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## WESTERN SECTION.

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THE LIFE  
OF  
MR. VAVASOR POWELL.



## THE LIFE

MR. VAVASOR POWELL.

### CHAPTER I.

TILL the twentieth year of my age, though I was trained up in learning from my childhood, I was, as most youths are, not only ignorant of the knowledge of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and of regeneration, and other mysteries of the Gospel, and of my own miserable estate by nature ; but I was also very active in the pursuit of the pleasures and vanities of this wicked world, and justly termed by my companions, "Captain in all evil : " only drunkenness I much hated ; looking upon it as such an unnatural thing, that the most greedy, silly beasts abstain from it ; and I wondered that persons could delight in that which had neither true pleasure, profit, nor honour in it. I had no esteem for the holy Scriptures, nor cared at all to look into them ; but historical or poetical

books, romances, and the like, were all my delight. The Sabbath I much profaned by all sports ; though God was pleased to magnify his grace so much as to make that the occasion of my conversion. For being one Lord's day a stander-by and beholder of those that broke the Sabbath by divers games, being then myself a reader of Common-Prayer, and in the habit of a foolish Shepherd, I was ashamed to play with them ; yet took as much pleasure therein as if I had ; whereupon a godly professor of religion, (one of those then called Puritans,) seeing me there, came to me, and very soberly and mildly asked me, "Doth it become you, Sir, that are a scholar, and one that teacheth others, to break the Lord's Sabbath thus?" to whom I answered, as those scoffers in Malachi, "Wherein do I break it? You see me only stand by ; but I do not play at all:" to which he replied, "But you find your own pleasure herein, by looking on ; and this God forbids in his holy word." So he opened his Bible, and read these words in Isai. lviii. 13, and particularly that expression, "Not finding thy own pleasure upon the Sabbath-day." Such was the pertinence of the place, and the power that came with the word, that I was for the present silent, and took it so far into consideration, as to resolve never to transgress in the like kind again ; which resolution God enabled me to perform ; though as yet I was not

at all convinced of my lost estate by nature, nor of the want of Christ.

About a year after I had a call to hear an excellent Preacher, who showed that they who would go to heaven must do four sorts of service; namely, hard service, costly service, derided service, and forlorn service: upon the last he put me to question whether I was such a one as was singular, or walked in that way wherein few walked, or had performed any of those services; and the more I examined myself, the more I was convinced that I had not; which began to disquiet me much, and made me go into private, where in darkness I struggled, not knowing what to do, and was ashamed to inquire; having never read seriously any part of the holy Scriptures, nor any other godly book, nor ever prayed privately, except by forms, and that without understanding, sense, faith, or the spirit of supplication; for which things I began to be troubled, but yet knew not what course to take, but resolved to cast myself down before God on my knees, and acknowledge I was in such estate that I knew not what to do, unless he would direct and help me; being much discouraged by my own weakness and ignorance. Then by a choice providence I came to find a book written by Doctor Sibbes, called "The Bruised Reed;" and by reading that, I found there was encouragement for weak ones, and such as had but a smoke of true desire.

Yet still I was like one groping in the dark, till God sent a holy, sober Christian to me, who pitied my condition, and told me what a hard work conversion was; it being no less than to make a stone flesh, and darkness light. These, with many such words, began to enter deep into my heart; and from that time I took up the profession of godliness, although the foundation was not laid deep enough; but I was disquieted within me, and like a boat tossed upon the waves, that could make to no shore for safety.

At this time I was visited with a very sore pain of the toothache, which continued divers days and nights together, in great extremity; and by another good providence, I met with a little book of Mr. Perkins, and in that, with this expression, "If the pains of one little bone be so grievous for a few days, what will the pains of the whole body and soul be in hell for evermore?" Upon this my terror began in conscience to that degree, that it made the other pain seem somewhat more easy; and both together put me upon crying out to God with greater feeling than before; and between fear and pain, a troubled spirit of prayer began to spring up. Perceiving that I had some help, I prayed harder; and so at last my heart began to be enlarged with confessions, and my sins were brought into remembrance, for which I arraigned myself, and lay in my own thoughts as a con-

victed and guilty person ; but all the while I knew not how to attain pardon. All this while I never looked on the Scripture ; nay, I laid aside that book called “The Bruised Reed,” as too good for me to read, and wherein I could expect no comfort.

But shortly after, hearing of another famous Preacher, I resolved to hear him. He preached that day upon Mark xvi. 15, 16, “Preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.” Out of which words he showed, that as the Gospel was to be preached to every creature, so none could be saved but such as believed in Christ ; which afterwards, by comparing it with John i. 12, he showed that it was to receive Christ ; and thereupon he encouraged all to receive Christ, because he would supply all their wants, strengthen them under all their weaknesses, succour them against all their temptations, and the like. Upon the urging of these motives, I was much encouraged, and persuaded to receive Christ upon his own terms. But then he showed, that they who would have Christ, and salvation by him, must learn the harshest part with the sweetest, and suffer the sorest things ; which words being suitable to those that wrought the first conviction upon me, they were the more observable ; and as a second wedge clave my heart somewhat more, and caused further resolutions in me to perform those particulars ; and



to that end I began to read the Bible, to pray often in private, to hear the strictest Preachers, and to leave off my old companions, and to choose others who professed religion, with whom I went to private and public fasts, held Christian conferences, &c.

Upon further hearing concerning the old heart, that every man had some master and beloved sin, and that there was a necessity of having the heart changed, and corruption mortified and subdued, the Lord showed me the sad and lost estate my soul was in; and now the work of contrition began in me with many sighs and bitter tears, self-loathing, and self-abasing, confessing of former sins, sorrowing, and judging myself for them, and striving against them, and seeking to kill them by long abstinence from meat, by much watchfulness, by drinking cold water only, many months together, by tying up myself to eat so many bits of meat, (and that of the coarsest sort too,) at every meal; (sometimes six, sometimes eight, and twelve was a great meal with me;) and by this means I thought to overcome the flesh. Flying sometimes to the holy command of God against sin, I found no other relief than a school-boy doth, who complains to his master against the hardness of his lesson; (Rom. vii. 9;) for the commandment came, stirred and revived sin, and so I began to die and despair; the law telling me I was a con-

demned sinner, the justice and terrors of God did seize upon my conscience, and the spirit of fear and bondage (as the fruit of the law, and an effect of God's wrath) bound me like a prisoner, to answer every breach of the law, Rom. xi. 32: not leading me to Christ, but restraining me from him, and shutting me up in unbelief. And when sometimes through energy and earnestness of spirit in prayer, I called God Father, I had checks upon my conscience for my presumption; and to silence this charge, I was forced to confess my sin of false faith, and watch my tongue from uttering any such boldness for the time to come.

Thus finding no relief from the law of God, but the threats and judgments thereof scorching and wounding my soul, I looked for some suitable promise; not any promise of justification, but of sanctification, as, "That God would give a new heart, and would subdue iniquities." (Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27; Micah vii. 19.) So I fell to praying over these, and the like promises; but finding no answer of prayer, my heart no more sanctified, nor my corruptions subdued, the next work (at the instigation of Satan) was, to conclude that I had no right to any promise, being out of Christ, and that all my prayers were an abomination to God; and so I began to question whether it was best for me to continue in prayer, or to forbear. But I was not long under that

temptation ; considering that prayer was a moral duty, and to be performed by all ; and that the sin in a duty should not make a man neglect his duty ; for upon the same account a man must leave ploughing, because the Scripture saith, “The ploughing of the wicked is sin.” (Prov. xxi. 4.) Hereupon I purposed to be more diligent to get into Christ, and to have a new heart, that so I might perform my duty acceptably. I also resolved to prepare myself more for prayer, to search and keep my heart more carefully in my duty to God. If vain thoughts, or hardness of heart prevailed, then I had (as the Apostle saith. Heb. x. 2) conscience of sin ; my conscience smiting, condemning, and disquieting me, driving me to prayer again immediately, it may be twice, thrice, or oftener together ; yea, making me often to rise out of bed several times in a night, and forcing me on my bare knees on the cold floor, as if that had been more pleasing to God. But all this being done in my own strength, and to work a self-righteousness, as it was unacceptable to God, so unprofitable to me.

Then, hearing that Christ was sent to sinners, I thought of coming to Christ, but durst not, through a mistake in the meaning of some scriptures ; as that invitation of Christ, “Come unto me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden ;” (Matt. xi. 28 ; ) and those words, “I came to seek and to save that which was lost ;” (Luke

xix. 10;) from whence I concluded, that none were invited by Christ, but those that are weary and heavy laden, and such as see and feel their lost condition; whereas it is meant, that they in an especial manner are invited. I concluded I was not yet fit for Christ, but must have a greater and clearer sight of sin; therefore I often and earnestly prayed, that God would perform that promise, "They shall loath themselves for the evil they have committed in all their abominations;" (Ezek. vi. 9;) yea, I desired, (though not understanding what I said,) that God would let Satan appear in some shape to terrify me, that by that means I might see my danger, so much the more to induce me to fly to Christ.

Hereupon Satan took advantage, and showed me my sins, in their number and nature, to be such, that there was no pardon for them, and therefore tempted me oft and divers ways to destroy myself; sometimes by casting myself into a river, to drown myself, whither he brought me: and whilst I reasoned the case with him, this was frequently his motive to me, the fewer sins I committed in this world, and the shorter time I lived in it, the less would be my torment. He often tempted me also to destroy myself with a knife; so that I was often necessitated to fling it out of my hand when I was at meat alone in my chamber, and to rise from my meat, for fear; so that I durst not for some time carry a knife with

me. But when the Lord relieved me, sometimes by one means, and sometimes by another, I was strengthened with this resolution, that God should do what he would with me, for I would never do as Judas did, destroy myself. When Satan saw that he was disappointed in that temptation, then he told me that I was a reprobate, and let me profess what I would, my damnation was sure, and my hypocrisy, and sins under profession, would be worse than any other sins, and therefore it were better of the two, to lay down my profession and the duties thereof. To that temptation the Lord helped me to answer him thus,—that whilst I lived in scandalous sins, he never thus tempted me ; and I was resolved, if I knew that God would condemn me, yet to have as few sins as I could to answer for hereafter.

When these temptations failed, then he began to raise up persecution against me ; as, one day going through the town where I was born, from Kingstown to Lanvaire-Waterdine, I met with two gentlemen, kinsmen of mine, both drunk, who called upon me to come to them, and without the least provoking word, or act, they fell upon me, and one of them with a crab-tree cudgel wounded me sorely ; and their pretence was, that I had reproved them for sin : but God raised me up, and gave me a heart freely to forgive them.

Another time, four men laid wait in a secret place, as I went upon a Lord's day morning to

the ordinance, with several weapons, being all of them, as was confessed by one of them afterwards, under a vow to kill me : but God, by his providence, prevented them, in sending two strangers unexpectedly to help, who, riding before, discovered them, whereupon they fled ; yet vented their malice upon some other Christians, whom they wounded. But one of them that day came to a meeting, and in hearing of me was so convinced of his sin, that he was heard publicly to repent of what he had done, and never after was known to persecute any. Another time, a very wicked man entered into an oath, that whenever he met with me, he would kill me. He waited his opportunity, dwelling near me several times to do it ; and one Lord's day he went to the place where I preached, with a full intention, either at my going, or returning home, to execute his purpose : but being at the sermon, and hearing Christ so freely offered to sinners, the word so affected him, that he wept, saying within himself, " What a villain am I to intend evil against such a man ! " The next morning, very early, he came to the house where I lodged, desiring to speak with me in private, and with tears confessed this to me ; and desired me to pardon him, and pray for him ; and ever after he was very friendly to me.

Another time, being in Brecknockshire, at an honest man's house, I preached to several persons that were then together : my text was Ezekiel

xxxiv. 16 ; from which I observed, that though the little flock of Christ be despised and dispersed, yet they shall be gathered, prized, and preserved. As I was handling this doctrine, about twelve or sixteen lusty roysters broke into the house, and several times attempted to offer violence to me, and to the rest of the brethren that were with me ; but it pleased God to restrain them. At length, by the procurement of Mr. Hugh Floyd, the High Sheriff for the year, I was bound over to the Sessions, and an indictment preferred against me ; wherein I was accused, first, of drawing away the King's subjects ; secondly, of speaking against the Book of Common-Prayer ; thirdly, of sacrilege ; which last accusation was grounded upon the drawing down of a meeting-house door, by me and the Churchwardens, that the people, which came in a great crowd, might hear with better convenience : but the Lord did so own his own cause, and me the unworthiest of his servants, that I was then delivered also. Yet finding the persecution so hot against me, that I could not be permitted to serve the Lord there, I did, by the advice of my brethren, leave my native country of Wales, and was conducted safely to London, where I arrived in August, in the year 1642.

Another time, as I was preaching upon the side of a hill, (being denied leave to preach in a public place,) a company of roysters came with swords, staves, and fowling-pieces ; and after some

opposition, one of them cried, "Down with him ! down with him !" but the Lord stirred up some of the people to preserve me, and prevent them.

Another time, a wicked butcher, who had long threatened me, lying in wait as it seems for me, one night stood in a narrow passage, through which I was to come, with a great club ; but his blow falling short of me, by the protection of God, I escaped his hands.

## CHAPTER II.

DURING my abode in London, where I continued preaching for above two years, I had great experience of God's goodness in providing for me, and in succeeding my ministry to the spiritual good and the conversion of many ; but the greatest of all my mercies since my conversion, are as follows, concerning the time and manner of my obtaining assurance.

After I had been about four years in constant doubts, and great fears, as to my eternal condition, being oftentimes tempted by Satan to destroy myself ; and preaching also to others shaking and terrifying doctrines, particularly out of Luke xi. 35, "Take heed lest the light that be in thee be darkness : " for a month's space or above, I was very sad, melancholy, and much troubled ;



neglecting to eat, drink, or sleep ; and this was occasioned principally, through the apprehension I had of that distance which I saw to be between Christ and my soul, which was set home upon my heart with much power, from these words, "Behold, he stands behind our wall, he looked through the window upon me." (Cant. ii. 9.) Whilst I was in this state, refusing to be comforted, the all-wise God laid his hand of sickness upon me, by which I was brought even to the gates of death ; and in the sight both of Physicians and friends, and in my own expectation, I was a dying man ; yet much more sensible of the danger I apprehended my soul to be in, than of my bodily weakness, sweating with the horror of it, and diligently examining myself by the best signs I could either find at that time, or had found before, which I had writ down with the grounds of my fear in a little diary ; which book I then desired to see, but having lent it a Christian friend that was far distant, I could not. I lay even at the next door to despair, waiting for nothing less than to be suddenly cast into hell. Whilst I was in this agony, the God of all grace, who brought back from the depth of the sea, did about noon present to me that scripture, "He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life." (John iii. 36.) Which words were then opened thus : first, that there was nothing necessary to salvation, but only believing in Christ ;

secondly, that to such as did believe in Christ, there was a certainty of salvation. My understanding being cleared in these two particulars, I was then to seek and to learn, whether I did believe or not ; and to know that, I examined myself, what signs of true faith I had, and how I could prove that I did believe ; and finding no certain evidence, being also convinced that I had before, many years, gone in that way to no purpose, I continued still in a hopeless state ; but upon a sudden, and unexpectedly, a mighty power, no less than that Spirit which raised up Christ Jesus from the dead, and which declared him to be the Son of God, enabled me to believe, and witnessed effectually in me that I did believe : which divine impression I look upon to be all one with that sealing spoken of in Eph. i. 13, and the witnessing of the Spirit of God with our spirits : (Rom. viii. 16 :) and thereupon I had perfect peace, my heart not at all condemning me. But according to 1 John iii. 21, I had a confidence towards God ; and not only so, but my heart likewise was filled with admiration, and great joy, according to that saying, “ Whom having not seen ye love ; in whom though now you see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.” (1 Peter i. 8.)

After this manifestation, and wonderful operation of God, which I could never express, either by word or writing, so clearly and distinctly as

then I apprehended and felt it in my soul, the Lord added the mercy of natural life and health, and so I experienced the fulness of those two scriptures, "Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop; but a good word maketh it glad." (Prov. xii. 25.) "And a sound heart is life to the flesh." (Prov. xiv. 30.) Being restored both to my health, and the exercise of my ministry, I was taught by the Lord to preach in another manner than before: namely, to lay Christ as the foundation, and to preach him chiefly and mainly; and duties in a secondary and subservient way. Yet, from hence also did Satan take occasion to thrust at me; and throw me into the other extreme, even unto that which is truly and properly called Antinomianism, to destroy and utterly deny the use of the law; but the Lord did timely and graciously prevent my fall in this also, and fulfilled unto me that scripture, "He that fears the Lord shall come out of all;" namely, out of all extremes, as the foregoing words do show. (Eccles. vii. 18.)

To omit many other remarkable providences of God towards me for the space of two years that I was in London, as also his goodness to me for some space that I was in the army; I was at length called to Dartford in Kent; where, indeed, God's favours of several kinds, for the space of two years and a half, were very many, as to own such a nothing creature, and enable

me to bring home in that town, and thereabouts, (I hope to God's glory I may speak it,) many souls to Christ; where also I gathered a congregation, among whom I had very sweet and comfortable society.

After some time of my abode there, it pleased the Lord to visit that town with the plague, where about thirty houses were shut up at once; and the dead bodies were carried by my chamber wall and window: yet it pleased God to preserve me and my family wonderfully from the disease; although I continued in the town, and preached constantly three times a week, and some that had the sickness upon them came publicly to hear; after which, the Lord stayed the plague, and delivered me from that affliction also.

Having spent above two years at Dartford, and being now upon my return home into Wales, I was willing to take along with me a certificate, or testimonial, from the Synod which sat then, and had the trial of all public Preachers. To this purpose, I applied myself to some of them, of whom Mr. Stephen Marshall was one. They questioned me about ordination; and told me, that unless I would be ordained, they could not approve: to which I answered, I was willing to be tried as a Christian, and as a scholar; but had some doubts about ordination, as that particularly, whether the eldership mentioned 1 Tim. iv. 14, were to be understood of one or more congrega-

tions, in which I was not yet satisfied ; and then, addressing myself particularly to Mr. Marshall, and reasoning the case with him, they at last gave me this following certificate :—

“THESE are to certify those whom it may concern, that the bearer hereof, Mr. Vavasor Powell, is a man of religious and blameless conversation, and of able gifts for the work of the ministry, and hath approved himself faithful therein ; which we, whose names are under-written, do testify ; some of our own knowledge, others from credible and sufficient information : and therefore, he being now called and desired to exercise his gifts in his own country of Wales, he also having the language thereof, we conceive him fit for that work, and worthy of encouragement therein. In witness whereof, we here subscribe our names. September 11, 1646.

CHARLES HERTE, Prolocutor.

HENRY SCUDDER,	STEPHEN MARSHALL,
WILLIAM GREENHILL,	JER. WHITAKER,
FRANC. WOODCOCK,	ARTHUR SALWEY,
WILLIAM STRONG,	PETER STERRY,
JOSEPH CARYL,	HENRY PRINCE,
WILLIAM CARTER,	CHRISTOPHER LOVE,
THOMAS WILSON,	THO. FROYSSELL,
JER. BURROUGHS,	ROBERT BETTES.”
PHILIP NYE,	

I may say, through God's grace, (and that experimentally,) that God was pleased to own me, a poor, nothing creature, in the work of his Gospel in Wales, both to call, gather, and edify, I hope, many souls there; yet not I, but the grace of God in me, and with me; and among many other experiences of God's goodness, these following are some.

About the year 1647 the island of Anglesey, in North Wales, being then unreduced, the Parliamentary forces went to reduce it; and their chief officers sent for me to preach to that brigade of soldiers. As I marched with them to the place, either the night immediately before, or the night before that, it was revealed unto me in my sleep, that I should be wounded, and two of my friends cut, (and the very fingers were pointed out,) which accordingly came to pass; yet when I was in extreme danger, between several enemies who fell upon me, receiving that and some other wounds, there being no likelihood to escape, I heard a voice, as I apprehended, speaking audibly to me, "I have chosen thee to preach the Gospel;" to which I answered, "O Lord, then bring me off;" and immediately God guided my horse (though he was very wild, and not well commanded) to go backward out of the barricado that I had entered, and so I was indeed miraculously preserved; although a good man, a Captain who came to relieve me, was killed close to.

me ; and, as far as I could perceive, the same bullet that was shot at me, took him in the neck, and killed him.

Many other remarkable circumstances there are in this deliverance, which I here omit.

Several other times also I have been delivered from perils by water, by thieves, by enemies purposely lying in wait for me, who yet had no power to hurt me : the Lord converted some, and graciously prevented and terrified others from their purpose.

But I must not forget the favour of the Lord in answering prayer, of which the most remarkable instances are these.

One time coming from preaching, I lost my way, and being out till it was far in the night in a wood, among lakes, briers, and thorns, I went up and down till I was quite weary ; but by looking up to the Lord, I was presently directed into my way. The like experience I had at another time, when another Preacher and myself had lost our way in a very dark night, and had tired ourselves in searching to and fro, to no purpose ; at last, calling to mind how God had formerly heard in that case, when I sought unto him, we called upon the Lord, who immediately pointed out our way, and it seemed as clear to us as if it had been daylight.

One Mrs. Watkins, of the parish of Lanniggn, in the county of Brecknock, a pious gentlewoman,

having kept her chamber and bed, as was reported, for two years, and not gone from home for the space of four years, hearing that I was come into those parts, sent for me to come and visit her; she having, it seems, some faith, that if I prayed for her, she should be healed; and the next morning she went between two and three miles on foot to hear me preach.

Another time, Elizabeth Morris, of New-Radnor, (a religious woman,) having the falling sickness, or convulsion fits, which took her many times in one day; one night, being at family duty in a brother's house, in town, whilst I was speaking, she fell into one of her fits; but prayer being made for her, she recovered before the prayer was ended; and for many years had no more fits, and I think hath not been troubled at all since.

These few things, of many which I have observed in myself, concerning the Lord's gracious and wonderful dealing with me, I have set down, not as boasting or seeking praise to myself, but to keep a memorial of the Lord's benefits; and to stir up others, into whose hands these few notes may come, to have confidence in the power and goodness of God, who is the Saviour of all men, but especially of them that believe in him.



## CHAPTER III.

MR. VAVASOR POWELL was born of honest and honourable parentage ; his father, Mr. Richard Powell, of a very ancient family in Wales, living in the borough of Knocklas, in Radnorshire, where his ancestors had lived for some hundred years before him. His mother was of the Vavasors, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkshire into Wales ; and so by both he was allied to most of the best families in North Wales : though his best pedigree and highest descent was that which he derived from the most honourable family of Abraham. For the unworthiest persons many times pretend to the highest worldly descents, the new-born being only the

He was brought up a scholar, and taken by his uncle, Mr. Erasmus Powell, to be Curate at Clun, where he also kept a school ; in which time it pleased God, in the midst of his vanity and enmity to Christ and his people, to call and convert him, (especially by the ministry of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Walter Cradock,) which was attended with deep humility in the sight and sense of sin, and lost estate by nature ; and he was led by a spirit of bondage, through legal terrors, to clear manifestations of the love

of Christ, encountering manifold temptations within and without.

He in a little time profited above many, and being very zealous, and full of love to Christ, did bestir himself exceedingly in preaching the Gospel, labouring therein more abundantly than any we have known, giving himself wholly to the work both in public and private; God also accompanying him with his blessing and presence in great success. The generality of the country, being then as fields white unto the harvest, flocked ardently to his ministry, and many by his preaching were turned to the Lord; so that Radnorshire, that before was a dark country, came to have much light; and in a short space many eminent professors were raised up in it; at which Satan began to rage exceedingly, and stirred up some of his instruments to persecute the truth, laying wait for his life and liberty; some by a judicial way, some by violence, till they drove him out of the country; from whence he went to London, where in the time of the war he continued some time. He was called to Dartford, in Kent, where he was very successful in his ministry, in the gathering of a church. Afterwards, the times growing more peaceable, he was called into Wales again, where he renewed his former labours, preaching the word in season and out of season; so that by him Christ made manifest the savour of his knowledge and

grace in every place throughout the country, insomuch that there were but few, if any, of the churches, chapels, town-halls in Wales, wherein he did not preach Christ; yea, very often upon mountains, and very frequently in fairs and markets. It was admirable to consider how industrious he was, by his often preaching in two or three places a day, and seldom two days in a week throughout the year out of the pulpit; nay, he would sometimes ride a hundred miles in a week, and preach in every place where he might have admission both day and night, if he passed through any fair or market, or near any great concourse of people, so great was his love to souls. He would take the opportunity in his journey to preach Christ; yea, his whole life was a continual preaching, giving seasonable instruction to every body he met with, being fruitful and exemplary in word, doctrine, conversation, spirit. It was his custom, wherever he came, to leave some spiritual instructions and gracious savour behind him.

He was endued with such courage of mind, and furnished with such ability of body, that he went through his work with great delight, many admiring how he was able to hold out. He was an able Minister of the New Testament, and always in readiness, upon all occasions, to fulfil his ministry; and, like the good householder, brought forth out of his treasury things new and

old ; being very indefatigable in his work, speaking and praying, sometimes, three, four, nay, six, and seven, hours together. He was very faithful in delivering the word of truth, and in explaining it to the meanest capacity ; and still endeavoured to suit his discourse to the occasion and condition of the hearers. He neither regarded nor feared the frowns or favours of great men, but faithfully and courageously would warn and reprove them to their faces. He was very affectionate in drawing and inviting sinners to Christ ; and as sharply would he reprove the profane, the rebellious hypocrites and backsliders ; and most compassionately sympathize with the weak, afflicted, and tempted. He was very excellent in the illustrating of his doctrine by familiar comparisons, parables, and similitudes, which used to be very profitable to the hearers, tending greatly to imprint the truth in their minds ; and which was so much the way taken by our Saviour, that it is said, without a parable he spake not. He had a ready wit, was well read in history and geography, a good natural philosopher, and skilled in physic ; which greatly furthered his invention. But, above all, he was very powerful in prayer, much endued with the Spirit, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, which were so admirably imprinted in his memory, that he was as a Concordance wherever he came ; so that a scripture could

hardly be named to him, but he could tell you the chapter and verse. He had such an admirable memory, that if he heard two or three sermons together, he could repeat them verbatim; though towards his latter end, by his long imprisonment, being kept from the exercise of his gifts, his memory was impaired.

He was very exact in keeping punctually to his appointed times of preaching, having divers lectures, both weekly, fortnightly, monthly, and two months, and quarterly; besides extraordinary appointments, both in England and Wales; which no ill weather, frost nor snow, nor ordinary difficulties, could hinder him from attending.

One time, as he was going to preach, his horse fell lame; and as he could not well reach the place appointed on foot, being in a great strait, he bethought himself of the way that one David ap Hugh took in like case, and addressed himself to it. He alighted off his horse, went to prayer, and begged strength of God both for himself and horse, to perform his journey; which accordingly was made good to him; for mounting his horse, he found his lameness was departed.

One time he was to preach at Lempster, in Herefordshire, upon the first day of the week, having the day before preached by the way; and as he was coming late at night, he had a very grievous fall off his horse, which bruised him

much ; so that he could not come further that night, and questioned whether he should be able to stir the next day ; yet prayer being made, he was enabled to reach the place early in the morning, and to preach thrice that day.

Another time, he was to preach at a place called Cery ; to perform which, he was constrained to ride night and day, until at last his horse tired ; so that he was forced to leave him by the way, and perform the rest of his journey on foot.

It was his usual custom, in riding to places to preach, if he overtook any aged people going on foot towards the meeting, to set them on his horse, and to walk himself by their sides ; which he would do for miles together.

Many have been the difficulties and hardships he underwent in his itinerant preachings ; sometimes forced to lie in the poor Welsh houses, upon the mountains, where he could find little accommodation for either horse or man ; and yet could as cheerfully spend the night in examining and instructing the poor people, as if he had had the best entertainment in the world ; for it was his meat and drink to do his Master's work, in gaining and edifying souls ; and it was his custom to reward the poor people, as much for their coarse bread and cheese, and hard lodging, as if he had been in the choicest inn.

He met many times with very hard measure from wicked drunkards, and debauched persons,

by often lying in wait for his life ; and by many buffetings and stripes which he received from them ; and he was very much prejudiced by blows upon his head : yet freely did he forgive his most mischievous and malicious enemies and persecutors, never prosecuting any of them ; though he had great advantage against them, and many friends that would have righted him, and punished them ; but patiently did he bear in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus ; and most Christianly did he undergo all the unjust reproaches he met with from wicked men ; rendering blessings for cursings, love for hatred. He used to say that he would not take a great deal by the year for the reproaches he met with, all for Christ ; which he could not be without.

He was exceedingly hospitable. The feasts that he used to make were not for the rich, but the poor and aged, whom he often invited, and supplied with clothes, shoes, stockings, and all other necessary accommodations.

He was very free in the entertainment of strangers, and all saints, his house being common for them ; great resort was to him, from most parts of Wales, and many from England ; and he was so free-hearted, that he used to say, he had room for twelve in his beds, a hundred in his barns, and a thousand in his heart ; and so liberal was he, that he would wrong himself to do good to others. He was very merciful to all

poor people ; and when in the greatest haste, he would not let the poor cry in vain ; and severally would he with his alms impart some good instructions to their souls.

He was very loving and courteous to all his neighbours, and much beloved by them.

He was very zealous against false doctrine and errors, corrupt and anti-christian deceivers.

He did spend and was spent in his Master's service, laying out himself, and what he had, for him ; not serving him for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind ; finding his wages in his work ; and therefore, having freely received, he freely gave. Little outward advantage accrued to him by his ministry. From the churches in Wales, he received nothing but neighbourly and brotherly kindness, which he was as ready to requite, and much more willing to give than receive ; and as freely did he contribute to the necessities of others as any. The Parliament ordered him £100 per annum, out of a *sine cura*, whereof he received about £60 for seven or eight years. Many considerable gifts he refused ; and never did he get any thing by the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales, as was slanderously laid to his charge ; for which his vindication in print, to this day unanswered, may stop the mouth of envy itself.

And he made it appear in the consciences of all that knew him, that wealth, and worldly ad-



vantages, were not the penny that he entered the vineyard for ; but the gaining of souls. His temporal estate, as is well-known, was more before the war, than at the time of his imprisonment and death. Being indeed a despiser of the world, money was no more his temptation, than it was Luther's. He was of a noble, generous, free spirit ; and, as some term it, much a gentleman in all his deportment.

He was very humble and plain in his conduct, preferring others before himself, though far inferior in gifts and grace to him ; and a most ready servant to do good to all both for soul and body.

He was very just in all his dealings, and would rather receive wrong, than offer injury to any ; and kept still a great jealousy over himself lest he should do any thing unbecoming the Gospel.

He was very pitiful to all in distress, whether saints or sinners, and especially in the case of sin, which he would deeply lay to heart ; and weep bitterly in consideration of the weightiness of sin upon their souls : and greatly would he lament the scandalous offences in professors, which tended so much to the dishonour of God, grief of the saints, hardening of sinners, and endangering their own souls.

He was very active in doing good ; and little time was spent by him in idleness. After great and tedious journeys, and pains in preaching, he would be as fresh to attend any work for God,

as if there had been no such thing. It was his constant practice, to speak of good to all that he conversed with, and to convert worldly discourse into spiritual things; and when he apprehended any to discourse of the things of God in a common, light spirit, he would endeavour to draw them up to more seriousness and spirituality.

Wherever he was, at home or abroad, he would be still furthering good things, and improve all opportunities, with whomsoever he conversed, were it in his journey, or upon the road, to instil something for the benefit of their souls, wherein as a follower of his Master, he was a lively pattern to the saints, and God blessed him exceedingly.

He was ready to receive exhortation, admonition, and reproof, (being, under all his excellencies and great worth, a man subject to passion and infirmity,) which he would embrace with all humble submission and thankfulness; and his conscience was so tender, that he would of himself both privately and publicly express his fears and jealousy of himself, and would desire others to tell him of his faults, which he might not so well discern in himself.

He was a faithful and diligent observer of the work of God upon his soul, whereof he kept a daily account, taking notice both of the actings of grace, and the stirrings of corruption, and the

assaults which sin and Satan, or the world, made upon him.

It was his daily practice to draw forth some instruction from every object, and every thing that accrued ; namely, from the Scriptures, ordinances, God's dealings with him, in every respect ; from conferences with saints, or sinners ; from any providence or accident, whether prosperous or adverse ; from creatures, heaven, earth, the seasons ; from the graces and virtues, as well as failings and infirmities, of saints and professors.

He was very heavenly ; his heart being so set with diligence and intentness upon the things of God, that when he was alone, and none to discourse with, he would many times be singing hymns in his house, and elsewhere, and often in his bed, as soon as he awoke in the morning ; being excellent at extempore hymns, which have been to the refreshing of many, who have declared that they enjoyed as much of God in joining with him therein, as in any other ordinance.

His soul followed so hard after God, that he hath been heard to pray very audibly and fervently in his sleep, and yet knew it not when he awoke.

He was of an undaunted courage for God : no fear of suffering could turn him back in the work of the Lord. He had such a fervent zeal for Christ and the truth, and such hatred against sin, that he regarded not the greatness of men, in

administering reproof, what danger soever might occur to him thereby. He used to say that he feared the corruption of his heart more than any sufferings he met with from men.

He with much compassion and feeling used to sympathize with the weak and tempted; making their condition his own; but would magnify his office with great zeal, by improving the authority Christ had given him, to curb the insolent, stubborn, and rebellious.

He was one of a public spirit, zealous in furthering all things that might tend to promote the good of his neighbour and nation, but especially the saints, and Sion; in advancing the name, interest, kingdom, and sovereignty of Jesus Christ; and setting himself with all his might against Popery, that common public enemy of mankind.

He was very tender of the consciences of others, though differing in judgment from him; and where he discerned sincerity, and truth of grace, expressed much endeared affection to them as brethren, being a lover and promoter of love to saints, as saints, without relation to particular persuasion, or private opinion.

He was exceeding successful in the work of the ministry, which was sealed to him by the conversion, confirmation, consolation, and edification of many souls, both in England and Wales.

He was instrumental in the gathering of

churches, the healing and composing of many differences and breaches, wherein he travelled much by messengers, letters, conferences, and journeys, far and near.

It was his usual course, in order to preserve and maintain life and love amongst the churches, to put them upon resolving several questions from time to time; which proved exceedingly profitable to the increase of knowledge, and to the ends proposed.

He was much in visiting from house to house; taking a particular account both of the inward and outward man; inquiring after family-walks, duties, and deportment. And in an especial manner did he with diligence attend the sick; administering all things necessary for body and soul; exhorting, comforting, and praying with and for them.

He was exceedingly zealous in preserving the holy communion pure, by keeping a diligent watch; putting forth early warning and reproof against the first appearances of envy and scandal, and by faithfully rejecting hardened and impenitent sinners; in which cases he used to be mightily powerful in the administering of excommunication, showing the terribleness thereof, so that many hearts would tremble greatly thereat; and yet with great tenderness and heart-meltings to the offenders themselves.

As he was master of a family, he was wonder-

fully careful to do the thing that was just and equal; and principally he designed to promote the power of godliness amongst his servants. He used to tell them that they should at any time leave work to pray, or read; and when he found them in the fields reading, or conferring about the things of God, he would bid them go on, and continue in it. How few are they that prefer the good of souls before their own worldly profit! how many are, rather, so oppressing to their servants, that they can hardly have any time, day or night, to give God what he requires!

He used in his family sometimes to repeat sermons, inquiring what they remembered; sometimes, what they had read that day in the Scriptures, and what they observed in their reading; what providences they had taken notice of, and what instruction from them; sometimes propounding useful questions to them to resolve; sometimes he read and expounded a chapter, and informed himself how they understood it, and what they remembered from it; sometimes singing an hymn, and praying constantly; which duties he performed twice a day, if no more, when at home: and, usually, he would alter both his method and his hours, designing to bring his family up to the life of religion, and not so much to live in the form of duties.

Those servants that he saw careless of their souls, or asleep in duties, not remembering what

they heard, he would charge, warn, and reprove them most strictly, and threaten to turn them out of his doors, if they did not reform.

When his occasion led him abroad to preach, which was very often, he left them with strict charge to perform the family duties amongst themselves.

As he was a housekeeper, he had all things provided decently and in good order; his husbandry and all his affairs well contrived, and managed with great discretion.

The following account, so well agreeing with the former, and given in by his beloved wife, Mrs. Katherine Powell, is thought meet here to be inserted:—

He was exceedingly tender to all persons, to their inward and outward man, bountiful in heart and hand to any he saw in need, or that desired good from him. A fifth part of all his income, either of the little he had of his own, or otherwise, he dedicated to the Lord's service, and gave it to any in want. Much of it would he give to poor carnal persons, saying, we should not only be kind to one another; for God is kind to the unthankful and unholy; and that Christians should do good for the honour of the Gospel; striving by this, as well as other ways, to make the poor in love with the good way of God, and the professors of it.

Though he suffered much, and in various ways,

yet he never retained anger to the instruments ; but could weep in secret for them, that their sins might be blotted out. Nor ever did I know him by any surprising trial unfitted for prayer, or any service for God.

He was a man of great sincerity and plainness, who either spake his heart, or spake not at all ; nor omitted speaking what he thought was his duty, for fear of displeasing any ; and yet he had a most winning, obliging carriage to all persons. He was very observant how his soul prospered ; to which end, he wrote every night what he had gained or lost that day.

He was a man of great faith in all things that God has promised to his people. He went with much humble, holy boldness, (through faith in the blood of Jesus,) to tell God what he wanted, who did give eminent returns.

He was a man of great humility, esteeming inferior Christians before himself, and willing that others should do so too.

He was much in prayer. He devoted one part of the day to seek God for Zion, not mixing other requests at that time ; and was constant in family duty, morning and night at least. Immediately before he composed himself to rest, he took leave by a few words in prayer to the Lord ; and so in the morning, when he awoke, he renewed communion afresh with God, sometimes by prayer, sometimes (when his heart overflowed



with spiritual joy) in songs or hymns of praise, and that in a very broken and melting frame.

He was very conscientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. If he promised any thing, it was as binding to him as the most legal obligation. He was naturally of a hasty spirit ; but if at any time it brake out, he would in a short space recover himself, and return to as sweet and amiable a spirit as could be desired, and candidly acknowledge his passion, and mourn over it.

He was a very strict and conscientious observer of the Sabbath, not doing or speaking on that day what he saw lawful upon other days, attending the duties thereof from evening to evening.

To these testimonies, tending to preserve the savour of this eminent servant of Christ, it is thought meet to add also the following testimonial, by some of his ancient acquaintance, and persons of known worth and integrity :—

As for his birth, gentlemen of the best rank in the counties of Salop, Radnor, Montgomery, &c., saluted him as their kinsman. And for his education, (though from his childhood brought up a scholar,) we measured it by the endowments of his mind as a man, a Christian, a Preacher ; his dexterous faculties, both natural and acquired ; his Scripture learning, and gifts of utterance, adorning those several capacities. He was an indefa-

tigable labourer in the harvest, preaching almost every day in one parish or other, and often twice or thrice a day.

His acceptance was above many of his fellow-labourers in the Gospel, as appeared by the numerous concourse of auditors to his frequent lectures; who were as unwearied in hearing as he in speaking. His success also was answerable. Who saw not his labours prosperous? Who can blast that which the Lord blesseth, or dares vilify what the King delighted to honour? He was no fruitless itinerant, but fully approved himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed, employed by the Head of the church to convert, comfort, edify many souls; to reprove, rebuke, exhort all.

He was welcomed wherever he came, both by the morally civil and the truly religious; the quickness of his imagination, the strength of his memory, the fulness of his conceptions, the variety of his discourses, and the readiness of utterance, challenging more than ordinary respect; and the exemplariness of his piety, the tenderness of his affections, the forwardness of his zeal, the holiness of his doctrine, and eminency of all his graces, endearing him. Only the superstitious hated him, because he never prophesied good concerning them, but evil.

We confess that we ourselves have had as deep prejudice against him as any could have; but

have been taught by experience this better character of him.

