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THE LIFE

LEARNED, REVEREND, AND PIOUS

HENRY HAMMOND, D. D.

BY JOHN FELL, D. D.,

DEAN OF CHRIST-CHURCH.

THE LIFE

DR. HENRY HAMMOND.

CHAPTER I.

DR. HENRY HAMMOND was born upon the 18th of August, in the year 1605, at Chertsey in Surrey; a place formerly of remark for Julius Cæsar's supposed passing his army there over the Thames, in his enterprise upon this island; as also for the entertainment of devotion in its earliest reception by our Saxon ancestors; and of later years, for the charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate Prince, King Henry VI.

He was the youngest son of Dr. John Hammond, Physician to Prince Henry; and from that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations had the honour at the font to receive his Christian name.

Being yet in his long coats, (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of infancy,)

he was sent to Eton school ; where his pregnancy having been advantaged by the more than paternal care and industry of his father, (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek, whereof he had been public Professor in the University of Cambridge,) became the observation of those that knew him ; for in that tenderness of age he was not only a proficient in Greek and Latin, but had also some knowledge in the elements of Hebrew ; in the latter of which tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of grammar-schools, he grew the tutor of those who began to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused than acquired, or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother-tongue. His skill in Greek was particularly advantaged by the conversation and kindness of Mr. Allen, one of the Fellows of the College, excellently seen in that language, and a great assistant of Sir Henry Savile, in his magnificent edition of St. Chrysostom.

His sweetness of carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observed that he was never engaged, upon any occasion, in fights or quarrels ; as also, that at times allowed for play he would steal from his fellows into places of privacy, there to say his prayers : omens of his future pacific temper and eminent devotion.

At thirteen years old he was thought, and, what is much more rare, was indeed, ripe for the University; and accordingly sent to Magdalen College in Oxford, where, not long after, he was chosen Demi; and though he stood low upon the roll, by a very unusual concurrence of providential events, happened to be sped: and though, having then lost his father, he became destitute of the advantage which potent recommendation might have given; yet, his merit voting for him, as soon as capable, he was chosen Fellow.

Being to proceed Master of Arts, he was made Reader of the Natural-Philosophy Lecture in the College, and also was employed in making the funeral oration on the highly-meriting President, Dr. Langton.

Having taken his degree, he presently bought a system of divinity, with design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts he returned for a time to human learning; and afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers, and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern authors.

In the year 1629, being twenty-four years of age, the statutes of his house directing, and the

canons of the Church then regularly permitting it, he entered into holy orders; and upon the same grounds, not long after, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, giving as happy proof of his proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular, knowledge. During the whole time of his abode in the University, he generally spent thirteen hours of the day in study; by which assiduity, besides an exact despatch of the whole course of philosophy, he read over in a manner all classic authors that are extant; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, scholia and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book: all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perused his library.

In the year 1633 the Rev. Dr. Frewen, the then President of his College, afterwards Lord Archbishop of York, gave him the honour to supply one of his courses at the Court; where the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester happening to be an auditor, he was so deeply affected with the sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the Preacher thence, that the rectory of Penshurst being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offered him the presentation; which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22d of August in the same year; and thenceforth, from the scholastic retirements

of a University life, applied himself to the more busy entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have called the being buried in a living : and being to leave the house, he thought not fit to take that advantage of his place, which, from sacrilege, or selling of the founder's charity, was by custom grown to be prudence and good husbandry.

In the discharge of his ministerial function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant preaching only ; but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily sacrifice of prayer for his people, administering the sacraments, relieving the poor, keeping hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the youth.

As to the first of these, his preaching ; it was not an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions ; but a rational and just discourse, that was to teach the Priest as well as the lay hearer. His method was, (which likewise he recommended to his friends,) after every sermon, to resolve upon the ensuing subject ; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision for the next Lord's day : whereby not only a constant progress was made in science, but materials unawares were gained unto the immediate future work ; for he said, " Be the subjects treated of

never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive unto the present purpose."

The offices of prayer he had in his church, not only upon the Sundays and festivals, and their eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the appointment of the Rubric, but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holiday eves: for his assistance wherein he kept a Curate, and allowed him a comfortable salary. And at those devotions, he took order that his family should give diligent and exemplary attendance; which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his mother, a woman of ancient virtue, and one to whom he paid a more than filial obedience.

As to the administration of the sacrament, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month, and therewith its anciently inseparable appendant, the offertory: wherein his instruction and happily-insinuating example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, in short time a stock was raised, to be always ready for the apprenticing of young children, whose parents' condition made the provision for them an equal charity to both the child and parent. And after this there yet remained a surplus for the assistance of the neighbour parishes.

For the relief of the poor, besides the fore-

mentioned expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receipts, and the daily alms given at the door ; he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain rate in money : and however rarely his own rent-days occurred, the indigent had two-and-fifty quarter-days returning in his year. Yet farther, another art of charity he had, the selling corn to his poor neighbours at a rate below the market-price ; which, though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage, was a great benefit to them, who, besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a day's work.

He that was thus liberal to the necessitous poor was no less hospitable to those of better quality ; and as at other times he frequently invited his neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundays, which seldom passed at any time without bringing some of them his guests : but here, beyond the weekly treatments, the Christmas festival had a peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions ; how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of disciples.

As by public admonition he most diligently instilled that great fundamental doctrine of peace and love, so did he likewise in his private address and conversation ; being never at peace in himself, till he had procured it amongst his neighbours ; wherein God so blessed him, that he not only attained his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual fate of reconcilers, gained them to himself ; there having been no person of his function anywhere better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more, we may take two instances : the one, that he being driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war : the other, that during his abode at Penshurst, he never had any vexatious law-suit about his dues, but had his tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judged the time of sickness an improper season for the great work of repentance, yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God himself exhorting to it ; and therefore not only when desired made his visits to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and by frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that, after his remove from Penshurst, being at

Oxford, and hearing of the sickness of one of his parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions, which he judged useful in that exigence, and which he could not give at a nearer distance.

For the institution of youth in the rudiments of piety, his custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening-prayer in catechising; whereat the parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit than from his sermons. Where it may not be superfluous to observe, that he introduced no new form of Catechism, but adhered to that of the Church; rendering it fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations. Besides all this, that there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able schoolmaster in the parish, which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of souls, he was not negligent of the material fabric committed to his trust; but repaired with a very great expense (the annual charge of one hundred pounds) his parsonage-house; till, from an incommodious ruin, he had rendered it a fair and pleasant dwelling, with the adherent conveniences of gardens and orchards.

While he was thus busy on his charge, though

he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other purposes; and his humility recommended above all things privacy and retirement to him; yet when the uses of the public called him forth, he readily obeyed the summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's-cross, and the visitations of his brethren the Clergy, as also at the cathedral church of Chichester, where, by the unsought-for favour of the Bishop of that see, afterwards of Winchester, he had an interest, and had the dignity of Archdeacon; which at the beginning of the late troubles falling to him, he managed with great zeal and prudence, not only by all the charms of Christian rhetoric, persuading to obedience and union; but by the force of demonstration, charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior Clergy. Wherein the eminent importance of the truths he would enforce so far prevailed over his otherwise insuperable modesty, that in a full assembly of the Clergy, as he afterwards confessed, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his auditory; and by the blessing of God, to which he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

CHAPTER II.

IN the year 1639 he proceeded Doctor in Divinity ; his seniority in the University, and employment in the Church, and (what perchance was a more importunate motive) the desire of eleven of his friends and contemporaries in the same house, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, jointly persuading him to it.

His performance in the act, where he answered the Doctors, was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his hearers ; a country life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dexterous management of those exercises, which was an effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a member of the Convocation called with the Short Parliament in 1640, as after this he was named to be of the Assembly of Divines ; his invincible loyalty to his Prince, and obedience to his mother the Church, not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his learning and virtue were, on the other part, to have some title to him.

And now that conformity became a crime, and tumults improving into hostility and war, such a crime as had chastisements severe enough ; though the Committee of the country summoned him before them, and used those their best argu-

ments of persuasion, threatenings, and reproaches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of July, 1643; at which time there being in his neighbourhood about Tunbridge an attempt in behalf of the King, and his doctrine and example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty; it being defeated, the good Doctor was forced to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old tutor Dr. Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning, in such a habit as that exigence made necessary for him, and whither not many days before his old friend and fellow-pupil Dr. Oliver came upon the same errand; which accident, and the necessity to leave his flock, as the Doctor afterwards frequently acknowledged, was that which most affected him of any that he felt in his whole life. Amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that looked like such, he had so extraordinary a dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus: he thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and cheerful day, when on a sudden there seemed a separation to be made, and he, with the far less number, to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the clouds gathering, a most tempestu-

ous storm arose, with thundering and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might add unto a scene of horror; particularly balls of fire, that shot themselves amongst the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party: when a gentle whisper seemed to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, "Be still, and ye shall receive no harm." Amidst these terrors the Doctor falling to his prayers, soon after the tempest ceased, and that known cathedral-anthem begun, "Come, Lord Jesus, come away," with which he awoke. The correspondent event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends in the doing of their duties; the which with much content he was used to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the choirs of angels at the close of that land-hurricane of ours, whereof that apparition was only a faint emblem; he gave thereby too literal a completion to his dream.

In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict inquiry was made for Dr. Hammond, and a hundred pounds promised as a reward for him that should produce him: which suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone; and Dr.

Oliver having an interest in Winchester, which was then in the King's quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the way thither, Dr. Oliver, who had sent his servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the news, that Dr. Frewen, President of Magdalen College, was made Bishop of Lichfield; and that the College had pitched upon him as successor. This unlooked-for accident (as justly it might) put Dr. Oliver to new counsels; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a relief, inclined him not to desert it, but fly rather to his preferments and advantage, than merely to his refuge, and so to repair to Oxford. To this Dr. Hammond made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too public a place, and, what he more considered, too far from his living; whither (his desires strongly inclining him) he had hopes, when the present fury was allayed, to return again; and to that purpose had written to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for the procuring his security. But his letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded; and encompassing Hampshire, with some difficulty came to Oxford; where procuring an apartment in his old College, he sought that peace in his retirement and study, which was no

where else to be met withal; taking no other diversion than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted,) and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men; who, besides the usual store, in great number at that time, for their security, resorted thither.

Among the many eminent persons with whom he here conversed, he had particular intimacy with Dr. Potter, Provost of Queen's College; to whom, among other fruits of his studies, he communicated his "Practical Catechism," which for his private use he had drawn up. The Provost, much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importuned him to make it public; alleging that great use of supplanting the empty form of godliness, which so prevailed, by substituting of its real power and sober duties; of silencing profaneness, which then usurped the names of wit and gallantry, by enforcing the more eligible acts of the Christian's reasonable service, which was not any other way so happily to be done, as by beginning at the foundation by sound, and yet not trivial, catechetical institution.

It was not hard to convince Dr. Hammond, that it were well if some such thing were done; but that his writing would do this in any measure, or that he should suffer his name to become public, it was impossible to persuade him. The

utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his treatise was not likely to do harm, but had possibilities of doing (it might be) some good : and that it would not become him to deny that service to the world ; especially if his modesty might be secured from pressure, by the concealing of him to be the author : and this Dr. Potter, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withal the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of, the edition. Upon these terms, only with this difference, that Dr. Hammond would not suffer the Provost to be at the entire charge, but went an equal share with him, the "Practical Catechism" saw the light, and the author remained in his desired obscurity.

But in the mean time the book finding the reception which it merited, the good Doctor was, by the same arguments, constrained to give way to the publishing of several other tracts, which he had written, upon heads that were then most perverted by popular error ; as of conscience, of scandal, of will-worship, of resisting the lawful Magistrate, and of the change of church-government ; his name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumoured for the author, and as such published to the world by the London and Cambridge stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his works.

In the interim a treaty being laboured by His Majesty, to compose, if it were possible, the unhappy differences in Church and State; and in order thereunto the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton being sent to London; Dr. Hammond went along as Chaplain to them; where with great zeal and prudence he laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the treaty was solemnly appointed at Uxbridge, several Divines being sent thither in behalf of the different parties, he, among other excellent men that adhered to the King, was made choice of to assist in that employment. And there Dr. Steward and Mr. Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other Divines were called in: which thing was a surprise, and designed for such, to those of the King's part, who came as Chaplains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before projected and prepared for by those of the Presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr. Hammond to have Mr. Vines for his antagonist; who, instead of tendering a scholastic disputation, read from a paper a long divinity-lecture, wherein were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions, which were meant for arguments. Dr. Hammond perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and, as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then

immediately returned in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted: which, amidst the disadvantage of extempore against premeditation, dispelled with ease and perfect clearness all the sophisms that had been brought against him.

It is not the present work to give an account of that whole dispute, or character the merits of those worthy persons who were engaged in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings; especially since it was resolved by both parties, that the transactions of neither side should be made public. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of truth or common honesty, have in this particular wounded the Doctor's reputation, I shall take leave to say, that had the victories in the field, which were managed by the sword, been like this of the chamber and the tongue, a very easy act of oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secured from being remembered. The impudent falsity raised upon the Doctor was this: that Master Vines utterly silenced him; insomuch that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration; to swear

by God and the holy angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the Doctor's own account in a letter of his, bearing date January 22d, 1655, directed to a friend, who had advertised him of this report.

“I HAVE formerly been told, within these few years, that there went about a story much to my disparagement, concerning the dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with Mr. Vines; but what it was I could never hear before. Now I do, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that Mr. Vines did dispute against, and I defend, Episcopacy. For as to the argument mentioned, I did neither then, nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember,) ever hear it urged by any. And for my pretended answer, I am both sure that I never called God and his holy angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath, that I know of, (and sure there was then none imposed on me,) and that I was not at that meeting conscious of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you; but I cannot think it necessary: only this I may add, that after it I

went to Mr. Marshal, in my own and brethren's names, to demand three things: 1. Whether any argument proposed by them remained unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer. 2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past disputation; offering, if they would, to join with them in it, and to perfect a conference by mutual consent: both which being rejected, the third was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterwards published by either without the consent or knowledge of the other party: and that last he promised for himself and his brethren, and so we parted."

But while these things were in doing, a canonry in Christ-Church in Oxford became vacant, which the King immediately bestowed on Dr. Hammond, though then absent; whom likewise the University chose their public orator: which preferments, though collated so freely, and in a time of exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old charge at Penshurst. But the impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him, he at last accepted; and was soon after made Chaplain in ordinary to His Majesty.

But these new employments no way diverted him from his former tasks; for, according to his wonted method, he continued to address reme-

dies to the increasing mischiefs of the times, and published the tracts of "Superstition," "Idolatry," "Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness," "Death-bed Repentance," "View of the Directory;" as also, in answer to a Romanist, his "Vindication of the Lord Falkland," who was not long before fallen in another kind of war.

But now the King's affairs declining every where, and Oxford being forced upon articles to surrender to the enemy, where, after the expiration of six months, all things were to be left to the fury of a servile and insolent conqueror; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, yet he remitted nothing of his wonted industry, writing his tracts of "Fraternal Correction," and "Power of the Keys," and "Apologies by Letter against Mr. Cheynel," and the exceptions taken at his "Practical Catechism."

In the mean time His sacred Majesty, sold by his Scottish into the hands of his English subjects, and brought a prisoner to Holdenby, where, stripped of all his royal attendants, and denied that common charity which is afforded the worst of malefactors, the assistance of Divines, though he with importunity desired it; he being taken from the Parliament Commissioners into the possession of the army, at last obtained that kindness from them, which was withheld by the two Houses, and was permitted the service of some

few of his Chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of Dr. Hammond.

Accordingly the good Doctor attended on his master in the several removes of Woburn, Caves-ham, and Hampton-court; as also thence into the Isle of Wight, where he continued till Christmas, 1647; at which time His Majesty's attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest.

CHAPTER III.

SEQUESTERED from this his melancholy, but most desired, employment, Dr. Hammond returned again to Oxford; where, being chosen Sub-dean, an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of the College, and soon after proved to be the whole, the Dean, for asserting the rights of His Majesty and University in his station of Vice-Chancellor, being made a prisoner, he undertook the entire management of all affairs, and discharged it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at divinity-disputations, which was then an immediate part of his task, but in presiding at the more youthful exercises of sophistry, themes, and declamations; redeeming still at night these vacuities of the day, scarcely ever going to bed till

after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content itself in looking to the general performances of duty, but descended to an accurate survey of every one's practice and ability ; so that this large society of scholars appeared his private family, he scarcely leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care ; relieving the necessitous in their several wants of money and of books, shaming the vicious to sobriety, encouraging the ingenuous to diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of study. But, above all, he endeavoured to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending persecution ; that they might adorn their profession, and not at the same time suffer for a cause of righteousness, and as evil-doers.

To this end he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse ; and, beside that, received them to his weekly private office of fasting and humiliation.

But now the long-expected ruin breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the excellent Doctor became involved in the general calamity. And whereas the then usual law of expulsion was immediately to banish into the wide world by beat of drum, enjoining to quit the town

within twenty-four hours, upon pain of being taken and used as spies, and not to allow the unhappy exiles time for the disposal either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective colleges or pupils; the Reverend Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Lord Bishop of London, and Dean of His Majesty's chapel-royal, and Dr. Hammond, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an order from a Committee of Parliament were restrained and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of exemplary virtue, that the person designed to succeed in the canonry of Christ-Church, though he had accepted of the place at London, and done his exercise for it at Oxford, yet had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished that robbery, and adhered to a less scandalous one in the country. And then the officer, who was commanded to take Dr. Sheldon and him into custody, upon their designed removal, Colonel Evelin, then Governor of Wallingford castle, (though a man of as opposite principles to Church and Churchmen as any of the adverse party,) wholly declined the employment; solemnly protesting that if they came to him, they should be entertained as friends, and not as prisoners.

But these remorsees proved but of little effect; the Prebend of Christ-Church being suddenly

supplied by a second choice, and Oxford itself being continued the place of their confinement; where accordingly the good Doctor remained, though he was demanded by His Majesty to attend him in the Isle of Wight, at the treaty there, which then was again reinforced. The pretence, upon which both he and the Reverend Dr. Sheldon were refused was, that they were prisoners; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial of a personal attendance, the Prince required that assistance which might consist with absence; and at this time sent for a copy of that sermon, which almost a year before he had heard preached in that place: which sermon His Majesty, and thereby the public, received with the accession of several others delivered upon various occasions.

Dr. Hammond having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in Oxford, where he begun to actuate his design of writing Annotations on the New Testament, by the interposition of his brother-in-law, Sir John Temple, he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his worthy friend Sir Philip Warwick lived. Where, soon after his arrival, that mockery of justice, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety, the trial of the King, drew on; and he, being in no other capa-

city to interpose than by writing, drew up an address to the General and council of officers, and transmitted it to them. And now, although he indulged to his just and almost infinite griefs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that victim, being added to the detestation due to the guilt itself, he gave not up himself to an unactive, dull amazement, but with the redoubled use of fasting, tears, and solemn prayer, he resumed his wonted studies; and besides his fitting the Annotations for the press, and his little tract of the "Reasonableness of Christian Religion," he now composed his Latin one against Blondel in the behalf of Episcopacy. As to the first of which, (his Annotations,) the manner of its birth and growth was thus:—

Having written in Latin two large volumes in quarto, of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews, and of the first heretics in the Christian Church, and of the Heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search, he began to consider, that it might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the

text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament, observed the variation of our English from the original, and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use ; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being set down by his own pen in his preface to his "Annotations."

The tractate against Blondel grew to its last form and constitution by not unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is owned, and long ago presented to the world, in that writing : the more remote original is as follows. The late most learned Primate of Armagh having received from David Blondel a letter of exception against his edition of Ignatius, he communicated it to Dr. Hammond, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the Valentinian heresy, episcopal and chorepiscopal power, and some emergent difficulties concerning them from the canons of several ancient eastern Councils. To all this the Doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the Archbishop, being highly satisfied, returned his thanks, and laid hold of the promise ; which being accordingly discharged, became the provision (and gave materials) to a

great part of the Dissertations. The Primate's letter ran in these words :—

“I HAVE read with great delight and content your accurate answer to the objections made against the credit of Ignatius's Epistles ; for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to entreat you to publish to the world in Latin what you have already written in English against this objector, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of Nebulo, for the assertion of Episcopacy ; to the end it may no longer be credited abroad, that these two have beaten down this calling, that the defence thereof is now deserted by all men, as by Lud. Capellus is intimated in his thesis of Church-government, at Sedan lately published ; which I leave unto your serious consideration, and all your godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest your very loving friend and brother,

“ J. ARMACHANUS.

“ RYEGATE, IN SURREY, *July 21st, 1649.*”

Now in this request the Archbishop was so concerned, that he reinforced it by another letter of August 30th, and congratulated the performance by a third, of January 14th ; both which, though very worthy to see the public light, are yet forborne, as several of the like kind from the

Reverend fathers the Bishops of this and our sister Churches, as also from the most eminent for piety and learning of our own and the neighbouring nations. Which course is taken not only in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the excellent Doctor, who hated every thing that looked like ostentation ; but likewise to avoid the very unpleasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting all the Doctor's correspondences, or bear the envy of omitting some.

But to return to the present task, and that of the good Doctor, which now was to perfect his "Commentaries on the New Testament," and finish the "Dissertations:" amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature,—the loss of his dear mother ; which had this unhappy accession, that in her sickness he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concerned in the proclamation that banished those that adhered to the King twenty miles from London, to visit her ; nor while she paid her latest debt to nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage and attendance.

A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judged less commodious for enterprise) being taken off, he removed into Worcestershire, to Westwood, the house of the eminently loyal Sir John Pakington ; where being settled, and proceeding in the edition of those his labours which he

begun at Clapham, His Majesty coming to Worcester, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good Doctor, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his Sovereign, and the honour to receive a letter from his own hand of great importance for the satisfaction of his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the established religion of the Church of England, so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat ; to which was added the calamity which fell upon the family where he dwelt, from the persecution and danger of the generous master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance of His Majesty ; a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allowed it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life ; receiving that unusual interposition of Providence as a pledge from heaven of future mercies, to use his own words, that God, who had thus powerfully rescued him from Egypt, would not suffer him to perish in the wilderness ; but though his passage be through the Red Sea, he would at last bring him into Canaan ; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire purified, but not consumed.

But notwithstanding these reflections, bot-tomed upon piety and reliance upon heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes ; and the generality of

men thinking their religion as troublesome a burden as their loyalty, with the same prudence by which they changed their Sovereign for a tyrant, began to seek a pompous and imperious Church abroad, instead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which event the Roman Missionaries gave their liberal contribution, affording their preposterous charity to make them proselytes, who had no mind to be confessors or martyrs. Hereupon the Doctor thought it highly seasonable to write his tract of "Schism," and oppose it to that most popular topic, whereby they amused and charmed their fond disciples. And whereas the love of novelty prevailed in several other instances, as in controlling the use and authority of the Scripture, defending incestuous marriages, polygamy, divorce, the anabaptizing of infants, the ordination of Ministers by Presbyters, and the disuse of the festivals of the Church; he applied his antidotes to each; by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties: for, upon the Romanists' part he was charged by the Catholic Gentleman, and his armour-bearer S. W.; on the Presbyterian account, by Mr. Cawdry and Mr. Jeanes; and in the behalf of the Independents and Anabaptists, by Mr. Owen and Mr. Tombs; not to mention several others, that sought a name by being his gainsayers, but failed of their purpose, by bringing only passion into the quarrel,

and so were to be answered only by pity and silence.

Nor did he only stand and keep at bay this multiplied contest ; but, (as if this had not been task enough,) besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of visits, answering of letters, his constant preaching and catechising, he found leisure to write his tract of "Fundamentals," his "Parænesis," his "Review of the Annotations ;" and, amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate antagonists for nothing but their railing, leaving that the only thing unanswered : nay, more than so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognise their sense of their undue procedure used by them unto him ; which acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition ; for in the entrance on the conflicts, that strength of body, which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable mind, began to fail him ; and those four torments of disease, which single have been judged a competent trial of human sufferance, the stone, the gout, the colic, and the cramp, (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former,) became in a manner the constant exercise of his Christian fortitude and patience ; affording him from this time to the end of his life very rare and short intervals of vigorous health.

But among all his labours, although polemic discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in passion, a thing he naturally abhorred, his "*Parænesis*," a persuasive and practical tract, (which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires,) cost him most throes, as having been penned first in tears, and then in ink: for however with great serenity he entertained all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of submitting not to the will of God alone, but to his wisdom; both which, he was used to say, were perfectly one thing in that blessed agent; (and accordingly in the most dismal appearance of event made this constant motto, "Even this for good;") yet in this instance the tenderness of his soul seemed to have melted his resolution; the occasion of that treatise being the interdict of January, 1655, which disabled the loyal suffering Clergy from doing any ministerial act; which gave him the deepest sorrow, not only upon the general account of God's more immediate displeasure to the nation legible therein, but (what he had much less reason to do) in reference to his own particular, he looking on this dispensation of Providence as God's pronouncing him unworthy to do him service, "the reproaching," to use his own words, "his former unprofitableness, by casting him out as straw to the dunghill." Nor should any consideration

that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not charity to the family where he was made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the altar, which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his Physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resumed his rigours, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outlived; but that it became men to be martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implored the aids of heaven, and exhorted unto present duty, he omitted not a third expedient, the securing a succession to the Church, thereby to preserve its future being. The thing in his design was this: Whereas the ancient stock of Clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the Church was at best like the Roman State in its first beginning, a nation of ancient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he projected, by pensions unto hopeful persons in either University, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning, upon the principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church. In which work though the assistances he presumed on failed in a great mea-

sure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable in this kind by himself and friends he did achieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employed in this affair, he gave in charge carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts; adding this as a certain maxim, that exemplary virtue must restore the Church.

And whereas that defeat at Worcester, raising the tyrant here unto that greatness which almost outwent his hopes, made him to be feared by foreign nations, the loyal sufferers abroad became subjected to the worst effect of banishment, and even there expelled and driven from their flights. The excellent Doctor, to whose diffusive virtue the limits of the nation were too strait a circle, thought this a season to exert his charity; accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared treason, he then continued to send over several sums for their relief. Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person entrusted, being discovered to Cromwell, he was alarmed with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the Doctor: his most importunate reflection being only this; that he seemed to have gained an opportunity of saying something very home to

Cromwell concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse on the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them ; which he purposed within himself to press to the highest advantage : and indeed this was the only issue of that so threatening accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, that they who least considered hazard in the doing of their duties, fared still best.

And this success, as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledged it for, an eminent act of divine providence ; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the Doctor had, which extorted a reverence to his person, and rendered him a sanctuary, perhaps the only one this architect of mischief stood in awe of.

Nor did this danger, being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future ; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he used, he immediately proceeded, and cheerfully went on in the pursuit of his heroic charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the labours of this hero, the issues of his brain being not only born into the world, like natural births, with torment and disease, but written, like Cæsar's "Commentaries," in dangers and in war. And now, besides the replies which the importunities

of Mr. Owen, Mr. Jeanes, and Mr. Tombs drew from him, W. S. continuing his loud clamours and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good Doctor suffered himself to be engaged on that long answer, which proved the last of that kind he made, excepting that single sheet put out a few months before his death, as a specimen to what desperate shifts the patrons of the Roman cause were driven: for though some of his friends advised him to remit that divinity buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen; he by no means would admit of the proposal, resolving it unfit that another should do in his behalf what was indecent for himself to do; and though there was no respect to be had for W. S., yet was the sacred cause to be managed with reverence and awful regard. While this was in hand, the second "Review of the Annotations" came to light, as also the "Exposition on the Book of Psalms;" and soon after the pacific discourse of "God's Grace and Decrees," ventilated between him and his dear friend the reverend and most learned Dr. Sanderson, afterwards Lord Bishop of Lincoln, occasioned by some letters which had passed on that subject between the said Doctor and the Rev. Dr. Pierce. To this immediately succeeded the Latin tract of "Confirmation," in answer to the exceptions of Mr. Daillé, which was then prepared for the press, though detained much longer upon prudential, or

rather charitable considerations, a respect to which was strictly had in all the Doctor's writings ; it being his care not only to publish sober and convincing, but withal seasonable, useful truths.

He was likewise enterprising a farther " Commentary on the Old Testament," and begun on the book of Proverbs, and finished a third part of it : but the completion of this and all other the great intendments of the learned, pious, and indefatigable author received here a full period ; it pleasing the divine providence to take to himself this high example of all moral and Christian excellencies, in a season when the Church and nation would least have been deprived of his aids towards the cementing of those breaches which then began to offer at a closure.

CHAPTER IV.

IT is easily to be presumed, the reader will not be disobliged, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken narrative, and entertain him with a survey of the personal accomplishments of the excellent Doctor ; the particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of history, or at least had been disjointed there, and under disadvantage ; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light,

when represented to the view by way of character and picture.

And therefore to this prospect we cheerfully invite all eyes, in whose esteem virtue itself is lovely.

The frame of his body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was designed,—the entertaining a most pure and active soul, built equally to the advantages of strength and comeliness. His stature was of just height and all proportionate dimensions, avoiding the extremes of gross and meager, advantaged by a graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His face carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His eye was quick and sprightly, his complexion clear and florid, so that (especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beautiful person ; which was lessened only by the colour of his hair : though if the sentence of other ages and climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouched as an accession to it.

To this outward structure was joined that strength of constitution, patient of severest toil and hardship ; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than at the greatest distance that he could to look upon it. As to diseases, (till immoderate study had wrought a

change,) he was in a manner only liable to fevers, which, too, a constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of body, if we survey his inward faculties, we shall find them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His sight was quick to an unusual degree ; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear was accurate, and tuned to his harmonious soul ; so that, having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo ; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years, after the toil and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience : and when with preaching at his country charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his voice, His late sacred Majesty, by taking notice of the change, became his master of music, and reduced him to his ancient decent modulation ; a kindness which the Doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying day, and reported not only as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious

Prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their faults, without which very commonly (as here it happened) men must be so far from amending their errors, that it is morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferior faculties, we must allow the first place to his invention, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his sermon : but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the composition and method of his future discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hour's consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the like swiftness he dispatched his writings, usually composing faster than his amanuensis, though a very dexterous person, could transcribe after him. His "Considerations of Present Necessity concerning Episcopacy" were drawn up after ten o'clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professes, that, sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off pen from paper till he had done ; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Bishop of Salisbury, he sent it to the press ; to which work he could have no premeditation or second

thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the before-mentioned Lord Bishop of Salisbury, now of Winchester, on that task. So likewise he began his tract of "Scandal" at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having, amidst his other diversions, been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. And indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that, notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did: for he that shall consider his laborious way, immersed in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books, and consulting several editions was absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classic authors. but the more recent abortions of the press, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers intended to be public; his review of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand, sheet by sheet, as they came forth, which he did to all his later tracts; his reception of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous, and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their

children, and Chaplains in their houses, in which affair he had set up a kind of office of address; his general correspondencies by letter, whereof some cost him ten, others twenty, thirty, forty, nay, sixty sheets of paper, and ever took up two days in the week entirely to themselves; the time exhausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his chair, or so much as read a letter, for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly revenged by a fit of the gout; his not only constant preaching and instructing the family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the neighbourhood; but amidst all, his sure returns of prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day: he, I say, that shall compute and sum up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth, or flourish of expression, must be to seek what point of vacant time remained yet undisposed; I do not say to write books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

After a serious reflection on the premises, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satis-

factory that possibly can be made ; that he gained time for his writing books by the time he spent in prayer, whilst (a more than ordinary assistance attending his devotions) his closet proved his library, and he studied most upon his knees.

