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Matthew Henry.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

Mr PHILIP HENRY,

MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL NEAR WHITCHURCH,
IN SHROPSHIRE.

Who died June 24, 1696, in the Sixty-fifth year of his age.

WITH

DR BATES'S DEDICATION.

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1797.



TO HIS MUCH HONOURED FRIEND,

SIR HENRY ASHURST, Bart.

SIR,

THE ministers of the gospel are, in the scripture-language, Stars in the right hand of Christ, to signify their diffusive light, and beneficial influences. As in the future state of the resurrection, some Stars shall differ from others in glory; so in the present state of the regeneration, some ministers are distinguished from others, by a brighter eminence in their endowments, and a more powerful emanation of light in their preaching. Of this select number was Mr Philip Henry, in whom there was a union of those real excellencies of parts, learning, and divine graces, that signaled him among his brethren. This does evidently appear in the narrative of his life, drawn by one very fit to do it: as having had entire knowledge of him, by long and intimate conversation; and having, by his holy instructions, and the impression of his example, been made partaker of the same sanctifying Spirit. The describing the external actions of saints, without observing the holy principles and affections from whence they derived their life and purity, is a defective and irregular representation of them. 'Tis as if an account were given of the riches and fecundity of the earth, from the flowers and fruits that grow upon it, without considering the mines of precious metals contained in its bosom. Now only an inward christian that has felt the power of religion in his heart, can, from the reflection upon himself, and his uncounterfeit experience, discover the operations of grace in the breasts of others.

Mr Henry was dedicated to the service of Christ by his mother in his tender age. His first love and desires (when he was capable to make a judicious choice) were set upon God. He entered early into the ministry, and consecrated all the powers of his soul, understanding, memory, will, and affections, with his time

and strength, to the service of Christ. And such was the grace and favour of God to him, that he lost no days in his flourishing age, by satisfying the voluptuous appetites; nor in his declining age by diseases and infirmities, but incessantly applied himself to his spiritual work. He was called to a private place in Wales, but his shining worth could not be shaded in a corner. A confluence of people from other parts attended on his ministry. Indeed the word of truth that dies in the mouths of the cold and careless, (for they are not all faints that serve in the sanctuary) had life and spirit in his preaching; for it proceeded from a heart burning with zeal for the honour of Christ and salvation of souls. Accordingly he suited his discourses to the wise and the weak; and imitated the prophet, who contracted his stature to the dead body of the widow's son, applying his mouth to the mouth of the child, to inspire the breath of life into him. The poor and despised were instructed by him, with the same compassionate love and diligence as the rich, notwithstanding the civil distinction of persons, which will shortly vanish for ever; for he considered their souls were of the same precious and immortal value. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, he expressed the just temperament of sweetness and severity: with melting compassion he invited all relenting and returning sinners to come to Christ, and receive their pardon sealed with his blood: but he was so jealous of the honour of Christ, that he deterred, by the most fearful consequences, the rebellious that indulged their lusts, from coming to partake of the feast of the unspotted Lamb. He was not allured by temporal advantage (which is the mark of a mercenary) to leave the first place, where by the divine disposal he was seated.

When the fatal Bartholomew-day came, though he had fair hopes of preferment, by his attendance upon the King and Duke of York, in their early age, of which the remembrance might have been revived; yet he was guided by a superior spirit, and imitated the
self-

self-denial of Moses (a duty little understood, and less practised, by the earthly-minded) "rather choosing to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the good things of this world." As the light of heaven, when the air is stormy and disturbed, does not lose the rectitude of its rays; so his enlightened conscience did not bend in compliance with the terms of conformity, but he obeyed its sincere judgment.

After his being expelled from the place of his public ministry, his deportment was becoming a son of peace. He refused not communion with the church of England, in the ordinances of the gospel, so far as his conscience permitted. Yet he could not desert the duty of his office, to which he was, with sacred solemnity set apart. He was faithful to improve opportunities for serving the interest of souls, notwithstanding the severities inflicted on him. And after the restoring our freedom of preaching, he continued in the performance of his delightful work, till death put a period to his labours.

After this account of him as a minister of Christ, I will glance upon his carriage as a christian. His conversation was so holy and regular, so free from taint, that he was unaccusable by his enemies: they could only object his nonconformity as a crime. But his vigilant and tender conscience discovered the spots of sin in himself, which so affected his soul, that he desired repentance might accompany him to the gate of heaven: an excellent testimony of humility, the inseparable character of a saint. His love to God was supreme, which was declared by his chosen hours of communion with him every day. The union of affections is naturally productive of union in conversation. Accordingly our Saviour promises, "He that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him:" and he repeats the promise, "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode with him." To his special

cial and singular love to God, was joined a universal love to men: he did good to all according to his ability. His forgiving of injuries, that rare and difficult duty, was eminently conspicuous in the sharpest provocations. When he could not excuse the offence, he would pardon the offender, and strive to imitate the perfect model of charity express'd in our suffering Saviour, who, in the extremity of his sufferings, when resentments are most quick and sensible, prayed for his cruel persecutors. His filial trust in God was correspondent to God's fatherly providence to him. This was his support in times of trial, and maintained an equal temper in his mind, and tenor in his conversation. In short, he led a life of evangelical perfection, most worthy to be honourably preserved in the memory of future times. The following narrative of it, if read with an observing eye, how instructive and affecting will it be to ministers, and apt to transform them into his likeness!

Thus, Sir, I have given a short view of the life of that man, for whom you had such a high veneration and dear love. It argues a clearer spirit and a diviner temper than is usual in persons of conspicuous quality, when holiness is so despicably mean in the esteem of carnal men, to value it above all titles and treasures, and the perishing pride of this world. I am perswaded it will be very pleasing to you, that your name and excellent Mr Henry's, are joined in the same papers.

I am,

S I R,

Your very humble and faithful servant,

WILLIAM BATES.

PRE-

P R E F A C E.

THAT which we aim at in this undertaking, and which we would set before us, at our entrance upon it is, not so much to embalm the memory of this good man (though that also is blessed) as to exhibit to the world a pattern of that primitive christianity, which all that knew him well, observed to be exemplified in him, while he lived; and when they saw the end of his conversation, as it were with one consent, desired a public and lasting account of, or rather demanded it, as a just debt owing to the world, by those into whose hands his papers came, as judging such an account likely to conduce much to the glory of God's grace, and to the edification of many, especially of those that were acquainted with him. He was one whom the Divine Providence did not call out (as neither did his own inclination lead him) to any very public scene of action: he was none of the forward men of the age, that make themselves talked of: the world scarce knew that there was such a man in it. But in his low and narrow sphere he was a burning and shining light, and therefore we think his pious example is the more adapted to general use, especially consisting not in the extasies and raptures of zeal and devotion, which are looked upon rather as admirable than imitable; but in the long series of an even, regular, prudent, and well-ordered conversation, which he had in the world, and in the ordinary business of it, with simplicity and godly sincerity; not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God.

It hath been said, that quiet and peaceable reigns, though they are the best to live in, yet they are the worst to write of, as yielding least variety of matter for the historian's pen to work upon: but a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty, being the sum and substance of practical christianity, the recommending of the example of such a life, in the common and familiar instances of it; together with the kind and gracious providences of God attending it, may be, if not as diverting to the curious, yet every whit as useful and instructive to the pious readers.

If any suggest, that the design of this attempt is to credit and advance a party, let them know, that Mr Henry was a man of no party, but true catholick christianity (not debauched by bigotry, nor leavened by any private opinions or interests) was his very temper and genius.

According to the excellent and royal laws of this holy religion, his life was led with a strict and conscientious adherence to truth and equity; a great tenderness and inoffensiveness to all mankind; and a mighty tincture of sincere piety and devotedness to God: and according to those sacred rules we shall endeavour, in justice to him, as well as to our reader, to represent him in the following account; and if any thing should drop from our pen, which might justly give offence to any, (which we promise industriously to avoid,) we desire it may be looked upon as a false stroke; and so far not truly representing him, who was so blameless and harmless, and without rebuke.

Much of our materials for this structure we have out of his own papers, (especially his diary,) for by them his picture may be drawn nearest to the life, and from thence we may take the truest idea of him, and of the spirit he was of. Those notes being intended for his own private use in the review, and never communicated to any person whatsoever; and appearing here (as they ought to do) in their own native dress, the candid reader will excuse it, if sometimes the expressions should seem abrupt; they are the genuine, unforced, and un-studied breathings of a gracious soul; and we hope will be rather the more acceptable to those, who, through grace, are conscious to themselves of the same devout and pious motions; for as in water face answers to face, so doth one sanctified and renewed soul to another; and (as Mr Baxter observes in his Preface to Mr Clark's Lives) God's graces are much the same in all his holy ones; and therefore we must not think that such instances as these are extraordinary rarities; but God hath in wonderful mercy raised up many, by whose graces even this earth is perfumed and enlightened. But if one star be allowed to differ from another star in glory; perhaps our reader will say, when he hath gone through the following account, that Mr Henry may be ranked among those of the first magnitude.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
Mr PHILIP HENRY, &c:

CHAP. I.

*Mr Philip Henry's Birth, Parentage, early Piety,
and Education at School.*

HE was born at Whitehall, in Westminster, on Wednesday 24th August 1631, being Bartholomew-day. I find usually, in his diary, some pious remark or other upon the annual return of his birth-day: as in one year he notes, that the Scripture mentions but two who observed their birth-day with feasting and joy, and they were neither of them copies to be written after, viz. Pharaoh, Gen. xl. 20. and Herod, Mat. xiv. 6. "But (saith he) I rather observe it as a day of mourning and humiliation, because shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin." And when he had compleated the thirtieth year of his age, he noted this, "So old, and no older, Alexander was when he had conquered the great world; but (saith he) I have not yet subdued the little world, myself." At his thirty-third year he hath this humble reflection; "A long time lived to small purpose, What shall I do to redeem it?" And at another, "I may mourn as Cæsar did when he reflected upon Alexander's early achievements, that others, younger than I am, have done much more than

than I have done for God, the God of my life." And (to mention no more) when he had lived forty-two years, he thus writes; "I would be loth to live it over again, lest, instead of making it better, I should make it worse; and besides, every year and day spent on earth is lost in heaven." This last note minds me of a passage I have heard him tell of a friend of his, who being grown into years, was asked how old he was, and answer'd, On the wrong side of fifty: which (said Mr Henry) he should not have said; for if he was going to heaven, it was the right side of fifty.

He always kept a will by him ready made; and it was his custom yearly, upon the return of his birthday, to review, and (if occasion were) to renew and alter it: for it is good to do that at a set time, which it is very good to do at some time. The last will he made bears date, "This 24th day of August 1695, being the day of the year on which I was born 1631, and also the day of the year on which by law I died, as did also near two thousand faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662;" alluding to that clause in the Act of Uniformity, which disposeth of the places and benefices of ministers not conforming, as if they were naturally dead.

His father's name was John Henry, the son of Henry Williams of Britton's Ferry, betwixt Neath and Swansey, in Glamorganshire. According to the old Welsh custom, (some say conformable to that of the ancient Hebrews, but now almost in all places laid aside,) the father's Christian name was the son's surname. He had left his native country, and his father's house very young, unprovided for by his relations; but it pleased God to bless his ingenuity and industry with a considerable income afterwards, which enabled him to live comfortably himself, to bring up his children well, and to be kind to many of his relations; but public events making against him at his latter end, when he died he left little behind him for his children,
but

but God graciously took care of them. Providence brought this Mr John Henry, when he was young, to be the Earl of Pembroke's gentleman, whom he served many years: the Earl, coming to be Lord Chamberlain, preferred him to be the King's servant: he was first made keeper of the orchard at Whitehall, and afterwards page of the back stairs to the King's second son, James Duke of York, which place obliged him to a personal attendance upon the Duke in his chamber. He lived and died a courtier, a hearty mourner for his royal master King Charles the First, whom he did not long survive. He continued, during all the war-time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his places ceased. The King passing by his door, under a guard, to take water, when he was going to Westminster, to that which they call'd his trial, inquired for his old servant, Mr John Henry, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God to bless his Majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him.

His mother was Mrs Magdalen Rochdale, of the parish of St Martins-in-the-Fields, in Westminster. She was a virtuous, pious gentlewoman, and one that feared God above many: she was altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household; prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the Lord betimes. I have heard him speak of his learning Mr Perkins his six principles when he was very young; and he often mentioned, with thankfulness to God, his great happiness in having such a mother, who was to him as Lois and Eunice were to Timothy, acquainting him with the scriptures from his childhood; and there appearing in him early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God in the work of the ministry. She died of a consumption 6th March 1645,

leaving behind her only this son and five daughters. A little before she died, she had this saying, “ My head is in heaven, and my heart is in heaven ; it is “ but one step more, and I shall be there too.”

His susceptors in baptism were Philip Earl of Pembroke (who gave him his name, and was kind to him as long as he lived, as was also his son Philip after him) James Earl of Carlisle, and the Countess of Salisbury.

Prince Charles and the Duke of York being somewhat near of an age to him, he was in his childhood very much an attendant upon them in their play, and they were often with him at his father’s house, and were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the Duke of York gave him : and I have heard him bewail the loss of two curious pictures, which he gave him likewise. Archbishop Laud took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the water-gate (which was part of his father’s charge at Whitehall) to let the Archbishop through when he came late from council, to cross the water to Lambeth.

These circumstances of his childhood he would sometimes speak of among his friends, not as glorying in them, but taking occasion from thence to bless God for his deliverance from the snares of the court, in the midst of which it is so very hard to maintain a good conscience and the power of religion, that it hath been said (though blessed be God, it is not a rule without exception) *Exeat ex aulo qui velit esse pius*. The breaking up and scattering of the court, by the calamities of 1641, as it dashed the expectations of his court-preferments, so it prevented the danger of court-entanglements : and though it was not, like Moses’s, a choice of his own, when come to years, to quit the court ; yet when he was come to years, he always expressed a great satisfaction in his removal from it, and blessed God, who chose his inheritance so much the better for him.

Yet it may not be improper to observe here what was obvious, as well as amiable to all who convers'd with him; viz. that he had the most sweet and obliging air of courtesy and civility that could be; which some attributed in part to his early education at court. His mien and carriage was always so very decent and respectful, that it could not but win the hearts of all he had to do with. Never was any man further from that rudeness and moroseness which some scholars, and too many that profess religion, either wilfully affect, or carelessly allow themselves in, sometimes to the reproach of their profession. 'Tis one of the laws of our holy religion, exemplified in the conversation of this good man, to honour all men. Sanctify'd civility is a great ornament to christianity. It was a saying he often used, "Religion doth not destroy good manners;" and yet he was very far from any thing of vanity in apparel, or formality of compliment in address; but his conversation was all natural and easy to himself and others, and nothing appeared in him which even a severe critick could justly call affected. This temper of his tended very much to the adorning of the doctrine of God our Saviour; and the general transcript of such an excellent copy would do much towards the healing of those wounds which religion had received in the house of her friends by the contrary. But to return to his story:----

The first Latin school he went to was at St Martins' church, under the teaching of a Mr Bonner. Afterwards he was removed to Battersey, where a Mr Wells was his school-master. The grateful mention which in some of his papers he makes of these that were the guides and instructors of his childhood and youth, brings to mind that French proverb to this purpose: "To father, teacher, and God all-sufficient, none can render equivalent."

But in the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster-school, in the fourth form, under Mr Thomas Vincent, then
usher,

usher, whom he would often speak of, as a most able, diligent school-master ; and one who grieved so much at the dullness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that, falling into a consumption, I have heard Mr Henry say of him, That he even killed himself with false Latin.

A while after, he was taken into the upper school, under Mr Richard Busby (afterwards Dr Busby) and in October 1645 he was admitted King's scholar, and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of the Earl of Pembroke.

Here he profited greatly in school-learning, and all his days retained his improvements therein to admiration. When he was in years, he would readily, in discourse, quote passages out of the classick authors that were not common, and had them *ad unguem*, and yet rarely us'd any such things in his preaching, (tho' sometimes, if very apposite, he inserted them in his notes.) He was very ready and exact in the Greek accents, the quantities of words, and all the several kinds of Latin verse ; and often pressed it upon young scholars, in the midst of their university-learning, not to forget their school authors.

Here and before, his usual recreation at vacant times was, either reading the printed accounts of publick occurrences, or attending the courts at Westminsterhall, to hear the trials and arguments there, which I have heard him say, he hath often done to the loss of his dinner, and oftner of his play.

But *paulo majora canamus*—Soon after those unhappy wars begun, there was a daily morning-lecture set up at the Abby-Church, between six and eight of the clock, and preached by seven worthy members of the Assembly of Divines in course, *viz.* Mr Marthal, Mr Palmer, Mr Herl, Dr Staunton, Mr Nye, Mr Whitaker, and Mr Hill. It was the request of his pious mother to Mr Busby, that he would give her son leave to attend that lecture daily ; which he did, not abating any thing of his school exercise, in which he kept pace with the rest ; but only dispensing with his ab-

absence for that hour: and the Lord was pleased to make good impressions on his soul, by the sermons he heard there. His mother also took him with her every Thursday to Mr Case's lecture at St Martins. On the Lord's days he sat under the powerful ministry of Mr Stephen Marshall, in the morning, at New-Chapel; in the afternoon at St Margarets, Westminster (which was their parish church:) in the former place Mr Marshall preached long from Phil. ii. 5, 6, &c. in the latter, from John viii. 36. of our freedom by Christ. This minister, and this ministry, he would, to his last, speak of with great respect, and thankfulness to God, as that by which he was, through grace, in the beginning of his days begotten again to a lively hope. I have heard him speak of it, as the saying of some wise men at that time, That if all the Presbyterians had been like Mr Steven Marshall, and all the Independents like Mr Jeremiah Burroughs, and all the Episcopal men like Archbishop Usher, the breaches of the church would soon have been heal'd. He also attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St Margarets, where the best and ablest ministers of England preached before the then House of Commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. It was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve years old, to write (as he could) all the sermons he heard, which he kept very carefully, transcribed many of them fair over after, and notwithstanding his many removes, they are yet forthcoming.

At these monthly fasts (as he himself hath recorded it) he had often sweet meetings of soul in prayer, and confession of sin, (particularly once with special remark, when Mr William Bridge of Yarmouth prayed) and many warm and lively truths came home to his heart, and he daily increased in that wisdom and knowledge which is to salvation. Read his reflections upon this, which he wrote many years after:

“ If

“ If ever any child (saith he) such as I then was, be-
 “ tween the tenth and fifteenth years of my age,
 “ enjoy’d line upon line, precept upon precept, I
 “ did. And was it in vain? I trust not altogether in
 “ vain. My soul rejoiceth and is glad at the remem-
 “ brance of it; the word distilled as the dew, and
 “ dropt as the rain: I lov’d it and lov’d the messen-
 “ gers of it; their very feet were beautiful to me.
 “ And, Lord, what a mercy was it, that, at a time
 “ when the poor countries were laid waste, when the
 “ noise of drums and trumpets, and the clattering
 “ of arms was heard there, and the way to Zion
 “ mourn’d, that then my lot should be where there
 “ was peace and quietness, where the voice of the
 “ turtle was heard, and there was great plenty of
 “ gospel-opportunities? Bless the Lord, O my soul!
 “ as long as I live, I will bless the Lord, I will praise
 “ my God while I have my being. Had it been on-
 “ ly the restraint that it laid upon me, whereby I was
 “ kept from the common sins of other children and
 “ youths; such as cursing, swearing, sabbath-break-
 “ ing, and the like; I were bound to be very thank-
 “ ful: but that it prevailed through grace effectually
 “ to bring me to God, how much am I indebted, and
 “ what shall I render!”

Thus you see how the dews of Heaven softened his heart by degrees.—From these early experiences of his own.

1. He would blame those who laid so much stress on people’s knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was with many not possible to do. Who can so soon be aware of the day-break, or of the springing up of the seed sown? The work of grace is better known in its effects than in its causes.

He would sometimes illustrate this by that saying of the blind man to the Pharisees, who were so critical in examining the recovery of his sight: This and t’other I know not concerning it, but “this one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see; John ix. 25.”

2. He

2. He would bear his testimony to the comfort and benefit of early piety, and recommend it to all young people, as a good thing to bear the yoke of the Lord Jesus in youth. He would often witness against that wicked Proverb, "A young Saint, an old Devil;" and would have it said rather, "A young Saint, an old Angel." He observed it concerning Obadiah (and he was a courtier) that he "feared the Lord" from his youth, 1 Kings xviii. 12.; and it is said of him, ver. 3. that he "feared the Lord greatly." Those that would come to fear God greatly, must learn to fear him from their youth. No man did his duty so naturally as Timothy did (Phil. ii. 20.) who from a child knew the Holy Scriptures: he would sometimes apply to this that common saying, "He that would thrive, must rise at five;" and in dealing with young people, how earnestly would he press this upon them: I tell you, "You cannot begin too soon to be religious, but you may put it off too long." Manna must be gathered early; and he that is the first, must have the first. He often inculcated Eccl. xii. 1. "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth," or, as in the original, "the days of thy choice:" thy choice days, and thy chusing days.

I remember a passage of his in a lecture sermon, in the year 1674, which much affected many; he was preaching on that text, Matt. xi. 30. "My yoke is easy;" and after many things insisted upon, to prove the yoke of Christ an easy yoke, he at last appealed to the experiences of all that had drawn in that yoke: "Call now, if there be any that will answer you, and to which of the saints will you turn?" turn to which you will, and they will all agree that they have found "wisdom's ways pleasantness," and "Christ's commandments not grievous: and (saith he) I will here witness for one, who through grace have in some poor measure been drawing in this yoke now above thirty years, and I have found it an easy yoke, and like my choice too well to change."

3. He would also recommend it to the care of parents, to bring their children betimes to public ordinances. He would say, that they are capable sooner than we are aware, of receiving good by them. The scripture takes notice more than once of the little ones in the solemn assemblies of the faithful, Deut. xxix. 11. Ezra x. 1. Acts xxi. 5. If we lay our children by the pool-side, who knows but the blessed Spirit may help them in, and heal them. He used to apply that scripture to this, Cant. i. 3. Those that would have communion with Christ, must not only go forth by the footsteps of the flock themselves, but feed their kids too; their children or other young ones that are under their charge, "beside the Shepherd's tents."

4. He would also recommend to young people the practice of writing sermons. He himself did it, not only when he was young, but continued it constantly till within a few years before he died, when the decay of his sight obliging him to the use of spectacles, made writing not so ready to him as it had been. He never wrote short-hand, but had an excellent art of taking the substance of a sermon in a very plain and legible hand, and with a great deal of ease. And the sermons he wrote he kept by him, in such method and order, that by the help of indexes, which he made to them, he could readily turn almost to any sermon that ever he heard, where he noted the preacher, place, and time; and this he called "hearing for the time to come." He recommended this practice to others, as a means to engage their attention in hearing, and to prevent drowsiness, and to help their memories after hearing, when they come either to meditate upon what they have heard themselves, or to communicate it to others; and many have had reason to bless God for his advice and instruction herein: he would advise people sometimes to look over the sermon-notes that they had written, as a ready way to revive the good impressions of the truths they had heard, and would blame those who made waste-paper of them;

for

for (saith he) “ the day is coming, when you will either thank God for them, or heartily wish you had never written them.”

But it is time we return to Westminster-school, where, having begun to learn Christ, we left him in the successful pursuit of other learning, under the eye and care of that great master Dr Busby ; who, on the account of his pregnancy and diligence, took a particular kindness to him, call'd him his child, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir ; and there was no love lost betwixt them. Dr Busby was noted for a very severe school-master, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr Henry would say sometimes, that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then (saith he in some of the remarks of his youth which he wrote long after,) I deserved it ; for being monitor of the chamber, and according to the duty of his place, being sent out to seek one that played truant ; he found him out where he had hid himself, and at his earnest request promised to make an excuse for him, and to say he could not find him ; which (saith he in a penitential reflection upon it afterwatds) I wickedly did. Next morning the truant coming under examination, and being asked whether he saw the monitor, said, Yes, he did : at which Dr Busby was much surpris'd, and turned his eye upon the monitor, with these words, “ what, thou my son !” and gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses, which when he brought he gave him sixpence, and received him into his favour again.

Among the mercies of God to him in his youth (and he would say 'twere well if parents would keep an account of those for their children, till they come to be capable of doing it for themselves, and then to set them upon the doing of it,) he hath recorded a remarkable deliverance he had here at Westminster-

school, which was this : It was customary there, among the studious boys, for one or two, or more, to sit up the former part of the night at study, and when they went to bed, about midnight to call others ; and they others at two or three a clock, as they desired. His request was to be called at twelve, and being awaked, desired his candle might be lighted, which stuck to the bed's head ; but he dropt asleep again, and the candle fell, and burnt part of the bed and bolster ere he awaked ; but, through God's good providence, seasonable help came in, the fire soon quenched, and he received no harm. This gave him occasion long after to say, " It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not " consumed."

When he was at Westminster-school he was employed by Dr Busby, as some others of the most ingenious and industrious of his scholars were, in their reading of the Greek authors, to collect, by his direction, some materials for that excellent Greek grammar which the Doctor afterwards published.

But be the school ever so agreeable, youth is desirous to commence man by a removal from it : this step he took in the sixteenth year of his age. It was the ancient custom of Westminster-school, that all the King's scholars who stood candidates for an election to the University, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest, in St Margaret's church, at Easter 1647 ; and he would often speak of the great pains which Dr Busby took with his scholars that were to approach to that solemn ordinance, for several weeks before, at stated times ; with what skill and seriousness of application, and manifest concern for their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance, and of the work they had to do in it ; and instructed them what was to be done in preparation for it ; and this he made a business of, appointing them the religious exercises instead of their school exercises. What success this had, through the grace of God, upon young Mr Henry (to whom the doctor had

had a particular regard) read from his own hand :
“ There had been treaties (saith he) before, between
“ my soul and Jesus Christ, with some weak overtures
“ towards him ; but then, then I think it was that the
“ match was made, the knot tied : then I fet myself,
“ in the strength of divine grace, about the great work
“ of self-examination, in order to repentance ; and
“ then I repented ; that is, solemnly and seriously,
“ with some poor meltings of soul ; I confessed my
“ sins before God, original and actual, judging and
“ condemning myself for them, and casting away from
“ me all my transgressions, receiving Christ Jesus the
“ Lord, as the Lord my righteousness, and devoting
“ and dedicating my whole self absolutely and unre-
“ servedly to his fear and service. After which, com-
“ ing to the ordinance, there, there I received him
“ indeed, and he became mine, I say mine. Bless the
“ Lord, O my soul !”

Dr Busby's agency, under God, in this blessed work, he makes a very grateful mention of, in divers of his papers ; “ The Lord recompense it (saith he) a thousand fold, into his bosom.”

I have heard him tell how much he surpris'd the doctor the first time he waited upon him after he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity ; for when the doctor asked him, “ Pr'ythee (child) what made thee a nonconformist ?” “ Truly, Sir, (saith Mr Henry,) you made me one ;” for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming.

“ Encouraged by this experience, I have myself (saith he in one of his papers) taken like pains with divers others at their first admission to the Lord's table, and have, through grace, seen the comfortable fruits of it, both in mine own children, and others. To God be the glory.”

Mr Jeremy Dyke's book of the Sacrament, I have heard him say, was of great use to him at that time, in his preparation for that ordinance.

Thus was this great concern happily settled before his

his launching out into the world, which through grace he had all his days more or less the comfort of, in an even serenity of mind, and a peaceful expectation of the glory to be revealed.

May 17, 1647, he was chosen from Westminster-school to Christ-church in Oxford, *jure loci*, with four others, of which he had the second place. At his election he was very much countenanced and smiled upon by his god-father the Earl of Pembroke, who was one of the electors.

C H A P. II.

His Years spent at Oxford.

THOUGH he was chosen to the University in May, yet being then young, under sixteen, and in love with his school-learning, he made no great haste thither. 'Twas in December following, 1647, that he removed to Oxford. Some merciful providences in his journey (he being a young traveller) affected him much, and he used to speak of them, with a sense of God's goodness to him in them, according to the impressions then made by them; and he hath recorded them with this thankful note, "That there may be a great mercy in a small matter:" as the care that was taken of him by strangers, when he fainted and was sick in his inn the first night, and his casual meeting with Mr Annesly, son to the Viscount Valentia (who was chosen from Westminster-school at the same time that he was) when his other company, going another way, had left him alone, and utterly at a loss what to do. Thus, the sensible remembrance of old mercies may answer the intention of new ones, which is to engage our obedience to God, and to encourage our dependence on him.

Being come to Oxford, he was immediately entered commoner of Christ-church, where Dr Samuel Fell was

was then dean ; the tutor assigned to him and the rest of that election was Mr Underwood, a very learned, ingenious gentleman.

His godfather, the Earl of Pembroke, had given him ten pounds to buy him a gown, to pay his fees, and to set out with. This in his papers he puts a remark upon, as a seasonable mercy in regard of some straits, which providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father to. God had taught him from his youth that excellent principle, which he adhered to all his days, that “ every creature is that to us, and “ no more, than God makes it to be ;” and therefore, while “ many seek the ruler’s favour,” and so expect to “ make their fortunes,” as they call it, seeing “ every man’s judgment proceedeth from the Lord ;” it is our wisdom to seek his favour, who is the ruler of rulers, and that is an effectual way to make sure our happiness.

To the proper studies of this place he now vigorously addressed himself ; but still retaining a great kindness for the classic authors, and the more polite exercises he loved so well at Westminster-school.

He was admitted student of Christ-church March 24, 1647-8, by Dr Henry Hammond, that great man, then Sub-Dean, who call’d him his god-brother, the Earl of Pembroke being his god-father also, and Prince Henry the other, who gave him his name.

The visitation of the University by the Parliament happened to be in the very next month after. Oxford had been for a good while in the hands of the Parliament, and no change made ; but now the Earl of Pembroke, and several others thereunto appointed, came hither to settle things upon a new bottom. The account Mr Henry in his papers gives of this affair, is to this purpose : The sole question which the visitors propos’d to each person, high and low, in every College, that had any place of profit, was this, “ Will you submit to the power of the Parliament in this present “ visitation ?” to which all were to give in their answer

swer in writing, and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused (among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer, "I neither can, nor will submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation; I say I cannot, I say I will not," (J. C.) Others answered doubtfully, pleading youth and ignorance in such matters. Mr Henry's answer was, "I submit to the power of the Parliament in the present visitation, as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury." His reason for the last salvo was, because he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy a little before, at his admission; which he was (according to the character of the good man, that he fears an oath) very jealous of doing any thing to contradict or infringe; which hath made him sometimes signify some dislike of that practice of administering oaths to such as were scarce past children, who could hardly be supposed to take them with judgement, as oaths should be taken. However, this answer of his satisfied; and by the favour of the Earl of Pembroke he was continued in his student's place. But great alterations were made in that, as well as in other Colleges, very much (no question) to the hinderance and discouragement of young scholars, who came hither to get learning, not to judge of the rights of government. Dr Samuel Fell, the Dean, was removed, and Dr Edward Reynolds, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was put in his room: Dr Hammond, and all the canons, except Dr Wall, were displaced, and Mr Wilkingson, Mr Pocock, and others of the Parliament friends, were preferred to their places. His thoughts of this, in the reflection long after, was, that milder methods might have done better, and would have been a firmer establishment to the new interest: but considering that many of those who were put out (being in expectation of a sudden change, which came not of many years after) were exasperating in their carriage towards the visitors; and that the Parliament (who

(who at this time rode masters) had many of their own friends ready for University-preferments, (which Oxford, having been from the beginning a garrison for the king, they had been long kept out of) and these they were concerned to oblige, it was not strange if they took such strict methods. And yet nothing being required but a bare submission, which might be interpreted but as crying Quarter, he thought, withal, that it could not be said the terms were hard, especially (saith he) if compar'd with those of another nature imposed since.

Among other student-masters removed, his tutor, Mr Underwood, was one, which he often bewail'd as ill for him, for he was a good scholar, and one that made it his business to look after his pupils, who were very likely, by the blessing of God, to have profited under his conduct: but upon the removal of Mr Underwood, he, with some others, were turned over to Mr Finmore, who was then in with that interest which was uppermost, and was afterwards prebendary of Chester; a person (as he notes) able enough, but not willing to employ his abilities for the good of those that were committed to his charge; towards whom he had little more than the name of a tutor. This he lamented as his infelicity, at his first setting out. But it pleas'd God to give him an interest in the affections of a young man, an under-graduate then, but two or three years his senior from Westminster, a Mr Richard Bryan, who took him to be his chamber-fellow while he continued at Oxford, read to him, looked over his studies, and directed him in them. Of this gentleman he makes a very honourable mention, as one who was, through God's blessing, an instrument of much good to him. Mr John Fell also, the Dean's son (afterward himself dean of Christ-church, and bishop of Oxford) taking pity on him, and some others that were neglected, voluntarily read to them for some time; a kindness which he retain'd a very grateful sense of, and for which he much honour'd that learned and worthy person.

Here he duly performed the college-exercises, disputations every day, in term-time; themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn; in which performances he frequently came off with very great applause: and many of his manuscripts, which remain, shew how well he improved his name there.

And yet in some reflections I find under his hand, written long after (wherein he looks back upon his early days) he chargeth it upon himself, that for a good while after he came to the university (though he was known not to be inferior to any of his standing, in publick exercises, yet) he was too much a stranger to that hard study which afterwards he became acquainted with, and that he lost a deal of time which might have been better improved. Thus he is pleased to accuse himself of that which (for ought I ever heard) no one else did, or could accuse him of. But the truth is, in all the secret accounts he kept of himself, he appears to have had a very quick and deep sense of his own failings and infirmities, in the most minute instances; the loss of time, weakness and distractions in holy duties; not improving opportunities of doing good to others, and the like; lamentably bewailing these imperfections, and charging them upon himself, with as great expressions of shame and sorrow, and self-abhorrence; and crying out as earnestly for pardon and forgiveness in the blood of Jesus, as if he had been the greatest of sinners: for though he was a man that walked very closely, yet withal he walked very humbly with God, and lived a life of repentance and self-denial. This minds me of a sermon of his, which one might discern came from the heart, on that scripture, Rom. vii. 24. "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" a strange complaint (saith he) to come from the mouth of one who had learned in every state to be content. Had I been to have given my thoughts (saith he) concerning Paul, I should have said, O blessed man that thou art, that hast been in the
third

third heaven, a great apostle, a spiritual father to thousands, &c. and yet a wretched man all this while, in his own account and esteem. He never complains thus of the bonds and afflictions that did abide him, the prisons that were frequent, the stripes above measure; but the body of death, that is, the body of sin, that was it he groaned under. How feelingly did he observe from thence, “That the remainders of indwelling
“ corruption are a very grievous burthen to a gracious
“ soul.”

But to return: It may not be amiss to set down the causes to which he ascribes his loss of time when he came first to the university. One was, that he was young, too young, and understood not the day of his opportunities, which made him afterwards advise his friends not to thrust their children forth too soon from school to the university, though they may seem ripe, in respect of learning, till they have discretion to manage themselves: while they are children, what can be expected but that they should mind childish things? Another was, that coming from Westminster-school, his attainments in school-learning were beyond what generally others had that came from other schools; so that he was tempted to think there was no need for him to study much, because it was so easy to him to keep pace with others; which, he saith, was the thing Dr Caldecott, chaplain to the Earl of Pembroke, and his great friend, warned him of at his coming to Oxford. Another was, that there were two sorts of persons his contemporaries, some of the new stamp, that came in by the visitation, and were divers of them serious, pious young men, but of small ability, comparatively, for learning, and those for that reason he desired not to have much fellowship with. But there were others that were of the old spirit and way, enemies to the parliament, and the reformation they made; and these were the better scholars, but generally not the better men. With them for a while he struck in, because of their learning, and conversed most with them: but he

soon found it a snare to him, and that it took him off from the life of religion, and communion with God, *Elanguescere mox cepit* (saith he in a Latin narrative of his younger years) *pristinæ pietatis ardor*, &c. but “ for ever praised be the riches of God’s free grace “ (saith he, in another account) that he was pleased “ still to keep his hold of me ; and not to let me alone “ when I was running from him, but set his hand “ again the second time, (as the expression is, Isaiah “ xi. 11.) to snatch me as a brand out of the fire.” His recovery from this snare he would call a kind of second conversion ; so much was he affected with the preventing grace of God in it, and sensible of a double bond to be for ever thankful, as well as of an engagement to be watchful and humble. ’Twas a saying of his, “ He that stumbleth and doth not fall, gets ground “ by his stumble.”

At the latter end of the year 1648 he had leave given him to make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he staid some time : there he was Jan. 30. when the King was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow given. Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day, which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal, universal groan, among the thousands of people that were within sight of it (as it were with one consent) as he never heard before ; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was, that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-crofs towards King-street, and another from King-street towards Charing-crofs, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be fill’d with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon all occasions testify his abhorrence of this unparallel’d action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justify’d,
and

and yet he said he saw not how it could be called a national sin; for, as the king urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it*: nor could it be call'd the sin of the Long Parliament, for far the greatest part of them were all that time, while the thing was in agitation, imprison'd and kept under a force, and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a parliament, did give their vote for it; which the commissioners for the trying of the king's judges, in the year 1660, (some of whom had been themselves members of the Long Parliament) urged again and again, in answer to that plea which the prisoners stood so much upon, that what they did was by authority of the parliament: but 'tis manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who (as he us'd to express it) having beaten their plowshares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into plowshares again, as having fought more for victory and dominion, than for peace and truth; but how far these men were acted and influenced by another sort of people behind the curtain, the world is not altogether ignorant. For some years after King Charles II. came in, he observed the yearly day of humiliation for this sin, desiring that God would not lay the guilt of blood to the charge of the nation: but afterwards finding to what purposes it was generally observed, and improved even to the reproach and condemning not only of the innocent but of some of the excellent ones of the land; and noting that there is no precedent in scripture of keeping annual days of humiliation for particular sins, especially after the immediate judgment is at an end, Zech. viii. 19. Heb. x. 2, 3. he took no farther notice of it. But in his diary, he adds this tender remark, (according to the spirit he was of) " yet good men, no doubt, may observe it to
" the

* See the bishop of Chichester's sermon before the king 30 Jan. 1697. where he saith, he did not see how it could be call'd a national sin.

“ the Lord,” Rom. xiv. 6. Thus he judged not, and why then should he be judged ?

In the year 1650-1 he took his bachelor of arts degree, and he hath recorded the goodness of God in raising him up friends who helped him out in the expences. Such kindneses have a peculiar sweetness in them to a good man, who sees and receives them as the kindness of God, and the tokens of his love.

He would often mention it with thankfulness to God, what great helps and advantages he had then in the university, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. Serious godliness was in reputation ; and besides the public opportunities they had, there were many of the scholars that us'd to meet together for prayer, and Christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God, and the preparing of them for the service of the church in their generation. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then about the university-sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon, which us'd to be preached by the fellows of colleges in their course ; but, that being found not so much for edification, Dr Owen and Dr Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young masters that were wont to preach it, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them. The sermons he heard at Oxford he commonly wrote, not in the time of hearing, but afterwards, when he came home, in his reflection upon them, which he found a good help to his memory.

In December 1652, he proceeded master of arts, and in January following preached his first sermon at South-Hincksey in Oxfordshire, on John viii. 34. “ Who-so-ever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.” On this occasion he writes in his diary, what was the breathing of his heart towards God, “ The Lord make use of me as an instrument of his glory, and his churches good, in this high and holy calling !”

His great parts and improvement, notwithstanding his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him
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so well known in the university, that in the following act, in July 1653, he was chosen out of all the masters of that year, to be junior of the act, that is, to answer the philosophy questions in vesperis, which he did with very great applause; especially for the very witty and ingenious oration which he made to the university upon that occasion. His questions were, 1. *An licitum sit carnibus vesci?* aff. 2. *An institutio academiarum sit utilis in Republica?* aff. 3. *An ingenium pendeat ab humoribus corporis?* aff. At the act in 1654 he was chosen Magister Replicants, and answered the philosophy questions in comitiis, with a like applause. His questions then were, 1. *An melius sit sperare quam frui?* neg. 2. *An maxima animi delectatio sit a sensibus?* neg. 3. *An utile sit peregrinari?* aff.

Dr Owen, who was then vice-chancellor, hath spoken with great commendation of these performances of Mr Henry's to some in the university afterwards, who never knew him otherwise than by report: and I have heard a worthy divine (who was somewhat his junior in the university, and there a perfect stranger to him) say, how much he admired these exercises of his, and loved him for them; and yet how much more he admired, when he afterwards became acquainted with him in the country, that so curious and polite an orator should become so profitable and powerful a preacher, and so readily lay aside the enticing words of man's wisdom, which were so easy to him.

There is a copy of Latin verses of his in print, among the poems which the university of Oxford published upon the Peace concluded with Holland in the year 1654, which shew him to be no less a poet than an orator.

He hath noted it of some pious young men, that before they removed from the university into the country, they kept a day of fasting and humiliation for the sins they had been guilty of in that place and state. And in the visits he made afterwards to the university, he inserts into his book, as no doubt God did into his,—"a tear dropt over my university-sins."

C H A P. III.

His removal to Worthenbury in Flintshire; his Ordination to the Ministry, and his Exercise of it there.

WOrthenbury is a little town by Dee side, in that Hundred of Flintshire which is separated some miles from the rest of the county, and known by the name of English Mialors, because though it is reputed in Wales, as pertaining to Flintshire, yet in language and customs it is wholly English, and lies mostly between Cheshire and Shropshire. Worthenbury was of old a parochial chapel, belonging to the rectory of Bangor, but was separated from it in the year 1658, by the trustees for uniting and dividing of parishes, and was made a parish of itself. But what was then done, being vacated by the king's coming in, it then came to be *in statu quo*, and continued an appurtenant to Bangor, till, in the second year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, it was again, by act of Parliament, separated, and made independant upon Bangor. That was the only act that passed the royal assent with the act of recognition, at the beginning of the second parliament of this reign. The principal family in Worthenbury parish is that of the Pulestons of Emeral. The head of the family was then John Puleston, serjeant at law, one of the judges of the common-pleas.

This was the family to which Mr Henry came from Christ-church, presently after he had compleated his master's degree, in 1653; ordered into that remote, and unto him unknown corner of the country, by that over-ruling Providence which determineth the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.

The judge's lady was a person of more than ordinary parts and wisdom; in piety inferior to few, but in learning superior to most of her sex, which I could give instances of from what I find among Mr Henry's papers,

papers, particularly an elegy she made upon the death of the famous Mr John Selden, who was her great friend.

This was the lady whose agency first brought Mr Henry into this country. She wrote to a friend of her's, Mr Francis Palmer, student of Christ-church, to desire him to recommend to her a young man to be in her family, and to take the over-sight of her sons (some of whom were now ready for the Univerfity) and to preach at Worthenbury on the Lord's days, for which a very honourable encouragement was promised. Mr Palmer proposed it to his friend Mr Henry, who was willing for one half year to undertake it, provided it might be required of him to preach but once on the Lord's day, and that some other fupply might be got for t'other part of the day, he being now but twenty-two years of age, and newly entered upon that great work. Provided alfo, that he fhould be engaged but for half a year, as little intending to break off fofoon from an academical life, which he delighted in fo much. But preferring usefulness before his own private fatisfaction, he was willing to make trial for a while in the country, as one that fought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, to whose service in the work of the ministry he had entirely devoted himself, bending his studies wholly that way. In the latter part of his time at Oxford, as one grown weary of that which he used to fay he found little to his purpose, he employed his time mostly in fearching the fcriptures, and collecting useful fcripture-observations, which he made very familiar to him, and with which he was "thoroughly furnished for this good work." He got a Bible interleaved, in which he wrote fhort notes upon texts of fcriptures as they occurred. He would often fay, "I read other books, that I may be "the better able to understand the fcripture."

It was a flock of fcripture knowledge that he fet up with, and with that he traded to good advantage. Though he was fo great a mafter in the eloquence of

Cicero, yet he preferred far before it that of Apollōs, who was “an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures, Acts xviii. 24.”

He bid very fair at that time for University-preferment, such was the reputation he had got at the late act, and such his interest in Dr Owen: but the “salvation of souls” was that which his heart was upon, to which he postponed all his other interests.

In September 1653 he came down to Emeral, from whence a messenger was sent on purpose to Oxford to conduct him thither. Long after, when it had pleased God to settle him in that country, and to build him up into a family, he would often reflect upon his coming into it first; what a stranger he then was, and how far it was from his thoughts ever to have made his home in those parts: and passing over the brook that parts between Flintshire and Shropshire, would sometimes very affectionately use that word of Jacob’s, “With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands.”

At Emeral he prayed in the family, was tutor to the young gentlemen, and preached once a day at Worthenbury; other help being procured for the other part of the day, according to his request, out of a fear, being so young, to take the whole work upon him. But it soon happened, that one Lord’s day, the supply that was expected failed; and so he was necessitated, rather than there should be a vacancy, to preach twice, in which he found the promise so well fulfilled, “as the day is, so shall the strength be;” and, “to him that hath (i. e. that hath, and useth what he hath) shall be given, and he shall have abundance;” that, to the great satisfaction of his friends there, from thenceforward he waved looking out for other help than what came from above, and would sometimes speak of this as an instance, that “we do not know what we can do, till we have tried.”

