doing of the divine will, is a good preparation for conscientiously suffering it. He that hath been sincere in obeying GOD's other commands, will obey that, among the rest, which requires us to take up CHRIST's cross. He was wonderfully tender in judging any of his brethren, who, so far as he knew, might follow their light, in declaring their assent and consent to every proposition contained in several human books ; but he himself had no such large faith ; much less had he the implicit faith of making such declarations upon trust, relying upon the judgment of others.

All his people were greatly desirous of his continuing with them, if his conscience would have permitted. The poor thought they should greatly suffer by his leaving them ; fearing a want of that charity which he was wont to extend towards them. Others thought of their great loss of an able and willing peace-maker, in case of differences ; for he made and kept agreement between his neighbours. Others feared, that in his absence they should want a person to appear for the fatherless and widow, against their injurious enemies and cruel oppressors. All these might desire his continuance out of love to themselves. But others came to him out of a principle of friendship to him and his ; advising him to be kind to himself, and not to lose a living of £200 *per annum*, or to part with such a fine parsonage-house, or with such a fine glebe, or with such a great auditory, or with such a loving people and kind neighbourhood. And others did desire his continuance upon yet more weighty reasons ; they questioned whether any would succeed, like-minded with him, who naturally had care of their souls, by opening the mysteries of the Gospel, and by revealing

the way of life to them,—and that, with great evidence and demonstration, with great power and plainness. They doubted also, whether they should ever have such another pattern of holiness, or such an example of mortification, or such an instance of heavenly-mindedness set before their eyes. To all these he replied diversely. To the poor, afflicted, and oppressed, he answered, that he blessed God he should leave a good Magistrate behind him, who had formerly done, and could still do, more for them than he could; and he knew that he was ready so to do. To the second sort he answered, that their love was great, but not right, being of no other kind than that of PETER, when he dissuaded CHRIST from going to Jerusalem; and therefore he desired them to desist from tempting him. To the last sort he used the words of the Apostle, “Sirs, why do you break my heart? For my own part I am willing not only to be bound, but to die,”—“rather (he added) than sin against the light of my conscience; and for you I shall not cease to pray, that God would send you another Pastor, one after his own heart; and I hope God will hear me herein.” He desired them therefore to join with the Patron and himself, in setting some time apart to seek God upon that account; which they did: and he did also in private give himself earnestly to beg of God that he might have such a successor, as that he himself might not be wanted.

When the Act requiring all dissenting Ministers to leave not only their parsonages, but their parishes and people also, came forth, this grieved him far more than the loss of his living; for this hindered him, not only from preaching, but from conversing with many of his spiritual children, whose education and increase of grace were dearer to him than any temporal concern. But where active obedience cannot be given, passive obedience must be shown. He therefore resolved upon a remove; and the first place he went to, was to board with his eldest daughter, who had married an Essex gentleman, and

lived in a very fair large house, called Seulpous, in Finch-
ingfield. He had two sons, and two sons-in-law, who
were all Ministers, and had left their livings also. The
father, and these his four sons, had lived at great distance
from each other, in five several counties; but now they
all agreed to live together in one house, which made a
very numerous family, and erected a kind of little college
of divines. It was a constellation of stars, every one
whereof had afforded a very fair light when it was sepa-
rate; but being now all in conjunction, they drew the
eyes of much people, in that corner, upon them. Nei-
ther could so many candles be so put under a bed, or
under a bushel, but that they still yielded a most benign
influence to all those parts. Their habitation was about
two miles from the parish-church; unto which, though
some of the family sometimes went, yet it was impossible
for the whole family to repair thither,—and especially for
the aged among them, who were more than one or two.
For his second wife living a very few years with him, he
was forced to marry, a third time, an aged gentlewoman
to be his nurse in his old age. Moreover, the house-
keeper had a mother above threescore and ten years old,
who lived with him. On account therefore of these per-
sons, and of divers children in the family, whose tender
years kept them also from the public service, the father
and his sons did engage to preach constantly on the
Lord's-Day in their turns, and once or twice on the
week-days, in the family; whither some neighbours also
did repair. Great were the comfort and joy which the
father and his children took in each other's company. It
was a most happy family, and a very delightful society.
But to the great grief of all, it continued not thus above
four or five years. For although the seat was pleasant,
yet the air was bad, and proved very unwholesome,
which caused a dispersion of the whole family. His own
sons then removed to London, and his two sons-in-law
to High Suffolk; and he himself went and boarded with
his youngest son, who was then a Preacher at Kennet, in

Cambridgeshire. Here the father did constantly go every LORD'S-Day to church, it being near, and heard his son; and usually preached himself every LORD'S-Day evening in the family. He was then near fourscore years old; yet his parts continued quick and strong, and, although aged, he retained much of the smartness and vigour of his youth. Those who stood without doors, and saw not his face, might suppose the Preacher to be about fifty years old; whether they judged by the matter of his discourses, or by the manner of his delivery. He would often say, that although, at this age, he might be discharged from labour, both by the laws of GOD and men; (the Jewish law allowing the Levite at fifty, and the Roman law allowing the soldiers at sixty, to be exempted;) yet he loved his work, and therefore would not leave the altar, or quit the field, so long as he could lift up his hand, or wield the sword of the SPIRIT.

After some years he removed to Heveningham, in High Suffolk, to the house of his second daughter, who was there married to MR. JONES, the Rector of that town. There also he kept on his course of hearing in public, and preaching in private, for about two years. At that time, his youngest daughter, who was married to MR. SHUTE, the Incumbent of Stow-Market, was covetous also to have her child's part of his presence and company; wherein he gratified her: and this was the last place of his abode in this world. He was above fourscore years old when he came to Stow-Market, until which time his parts and memory continued sound; but after that, a great change suddenly appeared, yet not so great, but that he still retained his understanding to a very good use and purpose,—none coming to visit him, without going away better. Even when he was much decayed, and almost fallen, the ruins of the building were such as did evidence that the fabric had once been large and stately. His natural heat and fervour were almost extinct; but the remains thereof manifested that the fire had been great, the glowing embers of which gave so much heat,

He was now going off the stage ; and before the curtain be drawn, that is, before an account be given of his last exit, it will not be amiss to intimate some particular excellencies in him, worthy both of remark and imitation.

None surely can be found, who walked in a more constant course of Private Duties ; such as reading, meditation, self-examination, and prayer. These four duties he seldom or never divided ; and by a daily-continued performance of them all, he had much of his conversation in heaven, and lived in close communion with God. The sun is not more true to its time of rising and setting, than he was to his stated course of secret prayer, both morning and evening. So soon as he was awake, which was early every morning, (till he was very old,) he did immediately rise, and prostrate himself at God's footstool ; after which, he constantly read some portion of Scripture, upon which he first perused the best commentators, and then constantly, for some time, meditated thereon ; observing the counsel of PYTHAGORAS to his scholars, " If you will not purify your food, and ruminate upon it, do not eat." Having thus digested truth himself, after some time he came down to perform family worship ; which he always began with a short prayer, and then expounded that portion of Scripture to them, wherewith he had first warmed his own heart. He then prayed again with them more largely than before ; and so betook himself to his study.

Through the whole day, he kept a most strict watch over his heart and tongue ; and when he was engaged in civil converse, and in worldly affairs, he was even in them spiritual and heavenly, his discourse being savoury and profitable. It was the language of Canaan, and such as might administer always grace to the hearers. He also learned that excellent sort of chymistry, which enabled him to extract spiritual notions from earthly occurrences. He saw God in all things, and enjoyed him in all his appearances. He managed all things, and in all things

was managed, by the HOLY SPIRIT; as it was said of JUSTIN MARTYR. Every evening, he constantly called himself to an account; examining and reviewing, as much as possibly he could, all his thoughts, words, and actions.

It was his business to live to God's honour. He was full of designs for CHRIST, and endeavoured fully to copy out the life of his Lord and Master. All that saw him, saw, as it were, Religion embodied, showing itself the greatest reality, and making itself to appear, what in truth it is, the most sweet and pleasant life in the world. They that beheld him, saw that it was possible for a man, while on earth, to have his heart in heaven, and, while he is in the body, both to live in the SPIRIT and walk in the SPIRIT.

He was eminently solicitous to discharge all relative as well as personal duties. In his family he walked as a man of understanding, and with a perfect heart; and was one of the Apostle's Bishops, "blameless, ruling his own house, and having his children in subjection." He was as another faithful ABRAHAM, who "taught his household, and his children after him, to keep the way of the LORD." He designed to govern his family by the law of God, "of whom all the families on earth are called." He commanded nothing, but what he knew himself to be commanded to command. He did not conceal, but declare, what his own duty, as well as the duty of his inferiors, was. He spake his mind clearly and intelligibly; and forgave all faults committed ignorantly and by mistake, being angry for nothing but wilful disobedience. Great were the pains which he took to instruct his family in the narrow way to life, by causing them to read the Scriptures frequently every day, to abound in the knowledge of them, and to treasure them up in their memories; (which he would often inquire into;) and also, by catechising them, using first a shorter catechism of his own composing, and then larger ones. All his children, when grown up, and many of the servants who lived with him,

could not only answer every question in a very large catechism, but could prove every answer by express Scripture-texts ; for they answered not like parrots, but as understanding the sum and substance of the christian religion. He moved in his family as an Angel, or an Intelligence, in his orb, ruling it with perfect harmony. He beheld his yoke-fellow with a pleasing and pleased eye of love ; he looked on his children with an eye of watchfulness, as well as affection, and upon his servants with an eye of authority and government ; so that all things were dispatched in his house with peace and order. He would tell his servants, that he hired them first to be God's servants, and then his ; and required them to look through and beyond him unto God, whereby they might at once do two works, and serve two masters, the one subordinate to the other, and would be sure to receive double wages,—from God and from him. He added, that God may, by a holy person, be as truly served in cleaning a horse, or milking a cow, in obedience to God, as in going to church, or in private prayer. He was careful in hiring servants. If it were possible, he would gain the children of godly parents ; and would never permit any to serve him, who refused to serve God in any of his institutions. He had one servant that managed all his concerns without doors ;—a servant very skilful and very careful, to whom his master once spake thus, “ JOHN, since I have left my estate to your care, God hath greatly blessed me ; and I perceive the less I meddle with the world, the more I thrive ; the more I give away, the more I have at the year's end.” The servant replied, “ No doubt, Sir, but it is so ; for I have taken notice, that the more you pray, and study how to plant and water the grace of God in your people's hearts, the greater blessing hath God given to my ploughing and sowing in the field ; and the whole town doth take notice how much the crop in your ground is better than theirs, although nought but a little hedge doth part them.”

As to the children which God gave him, he did “ tra-

vail in birth with them till he saw CHRIST formed in them." God made him not only a natural, but a spiritual father to seven children. He did believe, that most children are capable of discerning good from evil much sooner than most parents are aware of; he therefore began very early to instruct his own children; and all of them, like TIMOTHY, had knowledge of the Scriptures from their very childhood. He instructed them not only by precept, but by his own heavenly example. His whole life was worthy of imitation. It might be said thereof, as CHRYSOSTOM saith of the life of IGNATIUS, "It was a teacher and tutor of piety." He took care as much as possible, that no evil example should be given to his children, and commanded his servants that they should not dare to do or speak any thing before his children, which they would not do or speak before himself; well knowing that great reverence is due to children. He spake to them with much gravity, and some reservedness; but yet always kindly and affectionately, keeping frowns only for their faults. And indeed his children feared to see a frown in his face, as much as some children fear a blow from their father's hands. He seldom corrected any of them, and some of them never. As a father he maintained his authority; and as a good father he exercised great clemency. If at any time he was forced to be severe, he showed that it was altogether necessary, by the sudden return of his kindness, immediately upon their repentance. He bore the soul of every child upon his heart, and daily prayed, that not one who proceeded from his loins might ever stand at God's left hand; and few men had ever greater comfort in their children than he had. He died in the belief, that he should meet all his children with comfort at the great day. He sent all his four sons to the University, where three of them were Fellows of Colleges. They all four were called into the Ministry, and were able and faithful in their places; none having better repute than they, in the places where they lived, until they were removed, either by death or otherwise. God

blessed them in temporals also ; for he, and his, gave up above a thousand pounds per annum, when they laid down their public ministry.

He lived in an age wherein great contempt was thrown upon the office of the Ministry ; which caused this champion to appear, both doctrinally and practically, against such contemners of the institution of CHRIST. By his doctrine he declared often, and proved, that neither gifts nor graces, single and separate one from the other, did fully qualify persons for this work ; nor doth even the conjunction of them constitute a stated officer in the church, without due approbation by church-officers, upon examination, and ordination, after approbation, if possibly it can be obtained. Practically he appeared against such contemners, first, by begging earnestly of God that he would give grace unto all his sons, and then would incline the hearts of them all to devote themselves to this work ; secondly, by administering all the helps of education that might qualify them thereto. And to show yet more his esteem of this office, he married two of his daughters unto Ministers ; and farther, he did not only send his own sons to the University, but he sent divers others thither also, and maintained some of them much at his own charge. There are divers Ministers yet alive, who will acknowledge, that unto some of them he was the sole founder, and many others confess him their greatest benefactor, as to the University's maintenance. He once hired a young man, of about twenty years old, to wait on him, and to ride abroad with him. He was a good scholar, whose parents wanted the means of sending him to Cambridge. Of this his master was ignorant, at his first coming ; but a while after, accidentally observing him reading the Greek Testament, he tried him therein, and in other books, and finding him fit, sent him immediately to his eldest son in the University, and provided for his sustenance. At another time he preached the funeral-sermon of a worthy Minister, who had fitted his son for Cambridge, but died poor, so that

the son despaired of proceeding in his learning. Being made acquainted with this circumstance, he, at the close of the funeral-sermon, desired all those of his auditors, who loved and valued the deceased, to testify their affection by contributing towards the yearly maintenance of his son ; and, after sermon was ended, he called divers gentlemen and yeomanry together ; and first he himself subscribed four pounds per annum ; the gentlemen then subscribed forty shillings per annum, and some yeomanry twenty ; so that the young scholar was provided for at the university as comfortably as could be desired, and proved very useful in the church of God.