As to his memory, it was serviceable, but not officious ; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words ; which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one sermon by heart than to pen twenty.

His way of speech and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplussage of plenty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods ; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was encumbered sometimes by parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar understandings : but by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his later years had mastered that defect, which was so slight that, notwithstanding it, he deserved from (the most accurate judge and greatest master of English rhetoric which this age hath given) His late sacred Majesty this character and testimony, that he was the most natural orator he ever heard.

His judgment, as in itself the highest faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments : for though the finding out the

similitudes of different things, wherein the fancy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in memory assists rather confusion than choice, upon which grounds the greatest clerks are frequently not the wisest men ; he had, to his sufficient memory and incomparable invention, a clear, discerning judgment ; and that not only in scholastical affairs and points of learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of his writings, manifest beyond dispute ; but in the concerns of public nature, both of Church and State, wherein his guess was usually as near to prophecy as any man's ; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravelled the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of honour, for whom he was entrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestic intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquired habits, and abilities in learning, his writings having given the world sufficient account of them ; there remains only to observe, that the range and compass of his knowledge filled the whole circle of the arts, and reached those severals, which single do exact an entire man unto themselves, and full age. To be accurate in the grammar and idioms of the

tongues, and then as a rhetorician to make all their graces serve his eloquence ; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no stranger in modern, writers ; to be studied in philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the politer classic authors ; to be learned in school-divinity, and a master in church-antiquity, perfect and ready in the sense of Fathers, Councils, ecclesiastical historians, and liturgics ; to have devoured so much, and yet digested it, is a rarity in nature and in diligence, which has but few examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the Doctor's learning was the least thing in him ; the scholar was here less eminent than the Christian : his speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his practice. In the catalogue of his virtues, his chastity and temperance may claim the earliest place, as being the sacrists to the rest ; and in him were therefore only not the greatest of his excellencies, because every thing else was so.

And first, his chaste thoughts, words, and carriage so disciplined his lower faculties, as not only restrained through all the heats of youth, made more than usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution, (which his escape he gratefully referred unto the only mercy of Almighty God,) but gave a

detestation of all those verbal follies that have not only the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humour ; so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, than the approbation of a smile ; and all approaches to this sin he looked upon not only with an utter disallowance in his will, but a kind of natural abhorrence and antipathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to Penshurst, he was persuaded by his friends that the matrimonial state was needful to the bearing off those household cares and other intercurrent troubles, which his condition then brought with it : and on this ground he gave some ear to their advices ; which he then did more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose virtue, as well as other more usually-desired accomplishments, he had long before been well satisfied. But being hindered several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally laid down all his pretensions, upon a ground of perfect self-denial ; being informed that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her. Having thus resolved, the charity of his mother, who undertook the management of his family, became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state ; till

after several years, her age making those cares too great a burden for her shoulders, he again was induced to resume his thoughts of marriage ; but the national disturbances (that afterwards brake out in war and ruin) appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the Apostle's advice, 1 Cor. vii. 26, enforced upon his thoughts by the reading of St. Jerome's Epistle to Agereuchia ; where, after glorious eulogies of marriage, the Father concluded in an earnest dehortation from it, upon a representation of a like face of things, the Goths then breaking into Italy, as they before had done into the other near parts of the Roman empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty, and ruin ; upon which prospect the good Doctor casting a serious eye, and with prophetic sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thenceforth courted and espoused (what he preserved inviolate) unto his death the more eminent perfection of spotless virgin chastity.

His appetite was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary ; for his diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them, were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of ; but often expressed it his wonder how rational creatures should eat for anything but health, since he that did eat or drink that

which might cause a fit of the stone or gout, though a year after, therein unmanned himself, and acted as a beast. So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones ; for, considering the time lost in eating and the vacancy succeeding it, his meals were the greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four hours, and some fruit towards night ; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he ate but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescription, as when his Physicians, after his great fever that he had in Oxford, required him to eat suppers ; which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, until renewed infirmities brought him back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he ate, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription ; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary ; and herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of an higher choice, that he really

thought no meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholesomeness : even his beloved apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of use. And if by chance or inadvertency he had at any time tasted of an interdicted dish, as soon as he perceived it, he discovered a dislike both with himself and what he had been surprised with.

The carving at the table he always made his province, which he said he did as a diversion to keep him from eating overmuch ; but certainly that practice had another more immediate cause, a natural distributiveness of humour, and a desire to be employed in the relief of every kind of want of every person. The report, and much more the sight, of a luxurious feeder would turn his stomach ; so that he was in more danger to be sick with others' surfeits than his own ; charity seeming a part of his complexion, while he performed a natural spontaneous penance for his neighbour's vice, as well as a deliberate one in sorrowing for it.

His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, and very rarely six, the hour of his rising. There was scarce any thing he resented so much in his infirmities and multiplied diseases, as their having abridged him of his night-studies, professing thereby he lost

not only his greatest pleasure, but highest advantage in reference to business. And in his latter time of weakness, when, to take benefit of a gentle breathing sweat, which usually came in the morning, he had been engaged by his Physician to continue in bed till it was over; and upon complaint of costiveness he was on the other side directed to rise somewhat early in the morning; this latter injunction he looked upon as a mere rescue and deliverance, often mentioning it with thanks, as if it had been an eminent favour done him.

His disposal of himself in the other parts of time was to perpetual industry and diligence; he not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as to be furnished always with somewhat to do. This he proposed as the best expedient both for innocence and pleasure; assuring, that no burden is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lie on one's hand; the idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) the devil's shop, but his kingdom too; a model of, and an appendage unto, hell, a place given up to torment and to mischief. Besides those portions of time which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate

himself, as to obey the prescriptions of his Physician, he never failed to take a book with him and read all the while ; and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing ; by which one piece of husbandry in short space he dispatched several considerable volumes.

His way was still to cast into paper all his observations, and direct them to his present purposes ; wherein he had an incredible dexterity, scarce ever reading any thing which he did not make subservient in one kind or other. He was used to say, he could not abide to talk with himself, and therefore was so diligently provided of that which he called better company. In his sicknesses, if they were not so violent to make the recollection of thoughts impossible, he never intermitted study, but rather reinforced it then as the most appropriate revulsive and diversion of pain. The gout, by its most frequent and importunate returns, exceeded his other maladies ; in which, although the first most furious assaults were sure to beat him from his study, and for a time confine him to his bed ; yet, as soon as he had recovered his chair, he resumed his pen too, and plied it as hard as though he had ailed nothing.

Next to downright idleness, he disliked slow and dilatory undertakings ; thinking it a great

folly to spend that time in gazing upon business, which should have served for the doing of it. In his own practice he never considered longer than till he could discern whether the thing proposed was fit or not: when that was seen, he immediately set to work. When he had perfected one business, he could not endure to have his thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

But when we reckon up and audit the expenses of the Doctor's time, we cannot pass his constant tribute of it paid by him to Heaven in the offices of prayer; which took up so liberal proportions of each day unto itself, for the ten last years of his life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary addresses, his certain perpetual returns exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready, (which was usually early,) he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose; after this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities. To this, after a little distance, succeeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays

SALAR JUNG

he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he repaired his soul at the cost of his body, and, notwithstanding the injunctions of his Physicians, which in other cases he was careful to obey, spent the supper-time therein. About five o'clock the solemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening-service of the Church, returned. At bed-time his private prayers closed the day. And after all, even the night was not without its office, Psalm li. being his designed midnight entertainment.

In his prayers, as his attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate fervours, insomuch that very frequently his transport threw him prostrate on the earth; his tears also would interrupt his words: the latter happening not only upon the pungent exigencies of present or impending judgments, but in the common service of the Church: which, notwithstanding his concealments, being taken notice of by a person of good sufficiency, once a member of his house in Oxford, that became of late years a proselyte to the extemporary way; he, among his other topics whereby he thought to disparage set forms, used in discourse to urge the heartless coldness of them, and, to adorn his triumph, would make it his solemn wonder, how a person of so good parts as Dr. Hammond was certainly master of, could find motive for his tears in the confession

in the beginning of the liturgy. This man, otherwise sagacious enough, never considered how ill an instance he had made; which showed it was the coldness of the votary, and not the prayer, that was in fault, whenever fervour was deficient at the public office of the Church.

The charity and extent of his prayers were as exuberant as the zeal and fervour: he thought it very unreasonable that our intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's redemption was; and would complain of that thrift and narrowness of mind, to which we are so prone, confining our care either to ourselves and relatives, or at most to those little angles of the world that most immediately concerned us, and which on due account bear very low proportions to the whole. There was no emergent distress, however remote, but it enlarged his litany; every year's harvest and new birth of mischiefs, which for several ones past constantly fell on the orthodox and loyal party in the nation, removed itself from the sanguinary edicts of Cromwell, to be transcribed into his pathetical office of devotion. In which calendar and rubric the 30th of January was sure to have a very solemn place, and a peculiar service prepared for it.

Nor did he only take to heart general national concernments; but even the more private exigencies of the sick and weak had a staple interest in his prayers. Among all which none had so

liberal a part as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most,—his and (what was usually the same thing) the Church's and God's enemies. He never thought he had assured his forgiveness of injuries, unless he returned good for them ; and though other opportunities of this best kind of retaliation might fail him, that of his intercessions never did.

Three persons there were, who above all men by unworthy malice and impotent virulence had highly disoblged him ; but he, in recompence of their guilt, had a peculiar daily prayer purposely in their behalf : and though in the openness of his conversation with his most intimate acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the persons, though probably that was the only thing which he concealed ; it being his method to withhold nothing, especially of confidence or privacy, from one he owned as friend.

CHAPTER V.

FRIENDSHIP was the next sacred thing unto religion in the apprehensions of our excellent Doctor, a virtue of which he was a passionate lover. The union of minds thereby produced he judged the utmost point of human happiness, the very best production that nature has in store, or grows from earth. So that with compassion he

reflected on their ignorance who were strangers to it, saying that "such must needs lead a pitiful insipid, herb-John-like life."

Upon this ground he used with all industrious art to recommend and propagate friendship unto others ; and where he saw several persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual advantage, he would contrive that league ; and where himself had kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him. Besides, he still laboured to make all his friends endeared to each of them ; resolving it to be an error bottomed on the common narrowness of soul which represented amity like sensual love, to admit no rivals, confined unto two persons.

When he ever happened to see or be in company with such as had an intimate and hearty kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the contemplation of it ; and, where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge that his satisfaction.

In the list and number of his friends there chanced to be three persons, who having in their youth contracted a strict intimacy, had undertaken the same profession, and accordingly had the same common studies and designments, and with these the opportunity through the late troubles to live in view of each other ; whom, for that reason, he was used with an obliging envy

to pronounce the most happy men the nation had.

Accordingly he professed, that for his particular he had no such way of enjoying any thing, as by reflection from the person whom he loved: so that his friend's being happy was the readiest way to make him so. Therefore, when one eminently near to him in that relation was careless of health, his most pressing argument was his complaint of unkindness to him. And this way of measuring felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial instances. When there has been any thing at the table peculiarly wholesome in relation to his infirmities, if his friend who was in a like weak condition forbore to eat of it in civility to him, he would with vehemence of grief resent it as his singular unhappiness, after so many professions, not to be believed, that he had a thousand times rather that his friend should have that which was conducive to health, than to have it himself; and then assumed, that if this were believed, it were impossible any one should attempt to express kindness by robbing him of his greatest pleasure.

The principal thing he contracted for in friendship was a free use of mutual admonition; which he confined not to the grosser guilts, which enemies and common fame were likely to observe and mind men of, but extended it unto prudential failings, indecencies, and even suspicious and

barely doubtful actions ; nay, beyond that, unto those virtuous ones, which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, it was a poor design of friendship to keep the person he admitted to his breast only from being scandalous ; as if the Physician should endeavour only to secure his patient from the plague. And what he thus articulated for he punctually himself performed, and exacted back again to be returned unto himself.

And if for any while he observed that no remembrance had been offered to him, he grew afraid and almost jealous of the omission, suspecting that the courtier had supplanted the friend ; and therefore earnestly enforced the obligation of being faithful in this point : and when with much ado somewhat of advertisement was picked up, he received it always as huge kindness ; and though the whole ground of it happened to be mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate thanks.

His good-will, when placed on any, was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening vice, to which he had the greatest detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it ; the abhorrency of their guilts leaving not only a charity, but tenderness to their persons ; and, as he has professed, his concernment rather increased than lessened by this means, compassion being in that instance added unto love. There were but two

things which, he would say, were apt to give check to his affections, pride and falseness : where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a friend to any purpose, because he could never hope to do any good ; yet even there he would intend his prayers, so much the more by how much the less he could do besides. But where he saw a malleable, honest temper, a Jacob's plain simplicity, nothing could there discourage him ; and however inadvertency or passion, or haply some worse ingredient, might frustrate his design, he would attend the *mollia tempora*, as he called them, those gentle and more treatable opportunities, which might at last be offered. He so much abhorred artifice and cunning, that he had prejudice to all concealments and pretensions. When any with much circumlocution and contrivance had endeavoured to shadow their main drift and purpose, he would immediately look through all those mists, and, where it was in any degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so : his charity of fraternal correction having only this caution or restraint, the hearer's interest ; of which he judged, that when advice did not do good, it was hardly separable from doing harm ; and on this ground sometimes he did desist. But wheresoever he gave an admonition, he prefaced it always with such demonstrations of tenderness and good-will, as could not fail to convince of the affectionate

kindness with which it was sent, though it could not of the convenience or necessity to embrace it: and this he gave as a general rule, and enforced by his example, never to reprove in anger, or the least appearance of it. If the passion were real, that then was evidently a fault, and the guilty person most unfit to be a judge; if it were resemblance only, yet even that would be so like to guilt, as probably to divert the offender from the consideration of his failance to fasten on his monitor, and make him think he was chid not because he was in fault, but because the other was angry.

Indeed the person who would not be some way moved with his advices must be strangely insensate and ill-natured. Though his exhortations had as much evidence and weight as words could give them, he had over and above a great advantage in his manner of speaking. His little phrase, "Don't be simple," had more power to charm a passion than long harangues from others; and very many, who loved not piety in itself, nor to be troubled with the news of it, would be well pleased to be invited and advised by him, and venerated the same matter in his language, which they have derided in another's.

He would say, he delighted to be loved, not revered; thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; somewhat of restraint and distance

attending on the one, which was not well consistent with the perfect freedom requisite to the other. But as he was thus no friend to ceremonious respect, he was an open enemy to flattery, especially from a friend, from whom he started to meet the slightest appearance of that servile kindness. Having upon occasion communicated a purpose, against which there happened to lie some objections, they being by a friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other counsels. But in process of discourse it happened something fell in that brought to mind a passage of a late sermon of the Doctor's, which that person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such apprehensions of it, and so passed on to talk of other matters. The next day the Doctor having recollected, that probably the approbation given to the passage of the sermon might be an after-design to allay the plain-dealing which preceded it, expostulated his surmise, protesting that nothing in the world could more avert his love, and deeply disoblige him, than such unfaithfulness. But being assured, that there was no such art or contrivance meant, he gladly found and readily yielded himself to have been mistaken. In other cases he was no way inclinable to entertain doubts of his friend's kindness: but if any irregularity chanced to intervene, and cause misapprehensions, he gave them not leave to root and

fasten by concealment, but immediately produced his ground of jealousy; and exacted the like measure back again, if his own proceedings fell at any time under a doubtful or unkind appearance. This he thought a justice essential to friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist: for we think not fit to condemn the most notorious malefactor, before he hath had licence to propose his plea; and sure it is more strangely barbarous to treat a friend, or rather friendship itself, with less regard.

To the performances of friendship he hated all mercenary returns, whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave place for gratitude. Love, he said, was built upon the union and similitude of minds, and not the bribery of gifts and benefits. So generous was he herein, that he has oft professed, he admitted retributions of good turns, yet not so much on any score, as that his friend might have the pleasure of being kind.

There was a person of quality, a great and long sufferer in the late times of trial, to whom the Doctor had frequently sent supplies, and continued so to do, till there happened at last a change in the condition of the correspondent, such a one as, if it did not supersede the need of farther assistance, yet gave promise of an approaching affluence; whereupon the Doctor feared the adding a new obligation in this conjuncture of affairs might seem a piece of design

rather than kindness or charity : and though this suggestion was not of force to divert his purpose, it proved sufficient to suspend it, till by inquiry he found his designed present would be a relief ; and then he thought it an impertinence to consider what it could be called besides.

But doing good to relatives, or being kind unto acquaintance, were low expressions of this virtue we exhibit. Misery and want, wherever he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love ; and, in calamities, to the exigence he never was a stranger, whatever he might be to the man that suffered.

And here the first preparative was to leave himself no motive to resist or slight the opportunities, of giving ; which he compassed by being a steward to himself as well as unto God, and parting still with the propriety of a set portion of his estate, that when at any time he relieved the wants of any, he might become no whit the poorer by his gift, have only the content of giving, and the ease of being rid of keeping another's money. The rate and sum of what he thus devoted was the tenth of all his income ; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings, which had been his lowest proportion in the heat of the war in Oxford, when he lived upon his Penshurst stock,

had no visible means or almost possibility of supply. Over and above this he completed the devotions of his weekly fast by joining alms thereto, and adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.

These were his debts to charity, the established fixed revenue of the indigent ; in the dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any time he happened to be in doubt whether he had set apart his charitable proportions, he always passed sentence against himself, resolving it much better to run the hazard of having paid the same debt twice, than to incur the possibility of not having done it once. But beyond these he had his free-will offerings, and those proportioned more by the occasion of giving, than the surplusage he had to give. His poor man's bag had so many mouths, and those so often opened, that it frequently became quite empty : but its being so never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in need ; for in such seasons he chose to give in more liberal proportions than at others.

In the time of the war at Oxford, to pass by other lesser reliefs, and many great ones, which his industrious concealment has preserved from all notice of the most diligent inquiry, though he were then at a very low ebb, he furnished an indigent friend with sixty pounds, which never was repaid him ; as also upon another score he

parted with twenty pounds, and another considerable sum besides that; and to one in distress about the same time, and on the same occasion, an hundred pounds.

Instead of hiding his face from the poor, it was his practice still to seek for theirs. Those persons whom he trusted with (his greatest secret and greatest business) his charity, seldom had recourse to him, but he would make inquiry for new pensioners; and though he had in several parts of the nation those whom he employed to find out indigent persons, and dispose his largess to them; and though the tyranny that then prevailed made every day store of such, his covetous bounty still grasped for more. Besides his ordinary provision for the neighbouring poor, and those that came to look him out in his retirement, (which were not few, for that the liberal man dwells always in the road,) his catalogue had an especial place for sequestered Divines, their wives and orphans, for young students in the Universities, and also those Divines that were abroad in banishment. Where, over and above his frequent occasional reliefs to the last of these, the exiled Clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over year by year a very considerable sum, such a one as men of far greater revenues do not use upon any occasion to put into the "Corban," and give away, much less as a troublesome excrescence

every year prune off, and cast from their estates.

Now if we inquire into the stock and fountain that was to feed all these disbursements, it was at his flight from Penshurst barely three hundred pounds; which, at the sale of a lease left him for his portion from his father, and the assistance of his prebend in Christ-Church, after all his lavish charities during those years, was near upon a thousand. The taking of use though he judged lawful, yet never approved by practice, but lent still gratis both to friends and strangers. The only other way he had of income was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which when there is deducted the many whole editions he had nothing for, the charge he was at in the sending of his copies, before he printed them, unto his friends for their animadversions and advices, his sending them sheet by sheet when printed, and surveying the revises, and the great numbers he gave away to his acquaintance, it will appear that the remainder was but a slight matter. As for private contributions, or assistance of that kind, he had never any; for though there were many who would gladly have made those oblations, yet he industriously prevented them, by public avowing, that he needed not; in which refusal he was so peremptory, that when being in Oxford made prisoner at the sign of the Bear, thence to be

sent immediately to Wallingford Castle, a gentleman, perfectly a stranger to him, and coming by chance to the inn, and hearing of his condition, having fifty pieces by him, would needs have presented them to him ; though the Doctor had before him the barbarous usage of his brethren, clapped on shipboard under hatches, the like to which he might probably enough meet with ; and though this extraordinary occurrence seemed to carry with it somewhat of providential designment ; yet he wholly refused the offer, as afterwards he did a far greater sum from a person of honour that courted him with it. Only one twenty pounds he was surprised by, and thought fit to accept, which, after some dispute with himself, he did upon these two grounds : first, that he might not gratify the pride from whence he was used to say men's reluctances to receive benefits proceeded ; and secondly, that he might not give the gentleman the discomfiture of seeing he had made an unseasonable offer.

But with all this disproportioned expense unto revenue, (a thing which after a very deliberate and strict inquiry remains riddle still, and an event next door to miracle,) the Doctor daily improved in his estate, and grew, in spite of all his liberality, rich ; being worth at the time of his death about one thousand five hundred pounds : which yet we are not to marvel should be strange to us, since it was so to the Doctor himself, who

often professed to wonder at it, and thereupon would apply this axiom, that "half is more than the whole ;" his mean revenue, by being scattered in the worst of times, growing upon him, when others that had great ones, by griping made them less, and grew stark beggars.

As the Doctor was thus charitable, so was he gentle and liberal ; his openness of hand in secular occasions was proportionable to that in sacred. When any one had sent him a slight present of apples or the like, his reward would usually much exceed the value ; and he would be so well pleased to have such an occasion of giving to a servant, saying, " Alas, poor soul ! I warrant he is glad of this little matter," that this seemed a part of the sender's courtesy. Thus, if there happened any other occasion of giving, or gratifying, or advancing public works, (for instance, the great Bible, upon which he was out fifty pounds, and reimbursed himself only by selling two copies,) he would be sure to do it at a free and highly ingenuous rate : so that he was sparing only to himself, and that upon no other principle, but thereby to be liberal to those he loved better than himself, the necessitous and poor. A pregnant instance whereof may be, that the Doctor upon occasion calculating his expenses on himself, found them to be not above five pounds in the year.

Besides this he had a further impediment to

riches, an easiness which alone has wasted other men's estates; he commonly making those he dealt with their own arbitrators; and if they seriously professed they could go no higher, he descended to their terms, saying commonly, that "this trash was not worth much ado." And beyond this he was so careless after bargains, that he never received script of paper of any to whom he lent, nor bond of any for performance of covenants, till very lately from two persons, when he found it necessary to use that method with them. He was used to say, that if he thought men knaves, he would not deal with them; and if indeed they were so, it was not all his circumspection that could prevent a cheat: on the other side, if they were honest, there needed no such caution. And possibly, if we consider the whole matter, there was not such imprudence in the manage, as at first appears; for bonds would have signified little to him, who in the best times would scarce have put them in suit; but would certainly have starved before he would have made an application to those judicatories which of late prevailed, and usurped the protection as well as the possession of men's rights, and were injurious not only in their oppressions but reliefs.

In those black days, being charged with the debt of about fifty or sixty pounds, formerly by him paid, being offered a release if he would take his oath of payment, he thought the condition

too unequal, and was resolved to double his payment rather than perform it. But a farther inquiry having cleared the account, he incurred not that penalty.

To a friend of his, who, by the falseness of a correspondent whom he trusted, was reduced to some extremity, and inquired what course he took to escape such usage, the Doctor wrote as follows :—

“To your doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my life for want of hand or seal ; but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest fellow-Prebend of mine, that, whensoever a siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other garrison or friend, and seldom ever met with any again, the solicitude was still their ruin ; whereas I, venturing myself and my cabinet in the same bottom, never lost any thing of this kind. And the like I have practised in this other instance. Whom I trusted to be my friend, all I had was in his power, and by God’s blessing was never deceived in my trust.”

And here, amidst all these unlikelihoods and seeming impossibilities, riches thrust themselves

upon him, and would take no refusal ; it pleasing God, since he had exemplified the advices of his " Practical Catechism " to the duties of alms and charitable distributions, in him also to make good and signally exemplify the assurance he there and elsewhere made in the behalf of Almighty God upon such performance, the giving affluence of temporal wealth. Nor was he the single instance of this truth : as he had proselytes to the speculative verity, he had partisans also of the effect and real issue of it. About four years since, a person of good estate, and without charge of children, coming to visit the Doctor, among other discourse, happened to speak of the late Dean of Worcester, Dr. Potter, whose memory, for his remarkable charity, and all other excellencies befitting his profession and dignity in the Church, is precious. This gentleman there related, that formerly inquiring of the Dean how it was possible for one that had so great a charge of children, was hospitable in his entertainment, and profuse in liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich ; he answered, that several years before, he happened to be present at a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, where the Preacher recommending the duty of alms and plentiful giving, assured his auditory, that that was the certainest way to compass riches. He, moved therewith, thenceforward resolved diligently to follow the counsel, and expect the issue ; which was such as now

created so much wonder. It fortuned that at that time when this was telling, the Doctor's *Δεύτεραι Φροντίδες* were newly come out, and therewith this sermon of "The Poor Man's Tithing." He therefore, willing to improve the opportunity, confessed, that he himself was that Preacher which Dr. Potter referred to, and that there was the very sermon: which immediately giving to this visitant, he desired Almighty God it might have the like effect on him; and so, after a short civility, dismissed him.

As to the way and very manner of his charity, even that was a part of his donation and largess. One great care of his was to dispose of his reliefs so as to be most seasonable; to which purpose he had his spies and agents still employed to give him punctual notice of the occurrents in their several stations. His next endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To persons that had been of quality he consulted to relieve their modesty as well as needs, taking order they should rather find than receive alms; and knowing well they were provided for, should not yet be able to guess by what means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his hand, he over and above bestowed the charities of his familiar and hearty kindness; in the expressiveness of which he was not only assisted by his habitual humility, or positive opinion, upon which he was used to say, that it was a

most unreasonable and unchristian thing to despise any one for his poverty ; but much more by the pleasure and transport which the very act of giving transfused into him : which whosoever noted, stood in need of no other proof of the truth of his usual affirmation, that it was one of the greatest sensualities in the world to give. Upon which consideration he often took occasion to magnify the exceeding indulgence of God, that had annexed future rewards to that which was so amply its own recompence. Another circumstance in the Doctor's liberality not to be passed over was his choice of what he gave ; his care that it should not be of things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had. It happened that a servant in the family being troubled with the gout, the Doctor gave order that he should have some of the plaster which he used in the like extremity : but the store of that being almost spent, the person entrusted in this office gave of another sort, which was of somewhat less reputation ; which practice the Doctor within a while coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable kindness unto him, which disregarded the pressing interests and wants of another person, and thereby gave him a disquiet parallel to that which a fit of the gout would have done.

CHAPTER VI.

BUT besides this of giving, the alms of lending had an eminent place in the practice as well as judgment of the Doctor. When he saw a man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a sum, and let him pay it again at such times and in such proportions as he found himself able : withal when he did so, he would add his counsel too, examine the person's condition, and contrive with him how the present sum might be most advantageously disposed ; still closing the discourse with prayer for God's blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite affability and kindness. In which performance as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior degree ; giving this for a rule to those of his friends that were of estate and quality, to treat their poor neighbours with such a cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them. And as upon the grounds of his most gentle and obliging humanity, he never suffered any body to wait that came to speak with him, though upon a mere visit, but broke off his beloved studies, upon which his intention was so great, that he extremely grudged to be interrupted by any bodily concernment of his own, and so would often intermit his prescribed

walks and suppers in pursuance of it ; so with a more exceeding alacrity he came down when it was told him that a poor body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay ; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when the lady of the house, diverted either by the attractives of his discourse, or some other occasion, delayed the clients of her charity in alms, or that other most commendable one in surgery, he in his friendly way would chide her out of the room.

As poverty thus recommended to the Doctor's care and kindness, in an especial manner it did so when piety was added to it : upon which score a mean person in the neighbourhood, one Houseman, a weaver by trade, but by weakness disabled much to follow that or any other employment, was extremely his favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate freedom ; gave him several of his books, and examined his progress in them ; invited him, nay, importuned him still to come to him for whatever he needed ; and at his death, left him ten pounds as a legacy. A little before which fatal time, he and the Lady P. being walking, Houseman happened to come by ; to whom, after the Doctor had talked a while in his usual friendly manner, he let him pass ; yet soon after called him with these words : " Houseman, if it should please God that I should be taken from this place, let me make a bargain

between my Lady and you ; that you be sure to come to her with the same freedom you would to me for any thing you want : ” and so with a most tender kindness gave his benediction. Then turning to the lady, said, “ Will you not think it strange I should be more affected for parting from Houseman than from you ? ” His treating the poor man when he came to visit him in his sickness was parallel hereto in all respects.

Such another acquaintance he had at Penshurst, one Sexton, whom he likewise remembered in his will, and to whom he was used to send his more practical books, and to write extreme kind letters, particularly inquiring of the condition of himself and children ; and when he heard he had a boy fit to put out to school, allowed him a pension to that purpose ; and also with great contentment received from him his hearty, though scarce legible, returns.