Here he applied himself to a plain and practical way of preaching, as one truly concerned for the souls of those

those he spoke to. He would say sometimes, “ we study how to speak that you may understand us.” And “ I never think I can speak plain enough when I am speaking about souls and their salvation.” I have heard him say, he thought it did him good, that for the first half year of his being at Worthenbury, he had few or no books with him, which engaged him (in studying sermons) to a closer search of the scripture and his own heart. What success his labours had in that parish, which, before he came to it (I have been told) was accounted one of the most loose and prophane places in all the country, may be gathered from a letter of the Lady Puleston’s to him, at the end of the first half year after his coming to Emeral, when he was uncertain of his continuance there, and inclinable to return to settle at Christ-church. Take the letter at large :

“ Dear Mr HENRY,

“ The indisposition that my sadness hath bred,
“ and the stay of Mrs V. here yesterday, hindered my
“ answering your last expressions. As to ordering the
“ conversation, and persevering to the practice of those
“ good intents, taken up while one is in pursuit of a
“ mercy, you and I will confer as God gives opportunity,
“ who also must give the will and the deed,
“ by his Spirit, and by the rule of his word. As to
“ begging that one thing for you, God forbid (as Samuel said)
“ that I should cease to pray, &c. This I
“ am sure, that having wanted hitherto a good minister
“ of the word among us, I have oft, by prayer and
“ some tears, above five years besought God for such
“ a one as yourself ; which having obtained, I cannot
“ yet despair, seeing he hath given us the good means,
“ but he may also give us the good end. And this I
“ find, that your audience is increased three for one
“ in the parish (though in winter, more than formerly
“ in summer,) and five for one out of other places.
“ And I have neither heard of their being in the ale-
“ house on our Lord’s day, nor ball-playing that day,
“ which

“ which before you came was frequent (except that
 “ day that young Ch. preached :) I think I can
 “ name four or five in the parish, that of formal Chris-
 “ tians, are becoming, or become real : but you know
 “ all are not wrought on at first, by the word. (Some
 “ come in no misfortune like other men, and this is
 “ the cause they be so holden with pride, &c.) Hypo-
 “ crites also have converted conversion itself : yet God
 “ may have reserved those that have not bowed the
 “ knee to Baal, &c. and may call them at the latter
 “ part of the day, though not in this half year. It is
 “ a good sign, most are loth to part with you : and you
 “ have done more good in this half year than I have
 “ discerned these eighteen years : but, however, wheth-
 “ er they will hear, or whether they will forbear, you
 “ have delivered your own soul. I have prayed, and
 “ do pray, seeing God hath sent you, that you may
 “ be for his glory, and not for our condemnation.”

It is easy to imagine what an encouragement this was to him thus at his first setting out to see of the travel of his soul, and what an inducement it was to him not to leave those among whom God had thus owned him. However, that spring he returned to Oxford. The Lady Puleston soon after came to him thither, with her five sons, of whom she placed the two eldest under his charge, in the College. In the following vacation he went to London to visit his relations there ; and there in October he received a letter from Judge Puleston, with a very solemn and affectionate request, subscribed by the parishioners of Worthenbury, earnestly desiring his settlement among them, as their minister, which he was persuaded to comply with, having fixed to himself that good rule, in the turns of his life, to “ follow Providence, and not to force it :” so in the winter following he came down again, and settled with them. He continued in his student’s place in Christ-church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year ; but disposing of most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there.

The tithes of Worthenbury belonged to Emeral family, paying some rent to the rector of Bangor; this tithes Judge Puleston was willing to give (clear of that charge) to the minister of Worthenbury for ever: but such was the peculiar and extraordinary kindness he had for Mr Henry, upon the experience of his merits, that he chose rather, by deed of indenture, bearing date 6 October 1655, between himself and Mr Henry, “In
“ consideration of his being pleased to undertake the
“ cure of souls, and to preach and teach, and perform
“ other duties of divine service in the parish-church
“ of Worthenbury (so the deed runs) to give, grant,
“ and confirm for himself and his heirs, unto the said
“ Philip Henry, the yearly rent of one hundred pounds,
“ charged upon all his messuages, lands, and tene-
“ ments in the severall counties of Flint, Denbigh, and
“ Chester, to be paid quarterly, until such times as
“ the said Philip Henry shall be promoted or preferred
“ to some other spiritual or ecclesiastical living or pre-
“ ferment,” with power of distress in case of non-pay-
ment. A hundred a year was more than Worthenbury tithes were worth at that time; and the manner of the gift freed the maintenance from much of that loss and incumbrance which commonly attends the gathering of tithes.

He still continued for some years in Emeral family, where he laid out himself very much for the spiritual good of the family, even of the meanest of the servants, by catechizing, repeating the sermons, and personal instruction, and he had very much comfort in the countenance and conversation of the Judge and his Lady. Yet he complains sometimes in his diary of “the snares
“ and temptations that he found in his way there;” especially because some of the branches of the family, who did not patrizare, were uneasy at his being there, which made him willing to remove to a house of his own; which, when Judge Puleston perceived, in the year 1657, out of his abundant and continued kindness to him, he did, at his own proper cost and charges,
build

build him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, and settled it upon him by a lease, bearing date March 6th 1657, for threescore years, “if he should so long
“ continue minister at Worthenbury, and not accept of
“ better preferment.”

He hath noted in his diary, that the very day that the workmen began the building of that house, Mr Mainwaring of Malpas preached the lecture at Bangor, from Psalm cxxvii. 1. “Except the Lord build the
“ house, they labour in vain that build it.” There never was truth (saith he) more seasonable to any than this was to me: it was a word upon the wheels. He hath recorded it as his great care, that his affections might be kept loose from it, and that it might not encroach upon God’s interest in his heart. When it was finished, he thus writes: “I do from my heart bless God,
“ that no hurt or harm befel any of the workmen in
“ the building of it.”

Thus was his maintenance settled at Worthenbury. In the year 1659, he was, by a writing of Judge Puleston’s, collated, nominated, and presented to the church of Worthenbury, and (the powers that then were having so appointed) he had an approbation thereof from the commissioners for approbation of publick preachers.

Some little opposition was made to his settlement at Worthenbury by Mr Fogg, then rector of Bangor, because he conceived it an intrenchment upon his right to Worthenbury, and thought it might prejudice his recovering of it by course of law. I only mention this for the sake of the note he hath upon it in his diary, which is this; “I do earnestly desire that the judge
“ may give Mr Fogg all reasonable satisfaction, that
“ there may be no appearance of wrong to him, or
“ any other, in this thing.” And when Mr Fogg insisted upon it, that he would have Mr Henry give it under his hand, that he desired the consent of the said Mr Fogg to be minister of Worthenbury; he yielded to do it for peace-sake, and from thenceforward there

was an intimate and entire friendship between Mr Fogg and him.

Being thus settled at Worthenbury, his next care was touching ordination to the work of the ministry, to which he would see his call very clear, before he solemnly devoted himself to it. And though afterwards in the reflection (especially when he was silenced) it was some trouble to him, that he had so long deferred to be ordained, (and he would often, from the consideration of that, press those who intended the ministry not to put it off) yet as the times then were, there was something a reason for it.

The nearest acting class of presbyters was in the Hundred of Bradford, north in Shropshire, wherein Mr Porter of Whitchurch was the leading man, of whom Mr Baxter gives so high a character in his life, part 3. page 94. and who was one of those whom he recommended to the Lord Chancellor as fit to be made a bishop, part 2. p. 283. This class was constituted by ordinance of Parliament in April 1647; the members of it, then, were the aforesaid Mr Porter, Mr Boughy of Hodnet, Mr Houghton of Prees, Mr Parsons of Wem, and Mr John Bisby; and afterwards Mr Malden of Newport; Mr Binney of Ightfield, and Mr Steel of Hammer (though in Flintshire) were taken in to them, and acted with them. This class, in twelve years time, publicly ordained sixty-three ministers. Mr Henry was very desirous to have been ordained at Worthenbury, *plebe præsente*, which he thought most agreeable to the intention, but the ministers were not willing to set such a precedent: however, that was one thing which occasioned the delay, so that he was not ordained till 16 Sept. 1657.

The way and manner of his ordination was according to the known directory of the assembly of divines, and the common usage of the presbyterians; and yet he having left among his papers a particular account of that solemnity, and some of the workings of his soul towards God in it, I hope it may be of some use, both for

for instruction and quickening to ministers, and for the information of such as are perhaps wholly strangers to such a thing, to give some account of the whole transaction.

He made addressees to the presbytery, in order to his ordination, July 6. at Prees, when he submitted to trial; and inquiry was made, in the first place, concerning his experience of the work of grace in his heart; in answer to which he gave a reason of the hope that was in him, with meekness and fear; that the spirit of grace had been dealing with him when he was young, and he hoped had discovered to him his need of Christ, and had bowed his will in some measure to close with him upon his own terms, &c. His skill in the original languages of the scripture was then tried; and he read and construed two verses in the Hebrew Bible, and two in the Greek Testament: he was then examined in logick and natural philosophy, next in divinity, what authors he had read, and what knowledge he had touching the mediation of Christ, &c. And his skill in the scripture was tried, by propounding to him a difficult text to give his sense of; a case of conscience was also put to him to be resolved, and inquiry made into his acquaintance with church-history. Lastly, a question was given him to provide a thesis upon against next meeting, which was this, *An Providentia Divina extendat se ad omnia? Aff.* On this question he exhibited his thesis, August 3. and defended it. Several of the ministers opposed, and Mr Porter moderated. He then produced two certificates, which he left with the register of the class, one from Oxford, subscribed by Dr Wiikinson, Dr Langley, &c. the other from the neighbour ministers, Mr Steel, Mr Fogg, &c. both testifying of his conversation, &c. “The Lord forgive me (saith he in his diary upon this) that it hath not been more exemplary as it ought for piety and industry.” Amen, Lord in Christ. The day for ordination was appointed to be Sept. 16. at Prees, of which notice was given at Worthenbury by a paper, read in the church, and afterwards

wards affixed to the church-door the Lord's day before, signifying also, " That if any one could produce any just exceptions against the doctrine or life of the said Mr Henry, or any sufficient reason why he might not be ordained, they should certify the same to the classis, or the scribe, and it should be heard and considered."

On the day of ordination there was a very great assembly gathered together. Mr Porter began the public work of the day with prayer, then Mr Parsons preached on 1 Tim. i. 12. " I thank Christ Jesus, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry." Putting men into the ministry is the work of Jesus Christ. After sermon, Mr Parsons, according to the usual method, required of him a confession of his faith, which he made as follows :

" The ground and rule of my faith towards God, is the Scripture of the Old and New Testament : I believe they were written by holy men, immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost ; having found the efficacy of them in some measure upon my own heart, I believe they are further able to make me wise to salvation.

" Concerning God, I believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of those that diligently seek him.

" The trinity of persons in the unity of the God-head, I receive and own as a truth, I admire and adore as a mystery ; though no man hath seen God at any time, yet the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him, and what he hath declared concerning him, that I believe. I believe that God is a Spirit, for the Son hath said, God is a Spirit. I believe that he hath life in himself, and that he hath given to the Son to have life in himself. I believe all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. I believe by his providence he preserves, guides, and governs all the creatures, according to

“ the purpose of his own will to his own glory ; for the
 “ Father worketh hitherto, and the Son also worketh.

“ I believe he made man upright after his own
 “ image and likeness, which image consisted in know-
 “ ledge, righteousness, and true holiness, but man by
 “ sin lost it.

“ I believe we were all in the loins of our first pa-
 “ rents, and that they stood and fell as publick persons,
 “ and upon that account justly, without any colour of
 “ wrong, we bear our share, both in the guilt of their
 “ disobedience, and also the corruption of nature fol-
 “ lowing thereupon ; so that we come into the world
 “ children of wrath, and heirs of the curse, one as
 “ well as another ; enemies to God, hating him, and
 “ hated of him : averse to what is good, and prone to
 “ all manner of evil. Though all are born in this con-
 “ dition, yet there are some that do not die in it.

“ I believe there is a Mediator, and there is but one
 “ Mediator between God and men, the man Christ
 “ Jesus. Those whom the Father hath from everlasting
 “ pitched his love upon, and given to Christ, not be-
 “ cause of works or faith foreseen, but merely of his
 “ free grace ; for those I believe Christ was sent forth
 “ into the world, made of a woman, made under the
 “ law ; for their sakes he sanctified himself, and be-
 “ came obedient to death, even the death of the cross ;
 “ wherefore God also highly exalted him ; and having
 “ raised him from the dead on the third day, set him
 “ at his own right hand, where he ever lives, to make
 “ intercession for those for whom he shed his blood.
 “ All these elect redeemed ones I believe are in due
 “ time, sooner or later, in their lives, effectually called,
 “ washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord
 “ Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

“ I believe the righteousness of Christ alone, appre-
 “ hended by faith, is the matter of our justification
 “ before God ; and that no flesh can stand in his sight
 “ upon any other terms, for he is the Lord our Right-
 “ eousness, and in him only the Father is well pleased.

I be-

“ I believe the work of sanctification, managed by
“ the Spirit, who dwelleth in us, though in respect of
“ parts it be complete, for the whole man is renew-
“ ed; yet in respect of degrees it is not fully perfect-
“ ed till we come to glory; and I believe all that are
“ justified shall be glorified, for we are kept by the
“ power of God, through faith unto salvation.

“ I believe the gathering in and building up of
“ saints, is the special end why pastors and teachers
“ are appointed in the church: and that Jesus Christ,
“ according to his promise, will be with them, in that
“ work, to the end of the world.

“ The two sacraments of the New Testament, bap-
“ tism and the Lord’s supper, I receive and own as signs
“ and seals of the covenant of grace; the former in-
“ stituted by our Lord Jesus, as a sign and seal of our
“ engrafting into him, due, of right, to all the infants
“ of believing parents, and but once to be admini-
“ stred; the other instituted by our Lord Jesus in the
“ night wherein he was betrayed, to shew forth his
“ death, and to seal the benefits purchased thereby to
“ his church and people, and to be often repeated.

“ When the body returns to the dust, I believe the
“ soul returns to God that gave it; and that imme-
“ diately it receives from him the sentence, according
“ to what hath been done in the flesh; either, Come,
“ inherit the kingdom;---or, Depart, accursed, into
“ everlasting fire.

“ I believe, besides this, a day of general judgment
“ in the end of the world, wherein we must all ap-
“ pear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and that
“ our bodies, being raised by an Almighty pow-
“ er from the dust, shall be united to the same souls
“ again, and shall partake with them in the same con-
“ dition, either of happiness or misery, to all eternity.
“ Those that have done good shall come forth unto
“ the resurrection of life; and those that have done
“ evil, to the resurrection of damnation.”

This is the sum and substance of my faith, into

which I was baptized, and in which, by the grace of God, I will live and die.

Mr Parsons then proposed certain questions to him, according to the instructions in the directory, to which he return'd answer as followeth :

Question 1. What are your ends in undertaking the work and calling of a minister ?

Answer. As far as upon search and inquiry I can hitherto find, though there be that within me that would seek great things for myself (if indeed they were to be found in this calling) yet with my mind I seek them not. But the improvement of the talent which I have received in the service of the gospel, for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, I hope is in my eye ; if there be any thing else, I own it not, I allow it not ; while so many seek their own, it is my desire, and shall be my endeavour, to seek the things of Jesus Christ.

Quest. 2. What are your purposes, as to diligence and industry in this calling ?

Answer. I do purpose and resolve, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to these things ; to prayer, reading, meditation, instant preaching in season and out of season, wherein I shall very gladly spend and be spent, if by any means I may both save myself and them that hear me. And when at any time I fail herein, I desire God by his Spirit, and my christian friends, neighbours, and brethren, by seasonable reproof and admonition, to put me in mind of this engagement now made in the presence of this great congregation.

Quest. 3. Do you mean to be zealous and faithful in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism ?

Answer. I believe what the Spirit hath foretold, that in the last days perilous times shall come, wherein men will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall heap unto themselves teachers. 'Tis my resolution, by the grace of Christ, to watch in all things ; to contend earnestly for the faith, to hold fast the form
of

of found and wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus, and the doctrine which is according to godliness, in meekness, as I am able, instructing those that oppose themselves: and for peace and unity, if my heart deceive me not, I shall rather chuse to hazard the loss of any thing that is most dear to me, than be any way knowingly accessary to the disturbance of these in the churches of Christ.

Quest. 4. What is your persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion?

Answw. My persuasion is, that the bishop of Rome is that man of sin, and son of perdition whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and whom he will destroy by the brightness of his coming. And the separation which our first reformers made, I do heartily rejoice in, and bless God for, for had we still continued to partake with him in his sins, we should in the end have partaked with him also in his plagues.

Quest. 5. What do you intend to do when the Lord shall alter your condition, and bring a family under your charge?

Answw. When the Lord shall please in his Providence to bring me into new relations, I hope he will give me grace to fill them up with duty; it is my purpose to wait upon him, and to keep his way, to endeavour in the use of means, that all that are mine may be the Lord's.

Quest. 6. Will you in humility and meekness submit to admonition and discipline?

Answw. I believe it to be a duty incumbent upon all that profess the name of Christ, to watch over one another, and that when any is overtaken in a fault those that are spiritual are to set him in joynt again with the spirit of meekness. It shall be my endeavour in the strength of Jesus Christ to walk without rebuke, and when at any time I step aside (for who is there that lives and sins not) I shall account the smitings of my brethren kindness, and their wounds faithful.

Quest.

Quest. 7. What if troubles, persecutions, and discouragements arise, will you hold out to the end notwithstanding?

Ansiv. Concerning this I am very jealous over my own heart, and there is cause. I find a great want of that zeal and courage for God, which I know is required in a minister of the gospel, nevertheless, I persuade myself that no temptation shall befall me but such as is common to man, and that God who is faithful, will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but that with the temptation he will also make a way to escape, that I may be able to bear it. I promise faithfulness to the death, but I rest not at all in my promise to God, but in his to me---When thou goest thro' the fire, and through the water, I will be with thee.

When this was done, Mr Parsons prayed; and in prayer, he and the rest of the presbyters (Mr Porter, Mr Houghton, Mr Malden, and Mr Steel) laid their hands upon him, with words to this purpose, "whom we do thus in thy name set apart to the work and office of the ministry." After him, there were five more, after the like previous examinations and trials, professions and promises, at the same time in like manner set apart to the ministry.

Then Mr Malden of Newport closed with an exhortation directed to the newly-ordained ministers, in which (saith Mr Henry in his diary) this word went near my heart: "As the nurse puts the meat first into her own mouth, and chews it, and then feeds the child with it, so should ministers do by the word; preach it over before-hand to their own hearts, it loses none of the virtue hereby, but rather probably gains. As that milk nourisheth most which comes warm, from the warm breast; so that sermon which comes warm from a warm heart. Lord quicken me to do thy will in this thing."

The classis gave him, and the rest, instruments in parchment, certifying this, which it may satisfy the curiosity of some to read the form of:---

"Whereas

“ Whereas Mr Philip Henry of Worthenbury, in
“ the county of Flint, master of arts, hath addressed
“ himself unto us, authorized by an ordinance of both
“ Houses of Parliament, of the 29th of August 1648,
“ for the ordination of ministers, desiring to be or-
“ dained a presbyter, for that he is chosen and appoint-
“ ed for the work of the ministry at Worthenbury in
“ the county of Flint, as by a certificate now remaining
“ with us, touching that his election and appointment,
“ appeareth. And he having likewise exhibited a
“ sufficient testimonial of his diligence and proficiency
“ in his studies, and unblameableness of his life and
“ conversation, he hath been examined according to
“ the rules for examination in the said ordinance ex-
“ pressed; and thereupon approved, there being no
“ just exception made, nor put in against his ordina-
“ tion and admission. These may therefore testify to
“ all whom it may concern, that upon the sixteenth
“ day of September 1657, we have proceeded so-
“ lemnly to set apart for the office of a presbyter, and
“ work of the ministry of the gospel, by laying on of
“ our hands with fasting and prayer; by virtue where-
“ of we do declare him to be a lawful and sufficiently
“ authorized minister of Jesus Christ: and having good
“ evidence of his lawful and fair calling, not only to
“ the work of the ministry, but to the exercise there-
“ of at the chapel of Worthenbury in the county of
“ Flint, we do hereby send him thither, and actually
“ admit him to the said charge, to perform all the
“ offices and duties of a faithful pastor there; exhort-
“ ing the people in the name of Jesus Christ willingly
“ to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of
“ Christ, and to maintain and encourage him in the
“ execution of his office, that he may be able to give
“ up such an account to Christ of their obedience to
“ his ministry, as may be to his joy, and their ever-
“ lasting comfort. In witness whereof, we, the presby-
“ ters of the fourth class in the county of Salop,
“ commonly called Bradford North Class, have here-
“ unto

“ unto set our hands, this 16th day of September, in
 “ the year of our Lord God, 1657.

Tho. Porter, moderator for the time.

Andrew Parsons, minister of Wem.

Aylmar Haughton, minister of Prees.

John Malden, minister of Newport.

Richard Steel, minister of Hanmer.

I have heard it said by those who were present at this solemnity, that Mr Henry did, in his countenance, carriage, and expression, discover such an extraordinary seriousness and gravity, and such deep impressions made upon his spirit, as greatly affected the auditory, and even struck an awe upon them.

Read his reflection upon it in his diary:----“ Me:
 “ thought I saw much of God in the carrying on of
 “ the work of this day. O, how good is the Lord, he is
 “ good, and doth good; the remembrance of it I shall
 “ never lose: to him be glory. I made many promises
 “ of diligence, faithfulness, &c. but I lay no stress at
 “ all on them, but on God’s promise to me, that he
 “ will be with his ministers always to the end of the
 “ world. Amen, Lord, so be it. Make good thy word
 “ unto thy servant, wherein thou hast caused me to
 “ put my trust.” And in another place, “ I did this day
 “ receive as much honour and work as ever I shall
 “ be able to know what to do with: Lord Jesus, pro-
 “ portion supplies accordingly.” Two scriptures he
 desired might be written in his heart, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5,
 &c. and 2 Chron. xxix. 11.

Two years after, upon occasion of his being present at an ordination at Whitchurch, he thus writes: “ This
 “ day my ordination-covenants were in a special man-
 “ ner renewed, as to diligence in reading, prayer, me-
 “ ditation, faithfulness in preaching, admonition, cate-
 “ chizing, sacraments, zeal against error and profane-
 “ nefs, care to preserve and promote the unity and
 “ purity of the church, notwithstanding opposition and
 “ persecution, tho’ to death. Lord, thou hast filled my
 “ hands with work, fill my heart with wisdom and
 “ grace,

“ grace, that I may discharge my duty to thy glory,
“ and my own salvation of those that hear me.”
Amen.

Let us now see how he applied himself to his work at Worthenbury. The sphere was too narrow for such a burning and shining light: there were but forty-one communicants in that parish when he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and they were never doubled: yet he had such low thoughts of himself, that he not only never sought for a larger sphere, but would never hearken to any overtures of that kind made to him: and withal, he had such high thoughts of his work, and the worth of souls, that he laid out himself with as much diligence and vigour here, as if he had had the over-sight of the greatest and most considerable parish in the country.

The greatest part of the parish were poor tenants, and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such (he used to say) are as precious as the souls of the rich, and to be looked after accordingly. His prayer for them was, “ Lord, despise not the day of small things
“ in this place, where there is some willingness, but
“ much weakness.” And thus he writes upon the Judge's settling a handsome maintenance upon him: “ Lord, thou knowest, I seek not theirs, but them: give me the souls.”—

He was in labours more abundant to win souls: besides preaching, he expounded the scriptures in order, catechized and explained the catechism. At first he took into the number of his catechumens some that were adult, who (he found) wanted instruction; and when he had taken what pains he thought needful with them, he dismissed them from further attendance, with commendation of their proficiency, and counsel to hold fast the form of sound words; to be watchful against the sins of their age, and to apply themselves to the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and make ready for it; afterwards he catechized none above seventeen or eighteen years of age.

He set up a monthly lecture there of two sermons, one he himself preached, and the other his friend Mr Ambrose Lewis of Wrexham, for some years. He also kept up a monthly conference in private from house to house, in which he met with the more knowing and judicious of the parish; and they discoursed familiarly together of the things of God, to their mutual edification, according to the example of the apostles, who, tho' they had the liberty of public places, yet taught also from house to house, Acts v. 42. xx. 20. That which induced him to set and keep up this exercise as long as he durst (which was till August 1660,) was, that by this means he came better to understand the state of his flock, and so knew the better how to preach to them, and pray for them, and they to pray one for another. If they were in doubt about any thing relating to their souls, that was an opportunity of getting satisfaction. It was likewise a means of increasing knowledge, and love, and other graces; and thus it abounded to a good account.

He was very industrious in visiting the sick, instructing them, and praying with them; and in this he would say, he aimed at the good, not only of those that were sick, but also of their friends and relations that were about them.

He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried there, rich or poor, old or young, or little children; for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good; he called it, setting in the plough of the word, when providence had softened and prepared the ground. He never took any money for that or any other ministerial performance, besides his stated salary, for which he thought himself obliged to do his whole duty to them as a minister.

When he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's supper there, he did it with very great solemnity. After he had endeavoured to instruct them in his publick preaching, touching the nature of that ordinance, he discoursed personally with all that gave up their
names

names to the Lord in it, touching their knowledge, experience, and conversation, obliged them to observe the law of Christ, touching brotherly admonition in case of scandal; and gave notice to the congregation who they were that were admitted; adding this: “ concerning these, and myself, I have two things to say; 1. As to what is past, we have sinned: if we should say, we have not, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth were not in us; and yet this without we can say, and have said it, some of us with tears, we are grieved that we have sinned. 2. For time to come we are resolved by God’s grace to walk in new obedience; and yet seeing we are not angels, but men and women, compassed about with infirmities and temptations, it is possible we may fall; but if we do, it is our declared resolution to submit to admonition and censure, according to the rule of the gospel.” And all along he took care so to manage his admissions to that ordinance, as that the weak might not be discouraged, and yet the ordinance might not be profaned. He would tell those whom he was necessitated to debar from the ordinance for ignorance, that he would undertake, if they were but truly willing, they might in a week’s time, by the blessing of God upon their diligent use of means, reading, prayer, and conference, get such a competent measure of knowledge, as to be able to discern the Lord’s body. And those that had been scandalous, if they would but come in and declare their repentance, and resolutions of new obedience, they should no longer be excluded.

To give a specimen of his lively administrations of that ordinance, let me transcribe the notes of his exhortation at the first sacrament that ever he administered, Nov. 27. 1659. I suppose they are but the hints of what he enlarged more upon, for he had always a great fluency upon such occasions:

“ Dearly beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we are met together this day about the most solemn weighty service under heaven; we are come

“ to a feast, where the feast-maker is God the Father,
 “ the provision God the Son, whose flesh is meat in-
 “ deed, and whose blood is drink indeed; the guests
 “ a company of poor sinners, unworthy such an hon-
 “ our; the crumbs under the table were too good for
 “ us, and yet we are admitted to taste of the provision
 “ upon the table; and that which makes the feast is
 “ *heartly welcome*. God the Father bids you welcome;
 “ and ten thousand welcomes this day, to the flesh and
 “ blood of his Son: think you hear him saying it to
 “ you, O believing souls, Cant. v. 1. Eat, O friends;
 “ drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved. The end
 “ of this feast is to keep in remembrance the death of
 “ Christ, and our deliverance by it, and thereby to
 “ convey spiritual nourishment and refreshment to our
 “ souls. But withal, give me leave to ask you one
 “ question, What appetite have you to this feast? Are
 “ you come hungry and thirsting? such as have the
 “ promise, they shall be filled. He filleth the hungry
 “ with good things, but the rich are sent empty away:
 “ a honey-comb to a full soul is no honey-comb.---
 “ Canst thou say as Christ said? With desire I have de-
 “ sired to eat this. In this ordinance here’s Christ and
 “ all his benefits exhibited to thee. Art thou weak?
 “ here’s bread to strengthen thee. Art thou sad? here’s
 “ wine to comfort thee. What is it thou standest in
 “ need of? A pardon? here it is sealed in blood, take
 “ it by faith, as I offer it to you in the name of the
 “ Lord Jesus. Though thy sins have been as scarlet,
 “ they shall be as wool, if thou be willing and obe-
 “ dient. It may be, here are somethat have been drunk-
 “ ards, swearers, scoffers at goodlines, sabbath-
 “ breakers, and what not? and God hath put it into
 “ your hearts to humble yourselves, to mourn for and
 “ turn from all your abominations; O come hither,
 “ here’s forgiveness for thee. What else is it thou
 “ wantest? O (saith the poor soul) I would have more
 “ of the spirit of grace, more power against sin, espe-
 “ cially my own iniquity: why, here it is for thee,
 “ from

“ from the fullness that is in Jesus Christ we receive,
“ and grace for grace, John i. 16. We may say as
“ David did, Psalm cviii. 7, 8. God hath spoken in
“ his holiness; and then, Gilead is mine, and Manasseh
“ mine: so God hath spoken in his word sealed in his
“ sacrament, and then Christ is mine, pardon is mine,
“ grace is mine, comfort mine, glory mine; here I
“ have his bond to shew for it. This is to those a-
“ mong you that have engaged their hearts to ap-
“ proach unto God this day.

“ But if there be any come hither with a false, un-
“ believing, filthy, hard heart, I do warn you seriously,
“ and with authority, in the name of Jesus Christ,
“ presume not to come any nearer to this sacred ordi-
“ nance: you that live in the practice of any sin, or
“ the omission of any duty against your knowledge
“ and conscience; you that have any malice or grudge
“ to any of your neighbours, leave your gift, and go
“ your ways; be reconciled to God, be reconciled to
“ your brother, and then come.—Better shame
“ thyself for coming so near, than damn thyself by
“ coming nearer: I testify to those, who say they shall
“ have peace, though they go on still in their trespasses,
“ that there’s poison in the bread; take it and
“ eat it at your own peril: there’s poison in the cup
“ too, you drink your own damnation: I wash my
“ hands from the guilt of your blood, look you to it.
“ On the other hand, you poor penitent souls that are
“ lost in yourselves, here’s a Christ to save you; come,
“ O come, ye that are weary and heavy laden, &c.”

It may not be amiss to transcribe also some hints of preparation for the administering of the ordinance of baptism, which I find under his hand at his first setting out in the ministry, as follows:

“ It is a real manifestation of the goodness and love
“ of God to believers, that he hath not only taken
“ them into covenant with himself, but their seed also;
“ saying, I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed.
“ Tho’ to be born of such doth not necessarily entitle
“ infants

“ infants to the spiritual mercies of the covenant, for
 “ grace doth not run in a blood : we see the contrary
 “ many times, even godly parents have wicked chil-
 “ dren ; Abraham had his Ishmael, and Isaac his Esau,
 “ yet questionless it doth entitle them to the external
 “ privileges of the covenant. The like figure unto
 “ Noah’s ark, even baptism doth also now save us :
 “ Noah and all that were his, entered into the ark,
 “ though we have cause to doubt whether they all en-
 “ tered into heaven. While our Lord Jesus was here
 “ upon the earth, they brought little children to him,
 “ and he laid his hands on them, and blessed them ;
 “ and said moreover, Suffer little children to come
 “ unto me, and forbid them not, (there are many at
 “ this day that forbid little children to come to Christ ;)
 “ he adds the reason, For of such is the kingdom of
 “ heaven. Whether it be meant of the visible church,
 “ often so called in the gospel, or of the state of glory
 “ in another world ; either way it affords an argu-
 “ ment for proof of infant baptism. When either pa-
 “ rent is in covenant with God, their children also are
 “ in covenant with him ; and being in covenant, they
 “ have an undoubted right and title to this ordinance
 “ of baptism, which is the seal of the covenant. So
 “ that in the administration of this ordinance, this day,
 “ according to the institution of Jesus Christ, we look
 “ upon you, the father of this child, as a person
 “ in covenant with God : how far you have dealt un-
 “ faithfully in the covenant, is known to God and
 “ your own conscience ; but this we know, the vows
 “ of God are upon you ; and let every one that na-
 “ meth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. But
 “ before we baptize your child, I am to acquaint you
 “ in a few words what we expect from you.

“ *Quest.* 1. Do you avouch God in Jesus Christ
 “ this day to be your God ?—See to it that this be
 “ done in truth and with a perfect heart : you may
 “ tell us you do so, and you may deceive us, but God
 “ is not mocked. *Q.* 2. And is it your desire, that
 “ your

“ your children also may be received into covenant
“ with the Lord, and that the Lord’s broad-seal of
“ baptism may be set to it? *Q.* 3. And do you pro-
“ mise, in the presence of God, and of this congrega-
“ tion, that you will do your endeavour towards the
“ training of it up in the way of godliness, that as it
“ is by you through mercy that it lives the life of na-
“ ture, so it may by you also, through the same mer-
“ cy, live the life of grace: else I must tell you, if
“ you be wanting herein, there will be a sad appear-
“ ance one day, when you shall meet together before
“ the judgement-seat of Christ, and this solemn en-
“ gagement of yours will be brought in to witness a-
“ gainst you.”

These were but the first instances of his skilfulness, in dispensing the mysteries of the kingdom of God. He declined the private administration of the Lord’s supper to sick persons, as judging it not consonant to the rule and intention of the ordinance. He very rarely, if ever, baptized in private; but would have children brought to the solemn assembly upon the Lord’s day, that the parent’s engagement might have the more witnesses to it, and the child the more prayers put up for it, and that the congregation might be edified. And yet he would say, there was some inconvenience in it too, unless people would agree to put off the feasting part of the solemnity to some other time, which he very much persuaded his friends to; and observed, that Abraham made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned, (*Gen. xxi. 8.*) not the same day that he was circumcised.

His carriage towards the people of his parish was very exemplary, condescending to the meanest, and conversing familiarly with them; bearing with the infirmities of the weak, and becoming all things to all men. He was exceeding tender of giving offence, or occasion of grief to any body, minding himself in his diary upon such occasions, that the wisdom that is from above, is “ pure, and peaceable, and gentle, &c.”

Yet

Yet he plainly and faithfully reprov'd what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin upon them; mourning also for that which he could not mend. There were some untractable people in the parish, who sometimes caus'd grief to him, and exercis'd his boldness and zeal in reprov'g. Once hearing of a merry meeting at an ale-house on a Saturday night, he went himself and brok it up, and scatter'd them. At another time, he publickly witness'd against a frolick of some vain people, that on a Saturday night came to the church with a fiddler before them, and dress'd it up with flowers and garlands, making it (as he told them) more like a play-house; and was this their preparation for the Lord's day, and the duties of it? &c. He minded them of Eccl. xi. 9. "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, but know thou"—

Many out of the neighbouring parishes attend'd upon his ministry, and some came from far, though sometimes he signified his dislike of their so doing, so far was he from glorying in it. But they who had spiritual senses exercis'd to discern things that differ, would attend upon that ministry which they found to be most edifying.

He was about eight years from first to last, labouring in the word and doctrine at Worthenbury, and his labour was not altogether in vain: he saw in many of the travel of his to the rejoicing of his heart, but with this particular dispensation (which I have heard him sometimes speak of) that most, or all of those in that parish, whom he was (through grace) instrumental of good to, died before he left the parish, or quickly after; so that within a few years after his removal thence, there were very few of the visible fruits of his ministry there; and a new generation sprung up there, who knew not Joseph. Yet the opportunity he found there was of doing the more good, by having those that were his charge near about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish-order, where it may be had upon good terms, as much more eligible, and
more

more likely to answer the end, than the congregational way of gathering churches from places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together. From his experience here (though he would say we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would) he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door, by which to return to that order again.

He had not been long at Worthenbury, but he began to be taken notice of by the neighbouring ministers, as likely to be a considerable man. Though his extraordinary modesty and humility (which even in his youth he was remarkable for) made him to sit down with silence "in the lowest room, and to say as Elihu, "Days shall speak;" yet his eminent gifts and graces could not long be hid, the ointment of the right hand will betray itself; and a person of his merits could not but meet with those quickly, who said, "Friend, go up higher;" and so that scripture was fulfilled, Luke xiv. 10. He was often called upon to preach the weekday lectures, which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended upon in those parts, and his labours were generally very acceptable and successful. The *vox populi* fastened upon him the epithet of Heavenly Henry, by which title he was commonly known all the country over, and his advice was sought for by many neighbouring ministers and christians, for he was one of those that found favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man. He was noted at his first setting out (as I have been told by one who was then intimately acquainted with him, and with his character and conversation) for three things, 1. Great piety and devotion, and a mighty favour of godliness in all his converse. 2. Great industry in the pursuit of useful knowledge: he was particularly observed to be very inquisitive when he was among the aged and intelligent; hearing them, and asking them questions: a good example to young men, especially young ministers. 3. Great self-denial, self-diffidence, and self-abasement: this eminent humility put a lustre upon

all his other graces. This character of him, minds me of a passage I have sometimes heard him tell, as a check to the forwardness and confidence of young men, that once at a meeting of ministers, a question of moment was started, to be debated among them : upon the first proposal of it, a confident young man shoots his bolt presently, " Truly (saith he) I hold it so." " You hold, Sir, (saith a grave minister,) it becomes you " to hold your peace."

Besides his frequent preaching of the lectures about him, he was a constant and diligent attendant upon those within his reach, as a hearer ; and not only wrote the sermons he heard, but afterwards recorded in his diary what in each sermon reached his heart, affected him and did him good ; adding some proper, pious ejaculations, which were the breathings of his heart, when he meditated upon, and prayed over the sermon.

What a wonderful degree of piety and humility doth it evidence, for one so acquainted with the things of God, to write, " This I learnt out of such a sermon ;--- and, ' This was the truth I made up to myself out of such a sermon !' " and indeed something out of every sermon. His diligent improvement of the word preached contributed (more than any one thing, as a means) to his great attainments in knowledge and grace. He would say sometimes, that one great use of week-day lectures was, that it gave ministers an opportunity of hearing one another preach, by which they are likely to profit, when they hear not as masters, but as scholars ; not as censors, but as learners.

His great friend and companion, and fellow labourer in the work of the Lord, was the worthy Mr Richard Steel (minister of Hammers, one of the next parishes to Worthenbury) whose praise is in the churches of Christ, for his excellent and useful treatises, the Husbandman's Calling ; an Antidote against Distractions, and several others. He was Mr Henry's *alter idem*, the man of his counsel ; with him he joined frequently at Hammer, and elsewhere, in Christian conference,

ference, and in days of humiliation and prayer: besides, their meetings with other ministers at public lectures; after which it was usual for them to spend some time among themselves in set disputations in Latin. This was the work that in those days was carried on among ministers who made it their business, as iron sharpens iron, to provoke one another to love and good works. What was done of this kind in Worcester-shire, Mr Baxter tells us in his life.

In the beginning of those days he often laboured under bodily distempers: it was feared that he was in a consumption; and some blamed him for taking so much pains in his ministerial work, suggesting to him, Master, spare thyself. One of his friends told him, he lighted up all his pound of candles together; and that he could not hold out long at that rate; and wished him to husband his strength better. But he often reflected upon it with comfort afterwards, that he was not influenced by such suggestions. The more we do, the more we may do (he would sometimes say) in the service of God. When his work was sometimes more than ordinary, and bore hard upon him, he thus appealed to God; "Thou knowest, Lord, how well contented I am to spend and to be spent in thy service; and if the outward man decay, O let the inward man be renewed." Upon the returns of his indisposition he expresseth a great concern how to get spiritual good by it; to come out of the furnace, and leave some dross behind; for it is a great loss to lose an affliction. He mentions it as that which he hoped did him good, that he was ready to look upon every return of distemper as a summons to the grave: thus he learned to die daily. "I find (saith he) my earthly tabernacle tottering, and when it is taken down, I shall have a building in heaven, that shall never fail. Blessed be God the Father, and my Lord Jesus Christ and the good Spirit of grace. Even so, Amen." This was both his strength and his song, under his bodily infirmities.

While he was at Worthenbury he constantly laid

by the tenth of his income for the poor, which he carefully and faithfully disposed of, in the liberal things which he devised, especially the teaching of poor children: and he would recommend it as a good rule to lay by for charity (in some proportion, according as the circumstances are) and then it will be the easier to lay out in charity; we shall be the more apt to seek for opportunities of doing good, when we have money lying by us, of which we have said, This is not our own, but the poor's. To encourage himself and others to works of charity, he would say, "He is no fool who parts with that which he cannot keep, when he is sure to be recompensed with that which he cannot lose." And yet to prove alms to be righteousness, and to exclude all boasting of them, he often used the words of David, "Of thine own, Lord, have we given thee."

In the year 1658, the ministers of that neighbourhood began to enlarge their correspondence with the ministers of North-Wales; and several meetings they had at Ruthin and other places that year, for the settling of a correspondence, and the promoting of unity and love, and good understanding among themselves, by entering into an association, like those some years before of Worcestershire and Cumberland, to which, as their pattern (those two having been published) they did refer themselves. They appointed particular associations; and (notwithstanding the differences of apprehension that were among them; some being in their judgments episcopal, others congregational, and others classical) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, and to give to each other the right-hand of fellowship; that with one shoulder and with one consent, they might study each in their places to promote the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls. He observed, that this year, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, there was generally throughout the nation a great change in the temper of God's people, and a mighty tendency towards peace and unity, as if they were by consent

consent weary of their long clashings, which in his diary he expresseth his great rejoicing in, and his hopes that the time was at hand, when Judah should no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah, neither should they learn war any more. And though these hopes were soon disappointed by a change of the scene, yet he would often speak of the experience of that and the following year in those parts, as a specimen of what may yet be expected, (and therefore in faith prayed for) when the Spirit shall be poured out upon us from on high. But, alas! who shall live when God doth this? From this experience he likewise gathered this observation, “ that it is not so much our difference of opinion “ that doth us the mischief, (for we may as soon expect “ all the clocks in the town to strike together, as to see “ all good people of a mind in every thing on this heaven,) but the mismanagement of that difference.”

In the association of the ministers it was referred to Mr Henry to draw up that part of their agreement which concerned the worship of God, which task he performed to their satisfaction: his preface to what he drew up begins thus: “ Though the main of our de- “ fires and endeavours be after unity in the greater “ things of God; yet we judge uniformity in the “ circumstances of worship a thing not to be al- “ together neglected by us; not only in regard of that “ influence which external visible order hath upon the “ beauty and comeliness of the churches of Christ, “ but also as it hath a direct tendency to the strength- “ ening of our hands in ministerial services, and “ withal to the removing of those prejudices which “ many people have conceived, even against religion “ and worship itself. We bless God from our very “ souls, for that whereunto we have already attained; “ and yet we hope some further thing may be done, “ in reference to our closer walking by the same rule, “ and minding the same things. The word of God “ is the rule which we desire and resolve to walk by “ in the administration of ordinances; and for those “ things

“ things wherein the word is silent, we think we may
 “ and ought to have recourse to Christian prudence,
 “ and the practice of the reformed churches, agreeing
 “ with the general rules of the word: -and therefore
 “ we have had (as we think we ought) in our present
 “ agreement, a special eye to the directory,” &c.

These agreements of theirs were the more likely to be for good, for that here (as in Worcesterfhire) when they were in agitation, the ministers fet apart a day of fasting and prayer among themselves to bewail ministerial neglects, and to seek to God for direction and success in their ministerial work. They met sometimes for this purpose at Mr Henry's house at Worthenbury.

One passage may not improperly be inserted here, that once at a meeting of the ministers, being desired to subscribe a certificate concerning one whom he had not sufficient acquaintance with; he refused, giving this reason, that he preferred the peace of his conscience before the friendship of all the men in the world.

Sept. 29. 1658, the Lady Puleston died. “ She
 “ was (saith he) the best friend I had on earth, but my
 “ Friend in heaven is still where he was, and he will
 “ never leave me nor forsake me.” He preached her funeral sermon from Isa. iii. last, “ Cease from man,
 “ whose breath is in his nostrils.” He hath noted this expression of her's not long before she died: “ My
 “ soul leansto Jesus Christ; lean to me, sweet Saviour.” About this time, he writes, “ A dark cloud is over
 “ my concerns in this family, but my desire is,
 “ that whatever becomes of me and my interest, the
 “ interest of Christ may still be kept on foot in this
 “ place.” *Amen*, so be it. But he adds, soon after, that saying of Athanasius, which he was used often to quote and take comfort from; *Nubecula est & cito pertransibit.* It is a little cloud, and will soon blow over.

About a year after, Sept. 5. 1659, Judge Puleston died, and all Mr Henry's interest in Emeral family was buried in his grave. He preached the Judge's funeral sermon, from Neh. xiii. 14. “ Wipe not out my
 “ good

“ good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof:” the design of which sermon was not to applaud his deceased friend, I find not a word in the sermon to that purpose: but he took occasion from the instance of so great a benefactor to the ministry, as the judge was, to shew that deeds done for the house of God, and the offices thereof, are good deeds: and to press people according as their ability and opportunity was, to do such deeds. One passage I find in that sermon which ought to be recorded; that it had been for several years the practice of a worthy gentleman in the neighbouring county, in renewing his leases, instead of making it a condition that his tenants should keep a hawk or a dog for him, to oblige them that they should keep a Bible in their houses for themselves, and should bring up their children to learn to read and to be catechized. This (saith he) would be no charge to you, and it might oblige them to that which otherwise they would neglect. Some wished (saith he, in his diary) that I had chosen some other subject for that sermon, but I approved myself to God; and if I please men, I am not the servant of Christ.

What personal affronts he received from some of the branches of that family at that time need not be mentioned, but with what exemplary patience he bore them ought not to be forgotten.

In March, 1658-9 he was very much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and to accept of the vicarage of Wrexham, which was a place that he had both a great interest in, and a great kindness for, but he could not see his call clear from Worthenbury, so he declined it. The same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London; but he was not of them that are given to change, nor did he consult with flesh and blood, nor seek great things to himself.

That year he had some disturbance from the quakers, who were set on by some others, who wished ill to his ministry: they challenged him to dispute with them; and

and that which he was to prove against them was, that the God he worshipped was not an idol; that John Baddely (a blacksmith in Malpas, and the ringleader of the quakers in that country) was not infallible, nor without sin; that baptism with water, and the Lord's supper, are gospel-ordinances; that the scriptures are the word of God, and that Jesus Christ will come to judge the world at the last day: but he never had any public disputes with them, nor so much disturbance from them in public worship as some other ministers had elsewhere about that time. He had some apprehensions at that time, that God would make the quakers a scourge to this nation; but had comfort in this assurance, that God would in due time vindicate his own honour, and the honour of his ordinances, and those of them who will not repent, to give him glory, will be cast into the fire.