He was an excellent orator upon all accounts ; but he would use and show it most effectually in moving his auditory to be charitable ; many occasions whereof were offered to him, which he willingly embraced.—When the plague was in the University of Cambridge, the Vice-Chancellor sent to him, and some other neighbouring Ministers, to make a collection in his congregation for the town of Cambridge ; which he did so effectually, that he sent him above fifty pounds within a few days after. The Vice-Chancellor wrote him a long letter of thanks, and told him, that his gift was more than he had received from any six towns in all the county besides.—At another time, when the plague was at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, he gathered nearly as much for that town. On that occasion, he did not only persuade the good people, but even compelled, as it were, many covetous usurers to be bountiful ; as the Prophet NEHEMIAH did, (*Neh.* v. 13.) The case of the Prophet was that of famine, and this case was that of the plague ; yet he thought, that both the words, and the action also, of NEHEMIAH might well be applied to it, and he used them in this case with the like effect ;—many hard-hearted persons professing, that when he shook his garment, as the Prophet did, at that very action their hearts melted within them, and they so trembled, that had their pockets been full, they had given it all to him at that collection.—At another time, a neigh-

bouring Minister's house being burned down, wherein his goods were consumed, he, in a short time, procured him above a hundred pounds towards the repairing of his loss, and induced also his own third son, then Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, to take the distressed Minister's eldest son to be his pupil, and to allow him a good part of his maintenance.—He was charitable both to the souls and bodies of men; both mediately, by interceding with others for them, and immediately, by contributing and distributing of his own plentifully to them, and that not only occasionally, but statedly. He commanded all the poor of his parish to come weekly to his door for relief; and required always that his eldest daughter first, before she was married, and then his next daughters successively, should be his stated almoners, and should distribute alms with their own hands; accustoming themselves to works of mercy, wherein he commanded them to be very bountiful. Vast was the sum of money which he gave away with his own hand. He clothed the naked, and fed the hungry. He put not only many young men to Cambridge, as hath been said, but many poor children to school. He gave away as many catechisms and good books as were asked of him; and they were many. When the sight of old people was decayed, he would furnish them with Bibles of a larger print; and he gave an incredible number of spectacles away, always speaking of the invention of them with expressions of love and praise to God for his great goodness to the souls of men thereby.

He loved all the ordinances and institutions of JESUS CHRIST. Preaching was his delight, prayer his joy, administration of sacraments the pleasure of his soul. He counted the sabbath honourable. He was most solemn in the observation of public days of humiliation, and kept many days of private fasting and prayer by himself in his study. But, above all, he delighted in reading the Scriptures; which were always “sweeter to him than the honey, or the honey-comb.”—He would never engage in the performance of any ordinances rashly, or without

due preparation. He would never read a chapter, or rarely suffer a chapter to be read in his presence, without invoking God for the co-operation of the Divine SPIRIT therewith. His preparation for solemn days of fasting, for the sanctification of the LORD'S Day, and for the administration of the LORD'S Supper, was not to be paralleled in the whole country where he lived. He never kept any solemn public fast, without preaching some preparation-sermons before the day came. He never administered the LORD'S Supper, until he had first preached three or four sermons at least, either opening the Institution, as to the nature, the use, or the end thereof, or showing the duties of communicants before, in, and after receiving.—His constant preparation for the LORD'S Day is beyond all. It hath been already said, that he did constantly preach, every Saturday in the evening, a sermon in order to the right sanctification of that holy day. It must now only be added, in short, that he commanded all his servants to lay aside all household work early upon Saturday evening; declaring that he desired and hoped, that when the world was taken out of his servants' hands, they would endeavour by prayer, reading, and meditation, to get it out of their hearts also; so that both their bodies and souls might be free and ready for a most cheerful performance of God's service on the day following, which should always be done without the least distraction of mind.—This preparation was not without great reason; for it is, as he would say, no easy matter to “cleanse our hands, and purify our hearts” before we “compass God's altar.” It is not easy to lift our feet out of the mire and clay, unto which they have too much cleaved, and into which they have too much sunk, all the week before. The Royal Preacher therefore biddeth us to “look carefully to our feet,” that is, our affections, “before we enter into the house of God.” “Holiness becometh his house for ever;” it therefore behoveth us to be careful that our souls be properly dressed and adorned, when we wait on the great God, and that our

hearts be fixed and prepared, and our heart-strings rightly tuned, before we offer to sing and give praise to a Being of infinite glory; and all this requireth time and pains beforehand, with much diligence. Being thus prepared, how did he welcome the arrival of the LORD's-day, which he sanctified in a manner equal to his preparation! The Jews call the Sabbath "the Queen of Days;" and he loved it accordingly. He rose earlier on that day than on any other, and caused his family so to do also; admonishing both children and servants to spend some time with GOD in private in the morning, if they desired to meet GOD in the public ordinances of that day. The morning and the evening sacrifice was by him doubled upon the LORD's-day; for he always prayed four times with his family every Sabbath, besides six times in public,—to wit, immediately before he went to church, and immediately after his return from thence, in the forenoon; and before repetition, and after supper, in the evening. His forenoon-sermon was usually repeated by one of his children after dinner. In the evening he repeated it himself. After repetition, he examined his whole family, not only as to what they remembered of the sermons, but as to what good they had gained by the worship of that day. After supper, he caused some part of Fox's Martyrology, or some other profitable book, to be read; and having prayed, he concluded the day with singing a psalm.

Common readers, and such as delight not in beholding the image of GOD drawn upon the hearts and lives of his servants, would be tired, if one quarter of this person's excellencies should be related; therefore, after an instance or two more given of his piety, we will leave the rest to be admired only by those that personally knew him:—but it is pity, that the victory which he had obtained over the world by faith should ever be forgotten.—Whatever is in the world, is either the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, or the pride of life; he therefore who is mortified to riches, pleasures, and honours, hath vanquished the world; this MR. FAIRCLOUGH had done.—He

contemned riches as the dirt of the streets. It is true, that God by his own immediate hand, gave him plentifully ; but it is as true, that he gave away most plentifully to others. He was so dead to the world, that he would scarcely deal or meddle with it. After the death of his first wife, and of that servant with whom he had entrusted his estate, he put off all his stock, and let all his grounds ; and never increased his real or personal estate above five pounds per annum, for nearly forty years together, nor ever put out a farthing of money to usury. He never sued any man in his life. He had great advantages for growing rich in many ways ; but if he had died forty years before he did, he had been just as rich as he was at his death. He would often say, that we read not of any good man in all the history of Scripture, or of the primitive times, that was covetous ; and that it was a shame that any who now pretend to the Christian Religion should degenerate. After the loss of his living, though he preached often, yet he never would receive one penny for that work ; and some of his children have imitated him therein.—As to sensual pleasure he scarcely knew what any of that kind did mean. He was as temperate in his diet as possible. He never used any sort of recreation at any time. It might be said of him, as was said of GEORGIUS LEONTINUS, that he did never do any thing for pleasure. In his youth he loved music and riding. In music he had good skill ; but on the sad news of the death of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, the King of Sweden, that great warrior in defence of the Protestant Religion, he “ hung his harp on the willow,” and never touched any musical instrument after. He used to keep as good horses as any man in the country ; and therefore a dying gentleman bequeathed to him a horse of very great price, in these words, “ that he might ride about, to preach the Gospel ;”—which he did as long as he was able ; but he never took a journey of mere pleasure.

Being once heartily thanked for an excellent discourse, which proved successful to the conversion of some there present ; he replied thus, “ Pray, Friend, give God the

glory. No praise was due to the rams' horns, though JERICHO'S walls fell down at their blast. If GOD will vouchsafe that his SPIRIT shall breathe through Ministers, it is GOD, and not the means, that should have the praise." At another time, being greatly assisted by GOD in a sermon, he wrote these words on the back of his notes; "Earthen vessels, and leaden pipes, are either full or empty, according to the measures which they receive from their fountain. Though free grace filled my soul this day, yet let me take heed of preaching this sermon again in my own strength."

As his heart was humble, so his behaviour was meek and lowly. Though his countenance was very grave and severe, yet his conversation was full of sweetness and affability. It was a kind of riddle in the eyes of common beholders, to see so much worth and grandeur of such easy access. He never despised or spake haughtily to any man, and from good men he would never keep any distance. If any were godly, although never so mean or poor, he received them, not only with civil respect, but with hearty love; but, on the other hand, he was a most bold and undaunted person in reproving the wicked and profane, and had a spirit which could abase the proudest of them all, when he thought fit, and in its due time and place.

His humility, joined with so much grace and wisdom, caused him to be of a very peaceable spirit, and to have a large charity for good men of all persuasions. His own understanding being great, made his love also very large. He discerned, that honest men mean the same thing, when they are apt to quarrel about their expressions of it; and therefore in dividing times, he was always of an uniting spirit. Whilst others sought to wound the reputation of men who differed from them, he did what he could to heal and compose all animosities. He was abundantly sensible of that bitterness with which some men were ready to treat others upon small differences of opinion, and by which the life of religion and the power of godliness were almost extinguished; so that while they

pressed uniformity in little matters, conformity to the more weighty precepts of CHRIST, such as those of love and forbearance to each other, were neglected. He was a hearty lover of, and had a great kindness for every man, in whom he saw any thing of GOD'S SPIRIT appearing; and he valued men more and less, only as he saw more or less of the divine image stamped upon them. He entreated all that he conversed with, to labour that the truth of grace in others might be the most powerful load-stone to draw their hearts towards them. He would often say, that when one man loved another, only because he was of his own opinion and party, and neglected another, who might be led in greater things by the Divine SPIRIT, merely because he differed in smaller trifles; such a temper as this did manifest, that such an one had little or nothing of the true love of God in him; for while such a man did pretend to love his brother, he did no other thing, in fact, than hug himself, and embrace his own shadow, which he saw falling upon another's breast.

Abundantly candid and charitable, meek and moderate, was this person at all times; and yet notwithstanding, this meekness and moderation were such as did not hinder a mighty heat and activity for God, in all weighty and important matters. He wanted not zeal, when the main articles of the Christian Religion did call for, and require it. At the same time when he commended CONSTANTINE the Great, for his reprovng the hot contest of the Nicene Fathers about ceremonies, he also honoured that Emperor for his warmth in opposing the Arian heresy. Indeed this learned Divine was, as to his zeal, a most excellent pattern, worthy of all imitation. He was in this grace, as well as in other things, a burning and shining light. Heat and light were never divided in him. His fire sometimes burned very hot, but always clear, and without any manner of smoke. In his love to the salvation of souls, he burned like a lamp, consuming himself, his body, and estate, even all the oil that he possessed; and therein rejoiced, if hereby he might show any one

the way to God and glory. And hence it was, that a great and learned man, who often heard him, said, that no man was more judicious and weighty in the doctrinal part of his sermons; and none could be more affectionate and zealous than he was, in the application of his doctrine. Indeed, it is a rarity to find a man of great reading, and deep judgment, endowed with much zeal, or with strong affections; but this man's sacrifices were all kindled with a fire which came immediately from heaven, and which did at once enlighten his head, and inflame his heart.

He was a man of great prudence, as well as zeal. His sails and ballast were exactly proportionate each to the other. He could not be dull and sluggish in the service of so good a Master; but he did never run before he was sent. He would always stand still to hear his full errand, and stay to understand perfectly and plainly all his Master's will; which being so made known to him, he then was most bold and courageous in delivering his message.

He had always great love for God; and no man could be more concerned either for church or state. He had such a public spirit, that he scorned to prefer any private concern before the least public good; yea, he constantly valued all persons and things, according as any man, or any thing, had either a greater or less influence upon the public. Those that observed him might easily discern, that the glory of God, and the welfare of his church, were as the great wheels that did set at work and govern all his actions. He was a man most ready to deny himself at any time, if in any thing he might advance the interest of another man; provided, that other person did move in a higher and more public place than himself.—When by reason of his extreme age he could not openly and publicly do any thing more for God, or his church, and when he could scarcely suffer any thing more for the honour of either, having parted already with all his stated maintenance for the testimony of a good conscience; he gave himself wholly to prayer to God for his church in

private; in which work he usually spent four or five hours, sometimes six or seven, every day. Indeed, at that age, he did, and could do, little else but pray; and in this he was constant, both for the public, and for all his friends and relations. Every age of man hath its proper work, and its peculiar excellency and blessing. The life of prayer was his employment, during all those years, wherein he exceeded fourscore; which was four years, within a few months. It might be said of his age, as it was of ABRAHAM's; (*Gen.* xxv. 8;) it was "a good old age." It was a good old age on many accounts. It was good in respect of its duration. It is a mercy, when a man "comes to his grave in a full age, as a shock of corn, ripe in its due season." (*Job* v. 26.) And it is remarkable, that the most eminent servants and children of God, of whom mention is made in the Scripture, were long-lived. Thus ADAM and METHUSELAH, before the flood; thus NOAH and SHEM, immediately after it; thus ABRAHAM and JOB, before the law; thus MOSES and AARON, immediately after the law; thus ELI and JEHOIADA, High-Priests of the LORD; DAVID and HEZEKIAH, the best of Kings; JOHN and JAMES, the LORD's brothers, the best beloved disciples; ST. LUKE and ST. PAUL, the most eminent penmen of the New Testament;—of all these it is recorded, that they were eminently holy, and that they were blessed with length of days. The wise man tells us, that "the hoary head is a crown of glory, if it is found in the way of righteousness." (*Prov.* xvi. 31.) And it was thus in the instance before us; "His old age was good, because he was good, and did good in it."—His age was good also, because it was an healthy old age; saving those times wherein he was troubled with a swimming in his head, by reason of over-much study, which lasted not above two months the first time, and three months the last time. It might be said of him, that he never had one sick day for above threescore years together; (for the injury received from his fall, left no sickness, although great inconvenience; it did never

hinder him above ten days, either from his study or labours;) so that almost all his days were halcyon-days. His old age was, as PETER MARTYR saith of ABRAHAM'S, *facilis senectus*, "an easy old age," because free from those troubles that are usually incident thereunto. This healthfulness in old age is reckoned as a double mercy, both by MOSES, (*Dent.* xxxiv. 7,) and also by CALEB, (*Josh.* xiv. 10, 11.)

From the healthfulness of his natural constitution, it came to pass, that he died of no disease, but of old age. There was no thief in his candle to hasten its consumption, nor any acute distemper to be as an extinguisher to it; but his lamp burned clear, so long as there was left one drop of natural oil to feed it. He kept his bed but one day before his departure,—a departure he had long desired and waited for. The very day before his last day on earth, some company being with him, he expressed how much comfort he had in considering that his SAVIOUR had tasted death for him, and that CHRIST (by his resurrection) had given him an assurance, that he was the "First-fruits of those that sleep in Him;" telling some that stood by him, that it was very much the duty of believers to rejoice that death had lost its sting, and that the power of the grave was quite vanquished.

A while after, he exclaimed, "O the height, length, breadth, and depth of the unsearchable riches of the grace of GOD in CHRIST JESUS! O the height of that love, whereby GOD hath declared pardon to poor penitents! O the freeness of his grace, who doth offer CHRIST to all that will receive him humbly and believingly; that is, who will take him with an empty hand, joining nothing of their own works with the merits of CHRIST in point of justification!" Some while after, some persons coming to see him, he told them, that he knew not how to requite them for that love which they had shown him, better than by exhorting them to redeem the time, especially the time of youth and of health: "for," said he, "except there be first, in health, a principle of grace wrought in

the heart, the time of sickness and old age would be very unfit for so great a work as that of gaining evidences for heaven. Times of sickness and old age are times of considering, not of gaining such evidences." He advised them, therefore, now, in time, to prepare for eternity; and told them, that this work was only to be done by entering into covenant with God, and making their peace through CHRIST; which being once sincerely done, then neither a sick-bed, nor a death-bed, could do them the least hurt.