Nor will this treatment from the Doctor seem any thing strange to them that shall consider how low a rate he put upon those usual distinctives, birth or riches ; and withal how high a value on the souls of men : for them he had so unmanageable a passion, that it often broke out into words of this effect, which had with them still in the delivery an extraordinary vehemence : “ O, what a glorious thing, how rich a prize for the expense of a man’s whole life, were it to be the instrument of rescuing any one soul ! ” Accord-

ingly, in the pursuit of this design, he not only wasted himself in perpetual toil of study, but most diligently attended the offices of his calling, reading daily the prayers of the Church, preaching constantly every Sunday, and that many times when he was in so ill a condition of health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His subjects were such as had greatest influence on practice, which he pressed with most affectionate tenderness, making tears part of his oratory. And if he observed his documents to have failed of the desired effect, it was matter of great sadness to him; where, instead of accusing the parties concerned, he charged himself that his performances were incompetent to the designed end, and would solicitously inquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; whether his extemporary wording might not be a defect, and the like. Besides this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual aids: from the time that the children of the family became capable of it till his death, he made it a part of his daily business to instruct them, allotting the interval betwixt prayers and dinner to that work; observing diligently the little deviations of their manners, and applying remedies unto them. In like sort, that he might ensnare the servants also to their benefit, on Sunday in the afternoon he catechised the children in his chamber, giving liberty, nay, invi-

tation, to as many as would, to come and hear, hoping they haply might admit the truths obliquely levelled, which bashfulness persuaded not to inquire for, lest they thereby should own the fault of former inadvertence. Besides, he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any person single, and to that purpose having particularly invited such to come at their leisurable hours, when any did so, he used all arts of encouragement and obliging condescension ; inso-much that having once got the scullion in his chamber upon that errand, he would not give him the uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his side ; though in other cases, amidst his infinite humility, he knew well how to assert the dignity of his place and function from the approaches of contempt. Upon this ground of ardent love to souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding person happening some years since to come to him, there to unload the burden of his mind, he kept him privately in his chamber for several days with a paternal kindness, answering every scruple which that unhappy temper of mind too readily suggested, and with unwearied patience attending for those little arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This practice continued, till he at last discovered his impressions had in good proportion advanced to the desired effect, which proceeded carefully in this method, that

duty still preceded promise, and strict endeavour only founded comfort.

On the same motive of this highest charity, when some years since a young man, who by the encouragement of an uncle, formerly the Head of an House in Oxford, had been bred up to learning, but by his ejection at the visitation was diverted from that course to a country life, and being so, to engage him therein, was also married and had children ; amidst his toilsome avocations continued to employ his vacant hours in study ; and happening on some of the Doctor's writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his wife and family, and employment, to seek out the Doctor himself ; whom being accordingly addressed unto, the excellent Doctor met this unknown romantic undertaker with his accustomed kindness, and most readily received this votary and proselyte to learning into his care and pupilage for several years, affording him all kind of assistance both in studies and temporal support, till he at last arrived at a good proficiency in knowledge, and is at present a very useful person in the Church.

Nor could this zeal to the eternal interests of souls be superseded by any sight of danger, however imminent. The last year, one in the neighbourhood mortally sick of the small-pox desiring the Doctor to come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the disease did then

prove more than usually fatal, and the Doctor's age and complexion threatened it particularly so to him, and though one might discern in his countenance vigorous apprehensions of the danger, he presently suppressed his fears, staying only so long as to be satisfied whether the party was so sensible that a visit might possibly be of use, and being informed thereof, cheerfully went; telling the person that happened to be present, whose dreads in his behalf were not so easily deposited, that he should be as much in God's hands in the sick man's chamber as in his own; and not contented with going once, appointed the next day to return again; which he had done, had not the patient's death absolved him of his promise.

So, likewise, when at another time a gentleman of no very laudable life had in his sickness desired to speak with the Doctor, which message, through the negligence of the person employed, was not delivered till he that sent it was in the last agonies of death; the Doctor was very much affected at it, passionately complaining of the brutishness of those that had so little sense of a soul in that sad state; and pouring out his most fervent prayers in his behalf, requested, farther, that by this example others, and in particular the companions of that unhappy person's vice, might learn how improper a season the time of sickness, and how unfit a place the

death-bed, is for that one great important work of penitence, which was intended by Almighty God the one commensurate work of the whole life.

But though to advance the spiritual concerns of all that could in any kind become receptive of the good he meant them was his unlimited designment and endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early virtue of young persons was his more chosen study: when he saw such a one, he would contrive and seek out ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay hold of every opportunity to represent the beauty, pleasure, and advantage of a pious life; and, on the other side, to express the toil, the danger, and the mischief of brutal sensuality. Withal he would be still performing courtesies, thereby to oblige, of very gratitude to him, obedience and duty unto God.

Where, to pass by the many instances that he gave of this his charity, it will not be amiss to insist on one as a specimen of the rest, which was thus. It happened during the Doctor's abode in Oxford in the war, that a young man of excellent faculties, and very promising hopes in that place, by his love to music was engaged in the company of such who had that one good quality alone to recommend their other ill ones. The Doctor finding this, though otherwise a stranger to the person, gave him in exchange his own; and, taking him as it were into his own

bosom, directed him to books, and read them with him ; particularly a great part of Homer, at a night dispatching usually a book, and if it proved holiday, then two ; where his comical expression was, when one Iliad was done, to say, "Come, because it is holiday, let us be jovial, and take the other Iliad ;" reflecting on the mode of the former debauches, whose word it was, "It is holiday, let us take the other pint."

And as the Doctor laboured in the rescue of single persons, he had an eye therein to multitudes ; for wherever he had planted the seeds of piety, he presently cast about to extend and propagate them thereby to others ; engaging all his converts not to be ashamed of being reputed innocent, or to be thought to have a kindness for religion ; but own the seducing men to God with as much confidence at least as others use when they are factors for the devil ; and, instead of lying on the guard and the defensive part, he gave in charge to choose the other of the assailant. And this method he commended not only as the greatest service unto God, and to our neighbour, but as the greatest security to ourselves ; it being like the not expecting of a threatened war at home, but carrying it abroad into the enemy's country. And nothing in the Christian's warfare he judged so dangerous as a truce, and the cessation of hostility. Withal, parley, and holding intelligence with guilt, in the most

trivial things, he pronounced as treason to ourselves, as well as unto God: for while, saith he, we fight with sin, in the fiercest shock of opposition we shall be safe; for no attempts can hurt us, till we treat with the assailants; temptations of all sorts having that good quality of the devil in them, to fly when they are resisted. Besides, whereas young people are used to varnish over their non-performance and forbearance of good actions by a pretence unto humility and bashful modesty, saying they are ashamed for to do this or that, as being not able for to do it well, he assured them, this was arrant pride, and nothing else.

Upon these grounds his instruction to young persons was, to withstand the overtures of ill, and be intent and serious in good; to which he joined a third advice, to be furnished with a friend. Accordingly, at a solemn leave-taking of one of his disciples, he thus discoursed: "I have heard say of a man, who, upon his death-bed, being to take his farewell of his son, and considering what course of life to recommend that might secure his innocence, at last enjoined him to spend his time in making of verses, and in dressing a garden; the old man thinking no temptation could creep into either of these employments. But I, instead of these expedients will recommend these other; the doing all the good you can to every person, and the having of

a friend ; whereby your life shall not only be rendered innocent, but withal extremely happy."

Now after all these excellencies, it would be reason to expect, that the Doctor, conscious of his merit, should have looked, if not on others with contempt, yet on himself with some complacency and fair regard ; but it was far otherwise ; there was no enemy of his, however drunk with passion, that had so mean an esteem either of him or of his parts as he had both of the one and other. As at his first appearing in public he was clearly overreached and cheated into the owning of his books ; so, when he found it duty to go on in that his toilsome trade of writing, he was wont seriously to profess himself astonished at their reception into the world, especially, as he withal was pleased to add, since others failed herein whose performances were infinitely beyond any thing which he was able to do.

From this opinion of his mediocrity at best, and the resolution of not making any thing in religion public before it had undergone all tests, in point not only of truth but prudence, proceeded his constant practice of subjecting all his writings to the censure and correction of his friends, engaging them at that time to lay aside all their kindness, or rather to evidence their love by being rigidly censorious. There is scarce any book he wrote that had not first travelled on this errand, of being severely dealt with, to

several parts of the nation before it saw the light ; nay, so scrupulous was the Doctor herein, that he has frequently, upon suggestion of something to be changed, returned his papers the second time unto his censor, to see if the alteration was exactly to his mind, and generally was never so well pleased as when his packets returned with large accessions of objectings and advertisements. And in this point he was so strangely advisable that he would advert unto the judgment of the meanest person, usually saying, that there was no one that was honest to him, by whom he could not profit ; withal that he was to expect readers of several sorts ; and if one illiterate man was stumbled, it was likely others of his form would be so too, whose interest, when he wrote to all, was not to be passed over. Besides, those less discerning observators, if they could do nothing else, he said, could serve to draw teeth ; that is, admonish if ought were said with passion or sharpness, a thing the Doctor was infinitely jealous of in his writings. Many years since he having sent one of his tracts unto an eminent person in this Church, to whom he bore a very high and merited regard, to be looked over by him ; he sending it back without any amendment, but with a profuse compliment of liking every thing ; the good Doctor was much affected with the disappointment, only comforted himself herein, that he had reaped this benefit, to have

learned never to send his papers to that hand again ; which resolution to his dying day he kept.

Nor was this caution before the publishing of his books sufficient, but was continued after it, the Doctor importuning still his friends to send him their objections, if in any point they were not satisfied ; which he with great indifference considered in his reviews and subsequent editions. However, he took more kindly the most impertinent exception, than those advertisements of a different kind which brought encomiums and lavish praises, which he heard with as great distaste as others do the most virulent reproaches.

A farther proof of this low esteem the Doctor had of himself (if such were possible) would be meekness to those that slighted him and disparaged his abilities ; this being the surest indication that our humility is in earnest, when we are content to hear ill language not only from ourselves, but from our enemies. Which with how much indifference this inimitable person did, it is neither easy fully to describe, nor to persuade to just belief. The short is, as he was never angry with his pertinacious dissenters for not being of his mind in points of speculation ; no more was he in the least with his scornful opposites, for their being of it in their little value of his person. And though he had, as well as other men, seeds of incitation in his natural temper, and more than others temptation to it in his

daily and almost intolerable injuries; yet such was the habitual mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest considerers of his actions have not, in ten years' perpetual conversation, seen his passion betray him to an indecent speech.

Nor was this sufferance of other kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the reception of calumny and foul reproach; for though pain were that to which he was used to say he was of all things most a coward, yet being under it he showed an eminent constancy and perfect resignation.

At the approach of sickness his first consideration was, what failing had provoked the present chastisement; and to that purpose made his earnest prayer to God, (and enjoined his friends to do the like,) to convince him of it; nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest violence and sharpest discipline, whatever was displeasing in his eyes, and grant not only patience, but fruitfulness, under the rod. Then by repeated acts of submission would he deliver himself up into God's hands, to do with him as seemed him good; amidst the sharpest pains meekly invoking him, and saying, "God's holy will be done." And even then, when on the rack of torture, would he be observing every circumstance of allay. When it was the gout, he would give thanks it was not the stone or cramp; when it was the stone, he then would say it

was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did. And then, when some degree of health was given, he exerted all his strength in a return of grateful recognition to the Author of it, which he performed with a vivacious sense and cheerful piety, frequently reflecting on the Psalmist's phrase, that it was "a joyful thing to be thankful." Which his transport whoever should attentively observe, would easily apprehend how possible it was for the infinite fruitions of another world to be made up by the perpetual act of grateful recognition, in giving lauds and singing praises unto God.

Upon this score he was a most diligent observer of every blessing he received, and had them still in readiness to confront unto those pressures he at any time lay under. In the intermissions of his importunate maladies he would with full acknowledgment mention the great indulgence, that he, who had in his constitution the cause of so much pain still dwelling with him, should yet, by God's immediate interposing, be rescued from the effect.

To facilitate yet more this his serenity and calm of mind, he laid this rule before him, which proved of great use,—never to trouble himself with the foresight of future events; being resolved of our Saviour's maxim, that "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof;" and that it were the

greatest folly in the world to perplex oneself with that which perchance will never come to pass ; but if it should, then God who sent it will dispose it to the best, most certainly to his glory ; which should satisfy us in our respects to him ; and, unless it be our fault, as certainly to our good ; which, if we be not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in reference unto ourselves and private interests. Besides all this, in the very dispensation God will not fail to give such allays, which (like the cool gales under the line) will make the greatest heats of sufferance very supportable. In such occasions he usually subjoined Epictetus's dilemma: "Either the thing before us is in our power, or it is not: if it be, let us apply the remedy, and there will be no motive for complaint ; if it be not, the grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no good." As also from the same author he annexed this consideration, "that every thing has two handles ; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate." And in every occurrent he would be sure to find some cool handle, that he might lay hold of.

And to enforce all this he made a constant recourse to the experience of God's dealing with him in preceding accidents, which, however dreadful at a distance, at a nearer view lost much of their terror. And for others that he saw perplexed about the management of their difficult

affairs, he was wont to ask them, when they would begin to trust God, or permit him to govern the world. And thus all private concerns he passed over with a perfect indifference ; the world and its appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took notice when any part dropped off, or sate uneasily. Herein indeed he was concerned and rendered thoughtful, if somewhat intervened that had a possibility of duty appendent to it ; in which case he would be solicitous to discern where the obligation lay ; but presently rescued himself from that disquiet by his addresses unto God in prayer and fasting, which was his certain refuge in this as well as other exigents ; and if the thing in question were of moment, he called in the devotions of his friends. Besides this case, he owned to have some kind of little discomposure in the choice of things perfectly indifferent ; for where there was nothing to determine him, the balance, by hanging even, became tremulous, and by a propensity to either side inclined to neither ; making useless offers, but promoting nothing : which condition of mind he was wont to call "the deliberation of Buridan's ass."

Upon which grounds, of all other things he most disliked the being left to make a choice, and hugely applauded the state of subjection to a superior, where an obsequious diligence was the main ingredient of duty ; as also he did the state

of subjection unto pressure, as a privilege and blessing. And though he prayed as much, and withal as heartily, as any person, for the return of the nation from captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such mercy by the intervention of repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert solemnly, that prosperous iniquity would not be deliverance, but the most formidable judgment, that the nation, during its pressures, was under the discipline of God, given up to Satan by a kind of ecclesiastic censure; and should the Almighty dismiss us from his hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with a "Why should you be smitten any more?"—this were of all inflictions the most dreadful. Though with admirable equanimity he could run over the black annals of this unhappy nation while its calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest mention of its incorrigible guilt without dissolving into tears, especially when he happened to advert unto the impudence of that hypocrisy which reconciled godliness and villany, and made it possible for men to be saints and devils both together; whereby religion grew ruinous to itself, and, besides the scandal of such enormities committed in the face of the sun, with such pretence to zeal and holiness, our faith became instructed to confute and baffle duty, the Creed and the Commandments, belief and practice, being brought

into the lists, and represented as incompatible ; while the flames intended for the sacred lamps, the establishment of doctrinals and speculative divinity, burned up the altar and the temple, consumed not only charity, but good-nature too, and untaught the common documents of honest Heathenism.

And while this public soul, in the contemplation of the mischief which our sins both ~~were~~ themselves, and in their issues, great in their provocation, and fatal in their plagues, indulged unto his pious and generous griefs, yet even then, considering judgment not to be more just than useful to the sufferers, he found out means from that unlikely topic to speak comforts to himself and others.

In that last crisis of our gasping hopes, the defeat of the Cheshire forces, which promised all the misery consequent to the sway of a Senate gorged in blood, and yet still thirsting for more, and of a veteran army composed of desperate fanatics engaged in equal guilts among themselves, and equal hate against the other, and therewithal the religion, liberty, and being of the nation ; he thus addresses himself to the desponding sorrows of a friend :—

“ September 2d.

“ SIR,

“ I HAVE received your last, and acknowledge the great fitness of it to the present oppor-

tunities, under which God hath pleased to place us. If we look about us, there was never any louder call to lamentation and bitter mourning ; and the sharpest accents of these are visibly due to those continued provocations, which appear to have wrought all our woe : yet is there not wanting some gleam of light, if we shall yet by God's grace be qualified to make use of it. It is the supreme privilege of Christianity to convert the saddest evils into the most medicinal advantages, the valley of Achor into the door of hope, the blackest tempest into the most perfect εὐδία : and it is certain you have an excellent opportunity now before you to improve and receive benefit by ; and you will not despise that affection which attempts to tell you somewhat of it. It is plainly this : that all kind of prosperity (even that which we most think we can justify the most importunate pursuance of, the flourishing of a church and monarchy) is treacherous and dangerous, and might very probably tend to our great ills ; and nothing is so entirely safe and wholesome as to be continued under God's disciplines. Those that are not bettered by such methods would certainly be intoxicated and destroyed by the pleasanter draughts ; and those that would ever serve God sincerely in affluence have infinitely greater advantages and opportunities for it in the adverse fortune. Therefore let us now all adore and bless God's wisest choices, and set vigorously to

the task that lies before us, improving the present advantages, and supplying in the abundance of the inward beauty what is wanting to the outward lustre of a church ; and we shall not fail to find that the grots and caves lie as open to the celestial influences as the fairest and most beautified temples. We are ordinarily very willing to be rich, and flatter ourselves that our aims are no other than to be enabled by much wealth to do much good ; and some live to see themselves confuted, want hearts when wealth comes in greatest abundance : so those that never come to make the experiment have yet reason to judge that God saw it fit not to lead them into temptation, lest, if they had been proved, they should have been found faithless. And the same judgment are we now obliged to pass for ourselves, and, by what God appears to have chosen for us, to resolve what he sees to be absolutely best for us ; and it must be our greatest blame and wretchedness, if what hath now befallen us be not effectually better for us, than whatever else even piety could have suggested to us to wish or pray for. And then, I pray, judge candidly whether any thing be in any degree sober or tolerable in any of us, beside the one great necessary wisdom as well as duty of resignation, and making God's choices ours also. I have been these three weeks under restraint by the gout and other pains, and am not yet on my legs ; yet, blessed be God, have all

causes of thanksgiving, none of repining. And I shall with confidence pray and hope, that the great multitudes of persons and families, that are now under far sharper exercises, will find as much greater allays and sweetnesses, and the black cloud (as oft it hath done) vanish undiscernibly."

And when this most unlikely prophecy became fulfilled, when that black cloud he spoke of, contrary to all human expectation, broke not in tempest, but in sunshine ; when our despairs and resolute despondencies became unravelled by a miracle of mercy, which after-ages will be as far from giving credit to in its endearing most improbable circumstances, as this of ours (pardon the harshness of a true comparison) is from esteeming at its merited rate ; our excellent patriot, and best of men, seeing the dawnings of this welcome day, paid down at once his greatest thanks and heartiest deprecations as a tribute to it, passionately fearing what he had more passionately wished for, suspecting his own hopes, and weeping over his fruitions.

As to Charles II., he looked on his return with pity and compassion, as bringing him to that uneasy, if not insuperable, task of ruling and reforming a licentious people ; to that most irksome sufferance of being worried with the importunities of covetous and ambitious men, the rest-

less care of meeting the designs of mutinous and discontented spirits : resolving, his most wished return could only be a blessing to his people, but unto him could not be so ; but only on the score, by having opportunities through glorious self-denials to do good. And for all other persons, he said, that, having seriously considered what sort of men would be better for the change, he could not think of any. As for the Church, it was certain, persecution was generally the happiest means of propagating that ; she then grew fastest when pruned most : then of the best complexion and most healthy, when fainting through loss of blood. As to the laity, in all their several stations and estates they had so much perverted the healthful dispensations of judgment, that it was most improbable they should make any tolerable use of mercy. And lastly, in reference to himself, he resolved (though sure on weaker grounds) affliction most conducive. During the current of that tyranny, which for so many years we all groaned under, he kept a constant equable serenity and unthoughtfulness in outward accidents : but the approaching change gave him somewhat of pensive recollection, insomuch that discoursing of occurrents, he broke forth into these words : “ I must confess I never saw that time in all my life, wherein I could so cheerfully say my *Nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread prosperity, I do really dread it. For the

little good I am now able to do, I can do it with deliberation and advice: but if it please God I should live and be called to any higher office in the Church, I must then do many things in a hurry, and shall not have time to consult with others; and I sufficiently apprehend the danger of relying on my own judgment." Which words he spake with the greatest concernment of earnest melting passion as is imaginable. Accordingly it pleased Almighty God to deal; and having granted to his servant the satisfaction of a full return and gracious answer to his prayer in the then every-day-expected reception of His sacred Majesty, not to deny his other great request of not sharing a temporary advantage from it; but as his merits were far beyond those transitory ensnaring retributions, to remove him from them to those solid and unmixed rewards, which could be nothing else than such, and would be such for ever.

But this sad part of our relation requiring to itself a fresh unwearied sorrow, and the saint-like manner of this excellent person's passage from the world being as exemplary and conducing to the uses of survivors as the notice of his life; we shall allow it a distinct apartment, and once again break off the thread of our discourse, for to resume it in its proper unentangled clue.

CHAPTER VII.

AT the opening of the year 1660, when every thing visibly tended to the return of the King from exile, and all persons in their several stations began to make way and prepare for it, the good Doctor was by the fathers of the Church desired to repair to London, there to assist in the great work of the composure of breaches in the Church: which summons as he resolved unfit either to dispute or disobey, so could he not without much violence to his inclinations submit unto. But finding it his duty, he diverted all the uneasiness of antipathy and aversion into a deliberate preparation of himself for this new theatre of affairs, on which he was to enter: where his first care was to fortify his mind against the usual temptations of business, place, and power. And to this purpose, besides his earnest prayers to God for his assistance, and disposal of him entirely to his glory, and a diligent survey of all his inclinations, and therein those which were his more open and less defensible parts, he farther called in and solemnly adjured that friend of his, with whom he had then the nearest opportunity of commerce, to study and examine the last ten years of his life, and with the justice due to a Christian friendship to observe his failures of all kinds, and show them

to him : which being accordingly attempted, the product, after a diligent inquest, only proving the representation of such defects which might have passed for virtue in another person ; his next prospect was abroad, what several ways he might do good unto the public : and knowing that the diocese of Worcester was by the favour of His Majesty designed his charge, he thought of several opportunities of charity unto that place, and among others particularly cast in his mind for the repair of the cathedral church, and had laid the foundation of a considerable advance unto that work. Which early care is here mentioned as an instance of his inflamed desire of doing good, and singular zeal to the house of God, and the restoring of a decent worship in a like decent place : for otherwise it was far from his custom to look forward into future events ; but still to attend and follow after Providence, and let every day bear its own evil. And now, considering that the nation was under its great crisis and most hopeful method of its cure, which yet if palliate and imperfect would only make way to more fatal sickness, he fell to his devotions on that behalf, and made those two excellent prayers which were published immediately before his death, as they had been made immediately before his sickness, and were almost the very last thing he wrote.

Being in this state of mind, fully prepared for

that new course of life, which had nothing to recommend it to his taste but its unpleasantness, (the best allactive unto him,) he expected hourly the peremptory mandate, which was to call him forth from his beloved retirements.

But in the instant more importunate, though infinitely more welcome, summons engaged him on his last journey; for on the 4th of April he was seized by a sharp fit of the stone, with those symptoms that are usual in such cases; which yet, upon the voidance of a stone, ceased for that time. However, on the 8th of the same month, it returned again with greater violence; and though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distension of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath upon any little motion. When, as if he had by some instinct a certain knowledge of the issue of his sickness, he almost at its first approach conceived himself in hazard: and whereas at other times, when he saw his friends about him fearful, he was used to reply cheerfully, that he was not dying yet; now, in the whole current of his disease, he never said any thing to avert suspicion, but addressed unto its cure, telling his friends with whom he was, that he should leave them in God's hands, who could supply abundantly all the assistance they could either expect or desire from him; and who would so provide, that they should not find his

removal any loss. And when he observed one of them with some earnestness pray for his health and continuance, he with tender passion replied, "I observe your zeal spends itself all in that one petition for my recovery; in the interim you have no care of me in my greatest interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my change when God shall call me: I pray let some of your fervour be employed that way." And being pressed to make it his own request to God to be continued longer in the world, to the service of the Church, immediately began a solemn prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting acknowledgment of sin, and a most earnest intercession for mercy and forgiveness, through the merits of his Saviour: next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's hands, he begged that, if the divine wisdom intended him for death, he might have a due preparation for it; but if his life might be in any degree useful to the Church, even to one single soul, he then besought Almighty God to continue him, and by his grace enable him to employ that life he so vouchsafed industriously and successfully. After this he did with great affection intercede for this Church and nation, and with particular vigour and enforcement prayed for a sincere performance of Christian duty, now so much decayed, to the equal supplanting and scandal of that holy calling; that
who professed that faith might live accord-

ing to the rules of it, and to the form of godliness superadd the power. This with some repetitions and more tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a prayer for the several concerns of the family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging to his infirmity, as to make his disease so painless to him ; withal to send it to him before he took his journey, whereas it might have taken him in the way, or at his inn, with far greater disadvantages.

Nor did he in this exigence desist from the exercise of his accustomed candour and sweetness, whereby he was used to entertain the addresses of the greatest strangers. For two scholars coming at this time to see him, when they having sent up their names, it appeared they were such as he had no acquaintance with, though they that were about the Doctor, considering his illness, proposed that a civil excuse might be made, and the visitants be so dismissed ; he resisted the advice with the greatest earnestness, saying, "I will by no means have them sent away ; for I know not how much they may be concerned in the errand they come about ;" and gave order they should be brought up : and when upon trial it appeared that a compliment was the whole affair, yet the good Doctor seemed much satisfied that he had not disappointed that unseasonable kindness.

Likewise his own necessities, however press-

ing, diverted not his concernments for those of others. It so happened that a neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the Church-office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf; and though at the beginning of the Doctor's illness the Chaplain made no other variation, than to change the singular into the plural; yet, when his danger increased, he then thought fit to pray peculiarly for him; which the good Doctor would by no means admit, but said, "O no, poor soul, let not me be the cause of excluding her;" and accordingly had those prayers continued in the more comprehensive latitude. And indeed those offices which had a public character upon them, he peculiarly valued: for as to the forms of devotion appropriate to his extremity, he took care they should not exclude the public ones, but still gave these a constant place: and when in his sharp agonies his friends betook themselves to their extemporary ejaculations, he composed those irregularities by saying, "Let us call on God in the voice of his church."

And in seasons of this kind whereas the making of a will is generally an uneasy task, as being at once a double parting with the world; to him it was in all respects agreeable and welcome: for having bequeathed several legacies to his relatives and friends, and left the remainder, of his estate to the disposal of his intimate and approved

friend Dr. Henschman, afterwards Lord Bishop of Salisbury, as if recovered from the worst part of his disease, the necessity of reflecting upon secular affairs, he became strangely cheerful, and overlooked the encroaching importunate tyranny of sickness.

On the 20th of April, being Good-Friday, he solemnly received the sacrament ; and again on the 22d of April, which then was Easter-day : at which time, when the number of communicants was too great to have place in his bed-chamber, and the whole office was over long for him to go through with, it was ordered, that the service being performed in the usual apartment, a competent number should afterwards come up and communicate with him : which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with grief and trouble, breaking out into this passionate complaint, " Alas ! must I be excommunicated ? " To be absent from any part of public worship he thus deeply resented : so far was he from their opinion, (and they would be thought godly too,) who in their most healthful leisurable days make this not their penance, but election and choice.

Amidst this weakness and indisposition of all parts, in the act of celebration his devotion only was not faint or sick, but most intent and vigorous : yet equalled by his infinite humility, which discovered itself, as in his deportment, so particularly in that his pathological ejaculation, which

brake forth at the hearing of those words of the Apostle, "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners;" unto which he rejoined, in an accent that neither intended a compliment to God nor men, to either of which he was not under a temptation, "Of whom I am the chief."

This humility appeared in all other occasions of instance: particularly about this time a letter being sent unto him, in which, among many expressions of great value, there was added an intimation, that there was now hope the days were come when his desert should be considered, and himself employed in the government as well as the instruction of the Church; at this he was hugely discomposed, and expressed a grief and anguish beyond that his sickness in any period, however sharp, had extorted from him.

But now, through the long suppression of urine the blood grown thin and serous, withal made eager and tumultuous by the mixture of heterogeneous parts, the excellent Doctor fell into a violent bleeding at the nose; at which the bystanders being in astonishment, he cheerfully admonished to lay aside impatience in his behalf, and to wait God's leisure, whose seasons were still the best; withal thankfully acknowledged God's mercy in the dispensation, alleging that to bleed to death was one of the most desirable passages out of this world.

truly he very justly made this observation;

for it pleased the divine providence strangely to balance the symptoms of the Doctor's disease to his advantage : for the sharp pains of the stone were allayed by drowsiness ; and when that oppression endangered a lethargic or apoplectic torpor, he was retained from that by the flux of blood ; which several accidents interchangeably succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole time of sickness he neither had long violence of torment, nor diminution of his intellectual faculties. And here this violent hæmorrhage of which we now speak, being of itself even miraculously stopped, when all applications were ineffectual, a drowsiness succeeding, which happened at the time of prayers, though he perfectly attended, and returned to every response amidst his importunate infirmity, he very sadly resented it, saying, "Alas ! this is all the return I shall make to this mercy, to sleep at prayers."

When he was in pain, he often prayed for patience ; and while he did so, evidenced that his prayer was heard ; for he exercised not only that, but thankfulness too, in his greatest extremity crying out, "Blessed be God, blessed be God."

Nor did he, according to the usual method, inflict his sickness upon those about him, by peevishness disquieting his attendants ; but was pleased with every thing that was done, and liking every thing that was brought, condescend-

ing to all proposals, and obeying with all readiness every advice of his Physicians. Nor was it wonder he should so return unto the endeavours of his friends, who had tender kindness for his enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the defeat of Lambert and his party, the last effort of gasping treason in this nation before its blessed return unto obedience, was told him, his only triumph was that of his charity, saying with tears in his eyes, "Poor souls! I beseech God forgive them." So habitual was pity and compassion to his soul, that all representations centred there: virtue had still his prayers, because he loved it; and vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

In his own greatest desolations he administered reliefs to those about him, mixing advices with his prayers, and twisting the tenderness of a friend to that of the Christian, he then dispensed his best of legacies, his blessings; most passionately exhorting the young growing hopes of the family, whose first innocence and bashful shame of doing ill he above all things laboured to have preserved, to be just to the advantage of their education, and maintain inviolate their first baptismal vows: then more generally commended unto all the great advantage of mutual friendly admonitions. On which occasion, when the good lady asked him what more special thing he would recommend unto her for her whole life, he briefly

replied, "Uniform obedience:" whereby (if we may take a comment from himself at other times) he meant not only a sincere reception of duty as such, because commanded, and not because it is this or that, pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy duty; but withal the very condition of obeying, the lot of not being to choose for one's self, the being determined in all proposals by human or divine command, and where those left at large, by the guidance of God's providence or the assistance of a friend.

But amidst these most Christian divertisements, these happiest anodynes of sickness, the 25th of April fatally drew on, wherein his flux of blood, breaking forth again with greater violence than it had done before, was not to be stopped by outward applications, nor the revulsives of any kind, not of its own, the opening of a vein, first in the arm, and after in the foot; till at last the fountain being exhausted, the torrent ceased its course, and indeed that vital one, which its regular motion kept on foot: for the good Doctor leaving off to bleed about three o'clock in the afternoon, became very weak and dispirited, and cold in the extreme parts, had strength only continued to persevere in his devotions, which he did unto the last moment of his life; a few minutes before his death breathing out those words, which best became his Christian life, "Lord, make haste!"