One passage I cannot omit, because it discovers what kind of spirit the quakers were of:—A debauched gentleman being in his revels at Malpas, drinking and swearing, was, after a sort, reprov'd for it by Baddely the quaker, who was in company: Why (saith the gentleman) I'll ask thee one question, Whether is it better for me to follow drinking and swearing, or to go and hear Henry? he answered, Of the two, rather follow thy drinking and swearing.

The Cheshire rising this year (in opposition to the irregular powers that then were uppermost) under Sir George Booth (afterwards Lord Delamere,) and that of North-Wales under Sir Thomas Middleton, could not but affect Worthenbury and the country thereabouts. Mr Henry's prayer for them in his diary, the day of their first appearing is, "Lord own them, if they truly own thee." He notes, that Lambert's forces which came down to suppress them, did in that neighbourhood espouse the quakers cause, and offer injury to some ministers: and therefore (saith he) unless God intend the ruin of the nation by them, they cannot prosper: nor did they long, though in that expedition they

they had success. In their return, some of Lambert's soldiers were at Worthenbury church, hearing Mr Henry upon a Lord's day; and one of them sat with his hat on, while they were singing psalms, for which he publickly admonished him: and there being many anabaptists among them, he hath recorded it as a good providence, that those questions in the catechism which are concerning baptism came in course to be expounded that day. The first rising of the Cheshire forces was Aug. 1st 1659, and the 19th following they were worsted and scattered by Lambert's forces, near Northwich, a strange spirit of fear being upon them, which quite took off their chariot-wheels. The country called it, not the Cheshire rising, but the Cheshire race. Some blamed him that he did not give God thanks publickly for the defeat of Sir George Booth; to whom he answered with his usual mildness, that his apprehensions concerning that affair were not the same with theirs. We are now (saith he) much in the dark, never more.

He preached the lecture at Chester soon after, just at the time when Mr Cook, an eminent minister in Chester, and several others, were carried prisoners to London, for their agency in the late attempt; and the city was threatned to have their charter taken away, &c. The text in course that day (for they preached over the latter part of that epistle, if not the whole, at that lecture) happened to be Heb. xiii. 14. "We have here no continuing city," which he thought a word upon the wheels at that time. He notes in his diary, that when, after that, the army ruled, disturbed the Parliament, and carried all before them with a high hand, there were great grounds to fear sad times approaching; and his prayer is, "Lord, fit thy people for the fiery trial."

He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the King, the spring following, April 1660, and was much affected with the mercy of it. "While others rejoice carnally (saith he) Lord, help thy people to rejoice spiritually, in our public national mercies." 'Twas upon

that occasion that Mr Baxter preached his sermon of *right rejoicing*, on Luke x. 20. ; but he and others soon saw cause to rejoice with trembling, and to sing both of mercy and judgment ; for about that time he hath this melancholy remark, “ Religion loses ground exceedingly, and profaneness gets it ; help, Lord ! ” however, he was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were uneasy at that great revolution ; and that scripture yielded him much satisfaction, John iii. 35. “ The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands.” If Christ be not only the head of the church, but head over all things to the church, we may be assured, that all things shall be made to work together for good to it. The text also which the Lord put into his heart to preach upon, on the day of publick thanksgiving for the king’s restoration, was very comfortable to him, Prov. xxi. 1. “ The king’s heart is in the hand of the Lord.” His sense of that great mercy of God to the nation, in the unbloody, peaceable, and legal settlement of King Charles II. upon the throne, was the same with that of multitudes, besides both ministers and others that were of the quiet in the land, who yet not long after suffered very hard things under him. Soon after the return of the king, he notes how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury, on which he writes this as the breathing of his soul towards God ; “ Lord, if it please thee, fasten me here as a nail in a sure place ; if otherwise, I will take nothing ill which thou dost with me : ” and when pressed by his friends more earnestly than before, to accept of some other place, “ Lord, (saith he) mine eye is up unto thee, I am wholly at thy disposal, make my way plain before my face, because of mine enemies ; my resolution is, to deny myself if thou callest me. Here (or any where ’tis no great matter where) I am.”

There are two things further which I think it may be of use to give some account of in the close of this chapter. 1. Of the course of his ministry at Worthenbury,

bury, and, 2. Of the state of his soul, and the communion he had with God in those years.

As to the subjects he preached upon, he did not use to dwell long upon a text. Better one sermon upon many texts, (*viz.* many scriptures opened and applied,) than many sermons upon one text: to that purpose he would sometimes speak.

He used to preach in a fixed method, and linked his subjects in a sort of chain: he adapted his method and style to the capacity of his hearers, fetching his similitudes for illustration from those things which were familiar to them. He did not shoot the arrow of the word over their heads in high notions, or the flourishes of affected rhetorick, nor under their feet by blunt and homely expressions, as many do under pretence of plainness, but to their hearts in close and lively applications. His delivery was very graceful and agreeable, far from being either noisy and precipitate on the one hand, or dull and slow on the other. His doctrine did drop as the dew, and distil as the soaking rain, and came with a charming pleasing power, such as many will bear witness to that have wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.

He wrote the notes of his sermons pretty large for the most part, and always very legible: but even when he had put his last hand to them, he commonly left many imperfect hints, which gave room for enlargements in preaching, wherein he had a great felicity. And he would often advise ministers not to tie themselves too strictly to their notes, but having well digested the matter before, to allow themselves a liberty of expression, such as a man's affections, if they be well raised, will be apt to furnish him with. But for this no certain rule can be given, there are diversities of gifts, and each to profit withal.

He kept his sermon-notes in very neat and exact order; sermons in course, according to the order of the subject; and occasional sermons according to the scripture-order of the texts; so that he could readily turn

to any of them. And yet, though afterwards he was removed to a place far enough distant from any of that auditory, yet (though some have desired it) he seldom preached any of those hundreds of sermons which he had preached at Worthenbury, no not when he preached never so privately, but to the last he studied new sermons, and wrote them as elaborately as ever; for he thought a sermon best preached when it was newly meditated: nay, if sometimes he had occasion to preach upon the same text, yet he would make and write the sermons over; and he never offered that to God which cost him nothing.

When he went to Oxford, and preached there before the university in Christ-church, as he did several times, his labours were not only very acceptable, but successful too; particularly one sermon which he preached there, on Prov. xiv. 9. "Fools make a mock at sin:" for which sermon a young master of arts came to his chamber afterwards to return him thanks, and to acknowledge the good impressions which divine grace, by that sermon, had made upon his soul, which he hoped he should never forget.

In his diary he frequently records the frame of his spirit in studying and preaching. Sometimes blessing God for signal help vouchsafed, and owning him the Lord God of all his enlargements; at other times, complaining of great deadness and straitness, "It is a wonder (saith he) that I can speak of eternal things, with so little sense of the reality of them. Lord, strengthen that which remains, which is ready to die." And he once writes thus upon a studying day; "I forgot explicitly and expressly when I began to crave help from God, and the chariot wheels drove accordingly. Lord, forgive my omissions, and keep me in the way of duty."

As to the state of his soul in these years, it should seem, by his diary, that he was exercised with some doubts and fears concerning it. "I think (saith he) never did any poor creature pass through such a mixture

“ mixture of hope and fear, joy and sadness, assurance
“ and doubting, down and up, as I have done these
“ years past.”—(The notice of this may be of use to
poor drooping christians, that they may know their
case is not singular; and that if God for a small mo-
ment hide his face from them, he deals with them no
otherwise than as he useth sometimes to deal with the
dearest of his servants.) It would affect one, to hear
him that lived a life of communion with God, complain-
ing of great straits in prayer. “ No life at all in the
“ duty, many wanderings: if my prayers were written
“ down, and my vain thoughts interlined, what inco-
“ herent nonsense would there be! I am ashamed;
“ Lord, I am ashamed, O pity and pardon.” To hear
him suspecting the workings of pride of heart, when
he gave an account to a friend, who inquired of him
touching the success of his ministry, and that he should
record this concern himself, with this ejaculation an-
nexed, “ The Lord pardon and subdue;” it was a sign
that he kept a very watchful eye upon the motions of his
own heart.

To hear him charging it upon himself, that he was
present at such a duty in the midst of many distractions,
not tasting sweetness in it, &c. When a fire is first kin-
dled (saith he) there is a deal of smoke and smother,
that afterwards wears away; so in young converts,
much peevishness, frowardness, darkness; “ so it hath
“ been with my soul, and so it is yet in a great mea-
“ sure. Lord, pity, and do not quench the smoking
“ flax; though as yet it do but smoke, let these sparks
“ be blown up into a flame.”

“ Great mercies, but poor returns; signal oppor-
“ tunities, but small improvements:” such are his
complaints frequently concerning himself. And though
few or none excelled him in profitable discourse, yet in
that he often bewails his barrenness and unprofitable-
ness. “ Little good done or gotten such a day for want
“ of a heart; ’tis my sin and shame. O that I had
“ wings like a dove!”

Yet

Yet when he wanted a faith of assurance, he lived by a faith of adherence. "Such a day (saith he) a full " resignation was made of all my concernments, into " the hands of my heavenly Father, let him deal with " me as seemeth good in his eyes ; I am learning and " labouring to live by faith, Lord, help my unbelief. Another time he notes, that many perplexing fears being upon his spirit, they were all silenced with that sweet word which was seasonably brought to his remembrance, " Fear none of those things which thou " shalt suffer."

He very frequently kept days of fasting and humiliation in secret, which he calls his days of atonement. Sometimes he observed these monthly, and sometimes only upon special occasions ; but the memorandums in his diary (not only while he was at Worthenbury, but often after) shew what sweet communion he had with God in those solemn duties, which no eye was witness to, but his who " sees in secret, and will reward " openly. Remember, O my soul, such a day, as a " day of more than ordinary engagements entered in- " to, and strong resolutions taken up of closer walking, " and more watchfulness : O my God, undertake for " me !" And upon another of those days of secret prayer and humiliation, he notes, " if sowing in tears " be so sweet, what then will the harvest be, when I " shall reap in joy ? Bless the Lord, O my soul, who " forgiveth all thine iniquities, and will in due time " heal all thy diseases."

C H A P. IV.

His Marriage, Family, Family-Religion, and the Education of his Children.

HE removed from Emeral to the house in Worthenbury which the Judge had built for him in February 1658-9, and then had one of his sisters with him to keep his house. No sooner had he a tent, but
 God

God had an altar in it, and that a smoaking altar. There he set up repetition on Sabbath-evenings, and welcomed his neighbours to it.

His Christian friends often, and sometimes his brethren in the ministry, kept days of fasting and prayer at his house. He used to tell people when they had built new houses, they must dedicate them, (referring to Deut. xx. 5. and Psal. xxx. ult.) that is, they must invite God to their houses, and devote them to his service.

Providence having thus brought him into a house of his own, soon after provided him a help-meet for him. After long agitation, and some discouragement and opposition from the father, April 26th 1660 he married Katharine, the only daughter and heir of Mr Daniel Matthews of Broad-Oak, in the township of Iscoyd, in Flintshire (but in the parish of Malpas, which is in Cheshire, and about two miles distant from Whitchurch, a considerable market town in Shropshire.) Mr Matthews was a gentleman of a very competent estate; such a one as king James the First used to say was the happiest lot of all others, which set a man below the office of a justice of peace, and above that of a petty-constable. This was his only child: very fair and honourable overtures had been made for her disposal; but it pleased God so to order events, and to over-rule the spirits of those concerned, that she was reserved to be a blessing to this good man, in things pertaining "both to life and godliness."

His purpose of marriage was published in the church three Lord's days before; a laudible practice, which he greatly approved, and perswaded others to.

The day before his marriage he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting.

He used to say, those who would have comfort in that change of their condition, must see to it, that they bring none of the guilt of the sin of their single state with them into the married state. And the presence of Christ at a "wedding, will turn the water in-

" to

“to wine;” and he will come, if he be invited by prayer.

He took all occasions, while he lived, to express his thankfulness to God for the great comfort he had in this relation. A day of mercy (so he writes on his marriage day) never to be forgotten. God had given him one (as he writes afterwards) every way his helper, in whom he had much comfort, and for whom he thanked God with all his heart. He writes in his diary, April 26th 1680, “This day we have been married
“twenty years, in which time we have received of the
“Lord more than twenty thousand mercies; to God be
“glory.” Sometimes he writes “We have been so long
“married, and never reconciled;” that is, there never was any occasion for it. His usual prayer for his friends in the married state was according to his own practice in that state; that they might be mutually serviceable to each other’s faith and holiness, and jointly serviceable to God’s honour and glory.

Her father, though he put some hardships upon him in the terms, and had been somewhat averse to the match, yet by Mr Henry’s great prudence, and God’s good providence, he was influenced to give a free consent to it; and he himself, with his own hand, gave her in marriage. From this, as from other experiences, Mr Henry had learned to say with assurance; “It is not
“in vain to wait upon God, and to keep his way.” Mr Matthews settled part of his estate before marriage upon them and theirs; he lived about seven years after; and when he died, the remainder of it came to them. This competent estate, which the divine providence brought into his hand, was not only a comfortable support to him when he was turned out of his living, and when many faithful ministers of Christ were reduced to great poverty and straits; but it enabled him likewise, as he had opportunity, to preach the gospel freely, which he did to his dying day; and not only so, but to give for the relief of others that were in want, in which he sowed plentifully, to a very large proportion
of

of his income; and often blessed God that he had wherewithal, remembering the words of the Lord, how he said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

Such was his house, and such the vine which God graciously planted by the side of his house. By her God gave him six children, all born within less than eight years; the two eldest sons, John and Matthew: the other four, daughters, Sarah, Katharine, Eleanor, and Ann. His eldest son John died of the measles in the sixth year of his age, and the rest were in mercy continued to him.

The Lord having built him up into a family, he was careful and faithful in making good his solemn vow at his ordination, that "he and his house would serve the Lord." He would often say, That we are really which we are relatively. It is not so much what we are at church, as what we are in our families. Religion in the power of it will be family religion. In this his practice was very exemplary; he was one that walked before his house in a perfect way, with a perfect heart, and therein behav'd himself wisely. His constant care and prudent endeavour was not only to put away iniquity far from his tabernacle, but that where he dwelt, the word of Christ might dwell richly. If he might have no other church, yet he had a church in his house.

He made conscience of closet-worship, and did abound in it, not making his family-worship to excuse for that. He hath this affecting note in his diary, upon the removing of his closet but from one room in the house to another, This day (saith he) my new closet was consecrated, if I may so say, with this prayer, "That all the prayers that ever should be made in it, according to the will of God, morning, evening, and at noon-day, ordinary or extraordinary, might be accepted of God, and obtain a gracious answer." Amen and amen. It was the caution and advice which he frequently gave to his children and friends, Be sure you look to your secret duty, keep that up whatever you do; the soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it.

He observed, that apostacy generally begins at the closet-door. Secret prayer is first neglected, and carelessly performed, then frequently omitted, and after a while wholly cast off; and then farewell God, and Christ, and all religion.

He also advis'd that secret duty be perform'd secretly, which was the admonition he gave sometimes to those who caused their voice to be hard on high in that duty.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening; and never if they were together at home or abroad was it intermitted; and from his own experience of the benefit of this practice, he would take all opportunities to recommend it to those in that relation, as conducing very much to the comfort of it, and to their furtherance in that, which he would often say is the great duty of yoke-fellows; and that is, to all they can to help one another to heaven. He would say, that this duty of husbands and wives praying together, is intimated in that of the apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 7. where they are exhorted to "live as heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers (especially their prayers together) be not hindred;" that nothing may be done to hinder them from praying together, nor to hinder them in it, nor to spoil the success of those prayers. This sanctifies the relation, and fetcheth in a blessing upon it, makes the comforts of it the more sweet, and the cares and crosses of it the more easy, and is an excellent means of preserving and increasing love in the relation. Many to whom he hath recommended the practice of this duty, have blessed God for him, and for his advice concerning it. When he was abroad and lay with any of his friends he would mind them of his rule, That they who lye together must pray together. In the performance of this part of his daily worship he he was usually short, but often much affected.

Besides these he made conscience, and made a business of family-worship in all the parts of it; and in it he was uniform, steady and constant from the time that

that he was first called to the charge of a family, to his dying day ; and according to his own practice, he took all occasions to press it upon others. His doctrine once from Josh. xxiv. 15. was, That family worship is family-duty. He would say sometimes, If the worship of God be not in the house, write, " Lord have mercy on us," upon the door ; for there is a plague, a curse in it. It is the judgment of archbishop Tillotson, in that excellent book which he published a little before his death upon this subject ; " That constant family-worship is so
" necessary to keep alive a sense of God and religion
" in the minds of men, that he sees not how any
" family that neglects it can in reason be esteemed a
" family of christians, or indeed to have any religion
" at all." How earnestly would Mr Henry reason with people sometimes about this matter, and tell them what a blessing it would bring upon them and their houses, and all that they had. He that makes his house a little church shall find, that God will make it a little sanctuary. It may be of use to give a particular account of his practice in this matter, because it was very exemplary. As to the time of it, his rule was, commonly the earlier the better, both morning and evening ; in the morning before worldly business crowded in, " early will
" I seek thee : " he that is the first would have the first ; nor is it fit that the worship of God should stand by and wait while the world's turn is served. And early in the evening, before the children and servants began to be sleepy ; and therefore, if it might be, he would have prayer at night before supper, that the body might be the more fit to serve the soul in that service of God. And indeed he did industriously contrive all the circumstances of his family-worship, so as to make it most solemn and most likely to answer the end. He always made it the business of every day, and not (as too many make it) a by-business. This being his fixed principle, all other affairs must be sure to give way to this. And he would tell those who objected against family-worship, that they could not get time for it ; that if they

would but put on christian resolution at first, they would not find the difficulty so great as they imagined ; but after a while, their other affairs would fall in easily and naturally with this, especially where there is that wisdom which is profitable to direct ; nay, they would find it to be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and it would be like a hem to all their other business, to keep it from ravelling. He was ever careful to have all his family present at family-worship ; though sometimes, living in the country, he had a great household ; yet he would have not only his children and sojourners (if he had any) and domestick servants, but his work-men and day-labourers, and all that were employed for him, if they were within call to be present, to join with him in this service ; and as it was an act of his charity many times to set them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety, to set them to work for God. And usually when he paid his workmen their wages, he gave them some good counsel about their souls : yet if any that should come to family-worship were at a distance, and must be staid for long, he would rather want them, than put the duty much out of time ; and would sometimes say at night, “ Better one away than all sleepy.”

The performances of his family-worship were the same morning and evening. He observed, that under the law, the morning and the evening lamb had the same meat-offering and drink-offering, Exod. xxix. 38,—41. He always began with a short, but very solemn prayer, imploring the divine presence and grace, assistance and acceptance ; particularly begging a blessing upon the word to be read, in reference to which he often put up this petition ; “ That the same spirit that indited the scripture, would enable us to understand the scripture, and to make up something to ourselves out of it that may do us good :” and esteeming the word of God as his necessary food, he would sometimes pray in a morning, that “ our souls might have a good meal out of it.” he commonly concluded
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even this short prayer, as he did also his blessings before and after meat, with a doxology, as Paul upon all occasions, "To Him be glory," &c. which is properly adoration, and is an essential part of prayer.

He next sung a psalm, and commonly he sung David's psalms in order, throughout; sometimes using the old translation, but generally Mr Barton's: and his usual way was to sing a whole psalm throughout, tho' perhaps a long one, and to sing quick; (yet with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes) and that he might do so, usually the psalm was sung without reading the line betwixt (every one in the family having a book;) which he preferred much before the common way of singing, where it might conveniently be done, as more agreeable to the practice of the primitive church, and the reformed churches abroad; and by this means he thought the duty more likely to be perform'd "in the spirit, and with the understanding;" the sense being not so broken, nor the affections interrupted, as in reading the line betwixt. He would say, that a scripture ground for singing psalms in families, might be taken from psalm cxviii. 15. "The voice of rejoicing and of salvation, is in the tabernacles of the righteous;" and that it is a way to hold forth godliness (like Rahab's scarlet thread, Josh. ii. 17.) to such as pass by our windows.

He next read a portion of scripture, taking the Bible in order; he would sometimes blame those who only pray in their families, and do not read the scripture: in prayer we speak to God, by the word he speaks to us; and is there any reason (saith he) that we should speak all? in the tabernacle the priests were every day to burn incense, and to light the lamps; the former figuring the duty of prayer, the latter the duty of reading the word. Sometimes he would say, Those do well that pray morning and evening in their families; those do better, that pray and read the scriptures; but those do best of all that pray, and read, and sing psalms; and Christians should covet earnestly the best gifts.

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He advised the reading of the scripture in order ; for though one star in the firmament of the scripture differ from another star in glory, yet wherever God hath a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear ; and the diligent searcher may find much excellent matter in those parts of scripture, which we are sometimes tempted to think might have been spar'd. How affectionately would he sometimes bless God for every book, and chapter, and verse, and line, in the Bible !

What he read in his family, he always expounded ; and exhorted all ministers to do so, as an excellent means of increasing their acquaintance with the scripture. His expositions were not so much critical as plain, and practical, and useful ; and such as tended to edification, and to answer the end for which the scriptures were written, which is to make us wise to salvation. And herein he had a peculiar excellence, performing that daily exercise with so much judgment, and at the same time with such facility and clearness, as if every exposition had been premeditated ; and very instructive they were, as well as affecting to the auditors. His observations were many times very pretty and surprizing, and such as one shall not ordinarily meet with. Commonly in his expositions he reduced the matter of the chapter or psalm read, to some heads ; not by a logical analysis, which often minceth it too small and confounds the sense with the terms ; but by such a distribution as the matter did most easily and unforcedly fall into. He often mention'd that saying of Tertullian's, " I adore the fulness of the scriptures ;" and sometimes that, *Scriptura semper habet aliquid relegendibus*. When sometimes he had hit upon some useful observation that was new to him, he would say afterwards to those about him, " How often have I read this chapter, and " never before now took notice of such a thing in it!" he put his children, while they were with him, to write these expositions ; and when they were gone from him, the strangers that sojourned with him did the same. What collections his children had, though but broken
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and very imperfect hints; yet, when afterwards they were disposed of in the world, were of good use to them and their families. Some expositions of this nature, that is, plain and practical, and helping to raise the affections and guide the conversation by the word, he often wished were published by some good hand for the benefit of families: but such was his great modesty and self-diffidence (though few more able for it) that he would never be persuaded to attempt any thing of that kind himself. As an evidence how much his heart was upon it, to have the word of God read and understood in families, take this passage out of his last will and testament: "I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters, Mr Pool's English annotations upon the Bible, in two volumes, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease, together with Mr Barton's last and best translation of the singing psalms, one to each of them; requiring and requesting them to make daily use of the same, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves and their families." But 'tis time we proceed to the method of his family-worship.

The chapter or psalm being read and expounded, he requir'd from his children some account of what they could remember of it; and sometimes would discourse with them plainly and familiarly about it, that he might lead them into an acquaintance with it; and (if it might be) impress something of it upon their hearts.

He then pray'd, and always kneeling, which he looked upon as the fittest and most proper gesture for prayer; and he took care that his family should address themselves to the duty with the outward expressions of reverence and composedness. He usually fetch'd his matter and expressions in prayer, from the chapter that was read, and the psalm that was sung, which was often very affecting, and helped much to stir up and excite praying graces. He sometimes observed in those psalms, where reference is had to the scripture stories, as psalm lxxxiii. and many others, that those who are well acquainted

quainted with the scriptures, would not need to make use of the help of prescribed forms, which are very necessary for those that cannot do the duty without them, but are unbecoming those that can; as a go-cart is needful to a child, or crutches to one that is lame, but neither of them agreeable to one that needs them not: 'twas the comparison he commonly used in this matter. In family-prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family-mercies, confessing family-sins, and begging family- blessings. Very particular he would sometimes be in prayer for his family; if any were absent, they were sure to have an express petition put up for them. He us'd to observe concerning Job i. 5. that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, according to the number of them all, an offering for each child; and so would he sometimes in praying for his children, put up a petition for each child. He always observ'd at the annual return of the birth-day of each of his children, to bless God for his mercy to him and his wife in that child; the giving of it, the continuance of it, the comfort they had in it, &c. with some special request to God for that child. Every servant and sojourner, at their coming into his family and their going out (besides the daily remembrances of them) had a particular petition put up for them, according as their circumstances were. The strangers that were at any time within his gates, he was wont particularly to recommend to God in prayer, with much affection, and christian concern for them and their concerns. He was daily mindful of those that desired his prayers for them, and would say sometimes, It is a great comfort that God knows who we mean in prayer, though we do not name them. Particular providences concerning the country, as to health or sickness, good or bad weather, or the like, he commonly took notice of in prayer, as there was occasion; and would often beg of God to fit us for the next providence, whatever it might be: nor did he ever forget to pray for the peace of Jerusalem. He always concluded family-prayer, both

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morning and evening, with a solemn benediction, after the doxology; "the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with us," &c. Thus did he daily bless his household.

Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children together, with bended knee, ask'd blessing of him and their mother; that is, desired of them to pray to God to bless them: which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered, "the Lord bless you and your brother," or "you and your sister that is absent."

This was his daily worship, which he never altered, (unless as is aftermentioned) nor ever omitted any part of, though he went from home ever so early, or returned ever so late, or had ever so much business for his servants to do. He would say that sometimes he saw cause to shorten them; but he would never omit any; for if an excuse be once admitted for an omission, it will be often returning. He was not willing (unless the necessity were urgent) that any should go from his house in a morning before family-worship; but upon such an occasion would mind his friends, that "Prayer and provender never hinder a journey."

He managed his daily family-worship so as to make it a pleasure and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long, and never tedious in the service; the variety of the duties made it the more pleasant; so that none who join'd with him had ever any reason to say, Behold what a weariness is it! Such an excellent faculty he had of rendering religion the most sweet and amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he (like *Jacob*) "to drive as the children could go," not putting "new wine into old bottles." If some good people that mean well would do likewise, it might prevent many of those prejudices which young persons are apt to conceive against religion, when the services of it are made a toil, and a terror to them.

On Thursday evenings (instead of reading) he catechized his children and servants in the Assembly's Catechism, with the proofs, or sometimes in a little catechism, concerning the matter of prayer, published in the year 1674, and said to be written by Dr Collins, which they learned for their help in the gift of prayer, and he explained it to them. Or else they read, and he examined them in some other useful book, as Mr Pool's Dialogues against the Papists, the Assembly's Confession of Faith with the Scriptures, or the like.

On Saturday evenings, his children and servants gave him an account what they could remember of the chapters that had been expounded all the week before, in order, each a several part, helping one another's memories for the recollecting of it. This he called, "gathering up the fragments which remained, that nothing might be lost." He would say to them sometimes as Christ to his disciples, "Have ye understood all these things?" If not, he took that occasion to explain them more fully. This exercise (which he constantly kept up all along) was both delightful and profitable, and being managed by him with so much prudence and sweetness, helped to instill into those about him betimes, the knowledge and love of the holy scriptures.

When he had sojourners in his family, who were able to bear a part in such a service, he had commonly, in the winter-time, set weekly conferences, on questions proposed, for their mutual edification and comfort in the fear of God; the substance of what was said, he himself took and kept an account of in writing.

But the Lord's day he called and counted the Queen of days, the Pearl of the week, and observed it accordingly. The fourth commandment intimates a special regard to be had to the Sabbath in families, "thou, and thy son, and thy daughter," &c. it is "the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings." In this therefore he was very exact, and abounded in the work of the Lord in his family on that day. Whatever were the

the circumstances of his publick opportunities, (which varied, as we shall find afterwards) his family-religion on that day was the same : extraordinary sacrifices must never supersede the continual burnt-offering and his meat-offering, Numb. xxviii. 15. His common salutation of his family or friends, on the Lord's day in the morning, was that of the primitive Christians ; " the Lord is risen, he is risen indeed ;" making it his chief business on that day, to celebrate the memory of Christ's resurrection ; and he would say sometimes, " Every Lord's day is a true Christian's Easter-day." He took care to have his family ready early on that day, and was larger in exposition and prayer on Sabbath-mornings than on other days. He would often remember, that under the law the daily sacrifice was doubled on Sabbath days, two lambs in the morning, and two in the evening. He had always a particular subject for his expositions on Sabbath-mornings ; the harmony of the Evangelists several times over, the Scripture prayers, Old Testament prophecies of Christ, " Christ the true treasure" (so he entitled that subject, " sought and found in the field of the Old Testament." He constantly sung a Psalm after dinner, and another after supper, on the Lord's days. And in the evening of the day his children and servants were catechized and examined in the sense and meaning of the the answers in the catechism ; that they might not say it (as he used to tell them) like a parrot, by rote. Then the day's Sermons were repeated, commonly by one of his Children, when they were grown up, and while they were with him ; and the family gave an account what they could remember of the word of the day, which he endeavoured to fasten upon them, as a nail in a sure place. In his prayers on the evening of the Sabbath, he was often more than ordinarily enlarged ; as one that found not only God's service perfect freedom, but his work its own wages, and a great reward ; not only after keeping, but (as he used to observe from Psal. xix. 11.) in keeping God's commandments. A

present reward of obedience in obedience. In that prayer he was usually very particular, in praying for his family and all that belong'd to it. It was a prayer he often put up, that we might have grace to carry it "as a Minister, and a Minister's wife, and a Minister's children, and a Minister's servants should carry it, that the ministry might in nothing be blamed." He would sometimes be a particular intercessor for the towns and parishes adjacent: how have I heard him, when he hath been in the mount with God, in a Sabbath-evening-prayer, wrestle with the Lord for Chester, and Shrewsbury, and Nantwich, and Wrexham, and Whitechurch, &c. those nests of souls, wherein there are so many, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left in spiritual things, &c. He closed his Sabbath-work in his family with singing Psalm cxxxiv. and after it a solemn blessing of his family.

Thus was he prophet and priest in his own house; and he was king there too, ruling in the fear of God, and not suffering sin upon any under his roof.

He had many years ago a man-servant that was once overtaken in drink abroad; for which, the next morning at family-worship, he solemnly reprov'd him, admonish'd him, and prayed for him with a spirit of meekness, and soon after parted with him. But there were many that were his servants, who, by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, got those good impressions upon their souls which they retained ever after; and blessed God with all their hearts that ever they came under his roof. Few went from his service till they were married, and went to families of their own; and some, after they had been married and had buried their yoke-fellows, returned to his service again, saying, "Master, it is good to be here."

He brought up his children in the fear of God, with a great deal of care and tenderness, and did by his practice, as well as upon all occasions in discourses, condemn the indiscretion of those parents who are partial in their affections to their children, making a difference

ference between them, which he observed did often prove of ill consequence in families ; and lay a foundation of envy, contempt, and discord, which turns to their shame and ruin. His carriage towards his children was with great mildness and gentleness, as one who desir'd rather to be loved than feared by them. He was as careful not to provoke them to wrath, nor to discourage them, as he was to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. He rul'd indeed, and kept up his authority, but it was with wisdom and love, and not with a high hand. He allowed his children a great degree of freedom with him, which gave him the opportunity of reasoning them, not frightening them, into that which is good. He did much towards the instruction of his children in the way of familiar discourse, according to that excellent directory for religious education, Deut. vi. 7. Thou shalt whet these things (so the word is, which he said noted frequent repetition of the same things) upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, &c, which made them love home, and delight in his company, and greatly endeared religion to them.

He did not burthen his childrens memories by imposing upon them the getting of chapters and psalms without book ; but endeavoured to make the whole word of God familiar to them, (especially the scripture stories) and to bring them to understand it and love it, and then they would easily remember it. He used to observe from Psal. cxix. 93. " I will never forget thy precepts, for with them thou hast quickned me ;" that we are then likely to remember the word of God when it doth us good.

He taught all his children to write himself, and set them betimes to write sermons, and other things that might be of use to them. He taught his eldest daughter the Hebrew tongue when she was about six or seven years old, by an English Hebrew grammar, which he made on purpose for her ; and she went so far in it, as to be able readily to read and construe a Hebrew psalm.

He drew up a short form of the baptismal covenant, for the use of his children ; it was this :

" I take God the Father to be my chiefest good, and highest end.

I take God the Son to be my Prince and Saviour.

I take God the Holy Ghost to be my sanctifier, teacher, guide, and comforter.

I take the word of God to be my rule in all my actions, And the people of God to be my people in all conditions.

I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord, my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do.

And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely, and for ever."

This he taught his children, and they each of them solemnly repeated it every Lord's day in the evening, after they were catechized, he putting his Amen to it, and sometimes adding, " so say, and so do, and you " are made for ever."

He also took pains with them, to lead them into the understanding of it, and to persuade them to a free and cheerful consent to it. And when they grew up, he made them all write it over severally with their own hands, and very solemnly set their names to it, which he told them he would keep by him, and it should be produced as a testimony against them, in case they should afterwards depart from God, and turn from following after him.

He was careful to bring his children betimes (when they were about sixteen years of age) to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, to take the covenant of God upon themselves, and to make their dedication to God their own act and deed ; and a great deal of pains he took with them, to prepare them for that great ordinance, and so to transmit them into the state of adult church-membership : And he would often blame parents, who would think themselves undone if they had not their children baptized, and yet took no care when they grew up and made a profession of the Christian religion

religion, to perswade them to the Lord's supper. 'Tis true (he would say) buds and blossoms are not fruit, but they give hopes of fruit, and parents may and should take hold of the good beginnings of grace which they see in their children, by those who bind them so much the closer to, and lead them so much the faster in the way that is called holy. By this solemn engagement the door which stood half open before, and invited the thief, is shut and bolted against temptation. And to those who pleaded that they were not fit, he would say, that the further they went into the world, the less fit they would be. *Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit.* Not that children should be compell'd to it, nor those that are wilfully ignorant, untoward, and perverse, admitted to it; but those children that are hopeful and well inclin'd to the things of God, and appear to be concern'd in other duties of religion, when they begin to put away childish things, should be incited, and encouraged, and perswaded to this, that the matter may be brought to an issue. "Nay, but we will serve the Lord;" fast bind, fast find. Abundant thanksgivings have been rendered to God by many of his friends for his advice and assistance herein.

In dealing with his children about their spiritual state, he took hold of them very much by the handle of their infant-baptism, and frequently inculcated that upon them, that they were born in God's house, and were betimes dedicated and given up to him, and therefore were oblig'd to be his servants, Psa. cxvi. 16. I am thy servant, because the son of thy handmaid. This he was wont to illustrate to them by the comparison of taking a lease of a fair estate for a child in the cradle, and putting his life into it; the child then knows nothing of the matter, nor is he capable of consenting; however, then he is maintained out of it, and hath an interest in it; and when he grows up and becomes a-ble to chuse, and refuse for himself, if he go to his landlord, and claim the benefit of the lease, and promise to pay the rent, and do the services, well and good,

good, he hath the benefit of it, if otherwise, it is at his peril. “ Now, children, (would he say) our great Landlord was willing that your lives should be put into the lease of heaven and happiness, and it was done accordingly, by your baptism, which is the seal of the righteousness that is by faith; and by that it was assur’d to you, that if you would pay the rent and do the service, that is, live a life of faith and repentance, and sincere obedience, you shall never be turn’d off the tenement; but if now you dislike the terms, and refuse to pay this rent (this chief rent, so he would call it, for its no rack) you forfeit the lease; however, you cannot but say, that you had a kindness done you, to have your lives put into it.” Thus did he frequently deal with his children, and even travel in birth again to see Christ formed in them, and from this topick he generally argued, and he would often say, If infant baptism were more improved, it would be less disputed.

He not only taught his children betimes to pray, (which he did especially by his own pattern, his method and expressions in prayer being very easy and plain) but when they were young he put them upon it, to pray together, and appointed them on Saturdays in the afternoon to spend some time together; none but they and such of their age as might occasionally be with them, in reading good books, especially those for children, and in singing and praying; and would sometimes tell them for their encouragement, that the God with whom we have to do understands broken language. And if we do as well as we can in the sincerity of our hearts, we shall not only be accepted, but taught to do better: “ to him that hath shall be given.”

He sometimes set his children, in their own reading of the Scriptures, to gather out such passages as they took most notice of, and thought most considerable, and write them down: though this performance was very small, yet the endeavour was of good use. He also directed them to insert in a paper book, which
each

each of them had for the purpose, remarkable sayings, and stories, which they met with in reading such other good books as he put into their hands.

He took a pleasure in relating to them the remarkable providences of God, both in his own time, and in the days of old, which he said, parents were taught to do by that appointment, *Exod. xii. 26, 27.* Your children shall ask you in time to come, What mean you by this service? and you shall tell them so and so.

What his pious care was concerning his children, and with what a godly jealousy he was jealous over them, take in one instance :---when they had been for a week, or a fortnight, kindly entertained at B. (as they were often,) he thus writes in his diary upon their return home : “ My care and fear is, lest converse with
“ such so far above them, though of the best, should
“ have influence upon them to lift them up, when I
“ had rather they should be kept low.” For as he did not himself, so he was very solicitous to teach his children, not to mind high things ; not to desire them, not to expect them in this world.

We shall conclude this chapter with another passage out of his diary, April 12. 1681. “ This day four-
“ teen years the Lord took my first-born son from me,
“ the beginning of my strength, with a stroke. In the
“ remembrance whereof my heart melted this even-
“ ing : I begg’d pardon for the Jonah that raised the
“ storm ; I blessed the Lord that hath spar’d the rest,
“ I begg’d mercy, mercy for every one of them, and
“ absolutely and unreservedly devoted and dedicated
“ them, myself, my whole self, estate, interest, and life,
“ to the will and service of that God from whom I
“ received all. Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy
“ kingdom come,” &c.

C H A P. V.

His ejection from Worthenbury, his Nonconformity, his removal to Broad Oak, and the providences that were concerning him to the year 1672.

HAVING thus laid together the instances of his family-religion, we must now return to the history of events that were concerning him, and are obliged to look back to the first year after his marriage, which was the year that king Charles the second came in ; a year of great changes and struggles in the land, which Mr Baxter in his life gives a full and clear and impartial idea of ; by which it may easily be guess'd how it went with Mr Henry in his low and narrow sphere, whose sentiments in those things were very much the same with Mr Baxter's.

Many of his best friends in Worthenbury parish were lately removed by death ; Emeral family, contrary to what it had been ; and the same spirit which that year reviv'd all the nation over, was working violently in that country, viz. a spirit of great enmity to such men as Mr Henry was. Worthenbury, upon the king's coming in, returned into its former relation to Bangor, and was look'd upon as a chappelry dependent upon that. Mr Robert Fogg had for many years held the sequestred rectory of Bangor, which now Dr Henry Bridgman (son to John bishop of Chester, and brother to the Lord Keeper Bridgman) return'd to the possession of. By which Mr Henry was soon apprehensive that his interest at Worthenbury was shaken, but thus he writes : " The will of the Lord be done. Lord, if
 " my work be done here, provide some other for this
 " people that may be more skilful, and more successful,
 " and cut out work for me elsewhere ; however,
 " I will take nothing ill which God doth with me."

He labour'd what he could to make Dr Bridgman his friend, who gave him good words, and was very civil

vil to him, and assured him that he would never remove him till the law did. But he must look on himself as the Doctor's curate, and depending upon his will, which kept him in continual expectation of a removal; however, he continued in his liberty there above a year, though in very fickle and precarious circumstances.

The grand question now on foot was, whether to conform or no. He us'd all means possible to satisfy himself concerning it, by reading and discourse (particularly at Oxford with Dr Fell, afterwards bishop of Oxford) but in vain, his dissatisfaction remain'd; "however, (saith he) I dare not judge those that do conform, for who am I that I should judge my brother?" He hath noted, that being at Chester, in discourse with the Dean and Chancellor and others, about this time, the great argument they used with him to persuade him to conform was, that else he would lose his preferment, and what (saith they) you are a young man, and are you wiser than the king and bishops? But this is his reflection upon it afterwards, "God grant I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters."

In September 1660, Mr Fogg, and Mr Steel, and Mr Henry were presented at Flint-affizes for not reading the common-prayer, though as yet it was not enjoin'd, but there were some busy people, that would out-run the law. They entered their appearance, and it fell; for soon after, the king's declaration, touching ecclesiastical affairs, came out, which promised liberty, and gave hopes of settlement; but the spring-affizes afterwards Mr Steel and Mr Henry were presented again. On this he writes, "Be merciful to me, O God, for man would swallow me up. The Lord shew me what he would have me to do, for I am afraid of nothing but sin."

It appears by the hints of his diary that he had melancholy apprehensions at this time about public affairs, seeing and hearing of so many faithful ministers disturb'd, silenced and ensnar'd; the ways of Sion

mourning, and the quiet in the land treated as the troublers of it; his soul wept in secret for it. And yet he join'd in the annual commemoration of the king's restoration, and preached on Mark xii. 17. "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's;" considering (saith he) that it was his right; also the sad posture of the civil government through usurpers, and the manner of his coming in, without bloodshed. This he would all his days speak of as a national mercy, but what he rejoiced in with a great deal of trembling for the Ark of God; and he would sometimes say, That "during those years between forty and sixty, though on civil accounts there were great disorders, and the foundations were out of course, yet in the matters of God's worship, things went well; there was freedom and reformation, and a face of godliness was upon the nation, though there were those that made but a mask of it. Ordinances were administered in power, and purity, and though there was much amiss, yet religion, at least in the profession of it, did prevail: This (saith he) we know very well, let men say what they will of those times.

In November, 1660, he took the oath of allegiance at Orton, before Sir Thomas Hammer, and two other Justices, of which he hath left a memorandum in his diary, with this added, "God so help me, as I purpose "in my heart to do accordingly:" Nor could any more conscientiously observe that oath of God than he did, nor more sincerely promote the ends of it.

That year (according to an agreement with some of his brethren in the ministry, who hoped thereby to oblige some people) he preached upon Christmas-day. The sabbath before, it happen'd that the 23d chapter of Leviticus (which treats entirely of the Jewish feasts, called there the feasts of the Lord) came in course to be expounded, which gave him occasion to distinguish of feasts into divine and ecclesiastical; the divine feasts that the Jews had were those there appointed; their ecclesiastical feasts were those of Purim and of dedica-
 tion :

cation: and in the application of it, he said, "he knew no divine feast we have under the gospel but the Lord's day, intended for the commemoration of the whole mercy of our redemption. And the most that could be said for *Christmas* was, that it is an *ecclesiastical* feast; and it is questionable with some, whether church or state, though they might make a good day, Esth. ix. 19. could make a holy day: nevertheless, forasmuch as we find our Lord Jesus (Job x. 22.) so far complying with the church feast of dedication, as to take occasion from the people's coming together, to preach to them, he purposed to preach upon Christmas day, knowing it to be his duty, in season and out of season." He preached on 1 John iii. 8. "For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." And he minded his people that it is double dishonour to Jesus Christ, to practise the works of the devil then when we keep a feast in memory of his manifestation.

His annuity from Emeral was now with-held because he did not read the common prayer, (tho' as yet there was no law for reading of it) hereby he was disabled to do what he had been wont, for the help and relief of others; and this he has recorded as that which troubled him most under that disappointment; but he blessed God, that he had a heart to do good, even when his hand was empty.

When Emeral family was unkind to him, he reckoned it a great mercy, which he gave God thanks for, (who makes every creature to be that to us that it is) that Mr Broughton and his family (which is of considerable figure in the parish) continued their kindness and respects to him, and their countenance of his ministry, which he makes a grateful mention of; more than once in his diary.

Many attempts were made in the year 1661 to disturb and ensnare him, and it was still expected that he would have been hindred: "Methinks (said he) Sabbaths were never so sweet as they are, now we
" are

“ are kept at such uncertainties ; now a day in thy
 “ courts is better than a thousand ; such a day as this
 “ (saith he of a Sacrament-day that year) better than
 “ ten thousand : O that we might yet see many such
 “ days.”

He was advis'd by Mr Ratcliff of Chester, and others of his friends, to enter an action against Mr P. for his annuity, and did so ; but concerning the success of it (saith he) “ I am not over solicitous ; for tho' it be my due, (Luke x. 7.) yet it was not that which I preached for ; and God knows I would much rather preach for nothing, than not at all ; and besides, I know assuredly, if I should be cast, God would make it up to me some other way.” After some proceedings, he not only mov'd, but solicited Mr P. to refer it ; “ having learned (saith he) that it is no disparagement, but an honour, for the party wrong'd to be first in seeking reconciliation ; the Lord, (if it be his will) incline his heart to peace. I have now two great concerns upon the wheel, one in reference to my maintenance for time past ; the other as to my continuance for the future ; the Lord be my friend in both ; but of the two, rather in the latter. But many of greater gifts and grace than I are laid aside already, and when my turn comes I know not, the will of God be done : He can do his work without us.”

The issue of this affair was, that there having been some disputes between Mr P. and Dr Bridgman, about the tithe of Worthenbury, wherein Mr P. had clearly the better claim to make, yet, by the mediation of Sir Tho. Hanmer, they came to this agreement, Sept. 11. 1661. that Dr Bridgman and his successors, parsons of Bangor, should have and receive all the tithe-corn and hay of Worthenbury, without the disturbance of the said Mr P. or his heirs (except the tithe-hay of Emerald Demesne) upon condition that Dr Bridgman should, before the first of November following, avoid and discharge the present minister, or curate, Philip Henry,
 from

from the chapel of Worthenbury, and not hereafter at any time re-admit the said minister, Philip Henry, to officiate the said cure. This is the substance of the articles agreed upon between them, pursuant to which, Dr Bridgman soon after dismiss'd Mr Henry; and by a writing under his hand, which was published in the church of Worthenbury, by one of Mr Puleston's servants, October the 27th following, notice was given to the parish of that dismissal. That day he preached his farewell sermon on Phil. i. 27. "only let your conversation be as becomes the gospel of Christ." In which (as he saith in his diary) his desire and design was rather to profit than to affect; it matters not what becomes of me (whether I come unto you, or else be absent) but let your conversation be as becomes the gospel. His parting prayer for them was, "the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation." Thus he ceased to preach to his people there, but he ceased not to love them, and pray for them; and could not but think there remained some dormant relation betwixt him and them.