The night after, he grew very weak, and his spirits decayed more and more, till the morning of the next day, December 14, 1677, when he resigned his last breath, and immediately entered into that everlasting rest, for which he had so often prayed.

It hath been told, how greatly this learned man did love all good men of all persuasions. This made him also to be beloved and admired both by Conformists and Non-conformists, who came jointly to visit him, and pay equally their respects to him so long as he lived; and both sorts did greatly lament their loss in his departure. All the neighbouring Ministers and people, of differing judgments, solemnized his funeral with great sorrow.

(XIX.)

THE LIFE
OF
RICHARD HOOKER.

MR. RICHARD HOOKER was born at Heavy-Tree, near Exeter, about the year 1553, of parents who were not so remarkable for their extraction or riches, as for their virtue and industry, and God's blessing upon both.

His motion was slow, even in his youth, and so was his speech ; neither of them expressing any earnestness, but a gravity suitable to the aged. And it is observed that, even when a school-boy, he was an early questionist ; inquisitive why *this* was, and *that* was not, to be remembered ; why *this* was granted, and *that* denied ? This being mixed with a remarkable modesty, and a sweet serene quietness of nature, and with a quick apprehension of many perplexed parts of learning imposed on him as a scholar, made his master, and others, consider him as a little wonder. This meekness, and conjuncture of knowledge with modesty in his conversation, being observed by his school-master, caused him to persuade his parents (who intended him for an apprentice) to continue him at school, till he could find out some means, by persuading his rich uncle, or some other charitable person, to ease them of a part of their charge ; assuring them, that their son was so enriched with the blessings of nature and grace, that God seemed to single him out as a special instrument of his glory. This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear child ; and all parties being pleased with this

proposal, it was resolved that so it should be. And, in the mean time, his parents and master laid a foundation for his future happiness, by instilling into his soul the seeds of piety,—the conscientious principles of loving and fearing God,—an early belief that he knows the very secrets of our souls, that he punishes our vices, and rewards our innocence, and that we should be free from hypocrisy, and appear to man what we are to God. These seeds were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the dew of God's Blessed SPIRIT, that his infant virtues grew into those holy habits, which made him grow daily into more and more favour, both with God and man.

His school-master was very solicitous with JOHN HOOKER, then Chamberlain of Exeter, and uncle to RICHARD, to take his nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his endeavours to procure an admission for him into some College, assuring him, that his charge would not continue long, because the lad's learning and manners were both so remarkable, that they must be taken notice of, and that doubtless God would provide him some second patron, that would free him and his parents from future charge. This his uncle performed, by the assistance of the learned JOHN JEWELL, who about the first year of Queen MARY's reign, had been expelled from Corpus-Christi College, in Oxford, (of which he was a Fellow,) for adhering to those principles of religion, to which he had assented in the days of her brother and predecessor, EDWARD the Sixth. But having afterwards cause to fear a more heavy punishment than expulsion, he had been forced to seek safety in another nation. The cloud of that persecution ending with the life of Queen MARY, he, and many others of the same judgment, had made a happy return into England about the first of Queen ELIZABETH; in which year JEWELL was sent as a visitor of the Churches of the western parts of this kingdom, and especially of those in Devonshire, in which county he

was born ; where he had contracted a friendship with MR. HOOKER, uncle to RICHARD. In the second or third year of her reign, DR. JEWELL was made Bishop of Salisbury ; where MR. HOOKER paid him a visit, and besought him to look favourably upon a poor nephew of his, whom nature had fitted for a scholar, but the estate of whose parents was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of learning. Upon this, he appointed the boy and his school-master to attend him about Easter, which was done accordingly ; and, after some questions and observations respecting the boy's learning and behaviour, the Bishop gave his school-master a reward, and took order for an annual pension for the boy's parents, promising also to take him into his care. This was performed ; for about the fifteenth year of his age, in the year 1567, he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to Oxford, to attend DR. COLE, President of Corpus-Christi College, which he did. DR. COLE had provided for him both a tutor, and a clerk's place, in that College ; which, with the contribution of his uncle, and the pension of his Patron the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. In this condition he continued to the eighteenth year of his age ; still increasing in learning and prudence, and so much in humility and piety, that he seemed to be filled with the HOLY GHOST, and even, like JOHN the BAPTIST, to be sanctified from his mother's womb.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous sickness, which lasted two months. As soon as he was perfectly recovered from it, he took a journey to Exeter, on foot, to see his mother, accompanied by a companion and countryman of his own college. They took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop ; who made MR. HOOKER and his companion dine with him at his own table. At parting, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money ; which when he had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call him back, and at his return, said to him, " RICHARD, I sent for you back, to lend you a horse, which hath

carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease;" and presently delivered into his hand a walking-staff, with which he had travelled through many parts of Germany: he added, "I do not give, but lend you my horse; be honest, and bring my horse back at your return this way to Oxford. I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here are ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you to the College; and so God bless you!" All this, you may believe, was performed. But, alas! the next news that followed MR. HOOKER to Oxford was, that his Patron had changed this for a better life. As he lived, so he died, in devout meditation and prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a question, whether his last ejaculations, or his soul, did first enter into heaven.

DR. COLE bade MR. HOOKER go cheerfully to his studies; assuring him that he should neither want food nor raiment, which was the utmost of his hopes, for that he would become his patron. But he did not need it long, for the following reason. EDWIN SANDYS, (then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York,) had also been forced, in the days of Queen MARY, to seek safety in another nation; where, for some years, Bishop JEWELL and he were companions at bed and board in Germany, and by that means began such a friendship as lasted till the death of Bishop JEWELL, which was in September, 1571. A little before that time, the two Bishops meeting, JEWELL began a story of RICHARD HOOKER, and in it gave such a character of his learning and manners, that though Bishop SANDYS was educated in Cambridge, where he had many friends, yet his resolution was, that his son EDWIN should be sent to Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, and be a pupil of MR. HOOKER, though his son was not then much younger. For the

Bishop said, “ I will have a tutor for my son, that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example ; and my greatest care shall be of the last. Therefore MR. HOOKER shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my EDWIN.” And the Bishop did so, in about twelve months, or not much longer, after this resolution.

MR. HOOKER was now in the nineteenth year of his age, had spent five in the University, and had by unwearied diligence attained to perfection in all the learned languages ; by the help of which, he was an excellent tutor. His unintermitted study had made the subtlety of all the arts easy and familiar to him, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers ; so that by these, added to his great reason, and his industry added to both, he did not only know more, but what he knew, he knew better than other men. And with this knowledge he had a clear method of demonstrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his pupils, who, in course of time, were many ; but especially to his two first, his dear EDWIN SANDYS, and his equally dear GEORGE CRANMER.

In four years, he was but twice absent from the chapel prayers ; and his behaviour there was such, as showed an awful reverence of that GOD whom he then worshipped ; giving all outward testimonies that his affections were set on heavenly things. This was his behaviour towards GOD ; and as for that to man, it is observable that he was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extreme in any of his desires ; nor was he ever heard to repine at any thing, but, by a quiet and gentle submission and resignation of his will to the wisdom of his Creator, bore the burden of the day with patience, and was never known to utter an uncomely word : and by this, and a grave behaviour, which is a divine charm, he begot an early reverence to his person, even from those that, at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to cast off that strictness of behaviour and discourse that is required in a collegiate life. Thus mild, thus innocent and exemplary, was his

behaviour in his College ; and thus this good man continued till his death, still increasing in learning, in patience, and in piety.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was, on December 24, 1573, admitted to be one of the twenty scholars of the foundation. And now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved College, which was then noted for an eminent library, strict students, and remarkable scholars. In the year 1577, he was admitted Fellow of the College ; happy also in being the contemporary and friend of DR. JOHN REYNOLDS, and of DR. SPENCER, both whom were afterwards successively made Presidents of Corpus-Christi College ;—men of great learning and merit, and famous in their generations.

MR. HOOKER continued his studies with all quietness for the space of three years ; about which time he entered into Holy Orders, and was made Deacon and Priest, and, not long after, was appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross.

In order to this, he came to London, and went immediately to the Shunamite's house ; which is a house so called, because, besides the stipend paid to the Preacher, there is provision made for his lodging and diet, two days before and one day after his sermon. This was then kept by JOHN CHURCHMAN, sometime a Draper of good note in Watling-street. But to this house MR. HOOKER came so wet, weary, and weather-beaten, that he was never known to express more passion, than against a friend that dissuaded him from footing it to London, and found him no easier a horse. And at this time also such a faintness possessed him, that he would not be persuaded that any means could be used to make him able to preach his Sunday's sermon ; but a warm bed, and rest, and drink proper for a cold, given him by MRS. CHURCHMAN, enabled him to perform the office of the day, in or about the year 1581.

The kindness of MRS. CHURCHMAN, in curing him of his late distemper, was so gratefully apprehended by

MR. HOOKER, that he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said; so that the good man came to be persuaded by her, that he was a man of a tender constitution, and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such an one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry. Like a true NATHANAEL, fearing no guile, because he meant none, he did give her such a power as ELEAZAR was trusted with, when he was sent to choose a wife for ISAAC; so he trusted her to choose for him, promising upon summons to return to London, and accept of her choice; and he did so in that or the following year. The wife provided for him was her daughter JOAN, who brought him neither beauty nor portion; and as to conditions, they were too like that wife's who is by SOLOMON compared to a dripping-house, so that he had no reason to "rejoice in the wife of his youth," but too just cause to say with the holy Prophet, "Woe is me, that I am constrained to have my habitation in the tents of Kedar." By this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his College, into the thorny wilderness of a busy world,—into those corroding cares that attend a married Priest, and a country parsonage, which was Drayton-Beauchamp, in Buckinghamshire, not far from Aylesbury, to which he was presented by JOHN CHENY, Esq., on the 9th of December, 1584, and in which he behaved himself so as to give no occasion of evil;—"in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in poverty," yet troubling no man with his discontents and wants.

In this condition he continued about a year, in which time his two pupils, EDWYN SANDYS and GEORGE CRANMER, took a journey to see their tutor, where they found him with a book in his hand, he being then, like humble ABEL, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, which he told his pupils he was forced to do then, for that his servant was gone home to dine, and assist his

wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them, for "RICHARD" was called to "rock the cradle." The rest of their welcome was so like this, that they stayed but till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition; and having in that time given him as much comfort as they were able, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife JOAN, and seek themselves a quieter lodging. But at their parting, MR. CRANMER said, "Good tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground, as to your parsonage; and more sorry that your wife proves not a more comfortable companion, after you have wearied yourself in your restless studies." To this the good man replied, "My dear GEORGE, If saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I, that am no saint, ought not to repine at what my wise Creator hath appointed for me, but to labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit mine to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

At their return to London, EDWYN SANDYS acquainted his father, who was then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York, with his tutor's sad condition, and solicited for his removal to some benefice that might give him a more comfortable subsistence. And not long after this time, in the year 1585, MR. ALVIE, Master of the Temple, died, who was a man of a strict life, of great learning, and of a venerable behaviour. Here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to recommend MR. HOOKER; which he did with so effectual an earnestness, that he was sent for from Drayton-Beauchamp to London, and made Master of the Temple, on the 17th of March, 1585, being then in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

Here it was that he began to write a treatise on the Power of the Church to make canons for the use of ceremonies; and this he proposed to do in Eight Books on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity; intending therein to

show such arguments as should force an assent from all men, if reason, delivered in sweet language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it. And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large preface, or epistle to the dissenting brethren, wherein there were such bowels of love, and such a mixture of that love with reason, as were never exceeded but in Holy Writ, and particularly by that Letter of ST. PAUL to his dear brother and fellow-labourer, PHILEMON, than which none ever was more like this epistle of MR. HOOKER; so that his dear friend and companion in his studies, DR. SPENCER, might after his death justly say, "What admirable height of learning, and depth of judgment, dwelt in the lowly mind of this truly humble man,—great in all wise men's eyes except his own! With what gravity and majesty of speech his tongue and pen uttered heavenly mysteries, whose eyes, in the humility of his heart, were always cast down to the ground! How were all things that proceeded from him breathed as from the spirit of love; as if he, like the bird of the HOLY GHOST, the dove, had wanted gall! Let those that knew him not in his person, judge by these living images of his soul, his writings."

The foundation of these books was laid in the Temple, but he found it no fit place to finish what he had designed; and therefore solicited the Archbishop for a remove, to whom he spake to this purpose; "My Lord, when I lost the freedom of call, which was my College, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed, God and nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My Lord, my particular contests here with MR. TRAVERS have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man. This belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of

him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with, as to alter our frame of church-government. In this examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the justification of our laws of church-government; and I shall never be able to finish it, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions. And therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."—About this time the Rectory of Boscum, in the diocese of Sarum, six miles from that city, became void. The Bishop of Sarum is Patron of it; but, in the vacancy of that see, the disposal of that and all benefices belonging to the see, during this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of Canterbury; and he presented RICHARD HOOKER to it, in the year 1591. In this he continued, till he had finished four of his eight books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, being then in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

He left Boscum in the year 1595, by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop CALDWELL; being then presented to the parsonage of Bishop's-Borne, in Kent, three miles from Canterbury. At Borne he continued his customary rules of mortification and self-denial; being much in fasting, and frequent in meditation and prayers, and enjoying those blessed returns, which only men of strict lives feel and know, and of which men of loose and godless lives cannot be made sensible,—for spiritual things are spiritually discerned. At his entrance into this place, his friendship was much sought for by DR. HADRIAN SARAVIA, then one of the Prebends of Canterbury, a German by birth, and sometime a Pastor both in Flanders and Holland.

In this year of 1595, these two excellent persons began a holy friendship; which increased daily to so high and mutual affections, that their two wills, and their designs

both for the glory of God and the peace of the church, seemed to be but one and the same; each still assisting and improving the other in virtue, and the desired comforts of a peaceable piety. This I have willingly mentioned, because it gives a foundation to some things that follow.

This parsonage of Borne is near to the common road that leads from Canterbury to Dover; in which parsonage Mr. HOOKER had not been twelve months, before his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life, became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road, and others (scholars especially) went purposely to see the man. But, as our SAVIOUR said of JOHN the BAPTIST, "What went they out to see? a man clothed in purple and fine linen?" No, indeed; but an obscure, harmless man; a man in poor clothes, his loins being usually girt in a coarse gown, or canonical coat; of a mean stature, and stooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his soul; his body worn out, not with age, but study, and holy mortifications; and his face full of heat-pimples, begot by his inactivity and sedentary life. And to this true character of his person, let me add this of his disposition and behaviour. God and nature blessed him with so great a bashfulness, that as, in his younger days, his pupils might easily look him out of countenance, so, neither then, nor in his age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face; and was of so mild and humble a nature, that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk, but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time. And to this may be added, that he was short and weak-sighted; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued till it was ended.