And so, upon that very day on which the

Parliament convened, which laid the foundation of our release and liberty, and brought at once this nation's return from its captivity, and its sovereign Prince, this champion of religion and pattern of all virtue, as if reserved for masteries and combats of exigence and hazard, for persecution and sufferings, was taken hence. It will be below the greatness of the person, as well as of this loss, to celebrate his death in womanish complaints, or indeed by any verbal applications: his worth is not to be described by any words besides his own; nor can any thing be seem his memory, but what is sacred and eternal as those writings are. May his just fame from them and from his virtue be precious to succeeding times, grow up and flourish still: and when those characters engraved in brass shall disappear, as if they had been written in water; when eulogies committed to the trust of marble shall be illegible as whispered accents; when pyramids dissolved in dust shall want themselves a monument to evidence that they were once so much as ruin; let that remain a known and classic history, describing him in his full portraiture among the best of subjects, of friends, of scholars, and of men.

The dead body being opened, (which here is mentioned, for that the reader cannot want the curiosity to desire to know every thing that concerned this great person,) the principal and vital

parts appeared sound ; only the right kidney, or rather its remainder, which exceeded not the bigness of an egg, was hard and knotty, and in its cavity, besides several little ones, a large stone of the figure of an almond, though much bigger, whose lesser end was fallen into the ureter, and as a stopple closed it up ; so that it is probable that kidney had for divers years been in a manner useless. The other kidney was swollen beyond the natural proportion, otherwise not much decayed ; but within the ureter four fingers' breadth a round white stone was lodged, which was so fastened in the part, that the Physician with his probe could not stir it, and was fain at last to cut it out ; and so exactly it stopped the passage, that upon the dissection the water before enclosed gushed forth in great abundance ; from whence it appeared perfectly impossible for art to have ennobled itself in the preservation of this great person ; as it was also manifest, that nothing but the consequences of his indefatigable study took him from us, in the perfection and maturity, the fifty-fifth year, of his life.

On the morrow in the evening, twenty-sixth day of the same month, he was, according to his desire, without ostentation or pomp, though with all becoming decency, buried at the neighbour-church of Hampton, with the whole office and usual rites of the Church of England, several of the gentry and Clergy of the country, and affec-

tionate multitudes of persons of less quality, attending on his obsequies, the Clergy with ambition offering themselves to bear him on their shoulders ; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred burden in the burial-place of the generous family which with such friendship had entertained him when alive : where now he rests in peace, and full assurance of a glorious resurrection.

Having thus given a faithful though imperfect draught of this excellent person, whose virtues are so far from imitation by practice, that they exercise and strain the comprehension of words ; and having showed how much he has merited of this nation in its most pressing exigents, both by his writings and by his example, and perchance above both these by his unwearied intercession in devotion ; it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a request unto the reader in his behalf, and show him an expedient, whereby he may pay his debt of gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy saint, though now with God.

It is this : to add unto his account in the day of retribution, by taking benefit by his performances ; and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise :—

That the covetous reader would now at his request put off his sordid vice, and take courage to be liberal, assured by his example, that, if in

the worst of times profuseness could make rich, charity shall never bring to beggary :

That the proud opinionated person on the same terms would, in civility to him, descend from his fond heights, instructed here that lowly meekness shall compass great respects, and, instead of hate or flattery, be waited on with love and veneration :

That the debauched or idle would leave upon this score his lewd unwarrantable joys, convinced that strict and rugged virtue made an age of sunshine, a life of constant smiles, amidst the dreadfullest tempests ; taught the gout, the stone, the cramp, the colic, to be treatable companions ; and made it eligible to live in bad times, and die in flourishing :

That the angry man, who calls passion at least justice, possibly zeal and duty, would for his sake assume a different temper, believe that arguments may be answered by saying " Reason," calumnies by saying " No," and railings by saying nothing :

That the coward and disloyal, that durst not own in words, much less by service and relief, his Prince, that complimented his apostasy and treason by the soft terms of " changing an interest," will from hence learn, that the surest way to safety is to have but one interest, and that espoused so firmly as never to be changed ; since such a constancy was that which a Cromwell durst not persecute :

That the employed in business would from hence dismiss their fears of regular piety, their suspicion that devotion would hinder all despatch and manage of affairs ; since it appeared, his constant office (like the prayer of Joshua, which made the sun stand still) seemed to have rendered unto him each day as long as two :

That the ambitious person, especially the Ecclesiastic, would think employment and high place a stewardship, that renders debtors both to God and man ; a residence at once of constant labour and attendance too ; a precipice, that equally exposes both to envy and to ruin ; and consequently to be that which should become our greatest fear and terror, but at no hand our choice ; since it was that which this heroic constancy was not ashamed to own a dread of, and whose appearance did render death itself relief and rescue :

Lastly, that the narrow self-designing person, who understands no kindness but advantage ; the sensual, that knows no love but lust ; the intemperate, that owns no companion but drink ; may all at once from him reform their brutish errors : since he has made it evident, that a friend does fully satisfy these distant and importunate desires, being, as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous entertainment, so, besides that, the highest mirth, the greatest interest, and surest pleasure in the world.

They that had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with this best of men, this saint, who seems in our decays of ancient virtue lent us by special Providence even for this end and purpose, that we might not disbelieve the faith of history delivering the excellency of primitive Christians ; know with what thirst and eagerness of soul he sought the spiritual advantage of any single man how mean soever, with what enjoyment he beheld the recovery of any such from an ill course and habit : and whatever apprehensions other men may have, they will be easily induced to think, that if blessed spirits have commerce with earth, (as surely we have reason to believe it somewhat more than possible,) they, I say, will resolve it a connatural and highly agreeable accession unto his fruitions, that when there is joy in the presence of the angels of God for a sinner that repents, he may be an immediate accessory to that blessed triumph, and be concerned beyond the rate of a bare spectator.

Persuasions to piety are usually in scorn called "preaching : " but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible an office soever it be grown, will be no indecency in this instance ; that it will not be absurd if his history, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of Preachers, whose life was the best of sermons, should bear a correspondence to its subject, and professedly close with an application : that it adjures all persons to be what they

promised God Almighty they would be in their baptismal vows, what they see the glorious saints, and martyrs, and confessors, and in particular this holy man, has been before them ; be what is most honourable, most easy and advantageous to be at present ; and, in a word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their death-beds, before they leave the world, and then would be for ever.

Which blessed achievement, as it was the great design of the excellent Doctor's both words and writings, his thoughts and actions, is also (besides the payment of a debt to friendship and to virtue) the only aim of this imperfect but yet affectionate and well-meant account. And may Almighty God, by the assistance of his grace, give all of these this their most earnestly-desired effect and issue !

THE LIFE
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
JOHN EARL OF ROCHESTER.

WRITTEN BY HIS OWN DIRECTION ON HIS DEATH-BED,

BY GILBERT BURNET, D.D.

THE LIFE
OF
JOHN EARL OF ROCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN WILMOT, Earl of Rochester, was born in April, 1648. His father was Henry Earl of Rochester, but best known by the title of Lord Wilmot, who bore so great a part in all the late wars, that mention is often made of him in the history; and had the chief share in the honour of the preservation of His Majesty, King Charles II., after the Worcester fight, and the conveying of him from place to place, till he happily escaped into France: but dying before the King's return, he left his son little other inheritance, but the honour and title derived to him, with the pretensions such eminent services gave him to the King's favour. These were carefully managed by the great prudence and discretion of his mother, a daughter of that noble and ancient family of the St. Johns, of Wiltshire; so that his educa-

tion was carried on in all things suitably to his quality.

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

When he went to the University, the general joy which overran the whole nation upon His Majesty's restoration, but was not regulated with that sobriety and temperance that became a serious gratitude to God for so great a blessing, produced some of its ill effects on him. He began to love these disorders too much. His tutor was that eminent and pious Divine, Dr. Blandford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester : and under his inspection, he was committed to the more immediate care of Mr. Phineas Berry, a Fellow of Wadham College, a very learned and good-natured man ; whom he afterwards ever used with much respect, and rewarded him as became a great man. But the humour of that time wrought so much on him, that he broke off the course of his studies ; to

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

He came from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantages as most ever had. He was a graceful and well-shaped person, tall and well made, if not a little too slender. He was exactly

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

Soon after his coming thither he laid hold on the first occasion that offered to show his readiness to hazard his life in the defence and service

of his country. In the winter of 1665 he went with the Earl of Sandwich to sea, when he was sent to lie for the Dutch East-India fleet; and was in the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port. It was as desperate an attempt as ever was made. During the whole action, the Earl of Rochester showed as brave and as resolute a courage as was possible. A person of honour told me that he heard Lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion; for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea-fight of that year. Almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middleton, brother to Sir Hugh Middleton, was shot in his arms. During the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the Captains, could not easily find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much danger, to carry his commands to that Captain. This Lord offered himself to the service; and went in a

little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to Sir Edward; which was much commended by all that saw it. He thought it necessary to begin his life with these demonstrations of his courage in an element and way of fighting, which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted valour.

He had so entirely laid down the intemperance that was growing on him before his travels, that at his return he hated nothing more. But falling into company that loved these excesses, he was, though not without difficulty, and by many steps, brought back to it again. And the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many, to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in intemperance: which, at length so entirely subdued him, that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually drunk; not all the while under the visible effect of it, but his blood was so inflamed, that he was not in all that time cool enough to be perfectly master of himself. This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable things. By this, he said, he had broken the firm constitution of his health, that seemed so strong, that nothing was too hard for it; and he had suffered so much in his reputation, that he almost despaired to recover it. There were two prin-

ciples in his natural temper, which being heightened by that heat carried him to great excesses : a violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant mirth. The one involved him in great sensuality ; the other led him to many odd adventures and frolics, in which he was often in hazard of his life : the one being the same irregular appetite in his mind, that the other was in his body, which made him think nothing diverting that was not extravagant. And though in cold blood he was a generous and good-natured man, yet he would go far in his heats, after any thing that might turn to a jest or matter of diversion. He said to me, that he never improved his interest at court, to do a premeditated mischief to other persons : yet he laid out his wit very freely in libels and satires, in which he had a peculiar talent of mixing his wit with his malice, and fitting both with such apt words, that men were tempted to be pleased with them. Thence his composes came to be easily known ; for few had such a way of tempering these together as he had ; so that when any thing extraordinary that way came out, as a child is fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so was it laid at his door as its parent and author.

These exercises in the course of his life were not always equally pleasant to him. He had often sad intervals and severe reflections on them : and though then he had not these awak-

ened in him from any deep principle of religion, yet the horror that nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses, made him too easy to receive some ill principles, which others endeavoured to possess him with ; so that he was too soon brought to set himself to secure and fortify his mind against that, by dispossessing it all he could of the belief or apprehensions of religion. The licentiousness of his temper, with the briskness of his wit, disposed him to love the conversation of those who divided their time between lewd actions and irregular mirth. And so he came to bend his wit, and direct his studies and endeavours, to support and strengthen these ill principles both in himself and others.

An accident fell out after this which confirmed him more in these courses. When he went to sea, in the year 1665, there happened to be in the same ship with him Mr. Montague, and another gentleman of quality : these two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return to England. Mr. Montague said that he was sure of it : the other was not so positive. The Earl of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that if either of them died, he should appear, and give the other notice of the future state, if there was any. But Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought to have

taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, generously stayed all the while in the place of greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage in a most undaunted manner, till near the end of the action; when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that he could scarcely stand: and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon-ball killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he died within an hour after. The Earl of Rochester told me that these presages they had in their minds made some impression on him, that there were separated beings; and that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination: but that gentleman's never appearing was a great snare to him, during the rest of his life. Though when he told me this, he could not but acknowledge it was an unreasonable thing for him to think that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits, that they could not command their own motions, but as the supreme Power should order them; and that one who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth, as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction.

He told me of another odd presage that one

had of his approaching death in the Lady Warre, his mother-in-law's house. The Chaplain had dreamed that such a day he should die; but being by all the family put out of the belief of it, he had almost forgotten it till the evening before at supper, there being thirteen at table: according to a fond conceit that one of these must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was to die. He, remembering his dream, fell into some disorder; and the Lady Warre reproving him for his superstition, he said he was confident he was to die before morning; but he being in perfect health, it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach on the next day. He went to his chamber and sat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle; and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon; but was found dead in his bed the next morning. These things, he said, made him inclined to believe that the soul was a substance distinct from matter: and this often returned into his thoughts. But that which perfected his persuasion about it was, that in the sickness which brought him so near death before I first knew him, when his spirits were so low and spent, that he could not move nor stir, and he did not think to live an hour; he said his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that from thence he was fully persuaded that death was not the dissolution of the soul, but only the separation

of it from matter. He had in that sickness great remorse for his past life ; but he afterwards told me that they were rather general and dark horrors, than any convictions of sinning against God. He was sorry that he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon, or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself, and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express. But at such times, though he complied with his friends in suffering Divines to be sent for, he said that he had no great mind to it ; and that it was but a piece of his breeding, to desire them to pray by him, in which he joined little himself.

As to the supreme Being, he had always some impression of one ; and professed often to me, that he had never known an entire Atheist, who fully believed there was no God. Yet when he explained his notion of this Being, it amounted to no more than a vast power, that had none of the attributes of goodness or justice which we ascribe to the Deity. These were his thoughts about religion, as himself told me. For morality, he freely owned to me, that though he talked of it as a fine thing, yet this was only because he thought it a decent way of speaking : and that as they went always in clothes, though in their frolics they would have chosen sometimes to go naked, if they had not feared the people ; so, though some of them found it necessary for

human life to talk of morality, yet he confessed that they cared not for it, further than the reputation of it was necessary for their credit and affairs : of which he gave me many instances ; as their professing and swearing friendship, where they hated mortally ; their oaths and imprecations in their addresses to women, which they intended never to make good ; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent persons, and spreading false reports of some, perhaps in revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill designs ; the delight they had in making people quarrel ; their unjust usage of their creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent, that might deliver them from present importunity. So that in detestation of these courses he would often break forth into such hard expressions concerning himself as would be indecent for another to repeat.

Such had been his principles and practices in a course of many years which had almost extinguished the propensities in him to justice and virtue. He would often go into the country and be for some months wholly employed in study, or the sallies of his wit ; which he came to direct chiefly to satire. And this he often defended to me by saying, there were some people that could not be kept in order, or admonished, but in this way. I replied, that it might be granted that a grave way of satire was sometimes no improfitable

ble way of reproof; yet they who used it only out of spite, and mixed lies with truth, sparing nothing that might adorn their poems, or gratify their revenge, could not excuse that way of reproach, by which the innocent often suffer; since the most malicious things, if wittily expressed, might stick to and blemish the best men in the world, and the malice of a libel could hardly consist with the charity of an admonition. To this he answered, that a man could not write with life, unless he were heated by revenge; for to make a satire without resentments, upon the cold notions of philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood cut men's throats who had never offended him: and he said the lies in these libels came often in as ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem.

For his other studies, they were divided between the comical and witty writings of the ancients and moderns, the Roman authors, and books of physic; which the ill state of health he was fallen into, made more necessary to himself; and which qualified him for an odd adventure, which I shall but just mention. Being under an unlucky accident, which obliged him to keep out of the way, he disguised himself so that his nearest friends could not have known him, and set up in Tower-street for an Italian mountebank, where he practised physic for some weeks, not without success. In his later years, he read

books of history more. He took pleasure to disguise himself as a porter, or as a beggar ; sometimes to follow some mean amours, which, for the variety of them, he affected : at other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were in the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.

CHAPTER II.

I HAVE now made the description of his former life and principles, as fully as I thought necessary, to answer my end in writing ; and yet with those reserves, that I hope I have given no just cause of offence to any. I have said nothing but what I had from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular passages of his life, of which he told me not a few. But since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. It is their reformation, and not their disgrace, that I desire. This tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things which he told me : but finding that though I should name none, yet I must at least relate such

circumstances as would give too great occasion for the reader to conjecture concerning the persons intended, right or wrong, either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. But I hope those that know how much they were engaged with him in his ill courses, will be somewhat touched with this tenderness I express towards them; and be thereby the rather induced to reflect on their ways, and to consider without prejudice or passion what sense this noble Lord had of their case, when he came at last seriously to reflect upon his own.

I now turn to those parts of this narrative, wherein I myself bore some share, and which I am to deliver upon the observations I made, after a long and free conversation with him for some months. I was not long in his company, when he told me he should treat me with more freedom than he had ever used to men of my profession. He would conceal none of his principles from me, but lay his thoughts open without any disguise; nor would he do it to maintain debate, or show his wit, but plainly tell me what stuck with him; and protested to me, that he was not so engaged to his old maxims as to resolve not to change, but that if he could be convinced, he would choose rather to be of another mind. He said he would impartially weigh what I should lay before him, and tell me freely when it convinced him, and when it did not. He expressed

this disposition of mind to me in a manner so frank, that I could not but believe him, and be much taken with his way of discourse. So we entered into almost all the parts of natural and revealed religion, and of morality. He seemed pleased, and in a great measure satisfied, with what I said upon many of these heads. And though our freest conversation was when we were alone, yet upon several occasions other persons were witnesses to it. I understood from many hands that my company was not distasteful to him, and that the subjects about which we talked most were not unacceptable; and he expressed himself often, not ill pleased with many things I said to him, and particularly when I visited him in his last sickness; so that I hope it may not be altogether unprofitable to publish the substance of those matters about which we argued so freely, with our reasoning upon them: and perhaps what had some effect on him may be not altogether ineffectual upon others. I followed him with such arguments as I saw were most likely to prevail with him; and my not urging other reasons proceeded not from any distrust I had of their force, but from the necessity of using those that were most proper for him. He was then in a low state of health, and seemed to be slowly recovering from a great disease. He was in the milk diet, and apt to fall into hectical fits; any accident weakened him; so that he thought he could

not live long ; and when he went from London, he said he believed he should never come to town more. Yet during his being in town he was so well, that he went often abroad, and had great vivacity of spirit. So that he was under no such decay, as either darkened or weakened his understanding ; nor was he any way troubled with the spleen, or vapours, or under the power of melancholy. What he was then, compared to what he had been formerly, I could not so well judge, who had seen him but twice before. Others have told me that they perceived no difference in his parts. This I mention more particularly, that it may not be thought that melancholy, or the want of spirits, made him more inclined to receive any impressions ; for indeed I never discovered any such thing in him.

Having thus opened the way to the heads of our discourse, I shall next mention them. The three chief things we talked about, were morality, natural religion, and revealed religion, Christianity in particular. For morality, he confessed that he saw the necessity of it both for the government of the world, and for the preservation of health, life, and friendship ; and was very much ashamed of his former practices, rather because he had made himself a beast, and had brought pain and sickness on his body, and had suffered much in his reputation, than from any deep sense of a supreme Being, or another state. But so

far this went with him, that he resolved firmly to change the course of his life; which he thought he should effect by the study of philosophy, and had not a few no less solid than pleasant notions concerning the folly and madness of vice. But he confessed he had no remorse for his past actions as offences against God; but only as injuries to himself and to mankind.

Upon this subject I showed him the defects of philosophy, for reforming the world: that it was a matter of speculation, which but few either had the leisure, or the capacity to inquire into; but the principle that must reform mankind must be obvious to every man's understanding; that philosophy in matters of morality, beyond the great lines of our duty, had no very certain fixed rule, but in the lesser offices and instances of our duty went much by the fancies of men, and customs of nations; and consequently could not have authority enough to bear down the propensities of nature, appetite, or passion. For which I instanced in these two points: the one was, about that maxim of the Stoics, to extirpate all sorts of passion and concern for any thing. That, take it by one hand, seemed desirable, because, if it could be accomplished, it would make all the accidents of life easy; but I think it cannot, because nature, after all our striving against it, will return to itself. Yet, on the other hand, it dissolved the bonds of nature and friendship,

and slackened industry, which will move but in a dull manner, without an inward heat ; and if it delivered a man from many troubles, it deprived him of the chief pleasures of life, which rise from friendship. The other was concerning the restraint of pleasure, how far that was to go. Upon this he told me the two maxims of his morality then were, that he should do nothing to the hurt of any other, or that might prejudice his own health ; and he thought that all pleasure, when it did not interfere with these, was to be indulged as the gratification of our natural appetites. It seemed unreasonable to imagine that these were put into a man only to be restrained, or curbed to such a narrowness.

To this I answered, that if appetites being natural was an argument for the indulging them, then the revengeful might as well allege it for murder, and the covetous for stealing ; whose appetites are no less keen on those objects : and yet it is acknowledged that these appetites ought to be curbed. If the difference is urged from the injury that another person receives, the injury is as great if a man's wife is defiled, or his daughter corrupted ; and it is impossible for a man to let his appetites loose, and not to transgress in these particulars. So there was no curing the disorders that must rise from thence, but by regulating these appetites. And why should we not as well think that God intended our brutish and sensual appetites

should be governed by our reason, as that the fierceness of beasts should be managed and tamed by the wisdom, and for the use, of man? So that it is no real absurdity to grant that appetites were put into men, on purpose to exercise their reason in the restraint and government of them; which to be able to do, ministers a higher and more lasting pleasure to a man, than to give them their full scope and range. And if other rules of philosophy be observed, such as the avoiding those objects that stir passion, nothing raises higher passions than ungoverned sensuality, nothing darkens the understanding, and depresses a man's mind more, nor is any thing managed with more frequent returns of other immoralities, such as oaths and imprecations which are only intended to compass what is desired. The expense that is necessary to maintain these irregularities makes a man false in his other dealings. All this, he freely confessed, was true: upon which I urged, that if it was reasonable for a man to regulate his appetite in things which he knew were hurtful to him; was it not as reasonable for God to prescribe a regulating of those appetites, whose unrestrained course produced such mischievous effects? That it could not be denied, but doing to others what we would have others do unto us, was a just rule. Those men then that knew how extremely sensible they themselves would be of the dishonour of their families in the case of their

wives or daughters, must needs condemn themselves for doing that which they could not bear from another. And if the peace of mankind, and the entire satisfaction of our whole life, ought to be one of the chief measures of our actions, then let all the world judge, whether a man that confines his appetite, and lives contented at home, is not much happier than those that let their desires run after forbidden objects. The thing being granted to be better in itself, then the question falls between the restraint of appetite in some instances, and the freedom of a man's thoughts, the soundness of his health, his application to affairs, with the easiness of his whole life; whether the one is not to be done before the other. As to the difficulty of such a restraint, though it is not easy to be done, when a man allows himself many liberties, in which it is not possible to stop; yet those who avoid the occasions that may kindle these impure flames, and keep themselves well employed, find the victory and dominion over them no such impossible or hard matter as may seem at first view. So that though the philosophy and morality of this point were plain, yet there is not strength enough in that principle to subdue nature and appetite. Upon this I urged, that morality could not be a strong thing, unless a man were determined by a law within himself; for if he only measured himself by decency, or the laws of the land, this

would teach him only to use such caution in his ill practices, that they should not break out too visibly ; but would never carry him to an inward and universal probity ; that virtue was of so complicated a nature, that unless a man came entirely within its discipline, he could not adhere steadfastly to any one precept : for vices are often made necessary supports to one another. That this cannot be done either steadily, or with any satisfaction, unless the mind inwardly comply with and delight in the dictates of virtue. And that could not be effected, except a man's nature were internally regenerated, and changed by a higher principle. Till that came about, corrupt nature would be strong, and philosophy but feeble ; especially when it struggled with such appetites or passions as were much kindled, or deeply rooted in the constitution of one's body. This, he said, sounded to him like enthusiasm, or canting. He had no notion of it, and so could not understand it. He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy, in which as the mind became much conversant, there would soon follow, as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts. I told him, on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead, to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. It was certain, that the impressions made in his reason governed him, as they were lively presented

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to him ; but these are so apt to slip out of our memory, and we so apt to turn our thoughts from them, and at some times the contrary impressions are so strong, that let a man set up a reasoning in his mind against them, he finds that celebrated saying of the poet,—*Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor* ; “ I see what is better, and approve it ; but follow what is worse, ”—to be all that philosophy will amount to. Whereas those who upon such occasions apply themselves to God by earnest prayer, feel a disengagement from such impressions, and themselves endued with a power to resist them : so that those bonds which formerly held them fall off.

This he said must be the effect of a heat in nature. It was only the strong diversion of the thoughts that gave the seeming victory ; and he did not doubt but if one could turn to a problem in Euclid, or to write a copy of verses, it would have the same effect. To this I answered, that if such methods only diverted the thoughts, there might be some force in what he said ; but if they not only drove out such inclinations, but begat impressions contrary to them, and brought men into a new disposition and habit of mind ; then he must confess there was somewhat more than a diversion, in these changes which were brought on our minds by true devotion. I added, that reason and experience were the things that determined our persuasions ; that experience without

reason may be thought the delusion of our fancy, so reason without experience had not so convincing an operation ; but these two meeting together must needs give a man all the satisfaction he can desire. He could not say, it was unreasonable to believe that the Supreme Being might make some thoughts stir in our minds with more or less force, as it pleased him ; especially the force of these motions being, for the most part, according to the impression that was made on our brain ; which that Power that directed the whole frame of nature could make grow deeper as He pleased. It was also reasonable to suppose God a being of such goodness, that he would give his assistance to such as desired it : for though he might upon some greater occasions, in an extraordinary manner, turn some people's minds ; yet since he had endued man with a faculty of reason, it is fit that men should employ that as far as they could, and beg his assistance ; which certainly they can do. All this seemed reasonable, and at least probable. Now good men who felt, upon their frequent applications to God in prayer, a freedom from those ill impressions that formerly subdued them, an inward love to virtue and true goodness, an easiness and delight in all the parts of holiness, which was fed and cherished in them by a seriousness in prayer, and languished as that went off, had as real a perception of an inward strength in their minds, that did rise and

fall with true devotion, as they perceived the strength of their bodies increased or abated, according as they had or wanted good nourishment.

After many discourses upon this subject, he still continued to think all was the effect of fancy. He said, that he understood nothing of it ; but acknowledged that he thought they were very happy whose fancies were under the power of such impressions, since they had somewhat on which their thoughts rested and centred. But when I saw him in his last sickness, he then told me, he had another sense of what we had talked concerning prayer, and inward assistances.

This subject led us to discourse of God, and of the notion of religion in general. He believed there was a supreme Being. He could not think that the world was made by chance ; and the regular course of nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal power of its author. This he said, he could never shake off ; but when he came to explain his notion of the Deity, he said, he looked on it as a vast power that wrought every thing by the necessity of its nature ; and thought that God had none of these affections of love or hatred, which breed perturbation in us, and, by consequence, he could not see that there was to be either reward or punishment. He thought our conceptions of God were so low, that we had better not think much of him ; and to love God seemed to him a presumptuous thing,

and the heat of fanciful men. Therefore he believed there should be no other religious worship but a general celebration of that Being, in some short hymn. All the other parts of worship he esteemed the inventions of Priests, to make the world believe they had a secret of incensing and appeasing God as they pleased. In a word, he was neither persuaded that there was a special Providence about human affairs ; nor that prayers were of much use, since that was to look on God as a weak being, that would be overcome with importunities. And for the state after death, though he thought the soul did not dissolve at death, yet he doubted much of rewards or punishments ; the one he thought too high for us to attain, by our slight services ; and the other was too extreme to be inflicted for sin. This was the substance of his speculations about God and religion.

I told him his notion of God was so low, that the supreme Being seemed to be nothing but nature. For if that being had no freedom, nor choice of his own actions, nor operated by wisdom or goodness, all those reasons which led him to acknowledge a God, were contrary to this conceit ; for if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful ; since these all appeared equally in the creation ; though His wisdom and good-

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

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

. As for the government of the world, if we believe the supreme Power made it, there is no reason to think he does not govern it. For all that we can fancy against it is the distraction

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

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

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

It is true we cannot have suitable notions of the divine essence ; as indeed we have no just idea of any essence whatsoever : since we commonly consider all things, either by their outward figure, or by their effects ; and from thence make inferences what their nature must be. So, though we cannot frame any perfect image in our minds of the Divinity, yet we may from the discoveries God has made of himself form such conceptions of him as may possess our minds with great

reverence for him, and beget in us such a love of those perfections as to engage us to imitate them. For when we say we love God the meaning is, we love that Being that is holy, just, good, wise, and infinitely perfect. And loving these attributes in that object will certainly carry us to desire them in ourselves. For whatever we love in another, we naturally, according to the degree of our love, endeavour to resemble it. In sum, the loving and worshipping God, though they are just and reasonable returns and expressions of the sense we have of his goodness to us; yet they are exacted of us not only as a tribute to God, but as a means of begetting in us a conformity to his nature, which is the chief end of pure and undefiled religion.

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

CHAPTER III.

WITH all these discourses he was not equally satisfied. He seemed convinced that the impressions of God, being much in men's minds, would be a powerful means to reform the world ; and he did not seem determined against Providence : but for the next state, he thought it more likely that the soul began anew, and that her sense of what she had done in this body, lying in the figures that are made in the brain, as soon as she dislodged, all these perished, and that the soul went into some other state to begin a new course. But I said on this head, that this was at best a conjecture, raised in him by his fancy : for he could give no reason to prove it true. Nor was all the remembrance our souls had of past things seated in some material figures lodged in the brain ; though it could not be denied but a great deal of it lay in the brain. That we have many abstracted notions and ideas of immaterial things which depend not on bodily figures. Some sins, such as falsehood and ill-nature, were seated in the mind, as lust and appetite were in the body : and as the whole body was the receptacle of the soul, and the eyes and ears were the organs of seeing and hearing, so was the brain the seat of memory ; yet the power and faculty of memory, as well as of seeing and hearing, lay in the mind ;

and so it was no inconceivable thing that either the soul by its own strength, or by the means of some subtler organs, which might be fitted for it in another state, should still remember as well as think. But indeed we know so little of the nature of our souls, that it is a vain thing for us to raise an hypothesis out of the conjectures we have about it, or to reject one because of some difficulties that occur to us; since it is as hard to understand how we remember things now, as how we shall do it in another state; only we are sure we do it now, and so we shall be then, when we do it.

When I pressed him with the secret joys that a good man felt, particularly as he drew near death, and the horrors of ill men especially at that time, he was willing to ascribe it to the impressions they had from their education. But he often confessed, that whether the business of religion was true or not, he thought those who had the persuasions of it, and lived so that they had quiet in their consciences, and believed God governed the world, and acquiesced in his providence, and had the hope of an endless blessedness in another state, the happiest men in the world; and said he would give all that he was master of to be under those persuasions, and to have the supports and joys that must needs flow from them. I told him the main root of all corruptions in men's principles was their ill life;

which, as it darkened their minds, and disabled them from discerning better things, so it made it necessary for them to seek out such opinions as might give them ease from those clamours that would otherwise have been raised within them. He did not deny but that after the doing of some things he felt great and severe challenges within himself; but he said he felt not these after some others which I would perhaps call far greater sins, than those that affected him more sensibly. This I said might flow from the disorders he had cast himself into, which had corrupted his judgment, and vitiated his taste of things; and by his long continuance in, and frequent repeating of, some immoralities, he had made them so familiar to him, that they were become as it were natural; and then it was no wonder if he had not so exact a sense of what was good or evil; as a feverish man cannot judge of tastes.