He had a body of steel, made as of purpose for his never-resting spirit, which, by his extraordinary motion, might have worn out many ordinary bodies. His labours were his recreations. He had a heart that feared none but Him that is to be feared for his mercy. He would often melt in private mourning for those that had the most inflamed hearts against Christ and his people. His head was not only a fountain of tears, because men keep not God's law, but also a conduit of divine instruction, teaching them how to keep it. His tongue was as the pen of a ready writer, which was so touched with a coal from the altar, that it knew no difference between rich and poor, mean and honourable. He was a Latimer for his plain dealing; a Luther for his zeal; and a Paul for his diligence. It was the mantle of the great Prophet, that was his raiment: the power and spirit of Him that was greater than Elias rested on him, by which he was made instrumental in the doing of wonders, even the reviving of many a dead soul. There are many servants of God in Wales, that can say of him, as Paul does of himself, that though they had many teachers, yet they had not many fathers in Christ.

He was for many years a daily miner in the works of Christ; and we are confident that there is not at this day in England a labourer that can

show more right silver-ore of his own raising than he got out of the Welsh mines : witness his gathered congregations in Montgomery, Radnor, and Cardiganshire, abounding with visible converts, to whose ministry most in those assemblies have acknowledged themselves to owe their blessed change. They would attest the same unto the world by annexing hereto a list of their names, were it thought necessary : besides what success the Lord gave him formerly in London, Kent, and other places, where there remain many living monuments of his powerful ministry. Many, it is true, were filled with envy towards him ; yet being above discouragement, whilst he was permitted, he was still striving to follow his Master as near as he might, going about doing good continually, still labouring to cause the sleepy to awake, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to walk. Many of such good works did he do ; and for those was he stoned, esteemed and accounted as one of whom the world was not worthy.

#### CHAPTER IV.

MANIFOLD were the perils, buffetings, seizures, and imprisonments which Mr. Powell underwent in pleading Christ's cause and Gospel ; inasmuch

that it may truly be said of him, as the Apostle spake of himself, that in “all things he approved himself a Minister of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses ; in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings ; by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report, as a deceiver, yet true :” and (2 Cor. xi.) “in journeyings oft, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils among false brethren ; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings oft, in hunger and thirst.”

Once he was sorely beaten by two of his kinsmen, at Knocklas, in Radnorshire, for reproving them for sin, insomuch that his head and other parts swelled and grew black, being struck by one of them with a crabtree cudgel, and with a strong arm ; and yet, to admiration, as he himself expresseth it, he felt it no more than if a child had struck him with a bulrush.

Another time, he was sorely beaten in Merionethshire.

Another time, a butcher at Vainvaire lay in wait in a narrow passage to take away his life, and assaulted him ; but God strangely delivered him.

At another time, four men entered into an oath to kill him ; but God strangely preserved him ; and at the designed meeting, where they intended the mischief, one of them was convinced of the truth.

At another time, one came to a meeting where he preached, at Newtown, with a full purpose to kill him; but was at that time convinced and converted by the word, and confessed and begged pardon for his wickedness.

Another time, a man of Welchpool entered into an oath to kill him, and designed to attempt it at Guilsfield, where he preached; but he was also at the same instant converted by the power of the word.

Another time, a woman came with a knife to kill him, as he was preaching in the market-place at Machynlleth, but was prevented.

At another time, at Dollgelly, in Merionethshire, as he was preaching, he was assaulted by a rude rabble, who with stones, swords, staves, and pole-axes, attempted him and many of his company; but he was strangely delivered, though in their hands.

Not long after, in the same town, being indicted and acquitted at the assizes for a riot, upon the former business, a wicked fiddler was hired to kill him, who with a weapon under his coat attempted it twice, whilst he stood at the bar, but was prevented.

Another time, going to preach in Mallwyd kirk-yard, several rude people assaulted him and his friends, where he was sorely beaten and bruised on his head.

A soldier shot a brace of bullets at him look-

ing out of his prison window, in Montgomery; but God preserved him.

Upon the taking of Anglesey, he was in the midst of the enemy, and particularly assaulted by one that knew him, wounded in the head, hand, and groin; but God brought him off as before.

Four times he was delivered out of the hands of robbers; and several strange preservations were vouchsafed him from perils by water, both in England and Wales; and wonderfully was he protected in seven dangerous falls from his horse, in his journeyings upon the Lord's service.

His first imprisonment was in Brecknockshire, about the year 1640, where he, being preaching in a house, was, about ten o'clock at night, scared, with fifty or sixty of his hearers, by fifteen or sixteen lewd fellows, pretending a warrant from Justice Williams; who took them forthwith away in the night, towards Builth, the said Justice's house; but in the way, meeting with a kirk and an alehouse, (too common yoke-fellows then in Wales,) they would have haled them into the alehouse, which they refused, and chose the kirk rather, where about midnight he went to prayer, sung a psalm, and taught from, "Fear not them that can kill the body," &c.; (Matt. x. 28;) and it was observed, that one of the chief and vilest of the troublers wept sorely. The next morning he was brought to the

Justice's house, who not being at home at their first coming in, he betook himself to his Bible, and preached there again; whereat the Justice, when he came in, was much enraged, to find him at such work in his house; but two of his daughters, who seemed to relish the word, begged him not to do any thing against him and his companions; but such was his rage, that he presently committed them to the Constable's hands, who was so favourable as to permit them freely to enjoy religious exercise and worship, which they did at the said town of Builth; and the neighbourhood generally attended, both that night and the next morning. The next day, the Justice sent for them again, to examine them further, having got two or three more Justices and six or seven Clergymen with him; when, after much conference and many threatenings, they were dismissed.

Another time, preaching at Launger, in Radnorshire, in a field, the public place not being able to contain the company, Mr. Hugh Lloyd, the High Sheriff, came with a band of men, and took him down out of the chair wherein he preached, and after examination committed him, and charged several Constables, fifteen or sixteen being present, to execute his mittimus: all but one refused, and that one took him into his custody, and undertook to convey him to prison. As he went with him, his house being in the



way, the Constable permitted him to lodge at home that night. The Constable was so convinced, whilst he was at family duty, that he declared he could not go a step further with him, though it should cost him his life; being persuaded that he was one of the servants of Christ; and so took leave, and left him in his own house; though, because of the cruelty of the Justice, he durst not return home, but went for some time out of the country. Yet, to prevent damage to the man, but especially scandal to the Gospel, Mr. Powell bound himself with two sufficient sureties to appear at the next assizes in Radnorshire; where he appeared accordingly; but, the Judges and Jury befriending him, he was acquitted: and the Judges afterwards inviting him to dinner, and desiring him to give thanks, one of them said it was the best grace he ever heard in his life; giving him great countenance; which proved much to the furtherance of the Gospel in those parts, to the great offence of the High Sheriff, who afterwards, upon the coming on of the war, persecuted him out of the country.

Being in London about the time that General Cromwell took upon him the supreme power, (so impartial was he, and so great a lover of justice, that, whatever had been the endeared friendship betwixt him and the General, yet) did he, on the day that Cromwell was proclaimed, (which

was the 19th of December, 1653) witness against that action to those persons who were appointed to proclaim him.

And on the said day, being Monday, did he, with others, preach at Blackfriars, where he also bore a public testimony against it. Upon the Wednesday, he and another were taken into custody by several messengers from the Council, and carried prisoners to Whitehall. Many friends came thither to accompany them, and observe the issue. During the time they attended in the outward rooms, Mr. Powell took occasion to preach to the people from a portion of Scripture; and in the midst of his discourse was sent for into the Council, and committed prisoner for words spoken in Blackfriars. He continued in the custody of the messengers, till the last day of the same week, being the 24th of December, and then was discharged. On the next day, in the afternoon, in Christ-church, Newgate, he preached from those words, "Then came one and told them, saying, Behold, the men whom ye put in prison are standing in the temple, and teaching the people." (Acts v. 25.)

He joined with several Christians in Wales in that letter and public testimony that was sent to Oliver Cromwell against his usurpation; which he understanding before it came up, caused a party of horse to be sent for him, and to be brought to his Major-General at Worcester.

They took him at Aberbecham, in Montgomeryshire, on a day of fasting and prayer, and detained him some time a prisoner upon that account.

April 28th, 1660, early in the morning Mr. Powell dreamed that a company of soldiers were coming to take him prisoner. He no sooner awoke, and told his wife, than he heard, at some distance, either a carbine or a pistol discharged; which made him presently conclude, that his dream was true, and was then immediately to be fulfilled. Though he had opportunity enough to escape, yet he chose to stay, and to prepare himself for a prison. Therefore, as soon as the soldiers came into the house, he presented himself to them, and told them, he understood their design, and was as willing to go along with them, as they were to require him; and so by them he was conducted to Salop, where he continued prisoner about nine weeks, and then, by an order of the King and Council, was released with the rest of his brethren.

Mr. Powell, being thus set at liberty, thought it was his duty to improve that mercy, by continuing to preach as he had done formerly; but the High Sheriff of the county of Montgomery sent to prohibit his meeting; and upon Mr. Powell's refusal to neglect the opportunity of serving God among his people, the High Sheriff wrote a letter to Secretary Morice, wherein he accused Mr.

Powell of sedition, rebellion, and treason, and the like crimes; which, though untruly suggested, yet were that time easily believed; and he doubted not to procure power to imprison one who was represented so dangerous; but before any return came, (so willing are some men to be doing,) Mr. Sheriff directed a warrant to take Mr. Powell, and make him prisoner; which was accordingly done. He was confined several months; all ordinary ways of relief by law, allowed in such cases, being wholly obstructed.

After some months' stay, the sessions came; and after much importunity Mr. Powell was called; and instead of being released, or having any just cause rendered why he should still be continued in prison, the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance were tendered to him; and though he urged that it was necessary he should first be cleared of that which was already charged upon him, before he entered upon any new matter, especially since those oaths were designed against the Papists, who, he saw, were spared, and of him, as to any inclinableness unto Popery, they had no suspicion; yet neither in this could he be heard; but upon his refusal of those oaths, so arbitrarily and unnecessarily tendered, he was again committed to prison, the Judge refusing to take any bail for him, till the next sessions.

But he had not long continued here, when, upon a false information returned against him, one of

the messengers of the Council, Mr. Wickam, was sent down with a warrant to bring him before the King and the Council. He was brought within a few days following : and whilst he was waiting at the Council door, a Cavalier Captain, one of his own county, came to Mr. Powell, and upbraided him, advising him to run away, for that would be his best course ; to whom he replied, before all the other company, that God had made him to stand, when he and his companions the Cavaliers had run away ; to which no answer was made, neither by that Captain, nor by any of the company ; but after six or seven hours' waiting, one of the Clerks of the Council came with a warrant in his hands, which he delivered to the messenger, to carry Mr. Powell prisoner to the Fleet, where he was detained almost two years ; and for above twelve months of that time, he was in so close a confinement that he was not suffered to go out of his chamber door ; which, together with the offensive smell of a dunghill, which was just before his window, so much impaired his health, that he never after perfectly recovered it.

## CHAPTER V.

WHILST Mr. Powell was thus a prisoner in the Fleet, his enemies could not satisfy themselves by

exercising cruelty upon his body, but they also endeavoured to take away his good name and credit, by spreading a report, that he was in prison there for a great part of the revenue of the tithes of Wales. From which aspersion, though many worthy persons had formerly cleared him by a book printed in the year 1653, called, *Examen et Purgamen Vavoseris*; yet, not knowing how far such a report might influence to the reproach of the Gospel, Mr. Powell then wrote a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the Commissioners in Wales against the ejected Clergy; and therein, as knowing his own integrity, he defied all his enemies to prove the least tittle of that slander. To this vindication no reply was ever put, nor indeed can be made: since all that knew Mr. Powell must affirm this of him, that very few in this self-seeking age were more of the primitive temper, in seeking the souls rather than the goods of others; which, though pressed upon him with much importunity, he often refused. So far was he from desiring unjustly to enrich himself, that he voluntarily quitted the opportunity of justly doing it.

Having now spent almost two years in the Fleet, there came a sudden order for the sending away of him and Colonel Rich; which, without giving them so much as two hours' time to provide for themselves, was executed upon them, on the last day of September, 1662; and in the

Duke of York's pleasure-boat, whereof Captain Lambert was Commander, they were both conveyed to South-sea Castle, by Portsmouth, where Mr. Powell continued about five years, not being restored till the removal of the Lord Chancellor Hyde opened a door for him (as for many other prisoners) to sue for his Habeas Corpus; and so at length he obtained his liberty.

Mr. Powell, after his release out of South-sea Castle, had scarcely his liberty ten months, when, passing from Bristol through some parts of Monmouthshire, and having in that county several opportunities in divers places to preach the Gospel,—people of all sorts, as well profane as professors, showing much willingness to embrace the same,—he, judging it his duty, passed out of Monmouthshire into a place called Merthyr, lying in the mountainous parts of Glamorganshire, where he found in the churchyard a great congregation of people waiting to hear the word of God; to whom, after prayer, he spake from Jer. xvii. 7, 8: from which scripture, he showed, first, who was a blessed man; and, secondly, wherein his blessedness consisted.

But whilst he was endeavouring to do the Lord's work, the Clergyman posted away in the time of the sermon to Cardiff, which was about twelve or fourteen miles off; and it being at the end of the Quarter Sessions there, he found but two of the Deputy-Lieutenants in the town,

to whom he made complaint and information. If one of those Deputy-Lieutenants may be credited, he said that the said Vavasor, and the congregation to which he preached, were met near two miles from that place, and many of them armed; both which were false.

Upon this information, those two Deputy-Lieutenants, and Dr. B., an officer in the Bishop's Court, granted their order to the Major of the militia, requiring him to take to his assistance military officers and others, and to apprehend, attach, and bring the said Vavasor Powell to His Majesty's gaol at Cardiff; and the keeper of the gaol, and his deputy and deputies, were required to receive and detain the said Vavasor Powell in safe and close custody, until he should be delivered by due course of law: but showing no particular ground at all in the said commitment, but letters received from the Earl of Carbery, Lord-Lieutenant of North and South Wales; which letters, Dr. B. himself confessed afterwards, were written by him, and bore date in the year 1665, and made no mention (as others the Deputy-Lieutenants confess) of Vavasor Powell's name; and if they had, yet he was at that time, and several years before, a prisoner, and in November, 1667, was set at liberty by order from the King and his Council, to which order the Deputy-Lieutenant's (namely, the Earl of Carbery's) own hand is affixed. Let any unbiassed person, nay, the worst



enemy, be judge of the illegality and irrationality of this action, of which it seems those two Deputy-Lieutenants, who committed the prisoner, were themselves suspicious; and, therefore, a more general meeting of the Deputy-Lieutenants was appointed at Cowbridge, October 17th, whither the prisoner was commanded to come. There were present six of the Deputy-Lieutenants, and in the room the Major C. aforementioned, with some other gentlemen. The prisoner being called in, Dr. B. questioned him, who, it seems, was appointed to manage the conference with the prisoner. Here is the sum of it impartially set down.

Dr. B.—Mr. Powell, what business had you in this country?

Mr. P.—Sir, that had been proper to have been asked me before you committed me: however, I am not unwilling to give you an account thereof. Having several occasions to go to Bath and Bristol, and particularly an intent to drink of a well that is good against a distemper I am troubled with, the stone, I came into Monmouthshire, and so through some parts of this county, intending to travel towards my own habitation; and, Sir, I think I may as well travel through the country as another traveller, being no vagabond or suspicious person.

Dr. B.—But were not you in Newport, and in other places in Monmouthshire, preaching?

Mr. P.—Sir, I perceive you are a Doctor of the civil law ; and there is a maxim in that law, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*, “ No man is bound to accuse himself : ” but, Sir, I am neither ashamed nor afraid to own what I did ; for it was but what I am commanded to do by my Lord and Master Christ, to wit, to preach his Gospel.

Dr. B.—What authority have you to preach ?

Mr. P.—Sir, I have sufficient authority.

Dr. B.—From whom ?

Mr. P.—From God and men.

Dr. B.—Are you in orders ?

Mr. P.—Sir, if by orders you mean to be ordained, and appointed to be a Minister, I am.

Dr. B.—From whom had you your ordination ?

Mr. P.—I have told you already, from God and men ; and, Sir, you are none of my Bishop, to catechise and examine me ; and, therefore, ask me such questions as it belongs to you to ask, and me to answer ; and, Sir, since you do not, I desire to know by what law you proceed against me, so as to imprison and detain me without any proof against me, or examination of me first ?

Dr. B.—Sir, you have broken the law by preaching without orders ; and you came with some hundred, yea, a thousand, horsemen with you into Newport ; and the Mayor of Newport came hither to complain against you.

Mr. P.—It is true I came to Newport, and preached there ; but, Sir, that is not in your

county, nor under your cognizance : yet I shall satisfy you that the report you heard was false ; for there came with me about four or five horsemen ; and if I preached, it was not without the Mayor's consent, as several credible gentlemen will attest, if need be.

Dr. B.—But you had a conventicle at Merthyr, where were abundance of people ; they say a thousand at least ; and some of them armed.

Mr. P.—Sir, we had a Christian meeting at Merthyr, but no conventicle : for, Sir, a conventicle is so named, from *convenire in malum* ; and your law saith it is a meeting together under pretence of religious worship and service, to plot or design evil against the King and his Government. But our meeting was no such meeting ; for we did not pretend to worship God, but did it really, namely, pray, preach, and hear God's word : and it appears that there was no such intention in our meeting ; for after the exercise, we all departed peaceably towards our several habitations. And, whereas you say some were armed, your information is not true ; for there were not any that I saw ; and, I believe, none had any more than walking-staves or riding-rods in their hands.

Dr. B.—But yet this was a transgression of the law.

Mr. P.—I am sure it is no transgression of the law or command of Christ, who commands his Gospel to be preached to every creature ; neither,

Sir, do I know this to be any transgression of the law of the land. If it be, it is and has been for many months tolerated generally throughout the nation ; and I myself have enjoyed my liberty, both in London, and other countries, without molestation. Notwithstanding, I have been where persons are as knowing and zealous for the laws, as you are or can be ; and I supposed I might as well have done the like in this county especially, hearing of the moderation of the gentlemen of these parts.

Dr. B.—What we do, we do in reference to the laws : we are sworn and bound to keep them.

Mr. P.—Sir, if you do things with reference to the laws, you must be impartial therein, and observe the rules of the law, together with the true intent of it, which is not to punish the good, but the evil ; and you would do well to put the laws in execution against drunkards, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, Papists, and other offenders and malefactors.

Dr. B.—(The Doctor, turning to the rest of the gentlemen, saith,) Do you hear how he charges us with neglect of executing the laws, &c. ?

Mr. P.—Sir, I do not charge you ; but I say, you would do well to put the laws in execution against such transgressors as I have mentioned.

Dr. B.—Do we not do it ?

Mr. P.—Sir, your own consciences and the country know what you do therein. But, Sir, I desire again to know what law do you charge

the breach of on me, and by which you imprison me.

Then the Doctor called to his man to reach him a bag that had some writings in it, which he drew out, and took first the Act made against conventicles by the Parliament, and gave it Mr. Powell, and asked him whether he had seen it. "Yes," said Powell, "I have seen and considered it."

Dr. B.—Well, what say you to it?

Mr. P.—First, I answer, as I did before, that our meeting was no conventicle; nor a private, but a public meeting. Secondly, that it is the opinion of divers learned Lawyers, that that Act is now out of date, as seems by the last proviso therein; and I was upon that Act before a learned Lawyer and Justice of Peace, who understood it in that sense, and discharged me. But, thirdly, it is apparent you have not proceeded with me according to that Act; for you have apprehended me in my lodging a day after, and not in the exercise. Again, your order and commitment was not as you were Justices of the Peace, but Deputy-Lieutenants; and so your officer, Major Carn, when I desired to see his authority, laid his hand upon his sword, and said, that was his authority. Again, Sir, be pleased, with the rest of you gentlemen, to consider that my commitment is not grounded upon that Act, but upon the Lord-Lieutenant's letters written several years

before, when I was in prison elsewhere ; and yet in November last, by order from the King and his Council, (to which order the Lord-Lieutenant's hand is affixed,) I was set at liberty.

Dr. B.—But we did not know that.

Mr. P.—Then, Sir, I make it known to you now.

Dr. B.—But were you set at liberty in November last ?

Mr. P.—Yes, Sir, that I was.

Dr. B.—But had you no hand in the plot in the north ?

Mr. P.—No, Sir, nor head neither ; nor did I hear of it till a while after it was discovered.

Dr. B.—I am sure you were then charged with it.

Mr. P.—So I have been with many other things that are false : but, gentlemen, I desire you to take notice how groundless that report was by this instance : I was committed prisoner in the year 1660, and continued till November, 1667, in several prisons, whereof the five last years in South-sea Castle, near Portsmouth ; and in the year that the plot was, I was so sick that I kept my bed most part of it, much more likely to die than to live, as the Governor and other gentlemen there can testify. (Then the Doctor gave Mr. Powell a letter which the King wrote to the Archbishop, containing direction what doctrine Preachers should preach, forbidding to meddle

with the doctrine of reprobation, controversies, matters of Government, &c.; and asked Mr. Powell whether he saw that.)

Mr. P.—No, Sir, I do not remember that I saw it. (Dr. B. then gave it to Mr. Powell to read, who, after he had read it, returned it, and said,)

Sir, this letter doth not concern me, but such Ministers as are settled in parishes, which the Bishops are to see they do accordingly; but I am none of them: yet there is something in the letter which makes for me, because I do, in my preaching, preach the Gospel and against sin, and do not meddle with controversies, as that letter directs.

Dr. B.—But here is another letter upon that, written by my Lord Chancellor.

Mr. P.—What Lord Chancellor do you mean? Chancellor Hyde?

Dr. B.—Yes.

Mr. P.—Sir, I shall not show that respect as to receive, much less to read, the letter of one that would have betrayed his King and country; and I wonder how you dare now mention his name. (Thereupon some of the other Deputy-Lieutenants smiled, and covered their faces.)

Dr. B.—What say you of the Canons of the Church? The twentieth Canon forbids men to preach without orders.

Mr. P.—Sir, what have I to do with your

Canons, which are not established by law? You know, Sir, that it is the opinion of many learned gentlemen of the long robe, as well as others, that not only your Canons are without force, but that your Episcopal Courts have no power to impose oaths upon persons.

Dr. B.—But there are others of a contrary opinion.

Mr. P.—Then, Sir, let that matter rest, till it be determined by wiser men than we are.

Dr. B.—But what say you of the doctrine of the Church of England, contained in the thirty-nine Articles?

Mr. P.—For the Articles that concern the doctrine of the Church, (mark, I say the Articles that concern the doctrine thereof, I say not the discipline,) I hold them to be [generally sound, and consonant to God's word; and I am more for them than most of your prelati- cal and parochial Ministers.

Dr. B.—When were you at the public worship?

Mr. P.—What public worship do you mean, Sir? The public worship of God?

Dr. B.—The public worship of the Church.

Mr. P.—What, Sir, do you make a difference between the public worship of God, and the public worship of the Church? If by public worship you mean prayer, preaching, reading the Scriptures, singing of psalms, &c., it is my practice



to be, as often as I can, at that worship. (Here again the Doctor was at a stand, and replied not ; but some other few passages passed between them, which the relator remembers not. Then the chief of the Deputy-Lieutenants, S. E. M., very civilly and mildly desired Mr. Powell to withdraw, and they would consider his case.)

Mr. P.—Sir, I will ; but, first, I crave leave to speak a few words, which I humbly leave to your consideration. I am, though your countryman, yet a stranger, having been not above twice before in your county, and at this time but one day only, and that in passing. I have been taken in my lodging, and committed prisoner without any just ground that hath been yet objected : there is neither sedition, treason, nor any other crime laid to my charge ; the ground specified in my commitment I have already showed to be a mistake, which I have rectified. All that is pretended against me is, that I preached a sermon in Merthyr, in this county, to a poor, willing people, against which sermon there is no exception made ; and seeing it is so, I desire you to consider, and seriously to weigh, whether you do well to imprison me upon such account, especially since there is such a general toleration (at least, connivance) of such things now throughout the nation ; and I myself have found it in divers other places ; and having heard of the moderation of you gentlemen of this county,

emboldened so much the more to preach the word of the Lord, hoping to have furtherance, and no hinderance, from you therein. I bless God, I am not ashamed of what I have done, nor afraid of men ; having looked so many men, and death, in the face so oft : and therefore the will of the Lord be done concerning me ; though I would desire you to consider the words of Christ, " With the same judgment that ye judge, ye shall be judged ; " and be sure, as the Apostle saith, " that he that sheweth judgment without mercy, shall find judgment without mercy."

Dr. B.—If you think we wrong you, you may remove yourself by a Habeas Corpus.

Mr. P.—Doctor, when you have done your worst, I must do my best ; but I wish the Lord may forgive you the injury you do me and others. Gentlemen, if I have said any thing amiss or provoking, being to speak to things suddenly, I would desire that that may be no cause of any other proceedings than you intended ; but look into the true cause of my sufferings. (Then he went out.)

The Deputy-Lieutenants had some hot discourse before dinner about it, and it was supposed the most part of them were inclining to release the prisoner ; but, as it seems, some false report was sent out of Monmouthshire against him, concerning some words that the prisoner spoke in a sermon in that county, which being afterwards

inquired into, was found false ; and Dr. B. himself said, if that apostate that raised the report were in his county, he would bind him to his good behaviour. Yet that, with the earnest instigation of Dr. B., prevailed so far, that when the prisoner was called again before sunset, most of the gentlemen were moved against the prisoner ; some judged, because the Doctor misrepresented a passage of the prisoner mentioned before, and spoken only to the Doctor ; namely, that when he had done his worst, he told them the prisoner bade them all do their worst, which he neither said nor intended. But others supposed that wine had prevailed so far over some of them, (as too oft it doth,) as to make them now speak the fastest, who had not a word in the morning to say. And thus, in a great confusion, the prisoner, with threatening words, and strict charge given to the jailer, was again remanded and committed ; and in his going forth, he said, “Gentlemen, what you have done I submit willingly to, being no more troubled at it than at this hair ;” (and so drew one of his hairs ;) “and my prayer shall be for you, that you may find more mercy from God, than I have found from you. But that God whom I serve is able to save me.”

This meeting being ended, they put the prisoner under a new commitment, which was drawn before by the Doctor, or his clerk, as some saw it in the next room.

Hereupon the Deputy-Lieutenants, it seems, wrote a letter to the Lord-Lieutenant Carbery, to signify what they had done; and they received an answer from him to render them thanks, and to detain the prisoner till further order. Thereupon, on the 30th of October, there were two new commitments again upon the prisoner; one subscribed by two of the Deputy-Lieutenants, commanding the prisoner to be kept in safe custody till further orders from the Deputy-Lieutenants of this county, who subscribed the warrant of his commitment at Cowbridge; the other commitment by five, to keep him in safe custody till they did receive further orders from their Lord-Lieutenant: to both these commitments Dr. B.'s hand is set, both bearing the same date, namely, October 30th, 1668.

## CHAPTER VI.

UPON the 8th day of November, 1668, Sir John A., Knight, and Dr. W. B., Esq., came to the Angel Inn, in Cardiff, and sent for Mr. Vavasor Powell to come to them, which he did accordingly.

Dr. B.—We have received an order from the

Council to tender you the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

Mr. P.—Gentlemen, if that be your business, I pray you let me return to my prison again; for I am committed already; and I think it is neither regular nor usual to tender them to a prisoner: you should either before my commitment, especially before presentment or indictment against me, have done it, or upon examination; or have convicted and indicted me first, and then tendered them. And so the prisoner went towards the door, intending to return to the prison. Thereupon Dr. B. went between him and the door, and said, “Nay, stay, Sir; you shall not be gone;” and so called for some of the under-officers, or deputies.

Mr. P.—Sir, though I might have continued in my prison, and not have come hither, and may yet choose whether I stay or no; yet, as I was willing to show that respect to you in coming, so to express my readiness to answer any thing that may be objected against me, I do not mean to depart without leave.

Dr. B.—Come, Mr. Powell, will you take the oaths? for we have an order from some of the Council, and my Lord Keeper, to tender them to you.

Mr. P.—Sir, I desire to see your order.

Sir J. A.—Let him see it.

Dr. B.—No, he shall not see it.

Mr. P.—Sir, you may choose ; but if you have such an order, it would be civility in you, and some satisfaction to me, to let me see it.

Dr. B.—We might have tendered the oaths to you at the last meeting.

Mr. P.—For it had been more proper for you to have done it before you had committed me, than either then or now. But, Doctor, you have at first dealt very illegally, by committing me without cause, or colour of cause ; and so run yourself into a præmunire ; and ever since, your work hath been to seek to set things right ; but all the while you do wrong me and the truth. The Lord forgive you !

Dr. B.—If I have wronged you, I have an estate to answer : question me for it.

Mr. P.—Though I might do so, yet I bless God that I am a Christian ; and my principle, as well as my practice, is, rather to forgive wrongs, than otherwise ; leaving and committing my cause to God, who will plead it : but, Doctor, you are so transported with zeal against those people who are called fanatics, that you forget law and reason.

Dr. B.—Wherein ?

Mr. P.—You forget law when you commit a man before any examination either of him or against him : and it is against reason to commit a man to prison by virtue of letters from the Lord-Lieutenant, which were dated four or five

years ago, when I was elsewhere a prisoner, and discharged within the year by an order from the King and his Council, to which order the Lord-Lieutenant's own hand is affixed.

Dr. B.—The letters were not of so long a date ; for they were dated in the year 1665.

Mr. P.—Mark that, gentlemen, (said Powell to them that stood by,) he himself confessed those letters were written in the year 1665, which is at least two years ago ; and my order plainly shows (bearing date December, 1667) that I was set at liberty long after the date of those letters.

Dr. B.—Well, will you take the oaths, yea, or no ? for we must return your answer.

Mr. P.—I pray you let me know whether my liberty depends upon the taking or refusing of them.

Sir John A. and the Town-clerk would persuade Mr. P. to take the oaths, and then he should know.

Mr. P.—If I may not know that, I may as well forbear declaring whether I will take them or no, since I am a prisoner already.

Dr. B.—But you must give a positive answer, whether you will or will not take them ; therefore let us know what your answer is.

Mr. P.—Since you press me so much, my answer is this, that I have taken them already ; and I conceive I am not bound by the law to take them again : that is my answer.

Then Sir John A. made some sign to the Doctor to show Mr. Powell the oaths in the Statute-book. The Doctor sought them, but could not readily find them. Then the Town-clerk went to help him; and one of them said, the Oath of Allegiance was in *decimo sexto Jacobi*; the other Doctor said it was in another place; but neither of them knew where.

Mr. P.—Gentlemen, are you so unacquainted with the law? The Oath of Allegiance which you look for is in *tertio Jacobi*; and there you find the occasion of it, which was the Gunpowder Treason; and that oath was never intended so much against Protestants (though Nonconformists) as against Popish recusants; and yet which of them have it imposed upon them, or are imprisoned for want of taking it?

Dr. B.—Well, will you take them? Here they are, and we tender them to you.

Mr. P.—I have answered you already, and need give you no other. Yet, I will say more. If you can prove that you have power to tender both the oaths to me, and that I am in either of those capacities, that the statutes *primo* or *quinto Eliz.* mention, I will take them; but I know you cannot.

Sir J. A. and Dr. B.—Well, will you put that answer under your hand? Tender Mr. Powell paper.

Mr. P.—I am free to put it under my hand;



but you may, if you please, return my answer, if you must return any at all. (But Sir John A. and the Doctor could not agree in that particular, how Mr. Powell should do it.)

Dr. B.—But we have power to give that oath to you.

Mr. P.—Sir, if you have, I say again, I will take it: therefore peruse that statute. (Sir John A. looked into the statute, and spake somewhat to the Doctor privately; which it seems, by the Doctor's answer to him, was, that they could not. For the Doctor's answer was, "But we can.")

Dr. B.—But why are not you bound as well as others?

Mr. P.—Because that the statute directs the oath to be taken by officers, ecclesiastical and civil, and such as were to receive public profits, and other persons mentioned both in that and the other statute of the fifth of Elizabeth; and though I may be looked upon as an ecclesiastical person, yet it appertains to the Bishop to give it me.

Dr. B.—Are you a Minister ordained?

Mr. P.—I have heretofore told you I was.

Dr. B.—But by whom?

Mr. P.—Did not I tell you by God and men.

Dr. B.—Ay, you mean the man Christ.

Mr. P.—If I did so, my meaning is right; but I mean by such men as he hath appointed.

Dr. B.—Come, come, your conscience tells

you, that you care for a Bishop no more than another man.

Mr. P.—That is true enough : I care for him and you alike ; yet of the two I respect you more, being a civil Magistrate.

Dr. B.—But will you take them ? Answer yea, or no. (And with several other words the Doctor urged Mr. Powell again.)

Mr. P.—If you must have yet a more positive answer, since you will neither let me see the order requiring me to take them, nor show me that the law, which ought to be your rule, doth impose them upon me ; though I do not absolutely and peremptorily refuse them, yet I will not take them now. (Here Dr. B. interrupted Mr. Powell in his speech, and cried out to some present to bear witness, that he said he would not take them : thereupon one in the room said, “ I do bear witness.”)

Mr. P.—Sir, (said he to the Doctor,) you deal very disingenuously to catch at advantages, when none are given, and to abstract and separate my words ; and, Sir, (said he, to the other man,) you are also very uncivil to bear witness before you hear me out. (And so Mr. Powell turned him to Sir John A., and said,) I desire you would both hear, and observe what I say, and intended to say, but that I was interrupted : that since I have taken the oaths already, and that I shall not know upon what terms I am to take them again,

and the law requires it not from me, I will not take them at this time, but will take further time to consider thereof.

Thereupon the Doctor went down stairs, and so Mr. Powell departed ; and as he was going with the deputy-keeper, the Doctor bade the keeper keep him safe.

Mr. P.—(Turning to the Doctor.) I would have you know, that neither my principles, nor cause, put any necessity upon me to make an escape ; but I hope I shall be able to stand when you fall. (Meaning in the great judgment ; and so went to his prison again.)

On the 13th of January, 1668, in the afternoon, the jailer was commanded to bring the prisoner to the bar, before Sir John A., Knight, H.H., and Dr. W. B., Esquires. Sir John A. spake to the prisoner, to this purpose :—

Sir John A.—Mr. Powell, you have, by order of the Council, had the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy already tendered unto you ; and now we tender them again unto you : will you take them ?

Mr. P.—Sir, I desire leave of you and the rest of the Bench, as necessarily previous to my answer, that I may be satisfied first in two questions. 1. In what capacity do the law and you look upon me, whether as a public or private person ? If as a private person, (as I suppose it and you do,) then one of these oaths, by law,

cannot be tendered to me. 2. What tender do you count this, whether a first or second? I have just cause to propound this question; for one of you that sits upon that bench, as I am credibly informed, from one that hath seen his letter, hath informed the Council, or some of them, that the oaths have been tendered twice before now to me, and that I refused them; with other things as false; so that my taking of them now would be but, as the poet said, "to take the buckler after I am wounded." (Hereupon the Doctor, knowing himself to be guilty, broke out into several hasty expressions, all tending to silence the prisoner, and commanding that the oaths be showed him; and if he would not take them, let the jailer take him.)

Mr. P.—Sir, it doth not become a man of your learning or place to be so angry; and the wrath of man doth not effect the righteousness of God. Sir, if you will be Dr. Saul, to persecute the truth and people of God as you do, I hope I shall be as Deacon Stephen, to stand up for them; and Doctor, if you please, let you and I, either according to law or reason, discourse this point; and let the Bench and Court judge thereof.

Hereupon Dr. B. went away to fetch a lawyer, as they said, to answer him; insomuch that some of the people called him Dr. Fury, which was afterwards fathered upon Mr. Powell, though he did not say so.

Sir John A., and the other two Justices, moved Mr. Powell to take the oaths again.

Mr. P.—I beseech you, gentlemen, give me leave to speak a few words first ; and then I shall directly answer you, whether I can take them, yea or no. (There being a little silence, he went on, and said,) These two oaths were framed and imposed, as I suppose you well know, the first of them, namely, the Oath of Supremacy, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, immediately after that hot persecution of the Papists in Queen Mary's days ; and it was, no doubt, intended chiefly against Papists, and to be a test and trial of all persons that were admitted into, or continued in, any public offices, either temporal or ecclesiastical. The Oath of Allegiance, or Obedience, was imposed upon that notorious act, the Gunpowder Treason ; and the substance of both of them is to acknowledge the Queen or King of England to be the supreme Magistrate of these kingdoms ; and that no Prince or foreign power had any right thereto ; nor the Pope, nor any other, had power to dissolve or discharge any subject from his obedience to the Queen or King : and this power I do freely and heartily acknowledge ; and so far I do here declare, if it gives you satisfaction.

Justices said,—No ; you must take the oaths as they are tendered.

Mr. P.—Why may not that satisfy you which

satisfied the King and his Council? for in my case, stated and presented to them the last day before my discharge, I signified that I was not free in conscience to take those oaths in the way they are now tendered, and yet they were pleased to grant me their order for my discharge.

Sir John A.—But they did not know you refused the oaths.

Mr. P.—Yes, Sir, they did ; as you may see, if you please to look upon this copy of my case, which I presented to them, and which I desire you to read, and their order for my discharge. (Mr. Powell tendered them the copy, which they refused to receive.)

Justices.—But we have an order from the King and his Council, requiring you to take the oaths.

Mr. P.—Sir, that order was procured by false information against me to the Council ; which is punishable by the law. But I pray you let me see the order, that I may know what it requires, and comport myself with their command as far as I can.

Sir John A.—No ; we will not show it.

Mr. P.—Sir John, the last time I was before you, you would have had the Doctor to show it ; and why should you now be against it ?

Dr. B.—Tender them unto him ; the Oath of Allegiance first.

Mr. P.—Do you require no more than the

taking of that ? and shall the taking thereof be, as the Apostle saith of an oath, an end of the strife ?

Justices.—Do you take that first, and you shall know that afterwards.

Mr. P.—Doth my liberty depend upon taking or not taking it ?

Justices.—Do you take it ?

Mr. P.—Gentlemen, you deal very strictly and severely ; for as our learned casuists and Divines, as Dr. Sanderson, Mr. Perkins, and others, say, “in taking an oath, men must take it with respect to the glory of God, a man’s own advantage, or the good of another :” but as you tender this, I cannot see how I do either, if I take it ; for this ordinance of God is made a snare to me ; for I am, as a martyr said, imprisoned without cause, and now this is made a cause of detaining me there. Be pleased, gentlemen, to give me leave, without offence, to put you in mind of some words in your own commission, several times reiterated, that you are to execute justice according to the law and custom of England. The law of England does not require that men should take the oaths as often as every Magistrate pleases to tender them ; for, as Lord Coke, who was the glory of the law, shows, in the seventh book of his Reports, a man is bound to take the Oath of Allegiance but once in his life-time. And for the custom of England, it is not usual to im-

prison a man without cause, as I have been ; nor to impose upon men oaths, when and whilst they are prisoners, unless they desire their liberty upon the account of taking them.

Dr. B.—(Upon this, Dr. B. came in again, and said, as some report,) Why do you suffer him to bark at the Bench? (But that neither Mr. P., nor several others present, heard.) Why do you suffer him to speak, and show contempt to His Majesty? He hath said that neither the King nor his Council had power to tender him the oath.

Mr. P.—Sir, I wonder how you dare speak so, and wrong me publicly before the Bench and the Court. I appeal to them, or either of them, or any here present, whether I spake any such thing, or any word tending thereto. (At which, all were silent, knowing it was a false accusation, as one of the officers of the Court, no friend to Mr. P., afterwards confessed, but wished he had spoken it, that they might have had such an advantage against him. But hereupon, the Doctor again went out in a fume, and came in no more.)

The three Justices remaining prayed Mr. Powell again to take them, and would suffer him no longer to speak, but bade one of the officers of the Court show him the oaths, and give him the Bible, bidding him lay his hand on the Bible.