As to the arrears of his annuity from Mr P. when he was displaced; after some time Mr P. was willing to give him 100*l.* which was a good deal less than what was due, upon condition that he would surrender his deed of annuity, and his lease of the house, which he for peace sake was willing to do, and so he lost all the benefit of judge Puleston's great kindness to him. This was not compleated till Sept. 1662. until which time he continued in the house at Worthenbury, but never preached so much as once in the church, tho' there were vacancies several times.

Mr R. Hilton was immediately put into the curacy of Worthenbury, by Dr Bridgman: Mr Henry went to hear him while he was at Worthenbury, and join'd in all the parts of the public worship, particularly attending upon the Sacrament of baptism; "not daring (saith he) to turn my back upon God's ordinance, while the essentials of it are retained, tho' corrupted circum-

circumstantially in the administration of it, which God amend." Once being allow'd the liberty of his gesture, he join'd in the Lord's Supper. He kept up his correspondence with Mr Hilton, and (as he saith in his diary) endeavour'd to possess him with right thoughts of his work, and advis'd him the best he could in the soul affairs of that people; "which (saith he) he seem'd to take well; I am sure I meant it so, and the Lord make him faithful."

Immediately after he was removed and silenced at Worthenbury, he was sollicit to preach at Bangor, and Dr Bridgman was willing to permit it, occasionally, and intimated to his curate there, that he should never hinder it; but Mr Henry declin'd it: though his silence was his great grief, yet such was his tenderness, that he was not willing so far to discourage Mr Hilton at Worthenbury, nor to draw so many of the people from him as would certainly have followed him to Bangor: "but (saith he) I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame on Sabbath-days now, as formerly; which is both my sin and my affliction. Lord, quicken me with quickening grace."

When the king came in first, and shewed so good a temper, as many thought, some of his friends were very earnest with him to revive his acquaintance and interest at court, which it was thought he might easily do. 'Twas reported in the country, that the Duke of York had enquired after him; but he heeded not the report, nor would he be perswaded to make any addresses that way: "for (saith he) my friends do not know so well as I the strength of temptation, and my own inability to deal with it." *Qui bene latuit, bene vixit*; Lord, lead me not into temptation.

He was greatly affected with the temptations and afflictions of many faithful Ministers of Christ at this time, by the pressing of conformity; and kept many private days of fasting and prayer in his own house at Worthenbury, seeking to turn away the wrath of God from the Land. He greatly pitied some, who by the
urgency

urgency of friends, and the fear of want, were overpowered to put a force upon themselves in their conformity. The Lord keep me (saith he) in the critical time.

He preached sometimes occasionally in divers neighbouring places, till Bartholomew-day, 1662; “the day (saith he) which our sins have made one of the saddest days to England since the death of Edward the VI. but even this for good,” though we know not how nor which way. He was invited to preach at Bangor on the black Bartholomew-day, and prepared a sermon on John vii. 37. “In the last day, that great day of the feast,” &c. but was prevented from preaching it, and was loth to strive against so strong a stream.

As to his non-conformity, which some of his worst enemies have said was his only fault, it may not be amiss here to give some account of it.

1. His reasons for his non-conformity were very considerable. 'Twas no rash act, but deliberate and well weigh'd in the balances of the sanctuary. He could by no means submit to be re-ordain'd; so well satisfied was he in his call to the ministry, and his solemn ordination to it, by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, which God had graciously own'd him in, that he durst not do that which looked like a renunciation of it, as null and sinful, and would be at least a tacit invalidating and condemning of all his administrations. Nor could he truly say, that he thought himself moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of a Deacon. He was the more confirmed in this objection, because the then Bishop of Chester, Dr Hall, (in whose diocese he was) besides all that was required by law, exacted from those that came to him to be re-ordained, a subscription to this form :---“ Ego
 “ A. B. præteritas meas ordinationis literas, a quibus-
 “ dam presbyteris olim obtentas jam penitus renuncio,
 “ & dimitto pro vanis; humiliter supplicans quatenus
 “ Rev. in Christo Pater, & Dominus Georgius per-
 M missione

“missione divina Cestr. Episc. me ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem juxta morem & ritus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dignaretur admittere.” This of re-ordination was the first and great bar to his conformity, and which he mostly insisted on. He would sometimes say, that for a Presbyter to be ordain’d a Deacon, is at best, “fuscipere gradum Sineonis.”

Besides this, he was not at all satisfied to give his unfeigned assent and consent, to all and every thing contained in the book of Common-Prayer, &c. for he thought that thereby he should receive the book itself, and every part thereof, rubrics and all, both as true and good; whereas there was several things which he could not think to be so. The exceptions which the ministers made against the liturgy, at the Savoy conference, he thought very considerable; and could by no means submit to, much less approve of, the imposition of the ceremonies: He often said, that when Christ came to free us from the yoke of one ceremonial law, he did not leave it in the power of any man, or company of men, in the world, to lay another upon our necks. Kneeling at the Lord’s Supper he was much dissatisfied about; and it was for many years his great grief, and which in his diary he doth often most pathetically lament; that by it he was debarred from partaking of that ordinance, in the solemn assembly: for, to submit to that imposition, he thought, whatever it was to others, (whom he was far from judging) would be sin to him. He never took the covenant, nor ever expressed any fondness for it; and yet he could not think, and therefore durst not declare that (however unlawfully impos’d,) it was in itself an unlawful oath, and that no person that took it was under the obligation of it: For sometimes “quod fieri non debuit factum valet.” In short, it cannot be wondered at, that he was a non-conformist, when the terms of conformity were so industriously contrived to keep out of the church such men as he; which is manifest by the full account which Mr Baxter hath left

left to posterity of that affair ; and it is a passage worth noticing here, which Dr Bates, in his funeral sermon on Mr Baxter, relates ; that when the Lord Chamberlain, Manchester, told the king, (while the act of uniformity was under debate) that he was afraid that the terms were so hard, that many of the ministers would not comply with them ; Bishop Sheldon being present, replied, I am afraid they will. And it is well known how many of the most sober, pious, and laborious ministers, in all parts of the nation, conformists as well non-conformists did dislike those impositions.

He thought it a mercy (since it must be so) that the case of non-conformity was made so clear as it was, abundantly to satisfy him in his silence and sufferings. I have heard that Mr Anthony Burges, who hesitated before, when he read the act, blessed God that the matter was put out of doubt. And yet to make sure work, the printing and publishing of the new book of Common-Prayer was so deferred, that few of the ministers, except those in London, could possibly get a sight of it, much less duly consider of it before the time prefixed ; which Mr Steel took notice of in his farewell-sermon at Hammer, Aug. 17. 1662, That he was silenced and turned out, for not declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to a book which he never saw nor could see.

One thing which he comforted himself with in his non-conformity was, that as to matters of doubtful disputation touching church-government, ceremonies, and the like, he was unsworn, either on the one side or the other, and so was free from those snares and bands in which so many find themselves both tied up from what they would do, and entangled that they knew not what to do. He was one of those that fear'd an oath, Eccl. x. 2. and would often say, Oaths are edg'd tools, and not to be played with. One passage I find in his papers, which confirmed him in this satisfaction ; 'tis a letter from no less a clergyman than Dr F. of Whitchurch to one of his parishioners, who desired

him to give way that his child might be baptised by another without the cross and godfathers, if he would not do it so himself; both which he refused: 'Twas in the year 1672-3. "For my part, (saith the Doctor) "I freely profess my thoughts, that the strict urging "of indifferent ceremonies, hath done more harm than "good; and possibly (had all men been left to their "liberty therein) there might have been much more "unity, and not much less uniformity. But what "power have I to dispense with myself, being now "under the obligation of a law and an oath?" And he concludes, "I am much grieved at the unhappy con- "dition of myself, and other ministers, who must ei- "ther lose their parishioners love, if they do not com- "ply with them, or else break their solemn obliga- "tions to please them."

This he would say was the mischief of impositions, which ever were, and ever will be bones of contention. When he was at Worthenbury, though in the Lord's Supper he used the gesture of sitting himself, yet he administered it without scruple to some who chose rather to kneel; and he thought that minister's hands should not, in such things be tied up; but that he ought in his place, (though he suffered for it,) to witness against the making of those things the indispensable terms of communion, which Jesus Christ hath not made to be so. "Where the Spirit of the "Lord, and the spirit of the gospel is, there is liber- "ty."

Such as these were the reasons of his non-conformity, which, as long as he lived, he was more and more confirm'd in.

2. His moderation in his non-conformity was very exemplary and eminent, and had a great influence upon many, to keep them from running into an uncharitable and schismatical separation; which, upon all occasions, he bore his testimony against, and was very industrious to stem the tide of. In church-government, that which he desired and wished for, was Archbishop
Ulster's

Usher's reduction of Episcopacy. He thought it lawful to join in the common-prayer in public assemblies, and practised accordingly, and endeavoured to satisfy others concerning it. The spirit he was of, was such as made him much afraid of extremes, and solicitous for nothing more than to maintain and keep Christian love and charity among professors: We shall meet with several instances of this, in the progress of his story, and therefore wave it here. I have been told of an aged minister of his acquaintance, who being asked upon his death-bed, What his thoughts were of his non-conformity? replied, He was well satisfied in it, and should not have conformed so far as he did, (viz. to join in the liturgy,) if it had not been for Mr Henry. Thus was his moderation known unto all men.

But to proceed in his story:---at Michaelmas 1662, he quite left Worthenbury, and came with his family to Broad-Oak, just nine years from his first coming into the country. Being cast by divine Providence into this new place and state of life, his care and prayer was, that he might have grace and wisdom to manage it to the glory of God, which (saith he) is my chief end. Within three weeks after his coming hither, his second son was born, which we mention for the sake of the remark he has upon it:---“ We have no reason (saith he) to call him *Benoni*, I wish we had none to call him *Ichabod*.” And on the day of his family-thanksgiving for that mercy, he writes, “ We have
“ reason to rejoice with trembling, for it goes ill with
“ the church and people of God, and reason to fear
“ worse, because of our sins, and our enemies wrath.”

At the latter end of this year he hath in his diary this note: “ It is observed of many who have con-
“ formed of late, and fallen from what they formerly
“ professed, that, since their so doing, from unblam-
“ able, orderly, pious men, they are become exceed-
“ ing dissolute and profane, and instanceth in some.
“ What need have we every day to pray, Lord, lead
“ us not into temptation.”

For several years after he came to live at Broad-Oak, he went constantly on the Lord's day to the public worship, with his family, at Whitewell-chapel, (which is hard by) if there were any supply there, as sometimes there was from Malpas; and if none, then to Tylstock, (where Mr Zachary Thomas continued for about half a year, and the place was a little sanctuary,) and when that string fail'd, usually to Whitchurch; and did not preach for a great while, unless occasionally, when he visited his friends, or to his own family on Lord's days, when the weather hindred them from going abroad. He comforted himself, that sometime in going in public, he had opportunity of instructing and exhorting those that were in company with him, by the way, according as he saw they had need; and in this his lips fed many, and his tongue was as choice silver; and he acted according to that rule which he often laid down to himself and others, That when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can, and the Lord will accept us in it. He made the best of the sermons he heard in public. It is a mercy (saith he) we have bread, though it be not as it hath been, of the finest of the wheat. Those are froward children who throw away the meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would have. When he met with preaching that was weak, his note is, That's a poor sermon indeed, out of which no good lesson may be learned. He had often occasion to remember that verse of Mr Herbert's,

“ The worst speaks something good, if all want sense,
“ God takes the text, and preacheth patience.”

Nay, and once he saith, he could not avoid thinking of Eli's sons, who made the sacrifices of the Lord to be abhorred: yet he went to bear his testimony to public ordinances; “ For still (saith he) the Lord loves
“ the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of
“ Jacob,” and so do I. Such then were his sentiments of things, expecting that God would yet open
a door

a door of return to former public liberty, which he much desired and prayed for, and in hopes of that, was backward to fall into the stated exercise of his ministry otherwise, (as were all the sober non-conformists generally in those parts,) but it was his grief and burthen, that he had not an opportunity of doing more for God. He had scarce one talent of opportunity, but that one he was very diligent and faithful in the improvement of. When he visited his friends, how did he lay out himself to do them good? Being asked once, (where he made a visit,) to expound and pray, which his friends returned him thanks for; he thus writes upon it, "They cannot thank me so much for my pains, but I thank them more, and my Lord God especially, for the opportunity." Read his conflict with himself at this time: "I own myself a minister of Christ, yet do nothing as a minister; what will excuse me! Is it enough for me to say, Behold, I stand in the market-place, and no man hath hired me?" And he comforts himself with this appeal, "Lord, thou knowest what will I have to thy work, public or private, if I had a call and opportunity;" and shall this willing mind be accepted? Surely this is a melancholy consideration, and lays a great deal of blame somewhere, that such a man as Mr Henry, so well qualified with gifts and graces for ministerial work, and in the prime of his time for usefulness; so sound and orthodox, so humble and modest, so quiet and peaceable, so pious and blameless, should be so industriously thrust out of the vineyard, as a useless and unprofitable servant, and laid aside as a despised broken vessel, and a vessel in which there was no pleasure. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation; especially since it was not his case alone, but the lot of so many hundreds of the same character.

In these circumstances of silence and restraint, he took comfort himself, and administered comfort to others from that Scripture, Isa. xvi. 4. "Let my out-casts dwell with thee, Moab." God's people may
be

be an out-cast people, cast out of men's love, their synagogues, their country; but God will own his people when men cast them out; they are out-casts, but they are his, and somewhere or other he will provide a dwelling for them. There were many worthy, able ministers, thereabouts turn'd out, both from work and subsistence, that had not such comfortable support for the life that now is, as Mr Henry had, for whom he was most affectionately concerned, and to whom he shewed much kindness. There were computed, within a few miles round him, so many ministers turned out to the wide world, stript of all their maintenance, and exposed to continual hardships, as with their wives and children, (having most of them numerous families,) made up above a hundred, that lived upon Providence; and though often reduced to wants and straits, yet were not forsaken, but were enabled to rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of their salvation notwithstanding: to whom the promise was fulfilled, Psal. xxxvii. 3. "So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed." The world was told long since, by the conformists plea, that the worthy Mr Lawrence, (Mr Henry's intimate friend) when he was turned out of Baschurch, and (if he would have consulted with flesh and blood) having (as was said of one of the martyrs) eleven good arguments against suffering, viz. a wife and ten children, was asked how he meant to maintain them all, and cheerfully replied, they must all live on the vi. of Matthew, "Take no thought for your life," &c. and he often sung with his family Psal. xxxvii. 16. And Mr Henry hath noted concerning him in his diary, some time after he was turn'd out, that he bore witness to the love and care of our heavenly Father, providing for him and his in his present condition, beyond expectation.

One observation Mr Henry made not long before he died, when he had been young and now was old, that though many of the ejected ministers were brought
very

very low, had many children, were greatly harrassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them ; yet in all his acquaintance he never knew, nor could remember to have heard, of any non-conformist minister in prison for debt.

In October 1663, Mr Steel and Mr Henry, and some other of their friends, were taken up and brought prisoners to Hanmer, under pretence of some plot said to be on foot against the Government ; and there they were kept under confinement some days, on which he writes, “ It is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience : The sting of death is sin, and so of imprisonment also. ’Tis the first time I was ever a prisoner, but perhaps may not be the last. We felt no hardship, but we know not what we may.” They were, soon after, examined by the deputy lieutenants, charged with they knew not what, and so dismissed, finding verbal security to be forthcoming upon twenty-four hours notice whenever they should be called for. Mr Henry returned to his tabernacle with thanksgivings to God, and a hearty prayer for his enemies, that God would forgive them. The very next day after they were released, a great man in the country, at whose instigation they were brought into that trouble, died (as was said) of a drunken surfeit. So that a man shall say, “ Verily there is a God that judgeth “ in the earth.”

In the beginning of the year 1665, when the act for a royal aid to his Majesty of two millions and a half came out, the commissioners for Flintshire were pleased to nominate Mr Henry sub-collector of the said tax for the township of Iscoyd, and Mr Steel for the township of Hanmer. They intended thereby to put an affront and disparagement upon their ministry, and to shew that they looked upon them but as lay-men ; his note upon it is, “ It is not a sin which they put us upon, but it is a cross, and a cross in our way, and therefore to be taken up and borne with patience. When I had better work to do, I was wanting in my duty about

it, and now this is put upon me, the Lord is righteous." He procured the gathering of it by others, only took account of it, and saw it duly done; and deserved (as he said he hop'd he should) that inscription mentioned in Suetonius, To the memory of an honest Publican.

In September the same year he was again, by warrant from the deputy lieutenants, fetched prisoner to Flanmer, as was also Mr Steel and others. He was examined about private meetings: some such (but private indeed) he own'd he had been present at of late in Shropshire, but the occasion was extraordinary; the plague was at that time raging in London, and he, and several of his friends, having near relations there, thought it time to seek the Lord for them, and this was imputed to him as his crime. He was likewise charged with administering the Lord's Supper, which he denied, having never administered it since he was disabled by the act of Uniformity. After some days confinement, seeing they could prove nothing upon him, he was discharged upon recognizance of 20*l.* with two sureties to be forthcoming upon notice, and to live peaceably. But (saith he) our restraint was not strict, for we had liberty of prayer and conference together, to our mutual edification: Thus, "out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong, sweetness;" and we found honey in the carcase of the lion. It was but a little before this that Mr Steel, setting out for London, was, by a warrant from the justices, under colour of the report of a plot, stopped and searched, and finding nothing to accuse him of, they seized his almanack, in which he kept his diary for that year; and it not being written very legibly, they made what malicious readings and comments they pleased upon it, to his great wrong and reproach; though, to all sober and sensible people, it discovered him to be a man that kept a strict watch over his own heart, and was a great husband of his time, and many said they got good by it, and should love him the better for it, Psal. xxxvii. 5, 6. This event made Mr Henry somewhat more

more cautious and sparing in the records of his diary, when he saw how evil men dig up mischief.

At Lady-day, 1666, the five-mile act commenced, by which all non-conformist ministers were forbidden, upon pain of six months imprisonment, to come or be within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where they had been ministers, unless they would take an oath; of which Mr Baxter saith, 'twas credibly reported, that the Earl of Southampton, then Lord high treasurer of England, said, No honest man could take it. Mr Baxter, in his Life, hath set down at large, his reasons against taking this Oxford-oath, as it was called, part ii. p. 396, &c. part iii. p. 4, &c. Mr Henry set his down in short, 'Twas an oath, not at any time to endeavour any alteration of the government in the church or state. He had already taken an oath of allegiance to the King, and he looked upon this to amount to an oath of allegiance to the bishops, which he was not free to take. Thus he writes, March 22, 1665-6:

“ This day methoughts it was made more clear to
“ me than ever, by the hand of my God upon me, and
“ I note it down, that I may remember it. (1.) That
“ the government of the church of Christ ought to
“ be managed by the ministers of Christ.” It ap-
“ pears, Heb. xiii. 7. that they are to rule us that speak
“ to us the word of God. “ (2.) That, under prelacy,
“ ministers have not the management of church-go-
“ vernment, not in the least, being only the publish-
“ ers of the prelates decrees, as in excommunication
“ and absolution, which decrees sometimes are given
“ forth by lay-chancellors. (3.) That therefore
“ prelacy is an usurpation in the church of God, u-
“ pon the crown and dignity of Jesus Christ, and u-
“ pon the gospel-rights of his servants the ministers.
“ And therefore, (4.) I ought not to subscribe to it,
“ nor to swear not to endeavour, in all lawful ways,
“ the alteration of it, viz. by praying and perswading,
“ where there is opportunity. But, (5.) That I may
N 2 safely

“ safely venture to suffer in the refusal of such an oath,
 “ committing my soul, life, estate, liberty, all to Him
 “ who judgeth righteously.”

And on March 25, the day when that act took place, he thus writes : “ A sad day among poor ministers up
 “ and down this nation ; who, by this act of restraint,
 “ are forced to remove from among their friends, ac-
 “ quaintance, and relations, and to sojourn among
 “ strangers, as it were in Mesech and in the tents of
 “ Kedar. But there is a God who tells their wan-
 “ drings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their
 “ wives and children into his bottle ; are they not in
 “ his book ? The Lord be a little sanctuary to them,
 “ and a place of refuge from the storm, and from the
 “ tempest ; and pity those places from which they are
 “ ejected, and come and dwell where they may not.”

He wished their removes might not be figurative of evil to these nations, as Ezekiel's were, Ezek. xii. 1, 2, 3. This severe dispensation forced Mr Steel and his family from Hanmer, and so he lost the comfort of his neighbourhood ; but withal it drew Mr Laurence from Burchurch to Whitchurch parish, where he continued till he was driven thence too.

Mr Henry's house at Broad-Oak was but four computed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury parish, but he got it measured, and accounting 1760 yards to a mile (according to the Statute 35 Eliz. cap. 6.) it was found to be just five miles and threescore yards, which one would think might have been his security : but there were those near him who were ready to stretch such laws to the utmost rigor, under pretence of construing them in favour of the King, and therefore would have it be understood of computed miles. This obliged him for some time to leave his family, and to sojourn among his friends, to whom he endeavoured, where-ever he came, to impart some spiritual gift. At last he ventured home ; presuming, among other things, that the warrant by which he was made collector of the royal aid, while that continued, would secure him,
 according

according to a proviso in the last clause of the act, which, when the gentlemen perceived, they discharged him from that office before he had served out the time.

He was much affected with it, that the burning of London happened so soon after the non-conformists were banished out of it. He thought it was in mercy to them that they were removed before that desolating judgment came, but that it spoke aloud to our governors, " Let my people go, that they may serve me; and if ye will not, behold thus and thus will I do unto you." This was the Lord's voice crying in the city.

In the beginning of the year 1667, he removed with his family to Whitchurch, and dwelt there above a year, except that for one quarter of a year, about harvest, he returned again to Broad-Oak. His remove to Whitchurch was partly to quiet his adversaries, who were ready to quarrel with him upon the five-mile act, and partly for the benefit of the school there for his children.

There, in April following, he buried his eldest son, not quite six years old, a child of extraordinary pregnancy and forwardness in learning, and of a very towardsly disposition : his character of this child is,

. Præterque ætatem nil puerile fuit.

This child, before he was seized with the sickness whereof he died, was much affected with some verses, which he met with in Mr White's Power of Godliness, said to be found in the pocket of a hopeful young man, who died before he was twenty-four years old. Of his own accord he got them without book, and would be often rehearsing them, they were these :

Not twice twelve years (he might say
Not half twelve years) full told, a wearied breath
I have exchanged for a happy death.
Short was my life ; the longer is my rest,
God takes them soonest whom he loveth best.

He that is born to-day, and dies to-morrow,
 Loses some hours of joy, but months of sorrow ;
 Other diseases often come to griev' us,
 Death strikes but once, and that stroke doth relieve us.

This was a great affliction to the tender parents :
 Mr Henry writes upon it in the reflection,

Quicquid amas cupias non placuisse nimis.

Many years after, he said, he thought he did apply to himself at that time, but too sensibly, that scripture, Lam. iii. 1. " I am the man that hath seen affliction." And he would say to his friends upon such occasions, " Losers think they may have leave to speak, but they must have a care what they say, lest, speaking amiss to God's dishonour, they make work for repentance, and shed tears that must be wept over again." He observed concerning this child, that he had always been very patient under rebukes, " The remembrance of which (saith he) teacheth me now how to carry it under the rebukes of my heavenly Father." His prayer under this providence was, " Shew me, Lord, shew me wherefore thou contendest with me ; have I over-boasted, over-lov'd, over-priz'd ?" A Lord's day intervening between the death and burial of the child, " I attended (saith he) on publick ordinances, though sad in spirit, as Job, who, after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof death of children was the last and heaviest, yet fell down and worshipped." And he would often say upon such occasions, that weeping must not hinder sowing. Upon the interment of the child, he writes, " My dear child, now mine no longer, was laid in the cold earth ; not lost, but sown to be raised again a glorious body, and I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." A few days after, his dear friend Mr Lawrence (then living in Whitchurch parish) buried a daughter, that was grown up and very hopeful, and gave good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon her soul : How willing (saith he) may parents be to part with such when the Lord calls : they are

are not *amiffi* but *praemiffi*. And he hath this further remark, “The Lord hath made his poor fervants, that have been often companions in his work, now companions in tribulation, the very fame tribulation; me for my fin, him for his trial.”

While he liv'd at Whitchurch, he attended constantly upon the publick miniftry, and there (as ever) he was careful to come to the beginning of the fervice, which he attended upon with reverence and devotion; ftanding all the time, even while the chapters were read. In the evening of the Lord's day, he fpend fome time in inftructing his family, to which a few of his friends and neighbours in the town would fometimes come in; and it was a little gleam of opportunity, but very fhort, for (as he notes) “He was offended at it, who fhould rather have rejoiced, if by any means the work might be carried on in his people's fouls.”

He obferves in his diary this year, how zealous people had generally been for the obfervation of Lent a while ago, and how cold they are towards it now. The fame he notes of proceffions in afcenfion-week; for (faith he) what hath no good foundation will not hold up long; but in that which is duty, and of God, it is good to be zealoufly affected always.

In this year (I think) was the firft time that he adminiftered the Lord's Supper (very privately to be fure) after he was filenced by the act of uniformity, and he did not do it without mature deliberation. A fear of feparation kept him from it fo long; what induced him to it at laft, I find thus under his own hand: “I am a minifter of Chrift, and as fuch I am obliged, *Virtute officii*, by all means to endeavour the good of fouls. Now here's a company of ferious Chriftians, whole lot is caft to live in a parifh where there is one fet over them who preacheth the truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other parts of worfhip; only as to the Lord's Supper; they fcruple the lawfulness of the geflure of kneeling; and he tells them, his hands are tied, and he cannot adminifter it unto them any other

other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earnestly long for that ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this request of theirs, without betraying my ministerial trust, and incurring the guilt of a grievous omission."

In February 1667-8, Mr Laurence and he were invited by some of their friends to Betley in Staffordshire, and (there being some little public connivance at that time) with the consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the church, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon of the Lord's day, very peaceably and profitably. This action of theirs was presently after reported in the House of Commons by a member of Parliament, with these additions, that they tore the common-prayer book, trampled the surplice under their feet, pull'd the minister of the place out of the pulpit, &c. Reports which there was not the least colour for. But that, with some other such like false stories, produced an address of the House of Commons to the King, to issue out a proclamation, for the putting of the laws in execution against papists and non-conformists, which was issued out accordingly; though the King, at the opening of that session, a little before, had declared his desire, that some course might be taken to compose the minds of his protestant subjects in matters of religion; which had raised the expectations of some, that there would be speedy enlargement; but Mr Henry had noted upon it, "We cannot expect too little from man, nor too much from GOD."

And here it may be very pertinent to observe, how industrious Mr Henry was at this time, when he and his friends suffered such hard things from the government, to preserve and promote a good affection to the government notwithstanding. It was commonly charged at that time upon the non-conformists in general, especially from the pulpits, that they were all a factious and turbulent people, and, as was said of old, Ezra iv. 16, "hurtful to Kings and provinces;" that their meetings

meetings were for the sowing of sedition and discontents, and the like ; and there is some reason to think, that one thing intended by the hardships put upon them was to drive them to this. There is a way of making a wife man mad. But how peaceably they carried themselves, is manifest to God, and in the consciences of many. For an instance of it, it will not be amiss to give some account of a sermon which Mr Henry preached in some very private meetings, such as were called seditious conventicles, in the year 1669, when it was a day of treading down, and of perplexity ; it was on that text, Psa. xxxv. 20. “ Against them that
“ are quiet in the land ;” whence (not to curry favour with rulers, for whatever the sermon was, the very preaching of it, had it been known, must have been severely punished, but purely out of conscience towards God) he taught his friends this doctrine, “ That it is the character of the people of God, that they are a quiet people in the land.” “ This quietness
“ he described to be an orderly, peaceable subjection
“ to governors and government in the Lord. We must
“ maintain a reverent esteem of them, and of their
“ authority, in opposition to despising dominion, 2
“ Pet. ii. 10. ; we must be meek under severe commands, and burthenfome impositions, not murmuring and complaining, as the Israelites against Moses
“ and Aaron ; but take them up as our cross in our
“ way, and bear them as we do foul weather. We
“ must not speak evil of dignities, Jude, ver. 8. ; nor
“ revile the gods, Exod. xxii. 28. Paul checked himself for this, Acts xxiii. 5. I did not consider it, if
“ I had, I would not have said so. We must not traduce their government as Absalom did David’s, 2
“ Sam. xv. 3. Great care is to be taken, how we speak
“ of the faults of any, especially of rulers, Eccl. x.
“ 20.—The people of God do make the word of God
“ their rule, and by that they are taught, (1.) that
“ magistracy is God’s ordinance, and magistrates
“ God’s ministers ; that by Him kings reign, and the
“ powers

“ powers that be are ordained of him. (2.) That they,
 “ as well as others, are to have their dues, honour,
 “ and fear, and tribute. (3.) That their lawful com-
 “ mands are to be obey’d, and that readily and chear-
 “ fully, Titus iii. 1. (4.) That the penalties inflicted
 “ for not obeying unlawful commands are patiently
 “ to be undergone. This is the rule, and as many
 “ as walk according to this rule, peace shall be upon
 “ them, and there can be no danger of their unpeace-
 “ ableness. They are taught to pray for kings and all
 “ in authority, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.; and God forbid we
 “ should do otherwise: yea, tho’ they persecute, Jer.
 “ xxix. 7.; peaceable prayers bespeak a peaceable peo-
 “ ple, Psal. cix. 4. If some professing religion have
 “ been unquiet, their unquietness hath given the lye to
 “ their profession, Jude, ver. 8, 11, 12. Quietness is
 “ our badge, Col. iii. 12.; ’twill be our strength, Isa.
 “ xxx. 7, 15.; our rejoicing in the day of evil, Jer.
 “ xviii. 18.; it is pleasing to God, 1 Tim. ii. 2, 3.; it
 “ may work upon others, 1 Peter ii. 12, 13. The
 “ means he prescribed for the keeping of us quiet,
 “ were to get our hearts fill’d with the knowledge and
 “ belief of these two things, 1. That the kingdom of
 “ Christ is not of this world, John xviii. 36.; many
 “ have thought otherwise, and it hath made them un-
 “ quiet. 2. That the wrath of man worketh not the
 “ righteousness of God, James i. 20.; he needs not
 “ our sin to bring to pass his own counsel. We must
 “ mortify unquietness in the causes of it, James iv. 1.;
 “ we must always remember the oath of God, Eccl.
 “ viii. 2.; the oath of allegiance is an oath of quiet-
 “ ness: and we must beware of the company and
 “ converse of those that are unquiet, Prov. xxii. 24,
 “ 25. Tho’ deceitful matters be devis’d, yet we must
 “ be quiet still; nay, be so much the more quiet.”

I have been this large in gathering these hints out
 of that sermon, (which he took all occasions in other
 sermons to inculcate, as all his brethren likewise did)
 that if possible it may be a conviction to the present ge-
 neration;

neration ; or however, may be a witness in time to come, that the non-conformist ministers were not enemies to Cæsar, nor troublers of the land ; nor their meetings any way tending to the disturbance of the publick peace, but purely design'd to help to repair the decays of Christian piety.

All that knew Mr Henry, knew very well that his practice all his days was consonant to these his settled principles.

In May, 1668, he return'd again with his family from Whitchurch to Broad-Oak, which, through the good hand of his God upon him, continued his settled home, without any remove from it, till he was removed to his long home above twenty-eight years after.

The edge of the five-mile act began now a little to rebate, at least in that country ; and he was desirous to be more useful to the neighbours, among whom God had given him an estate, than he could be at a distance from them by relieving the poor, employing the labourers, and especially instructing the ignorant, and helping as many as he could to heaven. He made that scripture his standing rule, and wrote it in the beginning of his book of accounts, Prov. iii. 9, 10. " Honour the Lord with thy substance, &c." And having set apart a day of secret prayer and humiliation, to beg of God a wife and understanding heart, and to drop a tear (as he expresseth it) over the sins of his predecessors, formerly in that estate, he laid out himself very much in doing good. He was very serviceable upon all accounts in the neighbourhood, and tho' it took up a great deal of his time, and hindred him from his beloved studies, yet it might be said of him, as the Bishop of Salisbury saith of Archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon at his funeral, that he " chose rather to
" live to the good of others than to himself ; and
" thought, that to do an act of charity, or even of
" tenderness and kindness, was of more value both in
" itself, and in the sight of God, than to pursue the
O 2 " pompous

“ pompous parts of learning, how much soever his
“ own genius might lead him to it.”

He was very useful in the common concernments of the township and country, in which he was a very prudent counsellor ; it was indeed a narrow sphere of activity, but (such as it was) to him as to Job xxix. 21, 22. “ Men gave ear and waited, and kept silence at his counsel ; after his words they spake not again ;” and many of the neighbours who respected him not as a minister, yet lov'd and honour'd him as a knowing, prudent, and humble neighbour. In the concernments of private families, he was very far from busying himself, and further from seeking himself, but he was very much busied, advising many about their affairs, and the disposal of themselves and their children, arbitrating and composing differences among relations and neighbours, in which he had an excellent faculty, and often good success, inheriting the blessing entail'd upon the peace-makers. References have sometimes been made to him by rule of court, at the assizes. with consent of parties. He was very affable and easy of access, and admirably patient in hearing every one's complaint, which he would answer with so much prudence and mildness, and give such apt advice, that many a time to consult with him, was to ask counsel at Abel, and so to end the matter. He observed in almost all quarrels that happened, that there was a fault, on both sides ; and that generally they were almost in the fault that were most forward and clamorous in their complaints. One making her moan to him of a bad husband she had, that in this, and 'tother instance was unkind ; and (Sir,) saith she, after a long complaint which he patiently heard, What would you have me to do now ? “ Why truly (saith he) I would
“ have you go home and be a better wife to him,
“ and then you'll find that he will be a better husband
“ to you.”

Labouring to persuade one to forgive an injury that had been done him ; he urged this, Are you not a
Christian ?

Christian? and follow'd that argument so close, that at last he prevailed.

He was very industrious, and oft successful, in persuading people to recede from their right, for peace sake; and he would for that purpose tell them Luther's story of the two goats, that met upon a narrow bridge over a deep water; they could not go back, they durst not fight; after a short parley, one of them lay down, and let the other go over him, and no harm done. He would likewise relate sometimes a remarkable story, worthy to be here inserted, concerning a good friend of his, Mr T. Y. of Whitchurch, who in his youth was greatly wrong'd by an unjust uncle of his, being an orphan; his portion, which was 200*l.* was put into the hands of that uncle; who, when he grew up, shuffled with him, and would give him but 40*l.* instead of his 200*l.* and he had no way of recovering his right but by law; but before he would engage in that, he was willing to advise with his minister, who was the famous Dr Twiss of Newberry: the counsel he gave him (all things considered) was for peace sake, and for the preventing of sin and snares, and trouble, to take the 40*l.* rather than contend; and, Thomas, (saith the Doctor) if thou dost so, assure thyself, that God will make it up to thee and thine, some other way, and they that defraud thee will be the losers by it at last. He did so, and it pleased God so to bless that little which he began the world with, that when he died in a good old age, he left his son possess'd of some hundreds a year, and he that wrong'd him fell into decay.

Many very pious worthy families in the country said of Mr Henry, that they had no friend like minded, who did naturally care for their state, and so affectionately sympathize with them, and in whom their hearts could safely trust.

He was also very charitable to the poor, and was full of almshouses, which *he did* (as it is said of Tabitha, Acts chapter ix. 36.) not which he said he would do, or which he put others on to do, but which

which he did himself, difperſing abroad, and giving to the poor, ſeeking and rejoicing in opportunities of that kind: and whenever he gave an alms for the body, he uſually gave with it a ſpiritual alms, ſome good word of counſel, reproof, inſtruction, or comfort, as there was occaſion, and in accommodating theſe to the perſons he ſpoke to, he had a great dexterity.

He was very forward to lend money freely, to any of his poor neighbours that had occaſion, and would ſometimes ſay, that in many caſes there was more charity in lending than in giving, becauſe it obliged the borrower both to honeſty and induſtry. When one of his neighbours, to whom he had lent three pound, fail'd, ſo that he was never likely to ſee a farthing of it, he writes thus upon it, “notwithſtanding this, yet ſtill I judge it my duty to lend,” Luke xi. 35. Tho' what is lent in charity be not repaid, yet it is not loſt. When thoſe that had borrowed money of him paid him again, he uſually gave them back ſome part, to encourage honeſty. He judged the taking of moderate intereſt for money lawful, where the borrower was in a way of gaining by it: but he would adviſe his friends that had money, rather to diſpoſe of it otherways, if they could.

It muſt not be forgotten, how punctual and exact he was in all his accounts with tenants, workmen, &c. being always careful to keep ſuch things in black and white (as he uſ'd to ſay) which is the ſureſt way to prevent miſtakes, and a man's wronging either himſelf or his neighbour; ſuch was his prudence, and ſuch his patience and peaceableneſs, that of all the time he was at Broad-Oak, he never ſued any, nor ever was ſued, but was inſtrumental to prevent many a vexatious law-ſuit among his neighbours. He uſed to ſay, There are four rules to be duly obſerved in going to law; (1.) We muſt not go to law for trifles, as he did who ſaid, he would rather ſpend a hundred pound in law than loſe a pennyworth of his right, Matt. v. 39, 40, 41. (2.) We muſt not be raſh and haſty in it, but try

try all other means possible to compose differences, wherein he that yields most, as Abraham did to Lot, is the better man, and there is nothing lost by it in the end, 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2. (3.) We must see that it be without malice or desire of revenge. If the undoing of our brother, be the end of our going to law, as it is with many, 'tis certainly evil, and it speeds accordingly. (4.) It must be with a disposition to peace, whenever it may be had, and an ear open to all overtures of that kind. The two mottos proper for the great guns are applicable to this, *Ratto ultima Regum* and *Sic quaerimus Pacem*.

Four rules he sometimes gave to be observed in our converse with men :

Have communion with few,
Be familiar with one ;
Deal justly with all,
Speak evil of none.

He was noted for an extraordinary neat husband about his house and ground, which he would often say, he could not endure to see like the field of the slothful, and the vineyard of the man void of understanding. And it was strange, how easily one that had been bred up utterly a stranger to such things ; yet when God so ordered his lot, acquainted himself with, and accommodated himself to the affairs of the country, making it the diversion of his vacant hours, to over-see his gardens and fields ; when he better understood that known epode of Horace, " *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,*" than he did when in his youth he made an ingenious translation of it. His care of this kind was an act of charity to poor labourers whom he employed ; and it was a good example to his neighbours, as well as for the comfort of his family. His converse likewise with these things was excellently improved, for spiritual purposes, by occasional meditations, hints of which there are often in his diary, as those that conversed with him had many in discourse :

Instances

Instances of this were easy, but endless to give. He used to say, that therefore many of the scripture parables and similitudes are taken from the common actions of this life, that when our hands are employed about them, our hearts may the more easily pass through them to divine and heavenly things. I have heard him often blame those, whose irregular zeal in the profession of religion, makes them to neglect their worldly business, and let the house drop through; the affairs of which the good man will order with discretion; and he would tell sometimes of a religious woman, whose fault it was, how she was convinced of it, by means of an intelligent godly neighbour; who coming into the house, and finding the good woman, far in the day, in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, children not tended, servants not minded; "What, saith he, is there no fear of God in this house?" which much startled and affected the good woman, that over-heard him. He would often say, "Every thing is beautiful in its season;" and that it is the wisdom of the prudent, so to order the duties of their general callings as Christians, and those of their particular callings in the world, as that they may not clash or interfere: I have heard it observed from Eccl. vii. 16. That there may be over-doing in well-doing.

I cannot omit one little passage in his diary, because it may be instructive: When he was once desired to be bound for one that had upon a particular occasion been bound for him, he writes, Solomon saith "He that hateth suretyship is sure; but he saith also, he that hath friends must shew himself friendly." But he always cautioned those that became sureties, not to be bound for any more than they knew themselves able to pay, nor for more than they would be willing to pay, if the principal fail.

His house at Broad Oak was by the road side, which, though it had its inconveniences, yet (he would say) pleased him well, because it gave his friends an opportunity of calling on him the oftner, and gave him an opportunity

opportunity of being kind to strangers, and such as were any way distressed upon the road, to whom he was, upon all occasions, cheerfully ready; fully answering the apostle's character of a bishop, that he must be of good behaviour, decent, affable, and obliging and given to hospitality, 1st Tim. iii. 2.; like Abraham, sitting at his tent-door, in quest of opportunities to do good. If he met with any poor near his house, and gave them alms in money, yet he would bid them go to his door besides, for relief there. He was very tender and compassionate towards poor strangers and travellers, though his charity and candor were often imposed upon by cheats and pretenders, whom he was not apt to be suspicious of; but would say in the most favourable sense, Thou knowest not the heart of a stranger. If any asked his charity, whose representation of their case he did not like, or who he thought did amiss to take that course, he would first give them an alms, and then mildly reprove them; and labour to convince them that they were out of the way of duty, and that they could not expect that God should bless them in it; and would not chide them, but reason with them: And he would say, if he should tell them of their faults, and not give them an alms, the reproof would look only like an excuse to deny his charity, and would be rejected accordingly.

In a word, his greatest care about the things of this world was, how to do good with what he had, and to devise liberal things; desiring to make no other accession to his estate, but only that blessing which attends beneficence. He did firmly believe (and it should seem few do) that what is given to the poor is lent to the Lord, who will pay it again in kind or kindness; and that religion and piety is surely the best friend to outward prosperity, and he found it so; for it pleased God abundantly to bless his habitation, and to make a hedge about him, and about all that he had round about: and tho' he did not delight himself in the abundance of wealth; yet, which is far better, he delight-

ed himself in the abundance of peace, Pſal. xxxvii. 11. All that he had and did obſervably prospered; ſo that the country oftentimes took notice of it, and called his family, a family which the Lord had bleſſed. And his comforts of this kind were (as he uſed to pray they might be) oil to the wheels of his obedience, and in the uſe of theſe things he ſerved the Lord his God with joyfulneſs and gladneſs of heart, yet ſtill mindful of and grieved for the affliction of Joſeph. He would ſay ſometimes, when he was in the miſt of the comforts of this life, as that good man:---All this, and heaven too! ſurely then we ſerve a good Maſter. Thus did the Lord bleſs him, and make him a bleſſing; and this abundant grace through the thankſgiving of many, redounded to the glory of God.

Having given this general account of his circumſtances at Broad-Oak, we ſhall now go on with his ſtory, eſpecially as to the exerciſe of his miniſtry there, and thereabouts; for that was the thing in which he was, and to which he chiefly gave himſelf. After this ſettle- ment at Broad-Oak, whenever there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel (as uſually there was two Lord's days in the month) he conſtantly attended there with his family, was uſually with the firſt, and reverently joined in the public ſervice; he diligently wrote the ſermons; always ſtaid if the ordinance of baptiſm was adminiſtered, but not if there were a wedding, for he thought that a ſolemnity not proper for the Lord's day. He often din'd the miniſter that preach'd; after dinner he ſung a pſalm, repeated the morning ſermon, and pray'd; and then attended in like manner in the afternoon. In the evening he preach'd to his own family; and perhaps two or three of his neighbours would drop in to him. On thoſe Lord's days when there was no preaching at the Chapel, he ſpent the whole day at home, and many an excellent ſermon he preach'd, when there were preſent only four beſides his own family (and perhaps not ſo many) according to the limitation of the conventicle act. In theſe nar-

row private circumstances he preached over the former part of the Assembly's Catechism, from divers texts; he also preached over psalm cxvi. besides many particular occasional subjects.

What a grief of heart it was to him, to be thus put under a bushel, and confin'd to such a narrow sphere of usefulness, read in his own words, which I shall transcribe out of an elegy he made (to give vent to his thoughts) upon the death of his worthy friend Mr Geo. Mainwaring, sometime minister of Malpas, (who was silenced by the act of uniformity, and died Mar. 14. 1669-70.) wherein he thus bewails (feelingly enough) the like restraints and confinements of his friend:

*His later years he sadly spent,
Wrapt up in silence and restraint.
A burthen such as none do know,
But they that do it undergo,
To have a fire shut up and pent
Within the bowels, and no vent;
To have gorg'd Breasts, and by a law,
Those that fain would, forbidden to draw.
But his dumb Sabbaths here, did prove
Loud crying Sabbaths in heav'n above.
His tears, when he might sow no more,
Wat'ring what he had sown before.*

Soon after his settlement at Broad Oak, he took a young scholar into the house with him; partly to teach his son, and partly to be a companion to himself to converse with him, and to receive help and instruction from him; and for many years he was seldom without one or other such; who before their going to the University, or in the intervals of their attendance there, would be in his family, sitting under his shadow. One of the first he had with him, in the year 1668, (and after) was Mr William Turner, born in the neighbourhood; afterwards of Edmund Hall in Oxford, now vicar of Walberron in Suffex, to whom the world is be-

holden for that elaborate history of all religions which he published in the year 1695, and from whom is earnestly expected the performance of that noble and useful project for the record of providences. Betwixt Mr Henry and him there was a most entire and affectionate friendship; and notwithstanding that distance of place, and constant and endearing correspondence, kept up as long as Mr Henry liv'd.

It was observ'd that several young men who had sojourn'd with him, and were very hopeful and likely to be serviceable to their generations, dy'd soon after their removal from him, (I could instance six or seven,) as if God had sent them to him to be prepared for another world, before they were call'd for out of this; yet never any dy'd while they were with him.

He had so great a kindness for the university, and valu'd so much the mighty advantages of improvement there, that he advis'd all his friends who design'd their children for scholars, to send them thither, for many years after the change, though he always counted upon their conformity. But long experience altered his mind herein, and he chose rather to keep his own son at home with him, and to give him what help he could there, in his education, than venture him into the snares and temptations of the university.