He acknowledged the whole system of religion, if believed, was a greater foundation of quiet than any other thing whatsoever; for all the quiet he had in his mind was, that he could not think so good a being as the Deity would make him miserable. I asked if when by the ill course of his life he had brought so many diseases on his body, he could blame God for it, or expect that he should deliver him from them by a miracle. He confessed there was no reason for that. I then urged, that if sin should cast the mind by a

natural effect into endless horrors and agonies, which being seated in a being not subject to death, must last for ever, unless some miraculous power interposed, could he accuse God for that which was the effect of his own choice and ill life ?

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

And upon this we discoursed long about revealed religion. He said he did not understand that business of inspiration. He believed the penmen of the Scriptures had heats and honesty, and so wrote ; but could not comprehend how God should reveal his secrets to mankind. Why was not man made a creature more disposed for religion, and better illuminated ? He could not apprehend how there should be any corruption in the nature of man, or a lapse derived from Adam. God's communicating his mind to one man, was the putting it in his power to cheat the world : for prophecies and miracles, the world had been always full of strange stories ; for the boldness and cunning of contrivers meeting with the simplicity and credulity of the people, things were easily received ; and being once received, passed down without contradiction. The incoherences of style in the Scriptures, the odd transitions, the seeming contradictions, chiefly about the order of time, the cruelties enjoined the Israelites in destroying the Canaanites, cir-

cumcision, and many other rites of the Jewish worship, seemed to him unsuitable to the divine nature ; and the first three chapters of Genesis he thought could not be true, unless they were parables. This was the substance of what he excepted to revealed religion in general, and to the Old Testament in particular.

I answered to all this, that believing a thing upon the testimony of another, in other matters where there was no reason to suspect the testimony, chiefly where it was confirmed by other circumstances, was not only a reasonable thing, but it was the hinge on which all the government and justice in the world depended : since all courts of justice proceed upon the evidence given by witnesses ; for the use of writings is but a thing more lately brought into the world. So then if the credibility of the thing, the innocence and disinterestedness of the witnesses, the number of them, and the most public confirmations that could possibly be given, concur to persuade us of any matter of fact, it is a vain thing to say, because it is possible for so many men to agree in a lie, that therefore these have done it. In all other things a man gives his assent when the credibility is strong on the one side, and there appears nothing on the other side to balance it. So such numbers agreeing in their testimony to these miracles ; for instance, of our Saviour's calling Lazarus out of the grave the fourth day after

he was buried, and his own rising again after he was certainly dead ; if there had been never so many impostures in the world, no man can with any reasonable colour pretend this was one. We find both by the Jewish and Roman writers that lived in that time, that our Saviour was crucified ; and that all his disciples and followers believed certainly that he rose again. They believed this upon the testimony of the Apostles, and of many hundreds who saw it, and died confirming it. They went about to persuade the world of it, with great zeal, though they knew they were to get nothing by it, but reproach and sufferings : and by many wonders which they wrought they confirmed their testimony. Now to avoid all this, by saying it is possible this might be a contrivance, and to give no presumption to make it so much as probable that it was so, is in plain English to say, “ We are resolved, let the evidence be what it will, we will not believe it.”

He said, If a man says he cannot believe, what help is there ? for he was not master of his own belief ; and believing was at highest but a probable opinion. To this I answered, that if a man will let a wanton conceit possess his fancy against these things, and never consider the evidence for religion on the other hand, but reject it upon a slight view of it, he ought not to say he cannot, but he will not, believe : and while a man lives an ill

course of life, he is not fitly qualified to examine the matter aright. Let him grow calm and virtuous, and upon due application examine things fairly ; and then let him pronounce according to his conscience, if, to take it at its lowest, the reasons on the one hand are not much stronger than they are on the other. For I found he was so possessed with the general conceit that a mixture of knaves and fools had made all extraordinary things be easily believed, that it carried him away to determine the matter, without so much as looking on the historical evidence for the truth of Christianity, which he had not inquired into, but had bent all his wit and study to the support of the other side. As for that, that believing is at best but an opinion ; if the evidence be but probable, it is so : but if it be such that it cannot be questioned, it grows as certain as knowledge. For we are no less certain that there is a great town called Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman empire, than that there is another called London. We as little doubt that Queen Elizabeth once reigned, as that King Charles now reigns in England. So that believing may be as certain, and as little subject to doubting, as seeing or knowing.

There are two sorts of believing divine matters : the one is wrought in us by our comparing all the evidences of matter of fact, for the confirmation of revealed religion, with the prophecies

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

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

As for the possibility of revelation, it was a vain thing to deny it ; for as God gives us the sense of seeing material objects by our eyes, and has opened in some a capacity of apprehending high and sublime things, of which other men seem utterly incapable ; so it was a weak assertion that God cannot awaken a power in some men's minds to apprehend and know some things, in such a manner that others are not capable of it. This is not half so incredible to us as sight is to a blind man, who yet may be convinced there is a strange power of seeing that governs men, of which he finds himself deprived. As for the capacity put into such men's hands to deceive the

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

“ But why,” said he, “ could not this be rectified by some plain rules given ; but men must come and show a trick to persuade the world that they speak to them in the name of God ? ” I answered, that religion, being a design to recover and save mankind, was to be so opened

THE LIFE OF

as to awaken and work upon all sorts of people ; and generally men of simplicity of mind were those that were the fittest objects for God to show his favour to ; therefore it was necessary that messengers sent from heaven should appear with such alarming evidences, as might awaken the world, and prepare them, by some astonishing signs, to listen to the doctrine they were to deliver. Philosophy, that was only a matter of fine speculation, had few votaries ; and as there was no authority in it to bind the world to believe its dictates, so they were only received by some of nobler and refined natures, who could apply themselves to, and delight in, such notions. But true religion was to be built on a foundation that should carry more weight on it, and to have such convictions, as might not only reach those who were already disposed to receive them, but rouse up such as without great and sensible excitation would have otherwise slept on in their ill courses.

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

For the Old Testament, we are so remote !

that time, we have so little knowledge of the language in which it was written, have so imperfect an account of the history of those ages, know nothing of their customs, forms of speech, and the several periods they might have, by which they reckoned their time, that it is rather a wonder we should understand so much of it, than that many passages in it should be so dark to us. The chief use it has to us Christians is, that from writings which the Jews acknowledge to be divinely inspired, it is manifest the Messiah was promised before the destruction of their temple; which being done long ago, and these prophecies agreeing to our Saviour, and to no other, here is a great confirmation given to the Gospel. But though many things in these books could not be understood by us, who live above three thousand years after the chief of them were written, it is no such extraordinary matter.

For that of the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, it is to be considered, that if God had sent a plague among them all, that could not have been found fault with. If then God had a right to take away their lives, without injustice or cruelty, he had a right to appoint others to do it, as well as to execute it by a more immediate way; and the taking away people by the sword is a much gentler way of dying, than to be smitten with a plague or a famine. And for the children that were innocent of their

fathers' faults, God could in another state make that up to them. So all the difficulty is, Why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity? But this will not seem so hard, if we consider that this was to be no precedent for future times ; since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as plainly showed that they were particularly designed by God to be the executioners of his justice. And God, by employing them in so severe a service, intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.

For the rites of their religion, we can ill judge of them, except we perfectly understood the idolatries round about them ; to which we find they were much inclined. So they were to be bent by other rites to an extreme aversion from them. And yet by the pomp of many of their ceremonies and sacrifices, great indulgences were given to a people naturally fond of a visible splendour in religious worship. In all which, if we cannot descend to such satisfactory answers in every particular, as a curious man would desire, it is no wonder. The long interval of time, and other accidents, have worn out those things which were necessary to give us a clearer light into the meaning of them. And for the story of the creation, there is nothing in it that may

not be historically true. For if it be acknowledged that spirits can form voices in the air, for which we have as good authority as for any thing in history; then it is no wonder that Eve, being so lately created, might be deceived, and think a serpent spake to her, when the evil spirit framed the voice.

But in all these things I told him he was in the wrong way, when he examined the business of religion by some dark parts of Scripture. Therefore I desired him to consider the whole contexture of the Christian religion, the rules it gives, and the methods it prescribes. Nothing can conduce more to the peace, order, and happiness of the world, than to be governed by its rules. Nothing is more for the interests of every man in particular. The rules of sobriety, temperance, and moderation were the best preservers of life, and, which was perhaps more, of health. Humility, contempt of the vanities of the world, and the being well employed, raised a man's mind to a freedom from the follies and temptations that haunted the greatest part. Nothing was so generous and great as to supply the necessities of the poor, and to forgive injuries. Nothing raised and maintained a man's reputation so much, as to be exactly just and merciful; kind, charitable, and compassionate. Nothing opened the powers of a man's soul so much as a calm temper, a serene mind, free from passion

and disorder. Nothing made societies, families, and neighbourhoods so happy, as when these rules which the Gospel prescribes, took place, of doing as we would have others do to us, and loving our neighbours as ourselves.

The Christian worship was also plain and simple ; suitable to so pure a doctrine. The ceremonies of it were few and significant, as the admission to it by a washing with water, and the memorial of our Saviour's death in bread and wine. The motives in it to persuade to this purity were strong : that God sees us, and will judge us for all our actions ; that we shall be for ever happy or miserable, as we pass our lives here ; the example of our Saviour's life, and the great expressions of his love in dying for us, are mighty engagements to obey and imitate him. The plain way of expression used by our Saviour and his Apostles shows there was no artifice, where there was so much simplicity used. There were no secrets kept only among the Priests, but every thing was open to all Christians. The rewards of holiness are not entirely put over to another state ; but good men are specially blessed with peace in their consciences, great joy in the confidence they have of the love of God, and of seeing him for ever ; and often a signal course of blessings follows them in their whole lives. But if at other times calamities fell on them, these were so much mitigated by the patience

they were taught, and the inward assistances with which they were furnished, that even those crosses were converted to blessings.

I desired he would lay all these things together, and see what he could except to them, to make him think this was a contrivance. Interest appears in all human contrivances. Our Saviour plainly had none: he avoided applause, withdrew himself from the offers of a crown. He submitted to poverty and reproach, and much contradiction in his life, and to a most ignominious and painful death. His Apostles had none either. They did not pretend either to power or wealth; but delivered a doctrine that must needs condemn them, if they ever made such use of it. They declared their commission fully, without reserves till other times. They recorded their own weakness. Some of them wrought with their own hands; and when they received the charities of their converts, it was not so much to supply their own necessities, as to distribute to others. They knew they were to suffer much for giving their testimonies to what they had seen and heard: in which so many, in a thing so visible as Christ's resurrection and ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost which he had promised, could not be deceived. And they gave such public confirmations of it by the wonders they themselves wrought, that great multitudes were converted to a doctrine which, besides the opposition it gave to lust

and passion, was borne down and persecuted for three hundred years; and yet its force was such, that it not only weathered out all those storms, but even grew and spread vastly under them. Pliny, about threescore years after, found their numbers great and their lives innocent; and even Lucian, amidst all his raillery, gives a high testimony to their charity and contempt of life, and the other virtues of the Christians; which is likewise more than once done by malice itself, Julian the apostate.

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

CHAPTER IV.

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

For mysteries, it is plain there is in every thing somewhat that is unaccountable. How animals or

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

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

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

be apprehended : so this ought not to be any just objection to the submission of our reason to what we cannot so well conceive, provided our belief of it be well grounded. There have been too many niceties brought in indeed, rather to darken than explain these ; they have been defended by weak arguments, and illustrated by similes not always so very apt and pertinent ; and new subtilities have been added, which have rather perplexed than cleared them. All this cannot be denied. The opposition of heretics anciently occasioned too much curiosity among the Fathers ; which the Schoolmen have wonderfully advanced of late times. But if mysteries were received rather in the simplicity in which they are delivered in the Scriptures, than according to the descantings of fanciful men upon them, they would not appear much more incredible than some of the common objects of sense and perception. And it is a needless fear, that if some mysteries are acknowledged, which are plainly mentioned in the New Testament, it will then be in the power of the Priests to add more at their pleasure. For it is an absurd inference from our being bound to assent to some truths about the divine essence, of which the manner is not understood, to argue that therefore in an object presented duly to our senses, such as bread and wine, we should be bound to believe against their testimony, that it is not what our senses per-

ceived it to be, but the whole flesh and blood of Christ ; an entire body being in every crumb and drop of it. It is not indeed in a man's power to believe thus against his sense and reason, where the object is proportioned to them and fitly applied, and the organs are under no indisposition or disorder. It is certain that no mystery is to be admitted, but upon very clear and express authorities from Scripture, which could not reasonably be understood in any other sense. And though a man cannot form an explicit notion of a mystery, for then it would be no longer a mystery ; yet, in general, he may believe a thing to be, though he cannot give himself a particular account of the way of it ; or rather, though he cannot answer some objections which lie against it. We know that we believe many such in human matters, which are more within our reach ; and it is very unreasonable to say, we may not do it in divine things, which are much more above our apprehensions.

As for polygamy : it is but reasonable, since women are equally concerned in the laws of marriage, that they should be considered as well as men. But in a state of polygamy they are under great misery and jealousy, and are indeed barbarously used. Man being also of a sociable nature, friendship and converse were among the primitive intendments of marriage, in which as far as the man may excel the wife in greatness of mind,

THE LIFE OF

and height of knowledge, the wife some way makes that up with her affection and tender care. So that from both happily mixed, there arises a harmony, which is to virtuous minds one of the greatest joys of life. But all this is gone in a state of polygamy, which occasions perpetual jarrings and jealousies. And the variety does but engage men to a freer range of pleasure, which is not to be put in the balance with the far greater mischiefs that must follow the other course. So that it is plain, our Saviour considered the nature of man, what it could bear, and what was fit for it, when he so restrained us in these our liberties. And for divorce, a power to break that bond would too much encourage married persons in the little quarrellings that may rise between them, if it were in their power to depart one from another. For when they know that cannot be, and that they must live and die together, it naturally inclines them to lay down their resentments, and to endeavour to live as well together as they can. So the law of the Gospel, being a law of love designed to engage Christians to mutual love, it was fit that all such provisions should be made as might advance and maintain it, and all such liberties be taken away as are apt to enkindle or foment strife. This might fall in some instances to be uneasy and hard enough; but laws consider what falls out most commonly, and cannot provide for all par-

ticular cases. The best laws are in some instances very great grievances. But the advantages being balanced with the inconveniences, measures are to be taken accordingly. Upon this whole matter I said, that pleasure stood in opposition to other considerations of great weight, and so the decision was easy. And since our Saviour offers us so great rewards, it is but reasonable that he have a privilege of loading these promises with such conditions as are not in themselves grateful to our natural inclinations; for all that propose high rewards have thereby a right to exact difficult performances.

To this he said, "We are sure the terms are difficult, but are not so sure of the rewards." Upon this I told him, that we have the same assurance of the rewards, that we have of the other parts of Christian religion. We have the promises of God made to us by Christ, confirmed by many miracles. We have the earnest of these, in the quiet and peace which follow a good conscience; and in the resurrection of Him from the dead, who hath promised to raise us up. So that the reward is sufficiently assured to us. And there is no reason it should be given to us, before the conditions are performed, on which the promises are made. It is but reasonable that we should trust God, and do our duty, "in hope of that eternal life which God, who cannot lie, hath promised." The difficulties are not so great

as those which sometimes the commonest concerns of life bring upon us. The learning some trades or sciences, the governing our health and affairs, bring us often under as great straits. So that it ought to be no just prejudice, that there are some things in religion that are uneasy, since this is rather the effect of our corrupt natures, which are farther depraved by vicious habits, and can hardly turn to any new course of life, without some pain, than of the dictates of Christianity, which are in themselves just and reasonable, and will be easy to us when renewed, and in a good measure restored to our primitive integrity.

As for the exceptions he had to the maintenance of the Clergy, and the authority to which they pretended : if they stretched their designs too far, the Gospel plainly reprov'd them for it ; so that it was very suitable to that Church which was so grossly faulty this way, to take the Scriptures out of the hands of the people, since they do so manifestly disclaim all such practices. The Priests of the true Christian religion have no secrets among them, which the world must not know, but are only an order of men dedicated to God, to attend on sacred things, who ought to be holy in a more peculiar manner, since they are to handle the things of God. It was necessary that such persons should have a due esteem paid them, and a fit maintenance appointed for them ;

that so they might be preserved from the contempt that follows poverty, and the distractions which the providing against it might otherways involve them in. And as, in the order of the world, it was necessary for the support of Magistracy and Government, and for preserving its esteem, that some state be used, (though it is a happiness when great men have philosophical minds to despise the pageantry of it,) so the plentiful supply of the Clergy, if well used and applied by them, will certainly turn to the advantage of religion. And if some men, either through ambition or covetousness, used indirect means, or servile compliances, to aspire to such dignities, and, being possessed of them, applied their wealth either to luxury or vain pomp, or made great fortunes out of it for their families; these were personal failings in which the doctrine of Christ was not concerned.

He upon that told me plainly, there was nothing that gave him, and many others, a more secret encouragement in their ill ways, than that those who pretended to believe lived so that they could not be thought to be in earnest when they said it. For he was sure religion was either a mere contrivance, or the most important thing that could be: so that if he once believed, he would set himself in great earnest to live suitably to it. The aspirings that he had observed at court, of some of the Clergy, with the servile

ways they took to attain to preferment, and the animosities among those of several parties about trifles, made him often think they suspected the things were not true, which in their sermons and discourses they so earnestly recommended. Of this he had gathered many instances. I knew some of them were mistakes and calumnies ; yet I could not deny but something of them might be too true. And I publish this the more freely, to put all that pretend to religion, chiefly those that are dedicated to holy functions, in mind of the great obligation that lies on them to live suitably to their profession : since otherwise a great deal of the irreligion and atheism that are among us may too justly be charged on them ; for wicked men are delighted out of measure when they discover ill things in them, and conclude from thence not only that they are hypocrites, but that religion itself is a cheat.

But I said to him upon this head, that though no good man could continue in the practice of any known sin, yet such might, by the violence or surprise of a temptation, to which they are liable as much as others, be of a sudden overcome to do an ill thing, to their great grief all their life after. And then it was a very unjust inference, upon some few failings, to conclude that such men do not believe themselves. But how bad soever many are, it cannot be denied but there are also many, both of the Clergy and laity, who

give great and real demonstrations of the power religion has over them ; in their contempt of the world, the strictness of their lives, their readiness to forgive injuries, to relieve the poor, and to do good on all occasions : and yet even these may have their failings, either in such things wherein their constitutions are weak, or their temptations strong and sudden. And in all such cases we are to judge of men, rather by the course of their lives, than by the errors that they through infirmity or surprise may have slipped into.

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

CHAPTER V.

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

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

To all this I answered, that a virtuous life would be very uneasy to him, unless vicious inclinations were removed. It would otherwise be a perpetual constraint. Nor could it be effected without an inward principle to change him ; and that was only to be had by applying himself to God for it in frequent and earnest prayer : and I was sure, if his mind were once cleared of these disorders, and cured of those dis-

tempers, which vice brought on it, so great an understanding would soon see through all those flights of wit, that feed atheism and irreligion ; which have a false glittering in them, that dazzles some weak-sighted minds, who have not capacity enough to penetrate further than the surfaces of things : and so they stick in these toils, which the strength of his mind would soon break through, if it were once freed from those things that depressed and darkened it.

At this pass he was when he went from London, about the beginning of April. He had not been long in the country when he thought he was so well, that, being to go to his estate in Somersetshire, he rode thither post. This heat and violent motion so inflamed an ulcer that was in his bladder, that it raised a very great pain. Yet he with much difficulty came back by coach to the lodge at Woodstock-park. He was then wounded both in body and mind. He understood physic and his own constitution and distemper so well, that he concluded he could hardly recover. For the ulcer broke, and vast quantities of purulent matter appeared. But now the hand of God touched him ; and, as he told me, it was not only a general dark melancholy over his mind, such as he had formerly felt, but a most penetrating cutting sorrow. So that though in his body he suffered extreme pain, for some weeks, yet the agonies of his mind

sometimes swallowed up the sense of what he felt in his body. He told me, and gave it me in charge to tell it to one for whom he was much concerned, that though there were nothing to come after this life, yet all the pleasures he had ever known in sin were not worth that torture he had felt in his mind. He considered that he had not only neglected and dishonoured, but had openly defied, his Maker, and had drawn many others into the like impieties: so that he looked on himself as one that was in great danger of being damned. He then set himself wholly to turn to God unfeignedly, and to do all that was possible in that little remainder of his life which was before him, to redeem those great portions of it that he had formerly so ill employed. The Minister that attended constantly on him was that good and worthy man Mr. Parsons, his mother's Chaplain, who hath since his death preached, according to the directions he received from him, his funeral sermon: in which there are so many remarkable passages, that I shall refer my reader to them, and will repeat none of them here, that I may not thereby lessen his desire to edify himself by that excellent discourse, which has given so great and so general a satisfaction to all good and judicious readers. I shall speak cursorily of every thing, but that which I had immediately from himself. He was visited every week of his sickness by his Diocesan, that

truly primitive Prelate, the Lord Bishop of Oxford; who though he lived six miles from him, yet looked on this as so important a part of his pastoral care, that he went often to him; and treated him with that decent plainness and freedom which are so natural to him; and took care also that he might not, on terms more easy than safe, be at peace with himself. Dr. Marshal, the learned and worthy Rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, being the Minister of the parish, was also frequently with him: and by these helps he was so directed and supported, that he might not on the one hand satisfy himself with too superficial a repentance, nor on the other hand be out of measure oppressed with a sorrow without hope. As soon as I heard he was ill, but yet in such a condition that I might write to him, I wrote a letter to the best purpose I could. He ordered one that was then with him to assure me it was very welcome to him: but not satisfied with that, he sent me an answer, of which, as the Countess of Rochester, his mother, told me, he dictated every word, and then signed it. I was once unwilling to publish it, because of a compliment in it to myself, far above my merit, and not very well suiting with his condition. But the sense he expresses in it of the change then wrought on him hath, upon second thoughts, prevailed with me to publish it, leaving out what concerns myself.

“WOODSTOCK-PARK, OXFORDSHIRE, *June 25th*, 1680.

“MY MOST HONOURED DR. BURNET,

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

“ROCHESTER.”

He told me, when I saw him, that he hoped I would come to him upon that general insinuation of the desire he had of my company; and he was loath to write more plainly, not knowing whether I could easily spare so much time. I

told him, that, on the other hand, I looked on it as a presumption to come so far, when he was in such excellent hands ; and though perhaps the freedom formerly between us might have excused it with those to whom it was known, yet it might have the appearance of so much vanity to such as were strangers to it ; so that till I received his letter, I did not think it convenient to come to him. And then not hearing that there was any danger of a sudden change, I delayed going to him till the 20th of July. At my coming to his house an accident fell out not worth mentioning, but that some have made a story of it. His servant, being a Frenchman, carried up my name wrong, so that he mistook it for another, who had sent to him, that he would undertake his cure ; and he, being resolved not to meddle with him, did not care to see him. This mistake lasted some hours ; with which I was the better contented, because he was not then in such a condition that my being about him could have been of any use to him ; for that night was likely to have been his last. He had a convulsion fit, and raved ; but opiates being given him, after some hours of rest, his raving left him so entirely, that it never again returned.

I cannot easily express the transport he was in, when he awoke and saw me by him. He brake out in the tenderest expressions concerning my kindness in coming so far to see such a

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

acquainted more particularly with the circumstances and progress of his repentance.

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

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

He told me that he had thereupon received the sacrament with great satisfaction; and that was increased by the pleasure he had in his Lady's receiving it with him: who had been for some years misled into the communion of the Church of Rome, and he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it, as he freely acknowledged. So that it was one of the most joyful things that befell him in his sickness, that he had seen that mischief removed, in which he had so great a hand: and during his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and true kindness to his Lady, that as it easily defaced the remembrance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly, so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for him that was

possible : which indeed deserves a higher character than is decent to give of a person yet alive. But I shall confine my discourse to the dead.

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

course of life and company, that were likely to ensnare him : and he desired to live on no other account, but that he might by the change of his manners some way take off the high scandal his former behaviour had given. All these things at several times I had from him, besides some messages which very well became a dying penitent to some of his former friends, and a charge to publish any thing concerning him, that might be a means of reclaiming others ; praying God, that as his life had done much hurt, so his death might do some good.

Having understood all these things from him, and being pressed to give him my opinion plainly about his eternal state, I told him, that though the promises of the Gospel [relating to future blessedness] did all depend upon a real change of heart and life, as the indispensable condition upon which they were made ; and that it was scarcely possible to know certainly whether our hearts are changed, unless it appeared in our lives ; and the repentance of most dying men being like the howlings of condemned prisoners for pardon, which flowed from no sense of their crimes, but from the horror of approaching death, there was little reason to encourage any to hope much from such sorrowings. Yet certainly, if the mind of a sinner, even on a death-bed, be truly renewed and turned to God, so great is his mercy, that he will receive him even

in that extremity. He said, he was sure that his mind was entirely turned ; and though horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled faith and conversion.

There is but one prejudice that lies against all this, to defeat the good ends of divine providence by it upon others, as well as on himself; and that is, that it was a part of his disease, and that the lowness of his spirits made such an alteration in him, that he was not what he had formerly been : and this some have carried so far as to say, that he died mad. These reports are raised by those who are unwilling that the last thoughts or words of a person, every way so extraordinary, should have any effect either on themselves or others : and it is to be feared, that some may have so far seared their consciences, and exceeded the common measures of sin and infidelity, that neither this testimony, nor one coming from the dead, would signify much towards their conviction. That this Lord was either mad or stupid, is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it is the greatest impudence for any that were about him to report it; and a very unreasonable credulity in others to believe it. All the while I was with him, after he had slept out the disorders of the fit he was in the first night, he was not only without ravings, but had a clearness in his thoughts, in his memory, in his reflections on things and persons, far beyond what I ever saw

in a person so low in his strength. He was not able to hold out long in discourse, for his spirits failed ; but once for half an hour, and often for a quarter of an hour, after he awakened, he had a vivacity in his discourse that was extraordinary, and in all things like himself. He called often for his children, his son the now Earl of Rochester, and his three daughters, and spake to them with a sense and feeling that cannot be expressed in writing. He called me once to look on them all, and said, "See how good God has been to me, in giving me so many blessings ; and I have carried myself to him like an ungracious and unthankful dog." He once talked a great deal to me of public affairs, and of many persons and things, with the same clearness of thought and expression that he had ever done before. So that by no sign, but his weakness of body, and giving over discourse so soon, could I perceive a difference between what his parts formerly were, and what they were then.

And that wherein the presence of his mind appeared most, was in the total change of an ill habit grown so much upon him, that he could hardly govern himself, when he was any ways heated, three minutes without falling into it : I mean swearing. He had acknowledged to me the former winter, that he abhorred it as a base and indecent thing, and had set himself much to break it off ; but he confessed that he was so

overpowered by that ill custom, that he could not speak with any warmth without repeated oaths, which, upon any sort of provocation, came almost naturally from him. But in his last remorse this so sensibly affected him, that, by a resolute and constant watchfulness, the habit of it was perfectly mastered : so that upon the returns of pain, which were very severe and frequent upon him, the last day I was with him ; or upon such displeasures as people sick or in pain are apt to take of a sudden at those about them ; on all these occasions he never swore an oath all the while I was there.

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

In this disposition of mind did he continue all

the while I was with him, four days together. He was then brought so low that all hope of recovery was gone. Much purulent matter came from him, which he passed always with some pain, but one day with unexpressible torment. Yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings or impatient complaints. He imagined he had a stone, but being searched, none was found. The whole substance of his body was drained by the ulcer, and nothing was left but skin and bone : and by lying much on his back, the parts there began to mortify. But he had been formerly so low, that he seemed as much past all hopes of life as now ; which made him one morning after a full and sweet night's rest procured by laudanum, given him without his knowledge, to fancy it was an effort of nature, and to begin to entertain some hopes of recovery. For he said, he felt himself perfectly well ; and that he had nothing ailing him, but an extreme weakness, which might go off in time : and then he entertained me with the scheme which he had laid down for the rest of his life ; how retired, how strict, and how studious he intended to be. But this was soon over ; for he quickly felt that it was only the effect of a good sleep, and that he was still in a very desperate state.

I thought ~~to have~~ left him on Friday ; but not without some passion, he desired me to stay that day. There appeared no symptom of present

death ; and a worthy Physician, then with him, told me, that though he was so low that an accident might carry him away on a sudden, yet without that, he thought he might live yet some weeks. So on Saturday at four o'clock in the morning I left him, being the 24th of July. But I durst not take leave of him ; for he had expressed so great an unwillingness to part with me the day before, that if I had not presently yielded to one day's stay, it was likely to have given him some trouble : therefore I thought it better to leave him without any formality. Some hours after he asked for me, and when it was told him that I was gone, he seemed to be troubled ; and said, " Has my friend left me ? then I shall die shortly." After that he spake but once or twice till he died. He lay much silent. Once they heard him praying very devoutly. And on Monday about two o'clock in the morning he died, without any convulsion, or so much as a groan.

CHAPTER VI.

THUS he lived, and thus he died, in the three-and-thirtieth year of his age. Nature had fitted him for great things ; and his knowledge and observation qualified him to be one of the most

extraordinary men, not only of his nation, but of the age he lived in ; and I verily believe, that if God had thought fit to continue him longer in the world, he had been the wonder and delight of all that knew him. But the infinitely wise God knew better what was fit for him, and what the age deserved. For men who have so cast off all sense of God and religion, deserve not so signal a blessing, as the example and conviction which the rest of his life might have given them. And I am apt to think that the divine goodness took pity on him ; and, seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation. Now he is at rest, and I am very confident enjoys the fruits of his late but sincere repentance. But such as live and still go on in their sins and impieties, and will not be awakened neither by this, nor the other alarms that are about them, are, it seems, given up by God to a judicial hardness and impenitency.

Here is a public instance of one who lived on their side, but could not die on it ; and though none of all our libertines understood better than he the mysteries of sin, had more studied every thing that could support a man in it, and had more resisted all external means of conviction than he had done ; yet when the hand of God inwardly touched him, he could no longer “kick against those pricks,” but “humbled himself

under that mighty hand;" and as he used often to say in his prayers, he who had so often denied Him, found then no other shelter but His mercies and compassions.

I have written this account with all the tenderness and caution I could use; and in whatsoever I may have failed, I have been strict in the truth of what I have related; remembering that saying of Job, "Will ye lie for God?" Religion has strength and evidence enough in itself, and needs no support from lies, and made stories. I do not pretend to have given the formal words that he said, though I have done that where I could remember them. But I have written this with the same sincerity that I would have done, had I known I had been to die immediately after I had finished it. I did not take notes of our discourses last winter after we parted; so I may perhaps in the setting out of my answers to him have enlarged on several things both more fully and more regularly, than I could say them in such free discourses as we had. I am not so sure of all I set down as said by me, as I am of all said by him to me. But yet the substance of the greatest part, even of that, is the same.