In this place, he gave a holy valediction to all the pleasures and allurements of earth, possessing his soul in a virtuous quietness, which he maintained by constant study, prayers, and meditations. His custom was to preach once every Sunday, and to catechise after the second lesson in the evening prayer. His sermons were

uttered with a grave zeal, and an humble voice ; his eyes were always fixed on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandering, insomuch that he seemed to study as he spake ; the design of his sermons, as indeed of all his discourses, was to show reasons for what he spake, and, with these reasons, such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade than frighten men into piety ; studying not so much for matter, which he never wanted, as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications ; never labouring by hard words to get glory to himself, but glory only to God, which intention, he would often say, was as discernible in a Preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty.

He never failed, the Sunday before every Ember-week, to give notice of it to his parishioners ; persuading them both to fast, and also to double their prayers for a learned and a pious clergy, but especially the last ; and saying often, that the life of a pious Clergyman was visible rhetoric, and so convincing, that the most godless men, though they would not deny themselves the enjoyment of their present lusts, did yet secretly wish themselves like them. And to his persuasion of others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer ; and did usually, every Ember-week, take from the parish-clerk the key of the church, into which he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours. He did the like on most Fridays, and other days of fasting.

He would by no means omit the customary time of procession ; persuading all, both rich and poor, if they desired the preservation of love, and their parish rights and liberties, to accompany him in his perambulation, which most of them did. In these perambulations he would always drop some loving observations, to be remembered against the next year, especially by the boys and young people ; still inclining them, and all his present parishioners, to meekness, and mutual kindnesses,

and love ; because love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.

He was diligent in inquiring who of his parish were sick, or in any way distressed, and in visiting them, un-sent for ; supposing that to be the fittest time to discover those errors, to which health and prosperity had blinded them ; and having, by pious reasons and prayers, moulded them into holy resolutions for the time to come, he would incline them to confess and bewail their sins, with purpose to forsake them, and then to receive the Communion both as a strengthening of those holy resolutions, and a seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their souls.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the sick, so he was diligent to prevent law-suits ; still urging his parishioners and neighbours to bear with each other's infirmities, and to live in love, because, as St. JOHN says, " He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is love." And to maintain this holy fire of love constantly burning on the altar of a pure heart, his advice was, to watch and pray, and always keep themselves fit to receive the Communion ; and then to receive it often, because it was both a confirming and a strengthening of their graces. And at his entrance or departure out of any house, he would usually speak to the whole family, and bless them by name ; insomuch, that as he seemed in his youth to be taught of God, so he seemed in this place to teach his precepts, as ENOCH did, by walking with him in all holiness and humility, making each day a step towards a blessed eternity.

This was his constant behaviour at Borne ;—so he walked with God, and thus he did tread in the footsteps of primitive piety. And yet, as that great example of meekness and purity, even our blessed JESUS, was not free from false accusations, no more was this disciple of his, this most humble, most innocent, and holy man. His was a slander parallel to that cast upon chaste SUSANNAH by the wicked elders. But this is certain, that he lay

under the anxiety of this accusation, and kept it secret to himself, for many months ; and, being a helpless man, had lain longer under this heavy burden, but that the protector of the innocent gave such an occasion as forced him to make it known to his two dearest friends, EDWYN SANDYS, and GEORGE CRANMER. They were so sensible of their tutor's sufferings, that they gave themselves no rest, till they had found out the fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accusers did confess they had wronged him, and begged his pardon. To this message, the good man's reply was, "The LORD forgive them, and the LORD bless you for this comfortable news : now I have just occasion to say, with SOLOMON, 'Friends are born for the days of adversity ;' and such you have proved to me : and to my GOD I say, as did the mother of JOHN the Baptist, 'Thus hath the LORD dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men :' and, O my GOD ! neither my life nor my reputation is safe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didst take care of me, when I yet hanged upon my mother's breast ; blessed are they that put their trust in thee, O LORD."

About the year 1600, and at the age of forty-six, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold taken in his passage betwixt London and Gravesend, from which he never recovered. But a submission to the will of Him, who makes the sick man's bed easy by giving rest to his soul, rendered his very languishment comfortable ; and yet all this time he was solicitous in his study, and observed often to DR. SARAVIA, (who saw him daily, and was the chief comfort of his life,) that he did not beg a long life of GOD for any other reason, but that he might live to finish the three remaining books of his Polity ; "and then, LORD," said he, "let thy servant depart in peace." This was his usual expression. It is thought he hastened his own death, by hastening to give life to his books : but this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in humility, and in holy thoughts

and resolutions. About a month before that event, he began to lose his appetite, and then to have an aversion to all food; insomuch that he seemed to live some weeks by the smell of meat only, and yet still continued to study and write. And now his guardian angel seemed to foretell him, that the day of his dissolution drew near, for which his vigorous soul appeared to thirst. In this time of his sickness, and not many days before his death, his house was robbed; of which having notice, his question was, "Are my books and written papers safe?" And being answered, that they were, his reply was, "Then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me." About one day before his death, Doctor SARAVIA, who knew the very secrets of his soul, came to him. After a short retirement they returned to the company, and then the Doctor administered to him, and some friends who were with him, the blessed Sacrament. This service being performed, the Doctor thought he saw a reverent gaiety and joy in his face; but it lasted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return suddenly, and became more visible, insomuch that the Doctor apprehended that death was ready to seize him; yet after some amendment, he left him at night, with a promise to return early the day following. He did so, and then found him better in appearance, but deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to discourse; which gave the Doctor occasion to inquire what were his present thoughts. To this he replied, "That he was meditating on the number and nature of angels, and on their blessed obedience and order, without which, peace could not be in heaven;—and O that it might be so on earth!" After these words he said, "I have lived to see that this world is made up of perturbations; and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near. And though I have by his grace loved him in my youth, and feared him in my age, and laboured to have a conscience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O LORD,

be extreme to mark what I have done amiss, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, LORD show mercy to me, for I plead not my righteousness, but the forgiveness of my unrighteousness, for his merits who died to purchase pardon for penitent sinners. And since I owe thee a death, LORD, let it not be terrible; and then take thy own time,—I submit to it; let not mine, O LORD, but let thy will be done.” With this expression, he fell into a slumber; recovering from which he said, “Good Doctor, GOD hath heard my daily petitions, for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from that blessed assurance I feel an inward joy, which this world can neither give nor take from me.” More he would have spoken, but his spirits failed him; and after a short conflict betwixt nature and death, a quiet sigh put a period to his last breath, and so he fell asleep.

(XX.)

THE LIFE
OF
SIR HENRY WOTTON.

SIR HENRY WOTTON was born in the year 1568, at Bocton-Hall, commonly called Bocton, or Boughton Place, in the parish of Bocton-Malherb, in Kent.

His father was twice married;—first, to ELIZABETH, the daughter of SIR JOHN RUDSTONE. After her death, though his inclinations were averse to all contentions, he was necessitated to undertake several suits in law. In the prosecution of these, he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, that if ever he did adopt a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons, namely, those that had children; that had law-suits; and that were of his kindred. And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-Hall with one MRS. MORTON, widow of — MORTON, Esq., who was also engaged in several suits; and observing her deportment at the time of hearing one of her causes, he could not but, at the same time, both compassionate her condition, and so affect her person, that although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection grew so strong, that he resolved to solicit her for a wife; which he did, and obtained her.

By her, he had HENRY his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress to him during much of his childhood, for which care and pains he paid her each day

with visible signs of future perfection in learning ; till his father took him into his own care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton. When time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal, he was sent to Winchester School, and thence, at a fit age, was removed to New College in Oxford ; both being founded by WILLIAM WICKHAM, Bishop of Winchester. There he continued, till about the eighteenth year of his age ; and was then transplanted into Queen's College. About the nineteenth year of his age, he proceeded Master of Arts. But his stay there was not long ; for, the year after he proceeded Master of Arts, his father changed this for a better life ; leaving to SIR HENRY, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of one of his manors.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death ; at which time, he was in about the twenty-second year of his age ; and having added to his great wit the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then laid aside his books, and betook himself to travel, and a more general conversation with mankind ; employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry, and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge ; of which, both for the secrets of nature, the dispositions of many nations, and their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure.—In his travels, for almost nine years, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva ; where he became acquainted with THEODORE BEZA, then very aged, and with ISAAC CASAUBON, in whose father's house, if I be rightly informed, SIR HENRY WOTTON lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with him and his learned son. Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany ; the other five in Italy, the stage on which GOD appointed he should act a great part of his life. Both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted with the most eminent men

for learning, and all manner of arts, as picture, sculpture, chymistry, architecture, and divers other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many, both for his person and deportment: for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour, which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered into an acquaintance. And whereas he was noted, even in his youth, to have a sharp wit, it was so polished by time, travel, and conversation, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch that ROBERT, Earl of Essex, then in great favour with QUEEN ELIZABETH, invited him first into a friendship, and, after knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his Secretaries.

SIR HENRY being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniards, and also in that, which was the Earl's last, into Ireland. In that voyage, he did much provoke the Queen to anger, and still worse at his return into England, though upon her immoveable favour he had built those sandy hopes which encouraged him to such undertakings as, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower. SIR HENRY WOTTON observing this, though he was not of that faction, (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests, which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him,) yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, thought prevention by absence a better security, than to stay and plead innocency in a prison. Therefore did he very quickly and privately ride to Dover; and was, by favorable winds, within sixteen

hours after his departure from London, set upon the French shore, where he heard, shortly after, that the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded, and that divers other persons of eminent quality were executed. Thence he went to Italy, where he renewed his friendship with his old acquaintance in that nation, and more particularly in Florence ; which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court, than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts.

After some stay in Florence, he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where in the English college he had very many friends. Their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their principles of religion ; and having enjoyed their company, he returned to Florence, where a most notable accident befell him, and introduced him into a knowledge and an interest with King JAMES, then King of Scotland.

Immediately after SIR HENRY WOTTON'S return from Rome to Florence, which was about a year before the death of Queen ELIZABETH, FERDINAND, the Great Duke of Florence, had intercepted certain letters which discovered a design to take away the life of the then King of Scotland. The Duke, abhorring the fact, advised with his Secretary VIETTA, by what means a caution might be best given to that King ; and after consideration, it was resolved to be done by SIR HENRY WOTTON, whom VIETTA commended to the Duke. SIR HENRY was gladly called by VIETTA to the Duke, who after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret, and dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and, together with those letters, such Italian antidotes against poison, as the Scots till then had been strangers to. Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian ; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland,

where he found the King at Sterling. He then used means, by BERNARD LINDSEY, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure a speedy and private conference with his Majesty; assuring him, that the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence, as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave Italy, to impart it to his King. This being, by BERNARD LINDSEY, made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder, mixed with jealousy, at hearing of an Italian Ambassador, required his name, which was said to be OCTAVIO BALDI; and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening. When OCTAVIO BALDI came to the presence chamber-door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier, which (Italian-like) he then wore; and having entered the chamber, he found there, with the King, three or four Scotch Lords, standing at a distance in several corners of the chamber. At the sight of them, he made a stand; which the King observing, bade him be bold, and deliver his message, for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did OCTAVIO BALDI deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian; which, when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, OCTAVIO BALDI stepped to the table, and whispered to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, praying that he might have a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation. This was promised, and performed by the King, during his abode of about three months there; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to OCTAVIO BALDI himself as that country could afford.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a grateful account of his employment; and within some few months there came news to Florence that Queen ELIZABETH was dead, and JAMES proclaimed King of England. The Duke, knowing travel and business to be the best schools of

wisdom, and that SIR HENRY WOTTON had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and congratulate the King on his new and better title.

When King JAMES came into England, he found, amongst others of the late Queen's officers, the Lord WOTTON, Comptroller of the house; of whom he demanded, if he knew one HENRY WOTTON, that had spent much time in foreign travels? The Lord replied, he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King asking where he then was, was answered, that he was at Venice, or Florence; but that, by late letters, he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him," said the King; "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair to me." The Lord WOTTON, after a little wonder, asked the King if he knew him? To which the King answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that, till you bring the gentleman to me."—Not many months after this discourse, the Lord WOTTON brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of OCTAVIO BALDI, saying, "You are the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler, that ever I met with; and seeing that I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness and abilities to manage an embassy, I have sent for you to declare my purpose; which is, to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And so the King did, during most of the two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed OCTAVIO BALDI from his attendance, he restored him to his old name of HENRY WOTTON, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved to have a friendship with his neighbouring kingdoms of France and Spain, and also, for divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the state of Venice, and, to that end, to send ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to SIR HENRY WOTTON; who inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of

more retirement, and best suiting with his genius. For he ever loved to connect study, and the trial of natural experiments, with business; for both which, fruitful Italy, that darling of nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the christian world. A large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the best families. SIR ALBERTUS MORTON, his nephew, went as his Secretary, and WILLIAM BEDELL, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, went as his Chaplain.

For eight years after SIR HENRY WOTTON's going into Italy, he stood fair, and highly valued, in the King's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.—On his first going as Ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he was requested by CHRISTOPHER FLECAMORE to write some sentence in his *Albo*; (a book of white paper, which, for that purpose, many of the German gentry usually carry about them;) and SIR HENRY WOTTON consenting, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador, in these words :—*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum Reipublicæ causâ*.—This slept quietly among the other sentences in the *Albo*, for almost eight years; till, by accident, it fell into the hands of JASPER SCIOPPIUS, a Romanist, and a man of a restless spirit. He, in books against King JAMES, printed this, as a principle of that religion which was professed by the King and his Ambassador at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and declared to be SIR HENRY WOTTON's. This coming to the knowledge of King JAMES, he apprehended it to be such a weakness in SIR HENRY WOTTON, as caused him to express much wrath against him; and this induced SIR HENRY to write an apology to King JAMES, which was so ingenious, so clear, and so eloquent, that his Majesty could not forbear

to declare publicly, that SIR HENRY WOTTON had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence.

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so SIR HENRY WOTTON did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's favour, than formerly he had been. His interest also still increased with the Duke, LEONARDO DONATO; after whose death, (as though it been an entailed love,) it was still found living in the succeeding Dukes, during all the time of his employment in that state; which was almost twenty years. And such was his interest in the whole state of Venice, that it was observed they never denied him any request. Under his arms, which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his last Embassy into England, he wrote this inscription:

“HENRICUS WOTTONIUS, Anglo-Cantianus, Thomæ optimi viri filius natus minimus;—a serenissimo JACOBO I., Mag. Britt. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus; ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius; semel ad confæderatarum Provinciæ Ordines in Juliæensi negotio; bis ad CAROLUM EMANUEL, Sabaudia Ducem; semel ad unitos superioris Germaniæ Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi; postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum, Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem, Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius;—tandem hoc didicit,

‘Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.’”