It was also soon after this settlement of his at Broad-Oak, that he contracted an intimate friendship with that learned, and pious, and judicious gentleman Mr Hunt of Boreatton, (the son of colonel Hunt of Salop) and with his excellent lady Frances, daughter of the right honourable the lord Paget. The acquaintance then begun betwixt Mr Henry and that worthy family continued to his dying day, about thirty years. One Lord's day in a quarter he commonly spent with them, besides other interviews; and it was a constant rejoicing to him to see religion and the power of godliness uppermost, in such a family as that, when not many mighty, not many noble are called; and the branches of it branches of righteousness, the planting of the
Lord.

Lord. Divers of the honourable relations of that family contracted a very great respect for him, particularly the present lord Paget, his Majesty's Ambassador at the Ottoman court, and Sir Henry Ashurst, whom we shall have occasion afterwards to make mention of.

In the time of trouble and distress, by the conventicle act, in 1670, he kept private and stirr'd little abroad, as loth to offend those that were in power, and judging it prudence to gather in his sails, when the storm was violent: He then observ'd, as that which he was troubled at; "That there was a great deal of
" precious time lost among professors, when they came
" together, in discoursing of their adventures to meet,
" and their escapes, which he feared tended more to
" set up self, than to give glory to God." Also in telling how they got together, and such a one preached, but little enquiring what spiritual benefit and advantage was reaped by it; and that we are apt to make the circumstances of our religious services, more the matter of our discourse, than the substance of them.

We shall close this chapter with two remarks out of his diary, in the year 1671, which will shew what manner of spirit he was of, and what were his sentiments of things at that time. One is this, "All
" knowledge that there is at this day a number of so-
" ber, peaceable men, both ministers and others, a-
" mong dissenters, but who either faith or doth any
" thing to oblige them? who desireth or endeavour-
" eth to open the door to let in such? nay, do they
" not rather provoke them to run into the same ex-
" travagancies with others by making no difference,
" but laying load on them as if they were as bad as
" the worst." 'Tis true, that about this time the lord keeper Bridgman and bishop Wilkins, and the lord Chief Justice Hale, were making some overtures towards an accommodation with them; but it is as true, that those overtures did but the more exasperated their adversaries, (who were ready to account such moder-
ate

ate men the worst enemies the church of England had,) and the event was, greater acts of severity.

Another is this, “If all that hath been said and written to prove that prelacy is antichristian, and that it is unlawful to join in the common-prayer, had been effectually to persuade bishops to study and do the duty of church-rulers, in preaching and feeding the flock, according to the word, and to persuade people to be serious inward, and spiritual the in use of forms, it had been better with the church of God in England, than it now is.” Consonant to the spirit of this remark, was that which he took all occasions to mention as his settled principle: “In those things wherein all the people of God are agreed, I will spend my zeal; and wherein they differ I will endeavour to walk according to the light that God hath given me, and charitably believe that others do so too.”

C H A P. VI.

His liberty by the indulgence in the year 1672, and thenceforwards to the year 1681.

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe act against conventicles, in the year 1670, yet the non-conformists in London ventur'd to set up meetings in 1671, and were conniv'd at; but in the country there was little liberty taken till the King's declaration of March 15, 1671-2, gave countenance and encouragement to it. What were the secret springs which produced that declaration time discovered; however, it was to the poor dissenters as life from the dead, and gave them some reviving in their bondage; God graciously ordering it so, that the spirit he had made might not fail before him. But so precarious a liberty was it, that it should never be said, those people were hard to be pleased, who were so well pleased with that, and thank-
ed

ed God, who put such a thing into the King's heart. The tenor of that declaration was this : " In consideration of the inefficacy of rigor, tried for divers years, and to invite strangers into the kingdom, ratifying the establishment in the church of England, it suspends penal laws against all non-conformists and recusants, promiseth to license separate places for meetings, limiting papists only to private houses."

On this Mr Henry writes, " It is a thing diversly
" resented, as mens interests lead them ; the conform-
" ists displeas'd, the presbyterians glad, the independ-
" dents very glad, the papists triumph. The danger
" is (saith he) lest the allowing of separate places help
" to overthrow our parish-order, which God hath
" own'd, and to beget divisions and animosities among
" us, which no honest heart but would rather should
" be healed. We are put hereby (saith he) into a
" trilemma, either to turn independents in practice,
" or to strike in with the conformists, or to sit down
" in former silence and sufferings (and silence he ac-
" counted one of the greatest sufferings) till the Lord
" shall open a more effectual door." That which (he
" saith) he then heartily wish'd for, was, " That those who
" were in place, would admit the sober non-conform-
" ists to preach sometimes occasionally in their pul-
" pits ; by which means he thought prejudices would
" in time wear off on both sides, and they might mu-
" tually strengthen each other's hands against the
" common enemy the papists, who he foresaw would
" fish best in troubled waters." This he would chuse
" much rather than to keep a separate meeting : but it
" could not be had ; no, not so much as leave to preach
" in Whitewell-chapel when it was vacant, as it often
" was, though 'twere three long miles from the parish-
" church. He found that some people, the more they
" are courted, the more coy they are ; however, the
" overtures he made to this purpose, and the slow steps
" he took towards the setting up of a distinct congrega-
" tion, yielded him satisfaction afterwards in the reflec-
" tion,

tion, when he could say, we would have been united, and they would not.

'Twas several weeks after the declaration came out, that he received a license to preach, as Paul did, in his own house, and elsewhere, no man forbidding him. This was procur'd for him by some of his friends in London, without his privity, and came to him altogether unexpected. The use he made of it was, that at his own house, what he did before to his own family, and in private, the doors being shut for fear, he now did more publicly; threw his doors open, and welcomed his neighbours to him, to partake of his spiritual things. Only one sermon in the evening of the Lord's day, when there was preaching at Whitewell-chapel, where he still continued his attendance with his family and friends as usual; but when there was not, he spent the whole day, at public time, in the services of the day, exposition of the scriptures read, and preaching, with prayer and praise. This he did gratis, receiving nothing for his labours, either at home or abroad, but the satisfaction of doing good to souls (which was his meat and drink) with the trouble and charge of giving entertainment to many of his friends, which he did with much cheerfulness; and he would say, he sometimes thought that the bread did even multiply in the breaking; and he found that God did abundantly bless his provision, with that blessing, which, as he used to say, will make a little to go a great way. He was wont to observe, for the encouragement of such as had meetings in their houses, (which sometimes drew upon them inconveniences) that the ark is a guest that always pays well for its entertainment. And he noted, that when Christ had borrowed Peter's boat to preach a sermon out of it, he presently repaid him for the loan, with a great draught of fishes, Luke v. 3, 4.

Many thoughts of heart he had concerning this use he made of the liberty, not knowing what would be in the end hereof; but after serious consideration, and many prayers, he saw his way very plain before him,
and

and addressed himself with all diligence, to the improvement of this gale of opportunity. Some had dismal apprehensions of the issue of it; and that there would be an after-reckoning: but (saith he) let us mind our duty, and let God alone to order events, which are his work, not ours.

It was a word upon the wheels, which he preached at that time for his own encouragement, and the encouragement of his friends, from that scripture, Eccl. xi. 4. "He that observes the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap." Those that are minded either to do good, or get good, must not be frighted with seeming difficulties and discouragements. Our work is to sow and reap, to do good and get good; and let us mind that, and let who will mind the winds and clouds. "A lion in the way, a lion in the streets;" a very unlikely place (he would say) for lions to be in; and yet that serves the sluggard for an excuse.

While this liberty lasted, he was in labours more abundant; many lectures he preached abroad in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, laying out himself exceedingly for the good of souls, spending and being spent in the work of the Lord. And of that neighbourhood and of that time it was said, that "this and that man was born again, then and there;" and many there were who asked the way to Zion with their faces thitherwards, and were (not profelyted to a party, but) savingly brought home to Jesus Christ. I mean this; such as had been vain and worldly, and careless, and mindless of God and another world, became sober and serious, and concern'd about their souls, and a future state. This was the conversion of souls, aimed at, and laboured after, and through grace not altogether in vain. Whatever lectures were set up in the country round, 'twas still desired that Mr Henry would begin them (which was thought no small encouragement to those who were to carry them on) and very happy he was, both in the choice and management of his subjects

at such opportunities, seeking to find out acceptable words. Take one specimen of his address, when he began a lecture with a sermon on Heb. xii. 15. "I assure you (saith he) and God is my witness, I am not come to preach, either sedition against the peace of the state, or schism against the peace of the church, by persuading you to this or that opinion or party; but as a minister of Christ, that hath received mercy from the Lord, to desire to be faithful, my errand is to exhort you to all possible seriousness, in the great business of your eternal salvation, according to my text. which, if the Lord will make as profitable to you, as it is material and of weight in itself, neither you nor I shall have cause to repent our coming hither, and our being here to-day; looking diligently lest any of you fail of the grace of God. If it were the last sermon I were to preach, I did not know how to take my aim better to do you good."

In doing of this work, he often said, that he looked upon himself but as an assistant to the parish ministers, in promoting the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls, by the explication and application of those great truths wherein we are all agreed. And he would compare the case to that in Hezekiah's time, when the Levites helped the Priests to kill the sacrifice, which was something of an irregularity; but the exigence of affairs called for it, the priests being too few, and some of them not so careful as they should have been, to sanctify themselves, 2 Chr. xxix. 34.; and wherever he preached, he usually pray'd for the parish minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry. He hath often said how well pleas'd he was, when, after he had preached a lecture at Ofwestry, he went to visit the minister of the place, Mr Edwards, a worthy good man, and told him, he had been sowing a handful of seed among his people, and had this answer, "That's well, the Lord prosper your seed and mine too, there's need enough of us both." And another worthy conformist that came

came privately to hear him, but was reprimanded for it by his superiors, told him afterwards with tears, that his heart was with him.

His heart was wonderfully enlarged in his work at this time, the fields were white unto the harvest; and he was busy, and God did remarkably own him, setting many seals to his ministry, which much confirmed him in what he did. He hath this observable passage in his diary, about this time, which he recorded for his after benefit (and the example of it may be instructive) “Remember, that if trouble should come hereafter, for what we do now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it, nor sink under it; for I do therein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness; and the Lord whom I serve, can, and will certainly both bear me out, and bring me off with comfort in the end. I say, Remember, and forget it not, this 24th day of March, 1672-3.”

’Twas at the beginning of this liberty that the Society at Broad Oak did commence; made up (besides their neighbourhood) of some out of Whitchurch, and Whitchurch parish, that had been Mr Porter’s people, some out of Hanmer parish, that had been Mr Steel’s, and some out of the parishes of Wem, Prees, and Ellifmere; persons generally of very moderate and sober principles, quiet and peaceable lives, and hearty well-wishers to the King and Government; and not rigid or schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend (though sometimes with difficulty and hazard) upon those administrations which they found most lively and edifying, and most helpful to them, in the great business of working out their salvation. To this Society he would never call himself a pastor, nor was he willing that they should call him so; but a helper, and a minister of Christ for their good. He would say, “That he look’d upon his family only as his charge, and his preaching to others was but accidental, whom if they came, he could no more turn away than he

“ could a poor hungry man, that should come to his
 “ door for an alms. And being a minister of Jesus
 “ Christ, he thought himself bound to preach the gos-
 “ pel as he had opportunity.”

Usually once a month he administered the ordinance of the Lord's supper. Some of his opportunities of that kind he sets a particular remark upon, as sweet sealing days, on which he found it good to draw near to God.

When about the year's end there was a general expectation of the cancelling of the indulgence, he hath this note upon a precious sabbath and sacrament day, as he calls it, “ Perhaps this may be the last; Father, thy
 “ will be done: it is good for us to be at such uncer-
 “ tainties; for now we receive our liberty from our
 “ Father fresh every day, which is best and sweetest
 “ of all.”

On the 3d of March, 1676-7, being Saturday night, the Town of W^m in Shropshire (about six miles from him) was burnt down; the church, market-house, and about one hundred and twenty-six dwelling houses, and one man, in little more than an hour's time, the wind being exceeding violent; at which time Mr Henry was very helpful to his friends there, both for their support under, and their improvement of this sad providence. It was but about half a year before, that a threatening fire had broke out in that town, but did little hurt; some serious people there, presently after, celebrated a thanksgiving for their deliverance, in which Mr Henry imparted to them a spiritual gift (Oct. 3. 1676.) from Zech. iii. 2. “ Is not this a brand plucked out of the
 “ fire?” in the close of that sermon, pressing them from the consideration of that remarkable deliverance, to personal reformation and amendment of life: that those who had been proud, covetous, passionate, liars, swearers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, would be so no more; and urging Ezra. ix. 13, 14. he added, “ If this provi-
 “ dence have not this effect upon you, you may in
 “ reason expect another fire: for when God judgeth,
 “ he

“ he will overcome;” and minded them of Lev. xxvi. where 'tis so often threatned against those who walk contrary to God, that he would punish them yet seven times more. The remembrance of this could not but be affecting, when, in so short a time after, the whole town was laid in ruins. The first time he went thither after that calamity, a neighbouring justice having notice of it, sent to forbid him to preach, to his own grief as well as to the grief of many others, who came expecting. But (saith he in his diary) there was a visible sermon before us, the ruins preaching that sin is an evil thing, and God a terrible God. However, a few days after, he got an opportunity of preaching to them a word in season, which some will not forget, from Hof. vi. 1. “ Come, and let us return unto the Lord, “ for he hath torn---And at the return of the year, when the town was in the rebuilding, he gave them another very suitable sermon, from Prov. iii. 33. “ The “ curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked, but “ he blesteth the habitation of the just.” “ Though it “ be rising again (saith he in his diary) out of its ashes, “ yet the burning of it should not be forgotten, especi- “ ally not the sin that kindled it.” He oft prayed for them, that the fire might be a refining fire.

In the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, in the course of his ministry at Broad Oak he preached over the Ten Commandments, and largely opened from other texts of scripture the duties required, and sins forbidden, in each commandment. For tho' none delighted more than he in preaching Christ and gospel grace; yet he knew that Christ came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil; and that, though through grace we are not under the law, as a covenant; yet we are under it as a rule, under the law to Christ. He was very large and particular in pressing second table duties, as essential to Christianity. “ We have known “ those (saith he) that have called preaching on such “ subjects good moral preaching; but let them call it “ as they will, I am sure it is necessary and as much

“ now

“ now as ever.” How earnestly would he press upon the people the necessity of righteousness and honesty, in their whole conversations. “ A good Christian (he used to say) will be a good husband, and a good father, and a good master, and a good subject, and a good neighbour, and so in other relations.” How often would he urge to this purpose, that it is the will and command of the great God, the character of all the citizens of Zion, the beauty and ornament of our Christian profession; and the surest way to thrive and prosper in the world. “ Honesty is the best policy.” He would say, that these are things in which the children of this world are competent judges. They that know not what belongs to faith, and repentance, and prayer, yet know what belongs to the making of an honest bargain: they are also parties concerned, and oftentimes are themselves careful in these things; and therefore those who profess religion should walk very circumspectly, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, nor religion wounded through their sides. Thus he preached, and his constant practice was a comment upon it. One thing I remember he was more than ordinarily enlarged in the pressing of, which was upon the ninth commandment, to speak evil of no man, from Tit. iii. 2. If we can say no good of persons, we must say nothing of them. He gave it as a rule, “ Never to speak of any ones faults to others, till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself.” He was himself an eminent example of this rule. Some that have conversed much with him, have said, that they never heard him speak evil of any body; nor could he bear to hear any spoken evil of, but often drove away a backbiting tongue with an angry countenance. He was known to be as faithful a patron of offenders before others, as he was a faithful reprover of them to themselves.

Whenever he preached of moral duties, he would always have something of Christ in his sermon; either his life, as the great pattern of the duty, or his love,

as the great motive to it; or his merit, as making atonement for the neglect of it.

In the year 1680 he preached over the doctrines of faith and repentance, from several texts of scripture. He used to say, that he had been told concerning the famous Mr Dod, that some called him in scorn, Faith and Repentance; because he insisted so much upon those two, in all his preaching. But (saith he) "if this be to be vile, I will be yet more vile;" for faith and repentance are all in all in christianity.

Concerning repentance he hath sometimes said, "If I were to die in the pulpit, I would desire to die preaching repentance; as if I die out of the pulpit, I would desire to die practising repentance." And he had often this saying concerning repentance; "He that repents every day, for the sins of every day, when he comes to die, will have the sins but of one day to repent of. Even reckonings make long friends."

That year, and 1681, he preached over the duties of hearing the word and prayer; of the former, from the parable of the four sorts of ground; of the latter, from Luke xi. 1. &c. when he preached over the Lord's prayer, in above thirty excellent and elaborate discourses. He looked upon the Lord's prayer, to be not only a directory or pattern for prayer, but (according to the advice of the assembly of divines) proper to be used as a form; and accordingly he often used it both in public and in his family. And as he thought 'twas an error on the one hand, to lay so much stress upon it as some do, who think no solemn prayer accepted, nor any solemn ordinance or administration of worship compleat without it, and so repeat it five or six times, and perhaps oftener, at one meeting; so he thought it an error on the other hand not to use it at all; since it is a prayer, a compendious comprehensive prayer, and may be of use to us, at least as other scripture prayers; but he thought it a much greater error to be angry at those that do use it, to judge and censure them, and for

no other reason to conceive prejudices against them and their ministry. "A great trait (saith he) poor ministers are in, when some will not hear them, if they do not use the Lord's prayer, and others will not hear them if they do: what is to be done in this case? we must walk according to the light we have, and approve ourselves to God, either in using or not using it, and wait for the day when God will mend the matter, which I hope he will do in his own due time."

He was in the close of his exposition of the Lord's prayer, when a dark cloud was brought upon his assemblies, and he was necessitated to contract his sails.

CHAP. VII.

The Rebukes he lay under at Broad Oak, betwixt the years 1680, and 1687.

IN the beginning of the year 1681 in April and May, the country was greatly afflicted and threatned by an extreme drought; there was no rain for several weeks, the grafs failed; corn that was sown languished, and much that was intended to be sown, could not; the like had not been known for many years: 'twas generally apprehended that a dearth would ensue, especially in that country, which is for the most part dry. And now it was time to seek the Lord, and (according to his own appointment,) to "ask of him rain in the season thereof:" several serious thinking people being together at the funeral of that worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr Malden; it was there said, how requisite it was that there should be some time set apart on purpose for fasting and prayer, in a solemn assembly upon this occasion. Thomas Millington of Weston in Hodnet parish in Shropshire, desired it might be at his house; and Tuesday June 14. was the day pitched upon. The connivance of authority was presumed upon,

upon, because no disturbance of meetings was heard of at London, or any where else. Mr Henry was desired to come and give his assistance at that day's work. He asked upon what terms they stood with their neighbouring justices, and it was answered, Well enough. The drought continuing in extremity, some that had not used to come to such meetings, yet came thither upon the apprehension they had of the threatening judgment which the country was under. Mr Edward Bury of Bolas (well known by several useful books he hath published) prayed, Mr Henry prayed and preached on Psal. lxvi. 18. "If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me;" whence his doctrine was, That iniquity regarded in the heart will certainly spoil the success of prayer. When he was in the midst of his sermon closely applying this truth Sir T. V. of Hodnet, and Mr M. of Ightfield, two justices of the peace for Shropshire, with several others of their retinue, came suddenly upon them, disturbed them, set guards upon the house-door, and came in themselves, severely rally'd all they knew reflected upon the late Honourable House of Commons, and the vote they passed concerning the present unreasonableness of putting the laws in execution against Protestant dissenters, as if in so voting they had acted beyond their sphere, as they who did who took away the life of King Charles I. They diverted themselves with very abusive and unbecoming talk; swearing, and cursing, and reviling bitterly. Being told the occasion of the meeting was to seek to turn away the anger of God from us in the present drought: 'twas answered, "Such meetings as these were the cause of God's anger."---- While they were thus entertaining themselves, their clerks took the names of those that were present, in all, about one hundred and fifty, and so dismissed them for the present. Mr Henry hath noted, in the account he kept of this event, that the Justices came to this good work from the ale-house upon Prees-Heath, about two miles off; to which, and the bowling-green

R adjoining,

adjoining, they, with other justices, gentlemen, and clergymen, of the neighbourhood, had, long before, obliged themselves to come every Tuesday, during the summer time, under the penalty of twelve pence a time if they were absent; and there to spend the day in drinking and bowling; which is thought to be as direct a violation of the law of the land, viz. the statute of 33 Henry VIII. cap. 9. for debarring unlawful games, which was never yet repealed, as the meeting was of the statute of 22d Car. II. and as much more to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of the Christian profession; as cursing, and swearing, and drunkenness, is worse than praying and singing psalms, and hearing the word of God. It is supposed that the Justices knew of the meeting before, and might have prevented it by the least intimation; but they were willing to take the opportunity of making sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours. After the feat done, they returned back to the alehouse, and made themselves and their companions merry with calling over the names they had taken, making their reflections as they saw cause; and recounting the particulars of the exploit. There was one of the company, whose wife happened to be present at the meeting, and her name taken among the rest; with which upbraiding him, he answered, that she had been better employed than he was, and if Mr Henry might be admitted to preach in a church, he would go a great many miles to hear him. For which words he was forthwith expelled their company, and never more to shew his face again at that bowling-green; to which he replied, If they had so ordered long ago, it had been a great deal the better for him and his family. Two days after, they met again at Hodnet, where, upon the oath of two witnesses, who, as was supposed, were sent on purpose to inform, they signed and sealed two records of conviction. By one record they convicted the master of the house, and fined him L.20, and L.5 more as constable of the town that year, and with him
all

all the persons present whose names they had taken, and fined them five shillings a-piece, and issued out warrants accordingly. By another record they convicted the two ministers, Mr Bury and Mr Henry.---- The act makes it only punishable to preach or teach in any such conventicle; and yet they fined Mr Bury L.20, though he only prayed, and did not speak one word in the way either of preaching or teaching, not so much as "let us pray;" however, they said, praying was teaching, and right or wrong he must be fined; though his great piety, peaceableness, and usefulness, besides his deep poverty, one would think might have pleaded for him, against so palpable a piece of injustice. They took L.7 off from him, and laid it upon others, as they saw cause; and for the remaining L. 13, he being utterly unable to pay it, they took from him, by distress, the bed which he lay upon, with blanket and rug; also another feather-bed, nineteen pair of sheets, most of them new; of which he could not prevail to have so much as one pair returned for him to lye in; also books to the value of L. 5, besides brass and pewter. And though he was at this time perfectly innocent of that heinous crime of preaching and teaching, with which he was charged, (for so the record runs again and again, concerning Mr Henry and Mr Bury, *Quod ad tunc & ibidem præcaverunt, prædicaverunt & docuerunt.*) Yet he had no way to right himself, but by appealing to the Justices themselves in Quarter Sessions, who would be sure to affirm their own decree, (as the Justices in Montgomeryshire had done not long before, in a like case,) especially when it was to recover to themselves treble costs. So the good man sat down with his loss, and "took joyfully the spoiling of his goods; knowing in himself, that he had in heaven a better, and a more enduring substance."

But Mr Henry being the greatest criminal, and having done the most mischief, must needs be animadverted upon accordingly, and therefore he was fined L.40,

the pretence of which was this :---In the year 1679, Oct. 15, Mr Kynaston of Oatly, a Justice of Peace in Shropshire, meeting him and some others coming, as he supposed, from a conventicle, he was pleas'd to record their conviction, upon the notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact. The record was filed at Salop the next sessions after ; but no notice was ever sent of it, either to Mr Henry or the Justices of Flintshire ; nor any prosecution upon it, against any of the parties charged, (the reason of which, Mr Henry, in a narrative he wrote of this affair, supposeth to be not only the then favourable posture of public affairs towards dissenters, but also the particular prudence and lenity of Mr Kynaston,) so that having never smarted for this, he could not be supposed to be deterred from the like offence ; nor if he were wronged in that first conviction, had he ever any opportunity of making his appeal. However, the Justices being resolv'd he should have *summum jus*, thought that first record sufficient to give denomination to a second offence, and so he came to be fined double. This conviction (according to the direction of the act,) they certified to the next adjoining Justices of Flintshire, who had all along carried themselves with great temper and moderation towards Mr Henry, and had never given him any disturbance ; though if they had been so minded, they had not wanted opportunities ; but they were now necessitated to execute the sentences of the Shropshire Justices.---- 'Twas much pressed upon him to pay the fine, which might prevent his own loss, and the Justices' trouble. But he was not willing to do it ; partly, because he would give no encouragement to such prosecutions, nor voluntarily reward the informers for that which he thought they should rather be punished for ; and partly because he thought himself wronged in the doubling of the fine. Whereupon his goods were distrained upon, and carried away ; in the doing of which many passages occurred which might be worth the noting, but that the repetition of them would perhaps

haps grate and give offence to some. Let it therefore suffice (waving the circumstances) to remember only that their warrant not giving them authority to break open doors, nor their watchfulness getting them an opportunity to enter the house, they carried away about thirty-three cart load of goods without doors, corn cut upon the ground, hay, coals, &c. This made a great noise in the country, and raised the indignation of many against the decrees which prescribed this grievousness; while Mr Henry bore it with his usual evenness and serenity of mind, not at all moved or disturbed by it. He did not boast of his sufferings, or make any great matter of them; but would often say, "Alas! this is nothing to what others suffer, nor to what we ourselves may suffer before we die."--- And yet he rejoiced and blessed God that it was not for debt, or for evil-doing, that his goods were carried away. "And (saith he) while it is for well-doing that we suffer, they cannot harm us." Thus he writes in his diary upon it, "How oft have we said that changes are at the door; but blessed be God there is no sting in this." He frequently expressed the assurance he had, that whatever damage he sustained, God is able to make it up again. And (as he used to say,) "Though we may be losers for Christ, yet we shall not be losers by him in the end." He had often said, "That his preaching was likely to do the most good, when it was sealed to by suffering; and if this be the time, (saith he) welcome the will of God; even this also shall turn to the furtherance of the gospel of Christ:" *Bene agere & male pati vere Christianum est.*

Soon after this was the assizes for Flintshire held at Mold, where Sir George Jeffries, afterwards Lord Chancellor, then Chief Justice of Chester, sat Judge. He did not, in private conversation, seem to applaud what was done in this matter, so as was expected; whether out of a private pique against some that were active in it, or for what other reason, is not known; but

but it was said, he pleasantly asked some of the gentlemen, By what new law they pressed carts, as they passed upon their occasions along the road, to carry away goods distrained for a conventicle? It was also said, that he spoke with some respect of Mr Henry; saying, he knew him and his character well, and that he was a great friend of his mother's, Mrs Jeffries of Acton near Wrexham, (a very pious, good woman,) and that sometimes, at his mother's request, Mr Henry had examined him in his learning, when he was a school-boy, and had commended his proficiency. And it was much wondered at by many, that, of all the times Sir George Jeffries went to that circuit, (though 'tis well enough known what was his temper, and what the temper of that time,) yet he never fought any occasion against Mr Henry, nor took the occasions that were offered, nor countenanced any trouble intended him, though he was the only non-conformist in Flintshire. One passage, I remember, not improper to be mentioned;---there had been an agreement among some ministers, (I think it began in the west of England, where Mr Allen was) to spend some time, either in secret or in their families, or both, between six and eight o'clock every Monday morning, in prayer, for the church of God, and for the land and nation, more fully and particularly than at other times, and to make that their special errand at the throne of grace; and to engage as many of their praying friends as they could, to the observance of it. This had been communicated to Mr Henry by some of his friends at London, and he punctually observed it in his own practice, I believe, for many years. He also mentioned it to some of his acquaintance, who did in like manner observe it. It happened that one in Denbighshire, to whom he had communicated it, was so well pleased with it, that he wrote a letter of it to a friend of his at a distance; which letter happened into hands that perverted it, and made information upon it, against the writer and receiver of the letter, who were bound

bound over to the assizes, and great suspicions Sir Geo. Jeffries had, that it was a branch of the Presbyterian plot, and rallied the parties accused severely. It appeared, either by the letter, or by the confession of the parties, that they received the project from Mr Henry, which (it was greatly feared) would bring him into trouble; but Sir George, to the admiration of many, let it fall, and never enquired further into it. It seems there are some men, whose ways so please the Lord, that he makes even their enemies to be at peace with them; and there is nothing lost by trusting in God.

Mr Henry, at the next assizes after he was distrained upon, was presented by one of the high constables, 1. For keeping a conventicle at his house; and, 2. For saying, That the law for suppressing conventicles ought not to be obeyed, and that there was never a tittle of the word of God in it. As to this latter presentment, 'twas altogether false. He had, indeed, in discourse with the high constable, when he insisted so much upon the law, which required him to be so rigorous in the prosecution, objected, That all human laws were not to be obeyed, merely because they were laws. But as to any such reflections upon the law he suffered by, he was far from it, and had prudence enough to keep silence at that time; for it was an evil time when so many were made offenders for a word. But these presentments met with so little countenance from Judge Jeffries, that Mr Henry only entered his appearance in the Prothonotary's office, and they were no more heard of; wherein he acknowledged the hand of God, who turneth the hearts of the children of men as the rivulets of water.

As to what was taken from him by the distress, they who took it made what markets they pleased of it, paid those they employed, and what the remainder was is not known for certainty; but it was said, that the following summer, about L 27 was paid to Sir T. V. of which, (and the rest that was levied in other places,

which

which amounted to a considerable sum,) it was credibly reported, (and I have not heard it contradicted,) that neither the king nor the poor had their share, (which by the act is to be two-thirds) nor the informers all theirs either; but people said, the Gentlemen had occasion for it all. But as they that had it were never the richer for it, so he that lost it would often say, that he found that God did so abundantly bless the remainder to him, that he was never the poorer; which he would mention for the encouragement of his friends, not to baulk duty (as he used to express it) for fear of suffering.

In the same year, 1681, happened a public discourse at Oswestry, betwixt the then bishop of St Asaph, (Dr William Lloyd, now bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) and some non-conformist ministers, of which Mr Henry was one.

The story, in short, is as followeth:---That learned bishop, at his first coming to the diocese of St Asaph, in his zeal for the established church, set himself with vigour to reduce dissenters to it; and that he might do it with the cords of a man, he resolved, before he took any other methods, to reason the matter with them, and to endeavour their conviction by discourse, in which he had a very great facility, both by his learning and temper. If there were any that declined discoursing with him, he improved that against them very much; urging, (as he wrote afterwards to Mr Henry,) “ That no man can pretend conscience
 “ for not coming when he is required, to give an account of his religion to them that have authority
 “ to demand it, by the laws under which he lives, and
 “ to hear from their mouths what can be said for the
 “ established religion. These are things from which
 “ conscience is so far from exempting, that the great
 “ rule of conscience requires it, as an indispensable
 “ duty; that we should always be ready to give
 “ an account of the hope that is in us; and that we
 “ should hear them that are in Moses’ chair, &c. and
 “ there-

“ therefore those who refused this, he would consider
“ as men governed, not by conscience, but obstinacy.”

He publickly discoursed with the Quakers at Lanvillin in Montgomeryshire; their champion was Dr Lloyd a physician: one of the most considerable non-conformist ministers in his diocese was Mr James Owen of Oswestry, then very young, but well known since by his learned book, which he calls, *A Plea for Scripture Ordination*; proving ordination by presbyters, without diocesan bishops, to be valid, (published in the year 1694.) a point of controversy which he was then obliged in his own defence to search into. Several discourses the bishop had with him in private; at last his lordship was pleased to appoint him, to give him the meeting in the town-hall of Oswestry, on Tuesday, Sept. 27, 1681, there to give account by what right he exercised the ministry, not having episcopal ordination. He directed him also to procure what other ministers he could to assist him, for he would be glad to hear what any of them had to say for themselves. The notice was very short, not above four or five days: some whose assistance was desired, apprehended it might do more hurt than good, and might be prejudicial to their own liberty, and therefore declin'd it. It was not agreeable to Mr Henry's mild and modest temper, to appear in such circumstances; but he was loath to desert his friend Mr Owen, and so with much importunity he was prevailed with to come to Oswestry, at the time appointed; and there came no other but he and Mr Jonathan Roberts of Denbighshire, in the diocese of Bangor, a plain man, of great integrity, and a very good scholar. The bishop came according to appointment, and brought with him for his assistant the famous Mr Henry Dodwell: Mr Henry, who was utterly a stranger to the bishop, pressed hard to have had the discourse in private, before a select number, but it would not be granted. He also desired his lordship that it might not be expected from him, being of another diocese, to concern

cern himself in the discourse, but only as a hearer : “ Nay, Mr Henry, (said the bishop) it is not the concern of my diocese alone, but it is the common cause of religion, and therefore I expect you should interest yourself in it more than as a hearer.” His lordship was pleased to promise, that nothing that should be said by way of argument should be any way turned to the prejudice of the disputants, nor advantage taken of it to give them trouble. There were present divers of the clergy and gentry of the country, with the magistrates of the town and a great number of people, which, if it could have been avoided, was not easy to Mr Henry, who never loved any thing that made a noise ; herein like his Master, who did not strive nor cry. The discourse began about two o’clock in the afternoon, and continued till between seven and eight at night : much was said *pro* and *con*, touching the identity of bishops and presbyters, the bishoping and unbishoping of Timothy and Titus, the validity of presbyterian ordination, &c. ’Twas managed with a great deal of liberty, and not under the strict laws of disputation, which made it hard to give any tolerable account of the particulars of it. The arguments on both sides, may better be fetched from the books written on the subject, than from such a discourse. The bishop managed his part of the conference with a great deal of gravity, calmness, and evenness of spirit, and therein gave an excellent pattern to all that are in such stations. Mr Henry’s remark upon this business in his diary is this, “ That whereas many reports went abroad far and near concerning it, every one passing their judgment upon the result of it as they stood affected ; for my own part (saith he) upon reflection, I find I have great reason to be ashamed of my manifold infirmities and imperfections ; and yet do bless God, that seeing I could manage it no better, to do the truth more service, there was not more said and done to its disservice ; to God be glory.” But there were others, who said that Mr Henry was an
instrument

instrument of glorifying God, and serving the church in that affair, almost as much as in any thing that ever he did, except the preaching of the gospel. And some who were adversaries to the cause he pleaded, though they were not convinced by his arguments, yet by his great meekness and humility, and that truly Christian spirit, which appeared so evidently in the whole management, were brought to have a better opinion of him, and the way in which he walked.

The conference broke off a little abruptly; the bishop and Mr Henry being somewhat close at an argument, in the recapitulation of what had been discoursed of; Mr Jonathan Roberts whispered to Mr Henry, "Pray let my lord have the last word;" which a justice of peace upon the bench over-hearing; presently replied, "You say my lord shall have the last word, but he shall not, for I will: we thank God we have the sword of power in our own hands, and by the grace of God we will keep it, and it shall not rust, and I hope every lawful magistrate will do as I do: and look to yourselves, Gentlemen, by the grace of God I'll root you out of the country." To which a forward man in the crowd said, "Amen, throw them down stairs." This the bishop heard with silence, but the Mayor of the town took order for their safety.

Two days after this discourse, the bishop wrote a very obliging letter to Mr Henry, to signify to him how very much he was pleased with the good temper and spirit that he found in him at Oswestry, and that he looked upon him as one that intended well, but laboured under prejudices; and to desire further acquaintance and conversation with him; particularly that he would come to him straitway to Wrexham; and about three months after, he sent for him again to Chester; in both which interviews a great deal of discourse, with much freedom, passed between them in private, in which they seemed to vie nothing more than candor and obligingness, shewing to each other

all meekness. I remember the bishop was pleased to shew him his plan for the government of his diocese, and the method he intended to take in church censures, which Mr Henry very well approved of ; but pleasantly told his lordship, he hoped he would take care that Juvenal's verse should not be again verified,

Dat veniam Corvis, vexat censura Columbas. (Sat. ii.)

which the bishop smil'd at, and told him he would take care it should not. His lordship observing his true catholick charity and moderation, told him, that if he were in his diocese, he did not question but that he should find out some way to make him useful. But all his reasonings could not satisfy Mr Henry's conscience of the lawfulness of being re-ordain'd and conforming. The bishop for some years after, when he came that way, towards London, either call'd on Mr Henry at his house, or sent for him to him at Whitechurch, and still with all outward expressions of friendship.

The trouble which Mr Henry was in, about the meeting at Weston, obliged him for a while to keep his sabbaths at home somewhat private ; but in the year 1682 he took a greater liberty, and many flock'd to him on Lord's days, through the kind connivance of the neighbouring magistrates : but in the year 1683, when the meetings were generally suppress'd throughout the kingdom, he was again necessitated to contract his sails, and confine his labours more to his own family, and his friends that visited him. He continued his attendance at Whitewell-chapel, as usual ; and when he was abridged of his liberty, he often blessed God for his quietness. Once when one of the curates preached a bitter sermon against the dissenters, on a Lord's day morning ; some wondered that Mr Henry would go again in the afternoon, for the second part ; " But (saith he) if he do not know his duty, I know mine ; and I bless God I can find honey in a carcase."

In this time of treading down, and of perplexity, he stirred little abroad, being forced (as he used to express it) to "throw the plough under the hedge;" but he preached constantly at home without disturbance; and often comforted himself with this, "When we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, God will accept of us: when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade." And he would say, "There is a mean, if we could hit it, between fool-hardiness and faint-heartedness." While he had some opportunity of being useful at home, he was afraid lest he should prejudice that by venturing abroad. One of his friends in London earnestly soliciting him to make a visit thither in this time of restraint in the country, he thus wrote to him; "I should be glad once more to kiss my native soil, though it were but with a kiss of valediction; but my indisposedness to travel, and the small prospect there is of doing good to countervail the pains, are my prevailing arguments against it. I am here ('tis true) buried alive, but I am quiet in my grave, and have no mind to be a walking ghost. We rejoice, and desire to be thankful, that God hath given us a home, and continued it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their head, having no certain dwelling-place:" ('twas at the time of the dispersion of the French protestants.) "Why they exiles, and not we? they strangers in a strange land, and not we? We must not say, we will die in our nests; lest God say, nay: nor we will multiply our days as that bird, the Phœnix, (referring to Job xxix. 18.) lest God say, This night, &c. Our times and all our ways are at his dispose, absolutely and universally, and it is very well they are so."

At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's descent, and the insurrection in the West, in the year 1685, Mr Henry, as many others, (pursuant to a general order of the Lord Lieutenant, for securing all suspected persons; and particularly all nonconformist ministers,)

was

was taken up by a warrant from the deputy Lieutenants, and sent under a guard to Chester Castle, where he was about three weeks a close prisoner: he was lodged with some gentlemen and ministers that were fetched thither out of Lancashire, who were all strangers to him; but he had great comfort in the acquaintance and society of many of them.

He often spake of this imprisonment, not as matter of complaint, but of thanksgiving, and blessed God he was in nothing uneasy all the while. In a sermon to his family, the day after he came home, he largely and affectionately recounted the mercies of that providence: as for instance, “That his imprisonment was
 “ for no cause: ’tis guilt that makes a prison. That
 “ it was his security in a dangerous time. That he
 “ had good company in his sufferings, who prayed
 “ together, and read the Scriptures together, and dis-
 “ coursed to their mutual edification. That he had
 “ health there; not sick, and in prison; that he was
 “ visited and prayed for by his friends. That he was
 “ very chearful and easy in his spirit, many a time a-
 “ sleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturbed
 “ and unquiet. That his enlargement was speedy and
 “ unsought for, and that it gave occasion to the magis-
 “ trates who committed him, to give it under their
 “ hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to
 “ his charge; and especially that it was without a
 “ snare, which was the thing he feared more than any
 “ thing else.”

It was a surprize to some that visited him in his imprisonment, and were big with the expectations of the Duke of Monmouth’s success, to hear him say, “I
 “ would not have you to flatter yourselves with such
 “ hopes, for God will not do his work for us in these
 “ nations, by that man; but our deliverance and sal-
 “ vation will arise some other way.”

It must not be forgotten how ready he was, nay, how studious and industrious to serve and oblige such as had been any way instruments of trouble to him,

as far as it lay in his power, and he had any opportunity to do it; so well had he learned that great lesson of forgiving and loving enemies; of this it were easy to give instances.

When a gentleman who had sometimes been an instrument of trouble to him, had occasion to make use of his help to give him some light into a cause he had to be tried, Mr Henry was very ready to serve him in it; and though he might have declined it, and it was somewhat against his own interest too, yet he appeared a witness for him, which so won upon the gentleman, that he was afterwards more friendly to him. Mentioning in his diary the death of another gentleman in Shropshire; he notes, that he was one that had been his professed enemy; "but (saith he) God knows I have often prayed for him."

Some have wondered to see how courteously and friendly he would speak to such as had been any way injurious to him, when he met with them, being as industrious to discover his forgiving of wrongs, as some are to discover their resentments of them. It was said of Archbishop Cranmer, that the way to have him ones friend, was to do him a diskindness; and I am sure it might be said of Mr Henry, that doing him a diskindness would not make him ones enemy. This minds me of an exemplary passage concerning his worthy friend Mr Edward Lawrence, once going with some of his sons, by the house of a gentleman that had been injurious to him, he gave a charge to his sons to this purpose, that they should never think or speak amiss of that gentleman, for the sake of any thing he had done against him; but whenever they went by his house, should lift up their hearts in prayer to God for him and his family. And who is he that will harm those, who are thus followers of him that is good, in his goodness? It is almost the only temporal promise in the New Testament, which is made to the meek, Mat. v. 5. That they shall inherit the earth; the meaning whereof Dr Hammond in his practical catechism, takes

takes to be especially this, that in the ordinary dispensations of God's Providence, the most mild and quiet people are most free from disturbance. Those only have every man's hand against them, that have theirs against every man.

C H A P. VIII.

The last Nine years of his Life in liberty and enlargement at Broad-Oak, from the year 1687.

IT was in the latter end of the year 1685, when the stream run so very strong against the dissenters, that Mr Henry being in discourse with a very great man of the church of England, mentioned K. Charles's indulgence in 1672, as that which gave rise to his stated preaching in a separate assembly; and added, If the present king James should in like manner give me leave, I would do the same again: to which that great man replied, "Never expect any such thing from him: for take my word for it, he hates you nonconformists in his heart." "Truly (said Mr Henry) I believe it, and I think he doth not love you of the church of England neither." It was then little thought that the same Right Reverend person who said so to him, should have the honour, as he had soon after, to be one of the seven bishops committed to the Tower by king James; as it was also far from any ones expectation, that the same king James should so quickly give liberty to the nonconformists: but we live in a world, wherein we are to think nothing strange, nor be surpris'd at any turn of the wheel of nature, as 'tis called, James iii. 6.

The measures then taken by king James's Court and Council were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt, being in a short time, by the overruling Providence of God, broken and defeated: however, the indulgence granted to dissenters in April

1687,

1687, must needs be a reviving to those who for so many years had lain buried in silence and restraint; nor can any, who will allow themselves the liberty of supposing the case their own, wonder that they should rejoice in it, though the design of it being manifest, they could not chuse but rejoice with trembling. Mr Henry's sentiments of it were, "whatever mens ends are in it, I believe God's end in it is to do us good."

There were many that said, Surely the dissenters will not embrace the liberty which is intended only for a snare to them. Mr Henry read and considered the letter of advice to the dissenters at that juncture; but concluded, "Duty is ours, and events are God's." He remembered the experience he had had of the like in king Charles's time, and that did good and no hurt: and why might not this do so too? "All power is for edification, not for destruction." Did Jeremiah sit still in the court of the prison, because he had his discharge from the king of Babylon? Nay, did not Paul, when he was persecuted by his countrymen, for preaching the gospel, appeal to Cæsar, and find more kindness at Rome than he did at Jerusalem? In short, the principle of his conversation in the world being not fleshly wisdom, or policy, but the grace of God, and particularly the grace of simplicity and godly sincerity, he was willing to make the best of that which was, and to hope the best of the design and issue of it. Doubtless it was intended to introduce popery; but it is certain, that nothing could arm people against popery more effectually than the plain and powerful preaching of the gospel; and thus they who granted that liberty, were out-shot in their own bow, which manifestly appeared in the event and issue. And as they did good service to the Protestant Religion among scholars, who wrote so many learned books against popery at that time, for which we return them our best thanks; so they did no less service among the common people (who are the strength and body of the nation) that preached so many good sermons to arm their

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hearers

hearers against that strong delusion, which Mr Henry (as the rest of the nonconformists generally did) took all occasions to do. How often would he commend his hearers (as Dr Holland, Divinity professor in Oxford, was wont to do) “to the love of God, and the hatred of Popery.”

Besides his preaching professedly to discover the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome (which he would have taken occasion to do more fully, had he seen those he preached to in any immediate danger of the infection) there could not be a more effectual antidote against popery, than the instructing and confirming of people in the truth, as it is in Jesus; and advancing the knowledge of and a value and veneration for the Holy Scriptures; to which, how much Mr Henry in his place did contribute, all that knew him will bear record. He used to observe, that the fall of Babylon followed upon the free and open preaching of the everlasting gospel, Rev. xiv. 6, 7. He apprehended this liberty likely to be of very short continuance, and to end in trouble; and because he could not see now his not using of it would help to prevent the trouble; but he did see, that his vigorous improvement of it would help to prepare for the trouble, he set himself, with all diligence, to make the best use he could of this gleam, both at home and abroad, on Sabbath-days and week-days, to his power; yea, and beyond his power.

The great subject of debate at this time in the nation, was, concerning the repeal of penal laws and tests. Mr Henry's thoughts were, as to the penal laws, that if those against the dissenters were all repealed, he would rejoice in it, and be very thankful both to God and man; for he would sometimes say, without reflection upon any, he could not but look upon them as a national sin; and as for those against the Papists, if our law-givers see cause to repeal them in a regular way, I will endeavour (saith he) to make the best of it, and to say, “The will of the Lord be done.”