It remains that I humbly and earnestly beseech all that shall take this book in their hands, that they will consider it entirely, and not wrest some parts to an ill intention. God, the Searcher of hearts, knows with what fidelity I have written

it. But if any will drink only the poison that may be in it, without taking also the antidote here given to those ill principles ; or considering the sense that this great person had of them, when he reflected seriously on them ; and will rather confirm themselves in their ill ways, by the scruples and objections which I set down, than be edified by the other parts of it ; as I will look on it as a great infelicity, that I should have said any thing that may strengthen them in their impieties, so the sincerity of my intentions will, I doubt not, excuse me at His hands, to whom I offer up this small service.

I have now performed, in the best manner I could, what was left on me by this noble Lord ; and have done with the part of an historian. I shall in the next place say somewhat as a Divine. So extraordinary a text does almost force a sermon, though it is plain enough itself, and speaks with so loud a voice, that those who are not awakened by it will perhaps consider nothing that I can say. If our libertines will become so far sober as to examine their former course of life, with that disengagement and impartiality which they must acknowledge a wise man ought to use in things of greatest consequence, and balance the account of what they have got by their debaucheries, with the mischiefs which they have brought on themselves and others by them, they will soon see what a mad bargain they have

made. Some diversion, mirth, and pleasure is all they can promise themselves ; but to obtain this, how many evils are they to suffer ! how have many wasted their strength, brought many diseases on their bodies, and precipitated their age in the pursuit of those things ! And as they bring old age early on themselves, so it becomes a miserable state of life to the greatest part of them ; gouts, stranguries, and other infirmities, being severe reckonings for their past follies ; not to mention the more loathsome diseases, with their no less loathsome and troublesome cures, which they must often go through, who deliver themselves up to forbidden pleasure. Many are disfigured beside with the marks of their intemperance and lewdness ; and, which is yet sadder, an infection is conveyed oftentimes to their innocent but unhappy issue, who, being descended from so vitiated an original, suffer for their excesses. Their fortunes are profusely wasted, both by their neglect of their affairs ; they being so buried in vice, that they cannot employ either their time or spirits, so much exhausted by intemperance, to consider them ; and by that prodigal expense which their evil desires put them upon. They suffer no less in their credit, the chief means to recover an entangled estate ; for that irregular expense forceth them to so many mean shifts, makes them so often false to all their promises and resolutions, that they must needs feel how

much they have lost, that which a gentleman and men of ingenuous tempers sometimes prefer even to life itself,—their honour and reputation. Nor do they suffer less in the nobler powers of their minds, which, by a long course of such dissolute practices, come to sink and degenerate so far, that not a few whose first blossoms gave the most promising hopes, have so withered as to become incapable of great and generous undertakings, and to be disabled to every thing, but to wallow like swine in the filth of sensuality; their spirits being dissipated, and their minds so benumbed as to be wholly unfit for business, and even indisposed to think.

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

If the state of mankind and human societies are considered, what mischiefs can be equal to

those which follow these courses? Such persons are a plague wherever they come; they can neither be trusted nor beloved, having cast off both truth and goodness, which procure confidence and attract love. They corrupt some by their ill practices, and do irreparable injuries to the rest; they run great hazards, and put themselves to much trouble, and all this to do what is in their power to make damnation as sure to themselves as possibly they can. What influence this has on the whole nation is but too visible. How the bonds of nature, wedlock, and all other relations are quite broken! Virtue is thought an antique piece of formality, and religion the effect of cowardice or knavery. These are the men that would reform the world, by bringing it under a new system of intellectual and moral principles; but, bate them a few bold and lewd jests, what have they ever done, or designed to do, to make them be remembered, except it be with detestation? They are the scorn of the present age, and their names must rot in the next. Here they have before them an instance of one who was deeply corrupted with the contagion which he first derived from others, but unhappily heightened it much himself. He was a master indeed, and not a bare trifler with wit, as some of these are who repeat, and that but scurvily, what they may have heard from him or some others, and with impudence and laughter will face the world

down, as if they were to teach it wisdom ; who, God knows, cannot follow one thought a step further than as they have conned it ; and take from them their borrowed wit and their mimical humour, and they will presently appear what they indeed are, the least and lowest of men.

If they will, or if they can, think a little, I wish they would consider that, by their own principles, they cannot be sure that religion is only a contrivance : all they pretend to is only to weaken some arguments that are brought for it. But they have not brow enough to say they can prove that their own principles are true. So that at most they bring their cause no higher, than that it is possible religion may not be true. But still it is possible it may be true ; and they have no shame left that will deny that it is also probable it may be true ; and if so, then what mad men are they who run so great a hazard for nothing ? By their own confession, it may be there is a God, a judgment, and a life to come ; and if so, then he that believes these things, and lives according to them, as he enjoys a long course of health and quiet of mind, an innocent relish of many true pleasures, and the serenities which virtue raises in him, with the good-will and friendship which it procures him from others ; so when he dies, if these things prove mistakes, he does not outlive his error, nor shall it afterwards raise trouble or disquiet in him if he then ceases to be.

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

Here were parts so exalted by nature, and improved by study, and yet so corrupted and debased by irreligion and vice, that he who was made to be one of the glories of his age was become a proverb ; and if his repentance had not interposed, would have been one of the greatest reproaches of it. He knew well the small strength of that weak cause, and at first despised but afterwards abhorred it. He felt the mischiefs, and saw the madness, of it ; and therefore, though he lived to the scandal of many, he died as much to the edification of all those who saw him ; and because they were but a small number,

he desired that he might even when dead yet speak. He was willing nothing should be concealed that might cast reproach on himself and on sin, and offer up glory to God and religion. So that, though he lived a heinous sinner, he died a most exemplary penitent.

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

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

And I hope that those who have had some sharp reflections on their past life, so as to be resolved to forsake their ill courses, will not take the least encouragement to themselves in that desperate and unreasonable resolution of putting off their repentance till they can sin no longer, from the hopes I have expressed of this Lord's obtaining mercy at the last ; and from thence presume that they also shall be received, when they turn to God on their death-beds. For what mercy soever God may show to such as really were never inwardly touched before that time ; yet there is no reason to think that those who have dealt so disingenuously with God and their own souls, as designedly to put off their turning to him, upon such considerations, should be then accepted with him. They may die suddenly, or by a disease that may so disorder their understandings, that they shall not be in any capacity of reflecting on their past lives. The conversion of our minds is not so in our power, that it can be effected without divine grace assisting. And there is no reason for those who have neglected these assistances all their lives, to expect them

in so extraordinary a manner at their death. Nor can one, especially in a sickness that is quick and critical, be able to do those things that are often indispensably necessary to make his repentance complete. And even in a longer disease, in which there are larger opportunities for these things, yet there is great reason to doubt of a repentance begun and kept up merely by terror, and not from any ingenuous principle. Though I will not take on me to limit the mercies of God, which are boundless; yet this must be confessed, that to delay repentance, with such a design, is to put the greatest concernment we have upon the most dangerous and desperate issue that is possible.

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

A SERMON

PREACHED

AT THE FUNERAL OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN EARL OF ROCHESTER,

WHO DIED AT WOODSTOCK-PARK, THE 26TH OF JULY, 1680,
AND WAS BURIED AT SPILSBURY, IN OXFORDSHIRE, THE
9TH DAY OF AUGUST.

BY ROBERT PARSONS, M.A.,

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ANNE COUNTESS OF
ROCHESTER.

A SERMON.

“ I say unto you, that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons, which need no repentance.”—Luke xv. 7.

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

Indeed, so great and full a matter it is, that it is too big to come out of my mouth, and perhaps not all of it fit or needful so to do. The greatness of his parts are well enough known, and of his sins too well in the world ; and neither my capacity, nor experience, nor my profession, will allow me to be so proper a judge either of the one or the other. Only as God has been pleased to make me a long while a sad spectator and a

secret mourner for his sins, so has he at last graciously heard the prayers of his nearest relations and true friends for his conversion and repentance : and it is the good tidings of that especially, which God has done for his soul, that I am now to publish and tell abroad to the world, not only by the obligations of mine office, in which I had the honour to be a weak minister to it, but by his own express and dying commands.

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

both of soul and spirit, and the captivating all human imaginations to the obedience of a despised religion and a crucified Saviour.

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

I. The sinner particularly that is before us.

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

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

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

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

As for his family, on both sides, from which he was descended, they were some of the most famous in their generations. His grandfather was that excellent and truly great man, Charles Lord Wilmot, Viscount Athlone in Ireland. Henry, his father, who inherited the same title

and greatness, was by His late Majesty, King Charles I., created Baron of Adderbury, in Oxfordshire, and by His present Majesty, Earl of Rochester. He was a man of signal loyalty and integrity indeed; and of such courage and conduct in military affairs as became a great General. His mother was the relict of Sir Francis Henry Lee, of Ditchly, in the county of Oxford, Baronet, grandmother to the present Right Honourable Earl of Lichfield, and the daughter of that generous and honourable gentleman, Sir John St. Johns, of Lyddiard, in the county of Wilts., Baronet, whose family was so remarkable for loyalty, that several of his sons willingly offered themselves in the day of battle, and died for it; and whilst the memory of the English or Irish rebellion lasts, that family cannot want a due veneration in the minds of any person that loves either God or the King.

As for his education, it was in Wadham College, Oxford, under the care of that wise and excellent governor, Dr. Blandford, the late Bishop of Worcester: there it was that he laid a good foundation of learning and study, though he afterwards built upon that foundation hay and stubble. There he first sucked from the breast of his mother, the University, those perfections of wit, and eloquence, and poetry, which afterwards, by his own corrupt stomach, were turned into poison to himself and others; which cer-

tainly can be no more a blemish to those illustrious seminaries of piety and good learning, than a disobedient child is to a wise and virtuous father, or the fall of man to the excellency of paradise.

A wit he had so rare and fruitful in its invention, and withal so choice and delicate in its judgment, that there is nothing wanting in his composesures to give a full answer to that question, what and where wit is ; except the purity and choice of subject. For, had such excellent seeds but fallen upon good ground, and, instead of pitching upon a beast, or a lust, been raised up on high, to celebrate the mysteries of the divine love, in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, I persuade myself we might by this time have received from his pen as excellent an idea of divine poetry, under the Gospel, useful to the teaching of virtue, especially in this generation, as his profane verses have been to destroy it. And I am confident, had God spared him a longer life, this would have been the whole business of it, as I know it was the vow and purpose of his sickness.

His natural talent was excellent ; but he had hugely improved it by learning and industry, being thoroughly acquainted with all the classic authors, both Greek and Latin ; a thing very rare, if not peculiar to him, among those of his quality : which yet he used not, as other poets have done, to translate or steal from them ; but rather to better and improve them by his own natural

fancy. And whoever reads his composures will find all things in them so peculiarly great, new, and excellent, that he will easily pronounce that, though he has lent to many others, yet he has borrowed of none; and that he has been as far from a sordid imitation of those before him, as he will be from being reached by those that follow him.

His other personal accomplishments in all the perfections of a gentleman, for the Court or country, whereof he was known of all men to be a very great master, it is no part of my business to describe or understand; and whatever they were in themselves, I am sure they were but miserable comforters to him, since they only ministered to his sins, and made his example the more fatal and dangerous; for so we may own, (nay, I am obliged by him not to hide, but to show the rocks which others may avoid,) that he was once one of the greatest of sinners.

And truly none but one so great in parts could be so. His sins were like his parts, from which they sprang, all of them high and extraordinary. He seemed to affect something singular and paradoxical in his impieties as well as in his writings, above the reach and thought of other men; taking as much pains to draw others in, and to pervert the right ways of virtue, as the Apostles and primitive saints did to save their own souls and them that heard them. For this was the

heightening and amazing circumstance of his sins, that he was so diligent and industrious to recommend and propagate them ; not like those of old that hated the light, but those the Prophet mentions, “ who declare their sin as Sodom, and hide it not ; that take it upon their shoulders, and bind it to them as a crown ; ” (Isaiah iii. 9 ;) framing arguments for sin, making proselytes to it, and writing panegyrics upon vice.

Nay, so confirmed was he in sin, that he oftentimes almost died a martyr for it. God was pleased sometimes to punish him with the effects of his folly ; yet, till now, he confessed, they had no power to melt him into true repentance : or if at any time he had some lucid intervals from his folly and madness, yet, alas ! how short and transitory were they ! All that goodness was but as a morning cloud, and as the early dew that vanishes away : he still returned to the same excess of riot ; and that with so much the more greediness, the longer he had fasted from it.

And yet, even this desperate sinner, that one would think had made a covenant with death, and was at an agreement with hell, and just upon the brink of them both, God, to magnify the riches of his grace and mercy, was pleased to snatch as a brand out of the fire : as St. Paul, though “ before a blasphemer, a persecutor, and injurious, yet obtained mercy, that in him Christ Jesus might show forth all longsuffering, for a pattern

to them that should hereafter believe on him, to everlasting life." (1 Tim. i. 13—16.) So God struck him to the ground, as it were by a light from heaven, and a voice of thunder round about him ; insomuch that now the scales fell from his eyes, as they did from St. Paul's ; his stony heart was opened, and streams of tears gushed out, the bitter but wholesome tears of true repentance.

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

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

2. For the sincerity of it ; which though none but God that sees the heart can tell certainly, yet man even also may and ought to believe it ; not only in the judgment of charity, but of moral justice, from all evident signs of it, which were possible to be given by one in his condition.

And first, for the means or method of his repentance : That which prepared the way for it was a sharp and painful sickness, with which God was pleased to visit him ; the way which the Almighty often takes to reduce the wandering sinner to the knowledge of God and himself. "I will be unto Ephraim as a lion, and as a young lion unto the house of Judah : I, even I, will tear and go away, and none shall relieve him. I will go and return to my place, till they

acknowledge their offence, and seek my face : and in their affliction they will seek me early." (Hosea v. 14, 15.)

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

It is true, there are such stubborn natures, that, like clay, are rather hardened by the fire of afflictions ; ungracious children, that fly in the face of their heavenly Father in the very instant when he is correcting them ; or, it may be, like those children who promise wonders then, but presently after forget all. Such as these we have described, Psalm lxxviii. 34—37 : " When he slew them, then they sought him, and they returned and inquired early after God : then they remembered that God was their rock, and that the high God was their Redeemer : nevertheless they did but flatter him with their mouth, and lied unto him with their tongues ; for their heart was not right with him, neither continued they steadfast in his covenant." And it is probable this has been the case formerly of this person. But there was an evident difference betwixt the effects of this sickness upon him and

many others before. He had other sentiments of things now, he told me, and acted upon quite different principles : he was not vexed with it as it was painful, or hindered him from his sins, which he would have rolled under his tongue all the while, and longed again to be at ; but he submitted patiently to it, accepting it as the hand of God, and was thankful, blessing and praising God, not only in, but for, his extremities. There was now no cursing, no railing, or reproaches to his servants or those about him, which in other sicknesses were their usual entertainment ; but he treated them with all the meekness and patience in the world, begging pardon frequently of the meanest of them but for a hasty word, which the extremity of his sickness, and the sharpness of his pain, might easily force from him. His prayers were not so much for ease or health, or a continuance in life, as for grace and faith, and perfect resignation to the will of God. So that I think we may not only charitably but justly conclude, that his sickness was not the chief ingredient, but, through the grace of God, an effectual means, of a true though late repentance, as will best be judged by the marks I am now to give you of the sincerity of it ; for which I am in the next place to account.

2. And it was the power of divine grace, and of that only, that broke through all those obstacles that usually attend a man in his circum-

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

Now, if the thief upon the cross (an instance too much abused) was therefore accepted, because accompanied with all the effects of a sincere convert which his condition was capable of ; as confession of Christ’s divinity in the midst of the blasphemies of Pharisees and his own lewd companion, and desertion of even Christ’s disciples ; if his repentance be therefore judged real, because he seems to be more concerned in the remembrance of Christ’s future kingdom than his own death ; if St. Paul was approved by the same more abundant labours which he com-

mended in the Corinthians,—“Yea, what zeal, what fear, what vehement desire!” 2 Cor. vii. 11; I think I shall make it appear, that the repentance of this person was accompanied with the like hopeful symptoms: and I am so sensible of that awful presence both of God and man, before whom I speak, who are easily able to discover my failings, that I shall not deliver any thing but what I know to be a strict and religious truth.

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

At the same time I found him labouring under strange trouble and conflicts of mind, his spirit wounded, and his conscience full of terrors. Upon his journey, he told me, he had been arguing with greater vigour against God and religion, than ever he had done in his life-time before, and that he was resolved to run them down with all the arguments and spite in the world; but like

the great convert, St. Paul, he found it "hard to kick against the pricks;" for God at that time had so struck his heart by his immediate hand, that presently he argued as strongly for God and virtue as before he had done against it; that God strangely opened his heart, creating in his mind most awful and tremendous thoughts and ideas of the divine Majesty, with a delightful contemplation of the divine nature and attributes, and of the loveliness of religion and virtue. "I never," said he, "was advanced thus far towards happiness in my life before; though, upon the commission of some sins extraordinary, I have had some checks and warnings considerable from within, but still struggled with them, and so wore them off again. The most observable that I remember was this: one day, at an atheistical meeting, at a person of quality's, I undertook to manage the cause, and was the principal disputant against God and piety; and for my performances received the applause of the whole company; upon which, my mind was terribly struck, and I immediately replied thus to myself:—'Good God! that a man that walks upright, that sees the wonderful works of God, and has the use of his senses and reason, should use them to the defying of his Creator!' But, though this was a good beginning towards my conversion, to find my conscience touched for my sins, yet it went off again; nay, all my life long I had a secret value and

reverence for an honest man, and loved morality in others. But I had formed an odd scheme of religion to myself which would solve all that God or conscience might force upon me; yet I was not ever well reconciled to the business of Christianity, nor had that reverence for the Gospel of Christ as I ought to have." Which estate of mind continued till the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah was read to him, (wherein there is a lively description of the sufferings of our Saviour, and the benefits thereof,) and some other portions of Scripture; by the power and efficacy of which word, assisted by his Holy Spirit, God so wrought upon his heart, that he declared that the mysteries of the passion appeared as clear and plain to him as ever any thing did that was represented in a glass, so that that joy and admiration which possessed his soul upon the reading of God's word to him, was remarkable to all about him; and he had so much delight in his testimonies, that, in my absence, he begged his mother and Lady to read the same to him frequently, and was unsatisfied (notwithstanding his great pain and weakness) till he had learned the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah without book.

At the same time, discoursing of his manner of life from his youth up, and which all men knew was too much devoted to the service of sin, and that the lusts of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had captivated him; he was

very large and particular in his acknowledgments about it, more ready to accuse himself than I or any one else can be ; publicly crying out, “ O blessed God, can such a horrid creature as I am be accepted by Thee, who has denied thy being, and contemned thy power ? ” Asking often, “ Can there be mercy and pardon for me ? Will God own such a wretch as I ? ” And in the middle of his sickness said, “ Shall the unspeakable joys of heaven be conferred on me ? O mighty Saviour ! never, but through thine infinite love and satisfaction ! O never, but by the purchase of thy blood ! ” Adding, that, with all abhorrency he did reflect upon his former life ; that sincerely, and from his heart, he did repent of all that folly and madness which he had committed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

God, that frees me from all my spiritual enemies."

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

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

His strict charge to those persons in whose custody his papers were, to burn all his profane

and lewd writings, as being only fit to promote vice and immorality, by which he had so highly offended God, and shamed and blasphemed that holy religion into which he had been baptized ; and all his obscene and filthy pictures, which were so notoriously scandalous.

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

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

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

How hearty were his endeavours to be serviceable to those about him, exhorting them to the fear and love of God, and to make a good use of

his forbearance and longsuffering to sinners, which should lead them to repentance! And here I must not pass by his pious and most passionate exclamation to a gentleman of some character, who came to visit him upon his death-bed: "O remember that you condemn God no more! he is an avenging God, and will visit you for your sins: he will, in mercy, I hope, touch your conscience, sooner or later, as he has done mine. You and I have been friends and sinners together a great while; therefore I am the more free with you. We have been all mistaken in our conceits and opinions; our persuasions have been false and groundless; therefore God grant you repentance." And, seeing him the next day again, he said to him, "Perhaps you were disobliged by my plainness to you yesterday: I spake the words of truth and soberness to you; and" (striking his hand upon his breast) "I hope God will touch your heart."

Likewise his commands to me, to preach abroad, and to let all men know (if they knew it not already) how severely God had disciplined him for his sins by his afflicting hand; that his sufferings were most just, though he had laid ten thousand times more upon him; how he had laid one stripe upon another, because of his grievous provocations, till he had brought him home to himself; that, in his former visitations, he had not that blessed effect he was now sensible of.

He had formerly some loose thoughts and slight resolutions of reforming, and designed to be better, because even the present consequences of sin were still pestering him, and were so troublesome and inconvenient to him ; but that now he had other sentiments of things, and acted upon other principles.

His willingness to die, if it pleased God, resigning himself always to the divine disposal ; but, if God should spare him yet a longer time here, he hoped to bring glory to the name of God in the whole course of his life, and particularly by his endeavours to convince others, and to assure them of the danger of their condition, if they continued impenitent, and how graciously God had dealt with him.

His great sense of his obligations to those excellent men, the Right Rev. my Lord Bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Marshall, for their charitable and frequent visits to him, and prayers with him ; and Dr. Burnet, who came on purpose from London to see him ; who were all very serviceable to his repentance.

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

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

“For the benefit of all those whom I may have drawn into sin by my example and encouragement, I leave to the world this my last declaration, which I deliver in the presence of the great God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and before whom I am now appearing to be judged.

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

merits alone I, one of the greatest sinners, do yet hope for mercy and forgiveness. Amen.

“J. ROCHESTER.

“Declared and signed in the presence of

“ANNE ROCHESTER,

“ROBERT PARSONS.

“*June 19th, 1680.*”

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

The time of his sickness and repentance was just *nineteen* weeks ; in all which time he was so much master of his reason, and had so clear an

understanding, (saving thirty hours, about the middle of it, in which he was delirious,) that he had never dictated or spoken more composed in his life ; and therefore, if any shall continue to say his piety was the effect of madness or vapours, let me tell them, it is highly disingenuous, and that the assertion is as silly as it is wicked. And, moreover, that the force of what I have delivered may not be evaded by wicked men, who are resolved to harden their hearts, maugre all convictions, by saying, this was done in a corner ; I appeal, for the truth thereof, to all sorts of persons, who, in considerable numbers, visited and attended him ; and more particularly to those eminent Physicians who were near him, and conversant with him in the whole course of his tedious sickness, and who, if any, are competent judges of a frenzy or delirium.

There are many more excellent things in my absence which have occasionally dropped from his mouth, that will not come within the narrow compass of a sermon : these, I hope, will sufficiently prove what I produce them for. And if any shall be still unsatisfied here in this hard-hearted generation, it matters not ; let them at their cost be unbelievers still, so long as this excellent penitent enjoys the comfort of his repentance. And now, from all these admirable signs, we have great reason to believe comfortably, that his repentance was real, and his end

happy; and accordingly imitate the neighbours and cousins of Elizabeth, (Luke i. 58,) who, when they heard how the Lord had showed great mercy upon her, came and rejoiced with her.

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

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

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

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

And this joy of all will still be the greater, if we compare it with the joy there is in heaven in the case of just persons that need no repentance, namely, that need not such a solemn, extraordinary repentance, or the whole change of heart and mind, as great sinners do ; and of this my text pronounces, that there is "greater joy in heaven over one such sinner that truly repenteth, than there is over ninety and nine just persons that need not such repentance." One reason of which we may conceive to be this : that such a penitent's former failings are ordinarily the occasion of a greater and more active piety afterwards ; as our convert earnestly wished that God would be pleased to spare him but one year more, that in that he might honour his name proportionably to the dishonour done to God in his whole life past. And we see St. Paul laboured more abundantly than all the Apostles in the planting of the church, because he had raged furiously before in the destruction of it ; and our Saviour himself tells us, "that to whom much is forgiven, they

will love much ; but to whom little is forgiven, they will love little."

It is certainly the more safe, indeed the only safe way, to be constantly virtuous ; and he that is wise indeed, that is, wise unto salvation, will endeavour to be one of those that need no repentance ; I mean, that entire and whole work of beginning anew ; but will draw out the same thread through his whole life, and let not the sun go down upon any of his sins. But then the other repentance is more remarkable, and where it is real, the more effectual, to produce a fervent and a fruitful piety ; besides the greater glory to God in the influence of the example. Which may probably be a farther reason of the excessive joy of the angels at the conversion of such a sinner ; because they, who are better acquainted with human nature than we, knowing it apt, like the Pharisees, to demand a sign from heaven for the reformation of corrupted customs, discern likewise that such desperate spiritual recoveries will seem so many openings of the heavens in the descent of the Holy Dove, visible to the standers by, and accordingly will have the greater influence upon them. And it is this, in the last place, that I am to recommend to all that hear me this day.

And having thus discharged the office of an historian, in a faithful representation of the repentance and conversion of this great sinner,

give me leave now to bespeak you as an ambassador of Christ, and, in his name, earnestly persuade you to be reconciled to him, and to follow this illustrious person, not in his sins any more, but in his sorrows for them, and his forsaking them. If there be any in this place, or elsewhere, who have been drawn into a complacency or practice of any kind of sin from his example, let those especially be persuaded to break off their sins by repentance, by the same example; that as he has been for the fall, so he may now be for the rising again, of many in Israel. God knows there are too many that are wise enough to discern and follow the examples of evil, but to do good from those examples they have no power; like those absurd flatterers we read of, who could imitate Plato in his crookedness, Aristotle in his stammering, and Alexander the Great in the bending of his neck, and the shrillness of his voice; but either could not, or would not, imitate them in any of their perfections. Such as these I would beseech, in their cooler seasons, to ask themselves that question, "What fruit had you in those things whereof you are now ashamed, for the end of these things is death?" And if any encourage themselves in their wickedness from this example, resolving however to enjoy the good things that are present, to fill themselves with costly wines, and to let no art of pleasure pass by them untasted, supposing, with the Gospel

rich man, that when one comes to them from the dead, when sickness or old age approaches, that then they will repent; let such as these consider the dreadful hazard they run by such pernicious counsels. It may be, (and it is but just with God it should be,) that whilst they are making provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof, and are saying to their souls, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; therefore take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry;" perhaps just then, at the same time, the hand of God may be writing upon the walls of their habitations that fatal sentence, "Thou fool, this night shall thy soul be required of thee; and then whose shall all those things be which thou hast provided?" And what sad reflections must such a one needs make upon his own folly, when he sees all that mirth and ease, which he has promised himself for so many years, must be at an end in a very few hours! and not only so, but that mirth turned into howlings, and that ease into a bed of flames; when the soul must be torn away on a sudden from the things it loved, and go where it will hate to live, and yet cannot die! And were it not better for us to embrace cordially the things which belong to our everlasting peace, before they are hid from our eyes? Were it not better for us all to be wise betimes, by preventing such a danger, than to open our eyes, as the unhappy rich man did, when we are

in a place of torment ? Be persuaded then, with humble, penitent, and obedient hearts, to meet the blessed Jesus, who is now on the way, and comes to us in person and in the bowels of a Saviour, wooing us to accept those easy conditions of pardon and peace offered in his holy Gospel, rather than to stay till he become our adversary, and our judge too, when he will deliver us over to the tormentors till we have paid the utmost farthing, that is, to all eternity ; when those who have made a mock at sin all their lives, and laughed at the pretended cheats of religion and its Priests, shall find themselves at last the greatest fools, and the most sadly cheated in the world : for God will then “ laugh at their calamity, and mock when their fear cometh, when it cometh as desolation, and their destruction as a whirlwind.” And since they would not suffer his mercy to rejoice over his justice, nor cause any joy in heaven, as the text mentions, in their conversion, his justice will certainly rejoice over his mercy, and cause joy in heaven, as it did at the fall of Babylon, which would not be cured, (Rev. xix. 1,) in their confusion. And O that there was such a heart in them, that they would consider this betimes ; that in the midst of their carnal jollities, they would but vouchsafe one regard what may happen hereafter, and what will certainly be the end of these things ! For, however the fruits of sin may seem pleasant to the

eye, and to be desired to make one seem wise and witty to the world, yet, alas! they are but empty and unsatisfactory at present, and leave a mortal sting behind them, and bitterness in the latter end; like the book St. John ate, which in his mouth was sweet as honey, but, as soon as he had eaten it, his belly was bitter. (Rev. x. 10.) And that God should please at last to bring men back in their old age from their sinful courses, by a way of weeping, to pluck them as firebrands out of everlasting burnings; yet if men consider how rare and difficult a thing it is to be born again when one is old; how many pangs and violences to nature there must needs be to put off the habits and inclinations to old sins, as difficult, saith the Prophet, as for the leopard to change his spots, or the Ethiopian his skin; and then, when that is done, what scars and weaknesses even a cure must leave behind; I say, he that duly considers this will think it better to secure his salvation, and all his present true comforts, by preserving his innocency, or alleviating his work by a daily repentance for lesser failings, than to venture upon one single chance of a death-bed repentance; which is no more to be depended upon, for the performance or acceptance, than it can encourage any man not to labour, because Elijah was fed by ravens, or the Israelites with manna from heaven.

If, then, there be any (though, alas! that need

not be asked) that have made the greatness of their wit, or birth, or fortune, instruments of iniquity to iniquity, let them now convert them to that original noble use for which God intended them, namely, to be instruments of righteousness unto holiness.

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

Now these especially I would beseech, as the Minister of Christ, and such as, though we are reviled, we bless, though we are defamed, we entreat, to suffer the word of exhortation, that

they would not terminate their eyes upon the outward pomp and pageantry that attend them, as the vulgar Jews did upon their rites and ceremonies; but (as the wiser Israelites, who esteemed those glittering formalities as the types and images of heavenly things) be quickened by them to the ambition of original honours and future glory. How much were it to be wished, that such persons especially would be followers of God and goodness, since, whether they will or not, other men will be followers of them !

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

We find Christians in Cæsar's household as soon as anywhere else in Rome; and when

Christianity had once gained Constantine, it spread itself farther over the empire in a few years than before it had done in some centuries. Since, then, so much good or mischief depends upon illustrious examples, will it not better become men to draw the multitude after them to heaven by their piety, than by infectious guilt be at the head of a miserable company of the damned ?

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

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

THE LIFE

OF THE

REVEREND AND LEARNED

THOMAS MANTON, D.D.

BY WILLIAM HARRIS, D.D.

THE LIFE

THOMAS MANTON, D.D.

CHAPTER I.