He came to London in the year in which King JAMES died; who, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office, which was fit to be turned into present money, for a supply of his present necessities; and also granted him the reversion of the place of Master of the Rolls, if he out-lived SIR JULIUS CÆSAR, who then possessed it. But these were only in hope; and his condition required a present support. For, in the beginning of these employments, he sold to his elder brother, the Lord WOTTON, the rent-charge left

by his good father ; and (which is worse) was now, on his return, indebted to several persons whom he was not able to satisfy, but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments.

It pleased God that, in this juncture of time, the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void. SIR HENRY, who had for many years (like SISYPHUS) rolled the restless stone of a state employment,—and who knew experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in multitudes of men or business, and that a college was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford both to his body and mind the rest which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require,—did therefore use his interest to procure it, and got a grant of it from his Majesty. There his happiness seemed to have its beginning ; the College being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a seafaring man, after a tempestuous voyage. There, by the bounty of the pious founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind : there he was freed from all corroding cares ; and might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude tossed in a tempestuous sea of dangers !

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was that of the statutes of the College, by which he conceived himself bound to enter into holy orders, which he did. Shortly after, as he came in his surplice from the church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and gave him joy of his new habit ; to whom SIR HENRY WOTTON replied, “ I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I am now in this condition ; a condition which the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth seemed to approve, who, after so many remarkable victories, freely gave up his crown : and after a tempestuous life, I now have the like advantage from Him who “ makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him,” even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of an exemption

from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound a retreat, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time:—After his customary public devotions, his usage was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in divinity; closing up his meditations with private prayer. This was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon. When he was sat at dinner, cheerful thoughts possessed his mind; and those were still increased by the constant company of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure. But part of most days was spent in philosophical conclusions.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either diligence, or a genius for learning. For their encouragement, he was (beside many other things) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators;—persuading them not to neglect rhetoric, because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon. And he would often say, that none despised eloquence, but such as were not capable of it. He would also often make choice of some observations out of those historians and poets; and would never leave the school, without dropping some choice Greek or Latin sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.—He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, whom he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completion of his intended Work on Education.

He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion.—Having in Rome made acquaintance with a priest, who invited him one evening to hear their vesper-music, the

priest, seeing SIR HENRY stand in a corner, sent to him this question, written on a small piece of paper, "Where was your Religion to be found before LUTHER?" To this question SIR HENRY presently underwrit, "My Religion was to be found *then*, where yours is not to be found *now*, IN THE WRITTEN WORD OF GOD." The next Vesper, SIR HENRY went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the Choir-boys to his honest friend the priest, with this question; "Do you believe that all those thousands of poor christians were damned, that were excommunicated because the Pope and the Duke of Venice could not agree?" To this the Priest underwrit in French, "Monsieur, excusez moi."—To one that asked him, whether a Papist may be saved, he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."—To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and who was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, "Pray, Sir, forbear, till you have studied the points better: and take heed of thinking that the farther you go from the church of Rome, the nearer you are to GOD."—And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against ARMINIUS, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travels towards Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden; where I entered into an acquaintance with ARMINIUS, (then the Professor of Divinity in that University,) a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if I mistake not ARMINIUS in his expressions, I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning; and I knew him to be of a most strict life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild, appears by his proposals to our Mr. PERKINS, from whose book, 'On the Order and Causes of Salvation,' ARMINIUS took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequents of his doctrine, intending them to come privately to MR. PERKINS's own hands, and to

receive from him a like private, and a like loving answer. But MR. PERKINS died before those queries came to him ; and it is thought that ARMINIUS meant them to die with him ; for though he lived long after, he forbore to publish them, but since his death, his sons did not. And it is a pity, if GOD had so pleased, that MR. PERKINS did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself ; for he also was of a most meek spirit, and of great sanctified learning : and though, since their deaths, many have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet they have rather satisfied themselves, than convinced the dissenting party. And doubtless, many men who may mean well, and many scholars who may preach well, shall never know, till they come to heaven, where the questions stick betwixt ARMINIUS and us : and yet they will be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy ; and therefore justly fall under the reproof of ST. JUDAS, for being ‘ busy-bodies,’ and for ‘ meddling with things they understand not.’ ”

A friend of his being designed for an Ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his conduct, to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism ; that to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always, and upon all occasions, speak the truth ; “ for then,” (said SIR HENRY WOTTON,) “ you shall never be believed ; and by this means, your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account ; and it will also put your adversaries, who will still hunt counter, to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings.”

He went, usually, once a year to the beloved Bocton-Hall ; where, he would say, he found both cure for all cares, by the company (which he called the living furniture) of that place, and a restorative of his strength, by the connaturalness of that which he called his genial air.

He went yearly also to Oxford. But the summer before his death, he changed that for a journey to

Winchester-College. As he returned from Winchester, towards Eton-College, he said to a friend, "How useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place ; because in that place we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there. And I find it thus far experimentally true ; that my now being in that school, and seeing that very place, where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me :—sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixture of cares ; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow) had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me, that those were but empty hopes. And though my days have been many, and those mixed with more pleasures than the sons of men usually enjoy ; yet I have always found it true, as my SAVIOUR foretold, 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and, questionless, possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and deaths."

After his return from Winchester, he fell into a dangerous fever, which weakened him much. He was also much troubled with an asthma ; but that he seemed to overcome in a good degree by leaving tobacco. About two months before his death, in October, 1639, he again fell into a fever, which left him so weak, that those common infirmities, which were wont to visit him, and after some short time to depart, both came oftener, and at last took up their constant habitations with him, still weakening his body ; of which he grew daily more sensible, retiring oftener into his study, and making many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth and business, useless by fire. These, and several unusual expressions to his friends, seemed to foretell his death, for

which he was well prepared, free from all fear, and cheerful ; as several letters written in his bed, and but a few days before his death, may testify. In the beginning of December following, he fell again into a quartan fever ; and, in the tenth fit, his better part put off mortality with much content and cheerfulness ; being in perfect peace with God and man. And thus the circle of his life was, by death, closed up and completed, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton College, where, according to his will, he now lies buried ; dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, and worthy of the trust committed unto him for the service of his Prince and country.

(XXI.)

THE LIFE
OF
DR. DONNE.

DR. JOHN DONNE was born in London, of good and virtuous parents. He had his first breeding in his father's house, where a private tutor had the care of him, until the ninth year of his age ; and in his tenth year he was sent to the University of Oxford, having at that time a good command both of the French and Latin tongues. This, and some others of his remarkable abilities, made one say, that this age had brought forth another PICUS MIRANDULA ; of whom story says, that he was rather born wise, than made wise by study. He remained in Hart-Hall, having, for the advancement of his studies, tutors of several sciences to instruct him, till about his fourteenth year, when he was transplanted from Oxford to Cambridge, and where he staid till his seventeenth year ; all which time he was a most laborious student.

About the seventeenth year of his age he was removed to London, and admitted into Lincoln's-Inn, with an intent to study the Law ; where he gave great testimonies of his wit, his learning, and his improvement in that profession, which, however, never served him for any other use than an ornament and satisfaction. His father died before his admission into this society ; and, being a merchant, left him his portion in money. It was £3000. His mother, and those to whose care he was committed, were watchful to improve his knowledge ; and to that end appointed him tutors in the mathematics, and all the

liberal sciences. But with these arts they were advised to instil particular principles of the Romish Church, of which those tutors professed themselves, though secretly, to be members.

He had now entered into the eighteenth year of his age; and had at that time betrothed himself to no religion that might give him any other denomination than a Christian. And reason and piety had both persuaded him, that there could be no such sin as schism, if an adherence to some visible church were not necessary. He did therefore, at his entrance into the nineteenth year of his age, begin to survey the body of divinity, as it was then controverted betwixt the Reformed and the Roman Church. And as "GOD'S blessed SPIRIT did then awaken him to the search, and in that industry did never forsake him," (these are his own words,) so he calls the same HOLY SPIRIT to witness this protestation; that, "in that disquisition and search, he proceeded with humility and diffidence in himself, and by that which he took to be the safest way, namely, frequent prayers, and an indifferent affection to both parties." Indeed truth had too much light about her to be hid from so sharp an inquirer; and he had too much ingenuousness not to acknowledge that he had found her.

The year following he resolved to travel; and the Earl of Essex going, first the Isles, and afterwards the Island Voyages, he took the advantage of those opportunities, waited upon his Lordship, and was an eye-witness of those happy and unhappy employments. But he returned not back into England, till he had staid some years, first in Italy, and then in Spain; where he made many useful observations on those countries, their laws, and manner of government; and he returned perfect in their languages.

The time which he spent in Spain, he had, at his first going into Italy, designed for travelling in the Holy Land; but the disappointment of company, or of a safe convoy, denied him that happiness.

Not long after his return into England, that exemplary

pattern of wisdom, the Lord ELLESMERE, then Keeper of the Great Seal, and Lord Chancellor of England, taking notice of his learning, and other abilities, took him to be his Chief Secretary, intending it to be an introduction to some more weighty employment. He continued in that employment for five years, being daily useful to his friends. During that time, he fell into such a liking, as, with her approbation, increased into a love with a young gentlewoman that lived in that family, who was niece to the Lady ELLESMERE, and daughter of SIR GEORGE MOORE, then Chancellor of the Garter, and Lieutenant of the Tower. Some time afterwards, he married her privately. This was made known to SIR GEORGE, by his honourable friend and neighbour, HENRY Earl of Northumberland. But it so offended him, that he presently engaged his sister, the Lady ELLESMERE, to join with him to induce her Lord to discharge MR. DONNE from the place he held under his Lordship. Nor did this satisfy SIR GEORGE, till DR. SAMUEL BROOK, who married them, his brother, MR. CHRISTOPHER BROOK, who gave her away, and MR. DONNE, were committed to three several prisons.—MR. DONNE was first enlarged; and neither gave rest to his body or brain, nor to any friend with whom he had an interest, until he had procured an enlargement for his two friends.

He was now at liberty, but his days were still cloudy; and being past these troubles, others did still multiply upon him. His wife was, to her extreme sorrow, detained from him; and he was forced to make good his title to her, and to get possession of her, by a long and restless suit in law. This proved troublesome and chargeable to one, whose youth, and travel, and needless bounty, had brought his estate into a narrow compass. But his wants were prevented by the seasonable courtesy of their noble kinsman, SIR FRANCIS WOLLY, of Pirford in Surry, who entreated them to reside with him; where they remained, with much freedom to themselves, and equal content to him, for many years; and, as their charge in-

creased, (for she had a child yearly,) so did his love and bounty.

At length DR. MORTON, the most laborious and learned Bishop of Durham, one whom GOD had blessed with perfect intellects, and a cheerful heart, at the age of ninety-four years, sent for MR. DONNE, and spake to this purpose: "MR. DONNE, the occasion of sending for you is, to propose to you what I have revolved on in my own thoughts since I last saw you, but which, nevertheless, I will not do, but upon this condition, that you shall not return me a present answer, but forbear for three days, bestowing some part of that time in fasting and prayer, and, after a serious consideration of what I shall propose, shall then return to me with your answer."

This request being granted, he expressed himself thus: "MR. DONNE, I know your education and abilities; I know your expectation of a state-employment, and I know your fitness for it; I know too the many delays and contingencies that attend court-promises; and let me tell you, that my love, begot by our long friendship, hath prompted me to such an inquisition respecting your present temporal estate, as makes me no stranger to your necessities. You know, I have formerly persuaded you to wave your court-hopes, and enter into holy orders; which I now again persuade you to embrace, with this reason added to my former request: the King hath yesterday made me Dean of Gloucester, and I am possessed of a benefice, the profits of which are equal to those of my deanery; I shall think my deanery enough for my maintenance, (for I am, and resolve to die, a single man,) and will quit my benefice, and give it you, if GOD shall incline your heart to embrace this motion. Remember, MR. DONNE, no man's education or parts make him too good for this employment; which is to be an ambassador for the GOD of glory, who by a vile death opened the gates of life to mankind. Make me no present answer, but remember your promise, and return to me the third day with your resolution."

At the hearing of this, MR. DONNE's faint breath, and perplexed countenance, gave a visible testimony of an inward conflict; but he performed his promise, and departed, without returning an answer till the third day; and then it was to this effect:

"My most worthy friend, since I saw you, I have been faithful to my promise; and have also meditated much of your great kindness, though I may not accept of your offer. But, Sir, my refusal is not because I think myself too good for that calling, for which kings, if they think so, are not good enough: nor because my education and learning, though not eminent, may not, being assisted by God's grace, and humility, render me in some measure fit for it. But I dare make so dear a friend as you are my confessor: some irregularities of my life have been so visible to some men, that though I have, I thank God, made my peace with him, yet this, which God knows to be so, is not so visible to men, as to free me from their censures, or (it may be) that sacred calling from dishonour. Besides, it is determined by the best of casuists, 'that God's glory should be the first end, and a maintenance the second motive to embrace that calling;' and, though each man may propose to himself both together, yet the first may not be put last without a violation of conscience, which He that searches the heart will judge. And truly my present condition is such, that if I ask my own conscience, whether it be reconcileable to that rule, it is at this time so perplexed about it, that I can neither give myself nor you an answer. You know, Sir, who says, 'Happy is that man whose conscience doth not accuse him for that thing which he does.'"

This was his present resolution, but the heart of man is not in his own keeping; and he was destined to this sacred service by a higher hand; a hand so powerful, as at last forced him to a compliance.

MR. DONNE and his wife continued with SIR FRANCIS WOLLY till his death: a little before which time, SIR

FRANCIS was so happy as to make a perfect reconciliation betwixt SIR GEORGE and his forsaken son and daughter; SIR GEORGE conditioning by bond to pay MR. DONNE £800 at a certain day, as a portion with his wife, or £20 quarterly for their maintenance, as the interest for it, till the said portion was paid.

Most of those years that he lived with SIR FRANCIS, he studied the civil and canon laws; in which he acquired such a perfection, as was judged to hold proportion with many who had made that study the employment of their whole life. SIR FRANCIS being dead, and that happy family dissolved, MR. DONNE took a house at Mitcham, near Croydon in Surry, where his wife and children remained; and for himself he took lodgings in London, near Whitehall, whither his friends and occasions drew him very often, and where he was as often visited by many of the nobility and others, who used him in their counsels of greatest consideration. Nor did our own nobility only value and favour him, but his acquaintance and friendship was sought for by most ambassadors of foreign nations, and by many other strangers, whose learning or business occasioned their stay in this nation.

He was much importuned by many friends to make his constant residence in London; but he still denied it, having settled his wife and children at Mitcham, and near some friends that were bountiful to them and him; for they, God knows, needed it; and that you may the better now judge of the then condition of his mind and fortune, I shall present you with an extract out of some of his letters.

“The reason why I did not send an answer to your last week’s letter, was, because it found me under too great a sadness; and at present it is thus with me: There is not one person, but myself, well of my family; I have already lost half a child; and with that mischance of hers, my wife is fallen into such a discomposure as would afflict her extremely, but that the sickness of all her

children stupifies her ; of one of which I have not much hope ; and these meet with a fortune so ill provided for physic, and such relief, that if God should ease us with burials, I know not how to perform even that ; but I flatter myself with this hope, that I am dying too, for I cannot waste faster than by such griefs.