Mr. P.—To what end do you tender me the Bible? I am not to swear by the Bible, but by



God himself, and in that manner which his word directs.

Justices.—The law requires you should do it in this manner.

Mr. P.—What law ?

Justice H.—The law of the land.

Mr. P.—Which law of the land ? There is the Common Law, the Statute Law, and the Civil Law. I have not read that, by any of these, the laying of the hand on a book is absolutely required, or essential to an oath.

Justice H.—Yea, the law doth require it.

Mr. P.—I pray you, Sir, what law ? Be pleased to instance in these Acts, by which the oaths are enjoined. There is no such ceremony required here, nor I suppose by another law. (To this neither he nor any other replied.)

Another Justice H.—It is the common practice ; and why should you differ from it ?

Mr. P.—Sir, common practice is not my rule ; but what is grounded upon God's word, or good reason, I shall observe.

Sir J. A.—Come, let us trouble ourselves no further : he refuses to take them.

Mr. P.—I desire all the Court to take notice, that I have not refused to take the oaths ; but having taken them already, I am not bound to take them again ; and that they are not tendered me according to law. (Then the Justices commanded the jailer to take the prisoner away.)

Mr. P.—Gentlemen, since I may not be further heard about the oaths, I desire to be heard in somewhat else. Will you be pleased to take sufficient bail till the next Sessions? (The Justices were silent. The jailer made answer publicly, No.)

Mr. P.—Sir, are you one of the Judges of the Court, that your “No” should stand? Gentlemen, I have been near eight years a prisoner, and in thirteen prisons; and yet in all these, I have not received so much incivility as from this man, Mr. jailer; and therefore, I desire liberty to take a private chamber in the town, giving security for my true imprisonment. (To this the Justices returned no answer, but commanded the jailer to take the prisoner away; which was done accordingly; and he was returned to the prison.)

About three months after this, a friend in London got a *Habeas Corpus*, to remove him to the Common Pleas bar, which the Sheriff refused to obey: then came an *Aliàs*, under penalty of an £100, upon which they sent him up; but would not let him know of his journey beforehand. But about eight o'clock one night, the Under Sheriff came to give him notice to be gone in half an hour; and so took him with a guard eight miles that night, being the 16th of October, 1669; and brought him to Westminster, to the Common Pleas bar, the 22d of the same. Upon the examination of the return, it was found illegal;

but S. M., their Counsel, pleaded that he had not had time to view it, and desired time till next day, which the Judges granted. Thereupon, Mr. Powell moved the Court to take bail then, and discharge his guard: which had been granted, but that S. M. said, "No, my Lord, then he will go and preach;" to which the prisoner replied, that it was as lawful for him to preach, as for him to talk there at the bar. The next day he was brought into the Court again, and the return was again argued, the prisoner having the liberty to open his case himself; and though the return was, by all the Judges, deemed false and illegal, yet was Mr. Powell committed to the Fleet prison by the Court, where he remained from May 24th, 1669, till he was discharged by death.

On September 25th, being the first day of the week, he preached in the forenoon and afternoon, many being admitted to hear him, and that with much life and zeal: first, from those words, "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out." (John vi. 37.) And in the afternoon from Hosea xiv. 8, "I am like a green fir tree; from me is thy fruit found." These were the last sermons he ever preached. At night, he was weary, as he used to be, and took some refreshment after his exercise, and rested well that night. But in the morning, after he was up, he found himself not well; and as his manner was, he

tried, by drinking plain posset, to provoke himself to vomit, and so went to his study as aforetime. In the afternoon came a friend, who desired that he would meet him in London, the fifth day after, about some business of concernment, which he promised to do. The next day, and day following, his distemper increasing, some friends judged it inconvenient for him to go to London as he had promised, and therefore dissuaded him what they could ; but as it was to do some service for some of the Lord's people, he said, he would trust God with his preservation ; and, upon the fifth day, went accordingly by water to the Temple stairs, wrapped warm ; but, upon landing, he found himself unable well to go ; which constrained him to take coach, and that shook him very much ; but he came to his friend's house, and dispatched his business.

That night he took one of Matthews's pills, and slept very well : but in the morning, after he was up, and had broken his fast, he fell very sick, and vomited ; yet afterwards, he was somewhat better again. He then wrote a letter to a friend in Wales, telling him that he was not well, and that this might be the last letter he should ever write to him ; and so it was. He returned that evening to his prison, and, upon going to bed, found his distemper grow upon him, which so continued the next day, as to cause him to keep his bed. The next morning, being the Lord's day, several

friends came to see him, and would needs send for a Doctor, though he was not very free thereto. When the Doctor came, he appointed him several things, and read his bill to him, which he approved; but told the Doctor that he had no medicine for mortality; saying, that his days were accomplished. Notwithstanding all administrations, very little check could be given to his complaint, for ten days, though various means were used, and such as had been blessed to help others in his case. Afterwards, his health improved, so that there was great hope of his recovery, though himself said otherwise all along. The Doctor ordered that he should be kept from speaking much; but so zealously was he affected for the glory of God, and with the love of Christ, that neither his pains, nor bodily weakness, nor the tender advice of friends, could possibly restrain him. Notwithstanding all, he brake forth into high and heavenly praises, sometimes by prayer, sometimes by singing. His patience under all his pains was very great. When there came one of his greatest paroxysms, he would bless God, and say, that he would not entertain one hard thought of God for all the world.

The sight of the pardon of sin and reconciliation with God was so clear, and without interruption, even to the last, that it was as a fire in his bosom till he spake of it; and very hardly

would he be restrained at any time. When he had spent his strength in speaking, then would he compose himself to get a little more strength, that he might go on to speak further of the grace of God towards him, and to give seasonable advice to all about him ; and so continued, till God took away his strength and speech from him.

The thrush grew so sore in his mouth, that he could speak no more to be understood ; and yet then, by signs, he would signify that all was well within. He enjoyed his understanding to the last ; which, he said, he had begged of God. His remembrance of God's people, and his prayers for them, were very frequent ; and particularly for his Christian friends in Wales. He earnestly desired the saints to be of one mind. Some that were frequent with him in his sickness, say that such an earnest of glory their eyes and ears never heard nor ever saw before. He kept his bed a month within one day ; and so finished his course, service, and suffering, at four of the clock in the afternoon, upon October 27th, 1670, at Karoone-house, then the Fleet prison, in Lambeth.

A FEW OF HIS DEATH-BED EXPRESSIONS, COLLECTED BY SOME FRIENDS THAT WERE ABOUT HIM.

He blessed God that he had not withdrawn the light of his countenance, nor left him to be buffeted by Satan, nor to the love of any thing

in the world, to make him desire to live here any longer.

He said, "Three things I did design in the whole course of my life ; namely, to be clear in the righteousness of Christ for justification, that I might exalt the grace of God to poor sinners, and admire it to my own soul.

"Secondly, to be sincerely to God, what I did seem to be to man, that I might be upright in what I did, and really that which I did profess.

"Thirdly, that I might walk answerably to the love and grace of God, which he hath bestowed upon me. The two first I have much endeavoured, but the last I have been very short in.

"My principle was to promote holiness, love, and union among the saints ; and have sometimes denied myself in my own judgment, that so I might have an opportunity to promote other truths among different brethren.

"During these thirty years that God hath wrought upon me, I do not remember that ever I had one hard thought of him, nor repent me that I made a profession, notwithstanding all my reproaches and sufferings. I have had much cause to wonder at Jesus Christ, that hath called me, an undone sinner, and counted me, me a vile wretch, worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake:" and this he spoke with much brokenness of heart.

"I have been much considering, since I was

upon my sick bed, how the Lord Jesus, whilst upon the earth, acted towards poor sinners ; and am satisfied that it is a great fault among churches and Christians, that they have no more pity and bowels to poor sinners, and use no more means to gain them to Jesus Christ :” further adding, that Jesus Christ had such compassion to sinners when he was upon the earth, that therefore he was called a friend of publicans and sinners.

After some time of silence, he broke out in these words : “ O now I find more in that word than ever I did ! ‘ They overcame by the blood of the Lamb.’ Though God hath given me a very tender, good, and affectionate wife, yet I do not grudge to part with her to go to Jesus Christ.”

He did bless God that it was not now with him as it was in South-sea Castle ; because there he had no friends about him to do any service of love for him, as now he had.

When there was some hope of recovery, his wife asking him whether he would be willing to stay with us if God should restore him, he answered, “ I am willing to do what God will have me ; but yet unwilling to come back again into the storm.”

When his friends endeavoured to keep him from speaking, he said, “ You restrain me, and will not let me speak for Jesus Christ ;” and then he would weep, and grieve that he was not permitted to speak as much as he would.



When he spoke of sufferings to come, he gave two words of advice to the saints, and those that were round about him ; as,

1. To keep all things clear betwixt Christ and the soul, and Christ and the conscience ; that there might be no sin to offend Christ, neither in the guilt nor filth of it ; nothing espoused to steal away the affections from Christ ; but that the soul stand clear in its faith and love, and every grace, and stand loose from the nearest and dearest relations, that so there might be no cause of difference betwixt Christ and the soul.

2. That Christians should be faithful to death ; for he that endureth to the end, the same shall be saved.

Another time, he expressed himself after this manner : “ Sad times will come, and many of them that stand now will fall : some shall be put into prison, some impoverished, some banished, and some put to death, and the saints scattered, so that their differences shall be done away. When they are in their greatest distresses, then the Lord will appear for them, and will save them with a mighty hand.”

In his sickness, he begged of God that he would please to continue his understanding ; in which God did graciously answer him, even to the last, to the admiration of the Doctor.

He did very often and very earnestly press the saints to be of one heart, and to lay aside all their differences.

## ELOGY.

VAVASOR POWELL'S ENCOMIUM, OR  
CHARACTER.

By stock he was of Welsh descent,  
In stature mean, yet meek, content.  
In holy tongues, and learning, he  
Commenced to very great degree ;  
Some thirty years to Christ estranged,  
And then by grace was call'd and changed ;  
He labour'd in Christ's ministry,  
And many a soul thereby set free ;  
A learned tongue and skill he had  
To speak for Christ, to good and bad.  
Though to die childless 'twas his lot,  
To Christ he many a soul begot.  
His parts were quick, yet lowly-minded,  
With vain applause not swell'd or winded ;  
A man of sorrows, prayers, and tears,  
Long suffering under wrongs and jeers ;  
Most apt and ready to forget  
Affronts, assaults, many and great ;  
His labours in his Gospel station  
Found universal acceptance.  
And though of such we've got so many,  
He might as ill be spared as any.  
Failings he had ; but where is he  
From more and greater, that is free ?  
His bonds bespoke him fully known,  
At utter odds with Nimrod's throne ;  
He lay confined, the Oath about,  
Till angels came to fetch him out.  
His glass was run, his bonds death breaks,  
And yet, behold, (though dead,) he speaks.

J. M.

AN EPITAPH UPON THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER,  
AND EMINENT CONFESSOR OF JESUS CHRIST,  
MR. VAVASOR POWELL.

### VAVASOR POWELL

Lyes here enterred : who was a successful teacher  
of the past, a sincere witness in the present,  
a choyce example to future ages. For which, he  
being called to several prisons, was there tryed  
and found faithful ; would not accept deliverance,  
expecting a better resurrection ; in hope of which,  
he finished his life and testimony together, in the  
11th year of his imprisonment, and in the 53d  
of his age, October 27th, 1670.

In vain oppressors do themselves perplex,  
To find out acts how they the saints may vex.  
Death spoyles their plots, and sets the oppressed free :  
Thus Vavasor obtain'd true liberty ;  
Christ him released, and now he is joyn'd among  
The martyr'd souls, with whom he cries, How long ?  
(Dan. xii. 13.)

**THE LIFE**

**OF**

**HOWELL HARRIS, ESQ.**



THE LIFE  
OF  
HOWELL HARRIS, ESQ.

CHAPTER I.

I WAS born at Trevecka, in the parish of Talgarth, in the county of Brecon, on January 23d, 1714. My parents kept me at school till I was eighteen years old. I made a considerable progress in learning; but my father then dying, I was so far discouraged, as not to entertain any thoughts of appearing in the world in a public capacity, and therefore undertook to keep a country school. Having no serious friends to converse with, and being now without any restraints upon me, I was soon carried away with the stream of vanity, pride, and youthful diversions, which got the ascendant in my soul.

The many serious thoughts and reflections which I before used to be seized with, now gave way to my pleasures; and yet, having always an habitual conviction in my heart, I was not easy.

My sphere of acquaintance among my superiors became larger, and I had promising views of preferment in the world ; being intended for holy orders.

But while I was thus about entering more publicly on the stage of life, and while all my corruptions grew stronger and stronger in me, and many providences seemed to concur to raise me in this world ; the Lord was pleased to glorify his free grace in awakening me to a sense of the miserable state I was and had been in, though I knew it not.

About the one-and-twentieth year of my age, on March 30th, 1735, our parish Minister was using arguments to prove the necessity of receiving the sacrament, and answering objections which people make against going to it, namely, our being not fit, &c. I resolved to go to the Lord's table the following Sunday, being Easter-day : and by his saying, "If you are not fit to come to the Lord's table, you are not fit to come to church ; you are not fit to live, nor fit to die ;" I was convinced, and resolved to leave my outward vanities ; for, as yet, I knew and saw very little of my inward corruption. And as a step to prepare myself, (as I thought,) I was immediately, in going home from the church, reconciled to a neighbour that I had some difference with ; acknowledging my own fault, and forgiving his. But being yet an utter stranger to all inward

religion, and the misery of my state by nature ; and, consequently, knowing nothing truly of the Lord Jesus, but only what I learned by reading, and in notions ; I had advanced no farther than forming a resolution to lead a new life, though I knew not where to begin, or what to do.

However, I went to the Lord's table on Easter-day ; and while repeating the words in the Confession, "The remembrance of our sins is grievous unto us, the burden of them is intolerable," I began to reflect within me, to search whether this was my case, and soon found my confession was only in words, and could not find any inward grief at the remembrance of them, nor indeed was their burden a heavy load to me. I was then convinced that it ought to be so ; and finding it was not, I saw that I was going to the Lord's table with a lie in my mouth : this, and a sense of the solemnity of the sacred feast, struck me, so that I was much inclined to withdraw ; till my mind was quieted, by having determined to lead a new life ; and in that resolution I went to the table, and received the pledge of God's dying love. Then I began that following week, and the week succeeding, to be more serious and thoughtful ; and was given to prayer, and strove to keep my heart and thoughts fixed on the Lord ; but all in vain. Thus I went on for a fortnight, till I had almost lost my convictions.

On April 20th, Providence put a book in



my hand. I looked on the latter part of it, as a help to self-examination ; and as soon as I began to read it, I was convinced, that in every branch of my duty to God, to myself, and to my neighbour, I was guilty, and had fallen short. I found again, the same evening, a book written by Bryan Duppa, on the Commandments, which made my convictions somewhat deeper : the more I read, the greater did the spiritual light shine in my mind, by showing me the extent of the law of God, calling me to account, not only for outward gross sins, but for my looks, aims, and ends, in all I think, say, or do : then I saw plainly and clearly, that if I was to be judged by that law, I was undone for ever.

Thus, the more I searched into the nature of things, the more I saw myself, and all others that I conversed with, in the broad way to destruction. Then I was soon convinced, that I was void of all spiritual life ; and came to find I was carnal, and sold under sin ; and felt that I could no more believe, or mourn for my sins, than I could ascend to heaven. I began to humble myself by fasting, and denying myself in every outward comfort ; but knew as yet nothing of the inward self-denial which our Saviour enjoins. I had no knowledge of the blood of Jesus, the only “fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness ;” (Zech. xiii. 1 ;) and being a total stranger to the life of faith, all this while I

was in a damnable state, and in danger of final destruction.

Thus having laid no foundation, I knew not the Saviour's voice ; till one day in prayer, I felt a strong impression on my mind to give myself to God as I was, and to leave all to follow him. But presently, I felt a strong opposition to it, backed with reasons, that if I would give myself to the Lord, I should lose my liberty, and would then be not my own, or in my own power ; but after a great conflict for some time, I was willing to bid adieu to all things temporal, and choose the Lord for my portion. I believe, I was then effectually called to be a follower of the Lamb, and had some inward satisfaction in my soul ; but had no evidence of my acceptance with God, till the following Whitsunday, at the sacrament.

May 25th, 1735, I went thither, labouring and heavy laden under the guilt and power of my sins ; having read in a book, that if we would go to the sacrament, simply believing in the Lord Jesus Christ, we should receive forgiveness of all our sins ; and so it was to me. I was convinced by the Holy Ghost, that Christ died for me, and that all my sins were laid on him ; I was now absolved before God, and in my conscience : this evidenced itself to be true faith, by the peace, joy, watchfulness, hatred to sin, and fear of offending God, that followed it.

I was then delivered from a grievous tempta-

tion, that had followed me ever since I had first given myself to the Lord. Before that time I never knew what inward trials and spiritual conflicts were, only now and then I had some uneasiness from an awakened conscience, which was quite different from those sore trials that I bore from atheistical thoughts, which made my life a burden to me ; for they came with such force and power on my mind, that I could not withstand them. But at the sacrament, by viewing my God on the cross, I was delivered from these temptations : now the world and all thoughts of human applause and preferment were quite vanished from my sight ; the spiritual world and eternity began (though as yet but faintly) to appear ; now I began to have other views and motives different from what I had. I felt some insatiable desires after the salvation of poor sinners : my heart longed that they might be convinced of their sins and misery. I also found myself a stranger here : all my heart was drawn from the world and visible things, and was in pursuit of more valuable riches. I now began to be more happy, and could not help telling, in going home from church, that Whitsunday, that I knew my sins were forgiven me ; though I had never heard any one make that confession before, or say it could be obtained ; but I was so deeply convinced, that nothing could shake my assurance of it. However, I knew not whether I should continue

in that state ; having never conversed with any that had his face toward Sion, and who could instruct me in the way of the Lord ; but the cry of my soul was then, “ Now or never. If God leaves thee now, and thou stiflest these convictions and blessings, thou art undone for ever.” This fear of losing what I had then, kept me fasting, praying, and watching continually. Though I had peace with God, yet I was apprehensive of seeing any of my old companions, lest I should grow cold again ; and this also induced me to keep close to Him in all duties, and to keep a strict watch over my spirit, heart, and lips, dreading all lightness of mind, and idle words, and foolish jesting, which I was so prone to by nature.

June 18th, 1735, being in secret prayer, I felt suddenly my heart melting within me, like wax before the fire, with love to God my Saviour ; and also felt not only love, peace, &c., “ but longing to be dissolved, and to be with Christ.” Then was a cry in my inmost soul, which I was totally unacquainted with before, “ Abba, Father ! Abba, Father !” I could not help calling God, my Father ; I knew that I was his child, and that He loved me, and heard me. My soul being filled and satiated, I cried, “ It is enough ; I am satisfied. Give me strength, and I will follow thee through fire and water.” I could say that I was happy indeed ! There was in me “ a well

of water, springing up to everlasting life." (John iv. 14.) "The love of God was shed abroad in my heart by the Holy Ghost." (Rom. v. 5.)

Being still ignorant of God's method of bringing the lost sons of Adam to himself, I did not know in Scripture term what I had now received; neither did I long retain this immediate fruition of God by his Spirit; but as I still kept a school, (waiting for my call from some near relation to go to Oxford,) I felt some risings of anger in my heart towards one of the children. The enemy immediately accused me, and alleged to me that I had now forfeited all the happiness which I had just before enjoyed, and that I was fallen from grace, and therefore in a worse condition than ever: this gave me no small pain and confusion; and whilst I was in this agony, (hating myself entirely for sinning against this good God, the Saviour of sinners,) on account of the loss of that felicity which I had enjoyed, I was ready to despond: but God pitied me, and soon sent that word home to my soul, "I change not." (Mal. iii. 6.) That this word was scriptural, I knew not; and how to apply it to myself was at a great loss; till light broke in upon my soul, to show me that my salvation depended on the faithfulness of Jesus Christ, who changeth not. Then I was entirely freed from all fears, and found uninterrupted rest in the love and faithfulness of God my Saviour.

I was all this while a total stranger to all the controversies about religion. I only knew this, that God loved me, and would love me for his own name's sake freely : this made me to love him again, and study how to show my love to him. I cannot express the comfort which I now enjoyed in my soul, being continually favoured with the divine presence ; having my conversation in heaven. Now I could talk of nothing but spiritual things, which soon brought contempt upon me. I was daily derided by some, and pitied by others ; some strove to terrify me, and others to allure me with counsel, that savoured too much of the wisdom of this world, to have any weight with me. All my study was to show my gratitude to my God. But it grieved me still, that I had neither seen nor heard of any in the country who seemed in earnest to work out his own salvation, or to having any saving knowledge of God in Christ ; though I did not so much then as imagine that I should be useful, seeing not the least probability of it, but rather the contrary.

I had frequent thoughts of hiding myself from my friends, dreading nothing more than to be known in the world.

This made me actually to drop my acquaintance with all ranks of people, and to reject offers that were made to raise my fortune in the world. I sold what I had, and gave it to the poor ; and, among the rest, such clothes as I thought too gay

for a Christian. I saw, by reading Matt. xix. 29, how dreadful it was not to take God at his word ; and then I had power to rely entirely on his word, "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." Upon this promise I resigned my body and soul to his care for ever.

From that time to the present, I can say that my life has been a life of faith, pleading with him, and that I have wholly depended on his blessed promises. I daily find him to be faithful, and they that trust in him shall not be ashamed. But this appears as enthusiasm to flesh and blood. Though we call God our Father, own him to be the Disposer of all things, and that his word is truth ; yet we will not give him that credit, which we give to mortal, unfaithful man. This indeed appears dreadful to me ; and therefore I was determined to trust for ever on his blessed promise for my temporal blessings, as it is all my trust for eternal life. Thus in all my wants, I had no where to apply, but to the promise ; and in that alone, I must declare, I have found enough.

In this light I saw my own misery by nature, and consequently could not help seeing all that I had been acquainted with, of every rank and degree, going also, as I had done, in the broad way that leadeth to destruction. It very evi-

dently appears, by the testimony of God's word, and the conduct of the people, that this was the case then.

There was at that time a general slumber over the land. The generality of people spent the Lord's day contrary to the laws of God and man ; it being by none rightly observed : neither had any one, whom I knew, the true knowledge of that God whom we pretended to worship. No sooner was the worship over, on the Lord's day, than the conduct of the people discovered that the heart was entirely alienated from all that was good. The remaining part of the day was spent in indulging the prevailing corruptions of nature ; all family worship being utterly laid aside, (except among some of the Dissenters,) while a universal deluge of swearing, lying, reviling, drunkenness, fighting, and gaming, had overspread the country, like a mighty torrent ; and that without any notice taken of it, or a stop, as far as I had seen, attempted to be put to it.

Seeing thus rich and poor going as if it were hand in hand in the broad way to ruin, my soul was stirred up within me. The Ministers were the first that lay on my heart : I saw they were not in earnest, and did not appear to have any sense of their own danger, nor any feeling of the love of Christ ; therefore, their instructions, delivered in such an unfeeling and indifferent manner, seemed to have no effect upon any of



the hearers. I had never yet seen one man awakened by the preaching in the country. This view of their darkness, deadness, and indifferency made me, out of the abundance of my heart, speak to some of those with whom I was acquainted. But finding it had no effect, I took myself to secret prayer and mourning, and engaged some others to pray with me; and the Lord again renewed my strength.

Then I could not help making it my business to speak to all that I came near, of their danger; although I had but little knowledge of the way of salvation by faith; yet I was happy by feeling the blessedness of it in my own heart; so that death and judgment were my principal subjects of conversation, and the necessity of praying and receiving the sacrament, &c. I began to set up family worship in my mother's house; and on Sunday morning some of the neighbours would come to hear me read the Lessons and Psalms, &c. The evening I spent with a few private friends, whose hearts the Lord had now touched with some sense of their danger. Now the fire of God did so burn in my soul, that I could not rest day nor night, without doing something for my God and Saviour; nor could I go with satisfaction to sleep, if I had not done something for his glory that day. Time was so precious, that I knew not how to improve it entirely to the glory of God, and the good of others. When

alone, I was taken up wholly in reading, praying, or writing, &c., and also continued to go on exhorting the poor people ; and they flocked to hear me every Sunday evening. I soon became the public talk of the country ; but I was carried as it were on wings through all my trials, both inward and outward. I was highly favoured, indeed, by the Friend of sinners ; and was now quite another man. I feared nothing, though my life was in danger from the threats of such as loved darkness rather than light ; yet I was not moved, but went on comfortably ; little thinking all this while that I was at any time to be more public. Thus I spent that summer, 1735.

## CHAPTER II.

IN the beginning of November following, I went to Oxford, and entered at St. Mary-Hall, under the tuition of Mr. Hart. But having now no taste for the entertainments there, I spent the greatest part of my time in secret prayers, or in the public worship. Now my friends were in hopes I should be effectually cured of my enthusiasm, as they called it ; but the Lord Jesus had now taken possession of my heart ; so that notwithstanding the encouraging prospect before

me, having had the promise to be admitted as Sub-tutor at a great school, and to a benefice of £140 per annum, by a certain gentleman; and although I was encompassed with fair prospects; yet when I saw the irregularities and immoralities which surrounded me there, I became soon weary of the place, and cried to God to deliver me from thence: and thus, after keeping that term, I was again brought to my friends in Wales.

After my return, I was occupied in going from house to house, until I had visited the greatest part of my native parish, together with those of neighbouring ones. The people now began to assemble by vast numbers, so that the houses wherein we met could not contain them. The word was attended with such power, that many on the spot cried out to God for pardon of their sins; and such as lived in malice, confessed their sins, making peace with each other, and appeared in concern about their eternal state. Family worship was set up in many houses; and the churches, as far as I had gone, were crowded, and likewise the Lord's table.

It was now time for the enemy to make a stand in another manner; therefore he not only influenced the populace to revile and persecute me, but caused the Magistrates and Clergy to bestir themselves: the former to threaten me, and such as would receive me to their houses,

with fines, &c. ; while the latter showed their indignation, and used their endeavours to discourage me by other means. This put some stop to us, for a short time ; yet it could not extinguish the flame that was kindled. Though fear kept many back, yet such as were drawn by the divine attraction could not be affrighted ; and I continued still to meet those secretly ; and also the following spring I continued to go from house to house, as before, speaking to all that were inclined to hear me. By this time I gained acquaintance with several Dissenters, who kindly received me to their houses. In this manner I went on, till advised by a particular friend, at the latter end of the summer, in 1736, to set up a school at Trevecka ; which I did, but removed from thence to the parish church. By this means, many young persons laid hold of this opportunity, and came to be farther instructed in the way of salvation ; but O, with a bleeding heart I now think of many of them, seeing they were likely to end in the flesh, after they had begun well in the Spirit !

The latter end of this year, a man went about to instruct young people to sing psalms : this gave me another opportunity of showing my love to my fellow-sinners ; for the people being met to learn, and to hear him sing, there was no objection made, any more than to assemblies met to cock-fighting, dancing, &c. I laid hold of

this opportunity. When he had done teaching them to sing, I used to give them a word of exhortation; and thereby many were brought under convictions, and many religious societies were by these means formed. I began in imitation of the societies which Dr. Woodward gave an account of, in a little treatise which he wrote; there being as yet no other societies of the kind in England or Wales; the English Methodists not being as yet heard of, though the Lord was now, as I found afterward, working on some of them in Oxford and elsewhere. But when I was thus exposed to all kinds of opposition, though I saw no proper steps which I could securely take, yet the way was again opened; but I was threatened that I should be silenced.

However, in the beginning of the following summer, in 1737, a certain gentleman, in Radnorshire, sent for me to discourse at his house. This stirred the curiosity of some of the better sort of people to come to hear me; whilst others, in conversing with me, had their prejudices much removed; and others were convinced of the truth. I had reason to believe that the Lord would be pleased to bless my labours. Though I still continued to teach my school, yet I went out every night to places where I was sent for, and did the same on the holidays, and on the Sabbath, until, at last, about the latter end of the year 1737, I was turned out of my school;

which conduced to enlarge my sphere of usefulness.

After this, I readily complied with every invitation, and went wherever I was sent for, by day and night; discoursing generally three or four, and sometimes five and even six, times a day, to crowded auditories.

Now I was loaded with all manner of calumnies, from all quarters. The Magistrates threatened me; the Clergy preached against me, branding me with the character of a false prophet, and deceiver, &c.; the mob was active, lying in wait with intentions of mischief: yet during all this, I was carried, as on the wings of an eagle, triumphantly above all. I took no particular texts, but discoursed freely, as the Lord gave me utterance. The gift I had received was as yet to convince the conscience of sin.

There appeared now a general reformation in several counties. Public diversions became unfashionable; and religion became the common talk; places of divine worship were every where crowded. The Welsh charity-schools began now to spread, by the procurement of the Rev. Griffith Jones, of Llanddouror; people in general expressed their willingness to be instructed; and societies were also set up in many places.

About this time, I heard, by a friend that came from London, of a young Clergyman, Mr. Whitefield, that preached four times a day; and was

much blessed. In hearing this, my heart was united to him in such a manner, that I never felt the like connexion with any one before : yet I had not the least prospect of ever seeing him ; being informed that he had gone beyond sea, it being his first voyage to America. But in the beginning of January, 1738, I was agreeably surprised by a letter from him : he, having providentially heard of me, wrote to me in order to encourage me to go on. I was at this time greatly distressed with respect to my itinerant way of preaching ; yet I prosecuted my work with the utmost activity.

Thus I went on, having fellowship with God daily in private prayer, and at the sacrament, which I constantly attended. Yet, being not fully settled as to my method of proceeding, I was shaken by Satan, and by a sense of the greatness of the work, and of my own weakness and incapacity for it ; still I was constrained to go on, by the importunity of the people in general, by the visible good tendency of my labours, the call and approbation of many whom I esteemed as gracious Ministers, and by the continual power which I felt with me in the work. Thus my spirit was much enlivened, especially when in the Lord's work, and I feared neither men nor devils. Such power and courage I had not by nature ; therefore it appeared to me to be undoubtedly from God.

As to the subject of my discourse, it was all

given unto me in an extraordinary manner, without the least premeditation. It was not the fruit of my memory; for, naturally, my memory was bad; therefore it was the effect of the immediate strong impulse which I felt in my soul. I was not able to rest; consequently, necessity was laid on my spirit to go and awaken souls. Thus I went on, though with fear and trembling, lest others of bad intentions should take occasion to go about after my example: therefore I prayed that I might know God's will more perfectly; whether he was the only object of my love and desire, and whether his glory and the salvation of my fellow-sinners were the only objects of my view. After examining the matter thus, I had power to rely, in all things, on the strength of the grace that is in Christ Jesus, for power to carry me through the great work; and that if his honour should call me to suffer, to be imprisoned, and tortured, I should find him faithful in every trial, in death, and to all eternity.

By this time the Rev. Mr. Rowlands, and some other young Clergymen, were called in Wales to preach the Gospel in the same extemporary manner as I was.

Although I had many comfortable assurances, that my commission was from above, yet I was not thoroughly confirmed about it in my own heart, until I was summoned to appear before a person of distinction, to render an account of my going



about in the manner I did; then these words were brought with power to my soul, "Behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it." (Rev. iii. 7, 8.) By the gracious effect this left on my soul, I am confirmed and persuaded, it was applied to me by the Holy Ghost.

My life was now in danger in several places by the mob; especially in February, 1739, when they found I could not be prosecuted as a rioter, because it did not appear that I disturbed the peace. In Montgomeryshire, a Knight, a Clergyman, and two Justices, whilst I was discoursing, came, attended by a Constable, with the mob, and took cognizance of me, and such as met together, to hear my exhortation in a place unlicensed; then they began to charge me with a breach of the Conventicle Act. I told the Magistrate that I was a Conformist; and for that reason, not subject to the penalties of that statute. Then they said, "We shall consult the best Lawyers, in order to know if there is a law to be enforced against you; and if there be, you may expect to suffer its utmost extremity." My persecutors continued thus to threaten me until the Sessions came on, at which time a Lawyer was consulted, and the case was dropped.

After my dismissal, I went to Merionethshire, where, I trust, the Lord blessed the seed sown to some. In my return from thence, I came by

Dinas-Mowddwy, and discoursed there; and at the request of a friend, I went on to Machynlleth. But at my first entrance there, I found none disposed to receive me: however, I proposed to preach the Gospel to such as met in the street, being placed in an open window or door, in an upper room; but I was soon obliged to desist, by the noise of the multitude, who continued shouting, threatening, swearing, and flinging stones, or any thing they could lay their hands on; and, especially by an Attorney's coming up to me, with such fury in his looks, and his mouth so full of the language of hell, as if his name was Legion, and with him a gentleman, and a Clergyman, in the same spirit and language, to head the mob. One of them discharged a pistol at me. I received no hurt, but was obliged to go among them into the street, not expecting that I should escape alive; but my hour was not yet come. Though they used me ill, yet I was miraculously preserved. At last, one of the mob was disposed to fetch my horse; and as soon as I mounted, they observed which way I went, and crossed my road, and began again to throw sticks and stones at me, till the Lord delivered me out of their hands.

By these means, and many other trials, which I often passed through, I was at length so accustomed to them, that when I arose in the morning, I was daily in expectation of my crosses and

trials. I became more acquainted with the world and myself.

My natural strength, by this time, was so spent by incessant labours night and day, that frequently when I went before a congregation, I felt such a bodily weakness, that I could hardly stand; until our Saviour would enable me by faith to plead that promise, "That they who wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength," &c. (Isaiah xl. 31.) Then I presently felt, by faith, instantaneous strength sufficient for my soul and body, to carry me through my work; yea, I felt it as really as ever I felt the benefit of food when hungry, or the warmth of fire when cold.

Thus I went on through the counties of South Wales, until I arrived at Cardiff, where I was much refreshed by the sight of Mr. Whitefield. This was the first time I met him to converse face to face.\*

\* See Whitefield's Journal at Cardiff, March 7 and 8, 1739, where he gives the following account of Mr. Harris; namely,—

"After I came from the Seat, I was much refreshed with the sight of my dear brother Howell Harris; whom, though I knew not in person, I have long since loved in the bowels of Jesus Christ; and have often felt my soul drawn out in prayer in his behalf. A burning and shining light has been in those parts; a barrier against profaneness and immorality, and an indefatigable promoter of the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. About three or four years, God has inclined him to go about doing good. He is now above twenty-five years of age. Twice he has applied (being every way quali-

About the end of March, 1739, I went to London, where I received farther Gospel light by

fied) for holy orders ; but was refused, under a false pretence, that he was not of age, though he was then twenty-two years and six months. About a month ago he offered himself again, but was put off. Upon this, he was and is still resolved to go on in his work ; and indefatigable zeal has he shown in his Master's service. For three years (as he told me from his own mouth) he has discoursed almost twice every day for three or four hours together ; not authoritatively, as a Minister ; but as a private person, exhorting his Christian brethren. He has been, I think, in seven counties ; and has made it his business to go to wakes, &c., to turn people from such lying vanities. Many alehouse-people, fiddlers, harpers, &c., (Demetrius-like,) sadly cry out against him, for spoiling their business. He has been made the subject of numbers of sermons, has been threatened with public prosecutions, and had Constables sent to apprehend him. But God has blessed him with inflexible courage. Instantaneous strength has been communicated to him from above ; and he still continues to go on from conquering to conquer. He is of a most catholic spirit ; loves all that love our Lord Jesus Christ ; and therefore he is styled by bigots, a Dissenter. He is contemned by all that are lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God ; but God has greatly blessed his pious endeavours. Many call and own him as their spiritual father ; and, I believe, would lay down their lives for his sake. He discourses generally in a field, from a wall, a table, or any thing else ; but at other times in a house. He has established near thirty societies in South Wales, and still his sphere of action is enlarged daily. He is full of faith and the Holy Ghost.

“ When I first saw him, my heart was knit closely to him. I wanted to catch some of his fire ; and gave him the right hand of fellowship with my whole heart. After I had saluted him, and given a warm exhortation to a great number of peo-

conversing with a friend ; who, among other observations, said to this effect, "I see many people concerned about working in themselves ; but few

ple, who followed me to the inn, we spent the remainder of the evening in taking sweet counsel together, and telling one another what God had done for our souls. My heart was still drawn out towards him more and more. A divine and strong sympathy seemed to be between us ; and I was resolved to promote his interest with all my might. Accordingly, we took an account of the several societies, and agreed on such measures as seemed most conducive to promote the common interest of our Lord. Blessed be God, there seems to be a noble spirit gone out into Wales ; and I believe, ere long, there will be more visible fruits of it. What inclines me strongly to think so is, that the partition-wall of bigotry and party-zeal is broken down, and Ministers and Teachers of different communions join with one heart, and one mind, to carry on the kingdom of Jesus Christ. The Lord make all the Christian world thus minded. For till this is done, I fear we must despair of any great reformation in the church of God. After much comfortable and encouraging discourse with each other, we kneeled down and prayed ; and great enlargement of heart God was pleased to give me in that duty.

"This done, we ate a little supper ; and then, after singing a hymn, we went to bed, praising and blessing God for bringing us face to face. I doubt not but Satan envied our happiness. But I hope, by the help of God, we shall make his kingdom shake. God loves to do great things by weak instruments, that the power may be of God, and not of man. After being much refreshed by last night's rest, about ten in the morning, according to appointment, I went to the Town-hall, and preached for about an hour and a half to a large assembly of people. My dear brother Howell Harris sat close by me."

seem to be convinced of the necessity of believing in Christ, before they can do any thing acceptable in his sight." There came such a fresh light with these words to my heart, that I could not but insist that faith is the fundamental grace in the spiritual work, and the genuine spring of all our obedience ; and till we receive this grace we cannot apprehend the atonement of Christ, and consequently, cannot say that we are justified, &c. This fresh light brought also with it fresh convictions, which sunk deeper and deeper into my spirit ; especially by reading part of "Cotton, on the Covenant of Grace ;" whilst he was showing how far one might go with right notions of salvation, and yet not rightly believe, trust, or rely confidently on the merits of Christ, but in somewhat done by us or in us ; and when he showed the many false rests people are apt to acquiesce in, short of Christ. Some rest in their outward profession of the true religion ; others think that they are Christians, because they are orthodox in their principles ; and others, because they have reformed their lives, and abound in all good works. Whilst he showed that all these are our works, and not the blood of Christ, and a person building his hope here, is not building on Christ, (although I had been brought from all these rests a long time before, by reading the "Sincere Convert,") I was wounded, by close re-examination ; especially as he went on to show,

that we may trust in our good tempers and performances, and not in Christ's blood only. And though I had the seed sown in my soul four years before, and had daily feelings of God's love in my heart, yet the awakenings that I felt at this time made so deep an impression on my heart, that I could hardly bear them. My spirit was greatly distressed for some days together, until I was refreshed by that text: "Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." (Rev. xxii. 17.) This sustained me, and I felt that I was willing to let God do what he pleased with me.

Still I was troubled with some reasonings, about going directly to Christ in every condition, till, at one time, a woman came to me to relate, how all the night she had been in distress and perplexity, reasoning with the enemy, whether she was a child of God or not, and that she could have no rest or satisfaction, till it came to her mind to go to Christ as she was; and that she had thereupon peace and victory. Upon hearing this, and some preaching afterwards, that people should come to Christ as they are, without reasoning in themselves, I was made to cease from reasoning, and to go with all my complaints, and fears, and lay them before the Friend of sinners, who loved me freely, and not for any good in me. Now that legal principle of fitting myself for Christ, and of being afraid to go to

him when I was not in a good frame, was rooted out of my heart. I learned to look and go directly to Christ at all times, and in all circumstances.