When

When king James came his progress into that country, in September 1687, to court the complements of the people, Mr Henry joined with several others, in and about Whitchurch, Naatwich, and Wem, in an address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch; the purport of which was, not to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to him and to his interest, but only to return him thanks for the liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after, Commissioners were sent abroad into the country, to enquire after the trouble that dissenters had sustained by the penal laws; and how the money that was levied upon them was disposed of, little of it being found paid into the Exchequer: they sent to Mr Henry to have an account from him of his sufferings; he returned answer by letter, that he had indeed been fined some years before, for a conventicle, and distrained upon, and his goods carried away; which all the country knew, and to which he referred himself. But being required to give a particular account of it upon oath; though he said he could be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed; yet he declined giving any further information concerning it; having (as he wrote to the Commissioners) “long since, from his heart, forgiven all the agents, instruments and occasions of it; and having purposed never to say any thing more of it.”

It was on Tuesday, June 14, 1681, that he was disturbed at Weston in Shropshire, when he was preaching on Psa. lxxvi. 18. and on Tuesday, June 14, 1687, that day six years he preached there again without disturbance, finishing what he was then prevented from delivering, concerning prayer, and going on to ver. 19, 20. “But verily God hath heard me----blessed be “God”----concerning the duty of thanksgiving. This seventh year of their silence and restraint, proved, through God’s wonderful good providence, the year of release.

In May, 1688, a new commission of the peace came down for the county of Flint, in which (by whose interest or procurement was not known) Mr Henry was nominated a Justice of Peace for that county. It was no small surprise to him, to receive a letter from the Clerk of the Peace, directed to Philip Henry, Esq. acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and whither, to come to be sworn. To which he returned answer, that he was very sensible of his unworthiness of the honour, and his unfitness for the office which he was nominated to, and therefore desired to be excused, and he was so, and did what he could that it might not be spoken of in the country. There were some, who upon this occasion unhappily remembered, that a few years before, a reverend clergyman in Shropshire told Mr Henry to his face, that he had done more mischief in the country, than any man that ever came into it; and that he himself hoped shortly to be in the commission of peace, and then he would rid the country of him. But alas he was quite disappointed. Thus honour is like the shadow, which flies from those that pursue it, and follows those that flee from it.

For two years after this liberty began, Mr Henry still continued his attendance, as usual, at Whitewell-chapel, whenever there was preaching there; and he preached at his own house only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. For doing thus he was greatly clamoured against, by some of the rigid separatists, and called a dissembler, and one that halted between two, and the like. Thus (as he notes in his diary) one side told him he was the author of all the mischief in the country, in drawing people from the church; and the other side told him, he was the author of all the mischief, in drawing people to the church: and “which of these (saith he) shall I seek to please: Lord, neither, but thyself alone, and my own conscience, and while I can do that, I have enough.”

In a sermon at Whitewell-chapel, one Lord's day in the afternoon, where he and his family, and many of his congregation were attending, much was said with some keen reflections, to prove the dissenters schismatics, and in a damnable state: when he came immediately after to preach at his own house, before he began his sermon, he expressed himself to this purpose; "Perhaps some of you may expect now that I should say something in answer to what we have heard, by which we have been so severely charged; but truly I have something else to do;" and so, without any further notice taken of it, went on to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified.

It was not without some fear and trembling that Mr Henry received the tidings of the Prince of Orange's landing, in November 1688, as being somewhat in the dark concerning the clearness of his call, and dreading what might be the consequence of it. He used to say, "Give peace in our time, O Lord," was a prayer that he would heartily set his Amen to. But when secret things were brought to light, and a regular course was taken to fill the vacant throne with such a King and such a Queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the national thanksgiving for that great deliverance, with an excellent sermon on that text, Rom. viii. 31. "What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?"

Soon after that happy settlement, there were overtures made towards a comprehension of the moderate dissenters, with the church of England; which Mr Henry most earnestly desired, and wished for, if it could be had upon any terms less than sinning against his conscience; for never was any more averse to that which looked like a separation than he was, if he could possibly have helped it, *salva conscientia*. His prayers were constant, and his endeavours, as he had opportunity, that there might be some healing methods found out and agreed upon. But it is well known what was the

the *vix cleri* at that time, viz. That forasmuch as the oaths, subscriptions, and ceremonies were imposed only to keep out such men, they would never consent to their removal, for the letting them in again. *Notumus leges anglæ mutari*, was a saying perverted to this purpose: and the fixed principle was, Better a schism without the church, than a faction within it, &c. This was at that time published and owned, as the sense of the clergy in convocation; which temper and resolve, so contrary to that which might have been expected, upon that happy and glorious revolution, did a little alter his sentiments in that matter, and he saw himself perfectly driven from them. Despairing therefore to see an accommodation, he set himself the more vigorously to improve the present liberty. In June 1689, the act of indulgence passed, which not only tolerated, but allowed the dissenters' meetings, and took them under the protection of the government.

Soon after which, though he never in the least changed his judgement, as to the lawfulness of joining in the common-prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally, yet the ministers that preached at White-well-chapel, being often uncertain in their coming, which kept his meeting at Broad-Oak at like uncertainties, to the frequent disappointment of many of his hearers that came from far; he was at last prevailed with to preach at public time every Lord's day, which he continued to do while he lived, much to his own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of his friends. An eminent minister in Lancashire, who did in like manner alter his practice about that time, gave this for a reason, "That he had been for twenty-seven years striving to please a generation of men, who after all would not be pleased, and therefore he would no longer endeavour it as he had done."

It may be of use to give some account how he managed his ministerial work in the latter part of his time, wherein he had as signal tokens of the presence of God with him, as ever; enabling him still to bring forth fruit

fruit in old age, and to renew his youth like the eagles. Though what he did he still did gratis, and would do so, yet he was not willing to have any constant assistant, nor had he any; so much was he in his element, when he was about his Master's work: 'twas his meat and drink to do it.

1. As to his constant Sabbath work, he was uniform and abundant in it. He began his morning family worship, on Lord's days, at eight o'clock, when he read and expounded pretty largely, sung a psalm and prayed; and many strove to come time enough to join with him in that service. He began in public just at nine o'clock Winter and Summer. His meeting-place was an out-building of his own, near adjoining to his house, fitted up very decently and conveniently for the purpose. He began with prayer, then he sung Psal. c. without reading the line; next he read and expounded a chapter in the Old Testament in the morning, and in the New Testament in the afternoon. He looked upon the public reading of the scriptures in religious assemblies to be an ordinance of God, and that it tended very much to the edification of people by that ordinance, to have what is read expounded to them. The bare reading of the word, he used to compare to the throwing of a net into the water; but the expounding of it, is like the spreading out of that net, which makes it the more likely to catch fish; especially as he managed it with practical profitable observations. Some that have heard him read a chapter with this thought, how will he make such a chapter as this useful to us? have been surprized with such pertinent, useful instructions, as they have owned to be as much for their edification as any sermon. And commonly when he had expounded a chapter, he would desire them when they came home to read it over, and recollect some of those things that had been spoken to them out of it,

In his expounding of the Old Testament, he industriously sought for something in it concerning Christ,
who

who is the true treasure hid in the field, the true manna hid in the dew of the Old Testament. Take one instance; the last Sabbath that ever he spent with his children at Chester, in the public morning worship, he read and expounded the last chapter of the book of Job: after he had gone through the chapter, and observed what he thought fit out of it, he expressed himself to this purpose: "When I have read a chapter
 " in the Old Testament, I use to enquire what there
 " is in it that points at Christ, or is any way applic-
 " cable to Christ; here is in this chapter a great deal
 " of Job; but is there nothing of Christ here? Yes;
 " you have heard of the patience of Job, and have
 " in him seen the end of the Lord. This in Job is
 " applicable to Christ, that after he had patiently
 " gone through his sufferings, he was appointed an
 " intercessor for his unkind friends, ver. 8." "Go to
 " my servant Job, and my servant Job shall pray for you,
 " for him will I accept." "If any one hath an errand
 " to God, let him go to Jesus Christ, and put it into
 " his hand, for there is no acceptance to be hoped
 " for with God, but by him, who is his beloved Son;
 " not only with whom he is well pleased, but in whom
 " viz. with us in him: he hath made us accepted in
 " the beloved."

After the exposition of the chapter he sung a psalm, and commonly chose a psalm suitable to the chapter he had expounded; and would briefly tell his hearers how they might sing that psalm with understanding, and what affections of soul should be working towards God in the singing of it: his hints of that kind were of great use, and contributed much to the right performance of that service; he often said, "The more
 " singing of psalms there is in our families and con-
 " gregations on Sabbath days, the more like they are
 " to heaven, and the more there is in them of the
 " everlasting Sabbath." He would say sometimes, he loved to sing whole psalms, rather than pieces of psalms.

After

After the sermon in the morning, he sung the cxvii. Psalm, without reading the line.

He intermitted at noon about an hour and a half, and on sacrament days not near so long, in which time he took some little refreshment in his study, making no solemn dinner; yet many of his friends did partake of his carnal, as well as of his spiritual things, as those did that followed Christ, of whom he was careful they should not faint by the way. The morning sermon was repeated, by a ready writer, to those that staid in the meeting-place, as many did, and when that was done, he began the afternoon's exercise, in which he not only read and expounded a chapter, but catechised the children, and expounded the catechism briefly before sermon. Thus did he go from strength to strength, and from duty to duty, on Sabbath-days; running the ways of God's commandments with an enlarged heart. And the variety, and vivacity of his public services, made them exceeding pleasant to all that join'd with him, who never had cause to complain of his being tedious. He used to say, "Every minute of Sabbath-time is precious, and none of it to be lost;" and that he scarce thought the Lord's day well spent, if he were not weary in body at night; wearied with his work, but not weary of it, as he used to distinguish. He would say sometimes to those about him, when he had gone through the duties of a Sabbath; "Well, if this be not the way to Heaven, I do not know what is." In pressing people to number their days, he would especially exhort them to number their Sabbath-days, how many they have been, and how ill they have been spent; how few 'tis like they may be, that they may be spent better: and to help in the account, he would say, that "for every twenty years of our lives, we enjoy above a thousand Sabbaths," which must all be accounted for in the day of reckoning.

As to his constant preaching, it was very substantial and elaborate, and greatly to edification. He used to

say, he could not starch in his preaching; that is, he would not; as knowing where the language and expression is stiff, and forced, and fine (as they call it) it doth not reach the greatest part of the hearers. When he grew old he would say, sure he might now take a greater liberty to talk (as he called it) in the pulpit; that is, to speak familiarly to people; yet to the last he abated not in his preparations for the pulpit, nor ever delivered any thing raw and undigested; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching were talking, it were talking to the purpose. His sermons were not common place, but even when his subjects were the most plain and trite, yet his management of them was usually peculiar and surprising. In those years, as formerly, he kept for the most part in a method for subjects, and was very seldom above one Sabbath upon a text. And his constant practice was, as it had been before, when he concluded a subject that he had been a good while upon, he spent one Sabbath in a brief rehearsal of the marrow and substance of the many sermons he preached upon it; which he called the clenching of the nail, that it might be as a nail in a sure place. So very industrious was he, and no less ingenious in his endeavours, that his hearers might be “able, after his decease, to have these things always in remembrance, 2 Pet. i. 15. and it is hoped, that by the blessing of God, the effect did not altogether disappoint his expectation. In the latter times of his ministry, he would often contrive the heads of his sermons to begin with the same letter, or rather two and two of a letter; but he did not at all seem to affect or force it; only if it fell in naturally and easily, he thought it a good help to memory, and of use, especially to the younger sort. And he would say, the chief reason why he did it was, because ’tis frequently observed in the scripture, particularly the book of Psalms. And though it be not a fashionable ornament of discourse, if it be a scripture ornament, that is sufficient to recommend it,

it, at least to justify it against the imputation of childishness; (Mr Porter of Whitchurch very much used it, so did Mr Malden.) But the excellency of his sermons lay chiefly in the enlargements, which were always very solid, grave, and judicious; but in expressing and marshalling his heads, he often condescended below his own judgment, to help his hearers' memories. Some of his subjects (when he had finished them) he made some short memorandums of in verse, a distich or two of each Sabbath's work, and gave them out in writing, among the young ones of his congregation, many of whom wrote them, and learned them, and profited by them.

It might be of use (especially to those who had the happiness of sitting under his ministry) to give some account of the method of his Sabbath subjects, during the last eight or nine years of his ministry; and it was designed, till 'twas found 'twould swell this narrative into too great a bulk.

2. As to the administration of the sacraments, those mysteries of God, which ministers are the stewards of.

As to the sacrament of baptism, he had never (that I know of) baptized any children (except his own) from the time he was turned out in 1662, till this last liberty came, though often desired to do it: ~~such was the tender regard he had to the established church;~~ but now he revived the administration of that ordinance in his congregation. The occasion was this; one of the parish-ministers preaching at Whitewell-chapel, Mr Henry and his family, and many of his friends being present, was earnestly cautioning people not to go to conventicles, and used this as an argument against it, "That they were Laptized into the church of England." Mr Henry's catholic charity could not well digest this monopolizing of the great ordinance of baptism, and thought it time to bear his testimony against such narrow principles, which he ever expressed his dislike of in all parties and persuasions. Accordingly he took the next opportunity that offered

itself, publickly to baptize a child, and desired the congregation to bear witness, "That he did not baptize that child into the church of England, nor into the church of Scotland, nor into the church of the dissenters, nor into the church at Broad-Oak, but into the visible catholic church of Jesus Christ." After this he baptized very many, and always publickly, though being in the country they were commonly carried a good way. The public administration of baptism he not only judged most agreeable to the nature and end of the ordinance, but found to be very profitable and edifying to the congregation; for he always took that occasion, not only to explain the nature of the ordinance, but affectionately and pathetically to excite people duly to improve their baptism. He usually received the child immediately out of the hands of the parent that presented it, and returned it into the same hands again, with this or the like charge, "Take this child, and bring it up for God." He used to say, that one advantage of public baptism was, that there were many to join in prayer for the child, in which therefore, and in blessing God for it, he was usually very large and particular. After he had baptized the child, before he gave it back to the parent, he commonly used these words; "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's church, having washed it with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in token that hereafter it shall not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified, and manfully to fight, &c."

He baptized many adult persons, that through the error of their parents were not baptized in infancy, and some in public.

The solemn ordinance of the Lord's supper he constantly celebrated in his congregation once a month, and always to a very considerable number of communicants. He did not usually observe public days of preparation for that ordinance, other than as they fell in course in the weekly lectures: nor did he ever appropriate

priate any particular subject of his preaching to Sacrament-days, having a great felicity in adapting any profitable subject to such an occasion : and he would say, What did the primitive christians do, when they celebrated the Lord's supper every Lord's day? His administration of this ordinance was very solemn and affecting. He had been wont to go about in the congregation, and to deliver the elements with his own hand ; but in his latter time, he delivered them only to those near him, and so they were handed from one to another, with the assistance of one who supplied the office of a deacon, as having also the custody and disposal of the money gathered for the use of the poor ; Mr Henry taking and carefully keeping a particular account of it.

Such as desired to be admitted to the Lord's supper, he first discoursed with concerning their spiritual state ; and how the case stood between God and their souls ; not only to examine them, but to instruct and teach them, and to encourage them as he saw occasion ; gently leading those whom he discerned to be serious, though weak and timorous ; he usually discoursed with them more than once, as finding precept upon precept, and line upon line necessary : but he did it with so much mildness, and humility, and tenderness, and endeavour to make the best of every body, as did greatly affect and win upon many. He was herein like our great Master, who " can have compassion on the ignorant," and doth not " despise the " day of small things."

But his admission of young people out of the rank of catechumens into that of communicants, had a peculiar solemnity in it. Such as he catechized, when they grew up to some years of discretion, if he observed them to be intelligent and serious, and to set their faces heaven-wards ; he marked them out to be admitted to the Lord's supper ; and when he had a competent number of such, twelve or fifteen perhaps, or more ; he ordered each of them to come to him severally,

rally, and discoursed with them of the things belonging to their everlasting peace; put it to their choice whom they would serve; and endeavoured to affect them with those things with which by their catechisms they had been made acquainted; drawing them with the cords of a man, and the bands of love, into the way which is called holy. For several Lord's days he catechized them, particularly in public, touching the Lord's supper, and the duty of preparation for it, and their baptismal covenant, which in that ordinance they were to take upon themselves, and to make their own act and deed. Often telling them upon such occasions, that they were not to oblige themselves to any more than what they were already obliged to by their baptism, only to bind themselves faster to it. Then he appointed a day in the week before the ordinance; when in a solemn assembly on purpose, he prayed for them, and preached a sermon to them, proper to their age and circumstances: and so the following Sabbath they were all received together to the Lord's supper. This he looked upon as the right confirmation, or transition, into the state of adult church-membership. The more solemn our covenanting with God is, the more deep and the more durable the impressions are likely to be. He hath recorded it in his diary, upon one of these occasions, as his heart's desire and prayer for those who were thus admitted, "That it might be as the day of their espousals to the Lord Jesus, and that they might each of them have a wedding garment."

3. The discipline he observed in his congregation was, not such as he could have wished for, but the best he could get, considering what a scattered flock he had, which was his trouble, but it could not be helped. He would sometimes apply to the circumstances he was in, that of Moses, Deut. xii. 8, 9. However, I see not but the end was effectually attained by the methods he took, though there wanted the formality of officers and church-meetings for the purpose.

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If he heard of any that walked disorderly, he sent for them, and reprov'd them, gently or sharply, as he saw the case required. If the sin had scandal in it, he suspended them from the ordinance of the Lord's supper, till they gave some tokens of their repentance and reformation. And where the offence was public and gross, his judgement was, that some public satisfaction should be made to the congregation before re-admission. But whatever offence did happen, or breaches of the christian peace, Mr Henry's peculiar excellency lay in restoring with the spirit of meekness; which, with his great prudence, and love, and condescension, did so much command the respects of his people, and win upon them, that there was a universal satisfaction in all his management; and it may truly be said of him, as it was of David, 2 Sam. iii. 36. that "whatsoever he did pleased all the people." And it is an instance and evidence, that those ministers who will rule by love and meekness, need no laws or canons to rule by, other than those of the holy scripture. "How forcible are right words! Job vi. 25.

4. He was very strict and very serious in observing the public fasts appointed by authority, and called them a delight. He had seldom any one to assist him in carrying on the duties of those days, but performed the service of them himself alone. He began at nine of the clock, or quickly after, and never stirred out of the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, spending all that time in praying and expounding, and singing, and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual. And he was sometimes observed to be more warm and lively towards the latter end of the duties of a fast-day, than at the beginning; as if the spirit were most willing and enlarged when the flesh was most weak. In all his performances on public fast-days, he did, *hoc agere*, attend to that which was the proper work of the day; every thing is beautiful in its season. His prayers and pleadings with God on those days, were especially

especially for national mercies, and the pardon of national sins: how excellently did he order the cause before God, and fill his mouth with arguments in his large and particular intercessions for the land, for the king, the government, the army, the navy, the church, the French Protestants, &c. He was another Jacob, a wrestler, an Israel, a prince with God. Before a fast-day he would be more than ordinarily inquisitive concerning the state of public affairs, as Nehemiah was, Neh. i. 2. that he might know the better how to order his prayers and preaching: for on such a day (he hath sometimes said) "as good say nothing, as no-thing to the purpose." He made it his business on fast-days, to shew people their transgressions, especially the house of Jacob their sins. "'Tis most proper (said he) to preach of Christ on Lord's-days, to preach of sin on fast-days, and to preach duty on both. He went over the third chapter of the Revelation, in the fast-sermons of two years. Another year he preached over the particulars of that charge, Zeph. iii. 2. Hypocrisy in hearers, and flattery in preachers (as he would sometimes say) is bad at any time, but it is especially abominable upon a day of humiliation.

5. He preached a great many lectures in the country about, some stated, some occasional, in supplying of which he was very indefatigable. He hath sometimes preached a lecture, ridden eight or nine miles, and preached another, and the next day two more: to quicken himself to diligence he would often say, "our opportunities are passing away, and we must work while it is day, for the night cometh." Once having very wet and foul weather to go through to preach a lecture, he said, he comforted himself with two scriptures; one was 2 Tim. ii. 3. "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." The other (because he exposed and hazarded his health, for which some blamed him) was 2 Sam. vi. 21. "It was before the Lord." He took all occasions in his lectures abroad, to possess the minds of people with sober and moderate

moderate principles, and to stir them up to the serious regard of those things wherein we are all agreed. "We are not met here together (said he once in an exhortation, with which he often began at his lecture) "because we think ourselves better than others, "but because it is our desire to be better than we "are."

He was very happy in the choice of his subjects for his week-day lectures. At one which was stated, he preached against errors in general, from James i. 16. "Do not err, my beloved brethren;" particularly from divers other scriptures he shewed, that we must not err, concerning God and Christ, and the Spirit; concerning sin and repentance, faith and good works; concerning God's ordinances; concerning grace and peace, and afflictions and prosperity, and the things of the life to come.

At the monthly lectures he delivered at his own house, he chose to preach upon the four last things, death and judgment, heaven and hell, in many particulars, but commonly a new text for every sermon. When he had in many sermons finished the first of the four, one that used to hear him sometimes, enquiring of his progress in his subjects, asked him if he had done with death? meaning that subject concerning death; to which he pleasantly replied, "No, I have not done "with him yet; I must have another turn with him, "and he will give me a fall; but I hope to have the "victory at last." He would sometimes remove the lectures in the country from one place to another, for the benefit of those that could not travel. Once having adjourned a lecture to a new place, he began it there with a sermon on Acts xvii. 6. "These men that "have turned the world upside down, are come hither "also;" in which he shewed how false the charge is as they meant it; for religion doth not disturb the peace of families or societies, doth not cause any disorder or unquietness, &c. And yet, that in another sense there is a great truth in it; that when the gospel comes

in power to any soul, it turns the world upside down in that soul; such is the change it makes there.

All this he did gratis, and without being burthensome to any; nay, he was best pleased, when at the places where he preached, nothing was got for his entertainment, but he came home (though some miles) fasting; as in other places it was a trouble to him to see his friends careful about much serving, though it was out of their respect to him.

Lastly, As he was an excellent preacher himself, so he was an exemplary hearer of the word, when others preached, though every way his inferiors; so reverent, serious, and attentive, was he in hearing, and so observant of what was spoken. I have heard him tell, that he knew one (and I suppose it was as Paul knew a man in Christ) who could truly say, to the glory of God, that for forty years he had never slept at a sermon. He was diligent also to improve what he heard afterwards by meditations, repetition, prayer, and discourse; and he was a very great encourager of young ministers that were humble and serious, though their abilities and performances were but mean. He hath noted in his diary, (as that which affected him,) this saying of a godly man, a hearer of his, "I find it easier to go six miles to hear a sermon, than to spend one quarter of an hour in meditating and praying over it in secret (as I should) when I come home."

As to the circumstances of his family in the last nine years of his life, they were somewhat different from what they had been; but the same candle of God which had shined upon his tabernacle, continued still to do so. In the years 1687, and 1688, he married all his five children; the three eldest in four months time, in the year 1687, and the other two in a year and a half after; so many swarms (as he used to call them) out of his hive; and all not only with his full consent, but to his abundant comfort and satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the duty of parents to study to oblige their children in that affair. And tho'
never

never could children be more easy and at rest in a father's house than his were, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as Naomi to Ruth, Ruth iii. 1. "Shall I not seek rest for thee?" Two advices he used to give, both to his children and others, in their choice of that relation: One was, "Keep within the bonds of profession," such as one may charitably hope is from a good principle. The other was, "Look at suitableness," in age, quality, education, temper, &c. He used to observe from Gen. ii. 18. "I will make him a help meet for him;" that where there is not meetness, there will not be much help. And he would commonly say to his children, with reference to that choice, "Please God, and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me;" and greatly blamed those parents, who conclude matches for their children, and do not ask counsel at their mouth. He never aimed at great things in the world for his children, but fought for them in the first place the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof. He used to mention sometimes the saying of a pious gentlewoman, that had many daughters: "The care of most people, is how to get good husbands for their daughters; but my care is to fit my daughters to be good wives, and then let God provide for them." In this, as in other things, Mr Henry steered by that principle; That "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth." And it pleased God so to order it, that all his children were disposed of, into circumstances very agreeable and comfortable, both for life and godliness. He was greatly affected with the goodness of God to him herein, without any forecast or contrivance of his own. "The country (saith he in his diary) takes notice of it, and what then shall I render?" Surely this is a token for good.

All his four daughters were married at Whitwell-chapel, and he preached a wedding sermon for each of them, in his own family, after. He would often tell his friends, that those who desire, in the married con-

dition, to live in the favour of God, must enter upon that condition in the fear of God. For it's an ill omen to stumble at the threshold : and an error in the first concoction, is seldom amended in the second.

While he lived, he had much comfort in all his children and their yoke-fellows, and somewhat the more, that by the Divine Providence, four of the five families which branched out of his, were settled in Chester.

His youngest daughter was married April 26, 1688, the same day of the year (as he observes in his diary) and the same day of the week, and in the same place that he was married to his dear wife, twenty-eight years before ; upon which this is his remark, " I cannot desire for them, that they should receive more from God than we have received, in that relation and condition ; but I would desire, and do desire, that they may do more for God in it than we have done." His usual compliment to his new-married friends, was, Others wish you all happiness, I wish you all holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all happiness.

When the marriage of the last of his daughters was about to be concluded on, he thus writes ; " But is Joseph gone, and Simeon gone, and must Benjamin go also ? we will not say that all these things are against us, but for us : if we must be thus in this merciful way bereaved of our children, let us be bereaved ; and God turn it for good to them, as we know he will. if they love and fear his name." And when, some time after she was married, he parted with her to the house of her husband, he thus writes ; " We have sent her away, not as Laban said he would have sent his daughters away, with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp, but with prayers and tears, and hearty good wishes : " " And now (saith he in his diary) we are alone again, as we were in our beginning ; God be better to us than twenty children." Upon the same occasion he thus writes

writes to a dear relation : “ We are now left as we were, one and one, and yet but one ; the Lord, I trust, that has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well ; and then all will be well, and not till then.”

That which he often mentioned, as the matter of his great comfort that it was so, and his desire that it might continue so, was, the love and unity that was among his children ; and that (as he writes) the transplanting of them into new relations, had not lessened that love, but rather increased it ; for this he often gave thanks to the God of love ; noting from Job i. 4. That the childrens love to one another is the parents comfort and joy. In his last will and testament, this is the prayer which he puts up for his children, “ That the Lord would build them up in holiness, and continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken.”

When his children were removed from him, he was a daily intercessor at the throne of grace for them and their families. Still the burnt-offerings were offered according to the number of them all. He used to say, “ Surely the children of so many prayers will not miscarry.” Their particular circumstances of affliction and danger, were sure to be mentioned by him with suitable petitions. The greatest affliction he saw in his family was the death of his dear daughter-in-law, Catharine, the only daughter of Samuel Hardware, Esq. who, about a year and a half after she was transplanted into his family (to which she was the greatest comfort and ornament imaginable) died of the small pox in child-bed, upon the thanksgiving day for king William’s coming in. She died but a few weeks after Mr Henry had married the last of his daughters, upon which marriage she had said, “ Now we have a full leave, God only knows which life will drop first.” She comforted herself in the extremity of her illness with this word, “ Well, when I come to heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this affliction.”

“fiction.” She had been for some time before under some fears as to her spiritual state, but the clouds were through grace dispelled, and she finished her course with joy, and a cheerful expectation of the glory to be revealed. When she lay ill, Mr Henry (being in fear not only for her that was ill, but for the rest of his children in Chester, who had none of them past the pikes of that perilous distemper) wrote thus to his son, on the evening of the Lord’s day, “I have just done the public work of this day, wherein, before many scores of witnesses, many of whom I dare say, are no little concerned for you: I have absolutely, freely, and unreservedly given you all up to the good will and pleasure of our heavenly Father, waiting what he will do with us, for good I am sure we have received, and shall we not receive evil also? He preached at Chester, upon occasion of that sad breach in his family, on Job x. 3. “Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me.”

When two of his children lay ill, and in perilous circumstances, after he had been wrestling with God in prayer for them, he wrote thus in his diary: “If the Lord will be pleased to grant me my request this time concerning my children, I will not say as the beggars at our door use to do, I’ll never ask any thing of him again; but, on the contrary, he shall hear oftner from me than ever; and I will love God the better, and love prayer the better, as long as I live.” He used to say, trades-men take it ill, if those that are in their books go to another shop: while we are so much indebted to God for past mercies, we are bound to attend him for further mercies.

As he was an intercessor for his children at the throne of grace, so he was upon all occasions a remembrancer to them, both by word and letter, to quicken them to that which is good. How often did he inculcate this upon them? “Love one another, and the God of love and peace will be with you. Do all you can, while you are together, to help one another to heaven, that
“ you

“ you may be together there, for ever, and with the
“ Lord.” When the families of his children were in
health and peace, the candle of God shining upon their
tabernacles, he wrote thus to them, “ ’Twas one of
“ Job’s comforts in his prosperity, that his children
“ loved one another, and feasted together : the same
“ is ours in you, which God continue. But you will
“ not be offended, if we pray that you may none of
“ you curse God in your hearts. Remember, the
“ wheel is always in motion, and the spoke that is up-
“ permost will be under, and therefore mix tremblings
“ always with your joy.”

He much rejoiced in the visits of his children, and made that as other things, which were the matter of his rejoicing, the matter of his thanksgiving. His usual saying at parting, was, “ This is not the world we are
“ to be together in, and ’tis well it is not ; but there
“ is such a world before us :” and his usual prayer was, “ that our next meeting might be either in heav-
“ en, or further on in our way towards it.”

He had in eight years time twenty-four grand-children born, some by each of his children ; concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all
“ the sealed ones of the God of heaven, and enrolled
“ among his lambs.” On the birth of his second grand-child, at a troublesome time as to public affairs, he thus writes, “ I have now seen my childrens chil-
“ dren, let me also see peace upon Israel ; and then I
“ will say, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart.” Some were much affected with it, when he baptized two of his grand-children together at Chester, publickly, and preached on Gen. xxxiii. 5. “ They are the
“ children which God hath graciously given thy ser-
“ vant.” He observed in what a savory, pious, gracious manner Jacob speaks. He had spoken good sense if he had only said, they are my children ; but then he had not spoken like Jacob, like one that had so lately seen the face of God. Though our speech be not always of grace, yet it must be always with grace,
grace

grace poured into the lips. There is a kind of language, the air of which speaks it the language of Canaan; christians should speak like christians.

It was not long after his children were married from him, but his house was filled again with the children of several of his friends, whom he was, by much importunity, persuaded to take to table with him. All that knew him, thought it a thousand pities, that such a master of a family should have but a small family, and should not have many to sit down under his shadow. He was first almost necessitated to it, by the death of his dear friend and kinsman, Mr Benyon of Ash, who left his children to his care. Some he took gratis, or for small consideration; and when by reason of the advances of age he could not go about so much as he had done, doing good, he laid out himself to do the more at home. He kept a teacher to attend their school learning; and they had the benefit, not only of his inspection in that, but (which was much more) his family-worship, Sabbath instructions, catechizing and daily converse, in which his tongue was as choice silver, and his lips fed many. Nothing but the hopes of doing some good to the rising generation could have prevailed with him to take this trouble upon him. He would often say, "We have a busy house, but
" there is a rest remaining. We must be doing some-
" thing in the world while we are in it; but this fash-
" ion will not last long, methinks I see it passing a-
" way."

Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their course of University learning, at private academies, and desired to spend some time in his family, before their entrance upon the ministry; that they might have the benefit, not only of his public and family instructions, but of his learned, pious converse, in which, as he was thoroughly furnished, for every good word and work, so he was very free and communicative. The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the ministry, was to study the scriptures,

tures, and make them familiar. *Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus*, was a maxim he often minded them of. For this purpose he recommended to them the study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the scriptures in the original. He also advised them to the use of an interleaved Bible, wherein to insert such expositions and observations as occur occasionally in sermons or other books; which, he would say, are more happy and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed commentators. When some young men desired the happiness of coming into his family, he would tell them, "You come to me as Naaman did to Elisha, expecting that I should do this and t'other for you; and alas, I can but say as he did, Go wash in Jordan;—Go, study the scriptures. I profess to teach no other learning but scripture learning." It was but a little before he died, that in reading Isa. l. he observed from ver. 4. "The Lord hath given me the tongue of the learned," &c. That the true learning of a gospel minister consists not in being able to talk Latin fluently, and to dispute in philosophy, but in being able to speak a word in season to weary souls. He that knows how to do that well, is a learned minister.

CHAP. IX.

His sickness, Death, and Burial.

IN the time of his health, he made death very familiar to himself by frequent and pleasing thoughts and meditations of it; and endeavoured to make it so to his friends, by speaking often of it. His letters and discourses had still something or other which spoke his constant expectations of death; thus did he learn to die daily; and it is hard to say, whether it was more easy to him to speak, or uneasy to his friends, to hear him speak of leaving the world. This minds me of a passage I was told by a worthy Scotch minister, Mr

Patrick Adair, that visiting the famous Mr Durham of Glasgow, in his last sickness, which was long and lingering: he said to him, "Sir, I hope you have so set all in order, that you have nothing else to do but to die:" "I bless God (said Mr Durham) I have not had that to do either these many years." Such is the comfort of dying daily, when we come to die indeed.

Mr Henry's constitution was but tender, and yet by the blessing of God upon his great temperance, and care of his diet, and moderate exercise by walking in the air, he did for many years enjoy a good measure of health, which he used to call "The fugar that sweetens all temporal mercies," for which therefore we ought to be very thankful, and of which we ought to be very careful. He had sometimes violent fits of the cholick, which would be very afflictive for the time. Towards his latter end he was distressed sometimes with a pain, which his doctor thought might arise from a stone in his kidnêys. Being once upon the recovery from an ill fit of that pain, he said to one of his friends that asked him how he did, "he hoped, by the grace of God, he should now be able to give one blow more to the devil's kingdom;" and often professed, "he did not desire to live a day longer than he might do God some service." He said to another, when he perceived himself recovering, "Well, I thought I had been putting into the harbour, but find I must to sea again."

He was sometimes suddenly taken with fainting fits, which, when he recovered from, he would say, "Dying is but a little more."

When he was in the sixty-third year of his age, which is commonly called the Grand Climacteric, and hath been to many the dying year, and was so to his father, he numbered the days of it, from August 24. 1693, to August 24. 1694, when he finished it: and when he concluded it, he thus wrote in his diary: "This day finisheth my commonly dying year, which I
" have

“ have numbered the days of; and should now apply
“ my heart more than ever to heavenly wisdom.” He
was much pleased with that expression of our English
liturgy in the office of burial, and frequently used it;
“ In the midst of life we are in death.”

The infirmities of age, when they grew upon him,
did very little abate his vigour and liveliness in preach-
ing, but he seemed even to renew his youth as the
eagles; as those that are planted in the house of the
Lord, who still bring forth fruit in old age; not so
much to shew that they are upright, as to shew that
the Lord is upright, Psa. xcii. 14, 15. But in his lat-
ter years, travelling was very troublesome to him; and
he would say, as Mr Dod used to do, that when he
thought to shake himself as at other times, he found
his hair was cut; his sense of this led him to preach an
occasional sermon not long before he died, on John
xxi. 18. “ When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy-
“ self,” &c. Another occasional sermon he preached
when he was old, for his own comfort, and the com-
fort of his aged friends, on Psa. lxxi. 17, 18. “ O God,
“ thou hast taught me from my youth,” &c. He ob-
served there, that it is a blessed thing to be taught of
God from our youth; and those that have been taught
of God from their youth, ought to declare his won-
drous works all their days after. And those that have
been taught of God from their youth, and have all
their days declared his wondrous works, may comfort-
ably expect, that when they are old he will not forsake
them. Christ is a master that doth not use to cast off
his old servants.

For some years before he died, he used to complain
of an habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by his
standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily, and in in-
convenient places, immediately after riding. He would
say, Every minister was not cut out for an itinerant;
and sometimes the manifest attention and affection of
people in hearing, enlarged him both in length and
fervency, somewhat more than his strength could well

bear. It was not many months before he died, that he wrote thus to a dear relation, who inquired solicitously concerning his health; "I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lye down in the bed of spices." And (blessed be God) so the grave is to all the saints, since He lay in it who is the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the vallies. When some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself, he would say, "Its time enough to rest when I am in the grave; what were candles made for, but to burn."

It doth not appear that he had any particular pre-fages of his death; but by many instances there were of his actual gracious expectation of it, somewhat more than ordinary for some time before. The last visit he made to his children in Chester, was in July 1695, almost a year before he died, when he spent a Lord's day there, and preached on the last verse of the epistle to Philemon, "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." By grace he understood not so much the good will of God towards us, as the good work of God in us, called the grace of Christ, both because he is the author and finisher of it, and because he is the pattern and samplar of it. Now "the choicest gift we can ask of God for our friend is, that this grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with their spirit." This is the one thing needful, the better part, the root of the matter, the whole of man, the principle thing, the more excellent way, a blessing indeed, and the thing that accompanies salvation. The grace of Christ in the spirit, enlightens and enlivens the spirit, softens and subdues the spirit, purifies and preserves the spirit, greatens and guides the spirit, sweetens and strengthens the spirit, and therefore what can be more desirable. A spirit without the grace of Christ is a field without a fence, a fool without understanding; it is a horse without a bridle, and a house without furniture; it is a ship without tackle, and a soldier without armour; it is a cloud without rain, and a carcass without a soul; it is a tree without fruit, and a traveller

traveller without a guide. How earnest therefore should we be in praying to God for grace, both for ourselves and for our relations! He had intended to preach upon that text, when he was at Chester the year before, but was then prevented, by a particular sad occasion, which obliged him to a funeral sermon, divine Providence reserving that benediction (which his heart was much upon) for his valediction. The Thursday following being kept as a fast in his son's congregation at Chester, he preached on Luke xix. 41. "He beheld the city, and wept over it;" which proved his farewell to the town, as the former was his farewell to his friends and relations in it.

It was not many weeks before he died, that he wrote thus to one of his children: "We are well here, thanks be to God, and are glad to hear that you and yours are well also, God in mercy continue it: but why should we be well always? Do we deserve it? Are there no mixtures in our obedience? Are there any persons or families, at whose door sickness and death never knocked? Must the earth be forsaken for us, or the rock removed out of its place? Is it not enough that we be dealt with according to the manner of men, and that we have a promise, that it shall end well, everlastingly well?"

To another of his children, about the same time, he writes, "We are sensible that we decline apace, but the best of it is, that as time goes, eternity comes; and we are in good hope, through grace, that it will be a comfortable eternity."

It was in April 1696, a few weeks before he died, that his son's father-in-law, Robert Warburton, Esq; was gathered to his grave in peace, in a good old age. Upon the tidings of whose death, Mr Henry wrote thus to his son; "Your fathers, where are they? your father-in-law gone, and your own father going; but you have a God-father that lives for ever." He was wont sometimes to subscribe his letters, your ever-loving, but not ever-living father.

It was not a month before he died, that, in a letter to his very dear and worthy friend and brother, Mr Tallents of Shrewsbury, he had this passage: “Me-
 “ thinks it is strange, that it should be your lot and
 “ mine, to abide so long on earth by the stuff, when
 “ so many of our friends are dividing the spoil above,
 “ but God will have it so; and to be willing to live
 “ in obedience to his holy will, is as true an act of
 “ grace, as to be willing to die when he calls, especi-
 “ ally when life is labour and sorrow. But when it
 “ is labour and joy, service to his name, and some
 “ measure of success and comfort in serving him; when
 “ it is to stop a gap, and stem a tide, it is to be rejoy-
 “ ced in; ’tis heaven upon earth: nay, one would
 “ think, by the Psalmist’s oft repeated plea, Psa. vi.
 “ xxx. lxxxviii. cxv. and cxviii. that it were better
 “ than to be in heaven itself; and can that be?”

A little before his sickness and death, being summer time, he had several of his children, and his childrens children about him, at Broad Oak, with whom he was much refreshed, and very cheerful; but ever and anon spoke of the fashion he was in, as passing away; and often told them, he should be there but a while to bid them welcome. And he was observed frequently in prayer, to beg of God, that “he would make us ready
 “ for that which would come certainly, and might
 “ come suddenly.” One asking him how he did, he answered, “I find the chips fly off apace, the tree will
 “ be down shortly.”

The last time he administered the Lord’s supper, a fortnight before he died, he closed the administration with that scripture, 1 John iii. 2. “It doth not yet appear what we shall be;” not yet, but it will shortly. The Sabbath but one before he died, being, in the course of his exposition, come to that difficult part of scripture, the xl. of Ezekiel, and the following chapters, he said he would endeavour to explain those prophecies to them; and added “If I do not do it now,
 “ I never shall:” and he observed, that the only prophetic

phetical sermon which our Lord Jesus preached, was but a few days before he died. This many of his hearers not only reflected upon afterwards, but took notice of at that time with a concern, as having something in it more than ordinary.

On the Lord's-day, June 21. 1696, he went through the work of the day with his usual vigour and liveliness. He was then preaching over the first chapter of St Peter's second epistle, and was that day on those words, "Add to your faith virtue," ver. 5. He took virtue for christian courage and resolution in the exercise of faith; and the last thing he mentioned, in which christians have need of courage, is in dying; "for (as he was often us'd to say) it is a serious thing to die, and to die is a work by itself." That day he gave notice, both morning and afternoon, with much affection and enlargement, of the public fast, which was appointed by authority the Friday following, June, 26. pressing his hearers, as he us'd to do upon such occasions, to come in a prepared frame, to the solemn services of that day.

The Tuesday following, June 23, he rose at six o'clock, according to his custom, after a better night's sleep than ordinary, and in wonted health. Between seven and eight o'clock he performed family worship, according to the usual manner; he expounded very largely the former half of the civ. Psalm, and sung it; but he was somewhat shorter in prayer than he us'd to be, being then (as it was thought) taken ill. Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he comes, shall find so doing. Immediately after prayer he retired to his chamber, not saying any thing of his illness, but was soon after found upon his bed in great extremity of pain, in his back, breast, and bowels; it seemed to be a complicated fit of the stone and cholick together, in very great extremity. The means that had been us'd to give him relief in his illness were altogether ineffectual; he had not the least intermission or remission of pain, neither up nor in bed, but in a continual
toss.

tols. He had said sometimes, that God's Israel may find Jordan rough; but there's no remedy, they must through it to Canaan; and would tell of a good man who us'd to say, he was not so much afraid of death as of dying. We know they are not the godly people, part of the description of whose condition it is, that there are no bands in their death, and yet their end is peace, and their death gain, and they have hope in it. In this extremity he was still looking up to God, and calling upon him, who is a present help in the needful hour. When the exquisiteness of his pain forced groans and complaints from him, he would presently correct himself with a patient and quiet submission to the hand of his heavenly Father, and a cheerful acquiescence in his heavenly will. "I am ashamed (saith he) of these groans, I want virtue: O for virtue now when I have need of it (referring to his subject the Lord's-day before) forgive me that I groan thus, and I will endeavour to silence them; but indeed my stroke is heavier than my groaning." It is true, what Mr Baxter said in his pain, There's no disputing against sense. It was his trouble, as it was Mr Baxter's that by reason of his bodily pain, he could not express his inward comfort; however that was it, with which God graciously strengthened him in his soul. He said to those about him, They must remember what instructions and counsels he had given them when he was in health, for now he could say but little to them, only to refer them to what he had said, as that which he would live and die by.

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill, before he would suffer a messenger to be sent to Chester for his son, and for the doctor, saying, he should either be better, or dead, before they could come; but at last he said, as the prophet did to his importunate friends, Send. About eight o'clock that evening they came, and found him in the same extremity of pain which he had been in all day. And nature being before spent with his constant and indefatigable labours in the work
of

of the Lord, now sunk, and did perfectly succumb under its burthen, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many hours incessant pain. What further means were then us'd proved fruitless, and did not answer the intention. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his son when he came in, "O son, you are welcome to a dying father: I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." His pain continued very acute, but he had peace within. I am tormented (said he once) but blessed be God not in this flame; and soon after, "I am all on fire," (when at the same time his extreme parts were cold) but he presently added, Blessed be God it is not the fire of hell. To some of his next neighbours who came in to see him (for those at a distance had not notice of his illness) he said, "O make sure work for your souls by getting an interest in Christ while you are in health; for if I had that work to do now, what would become of me? but I bless God I am satisfied." It was a caution he was often wont to give; See to it, that your work be not undone, when your time is done, lest you be undone for ever.

Towards ten or eleven o'clock that night, his pulse and sight began to fail; of the latter he himself took notice, and inferred from it the near approach of his dissolution.

He took an affectionate farewell of his dear yoke-fellow, with a thousand thanks for all her love and care, and tenderness; left a blessing for all his dear children, and their dear yoke-fellows and little ones, that were absent. He said to his son, who sat under his head, "Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your generation, and be more serviceable to the church of God than I have been;" such was his great humility to the last. And when his son, replied, O Sir, pray for me that I may but tread in your steps; he answered, Yea, follow peace and holiness, and let them say what they will. More he would have said to bear his dying testimony to the

way in which he had walked, but nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His understanding and speech continued almost to the last breath, and he was still in his dying agonies calling upon God, and committing himself to him. One of the last words he said, when he found himself just ready to depart, was, "O death, where is thy----?" with that his speech faltered, and within a few minutes (after about sixteen hours illness) he quietly breathed out his precious soul, into the embraces of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the work of the ministry, about forty-three years. He departed betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the morning of June 24. midsummer-day, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Happy, thrice happy he, to whom such a sudden change was no surprize, and who could triumph over death, as an unslung disarmed enemy, even when he made so fierce an onset. He had often spoke of it as his desire, that if it were the will of God, he might not outlive his usefulness; and it pleased God to grant him his desire, and give him a short passage from the pulpit to the kingdom; from the height of his usefulness, to receive the recompence of reward. So was it ordered by Him in whose hands our times are.