DR. THOMAS MANTON was born in the year 1620, at Lawrence-lydiat, in the county of Somerset. His father, and both his grandfathers, were Ministers. He was early sent to the free-school of Tiverton, in Devonshire. He ran through his grammatical studies, and was qualified to enter upon academical learning at the age of fourteen, which was very unusual in those days; when the methods of school-learning were more difficult and tedious, and youth designed for the University were commonly detained to eighteen or nineteen years of age. But his parents, either judging him too young, or loath to part with him so soon, kept him some time longer before he was sent to Oxford. He was placed in Wadham College in the year 1635; and, after preparatory studies, he applied himself

to divinity, which was the work his heart was chiefly set upon, and which he designed to make the business of his life. By a course of unwearyed diligence, joined with great intellectual endowments, he was early qualified for the work of the ministry ; and took orders much sooner than was usual, and than he himself approved, upon maturer thoughts, and after he had more experience. There is a remarkable passage to this purpose in his Exposition of James ; in which he expresses the humblest acknowledgment of his fault, and which has proved monitory and affecting to others. He delivered it with tears in his eyes. It is on the nineteenth verse of the first chapter, "Be slow to speak." "I remember," says he, "my faults this day : I cannot excuse myself from much of crime and sin in it. I have been in the ministry these ten years, and yet not fully completed the thirtieth year of my age. The Lord forgive my rash intrusion !" He was ordained by the excellent Joseph Hall, then Bishop of Exeter, afterwards removed to Norwich ; who took particular notice of him upon that occasion, and expressed his apprehensions that he would prove an extraordinary person.* The

* He was ordained by Bishop Hall before he was twenty. And though he was ordained only to Deacon's orders, he never would submit to any other ordination. His judgment was, that he was properly ordained to the ministerial office ; and that no power on earth had any right to divide and parcel it out.

times when he first entered into the ministry were full of trouble ; the King and Parliament being at open variance, and hostilities breaking out on both sides. He was confined to Exeter when it was besieged by the King's forces. After its surrender he went to Lyme. He preached his first sermon at Sowton, near Exeter, on those words, "Judge not, that ye be not judged." It was some time before he had any fixed place for the exercise of his ministry. He first began at Culliton, in Devonshire, where he preached a weekly lecture, and was much attended and respected. There he had an occasion of reforming the disorderly practice of those who, after the example of a leading gentleman, fell to their private devotion in the congregation, after the public worship was begun. At his coming to London he was soon taken notice of as a young man of excellent parts and growing hopes. Here he neither wanted work, nor will to perform it ; for he was in the vigour of his youth, and applied himself to it with great diligence and pleasure, for which he was remarkable all his life. About this time he married Mrs. Morgan, who was a daughter of a genteel family of Manston, in Sidbury, Devon ; and not the daughter of Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, whom he succeeded in Covent-garden, as Mr. Wood mistakes it. She was a meek and pious woman ; and, though of a weak and tender constitution, out-

lived the Doctor twenty years, who was naturally hale and strong.

He had not been above three years in the ministry before he had his first settlement, which was at Stoke-Newington, near London. He was presented to this living by the Honourable Colonel Popham, in whom he had a most worthy and kind patron, and was highly honoured and esteemed by him and his religious lady. It was here that he began and finished his excellent Exposition of the Epistle of James, on his week-day lectures, which he carried on without an assistant, besides his constant preaching both parts of the Lord's day. This Exposition has been thought by good judges to be one of the best models of expounding Scripture; and to have joined together, with the greatest judgment, the critical explication, and practical observations upon the several parts. Some time after he went through the Epistle of Jude. This, though excellent in its kind, is not so strictly expository, but more in a sermon-way: which he says was more in compliance with the desires of others than with his own judgment. This was almost finished while he continued at Newington, and was dedicated to the Lady Popham. It is worthy observing with what respect and sense of obligation he treats the Colonel and his Lady; and, so contrary to the modern modish way of address, with what faithfulness at the same time he warns them of

their temptations and danger. I shall only give the reader a taste of his spirit and expression in his younger years. "By this inscription," says he to the Colonel, "the book is become not only mine, but yours. You own the truths to which I have witnessed; and it will be sad for our account in the day of the Lord, if, after such solemn professions, you and I should be found in a carnal and unregenerate state. Make it your work to honour Him who has advanced you. The differences of high and low, rich and poor, are only calculated for the present world, and cannot outlive time. The grave takes away the civil differences. Skulls wear no wreaths and marks of honour: 'the small and great are there, the servant is free from his master.' So at the day of judgment: 'I saw the dead, both great and small, stand before the Lord.' None can be exempt from standing before the bar of Christ. When the civil difference ceases, the moral takes place: the distinction then is, good and bad, not great and small. Then you will see that there is no birth like that, to be born again of the Spirit; no tenure like an interest in the covenant; no estate like the inheritance of the saints; no magistracy like that whereby we sit at Christ's right hand, judging angels and men. How will the faces of great men gather blackness, who now flourish in the pomp and splendour of an outward estate, but then shall become the scorn of God,

and of saints and angels ! and these holy ones shall come forth and say, 'Lo, this is the man who made not God his strength, but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness.' Wealth and power are of no use in that day, unless it be to aggravate and increase the judgment. Many who are now so despicable and obscure, that they are lost in the tale and count of the world, shall then be taken into the arms of Christ. He will not be ashamed to confess them before men, and before his Father: 'Father, this is one of mine.' So also in heaven, there are none poor ; all the vessels of glory are filled up. If there is any difference in degree, the foundation of it is laid in grace, not in greatness. Greatness hath nothing greater, than a heart to be willing, and a power to be able, to do good. Then it is a fair resemblance of that perfection which is in God, who differs from man in nothing so much as in the eternity of his being, the infiniteness of his power, and the unweakenedness of his love and goodness. It is a fond ambition of men to sever these things : we all affect to be great, but not good ; and would be as gods, not in holiness but in power. Nothing has cost the creature dearer : it turned angels into devils, and Adam out of paradise. You will bear with my plainness and freedom : other addresses would neither be comely in me, nor pleasing to you. Our work is not to flatter

greatness, but in the Scripture sense, not in the humour of the age, to level mountains.

In his epistle to Lady Popham, he tells her :
“It is a lovely conjunction when goodness and greatness meet together. Persons of estate and respect have more temptations and hinderances than others ; but greater obligations to own God. The great Landlord of the world expects rent from every cottage ; but a larger revenue from great houses. Now usually it falls out so, that they who hold the greatest farms pay the least rent. Never is God more neglected and dishonoured, than in great men’s houses, and in the very face of all his bounty. If religion chance to get in there, it is soon worn out again ; though vice lives long in families, and runs in the blood from father to son. It is a rare case to see strictness of religion carried on for three or four descents. It was the honour of Abraham’s house, that from father to son, for a long while, they were heirs of the same promise ; but where is there such a succession in the families of our gentry ?”
The causes of which he reduces to “plenty ill-governed,” which disposes to vice, as a rank soil is apt to breed weeds ; and to a certain “false bravery of spirit,” which thinks strictness inglorious, and the power of religion a mean thing ; and to “the marriage of children into carnal families,” wherein they consult rather with the greatness of their houses, than the continuance

of Christ's interest in their line and posterity. "How careful are they that they match in their own rank, for blood and estate! Should they not be as careful for religion also? All this is spoken, Madam, to quicken you to greater care in your relation; and that you may settle a standing interest for Christ, so hopefully already begun in your house and family. Though your course of life be more private and confined, yet you have your service. The Scripture speaks of women gaining upon their husbands, seasoning the children, encouraging servants in the ways of godliness, especially of their own sex. It is said of Esther, (chap. iv. 16,) 'I also and my maidens will fast likewise.' These maidens were either Jews, (and then it shows what servants should be taken into a nearer attendance, such as savour of religion,) or else, which is more probable, such as she had instructed in the true religion; for they were appointed her by the eunuch, and were before instructed in the court fashions. (Chap. ii. 9.) But that did not satisfy: she takes them to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God; and, it seems, in her apartments had opportunity of religious commerce with them, in the worship of God."

He continued seven years at Newington, and possessed the general respect of his parishioners, though there were several persons of different sentiments from himself. Being generally es-

teemed an excellent Preacher, he was often employed in that work in London on the week days ; and other weighty affairs sometimes called for his attendance there. The custom of preaching to the sons of the Clergy began in his time. Dr. Hall (afterwards Bishop of Chester, and son of the famous Bishop Hall of Norwich) preached the first sermon to them, as Mr. Manton did the second. The sermon is printed at the end of the third volume in folio, upon Psalm cii. 28. He was several times, though not so often as some others, called to preach before the Parliament, and received their order, in course, for printing his sermons ; though, I think, he never published but two of them himself. Some of them are printed among his posthumous works. In all of them, the wisdom and judgment of Dr. Manton, in the suitableness of the subject to the circumstances of the times, and the prudent management of it to the best advantage, are very visible : particularly after he had given his testimony, among the London Ministers, against the death of the King, he was appointed to preach before the Parliament ; his text was Deut. xxxiii. 4, 5 : “ 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.” When they were highly offended at this sermon, some of his friends advised him to withdraw, for

some in the House talked of sending him to the Tower ; but he never flinched, and their heat abated.

His removal from Newington to Covent-garden was occasioned by the great age of Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, who was now disabled for his work. The people growing uneasy, several worthy persons were proposed for the place ; but Mr. Sedgwick would not be prevailed with to resign, till Mr. Manton was mentioned ; and to that he readily yielded. He was presented to the living with great respect and satisfaction, by his noble and generous patron, the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Bedford, who greatly esteemed him to his dying day ; and sent him, as a mark of his respect, a key of the garden which then belonged to Bedford-house, either to walk in it at his leisure, or as a convenient passage to the Strand. He had in this place a numerous congregation of persons of great note and rank ; of which number was oftentimes the excellent Archbishop Usher, who used to say of him, that he was one of the best Preachers in England, and that he was a voluminous Preacher ; not that he was ever long and tedious, but because he had the art of reducing the substance of whole volumes into a narrow compass, and representing it to great advantage. Mr. Charnock used to say of him, that he was the best collector of sense of the age.

Dr. Manton had a great respect for Mr. Chris-

topher Love, who was beheaded in the year 1651, by the then Parliament, for being concerned, with some others, in sending remittances abroad to support the royal family in their distress. I am informed, that he attended him on the scaffold at Tower-hill; and that Mr. Love, as a token of his respect, gave him his cloak. The Doctor was resolved to preach his funeral sermon; which the Government understanding signified their displeasure, and the soldiers threatened to shoot him; but that did not daunt him, for he preached at St. Lawrence Jewry, where Mr. Love had been Minister, to a numerous congregation, though not graced with the pulpit cloth, or having the convenience of a cushion. He was too wise to lay himself open to the rage of his enemies; but the sermon was printed afterwards, under the title of "The Saints' Triumph over Death." Lord Clarendon speaks of Mr. Love in terms of great disrespect, upon the report of a sermon he preached when he was a young man, at Uxbridge, at the time of the treaty. How far he might fail in his prudence, in so nice a circumstance, I am not able to say; but it appears from the accounts of them who well knew him, and by the resentment his death generally met with at that time, as well as by several volumes of sermons printed after his death, that he was a person of worth and esteem. It was certainly a rash and ungenerous censure in the noble author, of one

he knew so little of at that time, and who afterwards lost his life for serving the royal family.

The Government afterwards, for what reason it was best known to themselves, seemed at least to have an esteem for him, though he was far from courting their favour. When Cromwell took on him the Protectorship, in the year 1653, the very morning the ceremony was to be performed, a messenger came to Dr. Manton, to acquaint him that he must immediately come to Whitehall. The Doctor asked him the occasion : he told him he should know that when he came there. The Protector himself, without any previous notice, told him what he was to do, that is, to pray upon that occasion.* The Doctor laboured all he could to be excused, and told him it was a work of that nature which required some time to consider and prepare for it. The Protector replied, that he knew he was not at a loss to perform the service he expected from him ; and opening his study door, he put him in with his hand, and bade him consider there ; which was not above half an hour. The Doctor employed that time in looking over his books, which, he said, was a noble collection. It was at this time, as I am informed, that the worthy Judge

* Whitelock, who was present, says, he recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, and forces, and the whole Government and people of the three nations, to the blessing and protection of God. *Memorials*, page 661.

Rookesby had the misfortune, by the fall of a scaffold, to break his thigh, by which he always went lame, and was obliged to have one constantly to lead him. He was an upright Judge, and a wise and religious person ; he was constant to his principles, and always attended the preaching of good old Mr. Stretton, to his dying day.

About this time the Doctor was made one of the Chaplains to the Protector, and appointed one of the Committee to examine persons who were to be admitted to the ministry, or inducted into livings ; as he was afterwards appointed one in 1659, by an Act of that Parliament in which the secluded Members were restored. And though this proved troublesome to him, considering his constant employment in preaching, yet he has been heard to say, that he very seldom absented himself from that service, that he might, to his power, keep matters from running into extremes : for there were many in those days, as well as in these, who were forward to run into the ministry, and had more zeal than knowledge ; and perhaps sometimes persons of worth liable to be discouraged. There is a pretty remarkable instance of his kind respect to a grave and sober person, who appeared before them, (cap in hand, no doubt,) and was little taken notice of, but by himself. He seeing him stand, called for a chair, in respect to his years and appearance ; at which some of the Commissioners were displeased. This person

appeared to be of a Christian and ingenuous temper ; for, after the Restoration, he was preferred to an Irish bishopric, perhaps an archbishopric ; for he used to give in charge to Bishop Worth, whose occasions often called him over to England, that on his first coming to London he should visit Dr. Manton, and give his service to him, and let him know that if he was molested in his preaching in England, he should be welcome in Ireland, and have liberty to preach in any part of his diocess undisturbed. What interest he had in the Protector, he never employed for any sordid ends of his own, who might have had any thing from him ; but purely to do what service he could to others. He never refused to apply to him for any thing in which he could serve another, though it was not always with success. He was once desired, by some of the principal royalists, to use his interest in him for the sparing Dr. Hewit's life, who was condemned for being in a plot against the then Government ; which he did accordingly. The Protector told him, if Dr. Hewit had shown himself an ingenuous person, and would have owned what he knew was his share in the design against him, he would have spared his life ; but he was, he said, of so obstinate a temper, that he resolved he should die. The Protector convinced Dr. Manton before he parted, that he knew how far he was engaged in that plot.

While he was Minister at Covent-garden, he was invited to preach before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and the Companies of the city, upon some public occasion, at St. Paul's. The Doctor chose some difficult subject, in which he had opportunity of displaying his judgment and learning, and appearing to the best advantage. He was heard with admiration and applause by the more intelligent part of the audience; and was invited to dine with my Lord Mayor, and received public thanks for his performance. But upon his return in the evening to Covent-garden, a poor man following him, gently plucked him by the sleeve of his gown, and asked him if he were the gentleman who had preached that day before my Lord Mayor: he replied, he was. "Sir," says he, "I came with earnest desires after the word of God, and hopes of getting some good to my soul, but I was greatly disappointed; for I could not understand a great deal of what you said; you were quite above me." The Doctor replied, with tears in his eyes, "Friend, if I did not give you a sermon, you have given me one; and, by the grace of God, I will never play the fool to preach before my Lord Mayor in such a manner again." Upon a public fast at Covent-garden church, for the persecuted Protestants in the valleys of Piedmont, Dr. Manton had got Mr. Baxter, who happened to be then in London, and Dr. Wilkins,

who was afterwards Bishop of Chester, to assist him. Mr. Baxter opened the day, and preached upon the words of the Prophet, "But they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph." (Amos vi. 6.) He, after his manner, took a great compass, and grasped the whole subject. Dr. Manton succeeded him, and had chosen the same text. He was obliged often to refer to the former discourse, and to say every now and then, "As it has been observed by my reverend brother." Dr. Wilkins sat cruelly uneasy, and reckoned that between them both he should have nothing left to say; for he had got the same text too. He insisted upon being excused, but Dr. Manton obliged him to go up into the pulpit; and by an ingenious artifice, he succeeded admirably. Before he named his text, he prepared the audience by expressing the fears of their narrow spiritedness, and little concern for the interest of God in the world. "For," says he, "without any knowledge or design of our own, we have all three been directed to the same words." Which, spoken with the majesty and authority peculiar to the presence and spirit of that excellent person, so awakened the attention and disposed the minds of the people, that he was heard with more regard, and was thought to do more good, than both the former, though he had scarcely a single thought throughout the sermon distinct from the other two.

CHAPTER II.

IN the year 1660, Dr. Manton was very instrumental, with many other Presbyterian Divines, in the restoration of King Charles II. It must be owned, by impartial judges, that the Presbyterian party, who had the greatest influence in the nation at that time, had the greatest share in that change; nor could all the Episcopal party in the three kingdoms have once put it into motion, or brought it to any effect, without them; though they had all the favour and preferment bestowed upon them afterwards: which, whether it were more just or politic, more agreeable to the laws of equity, or the rules of prudence, I leave to the reader to determine.* Perhaps if the King had been brought in upon the conditions the noble Earl of Southampton would have proposed, and which were approved by the Earl of Clarendon when it was too late, it had prevented a great deal of the arbitrary and violent proceedings of that loose and luxurious reign, and contributed to the safety and happiness of the Prince and people too. He was one of the Divines appointed to wait upon the King at Breda, where they were well received, and, for some time after, greatly caressed. The Doctor was sworn one of the King's Chaplains by the Earl of Manchester,

* See Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, page 89.

Lord Chamberlain, who truly honoured him. He was one of the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference, and used his utmost endeavours in that unsuccessful affair. Dr. Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, joined with those Divines who were for alterations in ecclesiastical affairs. He was the first who received the Commission from the Bishop of London, of which he immediately acquainted Dr. Manton. The original letter is now in my hands, and expresses the candour and goodness of that excellent person, and his great respect for Dr. Manton. It is in these words:—

“SIR,

“THIS morning the Bishop of London sent me the Commission about revising the Liturgy under the great seal, to take notice of; with direction to give notice to the Commissioners who are not Bishops. I went to Mr. Calamy, and it is desired that we meet to-morrow morning at nine o'clock at his house, in regard of his lameness, to advise together, and send a joint letter to those who are out of this town. He and I desire you not to fail, and withal to call upon Dr. Bates and Dr. Jacomb in your way, to desire their company. So, with my best respects, I remain your most loving brother,

“EDWARD REYNOLDS, B. N.

“LONDON, *April 1st*, 1660.”

He was offered at this time the deanery of Rochester, which Dr. Harding was in great fear he would accept, and plied him with letters to come to some resolution; having reason to hope that, upon his refusal, he should obtain it, as he afterwards did. The Doctor kept it some time in suspense, being willing to see whether the King's Declaration could be got to pass into a law; which they had great encouragements given them to expect, and which would have gone a great way towards uniting the principal parties in the nation, and laying the foundation of a lasting peace.* Many persons who had, in the former times, purchased Bishops' and Deans' lands, earnestly pressed him to accept the deanery, with hopes they might find better usage from him, in renewing their leases, and offered their money for new ones; which he might have

* The Declaration was drawn up by Lord Chancellor Hyde, and contained, among other things, the following concessions:—That no Bishop should ordain, or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertaineth to the censures of the Church, without the advice and assistance of the Presbyters; that Chancellors, Commissaries, and officials should be excluded from acts of jurisdiction, and the power of Pastors in their several congregations restored; and that liberty should be granted to all Ministers to assemble monthly, for the exercise of their pastoral persuasive power, and the promoting of knowledge and godliness in their flocks; that Ministers should be free from the subscription required by the canon, and from the oath of canonical obedience; and that the use of the ceremonies should be dispensed with, where they were scrupled.

taken with the deanery, and quitted again in 1662, there being then no assent and consent imposed ; but he was above such underhand dealings, and scorned to enrich himself with the spoils of others. When he saw the most prudent and condescending endeavours, through the violence and ambition of some leading men, availed nothing to the peace of the Church, and the happiness of the nation, he sat down under the melancholy prospect of what he lived to see come to pass, namely, the decay of serious religion, with a flood of profaneness, and a violent spirit of persecution. The greatest worth, and the best pretensions, met with no regard, where there were any scruples in point of ceremony and subscription.

In the interval between the restoration and his ejection, he was greatly esteemed by persons of the first quality at Court. Sir John Baber used to tell him, that the King had a singular respect for him. Lord Chancellor Hyde was always highly civil and obliging to him. He had free access to him upon all occasions, which he always improved, not for himself, but for the service of others. I shall only give a single instance. Mr. James, of Berkshire, who was afterwards known by the name of Black James, an honest and worthy person, was at the point of being cast out of his living, which was a sequestration. He came to London to make friends to the Lord

Chancellor, but could find none proper for his purpose. He was at length advised to go to Dr. Manton, to whom he was yet a stranger, as the most likely to serve him in this distress. He came to him late in the evening, and when he was in bed. He told his case to Mrs. Manton, who advised him to come again in the morning, and did not doubt but the Doctor would go with him. He answered with great concern, that it would be too late; and that if he could not put a stop to it that night, he and his family must be ruined. On so pressing a case the Doctor rose, and because it rained, went with him in a coach to the Lord Chancellor at York-house; who spying the Doctor in the crowd, where many persons were attending, called to him to know what business he had there at that time of night. When he acquainted him with his errand, my Lord called to the person who stamped the orders upon such occasions, and asked him, what he was doing. He answered, that he was just going to put the stamp to an order for passing away such a living. Upon which he bade him stop; and upon hearing further of the matter, bade the Doctor not trouble himself, his friend should not be molested. He enjoyed it to the time of his ejection in 1662, which was a great support to a pretty numerous family. Upon the Doctor's refusing the deanery, he fell under Lord Clarendon's displeasure, so fickle is the favour of the great; and he once

accused him to the King for dropping some treasonable expressions in a sermon. The King was so just and kind as to send for him, and ordered him to bring his notes. When he read them, the King asked whether upon his word this was all that was delivered; and upon the Doctor's assurance that it was so, without a syllable added to it, the King said, "Doctor, I am satisfied, and you may be assured of my favour; but look to yourself, or else Hyde will be too hard for you."

In whatsoever company he was, he had courage, as became a faithful Minister of Christ, to oppose sin, and, upon proper occasions, to reprove sinners. Duke Lauderdale, who pretended to carry it with great respect to him, in some company where the Doctor was present, behaved himself very indecently; the Doctor modestly reproved him, but the Duke never loved him afterward. He was once at dinner at Lord Manchester's, in Whitehall, when several persons of great note began to drink the King's health, a custom which then began to be much in vogue, and was commonly abused to great disorders. When it came to him, he refused to comply with it, apprehending it beneath the dignity of a Minister to give any countenance to the sinful excess it so often occasioned in those times. It put a stop to it at that time, and Prince Rupert, who was present, inquired who he was. Many of the Scotch nobility greatly respected him, particularly the Duchess

of Hamilton, who attended his ministry. Notwithstanding the weighty affairs then on foot, which took up a great part of his time, he never omitted his beloved work of constant preaching, to the time of his ejection in 1662. He then usually resorted to his own church, where he was succeeded by Dr. Patrick, the late Bishop of Ely. It happened cross, that Dr. Patrick receiving a scurrilous letter from an unknown person, full of reflections upon himself, had so little wisdom at that time as to charge it upon Dr. Manton, in a letter to him, with very unbecoming reflections. This occasioned his not attending any more his preaching; for no man living more abhorred a base and unworthy action. Having this occasion of speaking a little to his disadvantage, I shall take the opportunity of doing an act of justice to the memory of that learned person, who has since by many books of devotion, and excellent paraphrases and commentaries on the Scripture, as well as by his exemplary life, done so much good to the world, and deserved so well of the Christian church. It has been generally allowed that Dr. Patrick wrote the first volumes of the "Friendly Debate" in the heat of his youth, and in the midst of his expectations, which, by aggravating some weak and uncautious expressions in a few particular writers, designed to expose the Nonconformist ministry to contempt and ridicule. The design was afterwards

carried on by a worse hand, and with a more virulent spirit ; * a method altogether unreasonable and unworthy, because it will be always easy to gather rash and unadvised expressions from the weaker persons of any party of men, and only serves to expose religion to the scorn and contempt of the profane. But Bishop Patrick, in his advanced age, and in a public debate in the House of Lords, about the "Occasional Bill," took the opportunity to declare himself to this purpose, "That he had been known to write against the Dissenters with some warmth, in his younger years ; but that he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing : and that he was verily persuaded there were some who were honest men, and good Christians, who would be neither, if they did not ordinarily go to church, and sometimes to the meeting ; and, on the other hand, some were honest men and good Christians who would be neither, if they did not ordinarily go to the meetings, and sometimes to church." A rare instance this, of retractation and moderation ; which I think redounds greatly to his honour, and is worthy of imitation.

But to return to the history. After he ceased to attend upon Dr. Patrick's ministry, he used to preach on the Lord's day evenings in his own

* Dr. Samuel Parker, afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

house, to his family and some few of his neighbours; and some time after, on Wednesday mornings, when the violence of the times would allow it. Upon the increase of his hearers, he was obliged to lay two rooms into one, which yet, by reason of the number of the people, and the straitness of the place, proved very inconvenient to him, especially in hot weather, and prejudicial to his health. He had lived in that respect and good-will in the parish, that his neighbours were generally civil to him, and gave him no trouble: only a little before his ejection, one Bird, a tailor, a zealous stickler for the Common-Prayer, complained to Dr. Sheldon, then Bishop of London, that Dr. Manton deprived him of the means of his salvation; meaning the use of the Common-Prayer. "Well," says the Bishop, "all in good time; but you may go to heaven without the Common-Prayer." There was one Justice Ball, within a few doors of him, who often threatened him, and was at last as good as his word. He was sometimes in danger from the Churchwardens, of which number there were always three. The Duke of Bedford having always the choice of one took care to have him a friend to the Doctor; and his well-known respect to him gave him countenance and protection from the malice of the meaner people. His meeting afterwards adjoined to Lord Whar-ton's house in St. Giles's, which he allowed him

the convenience of, whether he was in town or not. The good-natured Earl of Berkshire lived next door, who was himself a Jansenist Papist; and offered him the liberty, when he was in trouble, to come to his house; which it was easy to do, by only passing over a low wall, which parted the gardens.

Not long after the Act of Ejectment, when the Government was forming a plot for the Presbyterians, (for they had none of their own,) in a debate in the House of Lords, Dr. Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, said, it was time to look after them, when such men as Dr. Manton refused to take the oaths: which slander was soon contradicted by Lord Chamberlain Manchester, who assured the House of the falseness of the charge, and that he himself had administered the oath to him when he was sworn one of His Majesty's Chaplains. The Doctor took notice of this as very disingenuous, because not long before the Bishop and he had met at Astrop-wells, and the Bishop had treated him with great civility, and entered into particular freedoms with him. The Doctor indeed was in his judgment utterly against taking the Oxford oath, namely, "That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the King; and that we will not at any time endeavour any alteration of the government in Church or State." And when some few of his brethren were satisfied to take it upon an explanation allowed them by the Lord Keeper Bridg-

man, that is, that the oath meant only unlawful endeavours; the famous Mr. Gouge came from Hammersmith with a design to take it; but calling upon Dr. Manton to know his opinion of it, he was so well satisfied with the reasons of his judgment, that he was perfectly easy in his mind, and never took it afterwards.

In the year 1670 the meetings seemed for some time to be connived at, and were much attended. I remember to have heard some of the worthy ejected Ministers speak of this period with particular pleasure: they observed, that after the looseness and excess which followed the restoration, the reproaches and persecutions of the Nonconformists for several years, and the late terrible judgments of plague and fire, multitudes everywhere frequented the opened meetings, some from curiosity, and some upon better motives; and many were delivered from the prejudices they had entertained, and received the first serious impressions upon their minds. God remarkably owned their ministry at that time, and crowned it, under all their disadvantages, with an extraordinary success. Soon after this indulgence expired, the Doctor was taken prisoner, on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just after he had done his sermon. The door happened to be opened to let a gentleman out, at the very time the Justice and his attendants were at the door; who immediately rushed in, and went up

stairs ; but finding the Doctor in his prayer, they stayed till he had done ; and then took the names of the principal persons. The Doctor being warm with preaching, they were so civil as to take his word, to come to them after some convenient time. He went to them to a house in the Piazzas, where many persons of note were gathered together ; among whom was the Duke of Richmond. After some discourse, they tendered him the Oxford oath. Upon his refusing to take it, they threatened to send him to prison. It was thought, they questioned their own skill to draw up a warrant, which would be sufficient to hold him ; and that it was afterward drawn up by the Lord Chief Justice Vaughan. They dismissed him, however, at that time, upon his promise to come to them within two or three days, and then gave the warrant to a Constable, and committed him to the Gatehouse ; only allowing him a day's respite, till his room could be got ready. This imprisonment, by the kind providence of God, was more favourable and commodious than could have been thought, or than his enemies designed, or than he expected. The keeper of the prison at that time was the Lady Broughton, who was noted for strictness and severity in her office, though she carried it quite otherwise towards the Doctor ; for she allowed him a large handsome room joining to the Gatehouse, with a small one sufficient to hold a bed.

For some time it was not thought prudent to admit any to come to him but his wife, and servant who attended him. It is worth notice here, that the Doctor could not omit his delightful work of preaching, though to so small a congregation; which he did according to his former custom, both parts of the Lord's day, and once on a week-day. After some time his children, and some few friends, to the number of twelve or fifteen, were admitted to hear him preach. The Lady Broughton was highly civil and obliging, and placed a great confidence in him. When she designed to go for a little time into the country, she would have ordered the keys of the common jail to be brought to him every night. The Doctor smiling, told her, that he being a prisoner himself, could not think it proper to be the keeper or jailer to others. However, no person had the opening and shutting of the door of the house where he was but his own servant; so that he might have gone out of prison when he pleased, for any restraint he was under. When the town was pretty empty, he ventured, once with his keeper, and once without, to visit his worthy friend Mr. Gunston of Newington, who was agreeably surprised to see him, as he had a very high and hearty respect for him. Thus, like Joseph, "he found favour in the sight of the keeper of the prison; and the keeper of the prison would have committed to his hands all the

prisoners who were in the prison." (Gen. xxxix. 21, 22.) This, it must be owned, was a milder confinement, and gentler usage, than many others met with in those days, who lay under long and close confinements, and suffered confiscation of goods, and banishment, and death. This Protestant persecution fell short indeed of dragooning, and dungeons, and galleys, in France ; and of the racks and tortures of the Inquisition in Spain : but that a person of Dr. Manton's worth and merit should be thought to deserve such treatment from a Government of which he helped to lay the foundations, and which he not only never injured, but had served, in circumstances of danger and importance, when others of less desert and pretensions had all the opportunities of public service, and all the favour and preferment, I believe will appear shocking to all impartial lovers of liberty, and of their country ; and fix a brand for ever upon the gratitude and politics of those times.