“ From my hospital at Mitcham,
August 10.

“ JOHN DONNE.”

“ We hardly discover a sin, when it is but an omission of some good, and no accusing act. With this, or the former, I have often suspected myself to be overtaken, which is, with an over-earnest desire of the next life ; and though I know it is not merely a weariness of this, because I had the same desire when I went with the tide, and enjoyed fairer hopes, yet I doubt worldly troubles have increased it. It is now spring, and all the pleasures of it displease me ; every tree blossoms, and I wither. I grow older and not better ; my strength diminisheth, and my load grows heavier ; and yet, I would fain be or do something ; but I cannot tell what. I began early, when I understood, the study of our laws ; but was diverted by leaving that, and embracing the worst voluptuousness, an hydropic and immoderate desire of human learning and languages. Beautiful ornaments indeed to men of great fortunes ; but mine was grown so low as to need an occupation ; which I thought I entered well into, when I subjected myself to such a service as I thought might exercise my poor abilities ; and there I stumbled, and fell too : and now I am become so little, or such a nothing, that I am not a subject good enough for one of my own letters. I fear my present discontent does not proceed from a good root, that I am so well content to be nothing, that is, dead. But, Sir, though my fortune hath made me such, as that I am rather a sickness or a disease of the world, than any part of it, and therefore neither love it, nor life ; yet I would gladly live to become some such thing as that you should not repent loving me. Sir,

your own soul cannot be more zealous of your good than I am, and God who loves that zeal in me, will not suffer you to doubt it. You would pity me now, if you saw me write, for my pain hath drawn my head so much awry, and holds it so, that my eye cannot follow my pen. I therefore receive you into my prayers with my own weary soul, and commend myself to yours. I doubt not but next week will bring you good news, for I have either mending or dying on my side. But if I do continue longer thus, I shall have comfort in this, that my blessed SAVIOUR in exercising his justice upon my two worldly parts, my fortune and my body, reserves his mercy for that which most needs it, my soul, which is, I doubt, too like a porter, who is very often near the gate, and yet goes not out. Sir, I profess to you truly, that my lothness to give over writing now, seems to myself a sign that I shall write no more.

“Your poor friend, and God’s poor patient,

“*September 7.*

“JOHN DONNE.”

By this you have seen a part of his perplexities. And thus it continued with him for about two years; all which time his family remained at Mitcham, to which place he often retired himself, and destined some days to study; and to that place and such studies he could willingly have wedded himself during his life. But the earnest persuasion of friends became at last so powerful as to cause the removal of himself and family to London, where SIR ROBERT DRURY, a gentleman of very noble estate, and a more liberal mind, assigned him a house rent-free, next to his own house in Drury-Lane; and was also a cherisher of his studies, and such a friend as sympathized with him and his in all their joy and sorrow.

About three years after, having then overcome his scruples, he was ordained both Deacon and Priest. And now all his studies, which had been occasionally diffused, were concentrated in Divinity. Now he had a new calling, new thoughts, and a new employment for his wit and

eloquence. Now all his earthly affections were changed into divine; and all the faculties of his own soul were engaged in the conversion of others,—in preaching the glad tidings of remission to repenting sinners, and peace to each troubled soul. To these he applied himself with all care and diligence; and now such a change was wrought in him, that he could say with DAVID, “Oh how amiable are thy tabernacles, O LORD GOD OF HOSTS!” Now he declared openly, that when he required a temporal, God gave him a spiritual blessing; and that he was more glad to be a door-keeper in the house of God, than he could be to enjoy the noblest of all temporal employments.

Presently after, the King sent for him, and made him his Chaplain in Ordinary; and promised to take a particular care of his preferment. And though his long familiarity with scholars, and persons of the greatest quality, was such as might have given some men boldness to have preached to any eminent auditory, yet his modesty was such, that he could not be persuaded to it, but went usually, accompanied by some one friend, to preach privately in some village not far from London; his first sermon being preached at Paddington. This he did, till his Majesty sent and appointed him a day to preach to him at Whitehall; and, though much was expected from him, both by his Majesty and others, yet he was so happy (which few are) as to exceed their expectations; preaching the word in such a manner, as showed his own heart was possessed with those very thoughts and joys that he laboured to instil into others; a preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching to himself, like an angel from a cloud, but in none; carrying some, as ST. PAUL was carried, to heaven in holy raptures, and enticing others by a sacred art to amend their lives; here picturing a vice so as to make it ugly to those that practised it, and a virtue so as to make it be beloved even by those that loved it not.

That summer, in the same month in which he entered

into sacred orders, and was made the King's Chaplain, his Majesty going his progress, was entreated to receive an entertainment in the University of Cambridge: and Mr. DONNE attending him, his Majesty was pleased to recommend him to the University, to be made Doctor in Divinity.

His abilities and industry in his profession were so eminent, that within the first year of his entering into sacred orders, he had fourteen advowsons of several benefices presented to him; but he would not leave London, having there contracted a friendship with many, whose conversation multiplied the joys of his life.

Immediately after his return from Cambridge his wife died, leaving him a man of an unsettled estate, and (having buried five) the careful father of seven children then living, to whom he gave a voluntary assurance never to bring them under the subjection of a step-mother; which promise he kept most faithfully, burying with his tears all his earthly joys in his dear and deserving wife's grave, and betaking himself to a most retired and solitary life.

In this retiredness, which was often from the sight of his dearest friends, he became "crucified to the world," and all those imaginary pleasures that are daily acted on that restless stage, and they crucified to him. Nor is it hard to think, that from the abundant affection which once subsisted between him and her who had long been the delight of his eyes and the companion of his youth, and with whom he had divided so many pleasant sorrows and contented fears, but who was now removed by death, grief took as full a possession of him as joy had done; and so indeed it did: sadness now took so full possession of his heart, as to leave no place for joy: if it did, it was a joy to be alone, where, like a pelican in the wilderness, he might bemoan himself without witness or restraint, and pour forth his passions like Job in the days of his affliction,—“Oh that I might have the desire of my heart! Oh that God would grant the thing that I long for! For

then, as the grave is become her house, so I would hasten to make it mine also ; that we two might make our beds together in the dark." Thus he began the day, and ended the night ;—ended the restless night, and began the weary day, with lamentations. And thus he continued, till a consideration of his new engagements to GOD, and ST. PAUL'S " Woe is me, if I preach not the Gospel," dispersed those clouds that had benighted his hopes, and forced him to behold the light.

His first motion from his house was to preach where his beloved wife lay buried, (in St. Clement's church, near Temple-Bar, London,) and his text was a part of the Prophet JEREMIAH'S Lamentation : " Lo, I am the man that hath seen affliction." And indeed, his very words and looks testified him to be truly such a man ; and they, with the addition of his sighs and tears, expressed in his sermon, did so work upon the affections of his hearers, as melted them into a companionable sadness.

In this time of sadness he was importuned by the Benchers of Lincoln's-Inn, once the friends of his youth, to accept of their lecture. He did so ; being most glad to renew his intermitted friendship with those whom he so much loved ; and where he had been a SAUL, though not to persecute Christianity, yet to neglect it, there to become a PAUL, and preach salvation to his beloved brethren. And now his life was as a shining light among his old friends : Now he might say, as ST. PAUL said to the Corinthians, " Be ye followers of me, as I am of CHRIST, and walk as ye have me for an example ;" not the example of a busy-body, but of a contemplative, an humble, and an holy life and conversation.

Here he continued two years, preaching faithfully and constantly to them, and they liberally requiting him. About this time the Emperor of Germany died, and the PALSGRAVE, who had lately married the Lady ELIZABETH, the King's only daughter, was elected and crowned King of Bohemia, the unhappy beginning of many miseries

in that nation. King JAMES endeavoured first to prevent, and afterwards to compose, the disorders of that discomposed state; and amongst other endeavours sent the Earl of Donecaster as his Ambassador to those unsettled Princes; and by a special command from his Majesty DR. DONNE was appointed to assist and attend that employment.

At his going he left his friends of Lincoln's-Inn, and they him, with much reluctance: for, though he could not say as ST. PAUL, "Behold, you to whom I have preached the kingdom of God, shall from henceforth see my face no more;" yet he, believing himself to be in a consumption, questioned, and they feared it, all concluding that his troubled mind, with the help of his unintermitted studies, hastened the decays of his weak body. But GOD turned it to the best; for this employment did not only divert him from those studies and sad thoughts, but seemed to give him a new life, by a true occasion of joy, namely, to be an eye-witness of the health of his most dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia, and to be a witness of that gladness which she expressed to see him, and to hear his excellent and powerful preaching.

About fourteen months after his departure out of England, he returned to his friends of Lincoln's-Inn, with his sorrows moderated, and his health improved; and there he betook himself to his constant course of preaching.

About a year after his return, the deanery of ST. PAUL's being vacant, the King bestowed it upon him. Immediately after he came to his deanery, he employed workmen to repair and beautify the chapel; suffering his eyes and temples to take no rest, till he had first beautified the house of GOD.

The next quarter following, when his father-in-law, SIR GEORGE MOORE, whom time had made a lover and admirer of him, came to pay to him the twenty pounds, he said as good JACOB did, when he heard that his beloved son JOSEPH was alive, "It is enough:"—"you have been kind to me and mine: I know your present condition is such as not to abound; and I hope mine is or will be such as not to need it: I will therefore receive no more from

you upon that contract :” and in testimony of it he freely gave him up his bond.

Immediately after his admission into his deanery, the vicarage of St. Dunstan in the West, London, fell to him by the death of DR. WHITE, the advowson of it having been given to him long before, by his honourable friend, RICHARD Earl of Dorset.

The next Parliament, which was within that present year, he was chosen Prolocutor to the Convocation ; and about that time was appointed by his Majesty to preach many occasional sermons, as at St. Paul’s Cross, and other places ; all which employments he performed to the admiration of the representative body of the whole clergy of this nation.

He was once, and but once, clouded with the King’s displeasure, and it was about this time ; which was occasioned by some malicious whisperer, who had told his Majesty, that DR. DONNE was become busy in insinuating a fear of the King’s inclining to Popery. The King received this news with so much restlessness, that he would not suffer the sun to set and leave him under this doubt, but sent for DR. DONNE, and required his answer to the accusation ; which was so clear and satisfactory, that the King said, “ He was right glad he rested no longer under the suspicion.” When the King had said this, DR. DONNE kneeled down and thanked his Majesty, and protested his answer was faithful and free from all collusion, and therefore desired that he might not rise, till, as in like cases he always had from God, so he might have from his Majesty, some assurance that he stood clear in his opinion. Then the King raised him from his knees with his own hands, and protested he believed him ; and that he knew he was an honest man, and doubted not but that he loved him truly. And having thus dismissed him, he called some Lords of his Council, and said with much earnestness, “ My Doctor is an honest man ; and, my Lords, I was never better satisfied with an answer than he hath now made me : and I always rejoice when I think that by my means he became a Divine.”

He was made Dean in the fiftieth year of his age ; and in his fifty-fourth year a dangerous sickness seized him. But God, as JOB thankfully acknowledged, “ preserved his spirit,” and kept his intellectuals clear and perfect ; yet it continued long, and threatened him with death, which he dreaded not. This sickness brought him so near to the gates of death, that he would often say, his recovery was supernatural. But that God, who then restored his health, continued it to him till the fifty-ninth year of his life. And then in August, 1630, being with his eldest daughter, MRS. HARVEY, at Abury-Hatch in Essex, he fell into a fever, which, with the help of his constant infirmity, hastened him into so visible a consumption, that his beholders might say, as ST. PAUL of himself, “ He dies daily ;” and he might say with JOB, “ My welfare passeth away as a cloud ; the days of my affliction have taken hold of me ; and weary nights are appointed for me.”

But before I speak of his death, I would add some observations on his life, which are not unworthy of our consideration.

In his penitential years, viewing some of his pieces of poetry loosely scattered in his youth, he wished they had been abortive, or so short-lived that his own eyes had witnessed their funerals. But, though he was no friend to them, he was not so fallen out with heavenly poetry as to forsake that ; no, not in his declining age. Yea, even on his sick-bed he wrote this hymn, expressing the joy that possessed his soul in the assurance of God’s favour.

A HYMN TO GOD THE FATHER.

Wilt thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it was done before ?
Wilt thou forgive that sin through which I run,
And do run still, though still I do deplore ?
When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
For I have more.

Wilt thou forgive that sin, which I have won
 Others to sin, and made my sin their door?
 Wilt thou forgive that sin which I did shun
 A year or two, but wallow'd in a score?
 When thou hast done, thou hast not done,
 For I have more.

I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
 My last thread, I shall perish on the shore:
 Swear by Thyself, that at my death thy Son
 Shall shine as he shines now, and heretofore;
 And having done that, thou hast done,
 I fear no more.

I have the rather mentioned this Hymn, because he caused it to be set to a solemn tune, and to be often sung to the organ at St. Paul's Church in his own hearing; and at his return from his customary devotions in that place, he said to a friend, "The words of this hymn have restored to me the same joy that possessed my soul in my sickness, when I composed it. And, O the power of church-music! That harmony, added to it, has raised the affections of my heart, and quickened my graces of zeal and gratitude; and I observe, that I always return from paying this public duty of prayer and praise to God, with an inexpressible tranquillity of mind, and a willingness to leave the world."

Not long before his death he caused to be drawn a figure of CHRIST extended upon an anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of CHRIST crucified; varying his no otherwise than to affix him to an anchor, the emblem of hope; this he caused to be drawn in miniature, and then many of those figures thus drawn to be engraven very small, and set in gold, which he sent to many of his dearest friends, to be used as seals or rings, and kept as memorials of him, and of his affection to them.

The latter part of his life was a continued study. As he usually preached once a week, if not oftener, so after his sermon he never gave his eyes rest, till he had chosen a

new text, and that night cast his sermon into a form, and his text into divisions; and the next day betook himself to consult the Fathers, and so commit his meditations to his memory: only upon Saturday he usually gave himself rest from the weary burden of his week's meditations, and usually spent that day in visitation of friends, saying, "He gave both his body and mind that refreshment, that he might be enabled to do the work of the day following, not faintly, but with courage and cheerfulness."

Nor was his age only so industrious, but in the most unsettled days of his youth, his bed was not able to detain him beyond four in a morning: this may gain a belief by the visible fruits of his labours, some of which remain as testimonies of it; for he left fourteen hundred authors, most of them abridged and analysed with his own hand. Nor were these only found in his study; but all businesses that passed of any public consequences, either in this, or any of our neighbouring nations, he abbreviated, either in Latin, or in the language of that nation, and kept them by him for useful memorials. So he did the copies of divers letters and cases of conscience that had concerned his friends, with his observations and solutions of them; and divers other businesses of importance, all particularly and methodically digested.