I parted this summer with many dear friends in London, and came home to Trevecka. The next day I was called by business to Abergavenny; and was edified in reading "Bunyan's Law and Grace," by the way. My soul was much revived at the kind and hearty reception I had from some of my dear friends there; I could not part with them till after nine at night; then I went, and came home about one in the morning. Although I had travelled these eight days past very hard, and had many letters to write, and also was to discourse with some of my neighbouring friends before noon, I was assisted to sit up all night, to read, write, and pray; and the Lord enabled me to discourse with great strength of body at noon, and again in the evening, with much power, near the Hay, for about two hours. From thence I set off about five miles farther, and went to bed about twelve.

On the following day, as I was going to Longtown, in Herefordshire, many young people were crowding towards a feast that was kept there. I had a spirit of pity and tenderness to them; and from that spirit spoke home, to persuade them from going. I had some concern in my soul that God was so publicly dishonoured, and that



souls are in such a miserable condition. I had also some drawings in my mind to go to the feast ; I was willing to suffer whatever I should meet ; and after having prayed alone, I ventured to go thither in the name of God. Before I came to the great crowd, I went to a few who were together at their diversion. To these I took occasion to speak, on account of one of them swearing ; and while I was speaking with these, the news went to the great crowd that I was there ; and they ran up by hundreds, till, I believe, there were, in a little time, about two thousand people around me. The Lord gave me courage to attack the devil in his own quarters, and made my face as a flint ; supplying me with proper matter : especially when I saw some gentlemen and ladies coming up, I was made stronger and stronger, to humble their pride. I was also moved to apply home to the Minister of the parish, and two Justices, that were present ; asking how they could give account of their stewardship, while they countenanced pride, swearing, and drunkenness. Some of the gentlemen laughed at me ; and one cried, "Take the babbler down ;" but my time was not yet come. I went from thence towards Abergavenny : there the vilest of the town came to hear me, and the Lord helped me to deliver my message faithfully and boldly. Mr. E. Jones was present : we went to bed about two o'clock in the morning.

Having now, by the strength of the Lord, a power and courage to resist the devil in two towns, I went on my way to the third, namely, Pontypool; and there, after I had been led to discourse much about the courage of David, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and how the Lord stands by his people in the day of battle, I was at last honoured with the fulfilment thereof in myself; for Mr. C—— H—— came upon us, and read the Riot Act, ordering us to separate in an hour's time. At his first coming, our spirits were a little discouraged; but immediately the Lord strengthened me to tell him, that in obedience to His Majesty's order we would separate. Then he ordered a Constable to take care of me. I had courage to say, that I was willing to go to prison, and to death, to save souls; but that we had here no riot, nor sedition against Church or State; and I asked him if he read that Act at cock-matches, &c. He continued his threatenings, that he would take notice of as many as he could; and if they did not disperse, they should die without benefit of Clergy. The assembly continued unmoved and easy. I told him, we would part; having first prayed for him, that the curse of those people might not fall on his head, and that God would not lay this to his charge in the day of judgment, where he should stand, not as a Justice of the Peace, but as a responsible creature, to give an ac-

count how he did bear the sword of justice. He replied, that that did not trouble him at present. Then we went to prayer; and when I begged God would meet him, as he did Saul, with his saving grace, he went away, and the people, most of them in tears; and so we parted in great love.

I was supported, and more cheerful than usual, all the time. Late in the evening I went with the Constable, and a great number of people before him; and having consulted with some friends, (though it was my own inclination to go to prison,) I gave two bails to answer at the next great Sessions at Monmouth. Then I said farther, that I was surprised that Major II——'s son (for he was a good-natured man) should be the first persecutor of a Protestant peaceable assembly: he said, he had his orders from above. I asked him, "Was it from heaven?" And he said, "No; I did not mean that." I told him that I thought, if His Majesty knew how loyal and harmless we were, that he would not love you the better for suppressing us. Thus I parted with him, having left some arrows in his conscience, about his being soon to give an account of himself at a dreadful tribunal: yet that I had, and would pray for him; and he thanked me.

This being about the middle of June, I was not to appear at the great Sessions in Monmouth

till August. Therefore, in the mean time, I was determined to be diligent in the work of my Lord. I went to Bristol, where I had a sweet conversation with my friends there. Then I went to a society of Welshmen, where I expounded for nearly two hours. Thence I went to hear Mr. John Wesley, whom I had heard much talk of, and loved much from what I had heard of him ; but had some prejudice against him, because he did not hold my views concerning the perseverance of the saints, the doctrine of election, &c. He preached on Isaiah xlv. 22 : “ Look unto me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth : for I am God, and there is none else.” So excellently and clearly did he hold forth free justification by faith, without the works of the law ; the necessity, duty, and privilege of every one to look unto Jesus for righteousness, strength, and all, instead of reasoning, &c. ; and the Spirit of God attended his discourse to my soul in such a manner, that much of the Lord’s glory broke in upon my soul ; and my prejudice against him fell away. I was convinced that he was a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ ; especially when I went to him at Mrs. G——’s, where he was vastly enlarged in prayer for me, for the Rev. Mr. G. Jones, and all Wales. Thus I believe, from the benefit I received, that my going to Bristol was from God.

## CHAPTER III.

HAVING parted with all friends at Bristol, I set out for Wales. The door now opens wider and wider to the several counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, Carmarthen, and part of Radnor, Cardigan, and Pembrokeshire. I had reason to believe my labours were attended with much blessing.

Then I returned from this round, and arrived at home, in Trevecka, Breconshire, on the 7th of August; and in the evening, I went toward Abergavenny in my way to the Monmouth Assizes; and spent the night at Mr. Js'. most agreeably with some Christian friends, whose hearts the Lord inclined to go with me, to bear a part in my sufferings, should occasion require.

Then I went on to Monmouth: and in the mean time, heard that my persecutors were resolved to have me punished, to the utmost rigour of the law, whatever it might cost them. I knew that I had neither friends nor money, to make any defence, or to help me in that way; for I had renounced all my former friends: and if I was deluded, as they said, and not sent of God, I knew that he would not stand by me. This being my case, it drove me to send strong cries to the Lord, that he would give me a clearer proof of my commission, and whether I suffered

for his cause, or for my own imprudence and want of thought, as some said I did. But the Lord comforted me soon, by that portion of Scripture: "Thus shall it be done to the man whom the King delighteth to honour." (Esther vi. 9.) Yet it appeared to me as a wrong step to honour, to be obliged to stand at the bar, to bear the contempt of the Court, and the whole county; not considering that the cross is the way to the crown, and that the reproach of Christ is the greatest honour.

When I came to Monmouth, the Lord, though without my knowledge, had animated many friends, and brought them from several parts, as London, Gloucester, and Wales, &c., to stand by me: but the Magistrates, after consulting about the affair, thought it not expedient to appear against me; and so I was dismissed.

After my dismissal I was more established in my own soul, that my mission was from God; especially as I had so often applied for holy orders, and was rejected, for no other reason but for my preaching as a layman. I felt no scruple ever since, but have been more and more confirmed, both from Scripture examples, and by the judgment and practice of the Church, and former eminent Divines, as to the lawfulness of laymen's preaching, in some cases, and at times of necessity. I saw in the Acts of the Apostles, the account of Apollos and others, who were

scattered by the death of Stephen, having no other mission than that of being moved by the Holy Ghost, and actuated by love to the immortal souls of their fellow-creatures. I thought a greater time of necessity could hardly be than at present, when the whole country, generally speaking, lay in a lukewarm, dead condition. In many churches, for some months together, there was no sermon ; and in other places, there was an English learned discourse, to a Welsh illiterate congregation ; and where an intelligible sermon was preached, it was so legal in the language of the old covenant, and advancing man's works, not treating of a Mediator, that should any persons give heed to it, they could easily perceive, that they were far from being led thereby to Christ, the only new and living way to God. Seeing this, and feeling the love of Christ in my heart, I saw an absolute necessity for going about to propagate the Gospel of my Redeemer.

Having parted with my friends who came to stand by me at Monmouth Sessions, I went on my way, with some friends, to Llanvihangel-Cer-rig-Cornel, and offered to discourse there for my Lord and Master ; but here I met with much opposition, being contradicted, ridiculed, and abused ; which I saw was given me as a thorn in the flesh, to humble me, lest I should be exalted above measure. But, Satan, thou art chained ! Thus having been much humbled in the inward

man, I was enabled at last to conquer some of them by love and meekness ; then I had quiet, and an open door to discourse and pray. Surely times of trials are profitable seasons : they draw forth our faith into exercise, and knit our hearts more closely to God and his people.

Thus I went through the counties of South Wales the second time this year, having new strength from the Lord. I was followed in general by those of the established Church, because I professed myself a Churchman, and that I had no intention to draw them from the Church. But when I began to show them the danger thoroughly, and that the doctrine which they heard was not that of our Articles and Homilies, nor maintained by the Reformers ; but that it was the covenant of works in the whole or in part ; and that it was mere morality, and not Christ, that was preached almost every where ; then I was looked upon as an enemy to the Church, though all this while I was endeavouring to revive it. The Dissenters, at first, liked me much, as I encouraged the people to go any where to hear, where Christ was preached, and where they found most spiritual benefit ; and when they found their places of worship thronged by such means, I was, for some time, much respected by all parties, and did not want encouragement from each to join them.

But the Lord kept me all this while from



meddling with the differences and controversies about the externals of religion; for I dreaded the consequences this would produce to souls newly awakened. Therefore, being persuaded in my own mind, that I was called to labour as a member in the national Church, my conscience did not permit me to dissent; and when I came to see the bigotry of some parties, the lukewarmness and worldly-mindedness of others, with their legal method of preaching, I began to bear my testimony against them: then many waxed cold towards me; others disputed with me, and thought it was their duty to weaken my hands as much as they could.

The ensuing summer, in the year 1740, as I went through Glamorganshire, I met with Mr. Seward, at Cowbridge; from thence he came on with me to Cardiff; then we went on comfortably together, to Monmouthshire, and preached at the several towns of Newport, Caerleon, Usk, and the town of Monmouth, &c., where Satan was permitted to rage against us in a most horrible manner. At Newport, the mob rushed on us with the utmost rage and fury. They tore both my coat-sleeves, one of them quite off, and took away my peruke. I was now in the rain, bare-headed, under the reproach of Christ! Having a little silence, I discoursed on; but soon they shouted again, and pelted me with apples and dirt, flinging stones in the utmost rage about me.

I had one blow on my forehead, which caused a rising, with a little blood. Many friends would have me give over in the tumult ; but I could not be free to do that till the storm was over, and God was glorified over Satan. When we came to Caerleon, every thing seemed calm and quiet, whilst brother Seward prayed, and discoursed sweetly, by the Market-house ; but when I began to discourse after him, they began to roar most horribly, pelting us with dung and dirt, throwing eggs, stones, and other hard substances, even in our faces ; and shouted so loud as to drown my voice entirely. Brother Seward had a furious blow on his right eye, which caused him much anguish ; and as it affected his left, he was obliged to be led by the hand, blindfold, for some days, till at last he became totally blind of it. When we came to Monmouth-town, we had much the same treatment as we had at Newport and Caerleon. It happened to be the horse-race there, and both high and low were assembled against us. As I began to discourse on a table over against the Town-hall windows, where the Duke of B——, Lord N——, with a great number of gentlemen and ladies, were at dinner, they ordered a drum to be beaten by our sides ; but the Lord enabled me to bear my testimony against their balls, assemblies, horse-races, whoredom, and drunkenness. The drum continued to beat, and the mob pelted us with apples, pears, stones, dirt,

and a dead dog. During this storm, brother Seward was much afraid, yet he endured it with much calmness of spirit, saying, "We had better endure this than hell." Thus all their opposition could not hinder our progress. In the strength of the Lord, we went on from conquering to conquer.

Brother Seward went with me to Coleford, and to Gloucester, where we had much power to discourse to many hundreds, both in public and private. Being in Gloucester on a Sunday, and hearing that the sacrament would be at Nicholas's church, I went there; and had a fresh sense of my poverty and vileness, so that I could cry experimentally and feelingly, "O Lord, I am the poorest, the vilest, and the unworthiest here before thee." And when I thus fell at my Saviour's feet, I had sweet and close communion with him, and my soul felt a pity for all the world, a longing that they all might be born again, and be brought to the true knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. I felt that I deserved hell for not more valuing his precious blood. O the infinite value of that blood! It is the fruit of God's eternal love to sinners! Here is light, life, and liberty from the guilt and power of sin. O that I may abide here for ever!

My reception at different places was daily enlarged; although the enemy caused some disturbance almost everywhere. At the entreaties of

several friends, I went to a revel, in Radnorshire, which is a yearly meeting, where numbers of people assemble to dance. I usually frequented those places in order to speak to the people; and God was pleased to bless the word to the conversion of some, and conviction of many, who would not attend the preaching elsewhere. After I had begun to show to the attentive crowd the folly, vanity, and danger of these ways, and invited them to the Saviour, I was apprehended by two Justices; and after I had suffered much contempt and derision, they drew up their commitment. But when they perceived that I was well-pleased to go to prison, they sent for some of my friends to bail me; which I assented to, lest they should think me obstinate. So they bound me to appear at the Quarter-sessions, and dismissed me. When I departed, I was filled with joy unspeakable. In consequence of my obligation, I appeared at the Quarter-sessions, being accompanied by others, who had answered for me; and, although we required our trial, yet they declined it, and obliged us to appear again at the Quarter-sessions following.

At this time, a strong attempt was made to take away my life. The hall wherein the Sessions were held was an upper room, up a high flight of stairs, which was opposite to the street; and, it being night, the mob placed themselves in a posture, at the head of the stairs, to push me down;

which design, if it had taken place, would have certainly caused my death. They began to push me; but, by an especial providence, a worthy gentleman, one of the Magistrates on the bench came that moment, snatched me from their hands, protected me, and led me to his lodging. As I was going out of town, they surrounded me, and exclaimed against me; but I was soon minded to demand peace in the King's name, upon which God struck them with such an awe, that I was permitted to escape.

At the next Quarter-sessions, when I appeared in the Court, an Act was perused, which was made in the twenty-second year of King Charles II., against seditious and illegal assemblies. Under pretence of divine worship, people met to plot against the King. When they had done reading it, a Counsellor (being employed by a certain gentleman) stood up, at which the whole Court was surprised; he pleaded that these assemblies were not subject to the censure and penalties of that Act, unless they could justly charge them with sedition and disloyalty, which they could not possibly do. Therefore, he was clearly of opinion that the defendant might be acquitted of that charge and suspicion, by his subscribing to the Articles of the Church, and taking the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty. I immediately expressed my readiness to do this, and they thought fit to dismiss me. Previous to

this time, warrants were issued out to take me ; but now the Magistrates observed that I was peaceable, and a Conformist, and also loyal to the King ; by which it appeared that I was no delinquent, and not guilty of that which they charged.

In Carmarthenshire, not far from the county-town, I was interrupted by a certain Knight, who came there purposely to take me. I spoke to him ; and when he found I was not guilty of what was laid to my charge, I was permitted to give the people a warm exhortation, being enabled to be faithful, and bold to speak in my Master's cause, as well as to behave with humility. He went away quietly ; and since that time I had peace in this and in other counties, from the Magistrates ; and the doors now began to open to several considerable towns in South Wales, which were shut up before.

In the beginning of the year 1741, I went to North Wales ; and as I proceeded, the enemy was provoked at my attempt thus to propagate the Gospel in his territories, and resolved to make a stand against me, and endeavoured, as much as he should be permitted, to take away my life. Having been importuned to visit Bala, in Merionethshire, and to proceed to the north, (though I had been there once or twice before,) after prayer and consultation, I entrusted God with my life, relying on his faithfulness, and went on.

As I was near Bala, I overtook the Minister who belonged to that place, on the road, who cautioned me to desist, at my peril: I meekly replied, that I was fully persuaded it was my duty; that I had no other intention but to publish the glad tidings of salvation, and would not wilfully offend any person. He gave me very ill language, and came towards me, with a great club, to strike me. I told him, when I was reviled, I was taught not to revile again; and rode on quietly. When I entered the town, I found a numerous assembly waiting for me; and it was said, that all the county mob were met together purposely to abuse and hinder me. At the request of my friends, I quitted the street, and went to a house to discourse.

During all this I was happy in my soul, and full of power and courage; my voice being lifted up like a trumpet, so that the people could hear in spite of all the disturbance that was made at the door, and window, which was broken to pieces by the mob. I discoursed on for some time; but when the mob, who had been preparing themselves for the work by excessive drinking, came among the people, a friend desired me to leave off. I retired to an upper room; but the mob, instead of withdrawing, appeared to be more enraged. Some surrounded the house, whilst others climbed to the top of it, threatening me with death, as soon as I should come out. As

night drew on, I thought it my duty to go out among them, committing myself to the hands of God; but as soon as I went out of the house, one seized me by the handkerchief. It gave way, and I was thus prevented from falling to the ground. Another hit me on the face, whilst others flung stones and dirt at me. I then thought it was my lot to die Stephen's death in the midst of them. I spoke to them, and prayed for them. Whilst I did this, one desired me to go away, telling me that I tempted the Lord by staying there. No sooner had I turned my back on my enemies to go away, than I was left to myself, and sunk under the waves. Though I was not afraid of death, knowing that it was an entrance into eternal rest; nor had I any fear of hell, or doubt of God's favour through the blood of Christ my Saviour; yet being rather unwilling to die by the hands of these villains, I felt some uneasiness. They still inhumanly continued to beat me with sticks and staves, and to pelt me with stones, until I fell under their merciless feet, where they continued to beat me until the Lord touched the heart of one of them with pity, or fear of being prosecuted for killing me.\* He

\* The following is a true account, given by men of veracity, of the judgment of God upon some of the most cruel persecutors at that time.

The person that threw the first stone at the house, in a short time afterward, as he was coming home from a fair, fell



swore that they should beat me no more, and rescued me out of their hands, whilst they were employed in giving my friends the like treatment. Although they were able to make effectual resistance, they imitated Christ the Lord, in bearing all patiently, as I desired them to do. So at last we came together to our lodging, and dressed our wounds; and there also I exhorted my fellow-sufferers; and we rejoiced together that we were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake.

Afterward, I went on my journey to Carnarvonshire, and reached there on a Saturday night. On Sunday morning, I inquired where the best preaching was in the church. It was said, that it was two or three miles' distance, where the Chancellor preached. I went there, and I heard

from his horse, broke his back, and soon died. The person that was most cruel in throwing Mr. Harris headlong down a rock, to a pool, about six yards deep, soon afterward fell within a few yards down that rock, and died on the spot. Another lusty young man, who was a very cruel persecutor on that day, as he was going towards home, fell from his horse upon a stone, fractured his skull, and died instantly. Another person that day fell down dead in a fit of rage, as he was beating and persecuting in a most inhuman manner; but recovered again that time, and in a few years after died miserably, with great remorse of conscience, especially for what he had done on that day. Another persecutor, on his death-bed, was so raving mad, that three stout men were not able to hold him from biting his own hands and lips to pieces: and so he died in a most miserable manner.

such a sermon as I thought could never come into the heart of man to conceive, or any mouth to utter. He had heard of my coming to North Wales, and took occasion to forewarn the people, lest I should happen to visit that place. First, he pointed me out as a Minister of the devil, an enemy to God, to the Church, and to all mankind. He in several respects described me as worse than the devil, because he could not act here but by such instruments as I was. He went on, and again declared that I was the devil's Minister, a deluder, a false prophet ; and after he had painted me as worse than any monster, heretic, or the devil himself, he showed it was a duty incumbent upon the people, out of love to God and his Church, and their country, to join unanimously against such a man, who carried with him such destructive poison, which would not only destroy their persons and estates, but their immortal souls for ever. But neither he nor the people expected me there so soon ; until I went to him after he came out of the church, to speak with him about setting up Welsh schools, and to tell him of my dislike of his sermon. Then, on a mere supposition of my being the very person publicly exposed in church, the people set themselves in order on the way by which I was to go, to take my horse, that they might pelt me with stones ; but though many stones were flung violently at me, the Lord saved me from receiving any considerable harm,

and kept them from laying violent hands upon me. Thus I was greatly endangered all this week, and often thought that I should not be permitted to return alive from this country.

I returned by way of Penmorfa, near Tracthmawr; and whilst I waited for my passage, the mob bestirred themselves against me, and the spirit of murderers was seen in their looks and behaviour. They abused me; but, being in chains, they could not hurt me much. At last I escaped their fury, and came over Barmouth ferry, to a Dissenting Minister's house, in Merionethshire. From thence I came by Machynlleth, and Llanbrynmair, in Montgomeryshire, where my life was endangered again; but I was preserved as a prey out of a lion's mouth. So I went on, and visited the souls in that county, who had now begun to form themselves into small societies.

O what experience I gained by this perilous journey! I never had so much acquaintance with the nature of self-love, which grew insensibly in me, by means of my success. I saw more and more of the depth of all evil in my nature; so that I often wondered that the earth was permitted to bear such a monster. I daily observed, and had a clearer evidence of the truth of that expression delivered by good Bishop Hooper at the stake: "Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven." I find as yet, that I am but a child, and so understand and speak as a child. But the

Lord by degrees continued to show me more of the height, depth, length, and breadth of his love in Christ; and led me to know, by experience, more of his sufferings, death, and resurrection, love, and faithfulness. My eyes were more opened, and my spiritual understanding increased, to apprehend the mystery of Jesus Christ, who alone, in the various characters we have of him, can be savingly known by the operation of the Holy Ghost, as the door, and the way to God, and the ineffable Majesty himself. By this light and experience, I had deliverance from the old covenant, and its legal fear, and it drew me also more and more under the law of faith and love, the fruits of the new covenant, and into Gospel liberty, and not licentiousness. The cross was burdensome to my flesh; but I felt my soul growing sweetly under it.

In the following summer, I was called again to London, to assist for some time at the Tabernacle. I took Bristol in my way; and going through Wiltshire, I met with Mr. Cennick, and went with him to Swindon. As we preached there, we were set upon by the mob, who went the length of their chain in venting their rage upon us. They brought horns, guns, and a fire-engine. When they presented a gun to my forehead, my soul was happy; I could cheerfully stand as a mark for them. One struck me on my lip till some blood came; but God was pleased to endow

us with uncommon patience and meekness, and great power to speak to the people, and many listened with great seriousness. Then we walked up into the town, reasoning with those who opposed us, being smeared with mire, gunpowder, and the muddy water thrown by the engine. We were followed by a large concourse of poor husbandmen and traders; and when we had borrowed a change of clothes, and had washed ourselves, the people came together in the yard of the house where we were entertained: then I preached to them, and Mr. Cennick prayed. I am persuaded that some of them were convinced of sin; and they begged us earnestly to come to a village about a mile distant; which we promised, if God would so permit. Then we went to that village, where the word of God runs and is glorified. Then I proceeded on my journey to London.

It was very remarkable, that we received no material hurt at Swindon. Though several, in our hearing, bound themselves by oaths, that we should never go away alive; and they followed us above a quarter of a mile from the town; yet they were not permitted to lay hold upon us.

## CHAPTER IV.

AFTER being some months in London, I returned again, and came through several towns in England to Bristol, and from thence to Wales, in the year 1742. I now saw clearly, that many abused the liberty of the Gospel, by turning the grace of God into wantonness, such as spiritual pride, judging and despising others ; and because they do not believe that there is perfection, or a deliverance from the essence of sin attainable here, they sit easy under the power of pride, anger, lightness of spirit, and love of the world. When I saw this, I had a new light and power to preach the genuine fruits of real faith ; and the necessary consequences of every divine truth savingly believed in the heart ; and to distinguish between nominal and real Christians ; and the absolute necessity of exhorting and persuading all to make their calling and election sure, and to have the victory over all their spiritual enemies. This doctrine caused a vehement opposition ; but I was encouraged by seeing daily the good effect it had on the sincere, to rouse, purify, and drive them to the Lamb of God.

I still remained a member of the Church of England ; though I was blamed for my conformity by people of all denominations. Yet I can-

not but rejoice on this account, and because of the good work that the Lord began in the established Church ; and I hope it is a leaven that will effectually operate. I recommend the peaceable spirit that remains still in the established Church, which tolerates such as differ from it, and does not quench this small effort of a revival in it. I look on this as a token for good to me. I find His presence always in the worship and ordinances ; and have great freedom to wrestle in prayer for it, and a strong confidence that God will receive it, and revive this work in it. However, in this persuasion only I can testify that I was called to abide in it ; and not on account of prejudice against any other party, I abide in it to this day. Several were going to the Dissenters, and other parties ; and I thought it my duty to declare against them, by laying the following reasons and Scripture-proofs before them : as the example of the Prophets of old, and good men, who abode in the Jewish Church, notwithstanding its degeneracy in every respect. And our Saviour and his Apostles attended the service at the hour of prayer, in the same Church, though they knew that that Church was to be abolished ; nor did the Apostle exhort the sincere to forsake the Corinthian church, notwithstanding the many irregularities therein. And our Saviour, after his ascension, did not advise his people in the seven churches of Asia, to leave the churches of which

they were members, and to go to others ; but to reform that which was blamable, and to become the salt of others. So with regard to ourselves : though we are but poor, inconsiderable, and despicable members of this Church, yet the Lord hath done great things in the nation by this revival ; and he can make us the salt of this Church and nation.

In the year 1743 the glory of the divinity of Jesus Christ was more deeply impressed on my soul than ever : the more I meditate on that text, "Great is the mystery of godliness ; God was manifest in the flesh," (1 Tim. iii. 16,) the more the glory thereof shineth on my soul. I had also much help to see more of the glory and wonders of the divinity of Christ, by reading a tract called, "A Sling and a Stone," &c. I now was brought to see more and more wonders in his incarnation, life, blood, death, and resurrection, with the glory of all his offices ; and also the glory of his church, as being related to such a glorious person. She is called his spouse, temple, family, army, and his fulness, &c. Yet I was not insensible of the workings of self, that set itself up against all his offices ; but I had a more visible view of it in my soul. By these discoveries (which I had gradually of him, and of myself) I was led to find that every truth, when revealed by the Spirit, is practical, and will have its proper influence on the soul, by humbling the sinner, and



exalting the Saviour. And as the glory of God displayed in our nature its divine rays on my soul, I felt that it increased my faith, and my love became more habitual, my joy more solid, my resignation more entire, my spirit more smooth and quiet, and more bowels of compassion, and mercy towards poor sinners more tender. I now also learned to understand several scriptures which I could not spiritually apprehend before; and what I saw and understood in other scriptures before, I came now to see a much greater depth and glory in them. Every moment of time also became very precious in my sight; and all the misspent time, talents, mercies, and gifts, that were not employed by the Lord, and for the Lord, I saw were not only lost, but also employed against him.

In the year 1744 I was called again to England, where I found the glory of our Saviour breaking forth among the people, and many rising out of the law to see the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ; the completeness of his atonement, with the mystery and glory of his precious blood. Seeing these blessed truths prevail, the enemy stirred much within doors, when he could do nothing without by persecutions; for several acquiesced with the light in their heads, without having it in the heart: wherefore, they began to speak very unguarded things, which caused great division; although I

believe that many had true faith in the Saviour, and will live for ever.

After much prayer, self-examination, and also great opposition, I was joined in matrimony with Anne, the daughter of John Williams, of Skreep, Esq., June 18th, 1744. She was called by my ministry some years before. The Lord then gave her faith through that word, "Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season." (Heb. xi. 25.) She was enabled to stand to her choice, and showed her faith in all her trials. This was a time ever to be remembered by me. It was exactly nine years after I received the Spirit of adoption, to seal my everlasting salvation.

And as my faith and love increased more and more in beholding the glory of God-Man, (whom I now beheld clearly the wonder of all worlds, the terror of devils, the delight of angels, and the real and only hope of poor sinners,) I began to find strong opposition to my preaching his Godhead and death, especially in Wales. This opposition gained ground, and began to be openly showed, and by many that once called themselves my spiritual children.

And about the year 1746 I saw another spirit of sifting creeping into the work, which was yet different from that which had been before; I mean the spirit of levity, pride, foolish jesting,

unwatchfulness, and carnal rejoicing; and the real and serious spirit that began the work was at length almost extinguished. This lay with weight upon my heart, together with the additional weight of my own infirmities; seeing the enemy advancing as a flood, and gaining ground; and now very likely to do that in which he had failed once by all the outward opposition. The spirit of awakening sinners in the ministry was also lost, in a great measure, together with its real and solid fruits in the spirit and the hearts of men. In a word, the spirit that began and carried on the work for a while, was seemingly vanishing gradually away. Many saw this, and were concerned, and waited for his returning to renew the work. Yet we proceeded in Wales, notwithstanding the great jars and disputes that arose amongst us.

During the year following, the enmity grew stronger against the preaching of God's humiliation and death. Still I bore all, in hope of seeing this storm cease, as I had seen many others. I now also beheld very evidently a tendency in Ministers to please men, and to appear wise and popular in the world. Many of my nearest friends, both in England and Wales, lost their former simplicity, although the number of teachers was increasing daily. I found also that the spirits of many grew great and proud, and would not take the word of reproof

or exhortation ; although they called me their father, and I really was so, as I began the work in this last revival, especially in Wales ; though I have spent a great part of my time in England, to spread abroad the fame of the Saviour. I travelled through the several counties of Kent, Essex, Buckingham, Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, Oxford, Warwick, Salop, and Hereford, and all the counties of Wales ; being much importuned to go to Scotland and Ireland.

I should not have mentioned these things so particularly, had I not feared that I might rob God of the glory due to him, for helping me thus far ; and here I must set up my Ebenezer. I write this in the year 1749, being thirty-five years of age, three sevens of which I spent in vanity ; and in the two last seven years, I was called by our Lord, and followed the Lamb of God.

My good Lord, as I have already said, gave me the necessary light, utterance, and bodily strength instantaneously, whenever I was to discourse. He enabled me for seven years to do this, mostly out of doors, in all weathers, every day, (very few excepted,) generally three or four times, and frequently five times ; to ride from eight to twenty Welsh miles, (twenty of which are equal to thirty English miles, and upwards,) over hills and dangerous places, through floods, ice, and snow ; and He preserved me, so that I never

received any material hurt, though I often fell from my horse.

I do not write this as a rule for others to copy after, but as a relation of simple truth concerning what the Lord had done in carrying me on hitherto ; and therefore I leave it to him to use what I write as he shall please.

At this time I was continually grieved by the darkness and spiritual ignorance of many professors in the mystery of our Saviour ; and by the selfishness and carnality of others, who were favoured with great views of his humanity and glory, and the impatience of these different spirits with each other : seeing all this, my spirit often longed to finish my work, and to quit the troublesome stage of this life, to be with my Saviour in the land of peace.

Towards the end of the year 1749, I went to London ; and in January, 1750, I parted with my friends and brethren there, imploring them to attend to the Lord only, and to preach his Godhead and death with power, to the hearts of the hearers, as the only true foundation to build upon. In coming down to Wales, I saw and felt more than ever of the infinite love of our Saviour, in his birth, life, and sufferings, in his law and Gospel, and in his pardoning grace. I wanted nothing indeed but him. I loved him in all his works, but more especially in all the steps of his wonderful humiliation. I had such a view

and sense that I should soon be, to all eternity, with him, that though I longed for the happy time, yet I saw a thousand years as nothing to wait for such a bliss.

At this time, I felt more of the difficulty of the work in which I was engaged, of dealing with souls aright, and of bringing them to the knowledge of the true God in Christ, and in directing them only to that great Shepherd of souls. I obtained also a knowledge of the necessity of seeing and knowing the state of all I discoursed with, and of whom I had the care ; and to learn to make a difference, by giving to each what was proper and suitable for their good, according to the state they were in : as babes, little children, young men, fathers, or perhaps carnal men, in the house of God, who were not as yet begotten to a lively hope : that babes should be properly nourished, as redeemed with most precious blood, and are exceedingly dear on that and many other considerations to the Saviour : that little children also should be properly instructed, disciplined, nursed, that they might grow up according to the father's purpose : and that young men in Christ should have all regard shown to them, as being due to their situation, (and not too much,) respecting places, work, and military weapons which they assume : and the fathers in Israel, that are called to be rulers and pillars in his house, should have their just place, authority,

and esteem. This helped much to make my work very weighty to me, and made my spirit to cry, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

Thus also there was shown more clearly to me, in many instances, the greatness and difficulty of the work, especially the spiritual work of the ministry, and the life of faith; and how (by something in nature, appearing like faith, love, and humility) souls are deceived, and think themselves changed and born again, and that they adorn the Gospel, when they are really nothing else but what our Saviour termed "whited walls, and painted sepulchres." Though the spirits of such were never truly awakened by God's voice, neither through the law nor Gospel; yet they think, perhaps, that they have experienced the real power of both; although the heart was never convinced of unbelief, nor have they been convinced of the evil of secret sins, of their own total fall by nature, and of their ignorance of the Saviour and his blood. Such superficial professors should tremble lest, when trials come, notwithstanding all their profession, and supposed faith in the Saviour, they may be ready to join in that blasphemous cry of the Jews, "This man shall not reign over us;" or, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?"

I was brought more and more to see the deceitfulness that is in man, how nature may appear like grace, being improved and checked, and

seemingly rectified by having the course of it turned from delighting itself in the common way of the world, of pleasures and honour, to run in a religious channel; now delighting itself in hearing sermons, and singing hymns; especially in having the passions inflamed; never considering, whether they were truly rooted and grounded in Christ.

Now seeing things in this light, a necessity was laid upon me to lift up my voice like a trumpet to all professors, to examine their profession, and to make a close search in what the foundation of their religion and faith was seated. I saw clearly, that there is such a thing as knowing Christ after the flesh, as Balaam did, and seemingly great joy and happiness, (as the seed on the stony-ground hearers had,) and yet the heart be whole, self-righteous, and worldly amidst all this; and the spirit carnal, asleep, unawakened, in bondage to the god of this world; being never convinced of the sin of nature, and the evil of unbelief, and the difficulty of believing in the Saviour as a sinner, and of obeying the call given in the Gospel. They look back to something that they have done or felt at different times; and hence they draw the conclusion, that they are in the covenant, and belong to God, and shall therefore be saved.

I saw plainly that this was the religion of most professors: they formed a faith to themselves,



without coming as lost sinners to the cross, and looking to him as the Israelites looked to the brasen serpent ; fleeing to Christ, as the man fled from the avenger of blood into the city of refuge. No wonder, then, when this confidence is settled, that the spiritual life, the daily combat, the victory of faith, the feeding on the flesh and blood of our Saviour, the mysteries of his person, as God and man, the infinite depth of his glorious riches, the wonders of his death ; no wonder that these mysteries remain a secret to them, and afford no life or entertainment, but become matters of speculation and controversy, if not of ridicule, instead of being their life, delight, and daily food.

The more my spirit was raised to the Lord, to see the value of his precious blood, the more necessity I saw of having that fountain daily to wash me, and all I did ; and also to testify to all of this fountain, which alone cleanses from all sin, and by which alone we overcome. By seeing and feeling this in my own soul, I had cause to suspect the religion of many, whom I hoped formerly were come to Mount Sion, and to the blood of sprinkling, that the strong man armed had not been cast out ; and that the natural enmity of the first Adam had not been subdued and mortified. They were no more than outward-court worshippers ; though many of them cried, “ We are Abraham’s children, God’s peo-

ple, a chosen generation, called of the Lord." But such commendation of ourselves is not sufficient, when the Lord denies us, as not being born of him.

I was led often to show what were the works of Abraham's faith. Being dead to his possessions and country, he really obeyed the call, and went out to wander in a strange land, among Heathens, not knowing whither he went. He also denied himself, forsook his own reason, by believing what appeared impossible, that he should have a son. And again, by offering up that same Isaac, (who was the delight of his heart and desire of his eyes,) on a mere command, without having any satisfaction given to the inquiries of his reason. These noble works our Saviour showed to the Jews when he was on earth; and they are now left upon record for the imitation of all his spiritual seed. I often spoke of the Israelites, how many thousands of them died in the wilderness, for that damnable sin of unbelief, not taking God at his word, and not venturing on the promise in the face of all difficulties from giants, walled towns, and fenced cities. O how unbelieving they were, notwithstanding all the wonderful works which he had done for them in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in feeding them with angels' food so many years in the wilderness; showing his love and favour to them above all the nations on the

earth, though he had so often pardoned them by the entreaties of Moses. But their stubborn unbelief made him at last to swear in his wrath that they should never enter into his rest.

These and the like considerations made me shed many tears over professors, lest it should be their case; "for all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition." (1 Cor. x. 11.) Though these things cannot take place literally under the Gospel dispensation, yet spiritually this may be the case of every individual professor; therefore it serves as a warning to all, lest spiritually the same judgment should overtake us, after all his kind dealing with us. We should tremble lest our spirits stay behind in the world, and come not to the Saviour continually; but go on building upon his past favours, instead of obeying his present call to go on (venturing on him and his word) from conquering to conquer, to take possession of the land of promise, in spite of all opposition against us, both from our corrupt nature and others.

I saw this self and a carnal spirit getting ground, and growing under the seemingly glorious work that was going on, and professors willing to content themselves with false peace, overlooking their sins; not being truly brought under a deep sense of them to the cross of Christ, to see them there atoned for, forgiven, and done away in his

blood. Superficial light and knowledge can never penetrate to this spiritual discovery of our sins thus laid upon God our Saviour. And as I saw so many resting short of this discovery, and not relying by faith on Christ, and what he had done and suffered for us, I had reason to fear that there were but few born again: for where the new man is formed, he must have the bread of life, Christ himself; he cannot be satisfied with hearing of him; he must have Christ for the constant object of his trust and love; to speak with, and to delight in him. He must have Christ's body and blood daily for his meat and drink: in a word, his Redeemer must be his all, upon whom he rests. And those who are rightly and truly awakened, to believe what the Lord says of the miserable state of man by nature, without being made a new man in Christ Jesus, cannot rest any where, without coming to Jesus, and knowing him for themselves; that he is their Saviour; and that what he has done and suffered for them, is become their continual meat and drink, on which they feed; thus they come up out of the wilderness, leaning on their Beloved.

Perceiving thus that the work was not effectually carried on, I could not but sound the alarm, and cry aloud, "O watchmen! O watchmen! what of the night! what of the night!" I had authority, through the Spirit of God, to bear my testimony against the tares growing in the Lord's

garden ; and at the same time to call sinners to the great atonement in the blood of Christ ; showing also how the sin of secretly despising it, or thinking of it as common blood, is the greatest of all sins ; that God will not deal with us sinners, but in and through Christ's blood ; and that as the Jews dared not to come before him, without the blood of the sacrifice, offered in the temple, how can we presume to deal with God, without the blood of Christ ? As it is not only sometimes that Satan and our evil nature set upon us, to tempt and defile us, but they do it continually ; so are we continually under an absolute necessity of having Christ's blood to wash and cleanse us from our sins, and his Spirit to renew our souls. O the infinite and wonderful efficacy of Christ's most precious blood ! How it fills the whole creation ! and has an infinity of merit in it, because it is the blood of God, by which he redeemed his church, and cleanses his people from all their sins.

As the Lord himself sent me round the country at my first setting out, and gave me a desire to please him only, and helped me to speak plain truths ; so at this time, a necessity was laid upon me to preach that great truth which he revealed to my own soul ; I mean the wonderful condescension and mystery of God, in our nature, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing to them their sins. He was God when he assumed

our nature, taking upon himself our salvation and deliverance. He was the supreme God in his humble birth and swaddling-clothes; and in all his sufferings he was the great I AM, the Alpha and Omega! and there is none other God besides him! There are three Persons, but one God; and those that worship another God besides him, worship an idol; "for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." When the time came to make an atonement for our sins, when He, the great Sacrifice, was raised on the altar of the cross, all nature, earth and hell, was in confusion; the sun was darkened, the earth trembled, the dead awoke, and were raised; that all might inquire, What is the cause and meaning of all this?

" 'T is the mighty Maker dies! "

DR. WATTS.