Some time after his imprisonment, when the indulgence was renewed, he preached in a large room taken for him in Whitehart-yard, not far from his house ; but there also he was at length disturbed. A band of rabble came on the Lord's-day morning to seize him ; but the Doctor, having notice of it over-night, escaped their fury. Mr. James Bedford was got to preach for him, who had taken the Oxford oath. When they

found themselves disappointed, they were in a great rage, and took the names of several; but did not detain the Minister; for their malice was levelled against the Doctor. The good Lord Wharton was there, whom they pretended not to know; and upon his refusing to tell them his name, they threatened to send him to prison, but they thought better of it. The place was fined forty pounds, and the Minister twenty; which sum was paid by Lord Wharton.

Sir John Baber, his near neighbour, and who owed all his preferment at court to the Doctor's interest there, continued his hearty friend, though a great courtier. He often visited the Doctor; by which means he had opportunity of greater intelligence than most others. About this time there happened some difference among the Ministers of the city about the manner of addressing the King for his indulgence. Some contended earnestly to have it expressed more largely, and others opposed it; for though they always thought they had a right to their liberty, they feared giving any countenance to the dispensing power, or advantage to the Papists; which were things well known to be in view, and much at heart at that time. The difference came to be known at Court, and there were apprehensions of ill consequences. Sir John Baber carried Dr. Manton and Dr. Bates to Lord Arlington's at Whitehall, who was then Secretary of State; it

was supposed, by his order. When they were together, the King, to their great surprise, came into the room, it was thought by design. Dr. Bates pressed Dr. Manton to address the King for his indulgence; which he did in a few words, and with great caution; but it was kindly accepted by the King, and well approved by the Ministers, when it was communicated to them; and put a happy end to their contentions about it. It was by means of Sir John Baber that Dr. Manton and Mr. Baxter were invited to confer with the Lord Keeper Bridgman, about a comprehension and toleration, in the year 1668. They afterwards met with Dr. Wilkins and Dr. Burton. Proposals were drawn up and corrected by mutual consent; in pursuance of which, the excellent Judge Hale prepared a Bill to be laid before the next session of Parliament; but it was rejected upon the first motion by the high Church party. In the year 1674 Dr. Manton and Mr. Baxter, with Dr. Bates and Mr. Pool, met with Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet, to consider of an accommodation, by the encouragement of several Lords spiritual and temporal; they canvassed several draughts, and at length all agreed in one. But when it came to be communicated to the Bishops, several things in which they had agreed could not be obtained, and the whole design miscarried. So easy a thing it has ever been found for wise and sober men to adjust matters

of difference, and agree upon terms of accommodation ; when nothing will satisfy unreasonable prejudice, and where the love of power, and the bias of interest, strongly lead men the other way.

When the indulgence was more fully fixed in 1672, the merchants and other citizens of London set up a lecture at Pinners'-hall. Dr. Manton was one of the six first chosen, and opened the lecture. He was much concerned at the little bickerings which began there in his time, and afterward broke out into scandalous contentions, and an open division at last. Mr. Baxter was often censured for his preaching there ; and once published a sheet upon that occasion, which he called, "An Appeal to the Light." His preaching upon these words, "And ye will not come unto me that you might have life," in which he fully justified the great God, and laid the blame of men's destruction upon themselves ; though it was followed by another upon these words, "Without me you can do nothing ;" occasioned a great clamour against him, among some people ; of which he complained to Dr. Manton. The Doctor, on his next turn, in the close of his sermon, pretty sharply rebuked them for their rash mistakes, and unbecoming reflections upon so worthy and useful a person. It was observed that his reproof was managed with so much decency and wisdom, that he was not by any reflected upon for his freedom therein. He has

been heard to express his esteem of Mr. Baxter in the highest terms ; namely, that he thought him one of the most extraordinary persons the Christian church had produced since the Apostles' days, and that he did not look upon himself as worthy to carry his books after him. This was the opinion of one who knew him with the greatest intimacy for many years, and was a great judge of true worth.

When he first began to grow into ill health, he could not be persuaded by his friends and physicians to forbear preaching for any considerable time ; which had been the delightful work of his life. He was at length prevailed with to spend some time at Wooburn with Lord Wharton, for the benefit of the air. But finding little good by it, he returned to town on the beginning of the week, in order to administer the Lord's supper the next Lord's day ; of which he gave notice to his people, but he did not live to accomplish it. The day before he took his bed, he was in his study ; of which he took a solemn leave, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, blessing God for the many comfortable and serious hours he had spent there ; and waiting in joyful hope of a state of clearer knowledge and higher enjoyments of God. At night he prayed with his family under great indisposition, and recommended himself to God's wise disposal ; desiring, if he had no further work for him to do in this

world, he would take him to himself; which he expressed with great serenity of mind, and an unreserved resignation to the divine good pleasure. When he went to bed he was suddenly seized with a kind of lethargy, by which he was deprived of his senses, to the great grief and loss of his friends who came to visit him. He died October 18th, 1677, in the fifty-seventh year of his age; and lies interred in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington.

Dr. Bates preached his funeral sermon, who had a most affectionate esteem for him, very frequently visited him, always advised with him in matters of moment, and, for some years after his death, would weep when he spoke of him. He says of him, "His name is worthy of precious and eternal memory. God had furnished him with a rare union of those parts which are requisite to form an eminent Minister of his word. A clear judgment, a rich fancy, a strong memory, and happy elocution, met in him, and were excellently improved by his diligent study. In preaching the word he was of conspicuous eminence, and none could detract from him but from ignorance or envy. He was endowed with an extraordinary knowledge of the Scripture; and in his preaching gave such perspicuous accounts of the order and dependence of divine truths, and with that felicity applied the Scripture to confirm them, that every subject, by his management, was cultivated

and improved. His discourses were so clear and convincing, that none, without offering violence to conscience, could resist their evidence; and from hence they were effectual, not only to inspire a sudden flame, and raise a short commotion in the affections, but to make a lasting change in the life. His doctrine was uncorrupt and pure, 'the truth according to godliness.' He was far from the guilty vile intention to prostitute the sacred ordinances for acquiring any private secular advantage; neither did he entertain his hearers with impertinent subtilties, empty notions, intricate disputes, dry and barren without productive virtue; but as one who always had in his eye the great end of his ministry, the glory of God, and the salvation of men. His sermons were directed to open their eyes, that they might see their wretched condition as sinners, to hasten their flight from the wrath to come, and make them humbly and thankfully and entirely receive Christ as their Prince and all-sufficient Saviour; and to build up the converted in their holy faith, and more excellent love, which is 'the fulfilling of the law;' in short, to make true Christians eminent in knowledge and universal obedience.

"And as the matter of his sermons was designed for the good of souls, so his way of expression was proper for that end. His style was not exquisitely studied, not consisting of harmonious

periods; but far distant from vulgar meanness. His expression was natural and free, clear and eloquent, quick and powerful, without any spice of folly; and always suitable to the simplicity and majesty of divine truth. His sermons afforded substantial food with delight, so that the fastidious mind could not disrelish them. He abhorred a vain ostentation of wit in handling sacred truths, so venerable and grave, and of eternal consequence. His fervour and earnestness in preaching was such as might soften, and make pliant, the most stubborn and obstinate spirit. I am not speaking of one whose talent was only voice, who laboured in the pulpit as if the end of preaching were the exercise of the body, and not for the profit of souls. But this man of God was inflamed with holy zeal, and from thence such expressions broke forth, as were capable of procuring attention and consent in his hearers. He spake as one who had a living faith within him of divine truth. From this union of zeal with his knowledge, he was excellently qualified to convince and convert souls. His unparalleled assiduity in preaching declared him very sensible of those dear and strong obligations which lie upon Ministers to be very diligent in that blessed work. This faithful Minister abounded in the work of the Lord; and, which is truly admirable, though so frequent in preaching, yet was always superior to others, and equal to himself.

He was no fomentor of faction, but studious of the public tranquillity. He knew what a blessing peace is, and wisely foresaw the pernicious consequences which attend divisions.

“Consider him as a Christian, his life was answerable to his doctrine. This servant of God was like a fruitful tree, which produces in the branches what it contains in the root. His inward grace was made visible in a conversation becoming the Gospel. His resolute contempt of the world secured him from being wrought upon by those motives which tempt low spirits from their duty. He would not rashly throw himself into troubles; nor *spretâ conscientiâ* avoid them. His generous constancy of mind in resisting the current of popular humour declared his loyalty to his divine Master. His charity was eminent in procuring supplies for others, when in mean circumstances himself. But he had great experience of God’s fatherly provision, to which his filial confidence was correspondent. I shall finish my character of him by observing his humility: he was deeply affected with the sense of his frailty and unworthiness. He considered the infinite purity of God, and the perfection of his law, the rule of duty; and by that humbling light discovered his manifold defects. He expressed his thoughts to me a little before his death. If the holy Prophets were under strong impressions of fear, upon extraordinary discoveries

of the divine presence, how shall we poor creatures appear before the holy and dreadful Majesty? It is infinitely terrible to appear before God the Judge of all, without the protection of the 'blood of sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel.' This alone relieved him, and supported his hopes. Though his labours were abundant, yet he knew that the work of God, passing through our hands, is so blemished, that, without appealing to pardoning mercy and grace, we cannot stand in judgment."

Mr. Collins, a man of a most sweet and obliging temper, as well as of great abilities and worth, on his turn to preach at the Merchants' lecture, after the Doctor's death, took great notice of it; and was much affected with the loss of so valuable a person. Good old Mr. Case used to say, long before his death, that he should live to preach his funeral sermon: and he did preach upon that occasion, when he was almost dead himself, for he was above eighty years of age. His text was, "In those days the Lord began to cut Israel short." (2 Kings x. 32.) After he had considered the text, he came to speak of several worthy Ministers cut off by death about that time; as well as others cut off by the laws which forbade their preaching. The last he named was Dr. Manton; at the mention of his name he stopped, and wept for some time before he could proceed; and then said, "If I had mentioned no other but Dr.

Manton, I might well say, that God began to cut England short ;” with other expressions of his love and esteem. He had always a high opinion of the Doctor’s preaching, and would often urge him to print. When the Doctor answered him, that he had not time, in the midst of such constant employments, to prepare any thing, with due care, for the public view ; he would reply, “ You need only send your notes to the press, when you come out of the pulpit.” Dr. Manton wrote a very ingenious and serious preface to Mr. Case’s *Meditations*, drawn up when he was prisoner in the Tower, and published under the title of “ *Correction, Instruction ;*” which is a very useful practical book upon the subject of afflictions. He also wrote a preface to the second edition of *Smectymnuus* ; to Mr. Clifford’s book of the *Covenant* ; to *Ignatius Jourdain’s Life* ; Mr. Strong’s *Sermons of the Certainty and Eternity of Hell Torments* ; and to the second edition in quarto of the *Assembly’s Confession of Faith, &c.*

CHAPTER III.

DR. MANTON’S works were published by several principal Ministers of that time ; and it will entertain the reader to see the high apprehensions they had of him, and the beautiful variety in

which they represent them. They have indeed drawn their own character, as well as his, in the different turn of their mind and manner of expression. The first which came out was twenty sermons in quarto, in the year 1678. Dr. Bates gives this fine and beautiful account of them: "The main design of them is to represent the inseparable connexion between Christian duties and privileges, wherein the essence of our religion consists. The Gospel is not a naked unconditionate offer of pardon and eternal life, in favour of sinners; but upon the most convenient terms, for the glory of God, and the good of men, enforced by the strongest obligations upon them, to receive humbly and thankfully those benefits. The promises are attended with commands to repent and believe, and persevere in a uniform practice of obedience. The Son of God came into the world, not to make God less holy, but to make us holy; and not to vacate our duty, and free us from the law, as a rule of obedience; for that is both impossible, and would be most infamous and reproachful to our Saviour. To challenge such an exemption in point of right, is to make ourselves gods; to usurp it in point of fact, is to make ourselves devils. But his end was to enable and induce us to return to God, as our rightful Lord, and proper felicity, from whom we rebelliously and miserably fell, in seeking for happiness out of him. Accordingly the Gospel is

called the 'law of faith,' as it commands those duties upon motives of eternal hopes and fears, and as it will justify or condemn men with respect to their obedience or disobedience ; which is the proper character of a law. These things are managed in the following sermons in that convincing persuasive manner, as makes them very necessary for these times, when some who aspire to extraordinary heights in religion, and esteem themselves favourites of heaven, yet wofully neglect the duties of the lower hemisphere, as righteousness, truth, and honesty ; and when carnal Christians are so numerous, who despise serious godliness as a solemn hypocrisy, and live in open violation of Christ's precepts, and yet presume to be saved by him.

"I shall only add, further, they commend to our ardent affections and endeavours true holiness, as distinguished from the most refined unregenerate morality. The Doctor saw the absolute necessity of this, and spake with great jealousy of those who seemed in their discourses to make it their highest aim to improve and cultivate some moral virtues, as justice, temperance, benignity, &c., by philosophical helps ; representing them as becoming the dignity of our nature, agreeable to reason, and beneficial to society, and but transiently speaking of the operations of the Holy Spirit ; which are as requisite to free the soul from the chains of sin, as to

to release the body at last from the bands of death; who seldom preach of evangelical graces, faith in the Redeemer, the love of God for his admirable wisdom in our salvation, zeal for his glory, humility in ascribing all we can return in grateful obedience to the most free and powerful grace of God in Christ; which are the vital principles of good works, and derive the noblest forms to all virtues. Indeed men may be composed and considerate in their words and actions, may abstain from gross enormities, and do many praiseworthy actions, by the rules of moral prudence; yet without the infusion of divine grace to cleanse their stained nature, to renew them according to the image of God shining in the Gospel, to act them from motives superior to all that moral wisdom propounds, all their virtues, of what elevation soever, though in an heroic degree, cannot make them real saints. As the plant-animal has a faint resemblance of the sensitive life, but remains in the lower rank of vegetables, so these have a shadow and appearance of the life of God, but continue in the corrupt state of nature. The difference is greater between sanctifying saving grace, wrought by the special power of the Spirit, with the holy operations flowing from them, and the virtuous habits and actions which are the effect of moral counsel and constancy, than between true pearls produced by the celestial beams of the sun, and

counterfeit ones formed by the smoky heat of the fire." No doubt the proper Christian graces require the influence of the divine Spirit, and are the effect of nobler motives than mere pagan morality.

In 1679 was published, in octavo, "Eighteen Sermons on the second Chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, containing the Description, Rise, Growth, and Fall of Antichrist; with divers Cautions and Arguments to establish Christians against the Apostasy of the Church of Rome." This was well fitted for common use, and very seasonable at that time. In the preface to this volume Mr. Baxter says of him, "How sound he was in judgment against extremes in the controversies of these times; how great a lamenter of the scandalous and dividing mistakes of some self-conceited men; how earnestly desirous of healing our present breaches, and not unacquainted with the proper means and terms; how hard and successful a student; how frequent and laborious a Preacher; and how highly and deservedly esteemed, is commonly known here. The small distaste which some few had of him, I took for a part of his honour, who would not win reputation with any by flattering them in their mistakes, or unwarrantable ways. He used not to serve God with that which cost him nothing; nor was of their mind who cannot expect or extol God's grace, without

denying those endeavours of men to which his necessary grace exciteth them. He knew that 'without Christ we can do nothing;' and yet that 'by Christ's strengthening us, we can do all things' which God hath made necessary to be done by us. He was not of their mind who think it derogatory to the honour of Christ to praise his work in the souls and lives of any of his servants; and that it is to the honour of his grace, that his justified ones are graceless, and that their Judge should dishonour his own righteousness, if he make his disciples more righteous personally than the Scribes and Pharisees, and will say to them, 'Well done, good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.' He knew how to regard the righteousness and intercession of Christ, with pardon of sin and divine acceptance, instead of legal personal perfection; without denying either the necessity, or assigned office, of our faith, and repentance, and evangelical sincerity, in obeying Him who redeemed and justifies us."

In the year 1684 Dr. Bates published his "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer," in octavo. In 1685 Mr. Hurst published, in octavo, "Several Discourses tending to promote Peace and Holiness among Christians," and dedicated them to Arthur Earl of Anglesea, to whom he was Chaplain. In the same year was published

“Christ’s Temptations and Transfiguration explained and improved;” and “Christ’s eternal Existence, and the Dignity of his Person, asserted and proved, in opposition to the Socinians,” in octavo. Dr. Jacomb, who published this volume, says of him, that “he did not so much concern himself in what is polemical and controversial; but chose rather in a plain way, as best suiting with sermon work, to assert and prove the truth by Scripture testimony and argument; and that he has done to the full.” In 1703 was published “A practical Exposition of Isaiah liii.” This, though published last, was earlier written than any of the other; for so he speaks in the preface to the Exposition of James: “I have the rather chosen this scripture, that it might be an allay to those comforts which in another exercise I have endeavoured to draw out of Isaiah liii. I would at the same time carry on the doctrine of faith and manners, and show you your duty together with your encouragement; lest, with Ephraim, you should only love to tread out the corn, and refuse to break the clods. We are all apt to divorce comfort from duty; and content ourselves with a barren, unfruitful knowledge of Christ; as if all he required of the world were only a few naked, cold, unactive apprehensions of his merit; and all things were so done for us, that nothing remained to be done by us. This is the wretched conceit of many in the

present age ; and therefore they abuse the sweetness of grace to looseness, and the power of it to laziness. Christ's merits, and the Spirit's efficacy, are the common-places from whence they draw all the defence and excuse of their own wantonness and idleness."

Besides these lesser volumes, there are five large volumes in folio. The first was "Sermons upon Psalm cxix.," published in the year 1681. Dr. Bates says, "They were preached by him in his usual course of three times a week ; which I do not mention to lessen their worth, but to show how diligent and exact he was in performing his duty. I cannot but admire the fecundity and variety of his thoughts ; that, though the same things so often occur in the verses of this psalm, yet, by a judicious observing the different arguments and motives whereby the Psalmist enforces the same request, or some other circumstance, every sermon contains new conceptions, and proper to the text." Mr. Alsop says of them, "The matter of them is spiritual, and speaks the author one intimately acquainted with the secrets of wisdom. He writes like one who knew the Psalmist's heart, and felt in his own soul the sanctifying power of what he wrote. Their design is practical, beginning with the understanding, dealing with the affections, but still driving on the design of practical holiness. The manner of handling is not inferior to the dignity of the

matter; so plain as to accommodate the most sublime truths to the meanest spiritual capacity; and yet so elevated as to approve itself to the most refined understanding; which knows how to be succinct without obscurity; and, where the weight of the argument requires it, to enlarge without nauseous prolixity. He studied more to profit than to please; and yet an honest heart will be then best pleased, when most profited. He chose rather to speak appositely than elegantly, and yet the judicious account propriety the greatest elegance. He laboured more industriously to conceal his learning, than others to ostentate theirs; and yet when he would most veil it, the discerning reader cannot but discover it, and rejoice to find such a mass and treasure of useful learning, couched under a well-studied and artificial plainness. I have admired, and must recommend to the observation of the reader, the fruitfulness of the author's holy invention, accompanied with solid judgment, in that whereas the coincidence of the matter in this psalm might have superseded his labours in very many verses; yet without force, or offering violence to the sacred text, he has, either from the connexion of one verse with its predecessor, or the harmony between the parts of the same verse, found out new matter to entertain his own meditations, and the reader's expectations."

The second volume was published in 1684,

and contains Sermons on the whole of Matthew xxv.; of John xvii.; of Romans vi. and viii.; and of 2 Corinthians v. Dr. Collings, who seems to have written the preface to this volume, says, "In all his writings one finds a quick and fertile invention, governed with a solid judgment; and the issue of both expressed in a grave and decent style. He had a heart full of love and zeal for God and his glory; and out of the abundance of his heart, his mouth continually spake. So frequent and yet so learned and solid preaching by the same person, was little less than miraculous. He was a good and learned, a grave and judicious, person; and his auditory never failed, though he laboured more than most Preachers, to hear from him a pious, learned, and judicious discourse. He is one of those authors, upon the credit of whose name, not only private and less intelligent people, but even scholars, may venture to buy any book which was his."

The third volume was published in 1689, and contains Sermons upon Hebrews xi.; with a Treatise of the Life of Faith, and another of Self-denial; and some Preparatory Sermons for the Lord's Supper; and Sermons before the Parliament. It was dedicated to King William soon after the Revolution, by Mr. Howe, in as noble and masterly a preface as is, perhaps, any where to be met with.

The fourth volume was published in 1693;

and contains Sermons upon several texts of Scripture. It is directed to the Lord Philip Wharton, by Mr. William Taylor, who was many years my Lord's Chaplain, and transcribed a great part of the Doctor's notes for the press ; and was himself a person of great integrity and wisdom. He tells my Lord : " Though his preaching was so constant, yet in all his sermons may be observed a solidity of judgment, exactness of method, fulness of matter, strength of argument, persuasive elegance, together with a serious vein of piety running through the whole ; as few have come near him, but none have exceeded him." Mr. Alsop says of this volume, " Acquired learning humbly waits upon divine revelation ; great ministerial gifts were managed by greater grace. A warm zeal guided by solid judgment, a fervent love to saints and sinners, kindled by a burning zeal for the interest of the Saviour ; and a plain elegance of style adapted to the meanest capacity, and yet far above the contempt of the highest pretender."

The fifth volume was published in 1701, and contains Sermons on Ephesians v. ; on Philipians iii. ; on 2 Thessalonians i. ; and on 2 John iii. ; with one hundred and forty sermons on particular texts. This volume, though it appeared last, and after so many others, is so far from running dregs, that in my opinion it contains some of his ripest and most digested thoughts,

and is preferable both for the subject and management to any one of the former. This was directed to the excellent Sir Thomas Abney, then Lord Mayor of London, and to the Lady Abney, by Mr. Howe; in which he expresses his sense of Dr. Manton in this remarkable paragraph: "And that an eminent servant of Christ, who, through a track of so many years, hath been so great and public a teacher and example of the ancient seriousness, piety, righteousness, sobriety, strictness of manners, with most diffusive charity, (for which London has been renowned for some ages, beyond most cities in the world,) should have his memory revived by such a testimony from persons under your character, and who hold so public a station as you do in it, can never be thought unbecoming, as long as clearly explained and exemplified religion, solid, useful learning, and good sense, are in any credit in the world."

There are some sermons of his in the several volumes of the "Morning Exercises;" for Dr. Manton was too considerable to be missed in any design which was set on foot for the public good. There is one in that at St. Giles's, on "Man's Impotency to help himself out of the Misery he is in by Nature;" another in that at Cripplegate, about "Strictness in holy Duties;" a third in the Supplement, concerning the "Improvement of our Baptism;" and a fourth in that against Popery, upon "The Sufficiency of

Scripture." There is also a Funeral Sermon on Mrs. Jane Blackwel, upon "The Blessed Estate of them who die in the Lord," in the year 1656. These sermons, with the two before the House of Commons, and one on the death of Mr. Love, including the Exposition on James and Jude, were all that he published himself; and are written with a correct judgment, and beautiful simplicity. His other works were all printed from his sermon-notes prepared for the pulpit: and whosoever shall consider the greatness of the number, and variety of the subjects; the natural order in which they are disposed; the skilful management; the constant frequency of his preaching; and the affairs of business in which he was often engaged, will easily be able to make a judgment of his great abilities and vast application; and to make the requisite allowances for posthumous works; especially when he tells us, that he was "humbled with the constant burden of four times a week preaching;" and to the last, three times; and that where the "style seems too curt and abrupt, know that I sometimes reserved myself for sudden inculcations and enlargement." And though as they now appear they have been well received, and very useful to younger Ministers and Christian families; yet I believe I might safely venture to say, that if he had had the same leisure to compose and polish, he was capable of equalling

any performances of that kind of the celebrated writers of the age ; and that hardly any, under his disadvantage, and so constantly employed, would have exceeded his. As no man of the age had a greater number of his sermons published after his death, perhaps it will not displease the reader to see his own judgment of posthumous writings :—" Let it not stumble thee," says he, " that the piece is posthumous, and comes out so long after the author's death : it were to be wished, that they who excel in public gifts would, during life, publish their own works, to prevent spurious obtrusions upon the world, and to give them their last hand and polishing, as the Apostle Peter was careful to write before his decease. (2 Peter i. 12.) But usually the church's treasure is most increased by legacies : as Elijah let fall his mantle, when he was taken up into heaven, so God's eminent servants, when their persons could no longer remain in this world, have left behind them some worthy pieces, as monuments of their graces, and zeal for the public welfare. Whether it be out of a modest sense of their own endeavours as being loath upon choice, and of their own accord, to venture abroad into the world ; or whether it be, that, being occupied, and taken up with other labours ; or whether it be in conformity to Christ, who would not leave his Spirit till his departure ; or whether it be out

of hope that their works would find a more kindly reception after their death, the living being more liable to envy and reproach, but when the author is in heaven, the work is more esteemed upon earth; whether for this or that cause, usual it is, that not only the life, but the death, of God's servants have been profitable to the church. By that means many useful treatises have been freed from that privacy and obscurity to which, by the modesty of their authors, they had formerly been confined."

He was a person of general learning, and had a fine collection of books, which sold for a considerable sum after his death; among which was the noble Paris edition of the Councils, in thirty volumes in folio, which the bookseller offered him for sixty pounds, or his sermons on Psalm cxix. He began to transcribe them fair; but finding it too great an interruption in the frequent returns of his stated work, he chose rather to pay him in money. His great delight was in his study; and he was scarcely ever seen without a book in his hand, if he was not engaged in company. He had diligently read the Fathers, and the principal Schoolmen; which was a fashionable piece of learning in those times. And though he greatly preferred the plainness and simplicity of the former, to the art and subtilty of the latter; yet he thought, that we were more properly the fathers, who stood on their

shoulders, and have the advantage of seeing farther, in several respects, than they did. Perhaps scarcely any man of the age had more diligently studied the Scripture, or was a greater master of it. He had digested the best critics and commentators, and made a vast collection of judicious observations of his own; which appears in the pertinent and surprising use of the Scripture upon all occasions, and the excellent glosses which are every where to be found in his writings. As he had a great reverence for the Scripture himself, so he was observed to show a great zeal against using Scripture phrases lightly, in common conversation, or without a due regard to the sense and meaning of them; as a profanation of the Scripture, and a great dishonour to God. Dr. Bates used to say, that he had heard the greatest men of those times sometimes preach a mean sermon, but never heard Dr. Manton do so upon any occasion. This will appear the less surprising, if we consider the great care he took about them: he generally wrote the heads and principal branches first, and often wrote them over twice afterwards, some copies of which are now in being. When his sermon did not please him, nor the matter open kindly, he would lay it aside for that time, though it were Saturday night, and sit up all night to prepare a sermon upon an easier subject, and more to his satisfaction. If a good thought

came into his mind in the night, he would light his candle, and put on his gown, and write sometimes for an hour together at a table by his bedside, though the weather was ever so cold. He was well read in all the ancient and modern history, which he made his diversion, and in which he took a particular pleasure. This, by the advantage of an excellent judgment and strong memory, made his conversation very instructing and entertaining, and recommended him particularly to young gentlemen who used to visit him after their travels. He would discourse with them as if he had been with them upon the spot, and bring things to their remembrance which they had forgot; and sometimes, to their great surprise, show a greater acquaintance with things abroad, attained by reading, than they had got by all the labour and expense of travelling. The celebrated Mr. Edmund Waller, who first refined the English poetry, and brought it to the ease and correctness in which it now appears, used to say of him, upon this account, that he never discoursed with such a man as Dr. Manton in all his life. By this means he became a great judge of men and things; and was often resorted to by persons of the greatest note and figure in the world. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts in the year 1639, and was created Bachelor of Divinity in 1654; and by virtue of His Majesty's letters was

created Doctor of Divinity, at the same time with Dr. Bates and several of the Royalists, in 1660. It was pleasantly said upon this latter occasion, that none could say of him, that *creatio fit ex nihilo*, having both learning and a degree before.

He was a strict observer of family religion. His method was this: he began morning and evening with a short prayer, then read a chapter; his children and servants were obliged to remember some part of it, which he made easy and pleasant to them by a familiar exposition; then he concluded with a longer prayer. Notwithstanding the labours of the Lord's day, he never omitted, after an hour's respite, to repeat the heads of both his sermons to his family, usually walking; and then concluded the day with prayer and singing a psalm. His great acquaintance with the Scriptures, and deep seriousness of mind, furnished him with great pertinency and variety of expression upon all occasions, and preserved a great solemnity and reverence in all his addresses to God. His prayer after sermon usually contained the heads of his sermon. He was noted for a lively and affectionate manner of administering the Lord's supper. He consecrated the elements of bread and wine apart; and whilst they were delivering, he was always full of heavenly discourse. He would often utter with great fervour those words: "Who is a God like unto thee, par-

doing iniquity, transgression, and sin?" and illustrate, in an affecting manner, the glory of the divine mercy to the lost world, in the death of Christ; and pathetically represent the danger of those who neglect and slight their baptismal covenant, and how terrible a witness it would be against them at the day of judgment.

Monday was his chief day of rest, in which he used to attend his visitors. On his Wednesday lecture several persons of considerable quality and distinction, who went to the established Church on the Lord's day, would come to hear him. One observing to him, that there were many coaches at his doors on those days, he answered smiling, "I have coach-hearers, but foot-payers." And yet he was far from the love of filthy lucre; for when it was proposed to him, to bring his hearers to a subscription, he would not yield to it, but said, his house should be free for all, as long as he could pay the rent of it. Some of his parishioners, and others who attended his ministry, used to present him, about Christmas, with what they collected among themselves; which was seldom above twelve or thirteen pounds. He had several persons of the first rank who belonged to his congregation; as the Countesses of Bedford, Manchester, Clare; the Ladies Baker, Trevor, Lord Trevor's mother; the Lord and Lady Wharton, and most of their children, &c.

By this means he had always a considerable collection for the poor at the sacrament; which was a great pleasure to him. He used to say sometimes pleasantly, that he had money in the poor's bag, when he had little in his own. This he sometimes distributed among poor Ministers, who were many of them, at that time, in strait circumstances; as well as the poor of the congregation. Though he was a man of great gravity, and of a regular unaffected piety, yet he was extremely cheerful and pleasant among his friends, and upon every proper occasion.

I shall conclude with this summary account of his person and character: He was of a middle stature, and of a fair and fresh complexion, with a great mixture of majesty and sweetness in his countenance. In his younger years he was very slender, but grew corpulent in his advanced age; not by idleness or excess,—for he was remarkably temperate and unweariedly diligent, he had naturally a little appetite, and generally declined all manner of feasts,—but by a sedentary life, and the long confinement of the Five-Mile Act, which, he used to complain, first broke his constitution. In short, perhaps few men of the age in which he lived had more virtues and fewer failings; or were more remarkable for general knowledge, fearless integrity, great candour and wisdom, sound judgment, and natural eloquence, copious invention, and incredible industry, zeal for the

glory of God, and good-will to men ; for acceptance and usefulness in the world, and a clear and unspotted reputation, through a course of many years, among all parties of men.

END OF VOLUME IX.