The following is the beginning and end of his will.

"In the name of the blessed and glorious TRINITY, Amen. I, JOHN DONNE, by the mercy of CHRIST JESUS, and by the calling of the Church of England, Priest, being at this time in good health and perfect understanding, (praised be GOD therefore,) do hereby make my last will and testament, in manner and form following:

"First, I give my gracious GOD an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which his blessed SPIRIT imprints in me now of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other; and for that constant and cheerful resolution which the same SPIRIT hath established in me to live and die in the religion now professed in the Church of Eng-

land. In expectation of that resurrection, I desire that my body may be buried in the most private manner that may be, in that place of St. Paul's Church, London, that the now Residentiaries have at my request designed for that purpose, &c."

"And this my last will and testament, made in the fear of God, whose mercy I humbly beg, and constantly rely upon in JESUS CHRIST, and in perfect love and charity with all the world, whose pardon I ask, from the lowest of my servants, to the highest of my superiors; written all with my own hand, and my name subscribed to every page, of which there are five in number. Scaled December 13, 1630."

Nor was his charity expressed only at his death, but in his life also, by a cheerful and frequent visitation of any friend whose mind was dejected, or his fortune necessitous; he was inquisitive after the wants of prisoners, and redeemed many from thence that lay for their fees or small debts; he was a continual giver to poor scholars, both of this and foreign nations. Besides what he gave with his own hand, he usually sent a servant, or a discreet and trusty friend, to distribute his charity to all the prisons in London, at all the festival times of the year, especially at the birth and resurrection of our SAVIOUR. He gave a hundred pounds at one time to an old friend, whom he had known live plentifully, though then decayed in his estate.

He was a happy reconciler of many differences in the families of his friends and kindred, which he never undertook faintly, for such undertakings have usually faint effects; and they had such a faith in his judgment and impartiality, that he never advised them to any thing in vain. He was even to her death a most dutiful son to his mother, careful to provide for her support, of which she had been destitute, but that God raised him up to prevent her necessities.

We left the Doctor sick in Essex, where he was forced to spend much of that winter, by reason of his disability

to remove. He had never, for almost twenty years, omitted his attendance on his Majesty in that month in which he was to preach to him; nor had ever been left out of the roll and number of Lent-Preachers. He was appointed to preach upon his old constant day, the first Friday in Lent. He had notice of it, and had in his sickness so prepared for that employment, that as he had long thirsted for it, so he resolved his weakness should not hinder his journey; he came therefore to London, some few days before his day of preaching. At his coming thither, many of his friends (who with sorrow saw that his sickness had left him only so much flesh as did just cover his bones,) doubted his strength to perform the task, and did therefore dissuade him from undertaking it, assuring him, it was like to shorten his life; but he passionately denied their requests, saying, "He could not think that God who in so many weaknesses had assisted him with an unexpected strength, would now withdraw it in his last employment." And when, to the amazement of some beholders, he appeared in the pulpit, many of them thought he presented himself not to preach mortification by a living voice, but mortality by a dying face. And doubtless, many did secretly ask that question in *Ezekiel*, "Do these bones live? Or, can that soul organize that tongue, to measure out an hour of this dying man's unspent life? Doubtless it cannot." And yet, after some faint pauses in his zealous prayer, his strong desires enabled his weak body to discharge his memory; the text being, "To God the Lord belong the issues from death." Many that then saw his tears, and heard his faint and hollow voice, professed they thought the text prophetically chosen, and that DR. DONNE had preached his own funeral-sermon. Being full of joy that God had enabled him to perform this duty, he hastened to his house, out of which he never moved, till, like ST. STEPHEN, he was carried by devout men to his grave.

The next day after his sermon, his strength was much wasted, and his spirits so spent, as indisposed him to business. A friend that had often been a witness of his

free discourse, asked him, ‘ Why are you so sad ? ’ To whom he replied, with a countenance so full of cheerful gravity, as gave testimony of an inward tranquillity, and of a soul willing to take a farewell of this world, and said, “ I am not sad, but most of the night past I have entertained myself with many thoughts of several friends that have left me here, and are gone to that place from which they shall not return ; and that within a few days I also shall go hence, and be no more seen. And my preparation for this change is become my nightly meditation upon my bed, which my infirmities have now made restless to me. But at this present time, I was in a serious contemplation of the providence and goodness of God to me, who am less than the least of his mercies ; and looking back upon my life past, I now plainly see it was his hand that prevented me from all temporal employment ; and it was his will that I should never settle nor thrive till I entered into the ministry ; in which I have now lived almost twenty years, I hope to his glory, and by which, I most humbly thank him, I have been able to requite most of those friends who showed me kindness when my fortune was very low, as God knows it was : and as it hath occasioned the expression of my gratitude, I thank God that most of them have stood in need of my requital. I have lived to be useful to my good father-in-law, SIR GEORGE MOORE, whose patience God hath been pleased to exercise with many temporal crosses. I have maintained my mother, whom it hath pleased God, after a plentiful fortune, to bring to a great decay. I have quieted the consciences of many that have groaned under the burden of a wounded spirit, whose prayers, I hope, are available for me. I cannot plead innocency of life, especially of my youth ; but I am to be judged by a merciful God. And though of myself I have nothing to present to him but sins and misery ; yet I know he looks not upon me as I am of myself, but as I am in my SAVIOUR, and hath given me even at this time the testimony by his HOLY SPIRIT, that I am his : I am therefore full of joy, and shall die in peace.”

By the persuasion of Dr. Fox, he yielded at this very time to have a monument made for him. This being resolved, DR. DONNE sent for a carver to make for him in wood the figure of an urn, giving him directions for the compass and height of it, and ordering him to bring with it a board of the height of his body. These being got, then, without delay, a choice painter was in readiness to draw his picture, which was taken as followeth : he brought into his study his winding-sheet in his hand ; and having put off all his clothes, he had this sheet put on him, and tied with knots at his head and feet, and his hands so placed as dead bodies are usually fitted to be put into the grave. Upon this urn he thus stood with his eyes shut, and with so much of the sheet turned aside, as might show his lean, pale, and death-like face ; which was purposely turned towards the east, from whence he expected the second coming of his and our SAVIOUR. Thus he was drawn at his just height ; and when the picture was finished, he caused it to be set by his bed-side, where it continued, and became his hourly object till his death, and was then given to his dearest friend and executor, DR. KING, who caused him to be thus carved in one entire piece of white marble, as it now stands in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul ; and by DR. DONNE's own appointment, these words were to be affixed to it as his epitaph :

JOHANNES DONNE

Sac. Theol. Professor.

*Post varia Studia quibus ab annis tenerrimis fideliter
nec infeliciter incubuit,*

*Instinctu et impulsu SP. SANCTI, Monitu
et Hortatu*

REGIS JACOBI, Ordines Sacros amplexus

Anno sui Jesu, 1614, et suæ ætatis 42.

*Decanatu hujus Ecclesiæ indutus 27. Novembris,
1621.*

Exutus morte ultimo Die Martis, 1631.

*Hic licet in Occiduo Cinere Aspieit Eum
Cujus nomen est Oriens.*

Upon Monday following, he took his last leave of his beloved study, and, being sensible of his hourly decay, retired to his bed-chamber; and, that week, sent at several times for many of his friends, of whom he took a solemn farewell; commending to their considerations some sentences useful for the regulation of their lives, and then dismissing them, as good JACOB did his sons, with a spiritual benediction. The Sunday following he appointed his servants, that if there were any business undone that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against Saturday next; for, after that day, he would not mix his thoughts with any thing that concerned this world: and he never did; but, as JOB, so he “waited for the appointed time” of his dissolution.

And now he had nothing to do but to die; to do which, he stood in need of no longer time: for he had studied it long, and to so happy a perfection, that in a former sickness he called GOD to witness he was that minute ready to deliver his soul into his hands. In that sickness he begged of GOD to be preserved in that estate for ever; and his patient expectation to have his immortal soul disrobed from her garment of mortality, makes me confident he now had an assurance that his prayers were heard, and his petition granted. He lay fifteen days earnestly expecting his hourly change. In the last hour of his last day, as his body melted away, his soul having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beatific vision, he said, “I were miserable if I might not die;” and, after those words, closed many periods of his faint breath, by saying often, “Thy kingdom come, thy will be done.” His speech, which had long been his ready and faithful servant, left him not till the last minute of his life, and then forsook him, for that it was become useless to him that now conversed with GOD on earth, as angels are said to do in heaven, only by thoughts and looks. Being speechless, he did, as ST. STEPHEN, “look steadfastly towards heaven, till he saw the SON OF GOD standing at the right hand of his FATHER:” and being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his soul ascended, and his last

breath departed from him, he closed his own eyes, and then disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those that came to shroud him.

Thus variable, thus virtuous, was the life, thus excellent, thus exemplary, was the death, of this memorable man.

He was buried in that place of St. Paul's Church, which he had appointed some years before his death, and by which he passed daily to pay his public devotions to Almighty God ; but he was not buried privately, though he desired it ; for, besides an unnumbered number of others, many persons of nobility and of eminency for learning, who loved and honoured him in his life, showed it at his death, by a voluntary and sad attendance of his body to the grave, where nothing was so remarkable as a public sorrow. To the place of his burial some mournful friends repaired, and, as ALEXANDER the Great did to the grave of ACHILLES, so they strewed his with abundance of curious flowers ; which course they (who were never yet known) continued morning and evening for many days ; not ceasing, till the stones that were taken up in that church, to give his body admission into the cold earth, now his bed of rest, were again by the masons so levelled as they had been formerly, and his place of burial undistinguishable to common view.

Nor was this all the honour done to his reverend ashes ; for, as there are some persons that will not receive a reward for that which God accounts himself a debtor for, —persons that dare trust God with their charity, without a witness ; so by some grateful unknown friend, that thought DR. DONNE's memory ought to be perpetuated, a hundred marks were sent to his two faithful friends and executors, DR. KING and DR. MOUNTFORT, towards the making of his monument. It was not for many years known by whom ; but, after the death of DR. FOX, it was known that it was he that sent it ; and he lived to see as lively a representation of his dead friend, as marble can express ; a statue indeed, so like DR. DONNE, that

(as his friend SIR HENRY WOTTON hath expressed himself) "it seems to breathe faintly; and posterity shall look upon it as a kind of artificial miracle."

He was of stature moderately tall, of a straight and equally-proportioned body, to which all his words and actions gave an inexpressible comeliness. The melancholy and pleasant humour were in him so tempered, that each gave advantage to the other, and made his company one of the delights of mankind. His fancy was inimitably high, equalled only by his great wit, both being made useful by a commanding judgment. His aspect was cheerful, and such as gave a silent testimony of a clear and knowing soul, and of a conscience at peace with itself. His melting eye showed that he had a soft heart; and was full of noble compassion, of too brave a soul to offer injuries, and too much a Christian not to pardon them in others.

He did much contemplate (especially after he entered into his sacred calling) the mercies of Almighty God, the immortality of the soul, and the joys of heaven; and would often say, "Blessed be God, that he is God, divinely like himself."

He was a great lover of the offices of humanity, and of so merciful a spirit, that he never beheld the miseries of mankind without pity and relief. He was earnest and unwearyed in the search of knowledge; with which his vigorous soul is now satisfied, and employed in a continual praise of that God who first breathed it into his active body; that body which once was a temple of the HOLY GHOST, and is now become a small quantity of christian dust.*

* But I shall see it re-animated. J. W.

(XXII.)

THE LIFE
OF
GEORGE HERBERT.

MR. GEORGE HERBERT was born the third day of April, in the year of our redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near the town of Montgomery, and in the Castle which did then bear the name of that town and county. The Castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the HERBERTS, who had long possessed it, and with it a plentiful estate, and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours; a family that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and with a willingness to serve their country, and indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they were eminent. But, alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that estate saw it laid level with the earth.

He spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain or tutor to him, and to two of his brothers, in her own family, (for she was then a widow,) where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Mr. IRELAND, who was then chief master of Westminster school; where the beauties of his behaviour and wit were so eminent and lovely in this innocent age, that he seemed to be marked out for piety. He continued in that school till he came to be perfect in the learned languages.

About the age of fifteen, being then a King's Scholar, he was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608. And his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose, or lessen, that virtue which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure DR. NEVILLE, Master of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor.

As he grew older, so he grew in learning, and in favour with God and man ; insomuch that, in this morning of life, God still kept his soul in so holy a frame, that he may and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell, that he was made Minor Fellow in the year 1609, Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611, and Major Fellow of the College, March 15th, 1615 ; and that, in that year, he was also made Master of Arts, being then in the twenty-second year of his age ; during all which time, the only or the greatest diversion from his study was the practice of music, in which he became a great master, and of which he would say, " That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth, that it gave him an earnest of the joys of heaven, before he possessed them." From his first entrance into the College, DR. NEVILLE was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his company ; and, if during this time he expressed any error, it was, that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors.

In the year 1619, he was chosen Orator for the University ; in which place he continued eight years, and managed it with great reputation.

He had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which he judged did impair his health ;

for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities which he judged were increased by his studies ; and he would often say, " he had a wit, like a pen-knife in a narrow sheath, too sharp for his body : " But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel ; to which though he inclined very much, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate, as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother, but did always submit to her wisdom.

Upon King JAMES's death, he presently betook himself to a retreat with a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged much to impair his health. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to Court, or betake himself to the study of Divinity. These were such conflicts, as they only can know that have endured them. At last, GOD inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar.

At his return to London, he acquainted a court-friend with his resolution to enter into sacred orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, below his birth, and the excellent endowments of his mind. To this he replied, " It hath been formerly judged, that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth ; and though the iniquity of the late times have made Clergymen meanly valued, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by consecrating all my learning, and all my poor abilities, to advance the glory of that GOD that gave them ; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me. And I will labour to be like my SAVIOUR, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of the blessed JESUS." Within that year he was made Deacon, and Prebend of Lincoln, July 15th, 1626.

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, MR. HERBERT was seized with a sharp quotidian ague,

and thought to remove it by the change of air ; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly, to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, SIR HENRY HERBERT, and other friends. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own Physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and eating no meat, unless it was salted ; and by such a constant diet, he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse ; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses. In the sharpest of his fits, he would often say, “ LORD abate my affliction, or increase my patience ; but, LORD, I repine not ; I am dumb before Thee, because Thou doest it.”

And now his care was to recover from his other disorders, by a change from Woodford into such an air as was proper : and his removal was from Woodford to Dantsey in Wiltshire. The owner of it then was the Lord DANVERS, Earl of Danby, who loved MR. HERBERT much, and allowed him such an apartment in that house, as might best suit his accommodation and liking. And, in this place, by a spare diet, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness ; and then he declared his resolution to marry, and to enter into the sacred orders of Priesthood.