I went on thus some years through Wales, bearing my testimony to these truths, in the face of carnal professors, Arians, and Socinians, who all railed against me. Although my mission proved to be an occasion of much murmuring, contention, and division, yet I am in a lively hope, that the Lord will bless his own truths; it may be, when I am gone. I was then in great expectation, that this would be my last work and testimony. But at his feet I leave myself, with my performances and labour; and to him I com-

mit myself, also, for the remainder of my life ; knowing that he is able, for the time to come, to carry me through every trial, work, or suffering, as he has done hitherto ; and through his unchangeable grace, to the chief of sinners, I set up my Ebenezer. Though I know but little of Christ the Lord as I should, yet I am a living witness of his free grace, and of what is said of him in the Scripture ; therefore I could not refrain from inviting all to submit to his righteousness, and government of grace, and to wait at his gate, that they might be made happy for ever in him, the only sure rest and shelter for penitent sinners. He is the only city of refuge, the only friend for distressed souls to flee to, and the only one that will never leave them, and will suit all their need, and can supply all their wants ; and will at last present them spotless to the Father.

I cannot but ascribe all the glory to Him who has loved, pitied, and forgiven me, the chief of sinners ; who still washes and heals me by his precious blood, and overrules and manages even my very evils, so as turn them for my good. To Him, therefore, who is worthy, with the Father and Holy Ghost, be, as is most due, all honour and glory, by all his church in time and eternity. Amen, and Amen.

## CHAPTER V.

AFTER seventeen years of hard labour in the Lord's work through Wales, and a great part of England, Mr. Harris settled at Trevecka, where he spent the greatest part of his time in his own house; though he made several journeys from thence in the following years. A few of those who received a blessing through his ministry, in former years, began to gather to him there; and as he preached to them, two or three times a day, they earnestly desired to stay there with him. The ardent desire of these sincere people, he could not withstand; and thus in April, 1752, he laid the foundation of the building at Trevecka. Though he had at that time neither friends nor money, he set about it in faith, relying on the Lord; having an impression on his mind, for some years, that he should build a house for God: and he set about it in a full persuasion, that the same God, who had sent him at first, in an uncommon manner, to awaken the country, now laid this undertaking upon him. He himself writes thus concerning it:—

“I was impelled to build, by the same spirit which sent me about to preach; and at a time when I was far from being provided with money or friends; for the latter had deserted me; and, instead of the former, I had demands upon me,



and about forty workmen to pay and maintain ; and yet I made use of no means to get one shilling, but an humble pleading of and confiding in the promise, on which I trust my all, both for temporal and spiritual things."

Soon after he began to build, some people came to offer their work and help to him, that they might have a more convenient opportunity to be under his care, and profit by his ministry daily. Thus the family began to be gathered together this year. Mr. Harris had, at this time, a severe fit of sickness ; yet though very weak, he would preach to the people, till he was seemingly ready to die for fatigue, being not able to move himself from the chair that he used to sit in and speak from ; but we were obliged to carry him in it into his room. At other times, when he recovered a little, he would call the family to his bed-room, and exhort them from his bed, for a long while, the divine blessing attending his word to their souls. He continued some months in this state of sickness, expecting to go home to his Lord and Saviour, as he himself expresses it : "I was all this time in continual hopes of going home to my Saviour, and expecting it with solicitation." And yet all this while he continued to discourse daily to the people, as one already in the suburbs of heaven.

In the year 1753, a part of the building being finished, a great number of people flocked to him

from all parts ; many of them under conviction, merely to hear the word ; and others partly from curiosity ; the report of Mr. Harris's preaching daily at Trevecka, having spread throughout all Wales. Satan began also to rage, and set the whole country as it were in an uproar, inventing all manner of lies, occasioned by the multitude crowding to that place. The people continued to come from all parts of Wales, some staying for a time, others returning home, partly because their circumstances did not admit of their staying at present, partly complaining, some that the fare, others that the preaching and discipline, were too hard, and that Mr. Harris was an intolerable reprovcr ; yet for all this, many settled there this year, especially single persons, both men and women ; giving themselves to the Lord and his work. They believed this to be their duty, and suited to the rules laid down in the Bible.

At the end of this year, and the beginning of the year 1754, there was a settled family at Trevecka, of about a hundred persons, besides those that were coming and going ; and Mr. Harris took upon him the sole care of their spiritual and temporal concerns, having nothing outwardly adequate to provide for such a family, nor any manufactory set up, but only a couple of small rented farms, and a little quantity of wool bought for the women to spin, to get their maintenance by. It is difficult to imagine what straits Mr. Harris

went through at this time, concerning the outward care of the people only, besides the care of their souls; preaching publicly, and exhorting privately, daily; watching many nights to pray and wrestle with the Lord; and as soon as the family arose in the morning, preaching again, exhorting them for hours together, without having had any rest in bed, yet with fresh power and spirit. Of this we were eye-witnesses.

As to outward matters, the Lord has been with him in a surprising manner. Frequently, when a call for payment came to him, he had no prospect in the world how to discharge the debt; but he applied to the Lord in prayer, pleading His promise, and that he did not bear these burdens for himself, but for Him; he therefore relied upon the Lord, that He would certainly help and carry him through. And very often the Lord answered him in an unexpected manner, by sending some person or other with as much money as he wanted, either as an acknowledgment for the benefit received from this work, or as a loan. Thus the Lord never forsook him: as he writes, thus:—"Being often in straits, concerning temporal things, wanting £20, or £50, or even £100, and having nowhere to turn to for assistance, but to the promise; the Lord not relieving till the last pinch, and even then appearing from a quarter that none could ever imagine; some bringing, and some sending me £10, or £20, and

even £100, though living at the distance of seventy or eighty miles ; being compelled so to do, only by the word sounding in their conscience, night and day, and no man in the world knowing or imagining anything of it. Thus the Lord appeared for me many times. This seems strange to many, and well it may ; yet it is real truth."

In the year 1755 several families came to Trevecka, especially from North Wales ; some to live in the family, and others to farms in the neighbourhood, that they might have a more convenient opportunity of attending Mr. Harris's preaching. Many of them had substance ; others were poor, and having many children were obliged to be assisted. Mr. Harris wrote thus, about that time : " No sooner was a great part of the building finished, than soon appeared presently here and there a family, which I neither thought of, nor sent for, nor could expect. Therefore it appears evident to me, that not man, but the Lord, hath done great things for us. Many people continued to come here, notwithstanding crosses and trials, to a place represented by all in the blackest manner, being drawn only by love to the truth, and the force of the Lord's voice which they found in their hearts through my ministry ; freely leaving their country, and all that was dear to them, working, and living hard, and leaving it wholly to me to order for them, both in their work and fare. There are now above one hun-

dred persons, old and young, that board, work, and sleep in the house, amongst which are ten families: and ten families live out in farms, in the neighbourhood."

The plain truths which they formerly heard by Mr. Harris's ministry brought those people thither from all parts of Wales; and some even from England also. And when they came to reside there, many of them testified, that the word of God, as preached by Mr. Harris, was attended with more and more energy and benefit to their souls; and also that they saw a necessity of being under the Lord's discipline, as well as under the preaching of the word; especially as the Lord hath appointed it in his word, that his servants should meet in fellowship, and use other means of grace, for their mutual benefit. Every true Minister of the Gospel should be both a watchman, and an overseer, to look after the flock; (Acts xx. 28;) and also a Preacher of the word to them. (2 Tim. iv. 2.)

At the end of this year, there were about one hundred and twenty persons in the family, besides those families in the neighbourhood that belonged to it. Mr. Harris preached publicly, two or three times daily, to the family; besides keeping private meetings with one part or other of them, an hour every day of the week. They gave themselves thus to the Lord, and to his servants by the will of God. From the beginning

of this work, the Lord had moved and fitted out two or three assistants to Mr. Harris to exhort, both at home and abroad ; and by this time the Lord had raised up others as helpers, both in the ministry, and the government of the family.

In the year 1756 our Saviour began to gather some fruit from his little garden at Trevecka. Some souls departed very happily to eternity, praising, and testifying of Jesus, how dear and precious He was to them in their dying moments ; that they beheld eternity bright and glorious before them, through the blood of Christ ; blessing Him for his love and grace, and for having brought them to Trevecka, where they found edification for their souls. This afforded much comfort and joy to them that were yet left in this vale of misery, seeing their dear brethren and sisters depart, strong in faith, to their eternal home.

This year, as the nation was engaged in war with France, Mr. Harris was in much concern, lest our privileges and liberties should be taken away from us ; especially the liberty of the Gospel, which, should the Papists succeed, we should be robbed of. He laid this matter before the family, especially the young men ; inquiring whether or not any of them had a willing mind and spirit to go into the service of our good King, against Popery ; entreating ~~them~~ to be earnest with the Lord in prayer, for his aid and defence,

at this critical juncture. Soon after he had proposed this matter, many of them unanimously answered, that they were willing and ready ; and it was then settled, that five young men should go into the army. They went in faith, and in the strength of the Lord, willing to lay down their lives for the liberty of the Gospel.

These five young men went from Trevecka to Hereford, where they joined the 58th regiment, and from thence to Plymouth, till orders came for them to embark for Ireland ; and as the heat of the war between us and the French was chiefly then in America, further orders came for that regiment to go thither ; so they embarked at Cork, and landed at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia. The first engagement they were in, was at the siege of Louisbourg, and the taking it ; the next enterprise they were in, (under the command of brave General Wolfe, who then lost his life,) was the taking of Quebec, which, with all the country, is now in the possession of the English. The last place that they took was the Havannah, from the Spaniards, which was the last blow in that notable war.

The Lord Jesus was with their spirits in a surprising manner. They kept close together in watching and prayer, reading the Bible, exhorting one another and their fellow-soldiers. They wrote home from Quebec, that they had the spirit of prayer and reliance on the Lord, even

in the heat of the battles; because, say they, "We are in his care, and entered upon this way of life for him, fighting against Popery, in defence of our Gospel privileges." Thus they were kept by our Saviour, contented and happy in their spirits, and in their bodies also, not receiving any material hurt.

It is worthy of notice, that four of those young men died a natural death, in that part of the world; two of them died and were buried at Halifax, very happy in their spirits, believing and testifying of the Lord Jesus, that he is faithful to his promise. The third died at sea, in the voyage to Havannah; the fourth at Havannah, after taking it.

The fifth was taken prisoner by the French; and after being for some weeks a prisoner in France, when peace was concluded, he came to England, and had an offer of preferment, but chose rather to come home; so he came directly to Trevecka, where he was gladly received by all the family, as it was a matter of great joy and gladness to see him, after being absent seven years; but more especially, as the Lord's presence had been with him, keeping him, not only from the vice and wickedness which most commonly prevail in the army, but also in the way to heaven, growing in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. He brought a most pleasing account of them that finished their course, and of



the faithfulness of the Lord Jesus to himself, and to them in all their trials. He is still alive, (in the year 1791,) and continues an honest, faithful servant in the house of God; and has much to speak, as an exhorter, about the grace of the good Shepherd of Israel. He carries a musket-ball in his leg, yet is very happy and contented; a living witness of the Lord's faithfulness and love.

In the year 1757 many people continued to come to Trevecka; though many also went away, after being there for a while. In this and the two following years, above forty persons died in the family; which in some sense was a great loss, and seemingly a forerunner of some change amongst us: but the blessing which attended their departure made this loss a great gain, not only to them that died, but to the living also; seeing the Lord's grace and faithfulness to them in their last hours enabling them to triumph over death, and all their enemies; thanking him for all the means which he vouchsafed to make use of, to bring them to a true sense of themselves as sinners, and a knowledge of Christ as their Saviour.

Of the persons who died in those years, there were some children, from seven to twelve years old, mostly of the small-pox. Some of the children praised the Lord Jesus in a surprising manner, testifying that they loved him, because he

suffered and died for them. Mr. Harris also was powerfully enabled to pray with many of them in their dying moments. We are living witnesses of this, that the Spirit of the Lord was present, comforting, and removing the fear of death from them, which some of them at first sorely complained of: but they then longed to behold his face, and be for ever with him.

About the spring of the year 1759 Mr. Harris wrote thus: "We have buried since the beginning of this work above forty persons; and there are still about the same number in the family, and about thirty in the farms. The word has been preached here, I trust with power and authority, three times a day, and four times every Sunday, these seven years. Surely I can say, that this is the Lord's work; for he has hitherto been pleased to own it, by bringing and keeping people here; and by giving me a spirit of faith to stand in the face of my own and others' sins, and many other impossibilities. He hath honoured us in standing by, and protecting us amidst many heavy storms, that indeed would have defeated all natural strength, and overturned all that was not built on the Rock. Here, therefore, I can set up an Ebenezer, and say, 'Thus far the Lord hath helped me.' This is the Lord's doing; this work was founded, carried on, and supported by the Lord, and that by his free grace, and not by the wisdom and policy of any man, nor

by the arm of flesh. Though Satan would be glad to destroy it, yet it remains standing, and flourishing, in spite of all difficulties from without, and sin, divisions, and rebellions within."

Towards the end of this year, when the nation was alarmed with an invasion intended from France, Mr. Harris showed much concern about the welfare of the kingdom in general, and our rights and privileges, both public and private. About that time, some of the gentlemen of the county offered him a commission in the Breconshire militia. He then answered, that he could not agree with the offer, but upon condition that they would give him liberty to preach the Gospel wherever he should go. He told them farther, that his chief motive and concern in that affair was, the danger which he saw the liberty of the Gospel, and our other religious privileges, were in; and having been for many years in danger of his life, for preaching the word of God in many places, he was even now willing to lay down his life, if occasion required, to defend it; but that if he should serve as a soldier for King George, that he must have liberty to preach the Gospel of King Jesus. The officers assenting to these motives, and insisting upon his accepting the office, he replied again, that he must pray to the Lord for knowledge of his mind and will, and have the consent of his large family. To this proposal they made no objection.

After waiting on the Lord in prayer, he was fully persuaded in his mind, that it was his duty to offer his life for the truth which he preached, and the liberty we enjoy in this kingdom. He laid the matter thus before the family, imploring the assistance of their prayers, how to act on this critical affair; and also, whether any of them had an inclination to go for the Lord's sake with him, to offer their lives in defence of the Gospel. The matter was considered, and laid before the Lord in prayer, by the whole family; and all consented that Mr. Harris should go, believing it to be the will of God. Many also of the men were willing to go with him, and to lay down their lives for the protection of the word of God, if occasion required; and the rest of the family willingly resigned him, and the men that intended to accompany him.

Mr. Harris, having settled all at Trevecka, and delivered the affairs of the family into the hands of Trustees, went, intending to serve the Lord and his King, even unto death, together with twenty-four men of the family; twelve of them as volunteers, on Mr. Harris's own cost, arms, clothing, and maintenance, for three years. They embodied with the Breconshire militia, in the beginning of the year 1760. Mr. Harris received an Ensign's commission at his entrance into the battalion, but afterwards was made a Captain. Before we proceed, we must insert a few lines

that he himself wrote at this time, on the value of the word of God, the Bible.

“ I am resolutely and coolly determined to go freely and conscientiously, and die in the field of battle in defence of the precious word of God, the Bible, against Popery. Who can sufficiently set forth the value of a book, wherein God speaks ? and that to all ranks, degrees, ages, and languages of men. Who can set it forth in its own majesty and glory ? O the infinite and unfathomable depth of glory and divine wisdom and love in it ! The glory of the sun is nothing in comparison with the glory of this valuable treasure, which is indeed the mouth and image of God himself, drawn by himself. A book which He has made the standard, touchstone, and rule to try even his own work by ; whereby all spirits, doctrine, ministry, and church discipline, all faith, love, truth, and obedience, are proved ; a book that God has referred all men to, from the Monarch to the peasant, and has made the universal teacher of men. Here is the seed whence the church and her faith are begotten ; and herein is she purified and nursed ; here is the believer’s armoury ; herein is the true, ineffable light of the world ; herein the unerring Father and Teacher of all speaks both to young and old, high and low, rich and poor ; here man’s pride is humbled, his wounds searched ; the Saviour revealed, and declared to be made ours !

“If life and its various comforts and necessities are vastly dear, how much more should this treasure be? By this we know what could not be known by any other means, and that with the greatest certainty, both of God, and of ourselves, of present and future existence! Without this, all is uncertain, and thick darkness; this alone speaks infallibly, and calls for implicit faith. O that its glory may fill this nation! Happy the man that shall be counted worthy to show forth this universal teacher, in its own majesty. It would be an unspeakable service both to God and man; and would defeat all hell, and cut its way through all difficulties; and as the infinity and majesty of God, its Author, will gradually be displayed to our hearts, so will this word, making himself and his mind known to us; and by this means working in us ‘both to will and to do of his good pleasure,’ (Phil. ii. 13,) and establishing his kingdom among us, and in us, and bringing glory to himself by our salvation. Without this, we are without hope, without knowledge of our misery or recovery. O the ineffable treasure! No wonder so many thousands have triumphed in dying for the precious Bible. Now I go freely, without compulsion, to show the regard I have for the privileges we enjoy under our best of Kings, our ineffable privileges, especially the precious Gospel of our Saviour, contained in the book of God, which

now is openly read throughout the kingdom ; every person being suffered to exhort his neighbour without molestation.

“I commit my family to the Lord, and am going, with a part of it, (who freely offer their lives on this occasion,) to defend our nation and privileges ; and to show publicly that we are dead to all things here below ; or, at least, that we can part with all for the sake of our Lord and Saviour, even with life itself ; and that we seek a city above. (Heb. xiii. 14.)”

Thus he went, and left at Trevecka above one hundred and twenty persons in the family, who all willingly resigned him and the men to the Lord : some wives willingly resigned their husbands, resolving to cleave to the Lord, by giving themselves wholly to him, believing that he would take care of them. And, indeed, we have experienced that he has been with us as a tender father, owning us before the world as his people ; and that the Lord Jesus was our Saviour and God ; and not Mr. Harris, as people used to say.

Notwithstanding many trials from within and without, the Lord was with us, and kept us together. The preaching and the meetings were kept daily as before ; and the outward affairs went on regularly the same. We were visited by two severe fits of sickness, when Mr. Harris was abroad ; and in one of them, no less than fifty

persons lay sick at the same time ; and even some of those that were over the care of the family, it being the time of harvest. Yet the Lord brought us through, even at this critical season, so that every thing turned out very well ; and indeed the sick and the healthy had a happy time, and the presence of the Son of God amongst us. He that appeared in the fiery furnace, with the three brethren, comforted our sick ones, in a particular manner ; and made even this bitter cup sweet to the whole family.

The first route that Mr. Harris and the militia had was in the spring of the year 1760, to Yarmouth, a seaport town in Norfolk ; it having pleased the Lord, as soon as they arrived at Yarmouth, to open a door for him to preach there and other places, in his regimentals, every evening, to many hearers, who attended to the word, and a blessing rested upon some souls there.

The following winter they returned from Yarmouth to Brecon, by another road ; which gave him an opportunity to preach in other towns. And as they made Brecon their head-quarters, for that winter, he had an opportunity to be a part of his time now and then at Trevecka, with his family. The following summer, 1761, they took another route to the west of England ; so that he had a new field for preaching the Gospel. Then they settled for a while at Bideford and



Terrington ; where he met with a kind reception, and many hearers. In the summer of 1762 he went to several other populous towns in the west, as Barnstaple and Plymouth, &c. ; where he preached the Gospel at every opportunity.

After being thus three years in the militia, the war being over, and a treaty of peace concluded, he and his little company returned to Trevecka, after showing his faith and love to the Lord Jesus, and also his love and loyalty to his King and country. He spent the remainder of his life at Trevecka, with his large family, except only some few rounds that he took now and then to preach both in England and Wales.

## CHAPTER VI.

IN the year 1764 Mr. Harris agreed with the Vicar to have a monthly sacrament at our parish church, which had only been administered four times a year before. On Sunday, February 5th, 1764, we received the first monthly sacrament. He wrote thus : “ This was a great day indeed, the first time we had the communion according to our wish and request ; and this privilege has been given us in answer to our prayer, and is a further proof of our Saviour’s love to us. We were happy in the morning, in exhorting ; and went

happily together to the public service, and I trust in one spirit to the Lord's table."

The 19th of this month our people sat for the first time in the gallery of the parish church to sing, and ever since have continued to do so every Sunday. Mr. Harris made the following observation on this day:—"While the people were singing to-day at church, such a glory fell on me, and I thought filled the church, as words cannot express. We are happy in this, and in many other respects, having our public and private meetings daily, and on Sundays before going to church, and when we return, without any molestation at Trevecka."

And as the late revival of religion began in the established Church, we think it not necessary or prudent to separate ourselves from it, but our duty to abide in it, and to go to our parish church every Sunday, to join in the prayers, to hear the reading of God's word, and to use the ordinances. We find that our Saviour meets us there, by making them a blessing to our souls.

In the years 1767 and 1768 Mr. Harris was very glad of Lady Huntingdon's plan of building a College at Lower Trevecka. He began to repair the old building there; and afterwards rented it to her Ladyship, for her College; and when it was finished, an institution was fixed, for training up young men to the ministry. Mr. Harris used to go there every day, for a long

while, to exhort and discourse with the students ; trusting it would continue a spiritual seminary of learning, like the school of the Prophets. (2 Kings vi. 1, 2.)

In the year 1770 he buried his dear wife. She departed very happy in the Lord, and was an instrument of edification to all about her. After her death, he decayed more and more in his body ; and in his last year, had now and then very severe fits of the stone, which at last carried him off. Yet for the last few weeks of his life, he would still come down to preach, and exhort the family, which he did with great power ; insisting much on having a true and thorough change in the inward man ; and speaking much against superficial religion, and receiving the truths of God in a speculative manner, without feeling any true effect on the heart, so as to change the spirit and the whole man ; making men one spirit with Christ, and giving them to experience the power of his resurrection, and the benefits of his death.

DETACHED REFLECTIONS, WHICH HE WROTE  
HIMSELF IN HIS LAST SICKNESS.

“ I find the Saviour’s will is my heaven, be it what it may ; but I have, I think from him, insatiable cries to go home, out of this body, to my Father, Saviour, and Comforter. O how I loved

every word that came from the Saviour, and all his people, that feed on him, and receive every good thing of him ! I feel my spirit eats his words, and I could wash the feet of his servants. My spirit adores him for giving me a hope that I shall come into his presence ; much more for giving me room to hope that my work is done ; and that I am at the door ; and that I, a poor sinner, that have nothing but sin, should lay hold of his righteousness, and wisdom, and strength ; for I have nothing of my own. My spirit is like one at the door, waiting to be called in. I could have no access to ask for any thing, but that I may go home, and that he would make haste, and make no long tarrying.

“ I love all that come and feed on his flesh and blood. I feel that He, and not any thing here, is my rest and happiness. I love eternity, because He is there. I speak with and cry to Him. O the thickness of this flesh which hides Him from me ! It is indeed lawful to be weary of it, for it is a thick veil of darkness ; and I feel clearly, it is this that makes me weary of every thing here. I long to go home, to my Saviour. O Thou who didst bleed to death, and who art alive, come and take me home ; and as for the passage, I have committed that to Thee, to take care of me. I am thine here, and for ever. I am one of thy redeemed, the fruit of thy blood and sweat ; and thy will is my heaven.

“I feel my spirit continually, as it were, from home ; and that I am one of the Lamb’s company, and belong to him, and cannot be long from Him. My spirit cries, ‘Lord, thou canst not be God, and not pity and love me ; because thou hast given me what thou hast promised, in pity to a poor, broken, penitent, and humbled spirit ; and also faith to lay hold of thy righteousness and blood. O Lord, thou canst not leave me long here ! thou must pity, and call me home ; for I am a stranger here. I love the glorified spirits, and long to be among them, because they behold His glory ; and because they have no guile, nor deceit, nor self, nor strange gods, nor any corruption, nor wisdom, nor righteousness, but only in the Lamb.’

“I find myself growing very weak to-day ; and am in much pain ; and feel my spirit crying, ‘O my Father, art thou coming to strike the last stroke ?’ When our Saviour shall come and raise my spirit from nature, and death, and every thing here below, to his own Spirit, then I shall know what it is to be cleansed and purified. I feel that my spirit goes to God, not as his creature, but as his child, and the purchase of his blood.

“My Saviour did shine on me sweetly this afternoon. O let me eat no more of the bread that perisheth ; be thou to me, from henceforth, my bread and food for ever ! Be thou to me my sun, and let me see this no more ! O hear the

cries of thy poor worm ! thy blood has done the work ; take me from this body of clay, for I am here in prison. O take me there, where thou showest thy glory ; and indulge a worm, sick of love, longing to come home ! I adore thee, for all the graces bestowed on all the spirits round the throne ; and especially on my own poor spirit. And as for my concerns and cares, I have none but thine ; and thou must take care of them : call me hence, and make no long tarrying. I cried again, If I am not willing to be justified through thy merit, then do not hear me ; and if thy blood does not overbalance all my sins, then do not hear me ; and if my work is not done, and if it is not thy will that I should come home, do not hear me ; for what am I, a worm before thee ? I then cried and prayed for the whole race of mankind, loving them all, but, more especially, this little family which he has given me ; entreating him, that he would be in the midst of them, and reveal himself unto them, as crucified before them ; and banish every spirit from them, but his own.

“ I said, I have no name, worthy of being preserved to posterity, but only as far as it is connected with thine ; and that I leave to thee. I love this body, because thou hast made it, and hast united it to thyself ; and I give it to thee to be embalmed in the earth, where thine was laid. I call upon thee, as a child does upon his

father ; and I weep over all the sin of the world, especially over that sin, that thy blood and sufferings are despised.

“ I feel my spirit leaving all places and men here below, and going to my Father ; and to my native country, home ; yea, my own home. And though I am here below in his kingdom ; yet whilst I wait to be called home, my longings, and cries, are insatiable indeed. And when the Lord of glory answers me, that I shall soon go to him, my spirit does so burn with love to that Saviour, that I flee to him, and can take no denial. I cannot stay here ; and though I am but dust, and nothing before thee, yet, O Father, may I, without offending thee, ask this one especial favour : O Saviour, give me leave, though a worm, to ask, without offending, that my time may be shortened ! O my Lord, I must love thee, and weep at thy feet, and wrestle with thee, till thou appearest unto me ! This is thy lower house, and thou art my life and my all here below : that is thy upper house ; thou art gone before me ; and therefore I must come. Thou canst not leave me long ; thou art both here, and there also, my heaven.

“ I must have the Saviour indeed, for he is my all. All that others have in the world, and in religion, and in themselves, I have in thee : pleasures, riches, safety, honour, life, righteousness, holiness, wisdom, bliss, joy, gaiety, and happiness. And by the same rule, that each of these

is dear to others, he must be dear to me. And if a child longs for his father ; a traveller, for the end of his journey ; a workman, to finish his work ; a prisoner, for his liberty ; an heir, for the full possession of his estate ; so, in all these respects, I cannot help longing to go home.

“ My spirit rejoices within me, in seeing that He that made me will call me hence ; and it is indeed weary of all things here, having all kinds of answers, and confirmations, from the Holy Spirit, relating to my approaching departure. Lord, this is thy house, and not mine ; I built it for thee, and not for myself ; and the family I have in it is thine. For thee I nurse them ; and the papers which I leave behind me are written for thee, and not for my use. And seeing all in this light, I feel it is easy to part with all : my spirit therefore crieth continually, ‘ O come, come, Lord, come quickly ! ’ I feel my spirit among the suppliants here before the throne ; and find freedom to say, I have done my work ; I have finished my testimony ; I have run my race : what more remains for me to do, but to come home, to my own God, and Father, and Friend, and best relation ? All thy friends are my friends ; and all thy enemies are mine. O come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, and take me home to rest ! I feel my spirit rejoicing, and singing,

‘ My Lord is gone, and I must go,  
I cannot stay content below. ’ ”



Being confined by his disorder to his bed, and not able to write himself, he said, "Blessed be God, my work is done, and I know that I am going to my God and Father; for he hath my heart, yea, my whole heart. Though the enemy is permitted to torment my body, blessed be the Lord, he is not suffered to come near my spirit." He very often joyfully repeated these words: "Glory be to God, death hath no sting! Death has lost its sting!" And again he broke out, as one full of faith and assurance, "It is clear to me, that God is my everlasting Father, and that I shall go to him soon." He over and over again expressed how exceeding precious the Saviour was to him; and said, "This is following Jesus. We are come to Mount Sion, and I am on Mount Sion; I saw great glory before, in that God-Man Jesus, but nothing compared with what I now behold in him!" At another time, when he awoke from a slumber through the extreme pain of his body, his spirit leaping within him, as a prisoner coming to liberty, thinking this the last stroke, he cried out, "O Jesus, here I come; here I come to thee!" Some time afterwards, he expressed his faith, and longing desires to depart, saying, "I am in great pain; but all is well, all is well; he hath settled all things well. O how would it be, if the sting of death had not been taken away! O that I could now go home! for my work is done here."

As he constantly contemplated the infinite sufferings of the Redeemer, which were always his pleasant theme, he said, "I am in great pain; but Christ, by his sufferings, hath taken away the sting of my sufferings. O here is victory indeed: great is the glory, but narrow is the way to it! O how full is the world of false faith, and false hope!" Then, considering the great faithfulness of the Lord to him, he breathed out the language of his soul in these words: "O the Redeemer, he keeps my heart with himself!" When he was in the greatest pain, he often cried out, "O this cup! Blessed be God for this last cup! Jesus drank it all for me. I shall soon be with that God who died for me, to save me, to all eternity." And thus he went home to rest in the Lord, July 21st, 1773, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Many more divine sayings he uttered just before he departed, which were not taken down, whereby he testified his great love to precious souls, and the concern he was in about them.

His remains were interred in the parish church, where there is a marble tablet, which contains the following epitaph:—

Near the communion-table lie the remains of  
HOWELL HARRIS, Esq.;  
Born at Trevecka, January the 23d, 1713—14, O. S.  
Here, where his body lies, he was convinced of *sin*,  
Had his pardon sealed,

And felt the power of Christ's precious blood,  
 At the holy communion.  
 Having tasted grace himself, he resolved to declare to others  
 What God had done for his soul.  
 He was the first Itinerant Preacher of redemption  
 In this period of revival in England and Wales.  
 He preached the Gospel,  
 For the space of thirty-nine years,  
 Till he was taken to his final rest.  
 He received those who sought salvation  
 Into his house ;  
 Then sprung up the family at Trevecka,  
 To whom he faithfully ministered unto his end,  
 As an indefatigable servant of God,  
 And faithful member of the Church of England.  
 His end  
 Was more blessed than his beginning.  
 Looking to Jesus crucified,  
 He rejoiced to the last, that death had lost its sting.  
 He fell asleep in Jesus, at Trevecka, July 21st, 1773,  
 And now rests blessedly from all his labours.

Under the same stone lie also the remains of his late wife,  
 ANNE HARRIS ;

Daughter of John Williams, of Skreen, Esquire.  
 Who departed this life, March 9th, 1770, aged fifty-eight.  
 She loved the Lord Jesus, relied on his redeeming  
 Grace and blood, and with her last breath declared her  
 Confidence in Him.

They left one beloved daughter, who was the constant object  
 of their prayers and care,  
 And honours their venerable memory.

*A'r doethion a ddisgleiriant fel disgleirdeb y ffurfafen ; a'r  
 rhai u droant lawer i gyfiawnder a fyddant fel y Ser, byth  
 yn dragywydd. (Dan. xii. 3.)*

# THE LIFE

OF

THE MOST REVEREND AND LEARNED

DR. JAMES USHER,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF  
ALL IRELAND.

BY NICHOLAS BERNARD, D. D.,

PREACHER TO THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY OF  
GRAY'S-INN, LONDON.

“Of whom the world was not worthy.” (Heb. xi. 38.)



# THE LIFE

## ARCHBISHOP USHER.

### CHAPTER I.

JAMES USHER was born in the city of Dublin, Jan. 4th, 1580. His father, Mr. Arnald Usher, was brought up in the study of the law, one of the Clerks of the Chancery, a person of excellent parts and endowments.

His mother, Mrs. Margaret Stanihurst, I knew, and was at her burial. She was seduced, by some of the Popish Priests, to the Roman religion, who took their time while he was once in England. They had so engaged her in some vows, that when he came back she could not be reclaimed. His hope was, that she would be recovered upon her death-bed; but she dying suddenly at Drogheda, while he was at Dublin, he was disappointed, to his no small grief, of which I

was a witness, being present at the bringing of the news to him.

His grandfather, by his mother's side, was James Stanihurst, whose name he bare : he was chosen three times Speaker of the House of Commons in the Irish Parliament: the first, in Queen Mary's days; the other two, in Queen Elizabeth's; in the latter of which, he made the first motion for the founding of a College and a University in Dublin. He was Recorder of that city, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and a man of great wisdom and integrity.

His uncle was Richard Stanihurst: his books on divers subjects show him to be a very learned man, famous in France and other nations, between whom and this reverend person many learned letters passed.

His uncle, by his father's side, was Henry Usher, one of his predecessors, Archbishop of Armagh, educated at Cambridge; a wise and learned man. While he was Archdeacon of Dublin, he was first sent over into England to petition Queen Elizabeth, and the Council, for the preservation of the cathedral of St. Patrick, Dublin, from being dissolved; (Sir John Perrot, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, begging it for his own private purse;) and he prevailed. The second time he was sent over by the Council to Queen Elizabeth, for the founding of a College and University in Dublin, which he obtained also;

so that the College (of which James was the sacred first-fruits) had its being from his grandfather's motion, and his uncle's efforts.

He had a brother, Ambrose Usher, who died in his younger years; a man of great parts also; excelling much in the oriental languages. He translated the Old Testament out of the Hebrew into English, from Genesis to the book of Job; a work which is still preserved under his own hand; but he desisted from proceeding when the new translation came forth in King James's time.

Two of James's aunts, who, by reason of their blindness from their cradles, never saw letters, taught him first to read. Their readiness in the Scripture was marvellous, being able suddenly to repeat any part of the Bible.

At eight years old, James was sent to the grammar-school; Sir James Fullerton (who was afterwards Ambassador in France, and died in a great office at Court) was his schoolmaster.

He, with Sir James Hamilton, (afterwards Lord Viscount Clandeboise,) who was usher of the school, was sent then out of Scotland by King James upon another design. They came very opportunely for Usher's founding in learning; there being then a scarcity of such able men; and in this he often acknowledged the providence of God.

At ten years old he found in himself a true



sense of religion, in his serious conversion unto God. It was instrumentally wrought by a sermon which he heard preached upon Rom. xii. 1, "I beseech you, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God." His reading then of some notes taken in writing from Mr. Perkins, (before his works were printed,) concerning the sanctifying of the Lord's day, took so with him, that he was ever after careful to keep it. He then read in Latin, St. Augustine's Meditations, (or those which go under his name,) which so moved him, that he wept often in the reading of them.

Accustoming himself thus to duties in his tender years, Satan endeavoured to discourage him, by divers sorts of terrors and affrightments, both sleeping and waking, tending to hinder him in the way of godliness, which, till then, he had never been disturbed with. He constantly applied himself to prayer, and at length was heard in that he feared; being delivered from them, by unusual support and comfort; which made such an impression upon him, that it was fresh in his memory in his elder years.

When he could not be frightened out of that course, the devil laid a bait of pleasure to withdraw him, by some of his friends teaching him to play at cards; which he found himself so delighted with, that it not only supplanted the love

of his book, but began to be a rival with his spiritual feelings ; upon the apprehension of which, he gave it over, and never played after.

At twelve years old, he was so affected with chronology and antiquity, that, reading Sleidan of the four empires, and other authors, he drew out an exact series of times when each eminent person lived. In the space of five years, he was perfectly instructed in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He excelled in poetry ; which he then found himself so delighted with, that he took himself off, lest it should have taken him off from more serious studies.

At thirteen years of age, he was admitted into the College of Dublin, being the first scholar that was entered in it. I have heard that it was so ordered, upon design, by the Governors, observing his forwardness, that it might be a future honour to it, to have it upon record in the frontispiece of their admission-book ; and so accordingly, the first Graduate, Fellow, Proctor, and all other degrees originally from thence.

Sir James Hamilton, hitherto usher of the school, was chosen Fellow of the College, and so became Usher's tutor ; whom I have often heard admiring the quickness and proficiency of his pupil, that he soon equalled his teachers.

The arts he made himself the master of indeed ; most of them he modelled into a method ; and in special he made then an art of music. He had

no Greek till he came to the College, where he was taught that and the Hebrew ; in both which he is known to have excelled.

The education which that College then gave was very eminent. At the first foundation, there were but four Fellows ; and yet the tongues and arts were very exactly taught to all the students, being divided into several classes. Aristotle's text was read in Greek by each tutor to his pupils. Three lectures a day every Fellow read ; at each of which, there was a disputation upon what had been then read, or upon the preceding lecture. They were sometimes ordered to dispute in the Socratic manner.

On Saturday, in the afternoon, each tutor read in Latin a lecture in divinity to his pupils, and dictated it so deliberately, that they easily took it in writing ; and so were their other lectures also.

At fourteen years old, he was called to the receiving of the communion.

In the afternoon before, his usual custom was to retire into some privacy, and to spend it in strict examination, and penitential humiliation of himself for his sins ; which was so operative, that streams of tears ran from him ; which he often reflected upon, as an exemplary provocation and censure of himself, when he was of elder years.

I have often heard him speak of a certain place by a water-side, whither he frequently resorted, sorrowfully to recount his sins, and with

floods of tears to pour them out in confession ; the fruit of which he found to be so sweet to his soul, that he thirsted on all occasions for such a sequestration ; and so usually on Saturday, in the afternoon, it was his custom. One sin he lamented was, his too much love of his book, and of human learning, that he should be as glad of Monday to go to that, as of the Lord's day for His service. It cost him many a tear, that he could not be more heavenly-minded at that age.

At fifteen years old, he had made such a proficiency in chronology, that he drew up in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible, as far as the book of the Kings, not much differing from that of his late Annals, excepting the enlargements in some exquisite observations, and the synchronisms of heathen story. About that time, a strong temptation fell upon him, that God did not love him, because he had no outward afflictions, or troubles of conscience, occasioned by some inconsiderate expressions which he had read in some writers, and was long under trouble about it.

Before he was Bachelor of Arts, he had read Stapleton's "Fortress of the Faith ;" and finding this writer's confidence in asserting antiquity for the tenets of Popery, and blotting the Protestant Church with novelty, he was put to a plunge within himself, not knowing but that Stapleton's quotations might be true. This he then took for a truth, that the most ancient must needs be

the best ; as nearer the fountain, the purer the streams ; and that errors were received in succeeding ages. His suspicion was, that Stapleton might misquote the Fathers, or wrest them to his own sense. Hence he then took up a firm resolution, that, in due time, if God gave him life and health, he would himself read the Fathers all over, and trust his own eyes in the search of them : and so, as I take it, he began that work afterwards at twenty years of age, and finished it at thirty-eight ; strictly observing his proportion each day, what occasions soever diverted him ; the fruit of which labour, the world hath already tasted, and understood his sense of that pretence of Stapleton's for matter of antiquity. A larger account was intended by him to be given in his *Bibliotheca Theologica*.

While he was Bachelor of Arts, he read various books of the Fathers, and most of the authors who have written of the body of divinity, not only positively, but polemically, in confuting the errors of the Church of Rome ; and had read many Popish authors also ; by which means, he had so well acquainted himself with the state of each controversy, that he was able to dispute with any of the Romish Priests, as he did often with the prime of them.

In the year 1598, the Earl of Essex being newly come over as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Chancellor of the University of Dublin,

there was a solemn Act for his entertainment; and Usher, being then Bachelor of Arts, answered the Philosophy Act with great approbation.

But now his father's intention to send him to England to the Inns of Court, for the study of the common law, much disturbed him; yet in obedience to his father's pleasure, he assented. But it so fell out, that, not long after, his father died, (namely, August 12, 1598,) and he, being then at liberty to make choice of his profession, devoted himself to the study of divinity, and was chosen Fellow of the College. Before this time he was incapable of taking the oath then given at the admission of them; namely, that the present intent of their studies should be for the profession of divinity, unless God should afterwards otherwise dispose their minds.

His father left him a very good estate in land; but, finding that he must involve himself in many suits of law before it could have been settled, thus withdrawing him from his studies, he gave it up to the benefit of his brothers and sisters, and suffered his uncle to take letters of administration for that end; being resolved to put himself upon the providence of God, to whose service in the ministry he had devoted himself; and he did not doubt but He would provide for him.