After the account we have given of his great usefulness, it is easy to imagine what sorrow and mourning there was among his friends, when they heard that the Lord had taken away their master from their head. One that lived so much desired, could not but die as much lamented. The surprize of the stroke put people into a perfect astonishment; and many said, The Lord removed him so suddenly, because he would not deny the many prayers that would have been put up for his recovery, had it been known that he was in peril. One thing that aggravated this severe dispensation, and made it in the apprehension of many look the more dismal, was, that this powerful intercessor was taken away just before a fast-day, when he would have been wrestling

wrestling mightily with God for mercy for the land. However, it proved a fast-day indeed, and a day of humiliation to that congregation, to whom an empty pulpit was an awakening sermon. The Broad-Oak was then like that under which Rebekah's nurse was buried, Gen. xxxv. 8. *Allon bacuth*, the oak of weeping. They who had many a time sitten with dry eyes, under melting ordinances, could not sit so under such a melting providence, by which the Lord God called so loudly to weeping and to mourning, and to girding with sackcloth. But because Mr Henry had been wont to give it for a rule, that weeping must not hinder sowing, a mite was cast into the treasury of the nation's prayers, and a word spoken to bring the work of the day, and the event of the day together, from 2 Kings xiii. 20.

The day following being Saturday, June 27. the earthen vessel, in which this treasure had been lodged, was laid up in the grave in Whitchurch church, attended thither with a very great company of true mourners, all the country round; many from Chester and Shrewsbury, and the towns about, came to do him honour at his death: and, besides the floods of tears that were shed, there were abundance of testimonies given to him, by persons of all sorts, like that to Jehoiadah, 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. That he was one that had done good in Israel. And there were those who said, he was a man that no body did or could speak evil of, except for his nonconformity. He was used to say to his relations, When I am dead, make little ado about me; a few will serve to bring me to my grave. But his mind could not be observed in that; 'twas impossible such a burning and shining light could be extinguished, but there must be a universal notice taken of it. Multitudes came unsought; not to fill their eyes (as Mr Vines expresseth it) but to empty them; nor was there any other noise there, but that of general lamentation.

That morning before the removal of the corpse, a

most affectionate sermon was preached in Mr Henry's meeting-place, by his dear and worthy friend Mr Talents of Shrewsbury, who was eleven years older than he, and through God's goodness still survives him. He was willing to take that opportunity, to testify the great love and honour that he had for Mr Henry, whom he called a friend that is nearer than a brother. His text was, Rom. viii. 23. "And not only they, but
 " ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our
 " body." In his application he shewed excellently, and with much affection, how "the consideration of the
 " spirit and life of this eminent servant of God, would
 " greatly lead us to believe on Christ, and to have the
 " spirit of Christ and live after it; and to suffer with
 " Christ, and to groan for our adoption." Several things were hinted concerning him, which have been mentioned already in this narrative, and a very honourable testimony born to him. From a long acquaintance with him, he witnessed concerning him, to those who knew his record to be true, that "he was humble and meek, kind and peaceable, wise and charitable, and one in whom the fruits of the Spirit were
 " eminently: that he was a friend and a counsellor,
 " and a father to many; that his expounding and
 " preaching was plain and pleasant, warm and savory,
 " full and such as few could reach, and greatly blessed
 " by God; and that in it he laboured more abundantly than any." And after a great encomium of him, it was excellently observed, and must be mentioned here, as that which was highly agreeable to Mr Henry's spirit, and his expressions upon all occasions: "That
 " it was not his own righteousness that saved him, nor
 " his own strength that quickened and upheld him, but
 " Christ's righteousness and Christ's strength; for to
 " him to live was Christ: and in all his discourses, sermons, and letters, he was very careful to ascribe the
 " honour of all to Christ, and to make Christ his all
 " in

“ in all.” He concluded with some words of seasonable advice to those of that society and neighbourhood:

1. “ Give thanks to God that ever you had him or saw him, and that you had him so long, above thirty years in this place. Do not many of you owe even your very souls to him under God? while you mourn, give thanks to God that you ever knew him; old and great mercies must be thankfully remembered.

2. “ Rejoice in the glory that he now enjoys: “ weep not for him, but weep for yourselves:” ’twas the text on which he preached, not much above a year ago, at the funeral of that intelligent, holy, useful man, Mr William Lawrence of Wem. The primitive christians buried their faints with hymns and psalms of joy. Chrysoftom on the Hebrews saith, “ We are to glorify God, and give thanks to him, that he hath crowned the deceased, and freed them from their labours; and chides those that mourned and howled. And the days of their death were called *Natalitia martyrum & sanctorum*, the birth days of the faints and martyrs. And Hierom (in his epitaph on holy Paula, and in the lives of other holy persons, writ by him) saith, that at her funeral no shrieks were heard, but multitudes of psalms and hymns were sung in divers languages.

3. “ Bewail the loss, the general loss, and yours in particular, yet so as to have hope in God. I need not tell you how great your loss is, you feel it more than I am able to express. If any rejoice that he is gone, because he tormented them, say as the church Micah vii. 8, 9.

4. “ Seek out for a supply; do not mourn and sit still, but up and be doing in your places; you have had a cheap gospel hitherto: God sent you one that could preach freely, and which is more, that would do so too; one that sought not yours, but you; and now God will see what you will do for yourselves; that now the shepherd is smitten, the sheep may not be

“ be scattered. Pray to God to raise up others like
 “ him, and graciously to give you one.

5. “ Take heed of liking no preacher, now he is
 “ gone. This is a usual fault among many that have
 “ had excellent preachers, no body can please them.
 “ But God may bless weaker means, and make your
 “ souls live and thrive under them.

6. “ Hold fast that which you have ; it is the advice
 “ given to Philadelphia, the best of the Churches,
 “ Rev. iii. 11. Keep that good thing which is commit-
 “ ted to you, that favoriness of heart, that love to Christ
 “ and to saints, to all saints, that knowledge of the
 “ truth. Keep to his sober principles. Remember
 “ his dying counsel, Follow peace and holiness : have
 “ these things always in remembrance. Take heed
 “ of falling off, take heed of falling away ; the world
 “ will draw you, and Satan will tempt you, and your
 “ own busy hearts will be apt to betray you ; but go
 “ on humbly and honestly in the strength of Christ,
 “ and fear not: be not like those Jews that turned a-
 “ side when John Baptist was dead, John v. 35. The
 “ Lord keep you from being such, and give you to go
 “ on to his heavenly kingdom.”

It would have swelled this book too much, if we
 inserted the sermon at large, and therefore we for-
 bear it.

The next day being Lord's day, Mr Owen of Of-
 westry preached a most excellent sermon in the morn-
 ing, agreeable to that sad occasion, upon that pathetic
 farewell which Elisha gave to Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 12.
 “ My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the
 “ horsemen thereof, and he saw him no more; and he
 “ took hold of his own clothes, and rent them.” He
 observed, 1. “ That faithful ministers are the fathers of
 “ a people, and their chariots and horsemen; the for-
 “ mer a metaphor taken from a family, a peaceable
 “ society; the latter from an army, a warlike body.
 “ Fathers to provide good things, chariots and horse-
 “ men to protect from evil things. 2. There is a time
 “ when

“ when we shall see these fathers, these chariots and
“ horsemen of Israel no more. Their time is appoint-
“ ed, their work cut out for them, and when those
“ are finished they are removed 3. When God takes
“ away our fathers, the chariots of our Israel, and the
“ horsemen thereof, it is a proper season for mourn-
“ ing and lamentation. Under this he did most af-
“ fectionately excite us, 1. To be sensible of our loss,
“ which is better felt than express. 'Tis the loss of
“ one that was a father; a father to his family, to
“ whom he was constant in unfolding the holy ora-
“ cles; a father to the prophets, for counsel, and con-
“ duct, and example: the sons of the prophets never
“ conversed with him, but they were, or might have
“ been the better for him; a father to his congrega-
“ tion, now left orphans: 'tis the loss of one of the
“ chariots and horsemen of our Israel, so eminent was
“ he for prevalency in prayer, courage in duty, con-
“ duct in affairs, constancy in religion, and a firm ad-
“ herence to his ministerial vows; and, lastly, a con-
“ tempt of the world, in which as he that warreth, he
“ did not entangle himself. 2. To be sensible of those
“ sins, which have provoked God to deprive us of
“ him. Barrenness and unfruitfulness under his min-
“ istry; 'tis for this that God hath a controversy with
“ us. 3. To bless God that we enjoyed him so long:
“ eaten bread must not be forgotten. 4. To be fol-
“ lowers of him, as he was of Christ. He was a pat-
“ tern for ministers, excelling in the knowledge of the
“ scriptures, which made this man of God perfect, and
“ industrious to advance the honour of Jesus Christ,
“ whom he made the Alpha and Omega of his reli-
“ gion; not addicted to controversies, but walking in
“ the good old way, unwearied in the work of God.
“ It was the delight of his heart, to be laying out him-
“ self for the good of souls. Exemplary for humility
“ and low thoughts of himself, and his own perform-
“ ances, for meekness and readiness to forgive injuries,
“ for candor in speaking of others, and their words
“ and

“ and actions, on which he ever put the best construction, and was never apt to speak evil of any man. Eminent for family religion, and in that an excellent copy to all masters of families. Those things therefore which you have heard and seen in him do, and the God of peace shall be with you.” These were the heads which were copiously and excellently enlarged upon in that sermon.

In the afternoon of that Sabbath, another sermon was preached by a near relation of Mr Henry's on Heb. xi. 4. “ And by it, he being dead yet speaking eth.”

The Wednesday following, July 1. being the lecture in course at Danford in Whitchurch parish, Mr Samuel Lawrence of Nantwich, whose turn it was to preach that lecture, brought up the long train of mourners, (as he expressed it) in a most savoury and pertinent discourse on Heb. xiii. 7. “ Remember them which have (or have had) the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.” “ Bishops no doubt, (said he) are here meant, scripture primitive bishops, the pastors of particular congregations, for they were such as had spoken to them the word of God, and watched for their souls, ver. 17. Such a one Mr Henry was, that great man, who is fallen this day in Israel, removed from us, but hath left behind him a good name to be remembered, a good example to be imitated; many a good word spoken to us, and many a good prayer put up for us. Remember him with thankfulness, that God has given such power, such gifts and graces unto men. I never knew a man (said he) in all my acquaintance, in whom I have seen so much of God as in good Mr Henry, whose holy, humble, heavenly, gracious conversation, hath been to me no small confirmation of the truth of the christian religion; that God gave him to you, and continued him so long, to see the church in a better state than he had

“ some-

“ sometimes seen it ; that God crowned his labours
“ with such great successes. Many souls in heaven, and
“ some on earth blessing God that ever they saw his
“ face, and that God continued him in his usefulness
“ to the last. Remember him with a quiet submission
“ to the hand of God in his removal from us. Sensi-
“ ble we must be of the stroke ; ’tis a public loss, a
“ loss to the ministry, our hands are this day weak ;
“ a loss to the nation, for which he was a powerful
“ intercessor ; a loss to this country, in which he was
“ a burning and shining light ; but yet we must ac-
“ quiesce in the divine will. The treasure was in an
“ earthen vessel, and God will bring us to depend
“ more upon himself ; and he is teaching us to live,
“ and live to Christ without good Mr Henry, though
“ we have sometimes said, we did not know how we
“ could live without him. Remember him to pay all
“ honour and respect to his name and memory ; rise
“ up and call him blessed. That’s a foul tongue, as
“ well as a lying one, that can say any thing of him
“ unbecoming a disciple, servant, and minister of Jesus
“ Christ. Remember him, to imitate his good exam-
“ ple. Many of you will be called Mr Henry’s fol-
“ lowers ; be so indeed. He was a pattern to minis-
“ ters of diligence, zeal, humility, and great meekness
“ in dealing with all people, which contributed abun-
“ dantly to his success ; his preaching affectionate,
“ without affectation. To all people he was a pattern
“ of faith and charity, and contempt of the world, of
“ zeal and moderation, patience in suffering, and of
“ constancy and perseverance to the end. Remem-
“ ber him, and remember your sins which have pro-
“ voked God to take him away. Have not we griev-
“ ed this good man’s spirit ? &c. Remember him,
“ and remember Christ’s fulness, who is the same, ver.
“ 8. and hath the residue of the Spirit. Instruments
“ shifted, cisterns emptied, but there is the same in the
“ fountain. Remember him, and remember your
“ own death, and heaven where he is : we may think

“ the worse of this world, which is much impoverish-
 “ ed, and the better of heaven, which is somewhat en-
 “ riched by the removal of this good man.”

Thus we have gleaned a little out of the sermons, which very well deserved to have been published at large, some of the testimonies that were borne to him, by such as had had long and intimate acquaintance with him, that knew his excellencies very much, and knew as little to give flattering titles; nor was it any invidious piece of service, to speak thus honourably of one, who, like Demetrius, had a good report of all men, and of the truth itself.

Nor was it ~~there~~ only, but from abroad, that very honourable testimonies were given of him. Sir Henry Ashurst (whose great worth and usefulness the world hath been made to know, by some of the best pens of the age) besides the personal acquaintance he had with Mr Henry, both at Boreatton and in London, had kept up a constant correspondence with him, by letter, for many years. Read the character he gave of him, in a letter to a near relation of Mr Henry's, upon the tidings of his death:---“ I need not tell you how sadly I
 “ received the doleful news of Mr Henry's translation,
 “ who, I do think, lived the greatest example of sin-
 “ cere godliness, with prudence and sweetness of tem-
 “ per, of any I ever knew.” And in another letter, not only proposing, but pressing the publication of an account of his life, he professeth, he thought there was none like him in his day, at least of his acquaintance, which is known to be both of the largest and of the best: “ And (saith he) if Sir Fulk Grevil would have
 “ it inscribed upon his tombstone, that he was a friend
 “ to Sir Philip Sidney, I may well be pleased to have
 “ it told to the world, that I loved and honoured bles-
 “ sed Mr Henry; a man of so much prudence, and
 “ withal so much sincerity, of so good a temper, so
 “ much a gentleman, and yet of such strict piety and
 “ devotedness to God, that I scarce ever knew his
 “ fellow.”

The reverend Mr William Turner, now vicar of Walburton in Suffex, (of whom mention was made before) lately sent to me a very kind letter, *ex mero affectu*, with his free consent to have it inserted in this account; some hints whereof I think fit to subjoin.

Worthy Sir,

“ I am glad to hear that you have been prevailed with
“ to set upon so good a work, as recording the most
“ remarkable passages of Mr Henry’s life. I doubt
“ not but you will meet with some, that will give such
“ a history but a cold reception. All that part of the
“ world that lies in darkness, will be offended, when
“ beams of clear light and sun-shine first dart into their
“ faces. *Virtutem præsentem odimus.*

“ A little before I went to the university, I was upon
“ the commendation of my worthy school-master
“ Mr E. (yet living) and with my father’s consent, half
“ a year a domestick with him; partly as a tutor to
“ his young ones, and partly as a pupil to himself;
“ and in some little degree as a companion; where I
“ had the opportunity of informing myself more fully
“ concerning the humour and principles, and conversation
“ of a sort of people (and especially him and his
“ family) whom I had heard aspersed very freely in former
“ companies, and represented to the world, as
“ very hypocritical and disloyal people. At my first
“ going, I resolved to stand upon my guard, and pry
“ into the cause, which was then the great subject of
“ difference and dispute; and upon the whole do say,
“ that Mr Henry was a man of so clear a brain, so
“ gentle a behaviour, so steady a conversation, so regular
“ a devotion; was so courteous and condescending
“ to inferiors, so respectful and dutiful to superi-
“ ours, so sweet and obliging to all; was so careful to
“ improve his time well, to do as much good as possible
“ to every body, so constantly affectionate in his
“ prayers for the king and government, so desirous to
“ keep up a fair correspondence and communion with

“ his conformable brethren, so very indifferent in making profelytes to his particular opinions ; and withal, so zealous to promote substantial goodness and true christianity, so inoffensive and peaceable in all his expressions and actions ; so prudent, pure, pious, just, sober, charitable, chearful and pleasant, that I profess I am almost afraid to give him his due character without some correctives, lest they that knew him not should suspect my veracity, and imagine my pen to be managed by some mercenary hand. I remember the worshipful Rowland Hunt of Boreatten, Esq. speaking of Mr Henry, thus expressed himself to me, (and if I mistake not, the Lord Ambassador Pagett was present) I was (said he) near seven years resident in the universities, and seven more at the Inns of court in London, and had opportunity of knowing and acquainting myself with the most eminent divines and preachers in both these places ; yet I never found any every way so accomplished, for clearness and quickness of apprehension, solidity of judgement, and roundness of style, as Mr Henry is. I have noted in my book of providences the remark I made upon the temporal blessings God had rewarded him with ; viz. a good and virtuous consort, who brought him a good estate, gave him a due reverence, loved him with an entire affection, an ingenious and hopeful offspring, well affected, well educated, and well disposed of in the world, the favour of men, and a quiet undisturbed habitation upon earth, in great measure, &c.

*Sic testatus, sic monet. sic precatur,
 Amicus merens, anhelus, sepe fletus.*

W. TURNER, A. M.

Another worthy conformist, of his acquaintance, having occasion to mention him in a letter to a friend, calls him “ The great, good, now glorious Mr Henry, whose memory (saith he) shall ever be precious, and even sacred to me.”

Such

Such as these were the honourable testimonies which all that knew him, and knew how to value true excellency, attended him with. It is part of the recompence of charity and moderation in this world, that it obtains a good report of all men. The kingdom of God (saith the blessed apostle, Rom. xiv. 17. 18.) is not meat and drink, which were then the matters of doubtful disputation, "but righteoufness, and peace, and joy in the
" Holy Ghost; and he that in these things ferveth
" Christ, is not only acceptable to God, but approved
" of men;" as, on the contrary, they that judge will be judged, and with what measure we mete, it will be measured to us again. And this is the excellency of a good name, that it is out of the reach of death, and is not buried in the grave, but rather grows up from the grave.

It is not for nothing Solomon hath joined this good name, which is better than precious ointment, with the day of one's death, which upon that account is better than the day of one's birth, that it compleats the character of those that finish their course well, and are faithful unto death; whereas a great name, like the names of the great ones of the earth, is often withered and blemished by death. We read of those that "bear
" their shame when they go down to the pit, though
" they were the terror of the mighty in the land of
" the living." Ezek. xxxii. 35.

At a meeting of the dissenting ministers of Cheshire at Knutsford in May 1696, (a few weeks before Mr Henry died) it was agreed, that their next meeting should be at Chester (though inconvenient to many of them) upon condition that he would meet them there, and give them a sermon. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed with to promise it, but his Master called for him before the time appointed came. Mr Flavel of Devonshire died when he was under a like appointment. But happy they that are come to the
" General assembly, and church of the first-born, and
" to the spirits of just men made perfect."

As to his bodily presence, he was of a middle stature, his complexion not approaching to any extremity, of a very pleasant aspect, and an unusual mixture of gravity and sweetness in the air of his countenance, which was the true index of his mind. When some of his friends have solicited him to have his picture drawn, he would put them off with this, that “the best picture of a minister is in the hearts of his people.”

CHAP. X.

A miscellaneous collection of some of his sayings, observations, counsels and comforts, out of his sermons, letters and discourses.

MR Henry, through the excess of his modesty and self-diffidence, never published any of his labours to the world, nor ever fitted or prepared any of them for the press; and yet none more valued the labours of others, or rejoiced more in them; nor have I heard any complain less of the multitude of good books, concerning which he often said, that store is no store, and he was very forward to persuade others to publish; and always expressed a particular pleasure in reading the lives, actions, and sayings of eminent men, ancient and modern, which he thought the most useful and instructive kind of writings. He was also a very candid reader of books, not apt to pick quarrels with what he read, especially when the design appeared to be honest, and when others would find fault, and say, this was wanting, and t’other amiss, his usual excuse was, “there is nothing perfect under the sun.”

It will be but a small repair of this want of the publishing of some of his works (but I doubt it will prove the best we can make,) to glean up some few of many of his sayings, observations, and good instructions (as his

his remains) which we shall not marshal in any order, but give them as they occur, besides those which have been already inserted into this narrative.

'Twas a saying he frequently used, which hath been mentioned already, that "Every creature is that to us, and only that, which God makes it to be:" and another was, "Duty is ours, events are God's:" and another was "The soul is the man," and therefore "That is always best for us, which is best for our souls:" and another was, "The devil cozens us of all our time, by cozening us of the present time."

In his thanksgivings for temporal mercies, he often said, "If the end of one mercy were not the beginning of another, we were undone:" and to encourage to the work of thanksgiving he would say, that "new mercies call for new returns of praise, and then those new returns will fetch in new mercies;" and from P^sal. l. 23. "He that offers praise glorifies me, and to him that orders his conversation aright—" He observed, that thanksgiving is good, but thanks-living is better.

When he spoke of a good name, he usually described it to be a name for good things with good people. When he spoke of contentment, he used to say, "When the mind and the condition meet, there's contentment. Now in order to that, either the condition must be brought up to the mind, and that is not only unreasonable but impossible; for as the condition riseth, the mind riseth with it; or else the mind must be brought down to the condition, and that is both possible and reasonable. And he observed, that no condition of life will of itself make a man content, without the grace of God; for we find Haman discontented in the court, Ahab discontented on the throne, Adam discontented in Paradise, nay (and higher we cannot go) the angels that fell discontented in heaven itself."

The three questions which he advised people to put to themselves in self-examination before the sacrament,
were,

were, What am I? What have I done? and What do I want?

He used to recommend to his friends these four scripture arguments against sin, expressed for memory's sake in four verses, to be ready in an hour of temptation.

Is this thy kindness to thy friend?
It will be bitterness in the end.
The vows of God upon me lye;
Should such a man as I am fly?

He said there were four things which he would not for all the world have against him, The word of God, his own conscience, the prayers of the poor, and the account of godly ministers.

“He that hath a blind conscience which sees nothing, a dead conscience which feels nothing, and a dumb conscience which saith nothing, is in as miserable a condition as a man can be in on this side hell.”

Preaching on 1 Pet. i. 6. “If need be, you are in heaviness----.” He shewed what need the people of God have of afflictions. “The same that our bodies have of physick, that our trees have of pruning, that gold and silver have of the furnace, that liquors have of being emptied from vessel to vessel, that the iron hath of a file, that the fields have of a hedge, that the child has of the rod.”

Preaching on that prayer of Christ for his disciples, John xvii. 21. “That they all may be one,” which no doubt is an answered prayer, for the Father heard him always, he shewed, “That notwithstanding the many sad divisions that are in the church, yet all the saints, as far as they are sanctified, are one; one in relation, one flock, one family, one building, one body, one bread: one by representation, one in image and likeness, of one inclination and disposition: one in their aims, one in their askings, one in amity and friendship, one in interest, and one in their inheritance;

“ance; nay, they are one in judgement and opinion; though in some things they differ, yet those things in which they are agreed are many more, and much more considerable than those things wherein they differ. They are all of a mind concerning sin, that it is the worst thing in the world; concerning Christ that he is all in all; concerning the favour of God, that it is better than life; concerning the world, that it is vanity; concerning the word of God, that it is very precious,” &c.

Preaching on Gal. i. 16. concerning the conversion of Paul, he began his sermon with this remark, to raise attention: much is said in story concerning the seven wonders of the world, the Temple of Ephesus, the Pyramids of Egypt, the Tomb of Mausoleus, &c. all which are now no more; but I have been sometimes thinking, whether I could not name seven things which I would call the seven wonders of the church; and what do you think of these seven? are they not wonderful? 1. Our redemption by Jesus Christ, who is called Wonderful; 2. The salvation of Noah in the Ark; 3. The faith of Abraham in offering up Isaac; 4. The patience of Job; 5. The providences of God towards the Nation and people of the Jews; 6. The pouring out of the Spirit upon the Apostles; 7. The conversion of Paul.

But it would be endless to gather up such passages as these out of his sermons, which were full of them, and we mention these only because they occur first.

He used to observe concerning the nation of the Jews, that before the captivity in Babylon, no people could be more strongly addicted to idols and idolatry than they were, to admiration, considering what clear warnings they had against it. But after that captivity, never was any people more averse to idols and idolatry than they, that the promise might be fulfilled, Ephraim shall say, What have I to do any more with idols? and he looked upon it, that the idolatry of the papists was one of the greatest obstructions to the Jews conversion, which he did expect and look for, as not appre-

hending how the promises, Rom. xi. have yet had their full accomplishment; not that they shall again be incorporated into a people, but shall join themselves to the churches of Christ, in the several nations whither they be scattered.

The great thing that he condemned and witnessed against in the church of Rome, was their monopolizing of the church, and condemning all that are not in with their interests, which is so directly contrary to the spirit of the gospel, as nothing can be more. He sometimes said, "I am too much a catholick, to be a Roman catholick."

He often express'd himself well pleas'd with that healing rule, which, if duly observ'd, would put an end to all our divisions: *Sit in necessarius unitas, in non necessarius libertas, in omnibus charitas.* Let there be in necessary things unity, in every thing charity, and then there need not be in every punctilio uniformity.

By the institutions of the gospel (he said) he knew of no holy place, one holy day, two holy sacraments, and four holy canons. Let all things be done in charity: let all things be done to edifying: let all things be done decently and in order: and let all things be done to the glory of God.

When his opinion was ask'd about any doubtful matter, as playing at cards, the marriage of cousin-germans, or the like, he was very cautious in determining such things to be sinful; but he would say, It's good keeping on the safer side; and a man would not chuse to go upon a precipice, when he might go upon even ground: Prov. x. 5. "He that walks uprightly, walks surely," in opposition to walking at all adventures.

In the observations he made of God's Providences, he frequently took notice in discourse with his friends, of the fulfilling of the scripture in them; for (saith he) the scripture hath many accomplishments, and is in the fulfilling every day. Speaking of a wicked son in the neighbourhood that was very undutiful to his mother, he charg'd some of his children to observe the providence

dence of God concerning him; perhaps (saith he) I may not live to see it, but do you take notice, whether God do not come upon him with some remarkable judgement in this life, according to the threatening implied in the reason annexed to the fifth commandment: but he himself lived to see it fulfilled not long after, in a very signal providence.

He observed from scripture instances, as well as from some providences which he had taken notice of in his own day, That if any began well in the ways of religion and godliness, and afterwards cast off their profession, and returned to profaneness again, usually God sets a mark of his displeasure upon them, by some visible judgement in this world; their estates ruined, their reputation blasted, their families sunk, or themselves brought to misery; so that all who passed by might say, This was an apostate. "If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."

He observed from Numb. x. 12. "That all our removes in this world, are but from one wilderness to another." Upon any change that is before us, we are apt to promise ourselves a Canaan, but we shall be deceived, it will prove a wilderness.

Once pressing the study of the scriptures, he advised to take a verse of Psalm cxix. every morning to meditate upon, and so go over the psalm twice in the year, and that (saith he) will bring you to be in love with all the rest of the scripture; and he often said, "All grace grows, as love to the word of God grows."

One asking his advice, what to do when (as often unavoidably) we are in the sight and hearing of the wickedness of the wicked, and whether we are to reprove them; why (saith he) you know what an angry countenance doth, and we may sometimes give a reproof by our looks, when we have not opportunity of giving it otherwise.

He would not bear that any should be evil spoken of in his hearing, 'twas to him as vinegar to the teeth. He would mind those who reflected upon people be-

hind their backs, of that law, Lev. xix. 14. "Thou shalt not curse the deaf." Those that are absent are deaf, they cannot right themselves, and therefore say no ill of them. A friend of his inquiring of him concerning a matter which tended to reflect upon some people; he began to give him an account of the story, but immediately broke off, and checked himself with these words, "But our rule is, to speak evil of no man," and would proceed no further in the story. 'Twas but the week before he died, that one desired him to lend him such a book; "Truly (saith he) I would lend it you, but that it rakes in the faults of some, which should rather be covered with a mantle of love." 'Twere easy to multiply instances of this.

To quicken people to diligence and liveliness in the worship of God, he would sometimes observe, that the temple was built upon a threshing-floor, a place of labour. He would also urge, that in answer to those who turned it to his reproach, that his meeting-place had been a barn; no new thing (would he say) to turn a threshing-floor into a temple.

When some zealous people in the country would have him to preach against top-knots, and other vanities in apparel, he would say, that was none of his business; if he could but persuade people to Christ, the pride and vanity, and excess of those things would fall of course; and yet he had a dislike to vanity and gaiety of dress, and allowed it not in those that he had influence upon. His rule was, that in such things we must neither be owls nor apes; not affect singularity, nor affect modishness; nor (as he used to observe from 1 Pet. iii. 3.) make the putting on of apparel our adorning, because christians have better things to adorn themselves with. When some complained to him of a relation of theirs, that would not let them dress his children with ribbands, and other fine things, "why truly (said Mr Henry) those things are fit for children;" thereby reproving both him that would not allow them

to his children, and them that perhaps minded them too much themselves.

He often, both in sermons and discourses, would press people to fix to themselves some good principles, and to come off from the corrupt and carnal principles that worldly people go by. He took all occasions to recommend such principles as these: "That God who is
" the first and best, should have the first and best ;
" that a part in Christ is a good part ; that soul prof-
" perity is the best prosperity, and that it is well
" or ill with us, according as it is well or ill with
" our souls ; that honesty is the best policy ; that
" those that would have the comfort of relations, must
" be careful to do the duty of them ; that all is well
" that ends everlastingly well ; that time and the things
" of time, are nothing compared with eternity and
" the things of eternity ; that it is better to suffer the
" greatest affliction than to commit the least sin ; that
" it highly concerns us to do that now, which we shall
" most wish we had done when we come to die ; that
" work for God is its own wages ; that it is folly for
" a man to do that which he must certainly undo a-
" gain by repentance, or be undone to all eternity." Such as these were the principles he would have christians to govern themselves by.

Speaking of the causes of atheism, he had this observation ; " That a head full of vain and unprofitable
" notions, meeting with a heart full of pride and self-
" conceitedness, dispose a man directly to be an atheist."

A gentlewoman, that upon some unkindness betwixt her and her husband, was parted from him, and lived separately near a twelve-month, grew melancholy, and complained of sin, and the withdrawing of the light of God's countenance, and the want of assurance ; he told her she must rectify what was amiss between her and her husband, and return into the way of duty, else 'twas in vain to expect peace. Her friends were against it ; but he said, he was confident it would prove so.

He said he had observed concerning himself, that he was sometimes the worse for eating, but never for abstinence; sometimes the worse for wearing too few cloathes, but never for wearing too many; sometimes the worse for speaking, but never for keeping silence.

As to his letters, he was very free in writing to his friends. A good letter, he would say, may perhaps do more good than a good sermon, because the address is more particular, and that which is written remains. His language and expressions in his letters were always pious and heavenly, and seasoned with the salt of grace; and when there was occasion, he would excellently administer counsels, reproofs, or comforts by letter. He kept no copies of his letters, and it is impossible if we should attempt it, to retrieve them from the hands into which they were scattered. Mr Rutherford's and Mr Allen's letters, that (like some of the most excellent of Paul's epistles) bore date out of a prison, have a mighty tincture of their peculiar prison comforts and enlargements; we have none such to produce of Mr Henry's, no pastoral letters or prison letters; he was himself, in his whole conversation, an epistle of Christ. But we shall only glean up some passages out of such of his letters as are in our hands, which may be affecting and edifying.

To his son, when he was abroad for improvement at London, in the year 1685, and 1686, with the common business of his letters, which was always written with a favor of religion, he would intermix such lines as these: "We are all well here, thanks be to God,
 " the divine providence watching about our taber-
 " nacle, and compassing us about with favour, as with
 " a shield. Our great inquiry is, What shall we ren-
 " der? alas! our renderings are nothing to our receiv-
 " ings; we are like the barren field, on which much
 " cost is bestowed, but the crop is not accordingly.
 " Our heavenly Father is loading us with his benefits,
 " and we are loading him with our sins; grieving him
 " that comforts us; and how long shall it be so? O
 " that

“ that it might be otherwise! that our mercies might
“ be as oil to the wheels, to make us so much the
“ more active and lively in our Master’s work, especi-
“ ally considering how it is with our fellow servants ;
“ they empty and we fill, they Marah and we Naomi.
“ There may a day come, when it may cost dear to
“ be honest, but after all, to fear God and keep his
“ commandments, is the whole of man. I therefore
“ commend it to you, and you to God, who is a shield
“ and buckler to them that fear him.

“ We are well, but in daily expectation of that
“ which we are born, and born again to, and that is
“ trouble in this world, yet rejoicing in hope of the
“ glory of God, which we are reaching after, and
“ pressing towards, as we trust you are also. Where
“ you are, you see more of the glittering vanities of
“ this world in a day, than we here do in an age ; and
“ are you more and more in love with them, or dead
“ and dying to them ? I hope dead and dying to them,
“ for they are poor things, and perish in the using ;
“ make many worse that enjoy them, but none better.
“ What is translated Vexation of spirit, Eccl. i. 2. may
“ be read, Feeding upon wind, Hos. xii. 1. and
“ can wind satisfy ? the Lord preserve and keep you
“ from all evil, the Lord preserve and keep your soul.
“ We both send you our love, and bless you together,
“ and apart, every day, in the name of the Lord. A-
“ men and Amen.

“ Be sincere, and humble, and choice in your com-
“ pany, always either getting good or doing good,
“ gathering in or laying out. Remember to keep the
“ heart with all diligence and above all keepings, for
“ there the fountain is, and if that be well kept and
“ clean, the streams will be accordingly.

“ ’Tis some short refreshment to friends and rela-
“ tions, to see and hear from one another, but it pas-
“ seth away, and we have here no continuing city, no
“ abiding delights in this world ; our rest remains else-
“ where ; those we have, lose much of their sweetness.

“ from

“ from the thoughts of parting with them while we
 “ enjoy them, but the happiness to come is eternal.
 “ After millions of millions of ages (if we may so speak
 “ of eternity) as far from an end as the first moment;
 “ and the last of glory will be glory (so some read
 “ Prov. xxv. 27. keep that in your eye (my dear child)
 “ and it will as much as any thing dazzle your eyes,
 “ to all the fading deceiving vanities of this lower
 “ world; and will be a quickening motive to you, to
 “ abound always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch
 “ as you know your labour shall not be in vain in the
 “ Lord. The Lord bless you, who blesteth indeed.

“ See that you walk circumspectly, not as the fools,
 “ but as the wise; many eyes are upon you, his espe-
 “ cially, who is all eye; *Cave, Deus videt. Memento*
 “ *hæc agere*; our blessing with 1 Chron. xxviii. 9.

“ The same which is yet the prologue of yours, is
 “ of ours also. *Omnia bene, laus Deo!* but he that
 “ girdeth on the harness, must not boast as he that
 “ puts it off. While the world we live in is under
 “ the moon, constant in nothing but inconstancy; and
 “ such changes are made in other families, why should
 “ we alone promise ourselves immunity from the com-
 “ mon lot? there would be no need of faith and pa-
 “ tience, which are Winter graces, if it should be al-
 “ ways Summer time with us. We have three un-
 “ changeables to oppose to all other mutabilities; an
 “ unchangeable covenant, an unchangeable God, and
 “ an unchangeable heaven: and while these three re-
 “ main the same, yesterday, to day, and for ever; wel-
 “ come the will of our heavenly Father in all events
 “ that may happen to us: come what will, nothing can
 “ come amiss to us.

“ Keep the invisible things of the other world al-
 “ ways in your eye. He that ventures the loss of an
 “ eternal crown and kingdom, for a cup or two of
 “ puddle water (such as all terrene pleasures in com-
 “ parison are) makes a bargain, which no less a space
 “ than that which is everlasting will be sufficient to
 bewail

“ bewail and repent of. How much better is it to
“ lay up in store now a good foundation for time to
“ come, and to lay hold on eternal life? doing those
“ works which we would be willing should hereafter
“ follow us, yet still making the blessed Jesus our all
“ in all.

“ The further progress you make in your studies,
“ you will find them the easier; 'tis so with religion,
“ the worst is at first: It is like the picture that frown-
“ ed at first entrance, but afterwards smiles and looks
“ pleasant. They that walk in sinful ways, meet with
“ some difficulties at first, which custom conquers, and
“ they become as nothing. 'Tis good accustoming
“ ourselves to that which is good. The more we do,
“ the more we may do in religion. Your acquaint-
“ ance (I doubt not) increaseth abroad, and accord-
“ ingly your watch must be; for by that oftentimes,
“ ere we are aware, we are ensnared. He that walk-
“ eth with wise men shall be wise.

“ The return of the Spring invites our thanksgiving
“ for the mercy of it. The birds are singing early
“ and late, according to their capacity, the praises of
“ their Creator; but man only, that hath most cause,
“ finds something else to do. 'Tis redeeming love
“ that is the most admirable love; less than an eter-
“ nity will not suffice to adore it in. Lord, how is it!
“ Lord, what is man! as the streams lead to the foun-
“ tain, so should all our mercies lead us to that. We
“ both of us send you our most affectionate love and
“ blessing: blessing? that is, we pray and beseech the
“ most blessed God, even our own God, to give you
“ his blessing, for he only can command the blessing;
“ and those whom he blesteth are blessed indeed. Let
“ us still hear to our comfort, that you walk in the
“ truth, living above the things of the world, as
“ dead to them. The Lord in mercy fit us for his
“ will in the next providence, public and personal, for
“ time is always teeming.

“ Your improvement is our joy. Be sincere and seri-

"ous, clothed with humility, abounding always in
 "the work of the Lord; and when you have done
 "all, saying I am an unprofitable servant. 'Twas the
 "good advice of the moral philosopher, In your con-
 "verse with men, *disirust*; but I must add, In every
 "thing towards God, *believe*. Expect temptation and
 "a snare at every turn, and walk accordingly. We
 "have a good cause, a vanquished enemy, a good fe-
 "cond, and extraordinary pay; for he that overcomes
 "needs not desire to be more happy than the second
 "and third of the revelation speaks him to be. The
 "God of all mercy and grace compass you about al-
 "ways with his favour as with a shield!

"I would have you redeem time, for hearing the
 "word in season, and out of season; your other stu-
 "dies will prosper never the worse, especially if you
 "could return immediately from it to the closet
 "again, with cooling divertisements by the way.

"See your need of Christ more and more, and live
 "upon him; no life like it, so sweet, so safe. *Christus*
 "*meus mihi in omnia*. We cannot be discharged from
 "the guilt of any evil we do, without his merit to sa-
 "tisfy: we cannot move in the performance of any
 "good required, without his Spirit and grace to assist
 "and enable for it; and when we have done all, that
 "all is nothing, without his mediation and interces-
 "sion to make it acceptable; so that every day, in eve-
 "ry thing, he is all in all. Though you are at a dis-
 "tance from us now, we rejoice in the good hope we
 "have through grace, of meeting again in the land of
 "the living, that is, on earth, if God see good; how-
 "ever in heaven, which is the true land of the truly
 "living, and is best of all. The Lord God everlast-
 "ing be your sun and shield in all your ways: see time
 "hasting away apace towards eternity, and the Judge
 "even at the door, and work accordingly, wherever
 "you are, alone or in company; be always either do-
 "ing or getting good, sowing or reaping. As for me,
 "I make no other reckoning, but that the time of my
 "depart-

“ departure is at hand, and what trouble I may meet
“ with before, I know not, the will of the Lord be
“ done: one of my chief cares is, that no iniquity of
“ mine may be laid up for you, which God grant for
“ his mercy’s sake in Christ Jesus. Amen.

“ Be careful of your health. Remember the rule,
“ *Venienti occurrere*; but especially neglect not the
“ main matter. The soul is the main; if that do
“ well, all’s well. Worship God in the spirit; rejoice
“ in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh.
“ God be gracious unto thee, my son: redeem time,
“ especially for your soul: expect trouble in this world,
“ and prepare for it; expect happiness in the other
“ world, and walk worthy of it, unto all pleasing.

“ A good book is a good companion at any time,
“ but especially a good God, who is always ready to
“ hold communion with those that desire and seek
“ communion with him. Keep low and humble in
“ your thoughts and opinion of yourself; but aim
“ high in your desires and expectations, even as high
“ as the kingdom of heaven itself, and resolve to take
“ up with nothing short of it. The Lord guide you
“ in all your ways, and go in and out before you,
“ and preserve you blameless to his heavenly king-
“ dom.”

Immediately after his son was ordained to the work
of the ministry at London, in the year 1687, he thus
wrote to him: “ Are you now a minister of Jesus
“ Christ? hath he counted you faithful, putting you
“ into the ministry? then be faithful; out of love to
“ him feed his lambs; as a workman that needs not
“ to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. I
“ hope what you experienced of the presence of God
“ with you in the solemnity, hath left upon you a tru-
“ ly indelible character, and such impressions, as nei-
“ ther time nor any thing else shall be able to wear out.
“ Remember Psalm lxxi. 16. It is in the eye of sense
“ a bad time to set out in; but in sowing and reaping,

“ clouds and wind must not be heeded. The work
 “ is both comfortable and honourable, and the re-
 “ ward rich and sure: and if God be pleased to give
 “ opportunity and a heart, though there may be
 “ trouble attending it, ’twill be easily borne. If we
 “ suffer with him we shall also reign with him. I am
 “ and shall be, according to my duty and promise,
 “ earnest at the throne of grace on your behalf, that
 “ the Lord will pour out upon you of his Holy Spirit,
 “ that what he calls you to, he would fit you for; es-
 “ pecially that he would take you off your own bot-
 “ tom, and lay you low in the sense of your own un-
 “ worthiness, inability and insufficiency, that you may
 “ say with the evangelical prophet, Wo is me, I am un-
 “ done! and with Jeremiah, I am a child; and with
 “ Paul, I am nothing. Where this is not, the main
 “ thing is wanting; for God resists the proud, but
 “ gives grace to the humble. Now the Lord give
 “ you that grace to be humble; and then, according
 “ to his promise, he will make you rich in every other
 “ grace.”

It were very easy to transcribe many more such lines as these, out of his letters to his son, but these shall suffice.

We shall next gather up some few passages out of some of his letters to a person of quality in London, (such of them as are come to our hands, which are but few of many) the beginning of his correspondence with that gentleman, (which continued to his death, and was kept up monthly for a great while) was in the year 1686, and the following letter broke the ice:—

Honoured Sir,

“ **H**OPING you are by this time, as you intended,
 “ returned to London, to your home and habi-
 “ tation there, I make bold, according to my pro-
 “ mise, to salute you in a few lines. In the first place,
 “ to be your remembrancer of the vows of God which
 “ are upon you, upon the account of the many mer-
 “ cies

“cies of your journey, both in your going out, and
“in your coming in. Was not every step you took
“hedged about with special providence? Had not
“the angels charge over you? Did not they pitch
“their tents where you pitched yours? Did not good-
“ness and mercy follow you, and should it not then
“be had in thankful remembrance? Where mercy
“goes before, should not duty follow after? If you
“have Mr Anger’s life, you will find there, page 88.
“89, a collection out of his diary, of ten heads of
“mercies, acknowledged in a journey, to heighten
“God’s praises, and to quicken his own and others
“hearts therein, and they are certainly very affecting.
“Next (Sir) I am to acquaint you, that I have faith-
“fully disposed of the money you left with me at part-
“ing, to eight poor praying widows in this neighbour-
“hood, as you appointed. And this among all the
“rest of your alms-deeds is had in memorial before
“God; ’tis fruit that will abound to your account,
“bread sent a voyage upon the waters, which you
“and yours will find again after many days; for he is
“faithful that hath promised. The apostle’s prayer
“shall be mine, 2 Cor. ix. 10. Now he that minister-
“eth seed to the sower, doth minister bread for your
“food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the
“fruits of your righteousness. Amen.

And some time after he writes, “Your acknowledg-
“ing God in all your affairs, I cannot but rejoice in,
“as an evidence of the uprightness of your heart to-
“wards him; ’tis the life and soul of all religion; ’tis
“indeed to walk with God: that includes as much as
“any other scripture command in so few words, In all
“thy ways acknowledge him; in every thing thou
“doest have an eye to him; make his word and will
“thy rule, his glory thy end; fetch in strength from
“him; expect success from him; and in all events
“that happen, which are our ways too (whether they
“be for us or against us) he is to be acknowledged,
“that

“ that is adored : if prosperous, with thankfulness ; if
 “ otherwise, with submission : as Job, ‘ The Lord hath
 “ given, and the Lord hath taken, and blessed be the
 “ name of the Lord.’ This is to set the Lord always
 “ before us, to have our eye ever towards the Lord ;
 “ where this is not, we are so far without God in the
 “ world.”

In another letter, “ As to the accession lately made
 “ to your estate, much good may it do you ; that is
 “ much good may you do with it, which is the true
 “ good of an estate. The lady Warwick would not
 “ thank him, that would give her a thousand a year,
 “ and tie her up from doing good with it. I rejoice
 “ in the large heart which God hath given you with
 “ your large estate, without which heart the estate
 “ would be your snare.”

I have lately met with a letter of Mr Henry’s, to a couple related to him, who in a very short time had buried all their children of the small-pox, to their great grief, ’twas in the year 1679. What comfort and counsels he administered to them, may be of use to others in their afflictions, and therefore I shall transcribe the whole letter, though it be long.