He was, for his person, of a stature inclining towards tallness ; his body was very straight, and so far from being cumbered with too much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him to be a gentleman ; and were all so meek and obliging, that both then, and at his death, he was said to die almost without an enemy.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him so much love from a gentleman of noble fortune, CHARLES DANVERS, Esq., of Bainton, in the county of Wilts ; that MR. DANVERS often expressed a desire that MR. HERBERT would marry any of his nine daughters, but rather his daughter

JANE, than any other, because JANE was his beloved daughter. He had often said the same to MR. HERBERT himself; and that, if he could like her, and she him, JANE should have a double blessing. This was a fair preparation for a marriage, but her father died before MR. HERBERT's retirement to Dantsey; yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time, a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, insomuch that she changed her name into HERBERT, the third day after this first interview. And the eternal Lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual affections and compliance; so happy, that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most comply with the other's desires.

About three months after his marriage, he was presented to the living of Bemerton, in Wiltshire. But though he had formerly put on a resolution for the clergy; yet the apprehension of the last great account he was to give for the cure of so many souls, made him fast, and pray, and consider, for no less than a month: and in this time he endured, as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, one of his old and dear friends took a journey to salute him at Bainton, where he then was with his wife's friends and relations; whence they two took a journey to Wilton; at which time, the King, and the whole Court, were there, or at Salisbury, which is very near to it. At this time MR. HERBERT presented his thanks to the Earl of Pembroke for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept of it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted DR. LAUD, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Archbishop the next day so convinced MR. HERBERT that the refusal of it was a sin, that the next day he went with his presentation to DR. DAVENANT, then Bishop of Salisbury,

who gave him institution immediately, and he was the same day, April 26th, 1630, inducted into the more pleasant than healthful parsonage of Bemerton, a mile from Salisbury.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell, as the law requires, he staid so much longer than an ordinary time, before he returned to his friends who staid expecting him at the church-door, that one of them looked in at the church-window, and saw him prostrate on the ground before the altar ; at which time he set some rules to himself, for the future conduct of his life.

The same night he said : “ I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had attained what I so ambitiously thirsted for : and I can now behold the Court with an impartial eye, and see plainly, that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and empty, imaginary, painted pleasures ; pleasures, that are so empty as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed : but in God, and his service, is a fulness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve at his altar, that, as by his special grace he hath put into my heart these good desires and resolutions, so he will, by his assisting grace, enable me to bring the same to good effect ; and that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to JESUS, whom I have this day taken to be my master and governor. And I am so proud of his service, that I will always observe and obey his will, and call him JESUS my Master : and I will condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with serving at the altar of JESUS my Master.”

The third day after he was made Rector of Bemerton, he returned to Bainton, and said to his wife, “ You are now a Minister’s wife, and must not now claim precedence of any of your parishioners ; for you are to know,

that a Priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her humility." She assured him it was no vexing news to her, and that he would see her observe it with a cheerful willingness. And indeed her unforced humility made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigned love and respect from all that conversed with her.

It was not many days before he returned to Bemerton, to view the Church, and repair the chancel; and indeed, to rebuild three parts of his house, which was fallen down, by reason of his predecessor's neglect. At that time, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her troubles; but after she had spoken some few words, she was surprised with a fear, and shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and understanding she was of his parish, told her that he would be acquainted with her, and take her into his care; and having heard and understood her wants, he comforted and relieved her, and sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God.

That he might the better preserve those holy rules which he had fixed for himself, he set them in that order, in which the world now sees them printed in a little book, called *The Country Parson*. And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on the holy rules set down in that useful book; a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that the country parson that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable, because it will both direct him what he is to do, and convince him for not having done it.

The text for his first sermon was out of SOLOMON'S *Proverbs*, "Keep thy heart with all diligence;" in which he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, and safe rules, for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man. At the close, he told them, "that he would not fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but, for their

sakes, his expression should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, that they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising: and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his sermons were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day; and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read, and in what manner the Collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them. And that they might pray with understanding, he usually took occasion to explain, not only the Collect for every particular day, but the reasons of all the other Collects and responses in our service; and made it appear to them, that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable sacrifice.

It was also his practice to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces, (the daughters of a deceased sister,) and his whole family, twice a day at the Church-prayers, in the Chapel, which does almost join to his parsonage-house, at the hours of ten and four; and there to lift up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he did rejoice to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his Master JESUS dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour, and visible adoration, he, like DAVID, brought not only his own household thus to serve the LORD, but most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen of the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence MR. HERBERT, that they would let their plough rest when MR. HERBERT's saints' bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return to their plough.

His constant public prayers did never make him neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he

thought himself bound to perform with his family ; which always concluded with that Collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His recreation was music, in which he was an excellent master, and composed many anthems, which he set or sung to his lute or viol. And though he was a lover of retiredness, yet he went usually twice a week to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury ; and at his return would say, that his time spent in prayer, and cathedral-music, elevated his soul, and was his heaven upon earth : but before his return from thence to Bemerton, he would usually sing and play his part, at an appointed private music-meeting.

In one of his walks to Salisbury, he overtook a gentleman belonging to that city ; and, in their walk together, MR. HERBERT took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith. Having received his answer, he gave him such rules for practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton ; and after MR. HERBERT's death he always mentioned his name with veneration, and praised God that he had known him.

In another of his Salisbury walks, he met with a neighbouring Minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolence for the wickedness of the times, and contempt of Clergy, MR. HERBERT took occasion to say, " One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-Weeks strictly, and to beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayer for a more religious Clergy ; and another cure would be, for them to restore the great and neglected duty of Catechising, on which the salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend : but, principally, the Clergy themselves

should be sure to live unblameably ; and the dignified Clergy especially, who preach temperance, should avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives and actions. 'Till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity ; for it is not learning, but this, this only, that must do it ; and till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury, he saw a poor man, with a poorer horse that was fallen under his load ; which MR. HERBERT perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and afterwards to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man, and gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse ; and told him, " If he loved himself, he should be merciful to his beast." At his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder that MR. GEORGE HERBERT, who used to be so clean, came in such a condition ; but he told them the occasion ; and when one of the company told him, that " he had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment," his answer was, " that the thought on what he had done would prove music to him at midnight ; and the omission of it would have upbraided and made discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by the place."

He was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of charity. Her he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, giving her a power to dispose of that to the poor of his parish, and also of a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn ; which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him " an account of her stewardship," and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty ; for she rejoiced in the employment, and usually laid it out in blankets and shoes, for some such poor people as she knew to stand in need of them. This, as to *her* charity ; and as for his own, he set no limits to it, nor did ever turn

his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours, to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them, and would always praise God as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, "Seeing all my tithes and church-dues are a gift from thee, O my God; make me, O my God, so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace, I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress."

Thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him, as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel; in which he continued to read prayers constantly twice every day, though he was very weak. In one of those times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits; he confessed it, but said, that his life could not be better spent, than in the service of his Master JESUS, who had done and suffered so much for him: "But," he added, "I will not be wilful, for MR. BOSTOCK shall read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And MR. BOSTOCK did continue this happy employment, till MR. HERBERT's death.—This MR. BOSTOCK was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of MR. HERBERT's, and then his curate to the church of Fulston, a mile from Bemerton, to which Bemerton is but a chapel of ease.

About a month before his death, his friend MR. FARRER sent MR. EDMUND DUNCON from his house of Gidden-Hall, which is near Huntingdon, to see MR. HERBERT, and to assure him that he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and MR. DUNCON was to return back to Gidden, with an account of MR. HERBERT's condition. He found him lying on his bed; but on seeing MR. DUNCON, he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness inquired the health of his Brother

FARRER, of which MR. DUNCON satisfied him ; and after a conference on MR. FARRER's holy life, and the manner of his constantly serving GOD, he said to MR. DUNCON, " Sir, I see by your habit that you are a Priest, and I desire you to pray with me ; " which being granted, MR. DUNCON asked him what prayers ? To which MR. HERBERT's answer was, " O Sir, the prayers of my Mother, the Church of England ; no other prayers are equal to them. " MR. DUNCON did so. MR. DUNCON tells me, that at his first view of MR. HERBERT, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour, as begot in him an awful reverence for his person ; and that his discourse was so pious, and his motion so meek, that, after almost forty years, they remain still fresh in his memory. The next morning, MR. DUNCON left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back.

MR. NICHOLAS FARRER was born in London, and was, at a fit age, made Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his temperance and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age, he betook himself to travel, in which he added to his Latin and Greek a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the western parts of our christian world, and understood well the principles of their religion, and the manner and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel, he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that Church, which calls itself Catholic ; but he returned from his travels, as he went, eminent for his obedience to his Mother, the Church of England. In his absence from England, MR. FARRER's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance ; and not long after his return, he had an estate left him, which enabled him to buy land to the value of £500 a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gidden, four or five miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen miles from Cambridge, which place he chose for the privacy of it, and because the hall had the parish-church adjoining to

it; for MR. FARRER, having seen the manners and vanities of the world, did so contemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortification, devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death.—And his life was spent thus :—

He and his family, who were like a little college, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent, and all Ember-weeks, strictly, both in fasting, and in using all those prayers that the church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like on Fridays, and on the vigils or eves before the saints'-days; and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was only a part of his charity; none but God and he knew the rest. Part of this family were his kindred, and the rest chosen of a temper fit for a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable, quiet and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God, and it was in this manner.—He did himself use to read the Common-Prayers (for he was a deacon) every day at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the church which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned; for it was fallen into ruin, before MR. FARRER bought the manor. And he constantly read the *Mattins* every morning at six, either in the church, or in an oratory which was within his own house: and many of the family did there continue with him, after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing hymns and anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory. And they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament, or to continue their praying or reading the psalms; and in case the psalms were not all read in the day, then MR. FARRER, and others of the congregation, did at night, at the ring of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayer, and lauding God, and

reading the psalms that had not been read in the day. And when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight; and then a part of the family rose and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning.—And it is to be noted, that in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was, in every four-and-twenty hours, sung or read over, from the first to the last verse; and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world.

Thus did MR. FARRER and his happy family serve God, day and night. Thus did they always behave as in his presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a bell, and perform their devotions to God.—Many of the clergy did often come to Gidden-Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and join with MR. FARRER and the family in these devotions, and assist him or them in their watch by night. These various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extremely cold nights, when it was maintained in a parlour fitted for that purpose: and this course of piety, and great liberality to his neighbours, MR. FARRER maintained till his death, which happened in the year 1639.

MR. FARRER'S and MR. HERBERT'S lives were so noted, that the general report of their sanctity gave them occasion to renew that slight acquaintancce which was begun at Cambridge; and this new and holy friendship was maintained without any interview, but only by endearing

letters. One testimony of their friendship, and pious designs, may appear by MR. FARRER's commending the *Considerations* of JOHN VALDESSO (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined by MR. HERBERT; which book MR. HERBERT read, and returned back with marginal notes.

This JOHN VALDESSO was a Spaniard, and was, for his learning and virtue, much valued and loved by the great Emperor CHARLES V., whom VALDESSO had followed all the time of his long and dangerous wars. When VALDESSO grew old, and weary of the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor, that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying.—The Emperor had himself, for the same reasons, put on the same resolutions; but God and himself did then only know them; and he desired VALDESSO to consider well what he had said, but to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two had another opportunity of a friendly discourse. In the mean time, the Emperor appointed a day for him and VALDESSO to receive the Sacrament publicly, and appointed a devout friar to preach a sermon on contempt of the world, and on the happiness and benefit of a quiet life. After sermon, the Emperor declared openly, that he had a resolution to lay down his dignities, and forsake the world; and after he had called his son PHILIP out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, the Emperor performed his resolutions.

MR. DUNCON, according to his promise, returned the fifth day, and found MR. HERBERT much weaker than he left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at parting, MR. HERBERT spoke to this purpose: “Sir, I pray give my Brother FARRER an account of my decaying condition, and tell him, that I beg him to continue his prayers for me; let him know, that I have

considered that GOD only is what He would be, and that I am by his grace become now so like Him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him ; and tell him, that my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found, and that I long to be there, and will wait my appointed change with hope and patience." Having said this, he added, " Sir, pray deliver this little book to my brother FARRER, and tell him, he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt GOD and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of JESUS my Master, in whose service I have now found perfect freedom ; desire him to read it, and then if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public ; if not, let him burn it ; for I and it are less than the least of GOD's mercies."—Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of " The Temple : or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations ;" of which MR. FARRER would say, that " there was the picture of a divine soul in every page ; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions, as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety."

At the time of MR. DUNCON's leaving MR. HERBERT, which was about three weeks before his death, his old and dear friend MR. WOODNOT came from London to Bemerton, and never left him, till he had seen him draw his last breath. In this time of his decay, he was often visited, and prayed for, by all the Clergy that lived near him, especially by the Bishop and Prebends in Salisbury ; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces, then a part of his family, and MR. WOODNOT, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay, and to whom he would often speak to this purpose :

" I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, how they are all passed by me, as a shadow that returns not, and are become dead to me, or I to them. As my father and gene-

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

The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly from his couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand, and said,

" My God, my God,
My music shall find thee,
And every string
Shall have his attribute to sing."

And having tuned it, he played and sung:

" The *Sundays* of man's life,
Threaded together on time's string,
Make bracelets, to adorn the wife
Of the eternal glorious King:
On *Sundays*, heaven's door stands ope;
Blessings are plentiful and rife,
More plentiful than hope."

Thus he sung on earth such hymns and anthems, as the angels, and he, and MR. FARRER, now sing in heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death ; and on that day said to MR. WOODNOT, “ My dear friend, I am sorry that I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery ; but the first is pardoned, and a few hours will put a period to the latter.” Upon this expression, MR. WOODNOT took occasion to remind him of his many acts of mercy ; to which he made answer, “ They be good works if they be sprinkled with the blood of CHRIST, and not otherwise.”

After this discourse, he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle ; and this uneasiness became so visible, that his wife, his three nieces, and MR. WOODNOT, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble ; and, observing him to fall into a sudden agony, she asked him how he did, to which his answer was, “ that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him, by the merits of his Master, JESUS.” After this answer, he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping, and charged them, “ if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him ; for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable.” To this request, their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him MR. WOODNOT and MR. BOSTOCK. Immediately after they had left him, he said to MR. BOSTOCK, “ Pray, Sir, open that door ; then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my hand ;” which being done, he delivered it into the hand of MR. WOODNOT, and said, “ My old friend, I here deliver you my last Will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole executor, for the good of my wife and nieces ; and I desire you to show

kindness to them, as they shall need it : I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake ; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnor's promise to be so, he said, " I am now ready to die ;" after which words he said, " LORD, grant me mercy, for the merits of my JESUS ; and now, LORD, receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his soul, without any apparent disturbance ; MR. WOODNOR and MR. BOSTOCK attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a saint unspotted by the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life ; which I cannot conclude better, than with this borrowed observation :

. " All must to the cold grave ;
But the religious actions of the just
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust."

END OF VOL. XV.