When he was nineteen years old, he disputed with Henry Fitz Symonds, the Jesuit, in the castle of Dublin. The occasion of that dispute was

this: the Jesuit, by way of challenge, (as was interpreted,) used these words: "That he being a prisoner was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him;" upon which, this eminent person in those his younger years, was thought fit to encounter him, though at meeting, (like Goliath, David,) he despised Usher's youth. He offered to dispute with him through the Controversies of Bellarmine, for which, once a week, a meeting was agreed on; and it fell out, the first subject proposed was concerning antichrist. Twice or thrice they had solemn disputations, though the Jesuit acknowledgeth but one. He was ready to proceed, but the Jesuit was weary of it; yet he gave him a tolerable commendation, and much admired the forwardness of him at such young years. Some of his words are these: "There came once to me a youth of about eighteen years, one of a too soon ripe wit; scarce, as you would think, gone through his course of philosophy, or got out of his childhood, yet ready to dispute of the most abstruse points in divinity." And afterwards the same Jesuit, living to understand more of him, saith, he was *A catholicorum doctissimus*, as an unusual, so a tender expression, loath to call him a heretic; but "of such as are not Catholics, the most learned."

When about twenty years of age, A.D. 1600, he commenced Master of Arts, and answered the Philosophy Act. It fell (out of the ordinary

course) to be on an Ash-Wednesday, the same day on which the Earl of Essex, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, was beheaded. He was that year chosen Catechist of the College, when he went through a great part of the Body of Divinity in the chapel, by way of common-place.

And now, by reason of the scarcity of Preachers, (it being there then as it was in Samuel's time, the word of God was precious,) three young men of the College were selected to preach in Christ-church before the State. One was Mr. Richardson, afterwards Doctor of Divinity, and Bishop of Ardagh in Ireland, and was of the same year with Usher: a person of great industry, and ability for opening the sense of Scripture. He was appointed for the exposition of the prophecy of Isaiah; and his day was upon the Friday lecture: where, in succeeding years, he went through half of it. The second was Mr. Welsh, afterwards Doctor of Divinity: he was appointed to handle the Body of Divinity on Sundays in the forenoon. And the third was Usher: and his part was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the Papists, on the Lord's day in the afternoon; which he did so perspicuously, ever concluding with matter of exhortation, that it was much for the confirmation and edification of the Protestants; which the elder sort of persons living in my time, I have heard often acknowledge.

After a little space (which he took to be but in



the nature of a probationer) he refused to continue it, because he had not yet received ordination; and that he also made a scruple of taking yet, by his defect of years, the constitutions of England requiring twenty-four, and he not yet being twenty-one: but by some of the most grave and learned men he was told the Lord had need of him; and so, like Samuel, he must continue this ministering to the Lord in his youth. Upon their persuasions, and his age being dispensed with, according to former precedents, he was, at the usual time of ordination, the Sunday before Christmas-day, in the year 1601, ordained (with the assistance of other Ministers) by his uncle Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.

The first text that he preached of publicly before the State after his ordination was, "Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." (Rev. iii. 1.) It fell out to be the same day with the battle of Kinsale, the Friday before Christmas; and was a day specially set apart for prayer, for the good success of that engagement. He began that epistle to the Church of Sardis then, and finished it afterwards.

The design was then known, that if the Spaniards had got the better, most of the Protestants had been slain by the Irish Papists, both in Dublin and elsewhere, but especially the Ministers, without any distinction: hence arose a

temptation in him (as he termed it) to defer his ordination till the event of that battle was known, whereby he should not have been in such imminent danger; but he repelled that motion, and resolved the rather upon it, conceiving he should in that office of the ministry, and for that cause, die the next door to martyrdom.

After the Spaniards' overthrow at Kinsale, and the hopes of the Irish as to that design being lost, they began to subject themselves to the statute, now put in execution, in their coming to church; and, for their further information in point of religion, the Lord-Lieutenant and Council desired the Ministers so to divide themselves, that at each church on the Lord's day in the afternoon, (in imitation of what he had already begun at Christ-church before the State,) there might be a sermon for that end. A convenient church (St. Katherine's) was assigned for this reverend person, who removed accordingly, and duly observed it. His custom was to draw up the sum of what he had delivered into questions and answers, and the next Sunday persons of good esteem voluntarily offered themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, which occasioned them to be taken more notice of by the Papists.

By this his labour, and others of his brethren the Ministers, not only in Dublin, but in divers other parts of the kingdom, the Papists came to

church so diligently, that if they had occasion to absent themselves, they would send their excuse to the Churchwardens. But it so fell out, that notwithstanding these good beginnings of hope in reducing the whole nation to be of one heart and one mind, suddenly the statute was again suspended, the power of the High Commission (then only set up in relation to the Papists) was withdrawn: at which, the Papists presently withdrew themselves again; the Ministers were discouraged; all good men's hearts were grieved; and Popery from that time returned to a higher tide than before, and overflowed its former banks in a general deluge over the whole nation.

Upon this the spirit of this holy and eminent person (like St. Paul's at Athens) was stirred within him; and preaching before the State at Christ-church, Dublin, upon a special solemnity, he did, with as much prudence and fortitude as might become those younger years, give them his sense of that their toleration of idolatry; and made a full and bold application of that passage in the vision of Ezekiel, where the Prophet, by lying on his side, was to "bear the iniquity of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee a day for a year, even a day for a year;" (Ezek. iv. 6;) as the old translation of the Bible, which he then used, reads it, which I have, printed 1601, and hath a note by him in the margin. This, by consent of interpre-

ters, signifies the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that nation for their idolatry. He made then this direct application in relation to that connivance of Popery: "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear this iniquity."

Having occasion further to consider of it, we found to be from thence, being the year 1601, forty years to the rebellion and destruction of Ireland, in 1641, done by those Papists and Popish Priests who were then connived at. He had reserved the notes of that sermon, with the year and day on which he preached it; and it is the more observable, that it was one of the last he wrote throughout word for word. Afterwards (without writing any thing but the heads) he put his meditations wholly upon the strength of his memory, and God's assistance of him. Whether preached in 1601, or in the beginning of 1602, the account is the same; for though that massacre began October 23d, 1641, yet the Papists continued their murders, and proceeded in destroying us, till 1642. Now, what may be thought of this, I leave to the judgment of others: only give me leave to say, it is a very observable passage; and if it may be conceived to be a prophetic impulse in those years, he was the more like Samuel, who in his youth was sent with the like message to Eli, relating the ruin of his native country: "That

the Lord would do such a thing in Israel, that whosoever hears it, both his ears should tingle." (1 Sam. iii. 11.) And what a continued expectation he had of a judgment upon his native country, I can witness, from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him ; and the nearer the time every year, the more confident he was, to my wonder and admiration ; there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of that great calamity.

The information of the Papists, of which we have already given an account, was the first occasion of drawing the whole substance of the body of divinity into that Catechism which has been printed ; but the issue hath been the instruction of the Protestants. It is highly commended by Mr. John Downame, who edited it ; and so it is by a stranger, Ludovicus Crocius. But it was not by him intended for the press. It was begun in public, but finished some years after in his private family, constantly twice a week instructing them ; of which it might be then truly said, as of Nymphas, "The church which is in thy house ;" (Col. iv. 15 ;) into which course of domestic instruction, persons of quality and learning resorting, notes were taken, divers copies were gotten, some imperfect and mistaken ; many passages are in it which are not his ; and the whole is not polished like what else hath come forth of his. Indeed, he was displeased at the publishing

of it, without his knowledge ; but hearing of some good fruit, which hath been reaped by it, he permitted it to circulate.

Not long after the defeat at Kinsale, the officers and commanders of the army gave at once £1800 to buy books for a library for the College of Dublin ; for then soldiers were for the advancement of learning. The ordering of the money for that use was committed to Dr. Challoner and Usher, who came into England to buy them. He then met Sir Thomas Bodley, buying books for his library at Oxford, between whom there was a commerce in helping each other with rarities. He often took notice, that the famous library of his there, and that of Dublin, began together. As he came, he visited Mr. Christopher Goodman, who had been Professor of Divinity in Edward VI.'s days, then lying on his death-bed at Chester ; and he often repeated some grave and wise speeches which he heard from him.

After this he constantly came to England once in three years ; and thus he spent the summer, one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, searching the books, but especially the manuscripts of each University, (among which, those of Corpus-Christi College, in Cambridge, he most esteemed,) the third month at London, attending chiefly Sir Thomas Cotton's library, and conversing with learned men, with whom in those younger

years he was in great esteem. In after-years he was acquainted with the rarities in other nations ; so that there was scarcely a choice book in any eminent person's library, in France, Italy, Germany, or Rome, but he had his way to see it, or to have it transcribed ; being better acquainted with the Pope's Vatican, than some of the men that daily visited it. The *Puteani fratres*, in Paris, two learned men, helped him with many transcripts out of Thuanus and others, between whom and him many letters passed. The reading over all the Fathers was a mighty labour ; yet the pains which he took out of the common road of learning, in searching records, and all the manuscripts he could get, throughout Christendom, with the severe study of chronology and antiquity, was at least equal with the former. Many volumes he read, only aiming at the knowledge of the use of words in several ages, as Galen and Hippocrates. Most of the records of the Tower of London he had read ; and there was scarcely a book of the least esteem in that great library of his own, but he remembered it ; and, to my great wonder, he had in readiness in his head all that he had read.

The first church-preferment that he had (which was given him by Archbishop Loftus a little before his death, a very wise man) was the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin ; in addition to which he took no other benefice. Here

Mr. Camden found him, in 1607, while he was writing his *Britannia*, and saith this of him, in his observations concerning Dublin: "Most of which I acknowledge to owe to the diligence and labour of James Usher, Chancellor of the church of St. Patrick's, who in various learning and judgment far exceeds his years." In this dignity, howsoever the law might have excused him from preaching, except in his course before the State, yet he would not omit it to the place from whence he received the profits; and though he did endow it with a vicarage, yet he went thither in person, namely, to Finglas, a mile from Dublin, and preached there every Lord's day, unless, upon extraordinary occasions, he were detained; and he took in his elder years more comfort by the remembrance of his having been a constant Preacher, than in all his other labours.

His experiments in prayer were many, and very observable in the return of his desires in kind, and that immediately when he had been in distresses; and the providence of God in taking care of him in his younger years, as he often recounted, more specially the last time I saw him, in confirmation of his dependence upon Him in his elder years, into whatever extremities he might be brought.



## CHAPTER II.

WHEN he was twenty-seven years old, in the year 1607, Usher commenced Bachelor of Divinity, and immediately after was chosen Professor of Divinity, in the University of Dublin. He read twice a week at first, afterwards constantly once a week, without intermission throughout the year ; going through a great part of Bellarmine's "Controversies." About thirteen or fourteen years he was Professor there, and a great ornament to it. I have seen, many years ago, three volumes of those his lectures, written with his own hand, and had the favour to read them : an honour it would be for that University where they were read to have them published.

When he performed his acts for his degree, Latin sermon, lectures, position, in answering the Divinity Act, and the rest, he committed nothing to his pen, but only the heads of the several subjects. As with his English sermons, he put all upon the strength of his memory, and his present power of expression. His readiness in Latin, after he had as a Professor discontinued the use of it, equalled any person whom I have heard of in these latter ages. In a public Commencement, moderating the Divinity Act, and creating the Doctors, since he was Primate at St. Patrick's, Dublin, he acquitted himself to all men's admira-

tion. I remember one passage in his speech was, that the hoods, and other distinctive ornaments, used by the several graduates in our Universities, were by their description the same as those which were in use in Basil's and Nazianzen's time ; so that they were not Popish, as some have apprehended.

In 1609 there was a great dispute about the Herenagh, Terman, or Corban lands, which anciently the Chorepiscopi received, the rents of which concerned the Bishops of England as well as Ireland. He wrote a learned treatise of it, which was so approved, that it was sent to Archbishop Bancroft, and by him presented to King James ; and the rather accepted, because it was done by one who then had no thoughts of reaping any fruit by it, as himself said then in his preface to it. The substance of it was afterwards translated by Sir Henry Spelman into Latin, and published in his Glossarium.

Not long after this, the Provostship of the College of Dublin falling void, he was unanimously elected by the Fellows, being then about thirty years of age ; but as he foresaw that, upon the settlement of lands belonging to it, and the establishing of other matters, there would be such distractions, that his studies must have been disturbed, he refused it ; and so another was sent from England to it. As it had invitation of a good annual allowance, we see by this, as well as

by some former passages, how little the things of this world were in his eye at those years.

In the year 1612 he proceeded Doctor of Divinity, created by Primate Hampton, his predecessor : one of his lectures for this degree was concerning the seventy weeks to the slaying of the Messiah. (Dan. ix. 24.) The other, out of Rev. xx. 4, concerning the saints reigning with Christ a thousand years : a tractate in this age very seasonable, but it is lost.

In the year 1613 he published the book, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu*, magnified by Casaubon and Scultetus, in their Greek and Latin verses before it. It was solemnly presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James, as the eminent first-fruits of the College of Dublin. It is imperfect for about three hundred years, that is, from 1371 to 1513, and from thence to his own times, which he intended to add.

In the year 1615 there was a Parliament in Dublin, and so a convocation of the Clergy : then those learned Articles of Ireland were composed and published. Being a member of the Synod, he was appointed to draw them up ; and they were highly approved by the most orthodox Divines. I know no cause of some men's speaking against them, unless it be that they determine according to St. Augustine's doctrine against the Pelagians ; declare the man of sin (2 Thess. ii.) to be the Bishop of Rome ; and maintain the

morality of the Sabbath. Of both these latter positions, this most learned man was very confident, and wished some learned men of late had spared their pens to the contrary.

And now he wanted not enemies in scandalizing him to King James, under the title of a Puritan, (so odious with him in those days,) on purpose to prevent any further promotion of him; but it so fell out, that this was the occasion of his advancement; for King James, being in some fear of him upon that score, because of the eminency of his learning, fell into some more full discourse with him, and received such abundant satisfaction of the soundness of his judgment and piety, that, notwithstanding the opposition of great ones, without his seeking, the King made him Bishop of Meath, in Ireland; the see just then falling void while he was in England; and, as I have heard, he often boasted that Usher was a Bishop of his own making. But the misinterpretations which some of his enemies had raised and spread of him, moved him voluntarily, at the request of his friends, to declare his judgment as to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England; which was to all good men's satisfaction.

While he was Bishop elect, he was chosen to preach before the House of Commons, (February 18th, 1620,) in St. Margaret's, Westminster. The sermon, by the order of the House, was printed, and it is a most learned one. I have heard him

say, (as I take it,) that this was the first time the House of Commons received the communion by themselves, distinct from the House of the Lords.

Upon his return to Ireland, he was consecrated Bishop of Meath, at Drogheda, by Primate Hampton, with the assistance of two suffragan Bishops. He did not now slack in his constancy of preaching, but bound himself the rather to it.

He had many Papists in his diocess, whom he endeavoured by private discourses to reclaim. At length they were contented to hear him preach, so that it were not in a church. He condescended to their exception, and preached in the Session-house; and the sermon wrought so much upon some of them, that the Priests prohibited them the hearing of him in any place ever after.

While he was Bishop of Meath, he answered that challenge of the Jesuit Malone. His coming to England for the printing of it occasioned the writing of another learned tract, concerning the universality of the church of Christ, and the unity of the catholic faith; in a sermon preached before King James, upon, "Till we all come in the unity of the faith," &c. (Ephes. iv. 13.)

While he was in England, Primate Hampton dying, he was made (in the year 1624) Primate of Ireland; the hundredth Bishop of that see, from the first, supposed to be Patricius, who lived in St. Augustine's time, four hundred years after Christ, whom we read much of in ancient

writers: and this reverend Primate, in his book called the "Religion of the ancient Irish," hath made it appear, at least, to be very probable, that the doctrine which St. Patrick planted and preached among them at first, was in substance the same as that which is now taught and professed by us.

When he was thus promoted to the highest step of which his profession was capable, in his native country, he was the more humble and laborious in preaching: and it so fell out, that, for some weeks together, preaching too often beyond his strength, at the request of some Ministers in Essex, to have him preach upon the week-days, because they could not come to hear him on the Sundays, he fell into a quartan ague, which held him three quarters of a year.

After his recovery, the Lord Mordant (afterwards Earl of Peterborough) being a Papist, and desirous to draw his lady to the same religion, he was willing there should be a meeting of two prime men of each, to dispute what might be in controversy between them. The lady made choice of this Lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered from his sickness, and scarcely able to take the journey. The Jesuit chosen by the Earl went under the name of Beaumont; but his right name was Rookwood. He was brother to Ambrose Rookwood, one of the conspirators of the gunpowder-treason, and

was executed. The place of meeting was at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, where there was a great library, so that no books of the ancient Fathers were wanting for their view, as there might be occasion. The points proposed were, transubstantiation, invocation of saints, images, visibility of the Church. Three days were spent in disputations, three hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon; but the conclusion was this: after the third day of meeting, this Lord Primate had hitherto been the opponent; and now the Jesuit, according to his desire, taking that part upon him, and my Lord to be the respondent, that morning, about the time when he was expected, he excused his not coming to the Earl, saying, "that all the arguments which he had framed in his head, and thought he had them as perfect as his Paternoster, he had forgotten, and could not recover them again: that he believed it was the just judgment of God upon him, thus to desert him in the defence of his cause, for undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning, without the licence of his superior. Whereupon the Earl, upon some further discourse with the Lord Primate, was converted, and became a Protestant, and so continued to the end of his life. This I had from an eye and ear witness, which is confirmed by the secular Priest Challoner; who, writing a book against this Beaumont, bids him

beware of coming any more to Drayton, lest he meet another Usher there, by the foil then given him, to the dishonour of his profession and himself.

Upon this, the Countess of Peterborough owed him a great respect, and, upon his losses in Ireland, and other distresses here, she took him to her own house, where he lived about nine or ten years, and there died.

In the year 1626, in August, he returned into Ireland, where he was received with all the expressions of joy that could be given. I had the happiness to wait on him from England thither; and now I am come within the compass of my own knowledge. From him, with the assistance of other Ministers, the same year I received my ordination, in St. Peter's church in Drogheda, himself preaching in the forenoon out of 1 Thess. v. 12: "We beseech you, brethren, to know them that labour among you and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you, and to esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake, and be at peace among yourselves."

The discourses which daily fell from him at his table, in the clearing of difficulties in the Scripture, and other subjects, (especially when learned men came to visit him,) were of great advantage to such as were capable of them. They put me often in mind of that speech of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon: "Happy are these



thy servants that continually stand about thee, and hear thy wisdom." And such was his humility, that he would, in practical subjects, apply himself to the information and satisfaction of the poorest and weakest person that should desire it; nay, sometimes rather incline towards such, than to others more learned: which strangers have wondered at, as the disciples marvelled at our Saviour's talking with the poor woman at Samaria, (John iv. 27,) and answering her questions, rather than heeding them.

The orders observed in his family as to prayer, was four times a day: in the morning, at six; in the evening, at eight; and before dinner and supper, in the chapel; at each of which he was always present.

On Friday, in the afternoon, constantly an hour in the chapel was spent in going through the principles of religion, in the Catechism, for the instruction of the family. And every Sunday, in the evening, we had a repetition of his sermon in the chapel, which he had preached in the church in the forenoon. Two of us had this charge upon us in his house.

In the winter evenings he constantly spent two hours in comparing of old mss. of the Bible, Greek and Latin, where about five or six of us assisted him, and the various readings of each were taken by himself with his own hand.

In Michaelmas term, in the year 1626, there

were some propositions made, and offered to be assented to by the Papists, for a more full toleration of their religion ; namely, the maintaining of five hundred horse, and five thousand foot, wherein the Protestants must have borne some share also. For the consideration of these proposals, a great assembly of the nation, Papists and Protestants, was called in the Lord-Deputy Falkland's time. The meeting was in the hall of the castle of Dublin. The Bishops, by this Lord Primate's invitation, met at his house ; and he and they unanimously subscribed a protestation against the toleration of Popery ; the original of which I have : a copy, with their several names subscribed, is as followeth :—

“The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous ; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical ; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

“For, 1. It is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery ; but, also, (which is a consequent of the former,) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholic apostasy.

“2. To grant them toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made

by them, is to set religion to sale, and, with it, the souls of the people whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious; beseeching the zealous God of truth, to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen."

(Conferred and agreed upon November 26, 1626.)

JA. ARMACHANUS.

MAL. CASHELLEN.

ANTH. MEDENSIS.

THO. HERNESS. ET LAGHLIN.

RO. DUNENSIS, &c.

GEORGE DERENS.

RICHARD, CORKE, CLOYNE, ROSSES.

ANDR. ALACHADENS.

THO. KILMORE ET ARDAGH.

THEO. DROMORE.

MICHAEL WATERFORD ET LYSMORE.

FRAN. LIMERICK.

This judgment of the Bishops, Dr. George Downham, Bishop of Derry, at the next meeting of the Assembly, April 23d, 1627, published at Christ-church, before the Lord-Deputy and Council, in the midst of his sermon.

The preamble he made to it (which I had from his own notes) was thus ; namely,—

“ Are not many among us, for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls, but also the souls of others ? But what is to be thought of toleration of religion, I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom, which I think good to publish unto you, that, whatsoever shall happen, the world may know, that we were far from consenting to those favours which the Papists expect.”

After he had published it, and the people had given their votes also with a general acclamation, crying, “ Amen,” he added, as followeth :—

“ But some may object, ‘ In so saying, you hinder the King’s service.’

“ I answer, God forbid that what is spoken for the maintenance of religion, and the service of God, should be thought to be an hinderance of the King’s service ; but we are so far from that, that with all our hearts we desire not only that the sole army of five thousand five hundred may be maintained, but also a far greater army, besides that of trained soldiers, be settled for the defence of the country : only this we desire, that His gracious Majesty will be pleased to reserve

to himself the most of those peculiar graces which of late have been offered; the greatest whereof might much better be spared, than granted for the dishonour of God and the King; to the prejudice and impeachment of true religion, and countenance of the contrary; and what is wanting may be supplied by the country; and I shall exhort all good subjects, and sound Christians, to show their forwardness in this behalf," &c. The text the Bishop took then was Luke i. 23—25; when he spake much against men's subordinating religion, and the keeping of a good conscience, for outward and worldly respects, and to set their souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters, &c. This Lord Primate the next Lord's day preached before the same auditory: the text was, "Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world;" (1 John ii. 15;) when he made the like application with the Bishop; rebuking those who, for worldly ends, like Judas, sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver; or as Balaam, following the wages of unrighteousness; foretelling, as he had often done, of judgments for these our inclinations to such permissions and tolerations; that wherein men might think to be gainers, at the end they would be losers: that speech of Jeremiah to Baruch, of God's being about to pluck up what he had planted, and to break down what he had built, and his bidding him not to seek great things for

himself, he applied to the present times. The judgment of the Bishops prevailed so much with the Protestants, that the proposals were driven on very heavily ; and after much agitation of things, the Lord-Deputy, finding the discontents between both parties increasing, desired the Primate, as the fittest person, both in regard of his esteem in the Assembly, and being one of the Council, and so concerned in promoting the King's business, to sum up the state of things, and to move them to an absolute grant of some competency to the complying with the King's necessities, without any such conditions ; with which, upon their answer, he would cease moving any further : which (upon very little warning) he did with much prudence, according to that double capacity of a Privy-Councillor and a Bishop.

A copy of his speech being desired of him by the Lord-Deputy, it was immediately transmitted to England. But not prevailing with the Assembly, to yield anything to the supplying of the King's wants, it was dissolved.

This Lord-Deputy Falkland, not long after, being himself called back into England, at his taking boat at the water-side, reserved this Lord-Primate for the last person to take leave of, and fell upon his knees on the sands, and begged his blessing ; which reverend respect to him gained a greater reputation to himself both in Ireland and England ; and, indeed, a great esteem was ever

had of him in his younger years, by the several Lord-Deputies.

And now a preferment, too early for those years, for his sake conferred upon me, was no temptation to me, in that it took me too soon from him : but not many years after, it pleased God that I was called to him again, in being the Minister of Drogheda, the place of my ordination, and where himself resided ; and so had that happiness renewed, till the year before the rebellion, when he came to England.

### CHAPTER III.

THE many letters that came to the Primate from foreign parts, as well as from home, upon several occasions, some for resolution of difficulties in divinity, others in cases of conscience, and practical subjects, was a great labour to answer ; the copies of many of which, I have seen under his hand.

Twelve of the most eminent Divines in London (who were wont, when he was here, to apply themselves to him as a father, such as Dr. Sibbs and Dr. Preston, &c., between whom and him there was a most entire affection) wrote then to

him for his direction of them in a body of practical divinity, which he returned them accordingly.

He was much endeavouring in Ireland the augmentation of the means of the ministry ; for which end he had obtained a patent for impropriations to be passed in his name for their use, as they fell, but it was too much neglected by themselves.

And here let me give some of his exemplary injunctions. Every Lord's day he preached in the forenoon, never failing but upon sickness : in this service he spent himself much. In the afternoon, this was his order to me, that (besides the catechising of the youth before public prayers) I should, after the first and second lesson, spend about half an hour in a brief and plain opening the principles of religion in the public catechism ; and after that I was to preach also. First, he directed me to go through the Creed at once, giving but the sum of each article ; then next time at thrice ; and, afterwards, each time an article, as they might be able to bear it ; and so proportionably the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments. The good fruit of which was apparent in the vulgar people upon their approach unto the communion, when, as by the then order, the names of the receivers were to be given in, so some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it : an exemplary injunction for this age, having been



too much neglected. His order throughout his diocese to the Ministers was, to go through the body of divinity once a year; which he had drawn out accordingly into fifty heads. When a public fast was enjoined, he kept it very strictly, preached always first himself, at least continuing two hours, and more than ordinarily extending himself in prayer, which, in imitation of him, was accordingly (with the public service) observed by such of us as succeeded in the duties of the day.

His expenses were much in books, while he enjoyed the means of his archbishopric: a certain sum every year he laid aside for that end, but especially in the getting of manuscripts and rarities, as well from remote parts of the world, as near at hand. He was the first that procured the Samaritan Bible, (which is only the Pentateuch,) to the view of these western parts, as Mr. Selden acknowledgeth. It was sent him from Syria, by the way of Aleppo, in the year 1625. He had four copies sent him by a factor whom he employed for the search of things of that nature; and they were thought to be all that could be had there. He gave one to the library of Oxford; a second to Leyden; (for which Ludovicus de Dieu gives him public thanks in a book dedicated to him;) a third to Sir Robert Cotton's library; and the fourth (having, as I take it, compared it with the other) he kept himself.

The Old Testament in Syriac, a rarity also in these parts, was sent to him from thence not long after.

It would seem incredible to relate how many years ago he confidently foretold the changes that have come to pass in these dominions, both in Ireland and England, in Church and State; and of the poverty which he expected to be brought unto himself, which he said often, in the midst of his plenty.

Some have much observed the text which he took at St. Mary's, in Cambridge, in 1625, on the King's day, and the first annual solemnity of it: "But if ye shall still do wickedly, you shall be consumed, both ye and your King." (1 Sam. xii. 25.) Others, the last text he preached from at Court, immediately before his return into Ireland: "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints." (1 Cor. xiv. 33.) His application to the confusions and divisions, he was confident were at the doors, was then observed.

There is a passage in his book, *Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitates*, page 556, where, after he hath at large related the manner of the utter destruction of this Church and State, done by the Saxons, (about five hundred and fifty years after Christ,) as he found it in Gildas, he gives a double cause of that his prolixity: "Partly that the divine justice might the rather from thence

appear to us, the sins of all sorts and degrees being now come to their utmost height, in the not only shaking the foundations of the British Church and State, but the destroying them, and almost utterly overturning them. Partly that even we might the rather be in great fear that our turn is accordingly coming, and often call to mind that of the Apostle, ‘Behold the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou shalt be cut off:’ (Rom. xi. 22:) which by our reformation, I pray may be prevented.”

He hath often acknowledged, that sometimes that which he had fully resolved in his sermon not to utter, when he came to it, was like Jeremiah’s fire, “shut up in his bones, that he could not forbear,” (Jer. xx. 9,) unless he would have stood mute, and proceeded no further; whereof I might give many instances, as well as of his boldness and freedom in public, reprov- ing what he deemed wrong in the greatest; even before Kings he was not ashamed: and his preaching was with authority. He often stood in the gap, in opposition, to his utmost, of errors and false doctrines. He withstood to the face any toleration of Popery and superstition, by whomsoever attempted; like Shammah, (2 Sam. xxiii. 11, 12,) one of the prime worthies of David, defending a field of lentiles from the breaking in of

a whole troop of Philistines. At the hearing of him I have thought of that speech in the psalm, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up."

I remember a speech of his, in the year 1624, uttered before many witnesses, which he hath often confirmed since; namely, that he was persuaded the greatest stroke to the Reformed Church was to come yet; that the time of the utter ruin of the see of Rome should be, when she thought herself most secure; according to that of Babylon at her destruction: (Rev. xviii. 7, which he thought to be meant of the same:) she shall say, "I sit as a Queen, and shall see no more sorrow."

His farewell sermon, in or very near the place where he had lived and preached in England, was then much observed: "Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." (James i. 15.) He applied it to the fulness of the sins of this nation, which certainly would bring forth destruction. He also said that the "harvest of the earth was ripe, and the angel putting in his sickle." (Rev. xiv. 18.) He spoke also of the ephah in the vision of Zechariah v., as being "filled with wickedness;" and of the case of the Amorites, who, when their iniquities were full, were destroyed. These remarks much affected the auditory. And as for private discourses, there are none who were acquainted with him

but can be witnesses of the like. Hundreds have laid them up in their hearts, and, by what hath fallen out already, measure their expectation for the future.

The last time he was in London, he much lamented, with great thoughts of heart, the disjointings of affections, and the deadly hatred, which he saw kindling in the hearts of men, one against another, by their several opinions in matter of religion: some of them, in opposition to a ministry, both to the office and maintenance, contemning the sacraments; others raising and spreading damnable doctrines, heresies, and blasphemies. He was confident that the enemy which hath sown those up and down the nation were Priests, Friars, and Jesuits, and such like Popish agents; sent out of their seminaries from beyond the seas, in other disguises; who, by their numbers multiplying in London, as elsewhere, expected accordingly a great harvest of those seeds shortly; and he was persuaded, if they were not timely weeded out by a severe suppressing of them, they would either tend to Popery, or massacres, or both: adding therewith, how willing he was, if God so pleased, to be taken away before that evil should come, which he was confident of, unless there were some speedy reformation.

Now, although I am as far from heeding prophecies of this kind as any man, yet with me it is not improbable, that so great a Prophet, so sanctified

from his youth, so knowing, and eminent throughout the universal church, might have at some special times more than ordinary motions and impulses in doing the watchman's part, of giving warning of judgments approaching.

A little before the Parliament in Ireland, in 1634, there was a letter sent over from the King to the Lord-Deputy and Council, for determining the precedency of the Primate and Archbishop of Dublin there; of which, of later times, there had been some question, not as to their persons, but in relation to their sees. This good man, out of his great humility, was hardly drawn to that argument; but, being commanded, he showed a great deal of learning and rare observations in matter of antiquity; and the thing was determined on his side. Afterwards, by another letter, procured without his seeking, he had the precedency given him by the Lord Chancellor. But how little those things took with him, but rather were burdens to him, not in the least elating him, all men knew.

At that Parliament of 1634, he preached the first day of it before the Lord-Deputy, the Lords and Commons, in St. Patrick's, Dublin. His text was, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, till Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be." (Gen. xlix. 10.)

At the beginning of the Parliament in 1639,

he preached before the same auditory, from Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5: "And Moses commanded us a law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob, and he was King in Jeshurun, when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together." As these were most fit texts for a Parliament, so each sermon was full of rare and eminent learning.

In the year 1640 he came to England, being invited by some eminent persons, upon the occasion of the difference between the late King and Parliament. This I take notice of: it was God's special providence for his preservation; it being the year before the rebellion of Ireland; as if, according to the angels' speech to Lot, nothing could be done till he were come hither, and escaped to this his Zoar. (Gen. xix. 22.) At my taking leave of him, I cannot forget the serious preparative he gave me against the heavy sorrows and miseries I should see before I saw him again; and with that confidence, as if it had been within view. It put me in mind of that passage in Amos iii. 7, "Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he will reveal it unto his servants the Prophets."

His library, (known to be a copious one,) the first year of the rebellion of Ireland, in 1641, was with us in Drogheda, when we were besieged four months by those Irish rebels, and when they made no question of devouring us.

I had the custody of the library, and the Priests and Friars without talked much of the prize which they should have in it; but the barbarous multitude spoke of burning it, and of me by the flame of the books, instead of faggots under me: but it pleased God, in answer of our prayers and fasting, wonderfully to deliver us and it out of their hands; and so the whole, with all his manuscripts, were sent to him that summer to Chester, and are still preserved. I believe his prayers were very prevalent for us.

The sufferings which he now lay under were many. All his personal estate, and what else belonged to his primacy in Ireland, was destroyed; only at present he was Preacher at Covent-Garden church.

#### CHAPTER IV.

UPON his losses in Ireland, and straits he was brought to in England, two offers were made him from foreign nations; one from Cardinal Richelieu, only in relation to his eminent learning, with a large maintenance, and liberty to live where he pleased in France with the Protestants. The other was from the Hollanders, offering him the place of being Honorary



Professor at Leyden, which had an ample stipend. But he refused both.

And now he was, by the disturbance of the times, perpetually removing, having, with St. Paul, "no certain dwelling-place." That saying of David in Psalm lvi. 8, was often in his thoughts, "Thou tellest my wanderings: put thou my tears into thy bottle." Some of those evidences which St. Paul produceth to approve himself the Minister of Christ (2 Cor. vi., xi.) were applicable to him: "In much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in tumults" or tossings to and fro; "in labours, in watchings, and fastings; by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true; as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and, behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things. In perils by journeyings, in perils by robbers; in perils by his own countrymen; in perils among false brethren; in weariness, and painfulness. Besides the care of the churches coming daily upon him," at least, in his care of answering their expectation in some books; which by learned men of other Churches, he was often put in mind of.

In the year 1642 he obtained leave of both houses of Parliament to go to Oxford, for the purpose of studying in the library there. In

1644 the King coming thither, he preached before him, November 5th, on the gunpowder-treason day. The text was, "And our adversaries said, They shall not know, neither see, till we come, in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause their works to cease." (Neh. iv. 11.) A most apt text for the day: but this passage in his sermon against the Papists,—advising not to repose any trust in them; that, upon the first opportunity, they will serve us here, as they did the poor Protestants in Ireland; offended some persons there attending.

In March following, he went from thence into Wales, to Cardiff, in Glamorganshire, and abode with his daughter. In 1645, September 16th, he removed from thence to St. Donnet's, (the Lady Stradling's,) when by the way he was barbarously used by some soldiers, who pulled him off his horse: they broke open two of his trunks full of books, and took all away; amongst which he lost two manuscripts of "The History of the Waldenses," which he never got again. Most of the other books were restored, in consequence of the Preachers exhorting all sorts in their sermons to that end: but those two manuscripts, though the most meanly clad, he never could hear of. It gave a suspicion, that a Priest or Jesuit, in some disguise, had got possession of them. It much grieved him, they being of use to him, for the finishing

his book *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu*.

Not long after, he fell into a painful sickness. He bled for four days together, so that he swooned, and all hope of life was past. His death was in most places lamented; and was so believed at Court, that a letter came for a successor in his primacy of Ireland: but he recovered; and in 1646, June 11th, he came to London, when the Countess of Peterborough gladly received him.

After some space, he was chosen to be Preacher to the honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn; where he continued some years with great honour and respect from them; till, by the loss of his sight, so that he could not read his text, and decay of his strength, he was advised by his friends to forbear, and to reserve himself, and the remainder of his spirits, (like "Paul the aged,") to the writing of the books which were yet expected from him. No spectacles could help him; only when the sun shined, he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room, in the house where he lived. In winter, the window was often opened for him to write at. The summer of 1655 he conceived would be the last he could make use of his eyes; and with me it is a wonder they were not worn out long ago. The next winter he intended to have an amanuensis, to write for him, and a competent sum was intended to the person that he should make

choice of; but God was pleased to prevent it, by taking him to the sight of himself. After he left Lincoln's-Inn, he was prevailed with to preach in several places. He preached at Gray's-Inn, Nov. 5th, 1654, which he then thought might have been his last public discourse. This was taken as an honour by that honourable Society, of which he had been admitted a member at a reading, above thirty years ago. He preached at the Temple also, at Mr. Selden's funeral, and two other places in the city. Both these latter sermons were very effectual in the conversion of several persons, who came to him; and, indeed, seldom did that sword, drawn by him, return empty. The last sermon that he preached was about Michaelmas, at Hammersmith.

He told me how much he was troubled, that he found himself unable to continue his ministry. His dreams were on it; and though he had been about fifty-five years a Preacher, and so, like the Levites, might well be excused from the service of the sanctuary, only employing himself for the directing of others, yet he had resolved this summer, in some small church or chapel, to return to it again.

He sought no great things for himself. In his distresses, by his losses in Ireland, the Parliament, for some years, had been bountiful towards him, in an annual stipend; but the two last years of their sitting it was suspended. After their

dissolution, the care of him was renewed by Cromwell, the Lord Protector; by whose order a constant competent allowance was given him for his subsistence, which contented him; and which I received from him to the last, with other very considerable sums extraordinary.

All that knew him found him very communicative, not only of his studies, but of what he had out of his stipend, to persons in want; wherein he needed rather a bridle than a spur.

He was not wanting, with St. Paul, to magnify his own office, which may be seen and read of all men; but he did it without partiality, and in what most nearly concerned himself, rather in the wane than in the full. He was not so severe as to disown the ministry of other Reformed Churches; but declared he did love and honour them, as true members of the church universal, and was ready both for the Ministers of Holland and France to testify his communion with them.

For his judgment in divers things, now controverted, it is apprehended improper for this discourse, and inconvenient to set it down, barely, without the support of arguments; which, of necessity, must prove a great digression from the intention of this narration. I have deferred this to a more fitting occasion.

He was a man of most exemplary moderation, meekness, humility, ingenuity; according to

which if others concerned in some late transactions had been tempered, it had been the better for the whole. He had, in 1641, drawn up an expedient, by way of accommodation in some ecclesiastical affairs, which some moderate persons of each party were ready to subscribe. Indeed, in matters of doctrine, so far as substantials were concerned, it was often his charge, not to preach any thing as to the pleasing of men, but God, who hath put us in trust ; that, in so seeking to please men, we should not be the servants of Christ. (Gal. i. 10.) In the defence of which truths of doctrine, no man was more resolute and constant, not giving place by way of subjection, no, not for an hour. But he thought the case was different in circumstantial. In these it was our duty, with St. Paul, to please all men, and not ourselves, in all such things, to edification and concord. In a word, he was without wavering, always one and the same, holding fast the form of sound words, in doctrine and practice, to his last. He was of an apostolical, saint-like spirit, and walked in "the old paths, and good way : " and there is none that hath drunk the old wine that straightway desires new ; " for he saith, The old is better."

On the night before he left London, O the humble expressions of his own unworthiness, and the demeaning of himself, as if he had been the least of saints, which he uttered with many

tears ! They wrought much upon us, who found ourselves so far beneath him ; and did then, as he had often before, wish us to prepare for afflictions and trials, which, he was persuaded, were not far from us. The next morning, Feb. 13th, 1655, I took my last leave of him. Having stayed here, at London, fifty-one days, (for so we found it punctually noted by himself in a book ; it being his custom, with David, so to number out his days, for the place and manner of spending them,) he returned to Ryegate, to the Countess of Peterborough's ; from whence though I had often letters from him, yet I saw him no more.