Dear Cousins,

“ THIS is to you both, whom God hath made
 “ one in the conjugal relation, and who are one also
 “ in the present affliction ; only to signify to you, that
 “ we do heartily sympathize with you in it. The trial
 “ is indeed sharp, and there will be need of all the
 “ wisdom and grace you have, and of all the help of
 “ friends you can get, both to bear and to improve it
 “ aright. You must bear it with “ silence and submission.
 “ Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have
 “ born chastisement.” He is sovereign Lord of all,
 “ and may do with us and ours as pleaseth him. It
 “ is not for the clay to quarrel with the potter. It
 “ was mercy you had children, and comfort in them
 “ so

“ so long ; it is mercy that yet you have one another,
“ and your children are not lost, but gone before, a
“ little before, whither you yourselves are hastening af-
“ ter. And if a storm be coming, (as God grant it
“ be not) it is best with them that put first into the
“ harbour. Your children are taken away from the
“ evil to come, and you must not mourn as they that
“ have no hope. Sensible you cannot but be, but
“ dejected and sullen you must not be ; that will but
“ put more bitterness into the cup, and make way for
“ another, perhaps a sharper stroke. You must not
“ think, and I hope you do not, that there cannot be
“ a sharper stroke, for God hath many arrows in his
“ quiver ; he can heat the furnace seven times hotter,
“ and again and again seven times hotter, till he hath
“ consumed us ; and if he should do so, yet still we
“ must say, he hath punished us less than our iniquities
“ have deserved. For examples of patience in the like
“ kind we have two eminent ones in the book of God,
“ those are Job and Aaron ; of the latter it is said,
“ Lev. x. 13. “ He held his peace ;” and that which
“ quieted him, was what his brother Moses said to
“ him, “ This is that which the Lord hath said, I will
“ be sanctified ;” and if God be sanctified, Aaron is
“ satisfied ; if God have glory from it, Aaron hath
“ nothing to say against it. Of the former it is said,
“ Job i. 20. he fell down, but it was to worship ; and
“ we are told how he expressed himself, The Lord gave,
“ &c. He acknowledgeth God in all : and indeed, af-
“ ter all, this is it (my dear cousins) that you must
“ satisfy yourselves with under this sad providence,
“ that the Lord hath done it, and the same will that
“ ordered the thing itself, ordered all the circumstan-
“ ces of it ; and who are we that we should dispute
“ with our Maker ? “ Let the potsherds strive with
“ the potsherds of the earth ; but let not the thing for-
“ med, say to him that formed it, Why hast thou
“ made me thus ?” and as for the improvement of this
“ affliction, (which I hope both of you earnestly de-
“ fire,

“ fire, for it is a great loss to lose such a providence,
 “ and not be made better by it) I conceive there are
 “ four lessons which it should teach you, and they are
 “ good lessons, and should be well learned, for the ad-
 “ vantage of them is unspeakable. 1. It should for
 “ ever imbitter sin to you; you know what she said to
 “ the prophet, 1 Kings xvii. 18. “ Art thou come to
 “ call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my son?”
 “ ’tis sin, sin that is the old kill-friend, the Jonah that
 “ hath raised this storm, the Achan that hath troubled
 “ your house; then how should you grow in your hat-
 “ red of it, and endeavours against it? that you may
 “ be the death of that which hath been the death of
 “ your dear children; I say the death of it, for noth-
 “ ing less will satisfy the true penitent, than the death
 “ of such a malefactor. 2. It should be a spur to you
 “ to put you on in heaven’s way: it may be you were
 “ growing remiss in duty, beginning to slack your for-
 “ mer pace in religion, and your heavenly Father saw
 “ it, and was grieved at it, and sent this sad providence
 “ to be your monitor, to tell you, you should remem-
 “ ber whence you were fallen, and do your first works,
 “ and be more humble and holy, and heavenly and
 “ self-denying, and watchful, abounding always in the
 “ work of the Lord. O blessed are they that come
 “ out of such a furnace thus refined, they will say
 “ hereafter, ’twas a happy day for them that ever they
 “ were put in. 3. You must learn by it as long as
 “ you live, to keep your affections in due bounds to-
 “ wards creature-comforts, How hard is it to love
 “ and not to over-love, to delight in children or yoke-
 “ fellows, and not over-delight: now God is a jealous
 “ God, and will not give his glory to any other; and
 “ our excess this way doth often provoke him to re-
 “ move that mercy from us, which we do thus make
 “ an idol of; and our duty is to labour when he doth
 “ so, to get that matter amended, and to rejoice in all
 “ our enjoyments with trembling, and as if we rejoy-
 “ ced not. 4. It should be a means of drawing your
 “ hearts

“ hearts and thoughts more upwards and homewards ;
“ I mean your everlasting home. You should be look-
“ ing oftner now than before into the other world. I
“ shall go to him, saith David, when his little son was
“ gone before. It is yet but a little while ere all the
“ things of time shall be swallowed up in eternity ;
“ and the matter is not great, whether we or ours die
“ first, whilst we are all dying : in the midst of life we
“ are in death : what manner of persons then ought
“ we to be ? Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and
“ God, even our Father, be your support under, and
“ do you good by this dispensation, and give you a
“ name better than that of sons and daughters. We
“ are daily mindful of you at the throne of grace, in
“ our poor measure, and dearly recommended to
“ you,” &c.

We shall next gather up some passages out of his letters to his children, after they were married and gone from him.

To one of his daughters with child of her first child, he thus writes, “ You have now one kind of burthen
“ more than ever you had before to cast upon God,
“ and if you do so, he will sustain you, according to
“ his promise.”

And when the time of travail was near, thus ; “ You
“ know whom you have trusted, even Him who is
“ true and faithful, and never yet did, nor ever will
“ forsake the soul that seeks him. Though he be Al-
“ mighty, and can do every thing, yet this he cannot
“ do, he cannot deny himself, nor be worse than his
“ word ; but what is his word ? Hath he promised
“ that there shall be always a safe and speedy delive-
“ ry ? that there shall be no Jabez, no Benoni ? No,
“ but if there be, he hath promised it shall work to-
“ gether for good : hath promised, if he doth not
“ save from, he will save through : if he call to go,
“ even through the valley of the shadow of death, (and
“ what less is child-bearing ?) he will be with you,
D d “ his

“ his rod and his staff shall comfort you, and that’s
 “ well : therefore your faith must be in these things
 “ as the promise is, either so or so, and which way so-
 “ ever it be, God is good and doeth good. There-
 “ fore (my dear daughter) lift up the hands that
 “ hang down, cast your burthen upon him, trust also
 “ in him, and let your thoughts be established. We
 “ are mindful of you in our daily prayers, but you
 “ have a better Intercessor than we, who is heard al-
 “ ways.”

To another of them, in the same circumstance, he thus writes ; “ Your last letter speaks you in a good
 “ frame ; which rejoiced my heart, that you were fix-
 “ ed, fixed waiting upon God ; that your faith was
 “ uppermost, above your fears ; that you could say,
 “ Behold the handmaid of the Lord, let him do with
 “ me as seemeth good in his eyes. We are never fit-
 “ ter for a mercy, nor is it more likely to be a mercy
 “ indeed, than when it is so with us ; now the Lord
 “ keep it always in the imagination of the thoughts
 “ of your heart. And he concludes, forget not 1 Tim.
 “ ii. last.

When one of his daughters was safely delivered, in a letter to another of them that was drawing near to that needful hour, he observed, that when David said, Psal. cxvi. 12. What shall I render ? he presently adds, ver. 13. “ I will call upon the name of the Lord.”
 “ As if (saith he) calling upon the name of the Lord
 “ for mercy for you, were one way of rendering un-
 “ to the Lord, for the great benefit done to your fil-
 “ ter.”

On occasion of affliction in these families by the sickness or death of children, or otherwise, he always wrote some word in season.

“ In the furnace again ? (saith he) but a good friend
 “ sits by, and it is only to take away more of the
 “ dross. If less fire would do, we should not have it
 “ so much and so often. O for faith to trust the Re-
 “ finer, and to refer all to his will and wisdom, and to
 “ wait

“ wait the issue.---for I have been young, and now
“ am old, but I never yet saw it in vain to seek God,
“ and to hope in Him.”

At another time he thus writes : “ Tough and knot-
“ ty blocks must have more and more wedges ; our
“ heavenly Father, when he judgeth, will overcome.
“ We hear of the death of dear S. T. and chide our-
“ selves for being so often pleased with his little pret-
“ ty fashions, lest we offended therein, by being too much
“ so. No rival must sit with Him in his throne, who
“ deserves all our love and joy, and hath too little of
“ it.”

At another time, upon the death of another little
one : “ The dear little one (saith he) made but a short
“ passage through this to another world, where it is
“ to be for ever a living member of the great body,
“ whereof Jesus Christ is the ever-living head ; but
“ for which hope there were cause for sorrow indeed.
“ If he that gives takes, and it is but his own, why
“ should we say, What dost thou ?

At another time upon the like occasion ; “ Our
“ quiver of childrens children is not so full, but God
“ can soon empty it : O for grace, grace at such a
“ time, which will do that that nature cannot. The
“ God of all grace supply your need and ours, accord-
“ ing to his riches in glory. The Lord is still train-
“ ing you up in his good school ; and though no af-
“ fliction for the present be joyous, but grievous, never-
“ theless afterwards it yields well ; your work is
“ in every thing to bring your will to the will of
“ God.”

To one of his daughters concerning her little ones,
he thus writes ; “ They are but bubbles : we have
“ many warnings to sit loose ; the less we rely upon
“ them in our joys and hopes, the more likely to have
“ them continued to us. Our God is a jealous God,
“ nor will he suffer the creature to usurp his throne
“ in our affections.”

Upon the death of a little child but a few days old,

he thus writes: “ The tidings of the death of your
 “ little one were afflicting to us, but the clay must
 “ not say to the potter, What dost thou? If he that
 “ took be the same that gave, and what he gave and
 “ took was his own, by our own consent, it becomes
 “ us to say, Blessed be the Name of the Lord. I hope
 “ you have been learning to acknowledge God in all
 “ events, and to take all as from his hand, who hath
 “ given us to know, I say, to know (for Paul saith
 “ so) that all things do work together, (not only shall,
 “ but do) for our good, that we may be more and
 “ more partakers of his holiness. He can make the
 “ two left as comfortable to you as all the three, as
 “ all your five could have been. However, if all the
 “ cisterns were drawn dry while you have your foun-
 “ tain to go to, you are well; you may also by faith
 “ look forward, and say, it was a covenant-child, and
 “ through mercy, we shall see it again in a better
 “ world.”

Upon the sickness of a dear child, he thus writes
 to the parent: “ You and we are taught to say, It is
 “ the Lord; upon his will must we wait, and to it
 “ must we submit in every thing; not upon constraint,
 “ but of choice: not only because he is the potter
 “ and we the clay, and therefore in a way of sove-
 “ reignty he may do what he pleaseth with us and
 “ ours;--but because he is our Father, and will do
 “ nothing but what shall be for good to us. The
 “ more you can be satisfied in this, and the more
 “ willing to resign, the more likely to have. Be
 “ strong therefore in the grace which is in Christ
 “ Jesus; it is given for such a time of need as this.
 “ I hope your fears and ours will be prevented, and
 “ pray they may; but thanks be to God, we know
 “ the worst of it, and that worst hath no harm in it,
 “ while the better part is ours, which cannot be taken
 “ away from us.”

To one of his children in affliction he writes thus;
 “ 'Tis a time of trial with you, according to the will
 “ of

“ of your and our heavenly Father. Though you see
“ not yet what he means by it, you shall see. He
“ means you good, and not hurt; he is shewing you
“ the vanity of all things under the sun, that your
“ happiness lies not in them, but in himself only :
“ that they and we are passing away, withering flow-
“ ers; that therefore we may learn to die to them,
“ and live above them, placing our hope and happi-
“ ness in better things, trusting in Him alone who is
“ the rock of ages, who fails not, neither can fail, nor
“ will fail those that fly to Him. I pray you, think
“ not a hard thought of him, no not one hard thought,
“ for he is good, and doth good in all he doth, and
“ therefore all shall work for good : but then, as you
“ are called according to his purpose (blessed be his
“ name for it) so you must love him, and love (you
“ know) thinks no evil, but puts the best construction
“ upon all that the person loved saith or doth, and
“ so must you, though now for a season, if need be,
“ you are in heaviness.”

At another time : “ Your times, and the times of
“ yours, are in the Lord’s good hand, whose will is
“ his wisdom. ’Tis one thing (as we read and ob-
“ served this morning, out of Ezek. xxii.) to be put
“ into a furnace and left there as dross to be consum-
“ ed; and another thing to be put in as gold or silver
“ to be melted for use, and to have the refiner set by.
“ You know whom you have believed, keep your
“ hold of the everlasting covenant : he is faithful that
“ hath promised. We pray for you, and we give
“ thanks for you daily; for the cup is mixed, there-
“ fore trust in the Lord for ever, and rejoice in the
“ Lord always; again I say rejoice.”

To one of his sons-in-law that was a little engaged
in building, he thus writes : “ Be sure to take God
“ along with you in this, as in all your other affairs ;
“ for except he build the house, they labour in vain
“ that build it. Count upon troublesome occurrences
“ in it, and keep the spirit quiet within : and let not
“ God’s

“ God’s time nor dues be entrenched upon, and then
 “ all will be well.”

’Twas but a little before he died that he wrote thus to one of his children ; “ We rejoyce in God’s good-
 “ nefs to you, that your diftemper hath been a rod
 “ fhaken only, and not laid on. He is good, and
 “ doth good ; and fhould we not love him, and reft
 “ in our love to him ? He faith, he doth in his to us,
 “ and rejoyceth over us with finging, Zeph. iii. 17.
 “ And have not we much more caufe ? What loveli-
 “ nefs in us ? What not in him ? I pray let me recom-
 “ mend him to your love : love him, love him with
 “ all the powers of your foul, and out of love to him
 “ pleafe him. He is pleafed with honeft endeavours
 “ to pleafe him ; though, after all, in many things we
 “ come fhort, for we are not under the law, but un-
 “ der grace.”

To one of his children recovered from ficknefs he gives this hint : “ Remember that a new life muft be
 “ a new life indeed : reprieves extraordinary call for
 “ returns extraordinary.”

The laft journey he made to London was in Auguft 1690 ; before he went, he fent this farewell letter to his fon at Chefter : “ I am going forth this morning
 “ towards the great city, not knowing but it may be
 “ Mount Nebo to me : therefore I fend you this as
 “ full of bleffings as it can hold, to yourfelf, my daugh-
 “ ter your wife, all the reft of my daughters, their
 “ husbands, and all the little ones, together and feve-
 “ rally. If I could command the bleffings, I would ;
 “ but I pray to Him that hath and doth, and I truft
 “ will. The Lord blefs you, and keep you, and lift
 “ up the light of his countenance upon you. As
 “ you have received, and you for your part preached
 “ Chrift Jefus the Lord, fo walk in him : keeping
 “ confcience always void of offence, both towards
 “ God, and towards all men. Love your mother,
 “ and be dutiful to her, and live in love and peace
 “ among

“ among yourselves, and the God of love and peace
“ that hath been, will be with you. Amen.”

To one who desired his direction for the attaining of the gift of prayer, he wrote the following letter of advice :

“ If you would be able in words and expressions of your own, without the help of a form, to offer up prayers to God, observe these following rules of direction, in the use whereof, by God’s blessing, you may in time attain thereunto.

“ 1. You must be thoroughly convinced, that where such a gift is, it is of great use to a christian; both very comfortable and very profitable, and therefore very desirable, and worth your serious endeavours: this must first be, or else all that follows will signify nothing: for it is as the wise man saith, Prov. xviii. 1. “ Through desire a man having separated himself, “ seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom;” that is, till we are brought in some good measure to desire the end, we shall never in good earnest apply ourselves to the use of means for the obtaining of it. It is a gift that fits a person to be of use to others in the duty of prayer, according as there is occasion, either in a family or in christian communion. It is also of great advantage to ourselves; for how can any form (though ever so exact) be possibly contrived, so as to reach all the circumstances of my particular case, and yet it is my duty, in every thing to make my requests known to God.

“ 2. As you should be persuaded of the excellent use of it, where it is attained, so also you should believe, that where it is not, it may be attained, and that without any great difficulty. No doubt, but many are discouraged from endeavouring after it, by an opinion they have that it is to no purpose; they think it a thing so far above their abilities, that they had as good sit still and never attempt it: this is of very bad consequence, as in other matters of religion, so particularly

in this, and therefore watch against this suggestion, and conclude, that (though it may be harder to some than others) yet it is impossible to none: nay, this wisdom is easy to him that understandeth, where means are used in the fear of God.

“ 3. You must rightly understand and consider who it is with whom you have to do in prayer, for your encouragement to come to Him, though in the midst of many infirmities and imperfections. He is your Father, your loving, tender-hearted Father, who knows your frame, and remembers you are but dust; who is not extreme to mark what we do amiss, in manner and expression, where the heart is upright with him. You may judge a little concerning his love, by the disposition that is in you towards your children, when they come to ask things needful of you; and believe him to be infinitely more merciful and compassionate, than the most merciful and compassionate of fathers and mothers are or can be; especially remembering that we have an Advocate with the Father Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the great High Priest of our profession, and whom he heareth always.

“ 4. You must pray that you may pray; beg of God, the Father of lights, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, to bestow this gift upon you. We read, Luke xi. 1. that one of the disciples came to Jesus Christ upon this errand, “ Lord, teach us to pray,” and he had his request granted presently: go you to Him on the same errand. You may plead the relation of a child, from that scripture, Gal. iv. 6. “ And because you are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father:” and the promise also from that scripture, Zech. xii. 10. “ I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of supplication;” which two, relation and a promise, if they be not sufficient to encourage your faith and hope in this address, what is, or can be?

5. It is good, before you address yourself to the duty,

ty, to read a portion of holy scripture, which will be of great use to furnish you both with matter and words for prayer, especially David's Psalms, and Paul's Epistles. The Holy Spirit hath provided for us a treasury, or storehouse, of what is suitable for all occasions, and where both the word and the matter are his own, and of his own framing, and inditing: if affections be stirring in us accordingly, we have great reason to believe he will accept of us. In divers places he hath himself put words into our mouths for the purpose, as Hof. xiv. 2. "Take with you words." Matth. vi. 9. "After this manner therefore pray ye," and often elsewhere.

6. There must be some acquaintance with our own hearts, with our spiritual state and condition, our wants and ways, or else no good will be done in this matter. 'Tis sense of need, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, that supplies the poor beggar at your door with pertinent expressions and arguments, he needs not the help of any friend or book to furnish him: so if we know ourselves, and feel our condition, and set God before us as our God, able and ready to help us, words will easily follow wherewith to offer up our desires to him, who understands the language even of sighs and tears, and groanings which cannot be uttered, Rom. viii. 26.

7. It is of use in stated prayer, ordinarily to observe a method, according to the several parts of prayer, which are these four:

1. Compellation or adoration, which is the giving of due titles to God in our addresses to him, and therein ascribing to him the glory due unto his name. With this we are to begin our prayers, both for the working of a holy awe and dread upon our hearts towards him, on the account of his greatness and majesty; as also for the strengthening of our faith and hope in him, upon the account of his goodness and mercy.

2. Confession; sin is to be confessed in every prayer:

original sin as the root, spring-head and fountain ; and actual sin as the fruit and stream proceeding from it. Herein you must not rest in generals, as the most do, but especially when you are in secret before the Lord, you must descend to particulars, opening the whole wound, hiding nothing from him, also aggravating the fault from the circumstances of it, judging and condemning yourself for it in the sight of God ; and for your help herein, you must acquaint yourself with the divine law, the precepts and prohibitions of it, especially their extent and spiritual nature, as the rule, and then bring your own thoughts, words, and actions to it daily, to be tried by it.

3. Petition, for such good things as God hath promised, and you have need of, both concerning this life and that which is to come. As to the latter, you are to pray for mercy to pardon, and grace to help in time of need. As to the former, for bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and a heart to be therewith contented. You are to pray for others also, the church of God, the land of your nativity, magistrates, ministers, relations, and friends, not forgetting the afflictions of the afflicted.

4. Thanksgiving, which should have a considerable share in every prayer ; for our duty is, in every thing to give thanks for mercies received, public and personal, which is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning us.

This rule of method is not so necessary to be observed in prayer, as in no case to be varied from ; but it is certainly very useful and expedient, and a great help to young beginners in that duty.

8. My advice is, that you would delay no longer, but forthwith apply yourself, in the strength of Jesus Christ, to this sweet and excellent way of praying ; and I dare say, in a short time you will find, through the aids and supplies of divine grace, what is at first hard and difficult, will by degrees be easy and delightful. The promise is, that to him that hath, *i. e.* that hath,

hath, and useth what he hath, more shall be given. Though you cannot do what you would, yet fail not to do what you can, wherein the Lord will accept of you, according to his everlasting covenant in Christ Jesus, for we are not under the law, but under grace.

C H A P. XI.

A short Account of some of his Friends, especially his brethren in the ministry, that died before him.

WE think ourselves obliged to add this account out of his own papers, partly as an evidence of the great esteem he had of the gifts and graces of others to whom he delighted to do honour; (an instance of that humility which he was in all respects a great example of;) and partly that we may preserve the remembrance of some in that country, whose names ought not to be buried in oblivion. It is part of that honour which we owe to them that fear the Lord: to mention them with respect when they are dead and gone, that we may contribute something to the fulfilling of the promise, that the righteous, and especially they who turn many to righteousness, shall be had in everlasting remembrance. While their glorified souls shine as the stars in the firmament of our Father, it is fit that their embalmed memories should in these lower regions go forth as a lamp that burneth. The Jewish rabbins read Prov. x. 7. as a precept, "Let the memory of the just be blessed." We will take them in the order wherein we find them in his diary, according to the time of their death, premising only this note of his, occasioned by a particular instance; "Such a day I read the life of old Mr Bruen of Stapleford, in which I met with some things that shame me, some things that confirm me, and some things that quicken me." Blessed be God for that cloud of witnesses we are encompassed about with.

Mr John Machin was buried at Newcastle, Sept. 8, 1664, a worthy instrument in gospel work : laborious, faithful, and successful above his fellows ; taken away in the midst of his days ; the first candle I have heard of put out by God, among the many hundreds put under a bushel by men. [An account of his holy exemplary life was printed many years after, drawn up, I think by Mr Newcome.]

Mr Heath, late minister of Alkmans church in Salop, was buried May 28, 1666. He was of Christ's College in Cambridge, where he was much valued for his great learning, especially in the Oriental tongues, in which he was one of the greatest masters of his age. He was employed to correct the Syriac and Arabick of the Polyglot bible, which was sent down to him in sheets for that purpose, for which bishop Walton gave him a copy. He read the liturgy till August 24, 1662, and then was silenced, because he could not come up to the imposed terms of conformity. When the five-mile act commenced, March 25, 1666, he removed to Wellington, and there within a few weeks died, and was buried. When he lay upon his death-bed, Mr Lawrence asked him what reflections he had upon his nonconformity ; " Truly (said he) I would not but " have done as I did for a thousand worlds." He had great confidence, that God would provide for his widow and children, according to promise. (The character Mr Baxter gives of him is, that he was moderate, sedate, quiet, and religious.)

Much about the same time Mr York died in Salop, a holy good man, and well approved in the ministry, who wasted his own candle in giving light to others, even after he was removed out of the candlestick. Lord ! is this the meaning of Rev. xi. 12. concerning the witnesses ?

Mr Thomas Porter, late minister of Whitchurch, died at Salop in a good old age, June 19, 1667 ; he was born in Northamptonshire, bred in Cambridge ; he was settled minister of Hanner in Flintshire, long before

before the wars, by the means of Sir John Hanmer, the patron, who was a very worthy, pious gentleman, and a great promoter of religion in that parish (but died in the midst of his days.) Here Mr Porter's ministry was blessed with wonderful acceptance and success, both in that and the neighbouring parishes; and a great harvest of souls was there gathered in to Christ. After the wars were over (during the heat of which he was forced to withdraw) he procured Mr Steel for Hanmer, and he removed to Whitchurch, where he continued an instrument of much good, till the king came in, and then he gave way to Dr Bernard, a worthy moderate man. He preached his farewell sermon at Whitchurch, August 28, 1660, on Col. i. 24. and spent the rest of his days in silence and affliction. He was exercised long with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain. If this be done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry? His dying counsel to the Lord's people was, to "stick to Christ, and not to let him go, come life come death."

The worthy Colonel Thomas Hunt died at his house in Shrewsbury, April 12, 1669, a true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile: one that, like Caleb, followed the Lord fully in difficult trying times; he was a member of the long Parliament for Shrewsbury, and very active for God in his generation, abounding in good works, and his memory is blessed. I was going to Shrewsbury upon an appointment of his, and by the way met the sad news of his death, which was sudden, but not surprising, to one that was always ready. He was twice at public ordinances the day before, being Lord's day, worshipped God with his family in the evening, went to bed well as at other times; but about two or three o'clock in the morning wak'd very ill, and before five fell asleep in the Lord. "Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth."

Mr George Mainwaring a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and my worthy friend, died in a good old age,
March

March 14. 1669-70, gathered as a shock of corn in his season. He was born in Wrenbury parish in Cheshire, supported at the University by Mr Cotton of Cumbermere, where he had the reputation of a good scholar; he was brought acquainted with the ways of religion by means of Mr Buckley his uncle, a strict puritan. He was first chaplain to Sir Henry Delves, afterwards rector of Baddely, and chaplain to Sir Thomas Mainwaring. After the wars he was removed to Malpas, whence he was ejected upon the King's coming in. His conversation was exemplary, especially for plainness and integrity; he was eminent for expounding scripture. While he was at Malpas, he constantly gave all the milk which his dairy yielded on the Lord's day to the poor.

Mr John Adams of Northwood, was buried at Ellefmere, April 4, 1670, he was a faithful minister of the gospel.

Mr Zechariah Thomas, my worthy friend, died of a consumption at Nantwich, November 14, 1670, in the forty-first year of his age. He was bred up for a tradesman in Suffolk, but always addicted to his book, and was ordained a minister after the King came in, and entertained curate at Tilstock, under Dr. Bernard, but by reason of his nonconformity could not continue there long. On the Monday before he died, he said to those about him, that towards Wednesday he should take his leave of them, and did so. He was buried at Acton, Mr Kirkes, vicar of Acton preached, and gave him a worthy character (and such as he deserved) for uprightness, humility, moderation, prayer, faithfulness in reproof, patience under affliction; and in saying he was an Israelite indeed without guide, he said all. The Lord make me a follower of him, and of all the rest, who through faith and patience inherit the promises!

Mr Joshua Richardson, my truly worthy friend and brother, died at Alkinton in Whitchurch parish, September 1. 1671: blessed be God for his holy life and happy

happy death. He was several years minister of Middle in Shropshire, and was turned out thence for non-conformity. He was a holy, loving, serious man. Dr Fowler preached his funeral sermon at Whitechurch, on Dan. xii. 3. highly praising him (as he deserved) for wisdom, piety, and peaceableness.

Mr Samuel Hildersham died near Bromicham in April 1674, the only son of Mr Arthur Hildersham of Ashby (whose works praise him in the gates) fellow of Emanuel college in Cambridge, batchelor of divinity, 1623, settled rector of West-Felton in Shropshire, in the year 1628, and continued there till silenced by the act of uniformity. He was one of the assembly of divines; a father to the sons of the prophets in and about Shropshire. He was learned, loving, and charitable, an excellent preacher, an eminent expositor, and very much a gentleman; he was about fourscore years of age when he died. He ordered by his will this inscription upon his grave-stone: Samuel Hildersham, B. D. rector of West-Felton, in the county of Salop, 34 years, till August 24, 1662.

Mr Richard Sadler, my worthy friend and fellow-labourer, died at Whixal in Prees parish, April---1675. He was born in Worcester: went, when young, with his father into New-England; after the wars he returned into England; was ordained at Whixal-chapel, May 16. 1648, and was removed thence to Ludlow. Being turned out there upon the King's coming in, he spent the rest of his days in privacy at Whixal: a man of great piety and moderation.

Mr Rowland Nevet died at his house near Oswestry December 8. 1675, and was buried at Morton-chapel. I preached his funeral sermon at Swinny, on 2 Pet. i. 14. "Knowing that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle:" thence shewing that the ministers of Christ must certainly and shortly die. He was born in Hodnet parish, *Anno Dom.* 1609, brought up at Shrewsbury school, was afterwards of Edmund-hall in Oxford, commenced master of arts in the year 1634, he

he was episcopally ordained; and *Anno* 1635, he was presented to the vicarage of Stanton in Shropshire, where he continued many years, with great success in his ministry. While he was single, he kept house, judging that more for the furtherance of his work among his people, than to travel. After the war he removed to Olweftry, where he laboured abundantly in the work of the Lord; and even after he was silenced for nonconformity, he continued among his people there to his dying day, doing what he could, when he might not do what he would. He would say, he thought most of his converting work was done at Olweftry, the first seven years of his being there. He loved to preach, and to hear others preach concerning the great things of religion, Redemption, Reconciliation, Regeneration, &c. for these (said he) are the main matter. When the plague was at Olweftry, he continued with his people, and preached to them, and it was an opportunity of doing much good.

His conversation from his youth was not only blameless, but holy and pious; he was exemplary for family religion, and great care and industry in the education of his children. He was looked upon as congregational in judgement and practice, and was not satisfied to join in the common prayer; but he was free to communicate with those that did. It was his judgement, that ministers should be ordained by ministers; and that a minister is not only a minister of the particular congregation in which he labours. He greatly bewailed the divisions of the church, and the intemperate heats of some of all persuasions. He was exceeding kind and loving to his friends, very frequent in pious ejaculations to God. Being often distempered in body, he would say, he was never better than in the pulpit, and that it was "the best place he could wish to die in." He often blessed God for a fit of sickness which he had, which he said he would not have been without for a world, the foundation of his comfort, and hope of heaven being laid then. When he was sometimes
much

much spent with his labours, he would appeal to God, that, "Though he might be wearied in his service, he " would never be weary of it." His dying prayer for his children (after many sweet exhortations) was, "That the Mediator's blessing might be the portion of " every one of them:" adding, "I charge you all, see " to it, that you meet me on the right hand of Christ, " at the great day." A little before he died he had this expression, "Go forth, my Soul, go forth to meet " thy God;" adding by and by, "It is now done; " come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." One present saying to him, that he was now going to receive his reward, he replied, "It is free grace." [Mr Henry was much importuned to print his sermon at Mr Nevet's funeral, with some account of his life and death, which he was somewhat inclined to do, but was discouraged by the difficulties of the times, and it was never done. But some materials he had for it, out of which we have collected these hints.]

Mr Robert Fogg, my old dear friend, was buried at Acton near Nantwich, April 21. 1676, he died in a good old age, about eighty. He was minister of Bangor in Flintshire, till after the King came in, and thenceforward to his death was a poor silent nonconformist, but of a bold and zealous spirit. Giving good counsel to those about him a little before he died, he had this weighty saying among others, "Assure yourselves, the " Spirit of God will be underling to no sin."

Mr Andrew Parsons, some time minister of Wem, died at London, October 1. 1684. He was born in Devonshire, and was minister there some years before the war; being driven thence to London, he became well known to Mr Pym, who sent him down to Wem, when that town was garrisoned for the Parliament; there he continued in the exercise of his ministry, till the year 1660. He was an active, friendly, generous man, and a moving, affecting preacher. Mr Baxter, in his life, part 3. page 94, commends him for a moderate man, and speaks of his being in trouble, for se-

ditionous words sworn against him, which were these: preaching from 2 Tim. iii 13. he said, "The devil was like a king, that courted the soul, and spoke fair till he was gotten into the throne, and then played pranks." The witnesses deposed contrary to the coherence of his discourse, that he said the king was like the devil. He was tried at Shrewsbury before my Lord Newport, Mr Serjeant Turner and others, May 28. 1662. It was also charged upon him, that he had said, "There was more sins committed now in England in a month, than was heretofore in seven years;" and "That there had been more and better preaching in England for twenty years past, than was ever since the apostles days." He had counsel assigned him, who pleaded that the time limited by the statute in which he was indicted was expired: the Court yielded it was so, allowing twenty-eight days to a month; but they would understand it of thirty days to a month, so he was found guilty, and fined two hundred pounds, and ordered to be imprisoned till it should be paid.

Mr Hugh Rogers, a worthy faithful minister of Jesus Christ, turned out for nonconformity, from Newtown in Montgomeryshire, was buried at Welshpool, March 17, 1679-80, he was looked upon as congregational but his declared judgment was, "That ministers ought to be ordained by ministers, and to give themselves wholly to that work; and that none but ministers have authority to preach and govern in a constituted church; and that Christ's ministers are his ministers in all places; and that where the word of Christ is preached, and his Sacraments administered, there is a true church." He was a man of excellent converse, and whose peculiar felicity lay in pleasant and edifying discourse.

July 2d and 3d, 1680, these two days brought tidings of the death of Mr Haines, some time minister of Wem in Shropshire, and since at New-chapel in Westminster; and of Mr Richard Edwards minister at Oswestry, both worthy conformists, pious, peaceable and good

good men, whom I hope, through grace, to meet shortly in heaven. The Lord raise up others in their room to be and do better.

Mr Robert Bosier, my dear friend and kinsman, having just compleated the twenty-third year of his age, died of a fever, September 13, 1680, at Mr Doolittle's house in Iflington, whither he was gone but a few weeks before for improvement in learning; being formerly a commoner of Edmund-hall in Oxford, and since having spent some years in my family, and designed himself for the service of Christ, in the work of the ministry. He was a young man of pregnant parts, great industry, and exemplary seriousness and piety, and likely to be an eminent instrument of good in his day. His friends and relations had promised themselves much comfort in him, but we know who "per-
"formeth the thing that is appointed for us, and giv-
"eth not account of any of his matters."

Mr John Malden, my dear and worthy friend, turned out from Newport in Shropshire for nonconformity, died at Alkington near Whitchurch, May 23, 1681, a man of great learning, an excellent Hebrecean, and of exemplary piety, and a solid preacher: as he lived so he died, very low in his own eyes; esteeming himself good for nothing, though really good for every thing, which was manifestly a prejudice, both to his comfort, and to his usefulness. He said, he was far from repenting his being a sufferer against conformity. The relicks of so much learning, piety, and humility, I have not seen this great while laid in a grave, but blessed be God we had such a one so long.

Dr Joshua Maddocks, a beloved Physician, our very dear friend and kinsman, died of a fever at Whitchurch, in the midst of his days, July 27th, 1682, a very pious man, and especially eminent for meekness; an excellent scholar, and particularly learned in the mathematicks: he lived much desired, and died as much lamented.

Mr Thomas Bridge, who had been rector of the

higher rectory of Malpas about fifty-seven years, being aged about eighty-two years, was buried at Malpas, Octob. 7, 1682. In his last sickness, which was long, he had appointed Mr Green, one of the curates there, to preach his funeral sermon on 1 Tim i. 16 "Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first, Jesus Christ might shew forth all long-suffering:" and to say nothing in his commendation, but to give a large account of his repentance upon his death-bed, &c. He was a taking, popular preacher, preaching often and almost to the last. When old, he could read the smallest print without spectacles.

Mr William Cook, an aged, painful, faithful minister of Jesus Christ in Chester, finished his course with joy, July 4, 1684, in the midst of the cloudy and dark day. [see Mr Baxter's character of him in his life, Part 3. page 98.] and an honourable account given of him by Mr Samuel Bold, of Steeple in Dorsetshire, in a large preface to his book of Man's great duty. He was eminent for great industry, both in public and private work; great self-denial, mortification, and contempt of the world, and a strict adherence to his principles in all the turns of the times. He was first minister at Wroxal in Warwickshire; there he published two treatises against the Anabaptists. From thence he was, by the advice of the London ministers, removed to Ashby in Leicestershire, whence he was turned out for refusing the engagement, and afterward settled in Chester, where he was minister of Michael's church, till he was outed by the act of uniformity. He was an active man for Sir George Booth, when he made that attempt to bring in the King, in 1659, for which he was brought up a prisoner to London, and continued long under confinement in Lambeth-house; and had not the times turned had been tried for his life. During the usurpation, his frequent prayer was, "That God would pull down all usurped power, and restore the banished to their right." After he was silenced by the Bartholomew act, he continued to his death.

death in a pastoral relation to a society of many worthy eminent Christians in Chester; though during the heat of the five-mile act, he was forced to withdraw to Puddington in Wirral, where (as in Chester, till King Charles's indulgence) he constantly attended on the public ministry, and he himself preached in the intervals. He would say sometimes to his friends, when he was in that retirement, that he thought "What little peace and quietness there was in this world, God's people enjoyed it in their corners." Soon after he was silenced, he was committed to the common goal of Chester for preaching in his own house, by the Mayor, at instigation of the then Bishop Hall. He was very indefatigable in his ministerial labours, in which he never sought the assistance of any other minister; though while he had liberty he constantly kept a public fast in his congregation every month, as he did also a private fast in his own closet and family every week. He usually set apart one afternoon every week, to visit the families of his congregation, and to catechise their children and servants, and discourse with them personally about their souls; his visits were short and edifying (and he managed them as one that was a great husband of his time) and he seldom or never parted without prayer. He was not free to join in the common-prayer, and bore his testimony against prelacy and the ceremonies with something of zeal; but his great piety, integrity, mortification, and charity, recommended him to the respects even of many that differed from him. If any asked his advice to any thing which might draw suffering upon them, he would be very tender, and desire them not to depend upon his judgement; but since it was a matter of suffering, to be fully persuaded in their own minds.

He was a great scholar, and a hard student to the last, and was far from entangling himself in the affairs of this life, not knowing ought he had, save the bread that he did eat. In worldly matters he was not very conversable, but in discourse of the things of God,

none

none more free and affable, or more ready to do good.

He lived and died a great example of strict and close walking with God, and a heavenly conversation; and his memory is very precious with many. He died in the seventy-third year of his age. When he lay on his death-bed, an aged friend of his asking him if he had not comfort in reflection upon his labours in the work of God, he presently replied, "I have nothing to boast of." He was buried in Michael's church in Chester; and though for some time before he died, such was the heat of the persecution, that he durst not shew his face in the city, yet many considerable persons were very forward to do him honour at his death.

Mr Jonathan Roberts of Llanvair in Denbighshire, my dear and precious friend, and a faithful minister of Christ, died at Mr Titus Thomas's house in West-Felton, and was buried there Sept. 26. 1684. A true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed, for plainness and integrity; a silent sufferer for his nonconformity, for which he quitted a good living in Denbighshire. He was a learned man, a Master of Arts of Oxford; he died with comfort in his nonconformity, and with confidence of a return of mercy in God's due time. The summer before he died, he had been at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where he heard and saw that which much confirmed him in his dissent.

Mr Zechariah Cawdrey, Minister of Bartomley in Cheshire, a learned and godly divine, was buried December 24. 1684. a conformist, and formerly a great sufferer for the king, but in his later times much maligned and reproached by some people for his moderation towards dissenters, for his book of preparation for martyrdom, and for his zeal in keeping up the monthly lectures at Nantwich and Tarvin. But he is gone to the world of peace, and love, and everlasting praises.

Mr Titus Thomas, minister of the independent congregation in Salop, was buried at Felton, December

10, 1686. He was a worthy good man, and not so strait-laced as some others; we were six nonconformist ministers there at the funeral, and the seventh dead in the midst of us, saying to us, "Therefore be ye also ready."

Mr John Cartwright, my worthy friend and brother, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, was buried at Audlem in Cheshire, Feb. 17. 1687-8. formerly minister of West-Kerby in Wirral, afterwards chaplain to the pious Lady Wilbraham at Woodbey.

Mr Edward Gregg of Chester, a worthy gentleman, and my dear friend, died July 9. 1689. of a fever, in the midst of his days. He was one that feared God above many, of a meek and quiet spirit, and eminently active and useful in his generation. The Lord is pulling our earthen props from under us, that we might lean upon, and trust in himself alone, and might learn to cease from man.

Mr Daniel Benyon of Ash, my dear friend and kinsman, died June 25. 1690. a very serious, pious gentleman, and an Israelite indeed, a true lover, and ready benefactor to all good men, especially good ministers. He told me a little before he died, God had made use of me (though most unworthy) as an instrument of his conversion. for which I bless his holy name. He had a long and lingering sickness, which he bore with great patience.

Mrs Crew of Otkinton in Cheshire, an aged servant of the Lord, was buried July 8. 1690. She kept her integrity, and abounded in works of piety and charity to the last, and finished well; to God be praise.

Mrs Hunt of Shrewsbury, the relict of Colonel Hunt, another rare pattern of zealous piety, abounding charity, and eminent usefulness in her place, finished her course, October 23. 1690. after two days sickness.

The reverend, and learned, and holy Mr Richard Baxter, died at London, December 8. 1691. aged seventy-six, and one month; as much vilified by some, and magnified by others, as most men that ever were;

but it is a small thing to be judged of man's day. He was buried at Christ-church, London, with great honour.

Mr John Wood, my good friend, died September 19. 1692. at Mitton in Shropshire, aged about seventy; he was sometime fellow of Magdalen-College in Cambridge, where he was outed for nonconformity; a learned man, but wanted the faculty of communicating; one that feared God, and walked in his integrity to the last; had no certain dwelling-place on earth, but I trust hath one in heaven. *Hic tandem requiescit.*

Mr Richard Steel, my old and dear friend, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, died at London, November 16. 1692. in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A man that had been greatly useful in his generation, both in the country and at London.

Mr Thomas Gilbert died at Oxford, July 15. 1694. formerly minister of Edgmond in Shropshire, aged eighty-three, a learned good man.

Luke Lloyd, Esq; of the Bryn in Hanmer Parish, my aged, worthy friend, finished his course with joy, March 31. 1695. being Lord's day. He was in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and had been married almost sixty-nine years to his pious wife (of the same age) who still survives him. He was the glory of our little congregation, the top-branch in all respects of our small vine, and my friend indeed.

When he made his will, under the subscription of his name he wrote, Job xix. 25, 26, 27. On which text of Scripture (I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.) Mr Henry, at the request of some of his relations, preached a sermon at the licenced house near Hanmer, sometime after his funeral; in which sermon, he bore a very honourable testimony to that worthy gentleman, who (as he saith) went to heaven without a blot, held fast his integrity, and was lively and zealous in the Christian profession to the end of his days. He was very exemplary for his love to the ordinances of
God,

God, and his delight in attending on them, his living upon Christ for strength and righteousness, his great humility, and condescending obliging carriage in all his converse. He was a man of great courage and resolution: and yet in prayer, tender and self-abasing, to admiration, often melting into tears in the confession of sin; and his charity and moderation were known unto all men.

He lived and died a pattern of piety, and primitive Christianity, and still brought forth fruit in old age; his vigor, both of body and mind, being wonderfully preserved to the last; and by the grace of God he finished well, and his sun set under no cloud. Such good men are intended to be to us, as the star that led the wise men to Christ; and as far as they do so, we are to follow them. "Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

Mr Samuel Taylor, an aged minister of Jesus Christ, and my true friend and fellow-labourer, died at Wem, June 26, 1695. He was turned out from Edstaston-chapel near Wem, by the act of uniformity; chusing rather to beg his bread than to wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem ever since, and preached there as his strength and liberty would permit. He had his house burnt in the dreadful fire that was there in 1676, and had a child born that very night. He was a man of a very tender spirit, humble and low in his own eyes, of approved integrity, and finished well. (Mr Henry preached his funeral sermon at Wem, on 2 Cor. iv. 7. "We have this treasure in earthen vessels.")

September 21, 1695. I heard of the death of two holy, aged Bartholomew-witnesses, Mr Richard Mayo of London, and Mr Henry Newcome of Manchester, Psal. xii. 1.

Mr Edward Lawrence of London, my dear and worthy friend, and a faithful minister and witness of the Lord Jesus, died November---1695, about the fortieth year of his age; born at Molton in Shropshire,

of Magdalen-College in Cambridge, turned out from Baschurch in Shropshire by the act of uniformity in 1662, was driven from Whitchurch by the violent prosecution of the conventicle Act, in 1670, when he removed to London, and there spent the rest of his days.

He had many children, but great affliction in some of them, which gave occasion to his book entitled, "Parents Groans over their wicked Children." It is a very high, but just character, which Mr Vincent hath given of him in his sermon at his funeral; of which let me take leave to add some few instances that occur to us, which may be instructive, besides those which we have already mentioned occasionally. At his meals, he would often speak of using God's creatures as his witnesses that he is good; and we cannot conceive how much good our God doth every moment.

An expression of his great regard to justice, was that common caution he gave his children, Tremble to borrow two pence;" and of his meekness and tenderness this, "Make no man angry nor sad." He often said, "I adore the wisdom of God, that hath not seen meet to trust me with riches." When he saw little children playing in the streets, he would often lift up his heart in an ejaculatory prayer to God for them, calling them "the seed of the next generation." When his friend chose to ride the back way into town, he pleasantly checked him, telling him, that his heart hath been often refreshed, when he hath looked out at the window and seen a good man go along the streets. He used to say, that Cromwell did more real prejudice to religion by his hypocrisy, than king Charles the Second did, that never pretended to it. As also, that he feared the sins of the land more than the French.

A friend of his in the country, writing to him not long before he died, desired his thoughts concerning
the

the differences among the London dissenters, to which he returned this answer : “ I can say little concerning
“ our divisions ; which, when some men’s judgments
“ and tempers are healed, will be also healed. But
“ when will that be ? They that have most holiness
“ are most peaceable, and have most comfort.”

M. S.

PHILIPPUS HENRY,

De Broad-Oak, in Comitatu Flint, A. M.

Sacri Minister Evangelii ; Pastor olim Worthenburiensis ;

In Aula Regia natus piis & honestis Parentibus ;
Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, indeq. Ædis Christi Oxon.

Alumnus Regius :

Vir prisca Pietate & vere Christiana,
Judicio subactō & limato,

Memoria præstanti, magno & fœcundo Ingenio,
Eruditione perpolita, summo Animi Candore, Morum
Venuustate

Imprimis Spectabilis, & in Exemplum natus:

Cui Sacra semper sua fides aliorumque Fama :

Divini Numinis Cultor assiduus ;

Divini Verbi Interpretes exquisitissimus ;

Aliorum Affectus movere non minus pollens,

Quam suis moderari :

Concionando pariter ac Vivendo palam exhibens

Christi Legem & Exemplar Christum :

Prudens peritusque rerum ; Lenis, Pacificus, Hospitalis,

Ad Pietatis omnia Charitatisque officia usque paratus ;

Suis Jucundus ; Omnibus Humanus ;

Continuis Evangelii Laboribus succumbens Corpus,

Nec tantæ jam par amplius Animæ,

In Dormitorium hic juxta positum, demisit,

Jun. 24^o. Anno Dom. MDCXCVI, Ætatis LXV.

Viro opt. multumque desiderato
mœrens posuit Gener ejus J. T. M. D.

F I N I S.