With regard to his several eminences, I may take up the speech of St. Paul, in his catalogue of eminent saints : (Heb. xi. 32 :) “ And what shall I more say ? for the time would fail me to tell.” The only thing now remaining is to lament this righteous, godly man's failing, or ceasing from the children of men, in his being taken away from us.

Hitherto we have heard what a shining light he was. The eclipse is ours, not his, by this interposition of death ; or rather of his birth-day.

He first sickened, March 20th ; having been (as on every other day) well busied. “ Happy is that servant who, when his Master comes, is found so doing.” Most of the day, as long as he had light, he was at his study, proceeding in his

*Chronologia Sacra*, clearing all doubts in his former book ; namely, the Annals of the Bible, in which he had gone as far as the book of Judges. He went from thence to visit a gentlewoman, who was then sick in the house, gave her a most excellent preparative for death, with other most holy advices in practical matters, for three quarters of an hour ; but in such an heavenly manner, as if, like Moses upon Mount Nebo, his eyes had been then strengthened to the sight of that celestial Canaan ; or with St. Paul, in his rapture, had been within the gate of heaven, to which, like Jacob, he was now nearer than he was aware.

That night, about eight of the clock, he first complained of his hip, judging it to be a touch of the sciatica, which, about thirty-five years ago, he had by sitting up late in the College library of Dublin. That, by an ointment, he was at present eased of, and took some rest. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his side. This puts me in mind of the angel of the Lord smiting Peter on the side, when he delivered him out of prison ; (Acts xii. 7 ;) and so was this the forerunner to him of that glorious liberty of the sons of God, which, by the ministration of angels, he forthwith partook of. A Physician was sent for, who did that which he conceived fit : but the pain continuing, and his spirits decaying, he applied himself to prayer ; and upon the abatement



of the torture, to advising those about him to provide in their healths for death, that then they might have nothing to do but to die ; which (after a short settlement of things of this world) he took a great content to find approaching.

In prayer he had the assistance of a Minister then present ; but afterwards desired to be left in private. The last words he was heard to utter, (about one o'clock in the afternoon, not long after which he died,) in praying for the forgiveness of sins, were these : " But, Lord, in special, forgive my sins of omission." In the general, he had his wish, which I have often heard him make, that he might die like Mr. Perkins, who expired crying for mercy and forgiveness.

But omission was that which he prayed to be forgiven ; and yet he was a person never known to omit an hour, but was ever employed in his Master's business, either writing, reading, or, as of late, others reading to him ; ever either resolving of doubts, or exhorting, instructing, giving good and holy counsel to such as came to visit him. With this humble expression, this holy man of God expired, this Daniel greatly beloved : a speech which may be a lesson to us all, and give us, to our last, matter of solemn meditation and imitation.

March 22d, 1624, was the date of his patent (as I am informed) for his translation to the see of Armagh ; and March 21st, 1655, was the day

of his death, and of his translation to heaven ; so that he had been just thirty-one years Primate of Ireland.

He is entered into joy, but has left the Church a mourner, even the whole Church. One of the bitterest mournings we read of in Scripture, is that of Hadad-rimmon, in the valley of Megiddon, at the death of good Josiah, when Jerusalem and Judah, the whole land, and every family, put themselves in mourning ; when the singing-men and singing-women were by an ordinance in Israel called to weep out their sorrows, and leave them upon record for posterity. It may well be our copy for this day's mourning also ; and if both the eyes of our nation, the Universities, should shed tears in their public eulogies, the honour done would be in an equal balance proportioned between themselves and him who was an honour to them both, in his often abode with them.

May we not say, as Eli's daughter did at the taking of the ark of God, and the death of her father-in-law and her husband, "The glory is departed from Israel," even the principal glory of our nation, for learning and piety ?

May we not, in relation to his works intended for the press, but not finished, take up the sad words of Hezekiah ?—"This is a day of trouble and rebuke ; for the children are come to the birth, and there is no strength to bring forth."

May we not take up the lamentation of David for Jonathan?—"The beauty of Israel is fallen! how are the mighty fallen upon the high places! Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon, lest the Philistines rejoice, and the uncircumcised triumph."

May we not cry out with Elisha, when his master Elijah was taken up to heaven from him,—or as King Joash wept over Elisha himself upon his death-bed?—"My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof;" that is, the strength and support of Israel is departed.

Give me leave, with a little inversion, to conclude with the words of Jeremiah in his Lamentations: "Ye elders of the daughter of Sion," (let it be applied, if you please, in special to those of the ministry,) "sit ye upon the ground and keep silence, cast dust upon your heads, cover yourselves with sackcloth, hang down your heads to the ground, let your eyes trickle down tears, let them run down like rivers of waters; for the joy of our heart is ceased, the crown is fallen from our head," as to the highest honour of this nation in foreign parts, by him.

He hath, with St. Paul, "finished his course, and kept the faith." Let us be followers of him in the piety of his life, in the industry of his pen; labour in the word and doctrine, by preaching, that our latter end may be like his; and receive with him at last the sentence, "Well

done, thou good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy master."

A CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF DR. JAMES USHER, LATE ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

*Jacobus Usserius Armachanus de Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu.* 4to. Londini, 1613.

*Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge.* 4to. Dublinii, 1630.

*Historia Goteschalci.* 4to. Dublinii, 1631.

*De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum.* 4to. Dublinii, 1639.

*Ignatii Epistolæ cum Annotationibus.* 4to. Oxoniæ, 1645.

*De Anno Solari Macedonum.* 8vo. Londini, 1648.

*Annales Veteris Testamenti.* Fol. Londini, 1650.

*Annales Novi Testamenti, &c.* Fol. Londini, 1654.

*Epistola ad Capellum de Variantibus Textûs Hebraici Lectionibus.* 4to. Londini, 1652.

*De Græcâ Septuaginta Interpretum versione Syntagma.* 4to. Londini, 1655.

#### HIS ENGLISH WORKS.

A Sermon preached before the House of Commons, Feb. 18th, 1618.

A Declaration of the Visibility of the Church : preached in a Sermon before King James, June 20th, 1624.

A Speech delivered in the Castle-chamber, in Dublin, November 22d, 1622.

His Answer to Malon, the Jesuit. 4to. 1631.

The Religion professed by the Ancient Irish and Britons. 4to. 1631.

Immanuel ; or, the Incarnation of the Son of God. 4to. Dublin, 1639.

A Geographical Description of the Lesser Asia. 4to. Oxford, 1644.

Confessions and Proofs of Dr. Reynolds, and other Protestant Divines, concerning the Right of Episcopacy. 4to. Oxford, 1644.

Discourse of the Original of Bishops and Archbishops. 4to. Oxford, 1644.

His small Catechism reviewed. 12mo. London, 1654.

The Sum and Substance of Christian Religion : being in part his ; but published without his consent. Fol. London.

A Method for Meditation ; or, a Direction for the Hearing of the Word.

Annals of the Old and New Testament ; with the Synchronisms of Heathen Story, to the Destruction of Jerusalem. Fol.

THE LIFE  
OF THE  
REV. ANTHONY HORNECK, D.D.

RICHARD KIDDER, D.D.,  
LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.



THE LIFE  
OF THE  
REV. ANTHONY HORNECK, D.D.

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CHAPTER I.

THIS excellent man was born in the year 1641, at Baccharach, in the Lower Palatinate. His father was Recorder or Secretary of that place, a very strict Protestant, and a person of great reputation. The Doctor was also bred up in the same profession from the beginning. He never was of the Church of Rome, as hath been falsely reported of him. His father devoted him to the holy ministry from the womb, and was not wanting to give him such an education as might fit him for that sacred office. He was first sent to Heidelberg, where he applied himself with great diligence to the study of divinity, under the direction and care of the learned Dr. Spanheim, who was afterwards the primary Professor of the University of Leyden.



He had, it appears, a great desire to come into England. I cannot tell what it was that moved him. It is certain that his father inclined not to it. However, to England he came, not without his father's consent. He was about nineteen years of age when he first came over. He was then eminent, not only for his learning, but also for his great piety. He who taught him the English tongue, professes that he never saw a young man so exemplary for piety as this young man was.

He was entered into Queen's College, Oxford, December 24th, 1663, and was in great esteem there with Dr. Barlow, then Provost of that house, and since Bishop of Lincoln; who valued him highly for his learning, and more particularly for his skill in the Eastern languages. He was, by the Doctor's favour, made Chaplain of the College soon after his entrance. He was incorporated Master of Arts from the University of Wittemberg, December 21st, 1663. It was not long after this, that he was made Vicar of All-hallows, in Oxford, which is in the gift of Lincoln College. There he continued a most constant and diligent Preacher about two years.

Thence he removed into the family of the Duke of Albemarle, in 1665, and was received there as a tutor to his son, then Lord Torrington, and since Duke of Albemarle. He was now in a fair way to preferment, had he been forward in

seeking it. The Duke did indeed bestow upon him the living of Doulton, Devonshire, in the diocese of Exeter, and also procured him a Prebend in that church from Dr. Sparrow, then Lord Bishop there.

Before he married, he went over into Germany, in 1669, to see his friends; where he preached with great acceptance, and was entertained with respect at the court of one of the German Princes, who showed him a very particular kindness.

After his return he was chosen Preacher at the Savoy, in 1671, where he continued about twenty-six years, till he died. That place deserves not the name of a preferment. The maintenance is small and precarious; and, whatever it was to him at his first taking it, when there were persons of considerable quality inhabiting there, who were very kind to him, afterwards, when his family increased, and his necessities were greater, it could not be called a competent maintenance. But, whatever it was, first or last, he could not be persuaded to keep his living in Devonshire with it; nor could he ever be prevailed with afterwards (whatever offers were made to him) to accept of any living to hold in conjunction with it. He was irreconcilable to pluralities, and to non-residence; and would, upon occasion, declare his abhorrence of them with considerable warmth.

He was of the opinion, in this matter, of Ber-

nard Gilpin, the famous Preacher and saint of the north, of whom the Bishop of Chichester, who wrote his life, gives the following account:—  
“Mr. Gilpin was about to travel beyond the seas, and to study there. He was at that time possessed of a living, a cure of souls: Bishop Tunstall persuaded him to keep his living for his better support; Mr. Gilpin refused so to do, and resigned it. He told the Bishop, ‘that he had left his parsonage upon necessity, because he could not keep it in his hands with any peace of conscience.’” And when the Bishop offered him a dispensation to hold it, Mr. Gilpin replied, “The devil will not be restrained with any bonds of dispensation from labouring, in mine absence, the destruction of my people committed to my charge: and I fear that when God shall call me to account of my stewardship, it will not serve my turn to make answer, that I was dispensed withal, whilst the devil made havoc of my flock.” Mr. Gilpin was after this, and whilst he continued beyond the seas, pressed to accept of a living; but he told the Bishop, in his letter to him, his mind in these words: “I am fully resolved, so long as I live, never to burden my conscience in this case, nor to keep a living in my own charge with condition to live from it.” He adds afterwards, “Though any other should teach and preach for me as constantly and industriously as ever St. Augustine did, yet cannot I think my-

self discharged by another man's pains-taking. But if yet I should be persuaded thus to offer violence to my conscience, upon condition to remain either here or in any other University, my disquiet of conscience would never permit me to profit in my study."

He was a very great blessing to the inhabitants of the Savoy, and indeed to the city. He constantly resided among them, though he had no house belonging to his place. He hired a house, and was constant in the discharge of the duties of his place. He preached with great vehemence and ardour; with mighty force and conviction. He spake the sense of his soul, and entered into the hearts of his people. He soon convinced his auditors that he was in earnest, and that he had a mighty sense of the worth of souls, and of the vast importance of those truths which he delivered to them.

His auditors were convinced that he was a man of God, and sent by him for the good of souls. He used great freedom of speech; and, instead of using enticing words of human wisdom, he spake, like his Master, with great conviction and authority.

His fame grew exceedingly, and very many were his constant auditors, some of the highest rank and quality, and a very great number of truly devout and pious persons. A vast crowd there was that followed him, and such a collec-

tion of most devout and conformable persons as were hardly to be found elsewhere ; it was no easy matter to get through the crowd to the pulpit.

He administered the holy communion on the first Sunday of every month, and preached a preparation sermon on the Friday preceding. He did it also on the great festivals. He administered it twice on a day ; in the morning, at eight o'clock ; and at the usual time after the morning sermon. The number of the communicants held a great proportion to that of his auditors, and their devotion was very exemplary. The number was so great at both times, that it will hardly be believed by those Clergymen who have been confined to the country, and have seen the small number of those who attend upon this holy service. So great was the number, that there was need of help of Clergymen to assist in the delivering of the bread and wine ; and with such assistance it was very late before the congregation could be dismissed. I will add, that I do not remember that I did ever behold so great numbers, and so great signs of devotion, and a due sense and profound reverence, becoming this act of divine worship, in my whole life. The Doctor took indefatigable pains on these occasions, but he was encouraged to do so from the great success that his labours met with.

He was not only very diligent in preaching

and administering the holy sacrament, but in all other parts of his duty.

He took great pains in catechising and instructing the youth, in visiting the sick, and directing and satisfying the doubtful and scrupulous, and encouraging all good beginnings, and promoting worthy designs, and provoking those he conversed with, to love and good works.

He took great pains also in his own family. He spent very much time with his family in constant prayers, morning and night, in reading the holy Scriptures, singing psalms, in holy conferences, and all the duties incumbent upon him as the master of a family. No weariness, no weighty business abroad, excused him from the discharge of these duties. Nor did he perform them slightly, but spent much time in them. He was very assiduous, very earnest and vehement, and showed a great concern and ardour therein. He would rise early in a morning to these exercises, and not spare his pains even after the great and wearisome labours of the day.

Nor did he forbear his studies and closet-devotions. He spent much time there. It appears by a diary found since his death, and which he kept for a long time, that he called himself to an account every night, for the words, and actions, and conversation of the day past; and perhaps few men living were more strict and severe than he was in this matter. If he had done any good

that day, he gave God the praise of it before he slept. And few men that lived passed fewer days (if he passed any such) without doing good. But when any words or thoughts escaped, which he judged to have wanted due care, he animadverted upon himself in a severe manner, before he went to rest. He was one of the kindest men to others that ever lived, and one of the severest to himself. He needed no confessor to call him to account, or to enjoin him any penance. He did not spare revenge upon himself, who could most easily forgive his enemies, and wanted no compassion for the greatest criminals. He kept a continual watch over his own soul, and strictly watched over its actings and tendencies, and was therefore very fit to watch over those who were committed to his charge.

Besides the constant care that was upon him from his parish, his family, his closet, and studies, he employed himself in doing good to those who were more remote. He encouraged piety wherever he came, and particularly in the younger sort. He had the care of several societies of young men, whom he directed and encouraged. And because this matter hath been misunderstood, and that to my certain knowledge, there was an attempt, since this Revolution, to blacken the Doctor on this account, I shall represent the matter just as it was.

Certain it is, that there were some societies

of religious and devout young men under the Doctor's government and inspection. But whether the Doctor moved these young men at first to enter into such societies, or whether they first applied to him, and he only gave them rules to govern themselves by, I am not able to determine. Thus much is certain, that he gave them rules, and they were these that follow :—

“I. That all that entered into such a society should resolve upon an holy and serious life.

“II. That no person shall be admitted into this society till he arrive at the age of sixteen, and hath been first confirmed by the Bishop, and solemnly taken on himself his baptismal vow.

“III. That they choose a Minister of the Church of England to direct them.

“IV. That they shall not be allowed in their meetings to discourse of any controverted point of divinity.

“V. Neither shall they discourse of the government of Church or State.

“VI. That in their meetings they use no prayers but those of the Church, such as the Litany and Collects, and other prescribed prayers; but still, they shall not use any that peculiarly belongs to the Minister, as the absolution.

“VII. That the Minister whom they choose, shall direct what practical divinity shall be read at these meetings.



“VIII. That they may have liberty, after prayer and reading, to sing a psalm.

“IX. That after all is done, if there be time left, they may discourse with each other about their spiritual concerns; but this shall not be a standing exercise, which any shall be obliged to attend unto.

“X. That one day in the week be appointed for this meeting, for such as cannot come on the Lord’s day; and that he that absents himself without cause shall pay three pence to the box.

“XI. Every time they meet, every one shall give six pence to the box.

“XII. That on a certain day in the year, namely, Whit-Tuesday, two Stewards shall be chosen, and a moderate dinner provided, and a sermon preached, and the money distributed (necessary charges deducted) to the poor.

“XIII. A book shall be bought, in which these orders shall be written.

“XIV. None shall be admitted into this society without the consent of the Minister who presides over it; and no apprentice shall be capable of being chosen.

“XV. That if any case of conscience arise, it shall be brought before the Minister.

“XVI. If any member think fit to leave the society, he shall pay five shillings to the stock.

“XVII. The major part of the society to conclude the rest.

“XVIII. The following rules are more especially to be commended to the members of this society; namely, To love one another; when reviled, not to revile again; to speak evil of no man; to wrong no man; to pray, if possible, seven times a day; to keep close to the Church of England; to transact all things peaceably and gently; to be helpful to each other; to use themselves to holy thoughts in their coming in and going out; to examine themselves every night; to give every one their due; to obey superiors, both spiritual and temporal.”

This is the substance of what the Doctor directed on this occasion. I did, many years ago, lay these things before a great and worthy Prelate, to whom I thought it was highly fit that they should be communicated. I advised with him upon the whole matter. The occasion was this: there was a certain number of young men, who were desirous to make such a society, and to be concluded by these orders. They applied to a Minister in London to take upon him the inspection and care of them. I was concerned for that Minister, and thereupon laid the whole case before that Prelate. He was clearly of opinion that the young men were not to be discouraged; and that it was best to take care of them, and secure that zeal which they expressed, in the right channel. He was well contented so to leave them to the care and management of a

Minister of the Church of England. Upon which encouragement they were admitted. That time in which this Prelate was consulted, was not over favourable to any kind of religious meetings. And yet the Doctor had the hard measure to be censured very severely, even since the happy Revolution, upon this account. Endeavours were used to beget an ill opinion of him in the Archbishop, and in others. But upon due information, the Archbishop was entirely satisfied, and was a true friend to the Doctor to the last.

The Doctor had so much business generally upon his hands, that he had hardly time to eat his meat. He was often sent for, to sick and dying people, frequently consulted by those who were doubtful and scrupulous, and addressed to with cases of conscience, and sometimes with cases that were very extraordinary. He was also beyond all measure followed by the poor and needy, by them that wanted money, or wanted his favour to procure them some boon or other. He was extremely prone to do good offices; this was well known, and it fared with him accordingly.

But in the reign of James II., his labour was much increased. Great endeavours were used to introduce Popery, and to delude the poor people. No man was more stout and diligent than the Doctor at that time. He preached most vigorously against that corrupt doctrine, prepared his

auditors against the day of trial, and was prepared (I doubt not) for martyrdom himself. It is very well known that he declined no labour, shunned no conference with the Popish Priests, omitted not what was in his power to do to stem the tide. There are those living, of the greatest figure and character, who very well know the truth of this matter.

But thanks be to God, the fear of Popery vanished upon King William's coming to the crown. But then the Doctor had another trial. His maintenance at the Savoy was but small, and in great measure precarious. And yet was that all his preferment, excepting a prebend of the church of Exeter, of but £20 per annum. But it was really much less than that, charges deducted. This was all his preferment at that time, and for some considerable time after. He had not any house to live in, but what he hired at a considerable rate. He had himself, a wife, and four children to maintain; and his children so far grown, that they required a more chargeable maintenance than formerly. His maintenance was very little. Those who formerly contributed withdrew their kindness, because he submitted to the new Government. He lost very considerably that way: this I had from his own mouth: yet I cannot say that he complained of it. I confess, I never heard him complain but once, and that was a little before his

last sickness, and then he complained that he wanted money to give to the poor. The poor did in great numbers resort to him at that time : he gave of his own little a great proportion, and perhaps something more than might seem consistent with what was owing to his own family. But he had a generous soul, and knew not how to deny him that asked. The words of our Saviour, "Give to every one that asketh thee," made a great impression upon his mind. I found, upon discourse with him, that he was so very much under the power of those words, that he thought he could hardly be at liberty even from a common beggar : and sometime I have taken occasion to discourse him on that subject ; but I shall not trouble the reader with any thing farther in that matter.

In these mean circumstances he continued for several years after the Revolution. But he went on in his labours, and cheerfully pursued the great end of his ministry, and the purpose for which he was sent into the world. It pleased God to raise up a friend who concerned himself on his behalf. It was the Lord Admiral Russel, afterwards the Right Honourable the Earl of Orford. He, before he went to sea, went to the Queen, to take leave of Her Majesty ; and when he was with her, begged of her that she would be pleased to bestow some preferment on Dr. Horneck. The Queen told him that she could not at present think of any way of preferring the

Doctor; and with this answer the Admiral was dismissed. Some time after this, the Queen told what had passed on this occasion to Archbishop Tillotson. She added withal, that she was concerned, lest the Admiral should think her too unconcerned on the Doctor's behalf, and advised with him what was to be done for the Doctor's advantage, and satisfaction of the Admiral. The Archbishop advised the Queen to promise him the next prebend of Westminster that should happen to become void. This the Queen did, and lived to make her word good, in the year 1693. The Archbishop, upon notice that the prebend was void, introduced the Doctor to the Queen, and he was made Prebendary of that church. I had this relation from the Archbishop. And I mention that noble Lord, who spake to the Queen 'on the Doctor's behalf, with all the honour imaginable. Indeed, that noble family, the Duke of Bedford, and his noble relatives, had a great kindness for the Doctor, and it ought not to be forgotten in this place. I have often heard the Doctor mention them with respect.

He was now in easier circumstances, and provided of an house, and at a small distance from his people, of whom he took the very same care which he did before. He preached very constantly among them, and discharged other ministerial duties as before. He kept in his hands some part of the house he formerly lived in, and

was constantly there a day or two in a week, (besides his other occasional times,) on purpose to attend upon those poor, and afflicted, and scrupulous people that resorted thither for help and advice. He very often stayed all night in that place, that he might be in a readiness to assist those that expected him there.

## CHAPTER II.

HIS prebend of Exeter lying at a great distance from him, Dr. Horneck expressed an inclination to resign it; and he did so the next year. The Bishop of Bath and Wells had a small prebend which that year became void, little better as to the annual rent than that of Exeter, but then it had a corps of some value, and two lives were gone. It required no residence; and if it had, it was much nearer to him than Exeter. The Bishop made him an offer of it, hoping that he might receive some fine for the better support of his family. He was admitted to it September 28th, 1694. He enjoyed it to the day of his death; but I fear he made no advantage of it, his charges considered; or if he did, it was very small. He was offered indeed a fine, and (considering his small income) a considerable sum, yet not above one half of the real value. It was supposed, I

presume, that he would have greedily laid hold of the present advantage and gain, as too many have done, without considering what was decent and becoming, with respect to the church and to his successor. But they that thought so were deceived in their man. He generously refused the offer, and left the lives to be filled up by his successor. But it having a vicarage annexed in his gift, he went and preached to the people, and gave good rules in his visitation, for the good of the souls under his jurisdiction. In this journey he happened to meet with the lessee of the corps, from whom alone he might expect a fine. Instead of minding his own gain, and addressing the lessee with art and complaisance, in order to make a worldly advantage, he plainly reprov'd the lessee of immorality; which others were prone enough to spread abroad, but perhaps no other had the courage to reprove. He chose rather to lose his fine, as he did, than omit his duty.

Upon this occasion I cannot but add, that he had in great measure the spirit and courage of John the Baptist. He durst reprove a great man; and perhaps that man lived not that was more conscientious in this matter. I very well knew a great man, and Peer of the realm, from whom he had just expectations of preferment; but this was so far from stopping his mouth, that he reprov'd him to his face; and that too in a



matter that few men besides would have adventured on. He missed of his preferment, indeed, but saved his own soul. He could not fawn or flatter, cringe and comply, for his own gain and worldly advantage.

Upon this consideration, his acquaintance and friendship were very desirable by every good man, that would be better. He would in him be very sure of a friend that would not suffer sin upon him. I may say of him what Pliny says of Corellius Rufus, whose death he laments, "I have lost a faithful witness of my life;" and may add, what he said upon that occasion to his friend Calvisius, "I am afraid lest for the time to come I should live more carelessly." Certain I am, that his friends and familiars have a great loss upon this account. They have lost a great pattern of virtue, and a very faithful monitor and reprover of vice and folly.

A faithful reprover is a very great help in our Christian course. He is to be valued above the greatest treasure. He that would be safe (says one of the ancients) must have a faithful friend, or a bitter enemy, that he may fly from vice by the monitions of the one, or invectives of the other. We need one of these to set us right. We read that the *Grandeos* of Japan each of them maintain in their several houses one or two persons, whose office and business is to observe the actions of their masters, and freely to admonish

them when they do any thing imprudently or wickedly. It is worthy of our imitation, and highly expedient. Great men are followed and corrupted by flatterers ; they have but few friends who have courage and honesty enough to tell them of their fault.

But this may be thought too great a digression ; I therefore return to give a farther account of this excellent man. He was now in better circumstances as to the world, than he had been ; but not less diligent and laborious. He went on in his Master's work with most unwearied labour, and spent his whole time and strength in it ; and it was his delight and his choice. Indeed, those who were about him thought he did more than he was able long to bear. He grew soon after this very infirm and sickly. He fell into dangerous fits of the stone. He walked with difficulty, and could hardly bear a coach. I have often told him, that he could not long continue under the labour which he underwent ; and I plainly saw that he declined, and would do so more and more, unless he remitted his great labours. I convinced him abundantly of the truth of what I observed of him. He was sensible of it, and seemed inclinable to retire from the multiplicity of business with which he was almost overwhelmed. He went on in his accustomed labours to Christmas, 1696. Then his work increased upon him ; and whereas other men's

labours are then intermitted, his were augmented. For at that time he had more frequent communions, besides an incredible number of applications from poor people, who then expect relief and assistance; which gave him great labour and trouble. He nevertheless went through all this with as great cheerfulness as was possible. But not long after I found a plain alteration in him for the worse. On the 23d of January I was much concerned for him. He was to preach the next day at the Savoy; and I was of opinion that it was not safe for him to do it. I was very earnest with him to spare himself that day, but could not prevail. He preached there, and it was the last sermon that he preached. In the evening I found him (to my great sorrow) in great disorder. From that time his illness increased upon him. He was in pain, and greatly indisposed all that week. And yet, when I asked him (which I frequently did) if he were not in great pain, all the answer that I could get from him was, that the pain he felt was tolerable. There was nothing wanting that could be thought of towards giving him ease. The ablest Physicians were consulted; and they consulted and advised upon his case, and attended him with great diligence and tenderness, but without success. On Sunday morning, January 31st, he was worse than ever he had been; insomuch that those about him thought him dying about eleven

in the morning. I was then at Westminster-Abbey, and was sent for out of the church to pray with him. I found him very sensible. I asked him if he were sensible that he was dying: he replied that he was. I asked him if he were also resigned, and willing to die: he replied very readily, that he was willing to die. I asked him whether or not he found himself delivered from all the slavish fear of death: he replied very quick, looking up to heaven, that he was delivered from that fear. He was in an excellent frame, and joined with the prayers which the Church appoints on such occasions, with great expressions of devotion. Some time after this, I found him delirious, and not long after speechless. After some few hours' groans he expired, at eight o'clock that evening, being then about the fifty-sixth year of his age. Before this last illness, of which he died, he fell, in the year 1678, into a long and languishing sickness, occasioned through his indefatigable application to the duties and functions of his ministry. It brought him well nigh to his grave. The good man ascribed his recovery, under God, to the tender care of his virtuous wife, with whom he always lived in great concord and union, and to the prayers of pious people put up to heaven on his behalf; as appears from some devout meditations which he composed on that subject, and which have been found since his decease among his papers. In

thanksgiving to God for his preservation at that time, which he himself looked on as next to miraculous, he kept a day monthly in his family ever after, and preached yearly a commemoration-sermon to his beloved congregation at the Savoy, wherein he rehearsed God's mercies to him, and excited others to hope and trust in him in the like extremities. He also distributed largely to the poor upon that day. This was his constant method, to treasure up God's providences to him, and to sanctify and improve them, not only to his own use, but to the use and benefit of others. His body was interred on February 4th, in the Abbey-church of Westminster, with great solemnity, and a vast number of attendants. Several of the Bishops, many of the most eminent Clergy about the city, and an incredible number of other persons, were present on that occasion. And it must be said that the church of Westminster showed the great kindness they had for him, by the great care they took of his decent and solemn interment.

Before I proceed any farther, I shall reflect upon his undaunted courage when death looked him in the face. It is certain that there were a great many considerations that might have disposed him to desire a longer life at that time. I well knew his circumstances, and those of his family, and how desirable his life was upon many accounts. Yet this pious man was not only wil-

ling to die, but was entirely delivered from the fear of it; and with great cheerfulness and alacrity received the tidings and sentence of death.

St. Hierom tells that Hilarion, just when he was expiring, spake these words: "Go out, O my soul: why dost thou fear? why dost thou doubt? Thou hast served Christ near seventy years, and art thou afraid to die?" There was, it seems, some fear and some doubt in Hilarion. This servant of God was, by grace, delivered entirely from all such fear or doubt. I say, by the grace of God he was delivered; and special grace it was. Very good persons, when they come to die, often have their doubts, and their fears too. It is an easy thing to discourse wisely and philosophically of the contempt of death; but they which do so, have not the same presence of mind when death looks them in the face. We have a famous story to this purpose, concerning the father of Clinias, who was wont to despise death in his health, and was in great dread of it when it drew near to him; as Plato relates it.

It must be confessed, that this good man had taken the right course to be freed from the fear of death, by leading a very painful and laborious, a very useful and charitable, a very devout and pious life.

His life was very painful and laborious. Few men ever took the pains which he did. He was mortified to all worldly pleasures and sensual

satisfactions, and used himself to great labours and most exemplary diligence. There is nothing that renders us more afraid to die, than a soft and voluptuous life. "O death, how bitter is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth in rest in his possessions!" (Ecclus. xli. 1.) We have an example of this in Agag. He came delicately, and was, according to the Vulgate translation, *pinguissimus et tremens*, that is, "very fat and trembling:" and no wonder then that he should complain of the bitterness of death; for so certainly he does, however our interpreters come to render his words. Death must be bitter where voluptuousness makes life sweet.

His life was also very useful and very charitable. Multitudes they were that received relief and advantage by him. And there is a particular promise to such men, that God will strengthen them upon the bed of languishing, and make their bed in their sickness. (Psalm xli. 3.) Our Saviour would have his followers pray, that their flight might not be in the winter, or on the Sabbath. One of the Fathers accommodates the words to my present purpose: "Happy is that man that does not, when he leaves this world, lead an unfruitful life, nor yet an idle one. The winter is the barren time of the year, and the Sabbath was a time, not of labour, but of rest."

His life was also very devout and pious, of which more afterward. I mention only in this

place, his very devout and frequent receiving the holy communion, which is a great preparative to a comfortable death. I will repeat the Doctor's own words, which many years ago fell from him to his hearers at the Savoy, and which were verified in him many years after. "A worthy receiving of the Lord's supper," says he, "is the best preparative for death. No man can die uncomfortably, that makes it his business, as often as he comes to this table, to receive worthily. Death cannot hurt him ; for by his worthy receiving, he hath laid up a good foundation for the time to come."

### CHAPTER III.

I SHALL now more particularly give the character of this excellent person ; and the kindness I had for him shall not prevail with me to exceed in his commendation.

I shall begin with his religion, and piety towards God ; of which he was a very conspicuous example. His religion had its full power and force upon him : it transformed him into the image and likeness of God. It hath always been esteemed safe advice, "to imitate him whom we worship." On this account some of the Heathens excused their vices, because their poets, and men of the stage, represented their gods as having



practised the same things. He worshipped the true and living God, the holy and merciful, the God of truth and righteousness, and not only the greatest and most powerful, but the best of beings. He was a follower of God, and his divine image was fairly impressed upon his soul. He imitated God in those two things which one of the ancients tells us will make us like God ; namely, speaking truth, and bestowing benefits. A man of greater simplicity and veracity I never knew ; and there are multitudes that will witness that he went about doing good. He did vow in his baptism to renounce the devil, the world, and flesh. Some men go no farther. All their religion comes from the font. This good man performed his vow : he cast out of himself the evil one, and renounced all his works ; overcame the world, in the noblest sense ; and subdued and mortified all the sinful desires of the flesh. He was a conqueror, and more than conqueror. He devoted himself entirely, and without reservation, to the service of his God. It was not only his business, but his choice and delight, his meat and drink. I need not say that he was much in prayers and fastings, in meditation and heavenly discourse, very frequent in devout communions, in reading and hearing the word, in watchings and great austerities. He wisely considered that these were the means, and not the end, of religion ; that these are not godliness, but only helps,

and the way to it. He arrived at the end of these things. He had an ardent love of God, a great faith in him, and was resigned to his will. He had an unspeakable zeal for his honour, a profound regard to his word, and to his worship, and to all that had the nearest relation to him, or did most partake of his image and likeness. He was a man after God's own heart. He lived under a most grateful sense of his mercies, he was governed by his fear, and had a lively sense of God's special care and providence ; he had that sense of God's mercy in giving us his Son to die for us, that it was observed of him, that, when he discoursed of that argument, he used no measure, no bounds, or limits of his discourse. His heart was so affected with that argument, that he could not put a stop to himself. Jesus was his Lord and Master ; and he had his life and example always before him, and conformed himself to it in the whole tenor and course of his life. His religion was unaffected and substantial, it was genuine and primitive ; and so great a pattern he was, that he might have passed for a saint, even in the first and best times of Christianity.

He was of the Church of England, and a most true son of that Church, and gave the greatest proofs of it. Far was he from the innovations of the Roman Church on the one hand, and from enthusiasm on the other. His writings are a sufficient proof of this. I very well know that

when the Church of England hath been traduced and disparaged, he hath not forborne to make so vigorous a defence, that he lost a very great man's friendship by it; and felt the effects of it afterwards by the loss of a considerable worldly advantage, which he would otherwise have stood very fair for. He showed his zeal for the Church of England when she was in greatest danger from many enemies, especially from the Church of Rome. At that time, when some were so wicked as to change their profession, and others so tame as to sit still, and not to concern themselves when the enemies were at the gates, (for there were too many that professed to be sons of this Church, who were overawed, and durst not appear with that courage which God and all good men might justly have expected from them,) then did this good man bestir himself, and lifted up his voice like a trumpet, and undauntedly defended the Church, when she most needed it. God be praised, there were others who did so likewise, with great vigour and resolution, and great hazard of their liberty and worldly comforts. And many of these had the hard hap to be traduced by their lukewarm brethren, who cry up the Church, as if these were not the genuine sons of this Church. It hath not been for the advantage of the Church, that those men have been decried as not genuine Churchmen, who have done her the greatest service : on the other

hand, some vaunt themselves to be such, who have never been any support to their mother in her greatest distress. There are some of these who are like the images we see in many churches, that are so placed in that bending posture, as if they bore upon their shoulders the weight of the building ; whereas, in truth, they are only the fancy of the architect, and bear no weight at all. The Doctor believed the doctrine of this Church, obeyed her injunctions, and conformed to her constitution. He admonished and diligently instructed his charge, kept multitudes in her communion, lived up to her holy rules, and was ready to sacrifice all that was dear to him in the world to promote the true interest of this Church. He would not indeed take the cure of souls, and then put them out to nurse to some cheap and negligent Curate ; receive the profits, and leave another man to take the pains. He would not take a vicarage, and swear residence before his Ordinary, and afterwards refuse to reside, on pretence of some privilege or exempt jurisdiction, as very many have done. But a Churchman he was, notwithstanding. Indeed, the best of men have been misrepresented. And there are a number of the most useless men, that yet in all places are crying up the Church of England, but have little regard to her holy rules. I knew two men of the same faculty, in the same neighbourhood. They were in their profession very eminent. One of

these had the name of a Church-of-England man, the other of a fanatic. And yet it is well known that the first very rarely, if at all, came to the Church or communion; the other was a great frequenter of both.

The Doctor was a man of very good learning. He had good skill in languages. He had addicted himself to the Arabic from his younger time; and retained it in good measure to the last. He had great skill in the Hebrew likewise; nor was his skill limited to the Biblical Hebrew only, in which he was a great master; but he was seen in the Rabbinical also. He was a most diligent reader of the holy Scriptures in that language in which they were originally written. Dr. Spanheim says of him in his youth, "that he was indefatigable in the study of the holy Scriptures." He adds, that he was then one of an "elevated wit, of a mind that was cheerful, and covetous of making substantial proficiency;" and also that he gave a specimen of it about the year 1659, when he was very young, by a public dissertation concerning the vow of Jephthah, touching the sacrificing his daughter. This, upon his own request, he publicly defended with great presence of mind. He had very good skill in ecclesiastical history, in controversial divinity, and casuistical also. Perhaps few men in his time were more frequently applied to with cases of conscience than the Doctor was. As he had vast numbers

of these applications, so many times the cases were very rare and surprising, and such as are but seldom to be met with. He would often relate the case to me, and tell me what his opinion was, and how he delivered it. I do solemnly declare that I never heard him deliver his opinion, but I was entirely satisfied with it; and I thought him as valuable for this skill, as for any other whatsoever. He was a very constant Preacher. He was affectionate and lively in his preaching, plain and pathetic: he spake from his own heart, and pierced the hearts of his hearers. I will not in this place speak of his writings: I may have occasion to mention them afterwards. I shall only say here, that there is a great strain of piety and devotion in them, and they are very instructive to the well-disposed readers. He had great correspondences with learned men beyond the seas, and was often visited by them; and this preserved in him that readiness which he had in speaking the Latin tongue with considerable ease and freedom.

As for his pastoral care and diligence, he was a great example. He was a pattern to those of the holy ministry, whom they might securely follow. He well understood not only the dignity, but the duty and charge, of his holy function. He had a mighty sense of the worth of souls, and of the great care that is to be had of them. Hence it

proceeded, that he was irreconcilable to pluralities and non-residence. Hence it was that he laboured indefatigably night and day. Hence it was that he was so very painful a Preacher, so very hard a student. Hence it was that he was so very diligent in catechising the youth, in visiting the sick, and in all the parts of his holy office. His heart was wholly set upon gaining souls to God. In this work he laboured incessantly. And those who were thus disposed among the Clergy, he honoured greatly, and served them to his power. A considerable number of such Ministers were well known to him, and some among them that were not well provided for. These, upon occasion, he recommended to cures and employments, as he had opportunity offered him from persons of quality, who many times applied to the Doctor on these occasions. And happy were they who took this course: they might securely rest upon his recommendation. No man was ever more faithful in this trust. I know not but I may say, no man was more happy than the Doctor in this matter. I have tried him several times, and was not deceived. Had I been patron of many livings, I could securely have relied upon his wisdom and fidelity in disposing of them all. He went by a true measure. He looked on a living, as we call it, as a cure, rather than a benefice. He valued the flock more than the fleece, and consequently preferred

those who did the same. On this very account, the death of the Doctor was a loss unspeakable; and I reckon myself a very great loser upon this account. When he was alive, if I wanted a parish Minister, a Curate, a Master of a school, or a Chaplain, I was secure that by him I might be well supplied. His recommendation weighed more with me than many hands, than seals, and ample forms and testimonials from great names and societies of men. I well knew that nothing could bribe him to commend that person to a place of trust, whom he did not know to be fit for it. I heartily wish his example in this were followed. Nor do I think that what I said last is any digression, when I speak of his pastoral care. For his care in recommending those only whom he knew to be fit, was an effect of it. It cannot be that he who will commend any person to holy orders, or the cure of souls, should have a due sense of the pastoral care. And I heartily wish that the Clergy would be very cautious whom they recommend for orders, or for institution; and that College-testimonials were given with greater care than they have been.

I add, that he had a very great zeal for reformation. This will be no commendation of him to the lukewarm and formal Christians. Nay, it will render him less in the eyes of some men, who mightily cry up the Church. And therefore I must explain myself in this matter,



## THE LIFE OF

lest I be misunderstood, and the memory of the Doctor suffer upon this account.

When I say that he was zealous for reformation, I do not mean that he was for reforming or altering the laws. For though he did not think the laws immutable, yet did he not plead for the changing of them. He was well satisfied with the laws of Church and State, and was not for innovations. He was no enemy to the constitution.

The reformation which he was for, was such a one as might be consistent with the law, and indeed was the end of the law itself. He was for reformation of manners, and a strict regard to the discipline and holy constitutions of the Church. He lamented the profaneness and disorders which had broken in among us, and threatened our ruin. He endeavoured to keep up the life and spirit of religion; and, perhaps, considering his private capacity, he did as much this way as any man that lived in his time. He never needed any dispensation himself; and could not, without great grief of heart, see the best laws trampled upon by worldly and ungodly men, or defeated and eluded by the craft and artifices of others. I need make no apology for him, that he was against non-residence and pluralities, that he was for frequent communions, and for a strict care in catechising the youth. All this is agreeable to the sense of our Church.

And his great zeal against all profaneness and immorality cannot be blamed, because he was zealously affected in a good matter.

For his justice to all mankind, he was a great pattern. He gave all men their due, in the greatest latitude of that word. He did not only pay his debts, and discharge his trust, but paid all due honour and respect to worth and virtue, wherever he found them. Nothing could render him partial. No friendship, no power, no interest whatever could turn him aside, or so much as set a false bias upon him.

His charity was divine, and a mighty imitation of the love of God and of Christ. He sought not his own, but with great industry pursued the good of others. There are multitudes alive that have received great relief and comfort from him. He did not spend his time in court and caress, in visiting great persons, and hunting after preferment or applause. He went about doing good: and in this he was indefatigable. His heart was set upon it, and this made him despise the difficulty which lay in his way. Wherever he went, this was his business and design. His charity was large and diffusive. It extended to the bodies, the estates, and souls of men. He fed and taught, he instructed, and comforted, and relieved those who wanted help. I cannot but apply to him what Libanius Sophista said of Socrates, in his Apology for him. Thus he pleads for him to

the Athenians, his citizens. "Ye men of Athens," says he in his Declamation, "save and preserve a sincere friend, a kind man, a good counsellor, a righteous citizen! He could not lead an army, but he knew how to reprove," &c. "Your laws and suffrages are of great value; and Socrates is of no small price, who watcheth those who transgress, reproves the injurious, that dischargeth this public office for the city. How many, think ye, that once neglected to educate their children, by his means took that care upon them? How many that quarrelled with their brethren did he reclaim? How many that abused their parents did he bring to do them reverence? They feared the reproofs of Socrates more than the courts of justice. They knew they could buy off an accuser there; but they that did amiss could not escape his reproofs, nor bribe him to be silent." So it was: this holy man was a great blessing to the public, and more especially to the city, where he reprov'd the transgressors, encouraged the virtuous, directed the scrupulous, and relieved the indigent. Libanius goes on, and represents what strangers and foreigners would say when Socrates was dead, and what discourses they should be entertained with, who should come to Athens to see the man, and coming too late for that, should visit his tomb. "One," says he, "shall say to another, pointing at the place, Here he discoursed of fortitude, and there of so-

briety, and in yonder place of justice. Here is the place where he ran down Prodicus; and there, where he was too hard for Protagoras. In another, he overcame Elcius, and Leontinus." I am very sure it may be said of this holy man, the places may be shown where he was doing good; where he taught, and where he relieved; where he entered the lists with Papists; and where, with the other enemies of the Church; where he instructed the youth, and where he encouraged and directed the younger Christians, and where he exhorted the elder. There are those who can point to the places, and truly say, "Here is the family whom he relieved, and here live the poor widows whom he provided for. Here is the place where he preached, and where he persuaded his auditors to frequent communion, and brought vast multitudes of men and women to constant attendance on that holy ordinance!" The truth is, if the particulars were enumerated, (I say the particulars of his charity,) they alone would make a volume.

One piece of charity deserves to be remembered to his honour; and that was, his telling men of their faults, not only publicly, but privately too. His reproofs may well be reckoned among his charities. I may truly say of him, as Libanius does of Socrates, "He made those better whom he did bite." He bit and healed at once. There was no gall, no venom in him. It all pro-

ceeded from unfeigned charity to the souls of men. He could not suffer sin upon his brother. He had the zeal of John Baptist, and durst and did admonish and reprove the greatest. Of which matter I could say more than I think is convenient for me to be particular in. In truth, he had the spirit of the ancient Prophets, and of the holy confessors of the primitive church. A man that conversed with him much, would be sure to hear of it if he did amiss. He was far from slander and detraction; from that *lingua tertia*, as it is called among the Hebrews, which does three mischiefs at once; namely, to the speaker, to the hearer, and to the slandered. "There is that speaketh like the piercings of a sword; but the tongue of the wise is health." (Prov. xii. 18.) He had the perfect mastery of this member, and used it to the benefit of his brother. I never knew any man living that was more stout than this good man in reproving vice, and in appearing for the truth; never any man that was farther removed from flattery and daubing.

He was a friend of a thousand. He made little show, and was sparing in his profession of kindness. But when he had occasion to serve his friend, he was very industrious to do it, and did not think much of pains and labour therein. There are multitudes now alive that can attest this.

He was temperate to the greatest degree ; I had almost said, to a fault. I have often feared that, considering his great and constant labours, he hardly gave himself that refreshment which was fit. He drank very little wine at any time, and in the latter part of his life he did wholly forbear it. He had, as Seneca phraseth it, “ a stomach that was well nurtured,” not nice or curious ; it received the meanest provision contentedly. After the fatigue and labour of the day, he would sup with an apple or two, with a little bread, and small ale or milk-and-water. This he would receive with great thankfulness to God, and great cheerfulness among his domestics. He was very thankful to God for a morsel of bread, and received the meanest provision with the greatest expressions of gratitude. And yet, when he entertained his friends, he did it liberally. He was always least concerned for himself in these things. He very much denied himself, but to others he was liberal and open-handed ; and rather than the poor should want bread, he would fast himself. He led an ascetic life, kept under his body, and with great industry advanced in holiness, and a life that was spiritual and heavenly.

For his contempt of this lower world he hath given sufficient proof. He despised both the sides or appearances of it ; I mean the smiles and frowns of it. It is well known, that when

he lived with the Duke of Albemarle, he might very easily have made his fortune, as we usually express it. Had he made his court, he could not have failed. But, instead of that, he minded his charge, and the duty of his place. He minded the heavenly kingdom, and the doing good to souls. He would often speak very contemptibly of riches, and declare that the whole design of the Christian doctrine tended to bring contempt upon wealth and great plenty. He was of opinion, that riches were (as a great man hath it) the impediments of virtue; and that a man could never arrive to any great pitch of virtue, but he must be either poor, or like him that is poor, as Seneca hath it.

He likewise despised the frowns of the world. He met with sore afflictions. The loss of a considerable part of his worldly estate at once, I reckon the least of them. I do not remember that ever I heard him once complain, but have often heard him give solemn thanks to God for his goodness. Some of his friends would sometimes speak their resentment before him, because he was not better preferred. But he would never side with them: he diverted the discourse, or stopped it, by saying, "I shall never want."

He was a most humble and heavenly Christian; of great patience and resignation to the will of God; a most mortified man to the world, and to all the glory and pageantry of it. He

led an innocent and inoffensive, and a most useful life. He spent his hours well, and lived many years in a preparation for death and judgment.

One thing must not be forgotten ; and that was, his great meekness under obloquies and reproaches, his great exemplariness in forgiving enemies.

It may perhaps be supposed that he had no enemies ; and it will easily be granted, that he could deserve none. But they do not know this world, that think innocence and usefulness will protect any man against malice, envy, and ill-will. Worthy actions will always be followed with envy. It is by Julius Celsus reported, that when Alcibiades asked counsel of Socrates, what course he should take to avoid envy, Socrates replied, "Live like Thersites." Had he lived a soft and trifling life, he might have avoided it easily : but he did his duty with great exactness, and that was the occasion of envy. The old monk, that was asked by a young one how he might pass easily and quietly through the world, told him, as one rule, that he should not be exact in doing his duty, but do it, as we say, so, so. The Doctor could not live like Thersites ; he could not do his Master's work negligently ; and as this drew many followers and admirers after him, so it did envy also. The truth of the case is this : his exemplary life was a standing



reproach upon those who were negligent, and alway trudging after preferment and wealth. That some of the worst should endeavour to blacken him, hath nothing strange in it at all. This I am very certain of, that the Clergy of the greatest name, and the most conspicuous for virtue and good learning, had a very great opinion of him.

He forgave his enemies, and I could never find him in the least disturbed on that account.

He wrote several books which he published : a catalogue of them will follow the close of these papers. He left also many excellent sermons in mss., upon the most weighty subjects ; particularly upon our blessed Saviour's Sermon on the Mount. There is a great vein of piety and devotion which runs through them. They savour of the primitive simplicity and zeal, and are well fitted to make men better. They are weak men that are much taken with flourishes and tall metaphors, with quaint and piquant strokes of wit. His discourses are all medicinal and healing, and fitted to make the reader serious and devout. That food is best which is nourishing, and that physic which cures and restores. This good man had no greater aim than to do good.

I will say of him, as Pliny did of Virginius Rufus, " His mortality is ended rather than his life. He lives and will live for ever ; and now that he is withdrawn out of our sight, he will

more than ever continue in the remembrance and discourses of men.

His friends erected a monument to his memory in the Abbey-church of Westminster.

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**THE LIFE**  
**OF THE**  
**RIGHT REV. THOMAS KEN, D.D.,**  
**SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS.**

**BY W. HAWKINS, ESQ.,**  
**OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.**



**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**BISHOP KEN.**

**THOMAS**, youngest son of **Thomas Ken**, of **Furnival's-Inn**, by **Martha** his wife, was born at **Berkhampstead**, in **Hertfordshire**, in **July, 1637**. His father's family was of great antiquity, and had possessed a very plentiful fortune for many generations, having been known by the name of the **Kens**, of **Ken-place**.

At a proper age he was sent to school at **Winchester-college**, where he contracted the friendship, so closely at length cemented, between himself and that afterward truly pious Prelate, **Dr. Francis Turner**, Bishop of **Ely**; and where his parts, application, and behaviour, were so well employed and observed, that he was elected to **New-college, Oxon**; where he took his Bachelor of Arts' degree, **May 3d, 1661**; and his degree of Master of Arts, **January 21st, 1664**; Bachelor of Divinity, **1678**; and Doctor of Divinity, **June**

30th, 1679. As soon as his circumstances would permit, he gave the College upwards of £100, as a small acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erecting of the new building.

He was from hence, on December 8th, 1666, chosen into the society of Winchester, where his exemplary goodness and piety were eminently exerted; for that College being chiefly designed by its founder for a retired and studious life, what could a great and generous spirit propose, but the good of souls, and the glory of that God, to whom he constantly ascribed it, even in his most familiar letters? \* For this purpose, he kept a constant course of preaching at St. John's church, in the Soak, near Winton, (where there was no preaching Minister, and which he therefore called his cure,) and brought many Baptists to the Church of England, and baptized them himself. That neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction, nor what he judged his duty prevent his improvement, nor both, his closet addresses to his God, he strictly accustomed himself but to one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two o'clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner: a practice which grew so habitual, that it continued with him almost till his last illness. So lively and cheerful was his temper, that he would be very entertaining to his

\* "Glory be to God" was his constant prescript to all his letters and papers.

friends in the evening, even when it was perceived that with difficulty he kept his eyes open ; and then seemed to go to rest with no other purpose than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulness to sing his morning-hymn, as he then used to do to his lute before he put on his clothes.

Some time after he was elected Fellow of Winchester College, Dr. George Morley, then Bishop of that diocess, made him his domestic Chaplain, and presented him to the parsonage of Woodhay, in Hampshire, vacant by the removal of his Tutor, Dr. Sharrock. It was about this time that he composed and published his "Manual of Prayers for the Use of the Winchester Scholars." That Prelate soon after, without any application made, preferred him to the dignity of a Prebendary in the cathedral church of Winton ; and he was installed accordingly, April 12th, 1669. In this post he was taken notice of by King Charles II. In the year 1675, the year of jubilee, he travelled through Italy, and to Rome ; and upon his return within that same year, he was often heard to say, that he had great reason to give God thanks for his travels ; since, if it were possible, he returned more confirmed in the purity of the Protestant religion than he was before. And now that Prince made choice of him to go with the Lord Dartmouth, to the demolishing of Tangier ; and at his return from



thence, himself gave order that he should be his Chaplain.

He was some time after this made Chaplain to the Princess of Orange, who was at that time residing in Holland; in which post, his prudent behaviour and strict piety gained him entire credit and high esteem with that Princess: but an act of his zeal for the honour of his country, in behalf of a young lady, so far exasperated the Prince, that he very warmly threatened to turn him from the service; which the Doctor resenting, and begging leave of the Princess, (whom to his death he distinguished by the title of his mistress,) gave notice that he should retire from the service; and he would not return to that Court till, by the entreaty of the Prince himself, he was courted to his former post and respect; consenting to continue there for one year longer; and when that year expired, he returned for England. This was not unknown to the King, nor did he show the least dislike to his behaviour; for when the see of Bath and Wells became vacant, the King himself stopped all attempts of Dr. Ken's friends, (who would of their own inclinations have applied in his behalf,) with this remarkable saying, "That Dr. Ken should succeed, but that he designed it should be from his own peculiar appointment." Accordingly, the King himself gave order for a *congé d'élire* to pass the seals for that purpose; and he was con-

separated Bishop of Bath and Wells on St. Paul's day, in the year 1684: and this even just after his opinion, that a woman of ill repute ought not to be endured in the house of a Clergyman, especially the King's Chaplain, was publicly known. For at that time the King coming to Winton, and his harbinger having marked the Doctor's house, which he held in right of his prebend, for the use of Mrs. Gwyn, he absolutely refused her admittance, and she was forced to seek other lodgings.

And now at this juncture it was, when that King's period of life drew near, his distemper seizing his head, and our Bishop well knowing how much had been put off to that last point, and fearing that the strength of his distemper would give him but little time, (his duty urging him,) he gave a close attendance by the royal bed, without any intermission, at least for three whole days and nights; watching, at proper intervals, to suggest pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion; in which time, the Duchess of Portsmouth coming into the room, the Bishop prevailed with His Majesty to have her removed, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to his Queen, so effectually, that His Majesty was induced to send for the Queen, and, asking pardon, had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died. The Bishop, having homely urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere, re-

penitance, several times proposed the administration of the holy sacrament : but although it was not absolutely rejected, it was delayed, from time to time, till the Bishop, and all others present, were put out from the presence for about the space of half an hour ; during which time, it has been suggested, that father Huddleston, the Popish Priest, was admitted to give extreme unction : and the interval between this and the King's death was so short, that nothing concerning the Bishop's behaviour happened worthy of notice in this account. This close attendance the Bishop thought so absolutely necessary, as there-upon to delay his admission to the temporalities of the see of Wells ; so that, when King James came to the crown, new instruments were passed for that purpose, and he was accordingly in full possession.

At this time, it was frequently said by many of eminence, who knew him well, that they never knew any person so able and earnest to do good in such a station, as he was. He had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether he could say the Lord's prayer, or the Creed : and he found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them ; but said, he would try whether he could not lay a foundation to make the next

generation better. This put him upon setting up many schools, in all the great towns of his diocese, for poor children to be taught to read, and say their Catechism ; and about this time, and for this purpose, it was that he wrote and published his “ Exposition on the Church Catechism.” And although it contained nothing but what was strictly conformable to the doctrine of the Church of England, yet, there being an expression in the first edition which the Papists at that time laid hold of, as if it favoured their doctrine of transubstantiation, he took particular care in the next edition, even in that reign, by altering the expression, to fix the sense. By this method and management he engaged the Ministers to be more careful in catechising the children of their parishes ; and they were by him furnished with a stock of necessary books for the use of children. About this time, also, he published his “ Prayers for the Use of the Bath.”

He went often in the summer-time to some great parish, where he would preach twice, confirm, and catechise ; and when he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men, or women, to dine with him in his hall ; always endeavouring, whilst he fed their bodies, to comfort their spirits, by some cheerful discourse, generally mixed with some useful instruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was

divided among them to carry home to their families.

By his instruction and example, he awed men into a sense of religion and duty. He often deplored the condition of the poor at Wells, who were very numerous. And, as he was charitably disposed, so he was very earnest in contriving proper expedients of relief; and thought no design could better answer all the ends of charity, than the setting up a workhouse in that place. But judging it not practicable without the advice, or, at least, the assistance of the gentlemen, he therefore often met and consulted with them; but, not finding any suitable encouragement, he was forced to desist. In this he had a double view, to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation; and the industrious, from the oppression of the tradesmen; who, to use his own expression, “did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work.”

His conduct, at the time of the rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth, had sufficiently confirmed King James in opinion of his duty and allegiance: insomuch, that although he daily relieved some hundred of the rebel prisoners, then in Wells, daily praying with them in person; the King, judging that it was only out of a principle of duty to distressed brethren, to save them from perishing both in body and soul, never so

much as harboured any jealous thoughts of him. Nay, so far did that King entertain hopes of his absolute obedience to his will and pleasure, that although many of his sermons were framed against the Church of Rome, yet it was thought worth while to attempt to gain him over to the interest of that party at Court ; but so ineffectually, that, upon the preaching of one of the two sermons now published, and in the King's own chapel at Whitehall, (which seems wholly intended against both the Popish and opposite factions, then united at Court,) and it being misrepresented to the King, (who had not been present at divine service,) but sending for the Bishop, and closeting him on the occasion, received nothing in answer, but this fatherly reprimand, "That if His Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him." Whereupon he was dismissed.

Although that Prince did not mistake his integrity, yet certainly he was mistaken in him on a much more fatal occasion ; for now came the dispensing power in play, and His Majesty's declaration of indulgence was strictly commanded to be read ; when this Bishop was one of the seven who openly opposed the reading it, suppressed those which were sent to him to be read in his diocess, and petitioned the King not to pursue what was likely to prove so prejudicial both to Church and State : which petition, being

called treasonable, was made the occasion of committing him to the Tower, in order to a trial. Though he dared to disobey his Sovereign, in order to preserve the purity of his religion; and the care of his flock was always nearest his heart; yet, rather than violate his conscience by transferring his allegiance, he chose to leave both himself and them to the protection of the Almighty.

So when the Prince of Orange came over, and the Revolution was grounded on the Abdication of King James, the Bishop retired; and as soon as King William was seated on the throne, and the Oaths of Allegiance were to be taken to him, he for his refusal being deprived by the State, relinquished his revenue, (though not his care,) with as clear a conscience, and as generous a mind, as that by which it was once bestowed on him.

At the time of his being made Bishop, Mr. Francis Morley, nephew to the forementioned Bishop, knowing how little he had provided for such an expense as attends the entry and continuance in such a chair, generously offered and lent him a considerable sum to defray his expenses, and furnish him with an equipage as his station required: which he would often mention with a grateful acknowledgment, expressing a particular satisfaction when he found himself in a condition to discharge the debt. And he was often,

by Dr. Thomas Cheyney, one of his Chaplains, observed to complain, that, for this very reason, no great matter was to be expected from him ; as thinking himself obliged to be just before he could be charitable. But here, if any should expect extravagance, in that, having enjoyed such preferments he was still poor, it must be observed, that, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity. His whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous (but whom he could never regard the less for their being so) were a continual drain upon his revenue ; and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to disperse the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers ; which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction. His charity was so extensive, that having once, while in the see of Bath and Wells, received a fine of four thousand pounds, a great part of it was given to the French Protestants ; and so little regard was had to future contingencies, that when he was deprived by the State, (which was not long after,) all his effects, after the sale of all his goods, excepting his books, (which he never sold,) would amount to no more than seven hundred pounds : which, with the ever-to-be-acknowledged



generosity of his noble friend and benefactor, procured him a clear quarterly payment of twenty pounds, which that noble Peer charged on part of his own estate; and which, among many other and even greater favours, is thus thankfully acknowledged in the last will and testament of our grateful Bishop: "I leave and bequeath to the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, in case he outlives me, all my books, of which his Lordship has not the duplicates, as a memorial of my gratitude for his signal and continued favours." Besides this gift of books, he had in his life-time, both before and after deprivation, given several large catalogues to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his own diocess. He had an excellent genius for and skill in music; and whenever he had convenient opportunities for it, he performed some of his devotional part of praise with his own compositions, which were grave and solemn.

He had always a great relish for divine poesy; and in his retirement under this noble Lord's roof, he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces; together with one epic poem, which was written by him about the time of his voyage to Tangier. But now his public affairs giving room, and his colic pains rendering him incapable of more serious study, he applied himself so happily to this favourite entertainment, as thereby,

in some measure, to palliate the acuteness of his pain, and, as is hoped and conceived, may give full satisfaction to his readers, by promoting their chief happiness, to the glory of God the Giver. So close was his application to these studies, and so was his mind bent upon quietness, that, during all the time of his retirement, and among all the attempts of, and clamours against, those called Jacobites, in the reign of King William, he was never once disturbed in that quiet enjoyment of himself, and, it is presumed, never suspected of any ill design ; since he was never publicly molested, nor privately rebuked. It is true, he was once sent for by warrant, to appear before the Privy Council in the year 1696 ; but having the particular of that matter by me, left under his own hand, I think it best to refer the reader to it, as subjoined to the latter end of this account. That his opinion was not agreeable with such of the Nonjurors, who were for continuing a separation, by private consecrations among themselves, may best be known by his answers to letters, written from men of learning, who conversed with him on that subject ; and which he left behind him : and from what I must affirm, that it was on his request the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who succeeded him, accepted of that see. Because some have attempted to detract from this good man, as if tainted with errors of Popery, and not so steadfast to the doctrine of the Church

of England, and, perhaps, for want of a steady conduct about the time of the Revolution; I think myself obliged, from his will, made not long before his last sickness, (and which being taken as a death-bed profession of faith, may gain the greater credit,) to transcribe the words following:—"As for my religion, I die in the holy catholic and apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church, before the disunion of east and west: more particularly, I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the cross." I likewise subjoin a letter from the Bishop of Sarum, written to him just before his deprivation; which, together with our Bishop's answer, may not only show that Bishop's opinion of the honour he had been to, and the service he had done the Church, but likewise, the caution our Bishop used towards others, with regard to their taking the oaths, and his good wishes for the prosperity of our Church.

"MY LORD,

"THIS gentleman, who is presented to a living in your Lordship's diocese, came to me to receive institution; but I have declined the doing of it, and so have sent him over to your Lordship, that you, being satisfied with relation to him, may order your Chancellor to do it. I was

willing to lay hold on this occasion to let your Lordship know that I intend to make no other use of the commission that was sent me, than to obey any orders that you may send me in such things as my hand and seal may be necessary. I am extremely concerned to see your Lordship so unhappily possessed with that which is likely to prove so fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one that has served in it with so much honour as you have done; especially at such a time, when there are fair hopes of the reforming of several abuses. I am the more amazed to find your Lordship so positive, because some have told myself that you had advised them to take that which you refuse yourself; and others have told me that they read a pastoral letter which you had prepared for your diocess, and were resolved to print it when you went to London: your Lordship, it seems, changed your mind there; which gave great advantages to those who were so severe as to say that there was somewhat else than conscience at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this freely to your Lordship; for I do not deny that I am in some pain till I know whether it is true or not. I pray God prevent a new breach in a Church which has suffered so severely under the old one.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most faithful

“ servant and brother,

“ SARUM, *October 1st.*”

“ GL. SARUM.

“ All glory be to God !

“ MY LORD,

“ I AM obliged to your Lordship for the continued concern you express for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleased to take with me : and though I have already, in public, fully declared my mind to my diocess concerning the oath, to prevent my being misunderstood ; yet, since you seem to expect it of me, I will give such an account, which, if it does not satisfy your Lordship, will at least satisfy myself. I dare assure you, I never advised any one to take the oath ; though some, who came to talk insidiously with me, may have raised such a report : so far have I been from it, that I never would administer it to any one person whom I was to collate. And, therefore, before the Act took place, I gave a particular commission to my Chancellor, who himself did not scruple it ; so that he was authorized, not only to institute, but also to collate in my stead. If any came to discourse with me about taking the oath, I usually told them, I durst not take it myself. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were of my own diocess : and then remitted them to their study and prayers, for farther directions. It is true, having been scandalized at many persons of our own coat, who for several years together preached up passive obedience to a much greater

height than ever I did, it being a subject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preached and acted the quite contrary; I did prepare a pastoral letter, which, if I had seen reason to alter my judgment, I thought to have published; at least, that part of it on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify my conduct to my flock; and before I went to London, I told some of my friends, that if that proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance, (and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter,) it would be an inducement to me to comply: but when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my former opinion.\* If this is to be called change of mind, and a change so criminal, that people who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than myself, have pronounced sentence upon me, that there is something else than conscience at the bottom; I am much afraid, that some of these who censure me may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that; whether more conscientious or no, God only is the judge. If

\* The Bishop was about this time confidently assured, that King James had, by some special instrument, made over the kingdom of Ireland to the French King.

your Lordship gives credit to the many misrepresentations which are made of me, and which I, being so used to, can easily disregard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me: for to see one of your brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily, in many things, betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuse myself of any insincerity; so that deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself. I perceive, that after we have been sufficiently ridiculed, the last mortal stab designed to be given us is, to expose us to the world for men of no conscience: and if God is pleased to permit it, his most holy will be done; though what that particular passion of corrupt nature is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant such reproaches as these may not revert on the authors! I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church; and I shall conceive great hopes, that God will have compassion on her, if I see that she compassionates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace and that charity. I myself can only contribute to both by my prayers, and by

my deprecations against schism and against sacrilege.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s very faithful

“ servant and brother,

“ THO. BATH AND WELLS.

“ *October 5th, 1689.*”

And because I have lately seen some reflections in a pamphlet, lately crept into the world, under the suspicious title of a “ Secret History ;” wherein Dr. Ken is by name mentioned as having teased the Duke of Monmouth in vain, on the scaffold, to profess the doctrine of passive obedience ; I think it proper boldly to affirm, that our Bishop (for such he was at that time, and did attend on the scaffold) never acted or assisted there, but in the devotional part only.

And as to what is so confidently mentioned a little after, concerning the subscription of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, among many others, to the invitation of the Prince of Orange ; was there any such subscription any where to be produced, it must not have been denied ; but there are very strong arguments to be urged, that he never had any the least hand in that matter.

And now, to close all, I shall set forth one instance of care that himself might not offend. For whilst he stayed in town, and lodged with his old friend Dr. Hooper, afterwards Lord



Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had daily and earnestly discoursed him on the subject of compliance with the oath ; he at last used these expressions to him : “ I question not, but that you, and several others, have taken the oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them ; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used ; but I beg you to urge them no farther ; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world.” And lest any hereafter looking into his will, and observing the legacies therein bequeathed, should determine, that either he who left such legacies could not be this described poor man ; or this man of charity to have left more legacies than effects ; I think myself obliged to reconcile these seeming contradictions by a very easy explanation. For so little distrust had the Princess on the throne of any ill actions of this just and religious Bishop, so great an opinion had she of his honesty and quiet temper, that notwithstanding he could not be prevailed with to qualify himself for living under her protection, by the necessary oaths ; yet she was glad he would not refuse her yearly favour, which she was graciously pleased to bestow on him to his death, and would often complain that it was too little for his thanks, which he dutifully sent her ; which together with

a legacy given him a little before his death, by a very valuable friend of his, not only enabled him to do many acts of charity in his life-time, (as what he chiefly proposed by accepting it,) but his executor likewise, to discharge all such legacies as he thought fit to charge him with.

I shall not be so bold as to sum up the character of such a man. I have neither leisure nor opportunity to search for particular facts, a large account of his life requiring both a more able and polite genius and pen. I shall only add some few matters of fact of my own knowledge concerning his last sickness, and leave the reader to refresh himself with the following specimen :—

His health declining, he went to Bristol in the beginning of the year 1710, for the benefit of the hot-well ; where he spent the summer, and till November following ; at which time, he removed to Leweston, near Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, a seat belonging to the Honourable Mrs. Thynne, whose good works merited his respect and acknowledgment, as much as her generosity attempted the relief of his distemper. And being there seized with a dead palsy on one side, he was confined to his chamber till about the middle of March ; when being, as he thought, able to take such a journey, he resolved to go to Bath, in hopes of finding relief from the waters ; nor could the persuasions of that good lady, or his Physician, alter his design, though he laboured

under another distemper, namely, the dropsy. Calling at Long-Leate on Saturday, in his way thither, he spent that evening in adjusting some papers; all the next day he confined himself to his chamber, and on Monday he was confined to his bed; and on the Monday following, March 19th, 1710, his soul was set free. He was remarkably patient in his sickness; and when upon his own inquiry of his Physician, how many days he thought he might probably live, desiring him to speak plainly and freely, and telling him he had no reason to be afraid of dying; and being by him answered, "About two or three days," his only reply was, (his usual expression,) "God's will be done:" desiring that no applications might be made to cause him to linger in pain. It can be no wonder that he should so little regard the terrors of death, who had for many years travelled with his shroud in his portmanteau, as what, he often said, "might be as soon wanted as any other of his habiliments;" and which was by himself put on, as soon as he came to Long-Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death, by way of prevention, that his body might not be stripped. He dozed much the day or two before he died; and what little he spake was sometimes not coherent; which, having been plied with opiates, seemed to be rather the effect of dream than distemper. He was buried at Frome-Selwood, it being the nearest parish within his

own diocess to the place where he died, as by his own request, in the church-yard, under the east window of the chancel, just at sun-rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the Order for Burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England; on the 21st day of March, 1710. He was seventy-three years of age.

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AN ACCOUNT OF HIS EXAMINATION BEFORE THE  
PRIVY-COUNCIL.

*All glory be to God.*

AFTER the favourable hearing which this day the Lords of the most Honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr. Bridgman came out to me to tell me, that their Lordships expected a copy of my answers; which, as far as I can recollect, I here humbly offer to their Lordships.

The printed paper subscribed by the deprived Bishops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being showed me, I was asked,

“Did you subscribe this paper?”

A.—“My Lords, I thank God, I did, and it had a very happy effect; for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfilled by it; and what we were not able to do ourselves, was done by others. The hungry were fed, and the naked were clothed; and to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to visit those who are sick or in prison, is that plea which all your Lordships, as

well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, must make for yourselves at the great day. And that which you must all plead at God's tribunal for your eternal absolution, shall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here."

It was then said to this purpose: "No one here condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it: your paper is illegal."

A.—"My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical part: I am no lawyer, but shall want lawyers to plead that; and I have been very well assured that it is legal. My Lords, I will sincerely give your Lordships an account of the part I had in it. The first person who proposed it to me, was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God; and after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it; and then went into the country, to my retirement, in an obscure village; where I live above the suspicion of giving any the least umbrage to the Government.

"My Lords, I was not active in making collections in the country, where there are but few such objects of charity; but good people, of their own accords, sent me towards four-score pounds; of which about one half is still in my hands.

"I beg your Lordships to observe this clause in our paper, 'as far as in law we may:' and to receive such charity is, I presume, 'which in law I may;' and to distribute it, is a thing also, 'which in law I may.'"

It was objected to this purpose: "This money has been abused, and given to very ill and immoral men; and particularly to one who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat another."

A.—"My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a mistake, and no crime; unless what was given, was given him to an ill purpose: nay, to give to an ill man, and knowingly, is our duty, if that ill man wants necessaries of life; for as long as God's patience and forbearance indulges that ill man life, to lead him to repentance, we ought to support that life God indulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.

"My Lords, in King James's time, there were about a thousand or more imprisoned in my diocess, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth; and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion; and yet, for all that, I thought it my duty to relieve them. It is well known to the diocess, that I visited them night and day; and I thank God I supplied them with necessaries myself, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same; and yet King James never found the least fault with me. And if I am now charged with misapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordships, that St. Paul's apostolical rule may be observed: 'Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two

or three witnesses;’ for I am sure none can testify that against me. What I gave, I gave in the country; and I gave to none but those who did both want and deserve it. The last that I gave was to two poor widows of deprived Clergymen; one whereof was left with six, the other with seven, small children.”

It was said to this purpose: “You are not charged yourself with giving to ill men, though it has been done by others; but the paper comes out with a pretence of authority; and it is illegal, and in the nature of a brief; and if such practices are permitted, private men may supersede all the briefs granted by the King.”

A.—“My Lords, I beg your pardon, if I cannot give a full answer to this. I am no lawyer, and am not prepared to argue it in law.”

It was farther objected to this purpose: “By sending forth this paper, you have usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction.”

A.—“My Lords, I never heard that begging was a part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us.

“I make no doubt, but your Lordships may have had strange misinformations concerning this paper; but having sincerely told what part I had in it, I humbly submit myself to your Lordships’ justice.

“I presume your Lordships will come to no

immediate resolution concerning me ; and having voluntarily surrendered myself, and the warrant having never been served on me till I had twice attended here, this being the third time ; and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordships, that I may return to my sister's house, where I have hitherto lodged, which is a place the messenger knows well ; and that I may be no otherwise confined, till I have received your Lordships' final resolution."

This favour your Lordships were pleased very readily to grant me ; for which I return my humble acknowledgments, beseeching God to be gracious to your Lordships.

THOMAS BATH AND WELLS,  
Deprived.

*April 28th, 1696.*

It is easy to perceive from this narrative, imperfect as it is, that Bishop Ken was a man of very deep piety, and of inflexible uprightness. When King James set himself above law, for the purpose of introducing Popery, the Prelate chose rather to go to the Tower as a prisoner than violate his trust, and betray the Protestant cause. But having sworn allegiance to James, he would not take a similar oath with respect to William, because he doubted the lawfulness of such a



proceeding. He preferred the resignation of his bishopric, to the violation of his conscience. Many will doubt the justness of his views; but all must admire his integrity.

As a specimen of his poetry, and of the devout spirit by which it is pervaded, we subjoin the three following hymns, which are now rarely to be met with entire. They give a high opinion of his spirituality and heavenly-mindedness. The doxology with which each of them closes has never been surpassed by any uninspired man. The thoughts which it embodies are so full and complete; the doctrine which it assumes is so thoroughly orthodox; and the devotional feeling which it expresses is so holy and intense; that it will doubtless be sung till the worship of the church on earth shall give place to that of heaven; when no part of the "host" of God shall be left to sing his praise "below," but all shall compose one immense assembly before the throne of God and of the Lamb.—EDIT.

## A MORNING HYMN.

AWAKE, my soul, and with the sun  
Thy daily stage of duty run ;  
Shake off dull sloth, and early rise  
To pay thy morning sacrifice.

Thy precious time mis-spent redeem ;  
Each present day thy last esteem ;  
Improve thy talent with due care ;  
For the great day thyself prepare.

In conversation be sincere ;  
Keep conscience, as the noon-day, clear ;  
Think, how all-seeing God thy ways,  
And all thy secret thoughts, surveys.

By influence of the light divine,  
Let thy own light to others shine ;  
Reflect all heaven's propitious rays  
In ardent love and cheerful praise.

Wake, and lift up thyself, my heart,  
And with the angels bear thy part ;  
Who all night long unwearied sing  
High praise to the Eternal King.

Awake, awake, ye heavenly choir,  
May your devotions me inspire ;  
That I, like you, my age may spend,  
Like you may on my God attend.

May I, like you, in God delight :  
Have, all day long, my God in sight ;  
Perform, like you, my Maker's will ;  
O may I never more do ill !

Had I your wings, to heaven I'd fly ;  
But God shall that defect supply ;  
And my soul, wing'd with warm desire,  
Shall all day long to heaven aspire.

All praise to Thee, who safe hast kept,  
And hast refresh'd me while I slept ;  
Grant, Lord, when I from death shall wake,  
I may of endless light partake.

I would not wake, nor rise again,  
E'en heaven itself I would disdain,  
Wert not Thou there to be enjoy'd,  
And I in hymns to be employ'd.

Heaven is, O Lord, where'er Thou art ;  
O never, then, from me depart !  
For to my soul 'tis hell to be  
But for one moment void of Thee.

Lord, I my vows to thee renew ;  
Disperse my sins as morning dew ;  
Guard my first springs of thought and will,  
And with thyself my spirit fill.

Direct, control, suggest, this day,  
All I design, or do, or say ;  
That all my powers, with all their might,  
In thy sole glory may unite.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow ;  
Praise Him, all creatures here below ;  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host ;  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost !

## AN EVENING HYMN.

ALL praise to thee, my God, this night,  
For all the blessings of the light :  
Keep me, O keep me, King of kings,  
Beneath thy own almighty wings.

Forgive me, Lord, for thy dear Son,  
The ill that I this day have done ;  
That with the world, myself, and thee,  
I, ere I sleep, at peace may be.

Teach me to live, that I may dread  
The grave as little as my bed ;  
To die, that this vile body may  
Rise glorious at the awful day.

O may my soul on Thee repose,  
And may sweet sleep my eyelids close ;  
Sleep, that may me more vigorous make  
To serve my God when I awake.

When in the night I sleepless lie,  
My soul with heavenly thoughts supply ;  
Let no ill dreams disturb my rest,  
No powers of darkness me molest.

Dull sleep, of sense me to deprive !  
I am but half my time alive.  
Thy faithful lovers, Lord, are grieved,  
To lie so long of Thee bereaved.

But though sleep o'er my frailty reigns,  
Let it not hold me long in chains ;  
But now and then let loose my heart,  
Till it a Hallelujah dart.

The faster sleep our senses binds,  
The more unfetter'd are our minds ;  
O may my soul, from matter free,  
Thy loveliness unclouded see !

O when shall I, in endless day,  
For ever chase dark sleep away ;  
And hymns, with the supernal choir,  
Incessant sing, and never tire ?

O may my guardian, while I sleep,  
Close by my bed his vigils keep !  
His love angelical instil,  
Stop all the avenues of ill !

May he celestial joy rehearse,  
And thought to thought with me converse ;  
Or, in my stead, all the night long,  
Sing to my God a grateful song !

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow ;  
Praise Him, all creatures here below ;  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host ;  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost !

#### A MIDNIGHT HYMN.

My God, now I from sleep awake,  
The sole possession of me take ;  
From midnight terrors me secure,  
And guard my heart from thoughts impure.

Bless'd angels, while we silent lie,  
Your Hallelujahs sing on high ;  
You joyful hymn the ever Bless'd,  
Before the throne, and never rest.

I with your choir celestial join,  
In offering up a hymn divine ;  
With you in heaven I hope to dwell,  
And bid the night and world farewell.

My soul, when I shake off the dust,  
Lord, in thy arms I will entrust :  
O make me thy peculiar care !  
Some mansion for my soul prepare.

Give me a place at thy saints' feet,  
Or some fall'n angel's vacant seat ;  
I'll strive to sing as loud as they  
Who sit above in brighter day.

O may I always ready stand,  
With my lamp burning in my hand !  
May I in sight of heaven rejoice,  
Whene'er I hear the Bridegroom's voice !

All praise to Thee, in light array'd,  
Who light thy dwelling-place hast made :  
A boundless ocean of bright beams  
From thy all-glorious Godhead streams.

The sun, in its meridian height,  
Is very darkness in thy sight :  
My soul, O lighten and inflame,  
With thought and love of thy great name !

Blest Jesu, thou, on heaven intent,  
Whole nights hast in devotion spent ;  
But I, frail creature, soon am tired,  
And all my zeal is soon expired.

My soul, how canst thou weary grow  
Of antedating bliss below,  
In sacred hymns and heavenly love,  
Which will eternal be above !

Shine on me, Lord, new life impart ;  
Fresh ardours kindle in my heart ;  
One ray of thy all-quick'ning light  
Dispels the sloth and clouds of night.

Lord, lest the tempter me surprise,  
Watch over thine own sacrifice ;  
All loose, all idle thoughts cast out,  
And make my very dreams devout.

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow ;  
Praise Him, all creatures here below ;  
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host ;  
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost !

THE END.

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